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Sceptred Isles: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church of England Missions to Japan 1860-1900¹

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福音宣教教会は英国国教会高教会派の主たる宣教団であった。本論は英国国教会が教会各派に分派してゆくさまを神学的信条、社会のもつ信条、及び宗教儀礼に基いて探ろうとするものである。教会各派は英国国教会を支配しようとして国内外でしのぎを削った。1850年から1900年に至る英国国教会の伝道活動にこれがどのように作用したかを日本における事例からさぐる。本論では最初の伝道団が日本に到着してから1900年までの期間を対象にして、福音宣教教会が行なった仕事とその取り組み方を、1887年の日本聖教会の設立を含め、吟味する。福音宣教教会が直面した数々の困難と福音宣教教会がそれにどのように応じたかという問題も調べ、総じてその伝道が持つ意味も測りたい

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was the leading missionary society for the High Church party of the Church of England. This paper explores the division of the Anglican Church into Church Parties based on theological and social ideas and practices. Church Parties were in competition for control of the Church of England and they extended this competition into the work of the church overseas. The effects of these on the missionary work of the Anglican Church from 1850 to 1900 are then explored using the example of the missions in Japan. This paper examines the work and attitudes of the SPG in Japan from the arrival of the first missionaries until 1900, including the formation of the Nippon Sei Ko Kai (NSKK) in 1887. The various challenges facing the SPG and their responses to them are examined and the overall value of the mission is assessed.

Introduction

The first treaty was signed between Japan and the United Kingdom in 1857 hard on the heels of the Kanagawa Treaty of 1854 between Japan and the United States. Though its purpose was to regulate trade and commerce between the two states, it came at a time when there was considerable interest in the subject of Japan in the West especially in the United Kingdom. Following the expulsion of foreign missionaries from Japan by the Tokugawa Shogunate, an action in which the English had some part to play, there had been comparatively little interest on the part of Great Britain in Japan and things Japanese. The British were absorbed in the processes of expanding their trade and their empire, initially in North America and then in Africa and South Asia. With the growing activities of the East India Company, the British became increasingly involved in trade with Southeast Asia and China. These activities were shaped not only by the independent aims of the traders but also by the intense competition on the part of the Western governments who prospered on this trade. Throughout most of the eighteenth

¹ Research for this article was conducted at Rhodes House, The Bodleian Library, Oxford University where the papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are located. My thanks go to the archivist and staff of the library for permitting me access to these papers.

century this competition was largely between France and the United Kingdom with the Netherlands precariously balanced between the two. The importance of trade with China to the furtherance of British goals in India and Southeast Asia led to British attempts to establish formal commercial relations with China. The failure of such attempts as those of Lord Macartney in 1793 and Lord Amherst in 1816 led to the exploration of different methods. Following some minor incidents, war broke out between China and the United Kingdom (The 'Opium War', 1839-1842) which resulted in expanded commercial privileges for Britain and the establishment of the Crown Colony of Hong Kong. The frontiers between Western interests and Japan were drawing closer.

As part of this ongoing process of forcing trade with China, the British Navy had begun to explore the China Sea and had made repeated landings in Okinawa in the first decades of the nineteenth century. One such landing, that of HMS *Alceste* in 1816, had made a deep impression on many of the British concerned. Though the exact relationship between Satsuma han and the Kingdom of the Ryukyus was the subject of much deliberate obfuscation on the part of the Japanese, the British and other Westerners took a pragmatic view. The Ryukyus were laid out like a series of steppingstones from Taiwan to Kyushu and that was how they intended to use them. Beginning in 1844, the French established a small, permanent presence in Okinawa and endeavoured to get the Ryukyus to accept French protection. This further prompted the British desire for further contacts with the Ryukyus and thus with Japan². Through these contacts and the subsequent publication of descriptions of the voyages, early Victorian Britain became more and more aware of Japan and its possibilities for trade. Though trade may have been the primary concern and was certainly uppermost in the minds of Western governments, it was not the only concern. The first French presence in the Ryukyus consisted of missionary priests from the *mission étrangère de Paris* (MEP) in 1844 and 1846. The British (or at least some of them) likewise were concerned with more than just the material wealth of the Ryukyus and Japan. In 1843, at the prompting of Herbert Clifford (who had been a young member of the 1816 mission to the Ryukyus) and under the patronage of the Duke of Manchester who was Commander of the Royal Navy, the "Mission to the Loo Choos" was established. In 1846 the first representative of this mission arrived in Okinawa³. The purpose of this missionary society was envisaged not just as being to bring the benefits of the Established Church of England to the region and thus confronting the expansionist zeal of the Catholic Church. Clifford also believed that "the iron fangs of Popery, or the more smooth, cat-like talons of Puseyism" were about to "fasten their deadly grasp on my long loved Loochoo"⁴. The history of Church of England missionary activity in Japan was to be shaped as much by the forces of factionalism within the Church of England as it was by the more obvious challenges of Japan itself.

² See: W. Beasley *Great Britain and the Opening of Japan, 1834-1858* (London, 1951).

³ There has been no attempt at a comprehensive history of the Loo Choo Mission since H. Schwartz *The Loochoo Islands. A Chapter in Missionary History* (Tokyo, 1907). The current author is researching an article on the subject to appear shortly.

⁴ H. Clifford *The Claims of Loochoo on British Liberality* (London, 1850). Quoted in George Kerr *Okinawa: The History of an Island People* (Rev Ed.) (Boston, 2000).

