

THE IMPACT OF KAGAWA AND HIS MOVEMENT

MASAO TAKENAKA

After the anarchists' trial of 1911, the government's suppression of the socialist movement increased in vigor and a general fear of socialism spread widely throughout the country.¹ The socialists tried to continue the movement, but were unable to widen their influence.² Their labor union and mass meeting activities were banned, as well as their communication media, such as magazines. Socialists, being considered social outcasts, found it difficult to make a living. Only a few socialists, like Sakai Toshihiko, Yamakawa Hitoshi, Arahata Kanson, Osugi Sakae and others, remained the Baibunsha (Association for Selling Literature) to continue their literature campaign to propagate socialism.³ However their influence was limited to a few intellectuals and they were unable to reach the common people.

The years immediately following are known as the "Dark Winter" of the labor movement in Japan. Although the government established the basic factory law⁴ in 1911, the law did not become effective until 1916. Moreover the law permitted various exceptions, so that employers could continue undesirable practices without violating the law.⁵

Yet the situation was changed rapidly by World War I, which effected a tremendous change on the structure of Japanese economic life. It quickened the process of industrialization and the establishment of a capitalistic structure, particularly causing the rapid development of heavy industry.

If we look at the percentage of workers working in factories with over 100 employees, we find an increase from 43.5 % in 1909 to 55.6 % in 1919.⁶ Meanwhile, in an inflationary period, the wages of laborers decreased 22 % between 1913 and 1919.⁷ Moreover the increase in workers in heavy industry meant an increase in the number of permanent rather than temporary migrant workers from rural villages. This period also saw increased union organizing activities as well as strikes for wage increases. The 8-hour day, the abolition of the Peace Preservation Act, and the enactment of minimum wage guarantees came to be demanded by labor.⁸

In the Taisho period (1912—1925), the revival of the labor movement was led by Suzuki Bunji and others with the establishment of the Yuaikai (the Friendly Society), which was guided by Clay McCauley of the Unitarian Association.⁹ The Association was permitted to set up headquarters in the church called the Yuiitsu Kan (Unity Hall) located at Shiba, Tokyo. Among the fifteen original members, those from the Unitarian Church assumed the leading positions with Suzuki as president, Abe Isoo as advisor, and Professors Mikami Ryo and Uchigasaki Sakusaburo as committee members.¹⁰ Here

again the Unitarian Association became the center of labor movement. McCauley encouraged the activities of the Yuaikai on the ground that "Religion is the most urgent and just project which is effected by the Spirits."¹¹ "The term Yuaikai" is a translation of the name "Friendly Society" of England. Suzuki explained the reason for taking this name :

"We shall learn from the lesson of the Friendly Society of England, which aimed at mutual aid, fellowship and recreation among laborers, and gradually proceeded in the direction of the organization of labor unions, in spite of the pressure of existing laws which limited freedom to organize them."¹²

The Association gave the following three points as its platform.

1. We are determined to make manifest our aim of mutual love and assistance through fellowship and cooperation.
2. We are determined to cultivate intelligence, and morality, and to make progress in techniques according to common ideals.
3. We are determined to reform our position through cooperation and modest ways.¹³

It was not a radical but a moderate organization, which aimed first of all at mutual aid and fellowship among laborers. In November, Suzuki started to publish "Yuai Shimpo" (Friendly News) twice a month. The following words of Suzuki explain well his motive :

"In any case, I want desperately to promote 'self awareness' among laborers as soon as possible. Then, on this awareness as laborers, I would like to organize solid and sound labor unions. As the president of Association, and editor of its organ, this is a desire I cannot forget even when I am asleep. It is enough if Yuaikai becomes a cradle, a nursery, or a gate for the cause. I am just a

watchman for the cradle, a nurse at the nursery and a porter at the gate." ¹⁴

In the face of severe repressive measures by the government, this modest method proved to be successful as the Association gradually developed throughout the country. After one year it counted 1326 members; in 1914, it had over two thousand members; in 1915, 7500; and in 1917, its membership reached 27,000. ¹⁵

At first the Yuaikai stood for harmony between labor and management, and encouraged mutual help and cooperation between them. As to method, it advocated gradual progress and the use of reasonable means to deal with management. In time of conflict, it relied upon individual conferences between either Suzuki or other secretaries and representatives of management rather than upon radical action. ¹⁶ Suzuki explains his conviction in the following way:

"Recently I have often heard my attitude criticized as being compromising and cooperative with regard to management. However even if I am so blamed, I cannot agree with violent revolutionary actions based on materialism. Although I realize that labor and management stand on conflicting interests and there is a line between them which is difficult to overcome, yet I cannot identify capitalists with the Devil. Although I hate bitterly the greed and tyranny of capitalists, yet at the same time I think of them as human beings. I believe also that the problems between labor and management will not be solved through violent conflict." ¹⁷

This idea of mutual assistance and cooperation, which Suzuki emphasized, was based upon his belief in Christian humanism. He continues to say:

"Although I agree in part with the theories of Karl Marx, since his theoretical system stands on materialism, I cannot accept it as a whole. I cannot change this conviction. I believe it is impossible

to disregard the spiritual element in the solution of labor problems. In these ideas we owe a great deal to the Christian view of life and society. This is the reason why we count Christian influence first among our motives."¹⁸

However the slow process of cooperation was criticized by some of the members, who had been stimulated by the success of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Rice Riots of 1918. The Rice Riots started in a fishing village in Toyama Prefecture in July 1918, and spread throughout the entire country, flaring up in 33 cities, 104 towns, and 97 villages.

The total number of people taking part in the riots amounted to over 700,000. The riots were finally quelled by army units dispatched to 60 cities, towns and villages. Some 8185 persons were arrested by police.¹⁹ In 1919 the number of strikes rapidly increased,²⁰ and revolutionary zeal was awakened. These changes in the situation were reflected in the Yuaikai. In 1918 when the Sixth Annual meeting of the Yuaikai was held at Osaka, the national anthem was sung and a congratulation telegram from a noted business leader was read, but at the Seventh Annual meeting in 1919, which was opened with the singing of a labor song, socialist leaders were invited to speak. At the meeting the name was changed to Dai Nihon Rodo Sodo Mei Yuaikai (All Japan Labor Federation Friendly Society).²¹ The presidential system of Suzuki was abolished and a Board of Directors was elected. Thereafter, the Sodo Mei became more radical year by year reflecting the depression of the

period and the oppression of the government. Two years later, the growing domination of the Sodo Mei by the radical wing was reflected in the following issues: a proposal for general strike strategy was defeated by 27 to 53 and the proposal for collective bargaining was also defeated by 26 to 96 votes. The defeat of these moderate measures was due to agitation by the left-wing elements for more radical revolutionary action. Labor struggles again tended toward radical action led by a minority of leaders agitating unorganized labor. By 1922 the issue within the Sodo Mei was no longer radicalism versus modern progressivism, but Syndicalism versus Bolshivism, the latter being influenced by the Russian Revolution and reaching the formation of the Japan Communist Party in the summer of 1922.²²

This then was the background situation in which Kagawa began his life work by seeking to reform slum conditions in Shinkawa, Kobe, and by actively participating in the labor movement in the early part of this century. He occupies in many ways a unique position in the history of social movements in Japan, not only for the broadness of his secular activities ranging from slum reform, through agricultural and labor union movements to the cooperative movement, but also for his constant struggles as a Christian leader to enlighten the less socially aware among the institutional churches of Japan. In the following section we shall examine his position and participation with regard to social problems.²³

(I) *Advocate of Cross-Consciousness*

Kagawa is not a systematic theologian but an evangelist. He is not interested in establishing a comprehensive theological structure within a certain framework but he proclaims plainly by personal example the central teaching of Christianity, that God is love. In a sense, he is not a rational philosopher with cold apprehension but a courageous poet with warm tears. In one of his poems he writes :

“Flow, O my tears!
Well up and fall
O flood!
Sound of my inmost soul,
Dissolve in grief —
For I have lost
The precious All
I offered God.

