

# **Pre-war Protestant Japanese Revivals from 1859 through the 1890's**

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## **Introduction**

Before jumping into the topic of pre-war Protestant Japanese revivals it is important to establish our perimeters. First, the pre-war history of the Protestant Churches in which revivals have played a significant role should be divided into two periods. The first would be from 1859 to the 1890's. The next period would be that of the 1900's until the 1930's. It will be noticed that the revivals in the first period (1872, 1876, 1883, 1884) have several common components: New Year's prayer meetings begin the process, spontaneously with no significant signs of "new measures," and with evangelism taking the form of lay-preaching as the revival impacts peoples' lives. The second period is one where the revivals have been "routinized." The "new measures" have become part of the normal understanding of what causes or assists the inception of a revival. The revivals which centered on mass evangelism can be exemplified by the 1901-1903 20<sup>th</sup> Century Taikyo Dendo, the 1914-1917 Zenkoku Kyodo Dendo, the 1918 Sairin Undo, the 1929 Kami no Kuni Undo. These mass evangelism campaigns tended not to cause great emotional excitement and yet have been labeled revivals. They form one trajectory during this period. The other trajectory during this period centered around the Holiness movement. The revivals of 1919 and 1930 are the two that dominate this period. The influence of Dwight Moody and the Keswick movement on these revivals have given them their unique characteristics. In contrast to the mass evangelism campaigns this trajectory showed signs of much emotional excitement and even healings are reported for the first time in Japanese Protestantism.

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century most of the Christian denominations reached Japan. There were three main groups of Christian churches in Japan before 1900. They were the Evangelical, Liberal and Full Gospel groups. The first Protestant missionaries, who landed in Japan after 1859 were Evangelicals who inherited the Christianity of Wesley and the First Great Awakening in the United States. Liberal Christianity was called Shin-shingaku and it came via Germany and the United States. The Full Gospel (Jun-Fukuin) groups came to Japan around 1890.<sup>1</sup>

As one can easily realize, even after delimiting our study to revivals in the pre-war era of Japanese Protestant Christianity it is still too wide and the historical data too voluminous. Therefore we have limited our investigation at this time to the first period of the revivalism in Protestant Japan (1859-1890's).

The second perimeter deals with the difficult issue of semantics, i.e. how do we define a "revival," an "awakening," or "revivalism." It is not just a matter of definition, but also how to evaluate those events that we may label as revivals or awakenings. In the next section we will deal with this issue. Needless to say, the definitions themselves are a weighty and much debated topic.

## **I. Toward a Working Definition of Revival**

'Tis not unlikely that this work of God's Spirit, that is so extraordinary and wonderful, is the dawning, or at least a prelude, of that glorious work of God so often foretold in Scripture, which in the progress and issue of it shall renew the world of mankind (sic) . . . And there are many things that make it probable that this work begin (sic) in America. (Jonathan Edwards)<sup>2</sup>

What is a revival? Are revivals culture-bound so that their appearance in a culture such as Japan is only a manifestation of an alien cultural intrusion? Can one measure it, weigh it, count it? In this section, we will attempt to give our wording definitions and answers to the above questions.

### **A. What is a Revival?**

'Revival' has been variously defined by Historians, Theologians and Practitioners. For example the Historian William G. McLoughlin writes,

Revivalism is the Protestant ritual (at first spontaneous, but, since 1830, routinized) in which charismatic evangelists convey "the Word" of God to large masses of people who, under this influence, experience what Protestants call conversion, salvation, regeneration, or spiritual rebirth. Awakenings – the most vital and yet most mysterious of all folk arts – are periods of cultural revitalization that begin in a general crisis of beliefs and values and extend over a period of a generation or so, during which time a profound reorientation in beliefs and values takes place. Revivals alter the lives of individuals; awakenings alter the world view of a whole people or culture.<sup>3</sup>

These definitions serve McLoughlin well as he postulates that the United States is a

culture that breaths and lives through awakenings. “Awakenings have been the shaping power of American culture from its inception.”<sup>4</sup> His differentiation of revivals and awakenings are crucial since the awakenings are secularized and form a four or five part grid to analyze American History. Although McLoughlin gives lip service to the idea of revivals and awakenings in all cultures, the overall effect of his study causes one to wonder if “revivalism,” “revivals” and “awakenings” in a Protestant Christian context are nothing more than an American Protestant propaganda.

Almost 40 years earlier, William W. Sweet had colored these terms in a marked “American” red, white and blue (an idea that can be noted even in Edwards’ quotation above), as he described the history of the Church in the United States. He wrote:

Thus there came to be more unchurched people in America, in proportion to the population, than was to be found in any country in Christendom. It was this situation which made necessary the development of a new technique to win people to the church, and this new method, peculiar to America and to other newly settled areas, was revivalism. The Great Awakening was the first religious movement which made any serious impression upon the common people of the American colonies, and marks the beginning of an aggressive American Christianity.

