

# 1913 Alien Land Law and Japanese Christians in California

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## **Introduction.**

Historically, Japanese American Christianity has been asserted cultural and ethnic pride/cultural pluralism before 1924.

There are a few historians who have indicated the major role of Christianity played in the adaptation, accommodation, and assimilation of Japanese immigrants into Anglo-American society.<sup>1)</sup> Their approach to this aspect, however, is one which has greatly simplified the historical reality and complexity of the nature of the Japanese American Christian experience. Their perspective too readily equates Christianization with Americanization and assimilation and fails to explore the Japanese American construction of a unique expression of Christianity against the complex backdrop of American racism and Japanese values.<sup>2)</sup>

This study will demonstrate the tremendous impact the 1913 Alien Land Law had on Japanese Americans, especially Christians. This study will proceed to show a pre-1913 Japanese American Christian leadership which advocated one-way assimilation and then show a post-1913 leadership calling for their cultural pluralism, ethnic pride. The study examines how Japanese Christians expressed their identity as a Christian racial/ethnic

minority in American society. The present discussion looks at how the *Kirisutokyo Dendo-Dan*, Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions, developed their racial/ethnic consciousness and identity in response to its cultural milieu, especially in relationship to anti-Japanese discrimination.

Japanese American Christianity had its beginning with nondenominational organizations such as *Fukuinkai* [Gospel Society] (1877). Even though members of these organizations later grouped under American church denominations, they established ethnic caucuses as within both American church denominations and nondenominational Japanese Christian organizations. Ultimately, the nondenominational Japanese organizations metamorphosized into interdenominational Japanese Christian organizations (*Dendo-Dan*).

### **Prior to the Anti-Japanese Land Law.**

The *Kirisutokyo Dendo-Dan* was established as a result of the merger of the *Kashu Kirisutokyo Domei* [California Christian Alliance] (1910) and the *Kirisutokyo Domei Dendo-Dan* [Christian Mission Board] in 1911. Since Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi has already written about the establishment of the *Dendo-Dan*, this paper need not go deeply into its background.<sup>3)</sup>

How did the *Dendo-Dan* respond to the challenges and problems faced by the Japanese? In 1911, there were a number of issues to which the *Dendo-Dan* had to respond: preparation for the 1914 Exposition; temperance; youth in the churches; Japanese women who were emigrating to America; improvement of the Japanese family; and the education of the Nisei.<sup>4)</sup> The second meeting of the Standing Committee held in May 7-8, 1912 stated that its goals of Christianizing and assimilation through internal reform, education, enlightenment, and temperance. The statement was as follow:<sup>5)</sup>

1. The Japanese in America, based on a policy of ethnic development, should assimilate with the American spirit, and attach importance to American customs. We must take note of any person who dares to have thoughts and behaviors which would be at odds with the development of Japanese in America.
2. We should strive to prevent anti-Japanese activities on the part of the American people because such activities ignore human rights and contradict Christianity which emphasizes love and equality.
3. We will take positive actions for reforming the morals of the Japanese community and improving the social behaviors in order to give comfort to the Japanese in America.

This purpose would be realized only through Christianity which was understood by the Japanese to be the very core and quintessence of Western civilization, and of American culture and civilization in particular.<sup>6)</sup> Shinjiro Okubo, itinerary minister of the *Dendo-Dan*, emphasized that the purpose of the *Dendo-Dan* was to defend the Japanese against the anti-Japanese movement, to promote Japanese/American egalitarianism, and to Christianize the Japanese. The anti-Japanese movement, it was proposed, emerged because the Japanese had so-called 'barbarian' customs and because they held narrow-minded nationalist ideas. If they 'develop' them and the hostility against them would cease.<sup>7)</sup>

What was the *Dendo-Dan's* program for assimilation? There were primarily two activities, one immediate and the other more far-reaching:<sup>8)</sup> campaign against gambling in concert with other organizations such as the *Zaibei Nihonjinkai* [Japanese Association of America] and the attempt to reform the thinking of Japanese in America. Japanese Christians worked with the Committee of the Movement against Gambling of the *Zaibei Nihonjinkai* to pursue a temperance campaign throughout the state of

California. They held a massive evangelistic event for Christianizing Japanese throughout May of 1912. As a result of this intensive work, *Dendo-Dan's* membership grew to around four hundred. The organization distributed 2,200 issues of *Shin Tenchi* in April of 1912 alone.<sup>99</sup>

The *Dendo-Dan* thus was able to consolidate the power of the Japanese Christian community and focus it upon assimilation into American society through Christianization and personal betterment. Momentarily, at least, this work seemed to be evidence of Kohachiro Miyazaki's belief that assimilation and the Christian faith were linked. Miyazaki, pastor of San Francisco Presbyterian Church, stated that the *Dendo-Dan's* mission was to spread the Gospel to the Japanese and resolve the social problems among them. The elimination of anti-assimilationist thinking was the *Dendo-Dan's* most important responsibility. The *Dendo-Dan* could accomplish this by imparting the Christian spirit to the Japanese.<sup>100</sup>

The *Dendo-Dan's* view of its mission was based upon its presupposition that American civilization as the embodiment of Christianity was superior to Japanese civilization. Japanese Christians, in other words, shared the same optimistic view about American Christian society as did many white Americans. In this view, when the Japanese in America 'improved' their values and societal behaviors and accepted Christianity, American society would in turn accept them. But Japanese Christian optimism about this American Christian society gradually changed after the enactment of the Alien Land Act of 1913.