O tears,
Lift up your doleful voice,
For from the day
I turn to human love,
Forgetting God,
His presence has
Departed from me —
And I know not where!

Oh, that my tears
Might overflow
The path by which
God flees from me!
Tears of my heart!
Quick! Quick!
Help me to capture him!”²⁴

Moreover he is a man of action and stresses the point that “it is not enough to have ideals. We must

translate them into action.”²⁵ Yet this does not mean that he disregards theological discussions or philosophical thinking. In the midst of a busy life in the slums and in social movements, he has constantly continued to read and write on a wide ranges of subjects.²⁶ He does “not regard faith as a matter of creed.”²⁷ He expresses his regret that there are many theologians who regard faith as merely theoretical, and not as the whole of life. As a member of the Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai, the Presbyterian stream in Japan, in which the historical creed is highly regarded,²⁸ Kagawa explains :

“To-day many churches are trying to easy themselves by preserving that redemptive love as a creed only. To me, this is a condition too dismal for contemplation. I cannot think other than that all creeds and dogmas that are inherited by Christian churches are for the purpose of explaining the conscious life of redemptive love.”²⁹

He cannot understand religion as spiritual teaching or static doctrine ; for him it means an actual way of life. He is not a dualist separating the individual from social life, religion from morality. In 1927 at the National Conference of the Three Religions he made a speech criticizing the negative attitude of institutional religions toward social problems and said :

“The time has come when the priests of the shrines and temples and the pastors of churches should come out of their somnolence and face realities.

You Buddhists ! Read again your scriptures and find in them the spirit which animated your pioneers. If you cannot rediscover and reincarnate their spirit, roll up your scrolls and carry them back to India whence they came.

You Shintoists! If you cannot grasp the vision which impels to service for the weakest and the most unfortunate, of what avail are your numerous and elaborate rituals?

And you Christians! Shame on you for erecting huge and costly churches and failing to follow the Man born in a manger and buried in another's tomb."³⁰

It was a harsh criticism of the religious institutions, which tended to isolate themselves and to take an indifferent attitude toward the actual problems of society. For him "religion is a way of life."³¹ He believes in a God who is love, who was fully manifested in the Cross of Jesus Christ.

Like Uchimura he is critical of the existing churches yet, he does not put emphasis upon the second coming of Christ;³² rather he believes in the continuous creative process of the living God. He wrote in one of his earliest books:

"In a word, love is the new force which amends the cosmos, the new design for amelioration where mutual aid cannot avail. Love is creation and expression. As in Romans 5:8, 'God proves his love for us by this, that Christ died for us when we were still sinners', love is the expression of God, and this love is at the same time creation."³³

For Kagawa it is clear that the whole sphere of life is under the sovereignty of God whose essence is love. Both social and natural order are created and sustained by God. For him God is "the immanent God"³⁴ and the abiding God.³⁵ Despite his bitter experiences of miserable and agonizing conditions in the world, he upholds an optimistic view of history and the universe based on the conviction of a living God. He calls the

universe "the garment of God"³⁶ and human history "the history of God's grace."³⁷ Yet Kagawa is not a pantheist; he accepts the love of God which is revealed in Christ. After explaining the fall of man he wrote:

"Mankind became more and more corrupt, and finally God incarnated his love and through redemptive love he spoke to us. This was Jesus Christ . . . through the revelation of Jesus Christ, history was transcended, mankind received the promise of resurrection and souls were regenerated. The more we study Jesus Christ, the more we know him, and the more we believe in him, the more clearly we come to understand that the God of the universe is acting in human history. Not simply acting, for He who created the universe is loving, sustaining, controlling and guiding us."³⁸

This is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of Kagawa's Christology, which appears in more or less fragmental fashion in his books. He does not discuss it in terms of traditional categories, in which he is not interested. Rather he tries to discuss it simply in order that the common people may understand easily, even creating a new terminology when necessary.

According to Kagawa the communicating channel between God and man is consciousness, which occupies an important place in his thinking. Kagawa sets three stages in the development of consciousness:³⁹ unconsciousness, semi-consciousness and full consciousness. In the unconscious stage, men kill other men without thinking of their deed. This is the stage of instinct. The semi-conscious stage is illustrated by Kagawa in the Jewish custom, wherein a sacrificial goat is offered to God. When full consciousness comes, a goat is seen to be insufficient. The final stage is illustrated by Christ, who

took the place of the goat, and gave his own life in sacrifice. This consciousness to offer oneself for the sins of others is called by Kagawa God's Consciousness, Cross-Consciousness, Redemptive-Consciousness. To Kagawa the kind of analogy used to explain this God-consciousness as disclosed in the Cross of Christ is not important. To a question put to him concerning what he really thought about atonement, he answered :

"I think just as Paul did. Paul felt that there was something wrong with man, and Christ could set him right. When Paul tried to say what was wrong with man, he used seven parables. Now it was a debtor whose debts must be paid ; again a condemned criminal to be reprieved ; or a burdened traveler to be relieved ; a sick man to be healed ; a dead man to be raised ; a slave to be emancipated, or a wandering child to be brought home. Paul did not care which parable you used, or if you used some other. All he cared about was that man was somehow wrong and Christ could set him right,"⁴⁰

· However it seems to me that his interpretation of Christ's cross is close to the substitutional theory, which emphasizes the sacrifice of the sinless one in order to redeem the sins of others. He wrote, "To Paul, Christ's death was a death of vicarious substitution".⁴¹ In this Cross-Consciousness, Kagawa finds the social-consciousness of God. In his words, "Instead of the wish to lead a revolution, there was in the consciousness of Christ the will to make up for the deficiencies of others to save them the solidarity-responsibility consciousness".⁴² Thus love is something which transcends the individual. In this sense he is opposed to Tolstoy.⁴³ In positive terms he puts it in the following way :

“Love transcends the individual. It is the social will which works through individuals. More broadly, it is the cosmic will which penetrates human personalities. . . . Love is the social cohesive force: it has the power to bind society together from within.”⁴⁴

Kagawa finds the perfect demonstration of this cosmic love in Christ's Cross. In his books he repeatedly emphasizes the point that Christianity is the religion of the cross.⁴⁵ This God-consciousness speaks to us through our consciousness if it is awakened.⁴⁶ For Kagawa to accept Christ is to realize the fact that “He is the Head of a Divine Social Order.”⁴⁷ Then love becomes essential in the building of that order, and sacrifice is the necessary foundation of love. It is Kagawa's deep conviction that “unless the Cross-consciousness is reflected in us, we can not bring about real social reconstruction.”⁴⁸ This Cross-consciousness is the essence of the Christian religion as well as the basic source of Christian ethics in society. As Christ offered his life for the sins of others, in order to bring the Kingdom of God to earth, it is imperative that Christians sacrifice themselves to eliminate the misery and agony of others. Here he finds “the principle which demands that the essence of Christianity must become the essence of the economic movement.”⁴⁹ For him, the cause of the present economic disasters is the lack of social-solidarity-consciousness among the people.⁵⁰ In this sense the advocacy of the Christian message is an economic movement; in turn, an economic movement conducted through Cross consciousness is a religious movement.⁵¹

Kagawa cannot accept the dualism separating religion and economics, and individual and social morality. He defines the purpose of economics as the "creation, preservation and restoration of life and labor power."⁵² Although economics is concerned with material arrangements, its ultimate end is the fulfillment of life. He maintains a theory of value which consists of seven elements, as follows :

"Between the objective world and the absolute, between nature and God are seven canals: life, labor (or energy), change, growth, selection, order (or law), and purpose. These are the seven elements of value which run through all types of economics. Christ Himself has given us the foundation for these elements of value."⁵³

As we will see later, these seven values are the key elements in Kagawa's economic structure. Here again Cross-consciousness is the source which regenerates these values. Kagawa writes :

"This Cross-embracing love includes all seven elements of economic value. It saves life about to perish. It redeems lost power. It gives freedom of truth to the sin-petrified soul. It regenerates the power of growth of the Kingdom of God in a degenerate soul. It gives power of selection to those who have lost it. It furnishes the right order to those in confusion. Finally, it saves with love those who have strayed from the purpose of life."⁵⁴

A concrete application of these elements of value to economic life could be illustrated by means of the table in the following page.