Church Parties⁵

The Church of England had been intended from its beginnings to offer a spiritual home to all English Christians. This pious aspiration had never had much chance of becoming a reality. Many groups had refused the services of the Church of England from the beginning, such as the Catholic Recusants. Others had found the constraints of the established church too difficult to bear and, like the Presbyterians and Methodists, had moved from trying to reform the Church of England to leaving it to form separate denominations. Despite these defections, the Church of England in the middle of the Nineteenth Century could still lay claim to being the national church and thus to a high degree of toleration of different theological opinions.⁶ In fact, it was this very toleration which was the primary cause of division and discord within the Church of England. One of the principal authorities on the divisions of the Church of England at this time identified no fewer than ten different groups within the ranks of the 18,000 clergymen of the Church of England based on their theological opinions and ecclesiastical practices.⁷ Among these groups however two stand out as representing the extremes between which the Church of England vacillated: the High Church party and the Low Church party.⁸

The principle concern of the High Church party was to state (and try to validate) the claim of the Church of England to be part of the Catholic Church even though separated from the Church of Rome. For this reason, many High Churchmen were labelled as "Anglo-Catholics". Leading members of the High Church party downplayed any great significance to the Protestant Reformation in the creation of the Church of England. Rather the Church of England had been able to preserve its essential Catholic heritage despite the efforts of the Protestants to subvert the church. High Churchmen had been a force in the Church of England since its inception, notably with such figures as Richard Hooker and the Caroline Divines of the seventeenth century. By the 1840's, the earlier moderation of the High Church party had become more radicalized. The most extreme, and therefore most widely known, members of the High Church party were the Tractarians. The Tractarians were named after the series of publications "Tracts for the Times" in which they propagated their views. Based around the University of Oxford, the Tractarians were often called the "Oxford Movement" in their early years in the 1830's. Led by John Henry Newman, John Keble, and Edward Pusey they were also called "Puseyites" by those who distrusted their ideas and considered them a threat to the Church of England. As the party progressed in its thinking, it became apparent to many of its members that their attempt to assert the Catholicity of the Church of England was widely rejected by many members of that church. Some leading members of the party, most noticeably Newman, formally left the Church of England to join that of Rome in the 1840's. There was a steady stream of converts to Rome from the Tractarian party in the years that followed.

⁵ The title of what is still one of the best works on the subject by W.J. Conybeare published in 1858. See also M.A. Crowther 'Church Problems and Church Parties' in Gerald Parsons [ed] *Religion in Victorian Britain: Interpretations* (Manchester, 1988).

⁶ Still the standard work on the Church of England in this period is Owen Chadwick *The Victorian Church* (2 vols) (London, 1971 & 1972).

⁷ Conybeare p.98.

⁸ There is an extensive literature on the subject but for a brief summary see: Gerald Parsons 'Reform, Revival and Realignment: The Experience of Victorian Anglicanism' in Gerald Parsons [ed] *Religion in Victorian Britain: Traditions* (Manchester, 1988).

Those who remained struggled to propagate their ideas within the Church of England and, equally importantly, attempted to Catholicize the practices and liturgy of the established church. More elaborate vestments, incense, church art, and a variety of other means were used in the pursuit of their goals. Even though they were restricted by some of the ordinances governing liturgical practice in the Church of England, they sought to introduce Catholic practices to the greatest extent that these ordinances would permit. Sporadic attempts were made to introduce monasticism into the Church of England and even to encourage a celibate clergy. For High Churchmen, the challenges were to maintain episcopal order (which separated them from Protestants) and at the same time to raise the standards of churchmanship (which validated their claims to Catholicity). Increasingly the battle for the soul of the Church of England was seen to be as much about liturgical practices (often labeled as "Churchmanship") as about complex theological ideas. The High Church Party was associated as much with incense as ideas and churches in which the incumbent was of this party could be immediately recognized by their candles, statuary, and decorations.⁹ While the dominant party in many areas of England and the British Empire, an expert estimated that about 38% of the English clergy belonged to this party in the 1850's, they were by no means unopposed within the church.

On the other end of the ecclesiastical spectrum of the Church of England was the Low Church party (or Evangelicals) which could claim approximately the same number of clerical adherents. The Low Churchmen had also been present in the Church of England since its establishment though suffering a significant reverse and loss of membership with the defeat of the Puritan movement in the seventeenth century. By the 1840's they were once again gaining in strength especially due to the work of such notable figures and groups as William Wilberforce and the "Clapham Sect". If the Tractarians were centered around Oxford, then the Low Church party was particularly strong in London and some areas of industrial England. The Low Church party believed firmly in the Protestant heritage of the Church of England. The Reformation for them had renewed the church and cleaned away all of the errors and accretions of the Church of Rome. The Low Church party believed that the Church of England had to defend its Protestant heritage from the "Romanizers" of the High Church party. While the Church of Rome was clearly sunk in error, in many ways the Tractarians were even worse because they were attempting to undermine the Church of England both from the inside and insidiously. The emphasis on their Protestant heritage, and their frequent links with Protestants of the same ideas outside of the established church, made the Low Church party seem at times less committed to the centrality of the episcopal structure of the Church of England than was the case for the High Churchmen. Clearly though, in both cases, the ideas of the Bishop were very important to the furtherance of their party. Battles over the ideas of candidates for the episcopacy were a major feature of the life of the Church of England throughout the nineteenth century. In practical terms, the Low Church party had no time for the liturgical practices advocated by the High Church enthusiasts believing them to be either unnecessary or plainly unacceptable in a reformed church. The centrepiece of a Church of England service for them was the sermon not the sacrament. As a national church, the government was responsible for all higher level ecclesiastical appointments which was often a source of dissension between the various church parties. However, the very existence of these parties

⁹ See Frances Knight *The Nineteenth Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge, 1995) for a discussion of these issues especially at the parochial level.

coupled with the lack of any consistent position with respect to them on the part of various British governments meant that religion was rarely if ever a subject of official government concern in its overseas dealings. The Church of England might be able to rely on some general level of concern from the government as a whole and, more occasionally, on greater support at the personal level from individual government officials, but it was never endorsed as an instrument of British overseas policy. The missionary efforts of the Church of England were never under the sponsorship of the government, the divided and divisive nature of religion in England would insure that this was always the case.