#### **After the Enactment of 1913 Land Law.**

In 1913, the California Legislature overrode the objections of President Wilson and the Japanese Government and passed the Alien Land Law

which restricted Japanese from owning or renting land in California. Unquestionably, the passage of this land law deeply affected the consciousness of Japanese in America. Meanwhile, Japanese and American Christians protested the anti-Japanese land law in various ways.<sup>11)</sup>

How did the *Dendo-Dan* respond to the socio-political situation the Japanese were confronted with in America? In organizational terms, the *Nanka Kirisuto Kyokai Domei* [Southern California Christian Federation] which was founded in 1906, resolved to merge with the *Kirisutokyoto Domei Dendo-Dan* (Northern California) in 1913. Thus, the *Kirisutokyoto Dendo-Dan* [The Interdenominational Board of Missions] was created. Although the new *Dendo-Dan* was, in purpose, the same as the earlier one, the new organization aimed specifically at mitigating the anti-Japanese onslaught through cooperation among Japanese Christians.

How did the *Dendo-Dan* respond to the drastic social changes confronting the Japanese after the enactment of the anti-Japanese land law? According to the *Shin Tenchi*, Japanese Christians' ideas could be summarized more or less as follows: The difficulties between the Japanese and Americans arose out of misunderstandings of one another. To alleviate this misunderstanding, Japanese and Americans must achieve harmony based upon mutual respect. If we believe and practice the Christian principle of brotherhood/sisterhood—God is the Father of all human beings who are seen equally as brothers and sisters—then harmony will follow. What the Japanese should do is to demonstrate their virtue—i. e., *bushido* [chivalry], and improve their *hinsei* [character]. According to Shokichi Hata, pastor of Riverside Congregational Church, *bushido* was defined as the moral behavior by which Japanese lived out the code of sincerity and justice even to the death. In other words, *bushido* was *chuko* [loyalty and filial piety], the traditional Japanese moral virtue. It stood for righteousness

in public and virtue in private.<sup>129</sup> Japanese Christians must require *bushido* to be the way of life practiced by Japanese everywhere. As a corollary, Japanese should encourage the American people to demonstrate in action their true faith in brotherhood/sisterhood.<sup>130</sup> The principle of brotherhood/sisterhood is defined as follow: it is self-explanatory, i. e., self-revelatory. The reason why human beings live in his world is to cooperate with other people—regardless of racial or other differences, and to fight for justice. We should be friendly with other world peoples. Moreover, the principle of brotherhood/sisterhood corresponds to the final purpose of our lives, a life of love. Christ said: love God and your neighbor. We should stand by the principle: one God who created human beings. We have only this one God and everything comes from him.<sup>140</sup>

It is well known that most Japanese in America favored so-called *gaimenteki doka* [external assimilation] which meant that Japanese should demonstrate an external appearance of being Americanized.<sup>150</sup> The context of this, was that Japanese leaders advocated, that for the future of Japanese development in America, Japanese should permanently settle in America and adapt to American life styles. Kyutaro Abiko, for example, the renowned leader who advocated the idea of permanent residence in America, emphasized that Japanese should accommodate, and prove their adaptability to American society by putting into practice the Meiji slogan—*chukun aikoku* [loyal to lord and patriotism].<sup>160</sup>

What was the viewpoint of Japanese Christians regarding assimilation? One of the characteristics of their thinking as reflected in the *Shin Tenchi*, was that they did not insist on a one-sided assimilation of Japanese into Christian American society. *Shin Tenchi* advocated *gaimenteki doka*: because the Japanese did not have the right to become naturalized citizens, it was therefore too early to speak of assimilation or the ‘Americanization’

of Japanese. Rather, we should be satisfied simply with *gaimenteki doka*. What the Japanese in America really needed was not, at this moment, to assimilate into American society, but to improve their character and virtues according to the tenets of *bushido* which only the *Yamato* [Japanese] race preserved, and try to contribute to the development of American society as a distinct ethnic group.<sup>17)</sup> In other words, they wanted co-existence in all spheres of American society, as Masasuke Kobayashi, secretary of the *Dendo-Dan*, had articulated.<sup>18)</sup> In addition, they emphasized a democratic union of Japanese and Americans whereby both groups recognized one another's values in the spirit of the Christian principle of brotherhood/sisterhood. Here we note that, although Japanese Christians made a positive evaluation about Christianity as the basic ground of American civilization, they criticized that society because it did not exemplify Christian goals, such as the principle of brotherhood/sisterhood in the name of God. Despite this, the Japanese Christians remained convinced that Japanese and Americans could overcome the evils of discrimination if both made efforts to fulfill this ideal of brotherhood/sisterhood.