There is a direct application of these elements of value to complex economic situations without the raising of such controversial questions as the relation of

economic value and ethical value or the relation between faith and reason. His usage of words in the two spheres is not specific enough as to indicate exactly what he really implies. For example, words like life and power are used in different ways with different connotations. On the other hand this kind of ambiguous usage helps to unite the two spheres. For Kagawa there are no dimensional differences between the spheres of religion and economics; they are horizontally united.

	Elements of Value	Text	Illustrated Idea	Economic Application
Creative Preservative Restorative	7. Purpose	Matt, 5 : 48	Service to God	Consumers
	6. Order and Law	John 13 : 34	Social Legislation	Public Utility
	5. Selection	Matt, 18 : 8	Vocational Guidance	Mutual Aid
	4. Growth	Luke 13 : 19	Increase of Production	Credit
	3. Change	Matt, 13 : 44, 45	Exchange and Transaction	Marketing
	2. Labor	John 5 : 17	Respect of Labor and Production of Goods	Producers
	1. Life	Matt, 6 : 25	Preservation of Life	Insurance

* This table was drawn by the author on the basis of Kagawa's explanations of the seven elements of value appearing in his *Brotherhood Economics*, pp. 26-31, and p. 46 ff.

Although Kagawa is critical of the negative attitude of the institutional churches on social problems, he has remained within the churches, as a minister of a local church and as an evangelist making trips throughout the country. Kagawa is an eloquent speaker with a dynamic spirit. He draws large audiences and can move them to an awareness of the heart of the Christian Gospel. At the end of each meeting, those who have decided to

accept the Christian faith are asked to leave their names and addresses.

One of the largest evangelistic campaigns in which he participated was the Kingdom of God Movement conducted by the Federal Council of Protestant Churches between 1929 and 1932 as the Seventieth Anniversary Project of the Protestant Mission in Japan. The aim of the movement was to save one million souls. The efforts of four years gave the following results :

Kingdom of God Campaign. 1928—32⁵⁵

Year	Preaching Days	Number of Meetings	Audience	Number of Persons Signing Cards
1928—31	582	1,539	615,789	46,072
1932	153	320	183,248	16,388
Total	735	1,859	799,037	62,460

In spite of physical handicaps Kagawa courageously continued his trip throughout the country, spread the seeds of the Gospel to non-Christians and helped to awaken the social concern of Christians. However those numbers should not be overestimated since the signatures indicate decisions made at meetings rather than the number of baptisms recorded as a result of movement. Some may have signed as a result of the emotional atmosphere of the mass meetings, with no lasting effects. Some signatures were found to be those of Christians already in the church, or those of individuals turning up at different meetings. Moreover the movement tended to lack the solid organizational support and cooperation

of the churches. One missionary commented on the campaign as follows:

“The Kingdom of God Campaign, so called, gradually lost momentum as it went on, I am sorry to say, partly because, as has been said, the churches were not willing or able to follow the lead of Kagawa in his social emphasis, but even more, perhaps, because the churches could not sufficiently lay aside their denominational bias to get together for the common ends of the Kingdom in whose name they professed to be working.”⁵⁶

Yet this relative failure does not detract from Kagawa's contributions as an evangelist and as an advocate of social consciousness among the churches. Thus, based upon a belief in the constant reality of God, and inspired by the Cross-consciousness of Christ, Kagawa went on not only to advocate but also to practice Cross-consciousness to alleviate the miseries and agonies of society.

(II) *Reformer of Slums, Kagawa as a Social Worker*

Kagawa's interest in social service goes back to his early days. The circumstances surrounding his birth, in 1888, were to ally him closely with the destiny of the underprivileged masses of society. He was one of four children born as a result of the union of his father and a “Geisha.” By the age of four both of his parents were dead. He and an elder sister were sent to their ancestral village home in Shikoku and were brought up under the care of their father's neglected wife and a foster grandmother. They treated Kagawa coldly, sometimes even harshly. Not a few times he was beaten

and bed-wetting became habitual. He was a lonely lad. As a man who had experienced sorrow, he had irrepresible sympathy with sufferers. At Tokushima, in 1904, while he was in high school, he became a Christian under the influences of the American missionaries, H. W. Myers and C. A. Logan. By so doing, he was disinherited by his family, and joined the legions of the poor. When he was a student at Meiji Gakuin, the Presbyterian college in Tokyo, he once took care of castaway kittens and dogs in his dormitory room, and on another occasion he shared his food and room with a begger picked up by the wayside.⁵⁷

In his student days he read widely and enthusiastically. In Tokushima he was inspired to read Henry Drummond's "*The Greatest Thing in the World*" and determined to offer himself to a service of love. He also became acquainted with the writings of Arnold Toynbee, John Ruskin and Canon Barnett and was stimulated to work among the underprivileged.⁵⁸ At Meiji Gakuin he was encouraged to read about the effects of Christian socialists in England, such as F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley.⁵⁹ In his second year at Meiji Gakuin he was stricken with tuberculosis, the terror then, as now, of Japanese youth. He had to leave the school and went to an isolated fishing village to regain his health.⁶⁰ Physical weakness caused spiritual doubt. For a year he was locked in an agonizing struggle with death. It was in his sick bed that he read the biography of John Wesley, and was deeply inspired by the fact

that Wesley, inspite of his sickness, lived a life filled with great work.⁶¹

Although he had not recovered his health completely, he entered the Kobe Theological Seminary in order to prepare for service to God and man. He went alone to the slums of Shinkawa at Fukiai, at the outskirts of Kobe, and started preaching in the streets. One day when he was preaching, it began to rain. He did not stop preaching, but he continued until he collapsed after concluding :

“In conclusion, I tell you God is love, and I will affirm God is love till I fall. I do not mean to say that this God whom our eyes cannot see is love, but I do mean that where there is love, God and life reveal themselves.”⁶²

He became seriously sick again and a doctor detected symptoms of pneumonia. His temperature was never below 104 degrees and he was unable to get proper sleep owing to the constant pain. In his bed of suffering, he decided firmly that: “If I get well I shall certainly enter the slums at Shinkawa and offer myself as a sacrifice to God.”⁶³ When his sickness became worse his heart beat grew so irregular that the doctor gave him up for dead. His friends assembled around his pillow and began a farewell prayer meeting. As this moment he experienced a mystical union with God. He described it as follows :

“.... The point of light on which he concentrated his gaze appeared to him like a rainbow, the room in which he lay like Paradise and the common quilt that covered him like cloth of gold.

It seemed as if he was being held tight by the hand of God the Father, -nay,- that God was something closer to him than a father, -that God dwelt in him. It was a joyful feeling that he was immersed in God.”⁶⁴

After the joyful experience, his fever departed. Kagawa, came to believe that God had entrusted to him, the task of realizing the spirit of Christ by working among the poor and spending his life in the slums.