The theological and liturgical divisions of the Church of England had been given a wider geographic stage on which to operate by the growth of the British Empire and global trade. In 1701 the Church of England had responded to this, and especially to the growth of Protestant churches and sects in the empire, by the creation of a missionary society whose principal stated purpose was the provision of "orthodox" (i.e. High Church) clergymen to the Church of England overseas. This was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Much of its initial work consisted in attempting to create "orthodox" churches in the American colonies and in Canada where the challenge of Protestant churches was great. Their work consisted both of maintaining "orthodoxy" among English speakers in the colonies and of converting the indigenous peoples with whom they came into contact. With American Independence, direct SPG involvement in what became the Episcopal Church ceased. However, the Episcopal Church was to become a sister church to the Church of England and to provide at least some High Churchmen to the wider Anglican community. The church in Canada was to long remain attached to the SPG and thus a small but fruitful source of High Churchmanship. By the time that Japan was opened to missionaries, the SPG had created a network of dioceses throughout the British Empire. It had also begun missionary work in areas outside of British military and political control such as China.

The Evangelicals had been slower to realize the challenges and possibilities opened up by the growth of empire. In part this was because evangelical efforts often involved attempts at cooperation between evangelical members of the Church of England and members of other Protestant churches and sects. The favor shown by many Evangelicals to ideas of election and predestination also militated against missionary efforts at first, certainly at any attempts to convert non-Christians. In 1795, various evangelicals joined together to form the London Missionary Society (LMS) which was to be quite active in the missionary field especially in the Pacific.¹⁰ However, the LMS quickly became largely an organ of the Congregationalists. In 1799 the evangelicals within the Church of England formed their own society the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The CMS was much mistrusted by the SPG for its Low Churchmanship and for the repeated clashes with colonial bishops (under the guidance of the SPG) which characterized its activities during the period from the 1820's to the 1850's. As a clearly missionary organization, the CMS had a different ethos from the SPG which concentrated on the creation of dioceses and the replication of the Church of England episcopal structures overseas. In their practices and ideas, the CMS and the SPG represented the two principal parties in the Church of England in the mid Nineteenth Century and served to export them overseas. This was certainly the case in Japan. In 1869 the CMS (which had taken over the Mission to the Loo Choos) began its missionary work in Japan. The SPG followed in 1873. Prior to both of these, the American Episcopal Church had had a small presence in

¹⁰ See: Tom Hiney *On the Missionary Trail* (London, 2001).

Japan from 1859. The history of the first few decades of SPG work in Japan is as much a record of struggles within the Anglican Church as it is of its dealings with other churches and with Japanese society.

An Episcopal Structure for an Episcopal Church: 1873-1883

The first two SPG missionaries to enter Japan were the Revs. Alexander Shaw and William Wright¹¹. They both immediately set about trying to establish the SPG mission on a solid foundation which for them both meant establishing a diocesan structure. Central to the distinct nature of the Church of England was its episcopal structure. The necessity to maintain it (or create it where it was absent) was of especial importance to the High Church party. Bishops not only provided ecclesiastical services (such as Confirmation or Ordination) they also provided territorial structure to the church and acted as symbols of "orthodoxy". When the SPG arrived in Japan, the episcopal structure was far from clear and, for a High Churchman, far from satisfactory. The American Episcopal Church had a Bishop in Residence (Bishop Williams) and the SPG could also call on the services of Bishop Burdon, the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong) who technically had oversight of the Anglican mission¹² Bishop Burdon did indeed begin to visit Japan from 1876 to conduct services. What the SPG missionaries wanted however was, as Shaw wrote, an "able, liberal minded man who has a strong hold on the Catholic truth. This latter (being) above all things important".¹³ Neither of the available Bishops seemed to fit this description with Burdon being seen by Wright as "a Congregationalist in Bishop's clothing" while Williams was "simply laughed at by everyone (and was) unfit for Episcopal office".¹⁴

Not only did a Bishop with "orthodox" opinions have to be found, his office also had to be paid for and his diocesan boundaries made clear. The CMS had been the most active Anglican society and would probably have to approve the choice of candidate for Bishop, as well as make a financial contribution to his upkeep¹⁵. Yet, the concern was always that the CMS would not decide to "appoint a moderate, broad-minded man who would work for the church and not only for his society"¹⁶. The SPG missionaries felt that the Americans were less of a challenge "(though) the earliest in the field (it) has made a shipwreck of all of its work (and is) the weakest mission in all of Japan"¹⁷. The territorial division and the use (or not) of territorial titles was to be another bone of contention between the CMS, the SPG, and the Episcopalians. The key missionary locations of Tokyo and Osaka/Kobe were sites of

¹¹ Not untypically, despite the repeated emphasis on "Oxford graduates" and English gentlemen as the ideal representatives of the SPG, Shaw and Wright were neither. Shaw was a Canadian (born in 1846), educated at Trinity College, Toronto. Wright was Irish (born in 1843) and educated at Trinity College, Dublin.

¹² The Bishopric of Victoria (China) was founded in 1849.

¹³ Shaw: Correspondence 09/10/76.

¹⁴ Wright: Correspondence 07/01/79.

¹⁵ The final decision was a 50/50 division of the Bishop's salary between the CMS and the SPG, but not without much discussion. Archbishop of Canterbury to SPG Secretary 23/12/81.

¹⁶ Wright: Correspondence 27/09/77.

¹⁷ Wright: Correspondence 12/08/79.

activity for all three societies and thus a territorial title was a particularly contentious issue.

While the episcopal issue dragged on, the original SPG was trying to establish itself and was slowly augmenting its personnel. In 1876, two reinforcements arrived for the SPG, the Revs Hugh Foss and Francis Plummer. At last, not only was the number of SPG clergy increasing but they also had two English university men on staff¹⁸. Plummer's stay in Kobe was, however, to be a rather short lived one as he returned permanently to England on sick leave in 1878¹⁹. Even though Rev Hughes arrived in Kobe in 1878 and was very supportive of SPG work, he was never an official SPG missionary and his work lay increasingly in the school system. There were to be no new SPG missionaries in Japan until the arrival of Edmund Hopper in 1880²⁰. The lack of new personnel was difficult enough, but the small numbers of SPG missionaries exacerbated differences both about how best to forward the goals of the mission and of personal temperament. This was the case, not only in Kobe where Foss and Hopper were based and in Tokyo where the two original missionaries had their centre, but also between the missionaries in the two places. Shaw favoured the maximum expansion of missionary effort through the setting up of mission stations and the training of missionary agents (or catechists) to continue the work in the missionaries' absence. He even attempted to extend this system to Korea in 1880 until the SPG clearly expressed its disapproval²¹. Wright was less ambitious, starting four mission stations in total but even that was too ambitious for the resources available.²²

More practical problems concerned the relative poverty of the mission (and of individual missionaries)²³ and of the simple inability to take a break due to the problems of replacement. These problems were often compounded. When Wright finally gained a furlough (in 1882) it was in part to seek for alternative employment because of his lack of money and recurrent illnesses in his family²⁴. Finding even a temporary replacement was not easy. The idea of Foss or Hopper coming to Tokyo had no appeal to Shaw as he wrote: "It would be impossible for me to work with men (Foss and Hopper) whose views on church affairs are so very different to my

¹⁸ Hugh Foss was a graduate of Cambridge University while Francis Plummer was a graduate of Trinity College, Oxford.