How did the *Dendo-Dan* plan to achieve this goal? In cooperation with the *Zaibei Nihonjinkai*, the *Dendo-Dan* undertook to bring a *Keihatsu Undo* [campaign of education] to their compatriots in order to explore the actual situation which the Japanese faced.<sup>19)</sup> The intent of this *Keihatsu Undo* was, according to the *Shin Tenchi*, "to solve problematic relations between Japan and America based on the principles of brotherhood/sisterhood and humanitarianism," through an internal cure of the Japanese in America and to bring about "perfect, permanent and universal peace" between Japan and America.<sup>20)</sup> The *Dendo-Dan* held lecture meetings in every locality where Japanese resided in California.<sup>21)</sup>

The *Dendo-Dan* continued to pursue the *Keihatsu Undo* in all the

local areas after 1914. Since the Japanese in America were entering upon a period of permanent residence in America, it was thus incumbent upon them to make their future in America; hence their concern with the education of Nisei. *Shin Tenchi* stated that Christian social responsibility was to educate the Nisei through the Sunday School. Although it was not certain whether the Issei could obtain citizenship, the Nisei are born U. S. citizens. Therefore the future of the Japanese community in America depended on the education of the Nisei.<sup>22)</sup> The *Dendo-Dan* proposed the establishment of a kindergarten and expansion of the Sunday Schools.<sup>23)</sup>

The *Dendo-Dan's* cooperative approach to mission work could be seen in response towards the Alien Land Law. They asked American Christian activists to work on *Keihatsu Undo* among both Japanese and Americans. An important reason for the *Dendo-Dan's* dependence on American mission workers was that Japanese Christians now had a changed view of the Japanese mission's task. As this paper noted earlier, the *Dendo-Dan* changed its attitude about the assimilation of Japanese into American society: where they had formerly adhered to a mono-directional pattern of Japanese assimilation, they now thought more about the co-existence of Americans and Japanese under God. Japanese Christians were becoming convinced that unless they educated both the American people and the Japanese, there could be no beneficial outcome to the crisis. They could no longer afford to believe that, solely by educating themselves and improving their character, would American society accept them sometime down the road. In short, the passage of the land law had radically altered the direction and style of the *Dendo-Dan's* mission work.

To the extent that the *Dendo-Dan* attempted to make viable their position in American society, the more they were prone to depend on the American Christian workers. Such cooperation was the door for entry to

American society. The missionaries were Americans of stature who had the capability to oppose anti-Japanese sentiment, and to speak for the Japanese in the American establishment.<sup>24)</sup>

At a meeting held in January 1915, the *Dendo-Dan* resolved to split into three component parts: *Hokka Kirisutokyo Dendo-Dan* [Northern California Dendo-Dan], *Nanka Kirisutokyo Dendo-Dan* [Southern California Dendo-Dan], and *Chuo Kirisutokyo Dendo-Dan* [Central Dendo-Dan].

The split into three *Dendo-Dan* did not alter their original purpose. The *Shin Tenchi* stated that the mission of the Japanese Christians was, like that of Moses who led the Israelites in the Old Testament, to carry mission work to individuals, to save society and, through their work, to destroy the anti-Christian spirit and promote inter-Christian cooperation. Mission work, said the *Shin Tenchi*, was aimed at raising the level of responsibility of the Japanese in America: They had come here not merely for business and the accumulation of money, but also to contribute to the development of the Imperial Japanese nation, to encourage international peace and friendship, and to contribute to world civilization through uniting East and West. The experience of the Japanese in America would profoundly affect that of Japan in the world. It was the duty of Japanese Christians to defeat the racism which prevented friendship between Japan and America, and educate Westerners in the right direction. The Japanese Christians themselves had to nurture their people by spiritual reformation through Christ in order to fulfill this responsibility.<sup>25)</sup> In the larger picture, their responsibility was to foster true equality of humanity and the principle of brotherhood/sisterhood in the world and take it beyond the narrow boundaries of Anglo-Saxonism, despite the fact that the principle of brotherhood/sisterhood had been developed by the Anglo-Saxon race and was

characteristic of this race.<sup>26)</sup>

How did the *Dendo-Dan* approach their mission work after 1915? According to the *Shin Tenchi*,<sup>27)</sup> in order to increase converts, Japanese Christians must destroy idols: they must discourage dependence on people who had no affinity with Christians or with American mission boards because contact with such company inhibited the spirit of self-support and independence. They should abolish selfishness which stood in the way of their support of mission work and, instead, cultivate the mission spirit. They should do away with the traditional formalism which was an obstacle to the experience of the practice of true Christianity in day to day life. By destroying these idols, Japanese Christians could accomplish a dual goal—they will improve the self-esteem of Japanese Christians—who would then assume the responsibility of Christianizing other Japanese instead of relying on white missionaries. Moreover, Japanese Christians should consistently be subordinate to almighty God.