On Christmas Eve, 1909, when all the churches were busy celebrating Christmas, Kagawa moved quietly to the slums of Shinkawa. He lived in a house with two rooms, the front one nine feet by six feet and the back one six feet square. The motives which led Kagawa to the slum were three: First of all it was Kagawa's intention to manifest the Gospel of Christ among the poor people through living in the slums. Secondly, he wished by doing so to offer himself as a living sacrifice to God. Finally, he believed that the experience of living in the slums would provide him with grass-roots knowledge about social problems. Regarding the slums Kagawa declared :

“The slums are a laboratory of life and of human society. From one point of view I am doing research work with the slum as my laboratory and man as my major. Some people think of me as administering palliative remedies, but I am an industrious scientist. I am researching life at one of its outbreakings in social order.”⁶⁵

The rent for the rooms was cheap⁶⁶ since a man had been murdered in the house and it was therefore reputed to be haunted by his ghost.⁶⁷ The Shinkawa slums were among the worst in Japan. Kagawa described

the slums as follows ;

“ . . . among all the slums in Japan there could be none so terribly dirty as those. There were six streets, all horribly dirty, where over eight thousand people lived in eighty long buildings, which were divided up into rooms nine feet square, in some of which as many as nine people lived and slept.”⁶⁸

Not only the physical environment of the slum but also the various types of people and their problems were entirely strange for him. His experiences in the slums are recorded in *Before the Dawn* and in the collection of his poems, *Songs from the Slums*. The first man who came to ask his help was covered from head to foot with itchy contagious sores. He asked for a meal and a place to sleep. Others came to stay not for a night but for a season. One was a starved slave to drink, and another was a murderer suffering from a mental disease and haunted by the ghost of his victim. A third had syphilis. Kagawa had \$ 5.50 per month as a scholarship from the school. It was impossible to feed four people with this sum, so he secured work cleaning chimneys and had two meals a day.⁶⁹

Life in the slum was rough. Often quarrels ended in bloodshed. Murder was a common occurrence. Knowing Kagawa was a Christian, and a believer in non-resistance who never asked the police for protection, bullies and ruffians came to demand money by threatening him with weapons like short swords, daggers, knives and pistols.⁷⁰ Drunkards frequently came in to demand money or to interrupt his meetings. He was beaten and kicked

and once his teeth were smashed in.⁷¹ His rooms and property were damaged. Gambling, delinquency and prostitution mingled in the filthy slum. Many of these bullies were the bosses of prostitution as well as gambling. Furthermore Kagawa was called to bury babies for in Shinkawa babies were born without expense, but it cost \$ 2.50 to bury them. During his first year he buried fourteen babies.⁷² There was a wide spread practice in Shinkawa, of adapting infants for money, and slowly starving them to death. Many family made a business of adapting unwanted babies, and through starvation and mistreatment sent them to an early death.⁷³ Kagawa once took care of a baby abandoned on the street, and expressed his feelings in the following poem.

When Tears Are Mingled

“Dawn coming in through the greyness
Lights up the place where she lies :
I am sodden with sleep, but I waken
At my starveling’s fretful cries.

She is here on the floor beside me
Wrapped in rags that stink ;
I change them ;
I hold her to feed her,
And sob as she struggles to drink.

Three days have I now been a woman,
With a mother’s heart in my breast ;
Do I doze but an hour
Then she whimpers,
And I spring to soothe her to rest.

Thin little dirty baby,
Wailing with pain all the while,
But I taste the bliss that no life should miss

When I look in her eyes and smile!
 Ah, she is ill
 Little Ishi,
 Life has abused her so;
 Safe from the fiend who had meant to kill,
 Fever has laid her low."⁷⁴

In the mists of these miseries and wretched conditions, Kagawa worked hard to spread the Gospel among the people. His daily schedule was as follows: He got up at five o'clock in the morning, and studied with young people. At seven he went to visit the sick and the unfortunate who wanted his help. Then he concentrated on writing until noon. Afternoons he spent visiting and helping needy persons and sometimes played with children. At six o'clock he started his evening class for young people, and at eight he went out for street preaching. He was in bed by ten o'clock.⁷⁵ In addition to his tuberculosis, from which he had not completely recovered, he contracted trachoma and a skin disease from his charges. With financial aid from Dr. Myers and volunteer helpers from Kwansei Gakuin, a Christian college founded by the Methodist Mission, Kagawa gradually enlarged his work. In 1913 he married, his wife Haru volunteering to help Kagawa's work by working in a factory in Kobe. A group of believers in Shinkawa who became Christian through Kagawa's influence formed the Kyu Rei Dan (The Band of Salvation), later called the Jesus Dan (The Band of Jesus). The activities of the Kyu Rei Dan were wide and varied, and beginning with evangelism at the center, included

church services, Sunday school, street preaching, education through an evening school and a sewing school, personal counseling, vocational guidance for the jobless, and management of a home for the homeless, a cheap luncheon-hall, and a dispensary.⁷⁶ When this work was still in the formative stage, Kagawa aimed at the establishment of a social settlement in the slums.

Funds for the project was so limited that it was difficult to establish a long-range program. Dr. Myers contributed ¥ 15.00 a month. Mrs. Pearson, wife of a Presbyterian church minister in New York, offered ¥ 450.00 for Kagawa's work after her visit to Japan.⁷⁷ In addition, he wrote several books in order to support his project. The first, published in 1913, was called *Yujo* (The Friendship) and was a children's story of David and Jonathan. This was followed by *Hinminshinri no Kenkyu* (Study of the Psychology of the Poor), in 1915. In the latter he analyzed conditions among the poor and preached the need of social settlement work in the slums. Kagawa learned about settlement work mainly from English examples. He explained how Toynbee Hall works among laborers and the contributions of Ruskin College to labor leaders.⁷⁸ Stimulated by the leaders of the British Christian socialist movement of the nineteenth century, Kagawa emphasized the significance of settlement work in which intellectual leaders live together as a group to struggle with the problems of the poor.⁷⁹

As he had divided man's consciousness into three

stages, so he classified the poor into three categories: the first were the physical poor, caused by sickness, old age, death of parents, large families, etc. The second were the psychological poor, meaning the moronic, the imbecilic, the idiotic, in short the mentally deficient. The third were the moral poor brought to ruin by moral disorder, examples being the gambler, the ex-convict, the drinker, the bully, and the prostitute.⁸⁰ Furthermore he distinguished the poor from the proletariat, on the ground that the latter resulted from some social instability, such as unemployment, rather than from psychological, physical, or spiritual insufficiency.⁸¹

Kagawa tried to solve these problems of the poor through his settlement project, which had three functions: First, relief for the physical poor (for example, medical care, distribution of food and clothes, and finding housing facilities); second, training for the psychological poor; and finally, religious work for the moral poor.⁸² Kagawa's approach to the poor schematically arranged would be as follows:

Kagawa's Approach to the Poor

Cause of the Poverty	Examples	Method	Element
Physical	Sickness, old age separation by death, prolific family, etc.	Relief	Instinct
Psychological	Idiocy, imbecility, mentally deficient, etc.	Education and training	Spirit
Moral	Gambler, ex-convict, drinker, bully, prostitute, etc.	Religion	Consciousness

After finishing two years of study at Princeton, in 1917, he returned again to the Shinkawa slums. He has lived there altogether for nearly ten years to bring Christian love to the people of the slums. Although he extended his activities to the labor, agricultural union, and the cooperative movements, he and his family remained in the slums to carry on their work until the family moved to Tokyo for relief work following the great earthquake of 1923. At Tokyo, Kagawa set up another social settlement in the crowded slum section of Honjo. This was called the Honjo Industrial Young Men's Christian Association.⁸³ Kagawa and twenty other workers administered to the spiritual and physical needs of those suffering from the effects of the earthquake and fire. Following the Shinkawa pattern, they offered street preaching, medical services through a clinic, counseling, vocational guidance, sewing instruction, recreational and reading facilities for children, and free baths.⁸⁴ Tents were supplied by the city of Tokyo, the Red Cross, and Sunday School Association.