¹⁹ Plummer's malady was (and is perhaps) not an uncommon one. Shaw (Correspondence 17/06/78) wrote: "His mind is not at all affected, he is simply incapable of continued mental effort. Physically he appears strong and active". The SPG's doctor in London (William Anderson, FRCS in Correspondence 13/06/79) was more explicit: "I certify that the Reverend F.B. Plummer is suffering from the effects of over devotion to the study of the Japanese Language and that a discontinuation of the work combined with a change of climate is absolutely necessary for the restoration of his health".

²⁰ Edmund Hopper (Born 1856) was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge.

²¹ Shaw: Correspondence 01/10/80 and 07/04/81.

²² Hopper: Correspondence 29/08/83 "Wright started four missions with nothing whatever in the way of provision for the future."

²³ Wright: Correspondence 11/01/83 where he notes that Shaw is also the Legation Chaplain (which brings benefits in terms of housing and medical treatment) and that Foss has "private means".

²⁴ Wright: Correspondence 11/01/83 where he notes that an old friend (The Bishop of Bedford) has offered him a chaplaincy. Wright did not return to the Japan mission.

own".²⁵ Hopper, in return, was equally reluctant. He noted that: "my offer to go as a missionary was on condition that I went to a healthy place" (i.e. Kobe and not Tokyo).²⁶ The situation became even more acute when Shaw in turn became eligible for a furlough. Garratt (a non SPG Church of England clergyman at the Yokohama Legation) had been a possible *locum tenens* but he too had become sick and, besides, Shaw found his behaviour "incomprehensible" in any case.²⁷ Finally, Shaw's temporary replacement had to be the Rev Taylor of the British and Foreign Bible Society which confounded Wright. After all this talk of High Churchmanship, Taylor was "decidedly a Low Churchman trained at Islington".²⁸ This was in some ways the last straw for Wright who wrote (from England): "I do not wish to make any accusation but I can say that nine out of ten men could not have borne all I have from his (Shaw's) double dealing and deceit during the long years we have been together".²⁹

By early 1883, it was apparent that neither Wright nor Garratt would be returning. Taylor also left Japan permanently in the same year.³⁰ Foss and Shaw would be running Kobe and Tokyo respectively with little love lost between them. Hopper reluctantly now based in Tokyo and recently married to an American missionary, Miss Mead, did not enjoy very good health and was unable to do all of Wright's work.³¹ One of Wright's mission stations was given up (Chiba) while it was suggested that another be handed over to the American mission.³² Hopper noted that the SPG work in Japan was "terribly disorganised and wanting in unity".³³ The only promised help at hand was the Rev. Arthur Lloyd, but his advent was long delayed as he wished to complete his Pali studies at Cambridge.³⁴ He also experienced perennial financial difficulties that led him to undertake additional teaching duties that in turn limited his use to the SPG as a missionary.³⁵ Additional difficulties beset the mission. Following a visit by the Rev. Plummer to the Bonin (now Ogasawara) Islands, a fund had been set up to bring children from the islands to Kobe for an education. However, Plummer had not paid into the account so that the fund was now empty and the children had to be returned to the islands.³⁶ Their financial troubles did not end there. As part of the financial crisis of the time, the Oriental Bank suspended payments on accounts thus leaving the mission without a regular financial structure. This was doubly onerous for Shaw who both had to run

²⁵ Shaw: Correspondence 29/12/82.

²⁶ Hopper: Correspondence 11/01/83.

²⁷ Shaw: Correspondence 12/01/83.

²⁸ Wright: Correspondence 07/02/83.

²⁹ Wright: Correspondence 07/02/83.

³⁰ Hopper: Correspondence 19/08/83.

³¹ Hopper: Correspondence 26/03/83 and 04/05/83.

³² Hopper: Correspondence 06/11/83.

³³ Hopper: Correspondence 16/08/83.

³⁴ Lloyd eventually was a Fellow and Dean of Peterhouse Cambridge. His knowledge of Pali and Sanskrit was reckoned more useful there than in Japan where Poole doubted their utility to a missionary in such a modern society. Poole: Correspondence 17/06/84.

³⁵ Poole: Correspondence 22/01/85.

³⁶ Shaw: Correspondence 26/03/78 and Poole: Correspondence 05/11/84.

the finances of the Tokyo mission and to do so on a stipend that was the cause of much complaint on his part.³⁷

Not unsurprisingly, the mission's continued problems with personnel (and personalities) as well as finances had restricted its effectiveness in its missionary work. The situation was further adversely affected by attitudes towards Christianity on the part of the Japanese and by attitudes towards the Japanese on the part of the English. The early situation of the SPG missionaries (especially Shaw) as serving the British Legation had been unsatisfactory in many ways. Though the Ambassador (Sir Harry Parkes) had been helpful, Wright noted that they were "anything but Church people"³⁸ which made the relationship difficult. Given the ad hoc nature of British government attitudes to missionaries in general ("as the next Prime Minister may be an unbeliever, there is no saying how he [might behave]")³⁹ a separate church for the mission was obviously desirable. However, given the low numbers of Japanese converts and the attitude of the English ("an objection is often felt by the English to worship in the same building as the natives")⁴⁰ church building was a difficult task. Popular hostility towards Christianity was rare, though property damage was caused in the early years,⁴¹ rather the problem was conceived as being a lack of real interest.⁴² Overall, the missionary assessment of the Japanese was not particularly high: "The Japanese are as a nation such as have no cool in themselves ... they go on for a while and then fall off, we shall have to knock a character in (to) them".⁴³ Given all of the challenges facing the mission, the number of baptised members of their congregations in 1883 (140 attached to the Tokyo mission and 33 to the Kobe mission) was perhaps better than the mere numbers themselves would suggest.