Through their experiences, the Japanese Americans attained an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the meaning of assimilation. Masasuke Kobayashi, for example, accepted the notion that assimilation would resolve some of the problems that Japanese faced in America, but he maintained that assimilation did not mean blind subordination to American cultural values. Americans should be reciprocally introduced to Japanese culture.<sup>28)</sup> Kanosuke Nukaga, pastor of the Sycamore Japanese Congregational Church in Oakland, advocated the principles of *chukun aikoku* [loyalty to nation and patriotism], which bore no similarity to exclusionism or ethnocentrism, but rather to internationalism and the principle of brotherhood/sisterhood. It was these latter principles which were significant for the enhancement of the Japanese people in the world and for the raising of their self-esteem as Japanese.<sup>29)</sup>

After 1915, the *Dendo-Dan* continued the *Keihatsu Undo* for social reform and temperance in the Japanese community.<sup>80)</sup> In continuing the *Keihatsu Undo*, the *Dendo-Dan* invited noted Japanese Christian leaders from Japan.<sup>81)</sup>

In the sphere of the education of the Nisei, Hisanari Baba, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Salinas, published a series of articles in *Shin Tenchi* on religious education for children and reforms in the Japanese family. The *Shin Tenchi* also designed a curriculum, and music for Sunday School, and built a children's playground.<sup>82)</sup> Keizo Sano, a member of the San Francisco Church of Christ, introduced the Boy Scouts to the Japanese community and published articles in the *Shin Tenchi* about the "Boy Scouts," and about the Japanese school and Japanese language education for the Nisei.<sup>83)</sup> Kanosuke Nukaga pointed out that principles of education for the Nisei should be based upon their adjustment to American society and culture in order to prepare for their future in America.<sup>84)</sup> Nukaga believed that *chukun aikoku* would not disturb Nisei progress in America, but rather would stimulate and broaden the Nisei perspective.

According to Masasuke Kobayashi, *Dendo-Dan* made two major contributions: the encouragement [and sponsorship] of mission work in local areas through itinerary missions, and the work of *Shin Tenchi*, and *Kyodo Dendo* [Cooperative Evangelistic Campaign]. Twenty-two new mission stations or organizations (Florin, Berkeley, Santa Rosa, Palo Alto, Vallejo, Walnut Grove, Dinuba, Livingston, Montebello, San Bernardino, Redlands, Upland, Orange, Moneta, Long Beach, Hollywood, Brawley, Salt Lake City, Kent, North Yakima), and YWCAs in San Francisco and Los Angeles, primarily in local areas, were established as a result of *Dendo-Dan* mission work. 204 Japanese were baptized in 1913 alone, and 616 in 1916. Most importantly, *Dendo-Dan* was able to amplify the spirit of

cooperation and oneness in Christ for the Japanese community in America, which laid to rest some of the deep confusion, disappointment and misunderstanding about denominational competition for Japanese converts.<sup>35)</sup>

According to the *Dendo-Dan's* 1916 annual report, it then had 21 special members, 118 maintaining members, and 1,463 regular members or contributors. Its activities encompassed: *Kyodo Dendo*—an itinerary covering the entire Pacific Coast; *Keihatsu Undo*; *Shin Tenchi* which had published 35,000 volumes; the advocacy of marriage in Japan to resolve misunderstandings about “picture marriage”; distribution of Japanese tracts and pamphlets; encouragement of cooperation with other denominations; *Seinenkai* [YMCA]; *Joshi Seinenkai* [YWCA]; the Women’s Temperance Society; the Japanese Temperance Society.<sup>36)</sup> As a special mission, the Trustee Board meeting of the *Central Dendo-Dan* on September 19, 1916 resolved to investigate the possibility for mission work to the Japanese in South America, upon the urging of Masasuke Kobayashi.

In 1917, Japanese Christians focused on the salvation of Japanese with the theme of living “Christ-like” lives. However, according to Masasuke Kobayashi, as the Japanese began to gain some measure of economic success in various fields, their outlook began to be reduced to one of pragmatism and materialism. This ran counter to the goal of the achievement of spiritual reformation through Christian faith.<sup>37)</sup>

The annual meetings the *Dendo-Dan* held in January and February of 1917 set about to resolve three issues: the establishment of a mission in South America, the invitation to Gumpei Yamamuro, leader of the Salvation Army in Japan, to be the guest from Japan for an evangelist campaign, and a change in the *Dendo-Dan's* organizational structure.<sup>38)</sup> The *Dendo-Dan* (North and South) had discussed the independence of the *Dendo-Dan* (North and South) from the *Dendo-Dan* (Central) in 1916, and

they determined to change their organizational structure at the annual meeting in 1917.<sup>39)</sup> The new organizational structure divided each subject area into a committee such as Mission Work, Religious Education, Child Education, Social Education, Temperance, Cooperation, and Publication.<sup>40)</sup>

In 1918, the *Dendo-Dan* as a central organization for Japanese Christians in America was dissolved.<sup>41)</sup> The *Dendo-Dan* (North) was dissolved and the Northern California Church Federation was established (1924), and the *Dendo-Dan* (South) maintained its organizational structure.<sup>42)</sup>

### **Concluding Remarks.**

Before 1913, Japanese Christians believed America to be the nation portrayed by American Christian workers. Like their Japanese leaders (including Christians) in Meiji Japan, Japanese Christians in America thought that their adoption of American Christian civilization was a prerequisite for equal treatment. They expected that once they were 'civilized,' American society would accept them impartially.