In 1929 Kagawa was invited by the mayor of Tokyo to be the chief advisor for the Social Welfare Bureau of the city. During the course of the year he assisted in the development of social work in Tokyo.⁸⁵ Through his influence the Shikanjima Settlement was established in Osaka in 1925.

It was Kagawa's hope that these settlements would become churches forming not only the economic but also the religious center of the area. He also expressed

his wish that the existing churches would open their doors to the needy in their areas and become centers of social service.⁸⁶ The experience of living and working in the slums gave Kagawa first-hand knowledge about the people and their problems in these blighted areas. While continuing his work in the slums he went further and widened his approach to social problems.

(III) *Kagawa as a Leader of Labor and Agricultural Unions*

When Kagawa returned from his studies abroad he changed part of his strategy as he began to realize the importance of the labor and agricultural union movements. "Unless there was a change in economic system," he wrote, "it was completely hopeless to combat the slums."⁸⁷ He recognized the limitations of philanthropic projects, which tend to disregard the causes of social disease, and he found in the labor unions a positive force he believed to be capable of keeping people out of the mires of poverty.

Kagawa participated in the Yuaikai (the Friendly Society) developed under the leadership of Suzuki. He was elected head of the Fukiai Division of the Yuaikai in 1918. In the following year, with Suzuki and Kume Kozo, Kagawa organized the Yuaikai Kwansai Rodo Domei (Labor Federation of the Yuaikai in the Kwansai Area). This federation included the branches of the Yuaikai in the main cities of the Kwansai area, viz. Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe. Kagawa was elected chairman of the board of directors.

Kagawa wrote several books on economics in general and the labor movement in particular during this period. The first was *Seishin Undo to Shakai Undo* (Spiritual Movement and Social Movement), published in 1919, followed by *Rodosha Sonkeiron* (On Respect for Laborers) in 1919, and *Shukan Shugi Keizai no Genri* (Principles of Subjective Economy) in 1920.⁸⁸ For Kagawa the function of the labor union is not to win the class struggle as in Marxism, nor to obtain job security in the national labor market as suggested by Webb, but to protect and respect the laborer as a human being.⁸⁹

He protested against evil factory practices, such as the unhealthy condition surrounding women workers in cotton mills,⁹⁰ and the high injury rate among laborers.⁹¹ He constantly fought for revision of the seventeenth article of the Peace Preservation Law, which restricted the formation of labor union. Kagawa's name became popular among labor union leaders when the Kawasaki and the Mitsubishi Shipyard disputes occurred in 1921.⁹² In the Mitsubishi Shipyard, about 1,000 laborers decided to organize a union affiliated with the Yuaikai. The union demanded the right of collective bargaining, the eight hour day, a fifty sen increase in the hourly wage, and other increases under the incentive wage system.⁹³ When the company refused the demands, some 400 workers went on strike. The strike spread to the Kawasaki Shipyard where about 870 workers demanded the right of collective bargaining, increases in the incentive and hourly wage rates, and a labor-management com-

mittee system. Both companies took uncompromizing positions and refused the demands. Finally 23,000 laborers went out on strike in both shipyards.

It was one of the largest labor disputes in Japan's labor history. The Yuaikai formed the Federation of Kobe Labor Unions and elected Kagawa, Kume and Suzuki Jyunichi as members of a negotiation committee. The committee tried to negotiate but its efforts were of no avail. As the strike continued, the workers began to suffer from economic distress, especially when the company adopted the strategy of discharging active leaders and participants in the dispute and invited the workers to return to their jobs. Kagawa fought against the uncompromising attitude of the companies, and on the other hand insisted upon peaceful means to union leaders who were tending to become more radical and impatient about the slow progress of the strike. After mass demonstrations during which workers and police collided, Kagawa and 240 leaders were arrested.⁹⁴ Finally the workers returned to their jobs after 40 days' dispute without having gained their end. About 1,000 workers were dismissed by the companies during the period.⁹⁵ Thereafter Kagawa's leadership was widely recognized. He was invited to give lectures at union meetings, and he became the president of two unions in Osaka.⁹⁶

In April 1922, Kagawa, Sugiyama Genjiro and others sponsored the first meeting for the establishment of the All Japan Peasant Union. Sugiyama, like Kagawa, was a minister who was interested in agricultural problems.

Platform

1. We farmers aim at the establishment of rural culture, the increase of knowledge, the development of techniques, the cultivation of morality and the enjoyment of rural life.
2. We will work for the progress of rural life by mutual help and cooperation.
3. We farmers will strive to reach our common ideal through sound, modest and reasonable means.⁹⁷

In the resolutions, the significance of rural life was explained and the necessity of unity among the farmers to liberate themselves from the bondages of the traditional agricultural society was expounded. Reasonable means of reform as against violent revolution were advocated. As its organ the Union published "*Tochi to Jiyu*" (Land and Freedom). The opening words of the first issue of the periodical said, "There is no tennant without a land owner, and there is no land owner without a tennant. Both must help each other."⁹⁸ This precisely characterized the harmonious attitude of the union. Sugiyama was elected president of the union, and seven out of nine members of the board were Christians.⁹⁹ It is not an exaggeration to say that the first farmers' union in Japan started under the leadership of Christians, particularly Sugiyama and Kagawa. Within one year the union counted 300 branches throughout the country and included more than 10,000 members.¹⁰⁰

As we have seen in the early part of this chapter, there was a constant cleavage between right and left wing labor leaders. Kagawa constantly sided with the former. As we have seen at the eighth annual meeting of the Yuaikai, held October 2, 1920, there were hot discussions

between the moderates, who supported parliamentary procedure, and the radicals, who insisted upon direct revolutionary action. The delegates from the Kwansai area supported the former view and the delegates from the Kwanto area (Tokyo) put emphasis on the latter point. Kagawa was one of the leaders of the Kwansai group. Opposing the radicals' opinion, Kagawa clarified his position as follows:

“ ‘All who take the sword will perish by the sword.’ Our labor movement is not such temporal power movement. It is more fundamental and basic than the latter. Capitalism organizes society through money and power. We should have labor power instead of money. If we use violence from the beginning we will not only fail to accomplish the end but also will not gain anything.”¹⁰¹

The left wing radicals bitterly criticized Kagawa, saying:

“Bury him! Bury Kagawa, the hypocrite, who is unceasingly striving to make dupes of us, of the propertyless class. This false humanitarian taking advantage of us, hides behind the beautiful name of religion and scatters a deadening anesthetic among us. Here in Kobe he appears in the form of a savior, but his message has no relation whatever to life of the propertyless class.”¹⁰²

Kagawa accepted Marxian theory only with regard to the pathology of capitalism, but he criticized its onesided materialistic Weltanschauung, and its radical method of revolution.¹⁰³ With regard to the first point, he emphasized the role of consciousness in social life, not only in the economic sphere but also in the scientific, artistic, and moral aspects of life.¹⁰⁴ Kagawa highly admired John Ruskin, who demonstrated the influence of spiritual forces upon economic and aesthetic history

in his book *The Stones of Venice*, which Kagawa translated into Japanese.¹⁰⁵ Kagawa, from an idealistic view of history, asserted that the works of spiritual consciousness stood behind the development of material production, and a new economic order cannot be created without considering the aspect of human consciousness.¹⁰⁶ With regard to the latter point, Kagawa constantly opposed violent action as means to social change. He admitted the use of the strike, sabotage, and the boycott, on the ground that these are sacrificial acts of labor.¹⁰⁷ He regarded the strike as "a religious fast of labor,"¹⁰⁸ and as an act of non-resistance which has educational meaning to society by demonstrating the fact that there is no production without labor.¹⁰⁹

Kagawa took the education of labor seriously and encouraged the establishment of labor schools and peasant Gospel schools. He contributed ¥ 5000,00 from the income of his books toward the establishment of the Osaka Labor School in 1922. The school used a local church building for its activities, and most of the faculty were Christians. Kagawa was the president of the school.¹¹⁰ The Kobe Labor School was opened in 1924 by Saito Nobukichi and Kume, Kagawa also assisted at the school.