The first ten years of the SPG Mission were crowned with at least one undoubted success. On the 18th of October 1883, the Rev. Arthur Poole was consecrated as Bishop of Japan at Lambeth Palace.⁴⁴ Though Shaw was somewhat less than enthusiastic about the man and his motives, "if men need to be bought, then they are not the men",⁴⁵ perhaps the new Bishop's decision to live in Kobe pleased him. Following an agreement with the Episcopalian Bishop, confirmations and ordinations in Tokyo would be undertaken by him, though Bishop Poole would have overall supervision of the English clergy (both CMS and SPG). The salary of

³⁷ Shaw: Correspondence 04/07/83 in which he lamented to the SPG that he was "beyond measure pained and astonished at your treatment of me" in terms of the smallness of his stipend.

³⁸ Wright: Correspondence 09/04/77.

³⁹ Wright: Correspondence 09/04/77.

⁴⁰ Shaw: Correspondence 27/09/78.

⁴¹ Wright: Correspondence 06/11/78 "(in the) idol procession this year and last year doors and windows were smashed".

⁴² Lloyd: Correspondence 01/01/85 "(There is) a strong penchant towards Christianity though in many cases only as a political or social power".

⁴³ Shaw: Correspondence 04/10/83.

⁴⁴ Though a Worcester College, Oxford graduate he was a former CMS missionary in India so he can be seen as something of a compromise candidate for the SPG.

⁴⁵ Shaw: Correspondence 05/05/84. "I think that the payment of so large a stipend as the Bishop of Japan receives (it was 1,000 pounds) is greatly to be deprecated - 500 pounds or at most 600 pounds is quite sufficient".

the Bishop, whatever Shaw thought about its magnitude, was to be paid jointly by the CMS and the SPG. With the agreement with the Episcopalians, the issues of territoriality and diocesan title had seemingly been successfully resolved though Bishop Poole's solution required subsequent changes. Finally, the mission had an episcopal structure. However, it was not long to have Bishop Poole. After less than a year, he left Japan for health reasons in the Autumn of 1884 never to return. He died in England in July 1885.

An Episcopal Church for an Episcopal Structure?: 1886-1900

The new Bishop, Edward Bickersteth, was another ex-Indian missionary. Hopper was unkind enough to call him a "broken down, Indian missionary who will last two years at the most".⁴⁶ Unkind, and of little predictive value, as Bishop Bickersteth went on to serve for seven years in Japan and, following retirement due to ill health, died in England in August 1897. In addition, Hopper's remark mistook the future impact of Bishop Bickersteth. During the term of his episcopate, the mission's clergy in Japan more than doubled in size and was extended in three important ways: 1) through the ordination of Japanese clergy (six by the end of Bickersteth's stay in Japan);⁴⁷ 2) through the beginnings of a missionary brotherhood with a common life⁴⁸ and 3) obtaining the agreement of the Canadian Church (many of the dioceses of which were still technically under SPG tutelage)⁴⁹ to form an additional mission in Japan. For a summary of the SPG missionary personnel from 1883 to 1900 see Table One. These were not the only achievements of his episcopacy, he also succeeded in muting (though not overcoming) the dispute over "churchmanship" sufficiently to create a Japanese Episcopal Church in which the CMS and the SPG (along with the Americans) co-operated.⁵⁰

The formation of the missionary brotherhood was an idea dear to Bishop Bickersteth's heart. and he had set the project in motion even prior to his actual arrival in Japan in April, 1886.⁵¹ The project was of obvious appeal to Shaw as well, which no doubt helped ease the new Bishop's arrival in Japan.⁵² The proposed

⁴⁶ Hopper: Correspondence 18/01/86.

⁴⁷ In this Bickersteth built on the foundations laid earlier. The first Japanese clergyman of the SPG mission (Rev. Yamagata) was ordained in 1885.

⁴⁸ The St. Andrew's Mission discussed subsequently. Modeled on a missionary brotherhood in India, priests were unmarried and lived together. Quasi-monastic in nature (and thus highly suspect to Low Churchmen) the idea is not unlike that of the Community of the Resurrection, an Anglican community which still flourishes from its headquarters at Mirfield in Yorkshire.

⁴⁹ The SPG had been active in Canada since the 1750's and had founded and supported all of the Canadian dioceses in the past.

⁵⁰ The "Nippon sei ko kai" 日本聖教会 or Japan Holy Community dating from the synod of 1887.

⁵¹ Bickersteth: Correspondence 09/11/85. He noted (regretfully) that it "could not be wholly composed of university men".

⁵² Shaw: Correspondence 14/05/86. Seemingly Shaw liked the mission not only for the positive aspects of its High Churchmanship but also because it would act as a

Table One. SPG Clergy 1883-1900

British SPG Missionaries:

	Location	Arrival	Departure
Shaw	Tokyo	1873	
Foss	Kobe	1876-(1899)	
	Bishop of Osaka	1899	
Gardner ⁵³	Kobe	1880	
	Tokyo	1887	
	Awaji/Kobe	1893	
Poole	Bishop	1883	1884
Hopper	Tokyo	1883	1887
Lloyd	Tokyo	1884	1890
Bickersteth	Bishop	1886	1896
Freese	Tokyo	1887	
	Yokohama	1893	1894
Morris	Kobe	1890	
Awdry	Bishop	1896	
Moore	Kobe	1896	1898
Nind	Osaka	1900	

St Andrew's Mission:

Cholmondely	Tokyo	1887	
Gemmill	Tokyo	1900	
King	Tokyo	1900	
Webb	Tokyo	1900	

SPG/Japanese Clergy:

Yamagata	Tokyo	1885	
Ida	Tokyo	1889	
Imai	Tokyo	1889	
Shimada	Tokyo	1889	
Yoshizawa	Tokyo	1889	
Midzuno	Kobe	1890	
Satake	Tokyo	1894	
Yamada	Tokyo	1896	
Tsuji	Kobe	1898	
Hirose	Kobe	1898	

SPG/Canadian Missionaries:

Waller	Fukushima	1890	
Kakuzen ⁵⁴	Nagano	1894	
	Matsumoto	1896	
	Kobe	1900	
Kennedy	Nagano	1895	
	Matsumoto	1896	1899

counterweight to the CMS and the Americans who he believed wanted "to hold all the chief positions in the country - and then do nothing with them".