The enactment of the anti-Japanese land law of 1913 overturned Japanese Christians' concepts about Christianity and changed their approach to anti-Japanese discrimination. They saw that American society did not actually represent a civilization based upon the principle of brotherhood/sisterhood under God as they had been taught. In order to resist anti-Japanese discrimination, they now demanded co-existence with the American people and encouraged the American people to help them accomplish this goal. They also encouraged their compatriots to enhance traditional virtues such as *bushido* and *chukun aikoku* in order to overcome white racism and contribute to world civilization based on brotherhood/sisterhood as they had first understood it from American Christians. Moreover, they recognized their own virtue which had emerged out of the interaction of complex

cultural contexts—virtues which could contribute to the betterment of civilization, not only in American society but in the broader world order. They reinterpreted that principle which they received from American Christians, and reformulated and expanded it to overcome the Anglo-Saxon chauvinism within American Christian civilization.

They thus experienced their own ethnic Christianity as contextualized expression of Christianity. In the process of transforming their old culture by means of American Christian civilization, Japanese Christian discovered still newer cultural values.

Their ethnic Christianity was influenced, in addition, by the changing international relations between Japan and America. Japanese Christians, in the spirit of brotherhood/sisterhood under God, expected that the United States and the other major Western nations would treat them as a “civilized” people from a “first great nation” equal to the peoples of the Western community of nations. They therefore did not feel a political connection with other racial/ethnic groups who also suffered from racial discrimination in America. Moreover, they did not make a strong effort to show how *chukun aikoku* and *yamato damashii* could build a new relationship between the Japanese and American people and could construct world civilization.

The present research indicates that the Japanese American expression of Christianity was in fact different than that which the previous studies have claimed. It is the product of complex interaction between Japanese American Christians and a variety of cultural contexts—most particularly, the forms of racial discrimination of the times.

#### Notes.

- 1) See Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States: A Critical Study of the Problems of the Japanese Immigrants and Their Children* (Stanford

University: Stanford University Press, 1932c, pp.219-222); John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977, pp.75-79); Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988, pp.187-189); Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988, pp.169-172).

- 2) Hayashi's study of the Japanese Salvation Army in 1919-26 suggests that Major Kobayashi initially believed in the "melting pot" before the enactment of the immigration act of 1924 (see Brian Hayashi, "The Japanese 'Invasion' of California: Major Kobayashi and The Japanese Salvation Army, 1919-1926," *Journal of the West*, 23, 1, January, 1984: 73-82). He changed his mind after its enactment and advocated *choteiko shugi* [principle of super resistance]. *Choteiko shugi*, based upon the Biblical faith of love for the enemy, was aimed at cultivating Japanese *jinkaku* [personality], *hinsei* [moral character], and *jitsuryoku* [capability]. Essentially Major Kobayashi attempted to facilitate the co-existence of Japanese and other races within American society. He did not advocate the assimilation of Japanese into Anglo American society.

Sakaguchi's study and my own study show that as part of their organizational structures, Japanese Christians established their own ethnic conferences. For example, the Pacific Japanese Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (1894), the Japanese Presbyterian Conference (1904), and the Japanese Congregational Convention (1909), all eventually were transformed into ethnic branches of their respective American denominations. At the same time, Japanese Christians established nondenominational and interdenominational conferences which included the Japanese Christian Federation (1905), the Southern California Church Federation (1906), the Northern California Christian Federation (1910), and the *Dendo-Dan* [The Japanese Interdenominational Board of Missions] (1913) (see Ryo Yoshida, "A Study of the Religious Expression of the Early Japanese Christian Churches in California, 1877-1906." In Doshisha Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyusho [Institute for the Study of Humanities and Social Sciences, Doshisha University] ed., *Kaigai Nihonjin Imin to Kirisutokyo* [Japanese Christian Churches Overseas], PMC Shuppan, 1991; Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi, "Anti-Japanese Exclusion and the Japanese Churches on the Pacific Coast," *ibid.*). These Japanese Christian ethnic organizations not only influenced the direction of particular Japanese organizations like the *Zaibei Nihonjinkai*, they also reinforced

ethnic consciousness rather than denominational consciousness.

- 3) Since the Japanese communities were scattered widely on the Pacific Coast, Japanese Christians needed a comprehensive and centralized organization in order to do effective mission work.

The purpose of the *Dendo-Dan* was “to Christianize, promote social reform, develop moral character, and improve public morals.” They inherited the *Shin Tenchi* as their official publication which was modeled on the *Toki no Koe* [War Cry] of the Salvation Army (see Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi). For this research, I used the *Shin Tenchi* owned by Doshisha University and Yuji Ichioka.