Kagawa and Sugiyama were influenced by the example of the National Agricultural School system worked out by Grundtvig in Denmark.¹¹¹ Kagawa believed that it was Grundtvig's educational efforts in which he taught three loves, viz., love of God, love of

neighbors, and love of the land, which prevented Denmark from undergoing a communistic revolution and reconstructed it as a successful agricultural state in Europe.¹¹² He helped to open more than fifty peasant Gospel schools throughout the country,¹¹³ and by 1932 there were 73 such schools.¹¹⁴ These schools were small in terms of number of students, but there were close relations between students and faculty and there was a considerable emphasis on the training of a Christian personality as well as practical studies of agricultural problems.

Like Suzuki, who at first regarded the Yuaikai as "an organization for the enlightenment of the labor movement,"¹¹⁵ Kagawa put the weight in his emphasis on the enlightenment and education of labor. Kagawa expressed his conviction in the following way:

"The only true and dependable method is to educate the people to the knowledge that the end for which they strive, can be reached only by the slow means of emancipation of the proletariat, and by the general improvement of the welfare of society."¹¹⁶

Though he maintained relations with the Socialist party both before and after World War II, he has steadfastly refused to become a politician or become too deeply involved in the sphere of politics. Rather he has assumed a special role as a moral and educational leader in the labor movement.¹¹⁷

(IV) *The Ideal of the Cooperative State; Kagawa and the Goal of Social Change.*

We may now analyse Kagawa's goal of social change. In spite of the sufferings and difficulties he has encountered through his participation in social movements, Kagawa has constantly looked forward to the future with courage and hope. He has strongly opposed the pessimistic attitudes of church leaders as well as the leaders of materialistic interpretations. He is an idealist in his emphasis on consciousness, and an optimist in his advocacy of the ideal social order. He presents a picture of the cooperative state as the ideal, toward which we should strive. After criticizing the pessimistic position, Kagawa states: "We aim to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. The cooperative movement is in accord with Christian ideals of love and brotherhood."¹¹⁸

For him the cooperative movement is a means of modifying the vices of capitalism without resorting to revolution. In admiration of the system of guilds in mediaeval society Kagawa would like to revive it and apply to modern society in the framework of the cooperative movement.¹¹⁹

Kagawa learned from the successful examples of the cooperative movement in Denmark and Sweden.¹²⁰ He accepted the Rochdale system—originally practiced in the little town of Rochdale near Manchester, England—based on open voluntary membership; one member-one vote; limited interest on capital; cash trading;

reserves for education; rebates paid on purchases; and market price.¹²¹ He furthermore asserted that profits to be returned to members should not necessarily be distributed according to the amount of purchases, but rather that the larger purchasers should contribute more to public welfare projects, such as education, expansion, etc.¹²² This was based on the Kagawa's emphasis on cross-consciousness, another fundamental principle of the cooperative movement.

After returning from America, Kagawa started to preach on the cooperative movement and organized the Kyoei Sha (Cooperative Profit Company) in Osaka, in 1919, and the Kobe Consumer Cooperative in 1921.¹²³ At the time the depression was growing acute with increases in unemployment and decreases in wages.¹²⁴ At the same time that he was organizing labor unions, Kagawa was making unbending efforts to develop the cooperative movement. In 1926 Sugiyama and Kagawa established an association of rural cooperatives with the purpose "of bringing the spirit of the cooperative into rural villages."¹²⁵ In writings published after World War II, he has continuously advocated the cooperative movement as an alternative for social reconstruction.¹²⁶

For Kagawa the unit of social change must be found in the unit of the cooperative. He expresses his idea of the unit as follows:

"If producers and consumers come together in a spirit of cooperation, then society has coordination. This we call the social unit. Then producers are consumers, and consumers are producers.

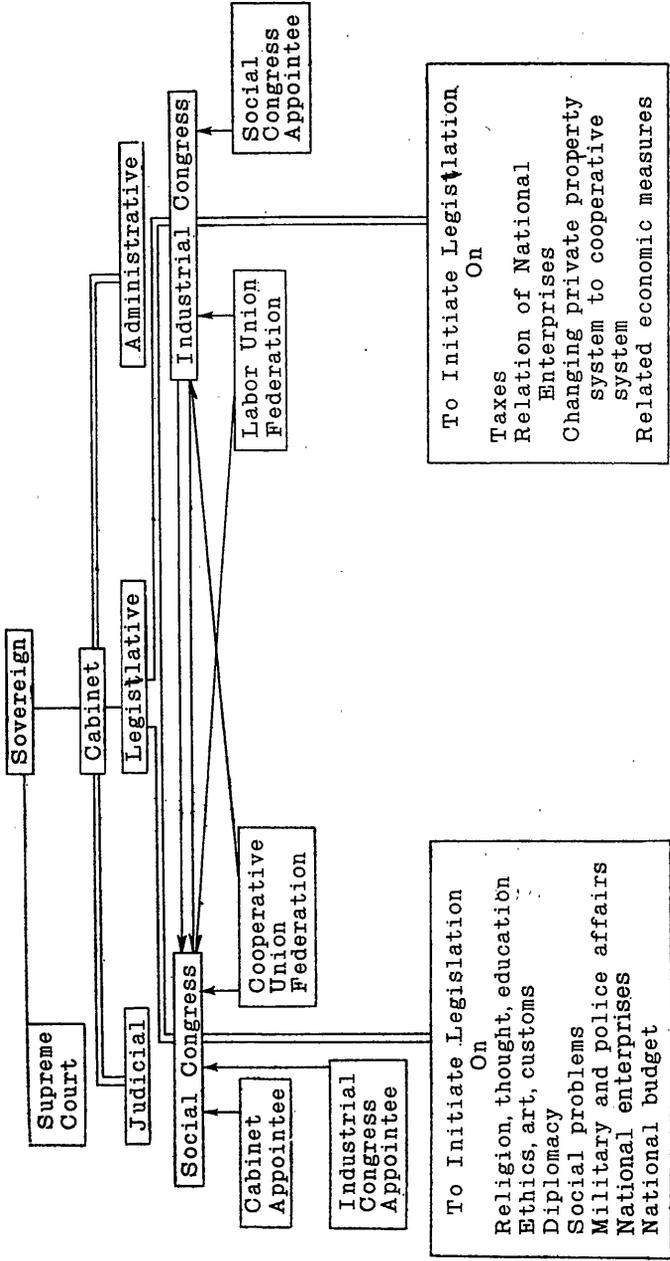
Whoever wishes to organize society comes to this conclusion, to this social unit.... In the social unit there is no profiteering, no competition, and surplus power is not misspent. All power is employed for progress. Christians must devote their power not in competition, but in the establishment of the social unit."¹²⁷

As against the seven elements into which he divides value, Kagawa proposes the establishment of the seven types of cooperatives :

<i>Elements of Value</i>	<i>Types of Cooperative</i>
1. Life	Insurance Cooperative
2. Labor	Producers' Cooperative
3. Change	Marketing and transportation Cooperative
4. Growth	Credit Cooperative
5. Selection	Mutual Aid Cooperative (Educational, professional and social welfare Coop.)
6. Order	Utilities Cooperative
7. Purpose	Consumers' Cooperative

It is Kagawa's ideal that these cooperatives will help each other not only within one country but also internationally. Although Kagawa admires Tolstoy's teaching of non-resistance, he is critical of Tolstoy's individualistic approach to social order. He advocates the necessity of establishing a cooperative state in order to carry into effect in all phases of life the principle of brotherly love. The structure of the cooperative state proposed by Kagawa can be diagrammatically shown in the following page.