⁵³ Gardner was absent from SPG service for five years.

⁵⁴ Kakuzen was a Japanese national ordained in Canada for the Canadian Mission.

brotherhood (St. Andrew's Mission) originally had two members from the existing SPG clergy (Freese and Gardner) and others were to come from England led by the Rev. Lionel Cholmondely.⁵⁵ There were, however, problems from the beginning. In Lloyd's opinion, for an Anglican missionary "married without encumbrances is the best condition. There are too many temptations for the single man".⁵⁶ Such indeed proved to be the case for Gardner who was suspended and then dismissed because, as Bickersteth wrote, "during his holiday last year (he had) been tempted by an English lady and fallen into gross sin".⁵⁷ In 1891, Freese also decided against the celibate life and left the St. Andrew's Mission to go to England and return with a wife. Though not a loss to the SPG mission as a whole, he came back to Japan as a married missionary for the SPG, it was a blow to the St. Andrew's Mission.⁵⁸ The same happened with the Rev. Lionel Moore who arrived for the St. Andrew's Mission in 1894 but then left in 1895 to marry and join the SPG.⁵⁹ Though the St. Andrew's Mission perhaps served to augment the 'regular' SPG mission in some ways, or at least prevent its diminution, its own future was very doubtful for the first few years of its existence.⁶⁰

Bickersteth's problems with his clergy were not, however, restricted to issues of matrimony. Hopper was also something less than an asset to the mission. Though Bickersteth wished to move him from Tokyo this was not possible. Hopper's deafness meant that he had not acquired the necessary linguistic skills to operate more widely which, coupled with his "conscientious objection to going beyond treaty limits (i.e. the port and legation areas agreed to in the original 1857 Treaty)", made him of limited use in the wider mission. What made it even more difficult was that his "ministrations are not acceptable to (his) fellow countrymen" either.⁶¹ Though seemingly insuperable obstacles to clerical work in Japan, this did not seem to apply in England. Hopper left for a rectorship in England in February, 1887. Perhaps more of a challenge was the missionary work of the Rev. Lloyd.

Lloyd's personal financial difficulties had been well known since his arrival and had led to him being (reluctantly) given permission to expand the purely teaching aspect of his work in schools.⁶² What had begun as a temporary exemption

⁵⁵ Cholmondely was an Oxford graduate (Oriel College) originally ordained for the Diocese of Truro. The other intended member of the brotherhood directly from England (Rev. Madge) decided against joining.

⁵⁶ Lloyd: Correspondence 30/4/87.

⁵⁷ Bickersteth: Correspondence 18/12/88. Shaw (Correspondence 16/01/89) wrote that Gardner's case was "sad" but that he was "quite unfitted" for further SPG work. Following his engagement in 1891 and subsequent marriage (to an American missionary, not to the English temptress) he was reinstated by the SPG in 1893. Bickersteth (Correspondence 11/06/91) wrote that even though Gardner "will never be an eminent worker in the Church" he proposed accepting him back rather than allow him to join the American mission who seemed willing to accept him.

⁵⁸ Shaw (Correspondence 26/09/91) wrote that Freese was "in many ways the most valuable missionary that has come to the country" and was keen that a loss to the St. Andrew's Mission should not be a loss to the SPG.

⁵⁹ Moore: Correspondence 05/01/95.

⁶⁰ The SPG ceased financial support of St. Andrew's Mission in 1891 and the mission was not affiliated to the SPG again until 1900.

⁶¹ Bickersteth: Correspondence 29/06/86.

⁶² Poole: Correspondence 22/01/85. Poole noted the problems with teaching as it detracted from more purely missionary work as well as the public image of the mission: "Two

rapidly developed into a virtual mission on its own. Lloyd endeavoured to set up a network of teachers in the schools (he envisaged four to five at first) who would be young men recruited by him who would then probably go on to the ordained ministry. The first group included Fenton, Holmes, Hinton, Tarbet, and Chappell and others (Nind, Owen, and Wood) would join the scheme in later years. However, their exact relationship to the SPG was never really clear and the men themselves were often regarded with a critical eye. Shaw considered that any endorsement of Fenton by the SPG would be a definite "lowering of standards" while Chappell was "by no means of the same class of men which the society has heretofore been careful to send to this country".⁶³ This criticism was to continue. Even when Wood returned to England to prepare for ordination, Shaw noted that "his church principles are of the very lowest character".⁶⁴ The fact that Tarbet strayed into "heresy" by accepting orders in the Irvingite sect⁶⁵ can have done little to endear the venture to Shaw and others.⁶⁶ Shaw may not have been entirely inaccurate in perceiving Lloyd's scheme as being detrimental to his own vision of the SPG as a missionary society for "gentlemen" and High Church gentlemen at that.⁶⁷ A more serious criticism was that it was somewhat less than fully missionary in character. On Lloyd's departure due to ill health (and the ill health of his wife) the scheme for "Christian Masters" in schools began to dwindle.