- 4) “Second Board Meeting of the *Dendo-Dan*,” *Shin Tenchi*, February, 1912 (hereafter cited as *ST*).
- 5) “Standing Committee,” *ST*, June, 1912.

Kyutaro Abiko’s “*Dendo-Dan* and Social Work” (*ST*, April, 1912) stated that Christian church should cultivate spiritual life as well as social activities. It should be remembered that the Japanese did not take a pessimistic view of the future because they felt that they had the support of the Japanese government, anti-Japanese movement, contemplative spirit of the Orient, a strong sense of the national ideals, and, in America, their usefulness as a labor force. They felt that their mission to their compatriots was to make them aware of their responsibilities as Japanese. Their position was that they should foster harmonious intercultural relations between East and West. The *Dendo-Dan* played a crucial role in mobilizing the Japanese for this spiritual and socio-political program.

- 6) Ibid. Also see Kumazo Fukushima, “Ripen Church Growth on the Pacific Coast,” *ST*, July, 1912. Fukushima stated that the Christian mission was into assimilate the Japanese to American society as their permanent residence. This essential assimilation could be carried out only by Christianity which, in turn, rested on the ground of western civilization.
- 7) Shinjiro Okubo’s “One Year’s Reminiscence,” Ibid., June, 1912.
- 8) “Standing Committee,” *ST*, June, 1912.
- 9) “Reminiscence and Future,” *ST*, June, 1912.
- 10) “Assimilation and the *Dendo-Dan*,” *ST*, June, 1912.
- 11) To protest the anti-Japanese legislation, the Japanese Christians did the following:

1. Sent telegrams to the California Legislature and to the President—M. C. Harris, *Nichibeijin Shukyoka Kondankai* [Conference of Japanese and American Religionists], *Nihon Kirisutokyo Domeikai* [Christian Alliance in

Japan], and Doshisha University.

2. Sent telegrams to Japanese in America who were affected by the legislation to express sympathy to them—*Nihon Kirisutokyo Domeikai*.

3. Lectured on the necessity for the withdrawal of this legislation—J. R. Motto.

4. Made consolation visitations for consolation to the Japanese in America—Ayao Hattori, Soroku Ebara, and Kuninosuke Yamamoto.

5. Proclamation demanding the withdrawal of this legislation signed by the American Methodist Ministers' Society in the San Francisco Bay Area, American Presbyterian Ministers' Society, Church Alliance for Peace on the Pacific Coast, American Ministers' Alliance in Los Angeles, Standing Committee of the American Workers for Orientals on the Pacific Coast, *Zaibei Nihonjin Kumiai Kyokai Nenkai* [Japanese Congregational Convention in America], *Zaibei Nihonjin Choro Kyokai Nenkai* [Japanese Presbyterian Conference in America], and *Nihon Kumiai Kyokai* [Congregational Church in Japan] ("Land Problem and Christian Organizations in America and Japan," *ST*, May, 1913; "Action of American Christian Workers," *Ibid.*, June, 1913; "Okubo Itinerary Evangelist and Conference of Congregational Church in Japan," *Ibid.*, November, 1913. Also see *Shin Sekai*, April 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, May 3, 6, 23, 1913 (hereafter cited as *SS*).

See Ryo Yoshida, "Protestant Denominations in California and Japanese Immigrants (*Kirisutokyo Shakai Mondai Kenkyu* [The Study of Christianity and Social Problems], Vol. 38, March 1990, pp. 103-161).

- 12) "Preservation of National Characteristics" (see Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi). Also "Sonshi's Strategy" (*ST*, July, 1913) argued that the Japanese should live in accordance with the true meaning of *bushido*.
- 13) "Sonshi's Strategy," *ST*, July, 1913; "Problem of Americanization," *Ibid.*, September, 1913; "*Dendo-Dan* and *Keihatsu Undo* [Campaign of Education]," *Ibid.*, February, 1914. Also see *SS*, May 19, 20, 1913. For example, *ST*, July, 1913 stated that a key to friendship between Japan and America was the principle of brotherhood/sisterhood under God. And *ST*, September, 1913 said that harmony between the American people and the Japanese should be based on mutual respect. And mutual respect, in turn, would be based on the religious principle—God is the father and human beings are the brothers and sisters in this divine family.
- 14) "Principle of Brotherhood/sisterhood," *ST*, November, 1912.
- 15) Yuji Ichioka 1988, pp. 185-187.

- 16) Ibid.
- 17) "Discussing Assimilation," *ST*, August, 1913; *ibid.*, *ST*, September, 1913 (see Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi).
- 18) See Brian Hayashi 1984.
- 19) Regarding the Japanese Christians' *Keihatsu Undo*, see Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi.
- 20) "*Dendo-Dan* and *Keihatsu Undo* [Campaign of Education]," *ST*, February, 1914.
- 21) They also asked Zenro Hirota, former pastor of the Japanese Methodist Church in San Francisco, and Shokichi Hata, former pastor of Riverside Congregational Church, to work as itinerant ministers, and Okubo and H. Guy to continue working in this capacity.