Government of the Cooperative State
Proposed by Kagawa*



(Double lines indicate function. Single lines indicate relationship.)

* From Kagawa, *Brotherhood Economics*, p. 152.

It is a scheme characterized by the presence of a cabinet and a bicameral legislative, with an Industrial Congress and a Social Congress.

Representatives from cooperatives and from labor federations would constitute the membership of the proposed Industrial Congress, which will consider industrial relations, the transformation of the capitalistic system to a cooperative system, taxation, and public enterprises.¹²⁸ The Social Congress will be formed by representatives from organs coordinated with the cooperatives and from labor unions through general elections. It will consider religion, philosophy and morality, and international relations.¹²⁹ The Social Congress is necessary in order to maintain balance in case the industrial organizations lack ethical consciousness. In order to prevent domination by labor and cooperative organizations, the presidents of cooperatives and labor organizations may not become heads of local villages or cities, as well as the head of the cabinet.¹³⁰

Kagawa's scheme is essentially an application of the ideas of guild socialism to the modern state system. One of the main questions still remaining is how to bring about such a cooperative state. How can man's increasing selfish interests or different group interests be conciliated to the interests of the state as a whole? In answer to this question Kagawa wrote :

“Unless the principles of this system are well understood by every member, the cooperative will ultimately collapse, although outside pressure may hold it together for a while. Accordingly the cooperative movement must initiate a thoroughgoing educational

movement. Economic life depends on this education." 131

Recognizing that the process of change would be slow indeed, nevertheless a confirmed idealist he concludes:

"So if people become educated and conscious of the fact that in order to put Christian brotherhood love into economic life, it is necessary to have a non-exploiting system of economics, it should be an easy matter to change the capitalistic system into cooperative economics." 132

In summary, we may note the comprehensive range of Kagawa's activities with regard to social problems, first as a leader in slum reform and in settlement work, then as an enlightened leader in the labor and agricultural union movements, and as a champion of the cooperative movement, and finally as a constant advocate of the love of God in society. The question of depth both with regard to Kagawa's theory and Kagawa's practice in actual projects may be raised. His discussion often tends to become shallow or sometimes naive. He initiated a wide range of projects, so that the administration of the projects became more than one man could bear. Yet these factors do not detract from his greatness as a sower of the seed of Cross-consciousness and a pioneer in social movements within the Protestant churches. Having a high estimation of man's consciousness and a profound belief in the reality of God in history; as unifying forces, he could not accept dualistic views and tended to unite economics and religion. With his genius religious insight, and dynamic energy, he has played a unique role as a courageous leader of Protestantism in Japan.

Footnote

1. Uemura Masahisa, when he heard about the trial during his trip to Manchuria, wrote, "I do not know much about Kotoku Shashi. Yet it is a fearful world." *Uemura Zenshu*, vol. V. p. 501.
2. Katayama Sen, *The Labor Movement in Japan*, pp. 128—9.
3. They published from time to time such magazines like, "Shin Shakai" (The New Society), "Kindai Shiso" (Modern Thought), "Bunmei Hyoron" (The Review of Civilization) and "Shakai Shugi" (Socialism).
4. The translation of the factory law appears in Appendix V., "*Christian Movement in Japan*", pp. 475—481.
5. Article II of the Law prohibits the employment of those under 12 years of age. However, this did not apply to persons not less than 10 years of age who were already employed at the time of the enforcement of the law. *Ibid.*, p. 474.
6. The following two tables indicate the growth of Japanese industry at the time.

Table I
Increase of Factories and Laborers (1911—1919)

Year	Number of Factories	Number of Laborers		
		Male	Female	Total
1911	14, 228	317, 388	476, 492	793, 885
1912	15, 119	348, 230	515, 217	863, 447
1913	15, 811	375, 596	540, 655	916, 252
1914	17, 062	318, 667	535, 297	853, 964
1915	16, 809	350, 976	559, 823	910, 799
1916	19, 299	458, 632	636, 669	1, 095, 301
1917	20, 966	367, 844	713, 120	1, 280, 964
1918	22, 391	646, 115	763, 081	1, 409, 196
1919	44, 087	865, 439	911, 732	1, 777, 171

7. Shinobu Seizaburo, *Taisho Seiji Shi*, (Political History of Taisho Era), vol. III. p. 736.
8. Kishimoto, *Nihon Rodo Undo Shi* (History of Japanese Labor Movement) 1952, pp. 138—139.
9. Morito Tatsuo, *Nihon ni okeru Kirisutokyo to Shakaishugi Undo* (Christianity and Social Movement in Japan) 1950, p. 56.

Table II
The Increase of Laborers According to the Classification in Industry

Industry	Year	Laborers in 1909	%	Laborers in 1919	%
Spinning		486,508	80.8%	894,618	55.5%
Food		88,740	11.1%	104,772	6.5%
Metal		18,183	2.3%	76,129	4.7%
Machine		46,834	5.9%	197,770	12.3%
Chemical		43,517	5.4%	115,841	7.2%

Two tables were taken from Kishimoto Eitaro, *Nihon Rodo Undo Shi*, (History of the Labor Movement in Japan) pp. 122—124.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
11. Akamatsu Katsumaro, *Nihon Rodo Undo Hattatsu Shi*, (Development of Labor Movement in Japan) p. 84.
12. Suzuki Bunji, *Rodo Undo Nijyu Nen*, (Twenty Years in Labor Movement) pp. 54—55.
13. Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
14. Suzuki, *op. cit.*, pp. 85—87.
15. Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
16. Between 1912 and 1917, Yuaikai participated in 44 labor struggles; with Suzuki in charge of 32 and Uchida of 12 as secretary. Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
17. Suzuki, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
19. Details of the Rice Riots may be found in Shinobu Seizaburo, *op. cit.*, vol. II. pp. 541—651.
20. A. C. Knudten, *Toyohiko Kagawa and Modern Tendencies in Japan*. Ph. D. dissertation at University of Southern California, 1946, translated by Murashima and Ogawa as *Kaiho no Yogensha*, (The Prophet of Liberalism). p. 71. Hereafter Knudten.
21. After 1920, "Yuaikai" was completely dropped.
22. In 1925, Sodo Mei split into two groups, one, the right wing, continuing to use the name Sodo Mei, and the other, left wing radicals, who called themselves the Nihon Rodo Kumiai Hyogikai (Japan Labor Union Council).

- Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 179—180.
23. Among the books about Kagawa the following are helpful.
William Axling, **Kagawa**, revised edition.
A. C. Knudten, **Toyohiko Kagawa and Modern Tendencies in Japan**.
Yokoyama Haruichi, **Kagawa Toyohiko Den** (Biography of Kagawa Toyohiko).
D. Carola Barth, **Taten in Gottes Kraft, Toyohiko Kagawa, seir Leben fur Christas und Japan**.
 24. Kagawa Toyohiko, **Songs From the Slums**, pp. 82—83.
 25. Kagawa Toyohiko, **Meditations on the Cross**, p. 167.
 26. Kagawa published altogether 162 books until 1950. Twenty five are in translation. Three are co-authored.
 27. Kagawa Toyohiko, **Brotherhood Economics**, p. 41.
 28. For example, Uemura Masahisa, a prominent leader of the church, cautioned against the dangers of dogmatic tendencies which were strongly prevalent in his churches. **Uemura Zenshu**, vol. V. pp. 160—161.
 29. Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**, p. 43.
 30. William Axling, **Kagawa**, pp. 93—94.
 31. Kagawa, **New Life Through God**, p. 30.
 32. Kagawa, **Meditations on the Cross**, p. 31.
 33. Kagawa, **Love, the Law of Life**, p. 56.
 34. Kagawa, **Jesus no Shukyo to sono Shinri**, (Religion of Jesus and its Truth) p. 24.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
 36. Kagawa, **Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei**, (Social Revolution and Spiritual Revolution), p. 108.
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
 38. *Ibid.*, pp. 120—125.
 39. Kagawa, **Meditations on the Cross**, p. 33.
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 82. footnote.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
 42. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
 43. Kagawa, **Love, the Law of Life**, pp. 116—117.
 44. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
 45. Kagawa, **New Life Through Christ**, pp. 71 ff; **Brotherhood Economics**,

- pp. 31 ff; **Meditations on the Cross**, pp. 9 ff.; **Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei**, (Social Revolution and Spiritual Revolution), p. 130.
46. Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**, p. 36.
 47. Kagawa, **Meditations on the Cross**, p. 95.
 48. **Ibid.**, p. 34.
 49. Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**, p. 35.
 50. Kagawa, **Jinkaku Shakaishugi no Honshitsu**, (The Essence of Personal Socialism), p. 16.
 51. Kagawa, **Seishin Undo to Shakai Undo**, (Spiritual Movement and Social Movement), p. 382.
 52. Kagawa, **Jinkaku Shakaishugi no Honshitsu**, (The Essence of Personal Socialism), p. 18.
 53. Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**, p. 26.
 54. **Ibid.**, pp. 32—33.
 55. Statistics are found in Yokoyama Haruichi, **Kagawa Toyohiko Den**, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
 56. C. Burnell Olds, **The Kingdom of God in Japan**: p. 54.
 57. Axling, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
 58. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 57—58.
 59. **Ibid.**, p. 58.
 60. Axling, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
 61. Kagawa, **Before the Dawn**, English translation of **Shisen o Koete**, (Across the Death-line) Kagawa's autobiographical-novel, p. 264.
 62. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
 63. Kagawa, **Before the Dawn**, p. 259.
 64. **Ibid.**, p. 260.
 65. Axling, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
 66. Kagawa rented the two rooms for ¥ 2.00 a month (about one dollar). Kagawa, **Before the Dawn**, p. 265.
 67. Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**, p. 10.
 68. Kagawa, **Before the Dawn**, p. 243.
 69. Axling, *op. cit.*, pp. 31—32. Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**, pp. 11—12.
 70. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
 71. See Kagawa, **Before the Dawn**, Chapters XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVI, and XLI.

72. Axling, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
73. Kagawa, **Before the Dawn**, Chapter XXXIV, "Baby-Killing". pp. 276—279.

According to Axling :

"Unwanted babies were brought to middle-men, who bargained to take them at the rate of \$ 15.00 plus ten garments for each child. They in turn sold them to traffickers in infants, who received \$ 10.00 of this money and five of the garments. The family that finally adopted the child did so not because they wanted the child, but in order to get the \$ 2.50 in money and the two garments which came with it as compensation for raising it." Axling, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

74. Kagawa, **Songs From the Slums**, pp. 32—33.
75. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 105. Also Axling, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
77. Kagawa, **Before the Dawn**, p. 296.
78. Kagawa, **Settlement Undo no Riron to Jissai**, (Theory and Practice of the Settlement Movement) pp. 10, 11, 24.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 23—24.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
81. Knudten, *op. cit.*, p. 49—50.
82. Kagawa, **Settlement Undo no Riron to Jissai**, *op. cit.*, p. 28—29.
83. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
85. Axling, *op. cit.*, pp. 90—92.
86. Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**, p. 143. Also **Meditations on the Cross**, p. 147.
87. Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**, p. 12.
88. For Kagawa's economic theory, in addition to the three books mentioned above, the following books should be consulted:
- Kagawa, **Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei**, (Social Revolution and Spiritual Revolution).
- Kagawa, **Jinkaku Shakaishugi no Honshitsu**, (The Essence of Personal Socialism).
- Kagawa, **Brotherhood Economics**,
89. Kagawa, **Shukanshugi Keizai no Genri**, *op. cit.*, pp. 175—176. **Jinkaku**

- Shakaishugi no Honshitsu**, *op. cit.*, p. 288. **Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei**, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
90. He pointed out that about 13,000 out of 500,000 women workers in the cotton mills in Japan had to return to their home because of getting illness, and a quarter of them are tuberculosis. Kagawa, **Seishin Undo to Shakai Undo**, *op. cit.*, p. 540.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 542—543.
92. Details of the shipyard disputes may be found in Shinobu Seizaburo, **Taisho Seiji Shi**, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 720—734.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 721.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 734.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 735.
96. “Osaka Shindo Kumiai” (Osaka Copper Workers Union) and “Osaka Insatsuko Kakushin Doshikai” (Association of Progressive Printers Union) Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 455. Kagawa contributed ¥ 35,000 from sales of his books to those workers who were suffering because of the dispute. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
97. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
98. Shinobu, **Taisho Seiji Shi**, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 770.
99. Morito, *op. cit.*, pp. 60—61. Also Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 184.
100. Shinobu, **Taisho Seiji Shi**, *op. cit.*, p. 770.
101. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
102. Axling, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
103. Kagawa, **Jinkaku Shakaishugi no Honshitsu**, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff., and pp. 173 ff.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
105. Kagawa, (translation) **Venice no Ishi**, (The Stones of Venice) vol. I. and II. For Kagawa’s appreciation of Ruskin, see:
Kagawa, **Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei**, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
Kagawa, **Shukanshugi no Keizai**, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
Kagawa, **Jinkaku Shakaishugi no Honshitsu**, *op. cit.*, pp. 117—119.
106. Kagawa, **Jinkaku Shakaishugi no Honshitsu**, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
107. Kagawa, **Kabe no Koe ni Kikutoki**, (When we hear the voice of the wall) pp. 317 ff.
108. Kagawa, **Shukanshugi Keizai no Genri**, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

109. *Ibid.*, p. 358.
110. Morito, *Nihon ni okeru Kirisutokyo to Shakai Undo*, *op. cit.*, pp. 85—89.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 190 ff.
112. Kagawa, *Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei*, *op. cit.*, pp. 69—70.
113. Yamazaki Senji, *Nihon Shohi Kumiaishi*, (A History of the Consumer Cooperative Movement). pp. 307—8.
114. Morito, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
116. Kagawa, *Brotherhood Economics*, pp. 169—170.
117. When he was endorsed by his socialists friend to run for the national parliament in 1930, he refused. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
118. Kagawa, *Brotherhood Economics*, pp. 113—114.
119. Kagawa, *Shukanshugi Keizai no Genri*, *op. cit.*, pp. 305—306 and p. 195.
120. Kagawa, *Jinkaku Shakaishugi no Honshitsu*, *op. cit.*, p. 61. Kagawa, *Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei*, *op. cit.*, pp. 161—162. Kagawa, *Brotherhood Economics*, *op. cit.*, p. 134, p. 195.
121. Kagawa, *Brotherhood Economics*, pp. 100—103.
122. Kagawa, *Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei*, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff. *Brotherhood Economics*, p. 149.
123. Yokoyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 130—133.
124. Between 1918 and 1919, 41,921 workers were discharged. The index-number of wage dropped 22% between 1914 and 1919. Shinobu, *Taisho Seiji Shi*, *op. cit.*, p. 736.
125. Morito, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 ff.
126. Kagawa, *Jinkaku Shakaishugi no Honshitsu*, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 ff. *Shakai Kakumei to Seishin Kakumei*, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff.
127. *Ibid.*, pp. 158—161.
128. *Ibid.*, pp. 161—164.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 172.