The idea of establishing a Canadian Mission under the auspices of the SPG however must have been of considerable appeal to Shaw who was himself a Canadian. So, once again, Bishop Bickersteth had pre-empted any immediate opposition from that quarter. Though the fact that this seems to have prompted Wright to reapply for the Japan mission was surely a surprise to everyone and not a pleasant one for Shaw.⁶⁸ The idea was first agreed to in 1888 but the first missionary (Rev. J Waller) did not arrive until 1890. From the beginning, there was some controversy with the CMS, who disliked the idea of the SPG moving outside of the confines of their previous mission stations.⁶⁹ Following some initial discussion of a mission at Akita, which would indeed have been seen as "poaching" by the CMS, the first Canadian mission was opened at Fukushima. In 1893, Bishop Bickersteth moved the centre of the mission to Nagano to which was added Matsumoto on the

former Church of England clergymen (teach) already - (it) looks like vacillation or else impecuniosity".

⁶³ Shaw: Correspondence 16/07/89.

⁶⁴ Shaw: Correspondence 14/6/00.

⁶⁵ The Irvingites were a millenarian sect who believed in the imminent return of Christ. Edward Irving had been a Scottish Presbyterian minister at the Regent Square Chapel in London from 1829 to 1833. He was deprived of his ministry for heresy in 1833 and went on to found the Catholic Apostolic Church (popularly called "Irvingites") with a few hundred followers. They adopted a very High Anglican ritual (hence the appeal to Tarbet) but never developed into a large society. In the Religious Census of 1851 they had just over three thousand members at their services. See: A. L. Drummond *Edward Irving and his Circle* (London, 1938).

⁶⁶ Lloyd: Correspondence 10/6/89.

⁶⁷ Owen: Correspondence 07/08/00. Owen noted on his resignation that his original motive was to rise from the position of "a mere tradesman to that of a clergyman".

⁶⁸ Wright: Correspondence 17/06/91. It seems that he had been encouraged in this action by Foss.

⁶⁹ Shaw: Correspondence 03/12/90 in which he mentions a letter by Waller to *The Guardian* which was critical of the CMS.

arrival of the Rev. Francis Kennedy in 1895. This was the first sign of missionary extension on the part of the SPG for some time and went some way towards countering criticism of the lack of missionary zeal on its part.⁷⁰

Despite the internal difficulties of the SPG mission and the continuing tension between the three Anglican missionary groups in Japan, Bishop Bickersteth managed to oversee a Synod which led to the creation of the Nippon sei ko kai (日本聖教会/NSKK) in 1887. In loose theory at least, this overcame the differences between missionary societies and brought them all into one "independent" Anglican Church.⁷¹ In so doing, a number of issues that might have been contentious were resolved or not directly addressed. One of the most potentially disruptive issues was the classic issue of the use or not of the Athanasian Creed.⁷² No mention was made of it, and the only creed that was to form the basis of the new church in its constitution was the Apostles Creed. Fortunately, Shaw had never been insistent on the Athanasian Creed since his early days in Japan so he was unlikely to dispute the matter.⁷³ The constitutions and Canons of the new church were the subject of much discussion, until they were finally approved by the Synod. Though not all of the voting was unanimous, the most important votes were, even though the Synod was composed not only of the missionary clergy of the three societies but also of a majority of Japanese laymen. The translation and acceptance of a Book of Common Prayer took much longer and the final version was not approved until 1896. The English Book of Common Prayer formed the basis of the Japanese one but with some modifications based on the American Prayer Book. The issue of a Consecration Prayer, a particularly difficult area for the various Church Parties to agree on, was resolved by including both the English and the American forms as permitted alternatives.⁷⁴

Though a compromise had been reached over many important issues, the original differences between the CMS and the SPG both in practices and ideas had not been truly resolved. Though there was one church in Japan, it was not truly an integrated enterprise. The illness of Bishop Bickersteth led to further discussions over the episcopal structure of the Japanese church. The creation of a new church made the need for clarification even more urgent, though the geographical overlap

⁷⁰ See: Lloyd: Correspondence 10/06/89 in which he notes that the SPG is "the most backward of all missions (in Japan). In the face of the takeover of the Gifu mission by the CMS he notes: "I know Christ will be glorified in either case still I would rather see the work ranging itself under SPG".

⁷¹ The initial understanding was that the SPG clergy would belong to the Synod of the Japanese Church "by courtesy" only.

⁷² While the authorship of the Athanasian Creed remains unresolved, it has long been a source of contention between Church Parties. The Athanasian Creed (or *quicumque vult* as it is sometimes called after the first words of the creed in Latin) is very doctrinally explicit and so unwelcome to some. For the High Church party, on the other hand, it is a touchstone of Catholic "orthodoxy". The Catholic Church itself, though never rejecting the Athanasian Creed rarely invokes it and it is not widely known outside the circles of liturgists and church historians.

⁷³ Wright: Correspondence 03/01/80 where he notes that the Athanasian Creed is used in the church in Yokohama but not in "Shaw's new church".

⁷⁴ Bickersteth: Correspondence 08/12/95. In which he notes his displeasure with Freese for "keeping things Japanese dark over here (i.e. England) on the principle of peace at any price with the CMS".

between missions (especially the SPG and the American missions in Tokyo and in Kansai but also between the SPG and the CMS) made it somewhat difficult to resolve. The Synod of the NSKK attempted to resolve the question by suggesting that there should be six dioceses for the whole of Japan.⁷⁵ While the boundaries between the proposed "English" and "American" dioceses in Tokyo (South Tokyo and North Tokyo) and in Kansai (Osaka and Kyoto) were difficult to establish geographically, the question of which missionary society (CMS or SPG) would hold sway in the "English" dioceses was even more contentious. The CMS easily staked out their claim to the two new dioceses of Kyushu and Hokkaido but failed in their efforts to gain the diocese of Osaka as well, much to Shaw's delight.⁷⁶ William Awdry, a Suffragan Bishop of Southampton and an Oxford man sympathetic to the SPG was transferred to Osaka in 1896.⁷⁷

On the departure of Bishop Bickersteth, the competition between the three societies was renewed over the successor to his position as Bishop of South Tokyo. Shaw was concerned that the Americans might "make use of the opportunity to endeavour to force us out of Tokyo" which he believed would be negative not only for the SPG but, because of the low "calibre" of the Americans, for the Japanese Church as a whole.⁷⁸ Fortunately for Shaw the American challenge did not materialise but that of the CMS was far more real. The CMS were unwilling to continue the old arrangement whereby they paid half of the Bishop's salary and the SPG paid the other half. They volunteered to pay the whole salary but only if the new Bishop was chosen from a list of two candidates which they would submit.⁷⁹ The SPG however volunteered to take up the whole financial burden and, despite Shaw's misgivings, Awdry was transferred from Osaka to South Tokyo in 1898.⁸⁰ The result however was not the loss foreseen by Shaw to the SPG as Foss (despite his deafness) became the new Bishop of Osaka in Awdry's stead. Shaw's problems with Awdry perhaps reflect issues of personality (not unusual with Shaw) or the fact that Awdry was not quite High Church enough for Shaw despite his support of the SPG.⁸¹

⁷⁵ An "English" Diocese in Tokyo alongside an "American" one; the same twins in Kansai; and separate dioceses in Kyushu and Hokkaido.