Further, the *Dendo-Dan* invited the following people to take part in *Keihatsu Undo*: Ayao Hattori (*Kokuminto* [the National Party]), Soroku Ebara (*Seiyukai* [Society of Political Friends]), Hisakazu Soyeda, Tadao Kamiya (*Nichibei Doshikai* [Society of Japanese and American Fellows]), Tatsujiro Sawatani (leader of the *Kyoreikai* [Society of Mutual Endeavor]), Sakunoshin Motoda, Keikichi Tsunajima (pastor of the Bancho Congregational Church in Tokyo), Hiromichi Kozaki (pastor of Reinanzaka Congregational Church in Japan), Sidney Gulick, and Kaiseki Matsumura (pastor of the Congregational Church in Japan).

- 22) "Contact between Christianity and Society," *ST*, November, 1913.

Also see "Family Problems among the Japanese on the Pacific Coast," *ST*, March, 1914; "Education of Male and Female Youth," *ST*, April, 1914.

At the fourth annual meeting of the *Dendo-Dan* (January 21, 1914), the Committee on Problem of Child Education were elected: Kohachiro Miyazaki, Keizo Sano, Kyutaro Abiko, and others (*ST*, February, 1914). This Committee discussed the improvement of the method of teaching and the Sunday School system (*ST*, March, 1914).

- 23) *ST*, February, 1914, 10. At the Standing Committee (January, 1914), *Dendo-Dan* decided to establish a Kindergarten, and elected the following Committee members: Tokuji Komuro, Keijiro Kajitsuka, and Kunio Kodaira.
- 24) Ryo Yoshida, "Formation of the Japanese Christian Church in California and E. A. Sturge in 1910s" (*Shakai Kagaku* [Social Sciences], March 1991, pp. 1-76).
- 25) "Church Growth," *ST*, March, 1915; "A Comment During a Trip," *ST*, June, 1915; "Emerging Responsibility," *ST*, August, 1915; "Demand for our Compa-

trials in America”, *ST*, September, 1915.

For example, *ST* (September, 1915) stated that the current most crucial problem among Japanese in America was the lack of persons who could play leadership roles among their compatriots. The Japanese did not pay enough attention to cultivating their personalities. Leadership and the personal attributes for leadership were nurtured through the power of religious faith. Through contact with Western Christian leaders the Japanese could learn how to develop leadership qualities. In spite of discrimination by race and language, there was a common bond of understanding between people in leadership positions. When the Japanese adopted a life of moral uprightness, they could stand alongside Americans as their equals both spiritually and otherwise. The Japanese in America should struggle to improve their material lives as well as spiritual independence and autonomy.

- 26) “Thinking about Our Mission” (*ST*, August, 1916) stated that our mission was not to stay in America for benefits but other than to take part in the creation of a world civilization—a heaven in America. Our mission reaches beyond race or nationality, and has universal significance. Our emerging mission is to merge Western and Eastern civilizations and to build a new civilization for future generations, especially to build a Christian civilization. Therefore we have a special responsibility. Although Christianity is based on the principle of universal brotherhood/sisterhood, it had been characterized, and imbued with Anglo-Saxon cultures for over 2000 years. When the Anglo-Saxons projected the principles of universal brotherhood/sisterhood, they presupposed the equality of all human beings who were of the same race as they themselves. For example, they have treated the Japanese, with certain exceptions, as a lesser class of people than they themselves. They love the Japanese as the strong sympathize with the weak. Since the thought and material life of the Japanese in America is not like that of the West, we should make efforts to become equal, if not superior, to the Americans. The Japanese can overcome Anglo-Saxonism and insist on the principles of justice and brotherhood/sisterhood because we have a much better environment materially and spiritually here in America than in Japan.
- 27) *Ibid.*, *ST*, April, 1915.
- 28) “Movement for Restricting Immigrants,” *ST*, March, 1916.
- 29) “Discussing Current Problem,” *ST*, August, 1916.
- 30) The *Dendo-Dan* (South) invited Seimatsu Kimura, a celebrated evangelist in Japan, to lead an evangelical campaign in February and March, 1915. This

resulted in a large number of converts (*ST*, March, 1915, 4; "Kimura Tengai's Great Evangelistic Campaign," *ST*, April 1915). Also see *SS*, February 24, March 12, 14, 15, 1915, and "The Billy Sunday of Japan," *The Pacific*, June 30, 1915 (owned by Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley).