⁷⁶ Shaw: Correspondence 11/01/96 "The CMS have undone themselves and we may hope that the long reign of misrule in Osaka will come to an end".

⁷⁷ Awdry: Correspondence 28/03/96 Awdry's sympathies are obvious "Osaka ought to have more than one side of our Church life represented there".

⁷⁸ Shaw: Correspondence "The mental calibre and the culture of the men of the American Mission is not of such a standard as would fit them to be the only representatives of the Anglican Communion among the refined and acute classes of the capital".

⁷⁹ Shaw: Correspondence 19/12/95.

⁸⁰ Shaw: Correspondence 22/09/97 "An effort may be made to send Awdry to Tokyo. Even if we wanted him here which we do not, it would be a great mistake to make the change. The CMS would be sure this time to get a man of their own in Osaka and we would be left in a minority of one to three CMS".

⁸¹ Awdry: Correspondence 07/98 "The SPG (represents) thorough Church teaching but the CMS (represents) one complexion of thought only". However, Shaw (Correspondence 25/01/00) noted that the St. Andrew's Mission was "outside the sympathy of the new Bishop to a certain extent".

Conclusion: The Blunt Talons of Puseyism in Japan ?

Herbert Clifford in 1846 had been concerned about the effects of the "sharp talons of Puseyism" effecting the future of Anglicanism in Japan and the CMS had certainly responded gallantly to this concern. The result was an extension of the internecine fighting in the Church of England from the British Isles to the Japanese ones. The SPG self-consciously represented the High Church party of the Church of England and their representatives, not least Archdeacon Shaw, struggled valiantly to establish a presence in the Anglican Church in Japan. The major question in an assessment of the SPG mission must be how successful were they and what limited their success? How sharp were the "talons of Puseyism" in Japan?

The number of individuals connected with the Anglican missions in Japan in 1900 was at least 10,000. Though a modest number, it represents a significant advance in the forty years since the country was opened to limited missionary work. However, those attached to the SPG missions only represented a fraction of this total of perhaps 25%.⁸² So, for the SPG we have a total of no more than 2,500 members after 27 years of effort. A praiseworthy but severely limited achievement. What can account for the limits of their success? The first, and perhaps primary, difficulty was that of finding enough, suitable candidates for the SPG Mission. There were, quite simply, never enough men who volunteered to go on mission work and the bulk of the men who were willing to do so were not willing to work under the auspices of the SPG.⁸³ In addition, mission fields outside of the jurisdiction of the British Empire were even less attractive, China and Korea combined had even less SPG missionaries than Japan. This was no doubt in part a reflection of the unwillingness of the British government to actively support missionaries especially outside of the confines of the British Empire.⁸⁴ It would seem that the initial Charter of the SPG to maintain "an orthodox Clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas" still had some practical force in the choice of missionary locales by SPG missionaries.⁸⁵ Taking all these things into consideration, however, it is still true that the High Church party (i.e. the SPG) was a smaller percentage of Anglican missionaries than it was of the Church of England as a whole. Shaw's judgement that "it is a dreadful impeachment of the High Church party in England that so few should be found to offer for the great work of the Church (i.e. the missions)" is not entirely lacking in accuracy.⁸⁶

If the numbers of volunteers was a problem, so too was the quality of those who did volunteer. Ill health and a variety of physical and psychological difficulties took a heavy toll of missionaries limiting both their time in Japan and their effectiveness when they were there. To this must be added financial problems and the difficulties of maintaining the high standards of personal behavior which were required. The St. Andrew's Mission faced the additional complication of trying to

⁸² The exact number for each mission is difficult to determine but, basing the number of members on the number of congregations and clergy serving them, yields the figure of about 25%.

⁸³ For instance, in the Asian mission field there were 1,164 Anglican clergymen active in 1900 of which 254 were under the SPG.

⁸⁴ See Brian Stanley *The Bible and the Flag* (London: 1990).

⁸⁵ *Charter of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701.*

⁸⁶ Shaw: Correspondence 20/10/98.

maintain a celibate brotherhood against the inclinations of many of its members. The ideal SPG missionary had to be of solid churchmanship and character. As Awdry noted: "we need the right man and the right wife. Either a really good man (spiritual) or even a man who is a gentleman".⁸⁷ It would seem that High Church gentlemen willing to become missionaries in Japan were always very hard to find. In the end, the CMS and the American Mission were always numerically stronger and set the tone for the Anglican Church in Japan. The SPG was always a junior partner in this particular mission field. As a result their particular branch of Anglicanism had little effect in the eventual constitutions and practices of the NSKK.

It may be that the real message of the SPG mission in Japan is that, however vital the distinctions might seem between Church Parties in England, they seemed of far less significance in Japan. The talons of Puseyism were never very sharp in Japan because the issues that generated Puseyism itself were not really relevant there. The matters that seemed so vital to the Church Parties of England were peripheral in Japan. In attempting to export a set of "universal" ideas, culturally bound controversies are perhaps inevitably less than helpful. Despite the distance in time and the peculiarities of the situation, the personalities and actions of the SPG missionaries are very familiar. There are messages in their story for anyone concerned with the international exchange of ideas between individuals and cultures.

⁸⁷ Awdry: Correspondence 12/1/00.