- 31) In the course of the *Dendo-Dan's* planning for an evangelistic campaign at the 1915 San Francisco Exposition, they invited Tsurin Kanamori, a famous Salvation Army evangelist in Japan, to address the *Keihatsu Undo*. In 1915, the *Dendo-Dan*, together with the *Zaibei Nihonjinkai*, invited Danjo Ebina, a pastor of the Congregational Church in Japan and one of Japan's most distinguished Japanese Christian leaders, as a guest lecturer for the *Keihatsu Undo*.
- 32) "Problem of the Sunday Schools," *ST*, December, 1913; "Educational Children's Theater," *ST*, February, 1915; "Religious Education for Children and Application of the Emulation of Character," *ST*, February, 1916; "Which is better for Children's Health, Countryside or Urban Location?," *ST*, May, 1916; "Exemplary Formation of the Sunday School," *ST*, July, 1916; "Children and Play," *ST*, October, 1916; "Imagination of Children," *ST*, November, 1916; "Sunday School and Music," *ST*, December, 1916; "The Primary Class of the Sunday School," *ST*, January, 1917; "Elementary Class of Sunday School," *ST*, February, 1917; "Boys and Girls Sunday School Classes," *ST*, March, 1917; *Ibid*, No. 2, *ST*, April, 1917; "Junior High School Sunday School Class," *ST*, June, 1917.

Baba already affirmed in *ST* (December, 1913) that the future of the Japanese in America depended on how the Nisei were educated through the Sunday Schools. Religious education to children would be the basis of a healthy youth, and Euro-American people also supported the Sunday School as a responsibility to the next generation. We should give religious education to the Nisei in order to nurture the Nisei's personal development because it is not enough for Nisei to receive citizenship.

- 33) "Boy Scouts," *ST*, April, 1916; *Ibid*, *ST*, May, 1916; "Curriculum of Sunday School," *ST*, June, 1917. For example, Sano dealt with language education for the Nisei. The Nisei should have both an English education as future American citizens and a Japanese education for their social and family life. More concretely, Nisei should be educated in Japanese in Kindergarten, and in English as preparation for entering public school after the age of five (*ST*, May, 1914).
- 34) "Education of Nisei," *ST*, December, 1916.
- 35) "The Large View of Mission," *ST*, June, 1917.
- 36) "Sixth Annual Report of the *Chuo Dendo-Dan*," (*ST*, January, 1917).

37) "The Current Situation of Our Compatriots and the Christian Mission," *ST*, January, 1917.

38) Regarding Yamamuro, see Mitsuhiro Sakaguchi.

39) *ST*, February, 1917, 8.

40) "Strategy of the *Dendo-Dan's* Mission Work," *ST*, May, 1917.

The following outlines the new structure:

1. Mission Work—We will invite Japanese or American ministers as speakers for itinerary missions, special missions, and intensive missions in the local areas. The Secretary should take part in itinerary mission work as much as possible.

2. Religious Education—We plan to improve and develop the Sunday School for the Japanese in America, and to promote religious education.

—We encourage Christians to organize Sunday Schools and Bible Classes in the local areas where there are no churches.

—We will send lecturers or leaders to train Sunday School teachers. We hope for requests from the Sunday Schools in the local areas.

We will respond to requests from local churches with letters or answers in *Shin Tenchi*.

Since the organization of the Sunday School Conference is the most pressing problem, we have opened the way to cooperate with the Sunday School Conference in California.

3. Child Education—We will send experienced educators to the local areas and guide them in child education. We will respond to questions about this issue by letter or in the *Shin Tenchi*.

4. We will engage in the *Keihatsu Undo* for social education of the Japanese in America.

We will cooperate with other Japanese organizations for this purpose, and send lecturers. Japanese ministers and well-known Americans will be asked to participate as speakers.

5. Temperance—We will cooperate with the other Japanese temperance organizations for effective temperance work. We will send lecturers to local areas response to any requests.

6. Cooperation—We will elect a special committee in order to commit each denomination.

7. Publication—

—We will publish the *Shin Tenchi*.

—We will support and encourage the writing of books or other publications by Japanese Christians in America.

- 41) According to Nanka Nihonjin Kirisutokyo Kyokai Renmei, *Zaibei Nihonjin Kirisutokyo 50-nen Shi* [A 50-year History of the Japanese Christian Church in America] (1932), p.128, the *Chuo Dendo-Dan* was dissolved in 1918. However, there is no record which proves when and why the *Dendo-Dan* was dissolved.
- 42) After 1924, Japanese Christians continued to respond to their unique cultural context through interdenominational organizations like the Northern and Southern California Church Federations (see Sumio Koga compiled, “A Centennial Legacy”: *History of the Japanese Christian Missions in North America 1877-1977, Vol. I*, Chicago: Nobart. 1977, pp.112-115, 118f.), the California Young People’s Christian Conference for the Nisei (Koga, pp. 108-110), and the Japanese Evangelical Missionary Society (Koga, pp. 250 ff.). Even when they were forced to evacuate to the relocation centers during World War II, Japanese Christians worked beyond denominational differences, and beyond religious differences (they joined with Buddhists) and carried out interdenominational and interreligious services and activities (see Lester E. Suzuki, *Ministry in the Assembly and Relocation Centers of World War II*, Berkeley: Yardbird Publishing Co., 1979).

Today, these interdenominational Japanese ethnic organizations continue to hold annual meetings at which they discuss mission strategy and formulate future plans of the Japanese American church.