From that time until the end of the nineteenth century revivalism has manifested itself at frequent intervals in America. In its earlier phases revivalism grew largely out of frontier conditions, and performed its best work in the newer sections of the country, and here also it often produced unfortunate excesses. But whatever may be said in criticism of frontier revivalism, this much must be said on its behalf: it was perhaps the only method by which the frontier could receive any of the benefits of Christianity, warped though it often was, almost beyond recognition. The camp meeting, one of the by-products of frontier revivalism, served a very large social and religious need and developed into community Chautauquas and summer assemblies. This peculiar phase of American Christianity has been gradually passing, just in proportion as frontier conditions have been disappearing, while the more adequate academic training of the ministry has lessened the emotional appeal in modern preaching.<sup>5</sup>

Sweet’s perspective makes “awakenings” and “revivals” into culturally and historically conditioned evangelistic tools. But does this really do justice to “awakenings” and “revivals”?

First, we would argue that Christianity is by nature a religion of revivals and awakenings balanced by those periods when the Church maintains its normal functions. Jeffrey Burton Russell uses the rubric of “prophecy and order” to

discuss this aspect of Christianity. His “prophecy” would parallel revivals and awakenings, while “order” is the term he uses to describe the Church life in its regular mode. He writes, “both prophecy and order seek the Kingdom of God; but prophecy seeks the end of the world and uncompromisingly hopes for immediate confrontation with God, while order works more patiently within the world and with the imperfect materials at hand.”<sup>6</sup> In this sense the whole of the history of the Church shows signs of these two dynamics. Therefore “revivals” and “awakenings” can not be the sole possession of an American Protestantism. However, at the same time it would be wrong to negate its influence.

For the purposes of this study it is probably best to highlight a definition of our terms that integrate both the nineteenth century Protestant Christian world and its American background. The best definitions that we have found are those of Kathryn Teresa Long.

In the nineteenth century, “revival” commonly was used in two different ways, to refer to a local phenomenon and to a broad popular movement. In both cases. . . it meant an unusual increase in religious concern and of professed conversions that occurred in a communal setting. Revivals sometimes were described as “extraordinary seasons of religious interest.” Local revivals were periods of intense religious concern in a congregation, community, or other group such as a camp meeting. But “revival” also could refer to outbreaks of religious fervor throughout a particular denomination, region, nation, or group of countries over a prolonged period of time. . . . The word “awakening” usually was reserved for such a prolonged revival movement, although on occasion it, too, was employed in the more narrow sense.<sup>7</sup>

We would argue that “revival” should be understood as involving primarily a qualitative increase in “religious concern” in an individual or collective people grouping. Although this should, ultimately cause a quantitative increase in the Christian community, a quantitative increase alone would not qualify as a revival. In this way a “revival” could be distinguished from an evangelistic crusade or the inception of a new Christian work.

## **B. Can One Measure it, Weigh it, Count it?**

By making a distinction between a qualitative and quantitative increase in “religious concerns” it becomes almost impossible to evaluate if an event is a revival or not. However, Archibald Alexander’s 1831 description of a true revival

is helpful: “Nothing occurs with which any pious man can find fault. . . . The convictions of sin are deep and humbling. . . . [T]he love of God is shed abroad. . . . A spirit of devotion is enkindled. . . . Prayer is the exercise in which the soul seems to be in its proper element.”<sup>8</sup> This rather nebulous description can be used to give a ballpark judgment concerning a revival.

As a revival increases in time and the numbers of people involved (quantitative) it can be further categorized. We will use the classification suggestion by the popular work of Malcolm McDow and Alvin L. Reid, *Firefall: How God Has Shaped History Through Revivals*. They divide revivals into six classifications:

The six classifications of spiritual awakening are personal, institutional, regional, specialized, national, and global. Revivals always start with personal encounters with God and travel through contiguous circles to their conclusions. Although all revivals are personal, they seldom go through the entire concentric circles of activity. They stop along the pathways within the divine intentions of God. Each type of revival is a legitimate renewal. Many speak of revival only when it has significant impact upon a nation, but not all revivals are so extensive. There have only been four national and two specialized revivals with major national consequences within the history of the United States.<sup>9</sup>

There is only one adaptation that we feel is necessary in this classification. The third category, i.e. “regional” tends to be appropriate for an American history of revivals, however it is awkward when applied specifically to Japanese Church history. We will include a “trans-regional” category, as an alternative. This category implies that the “revival” has been spread beyond the specific institution involved. A regional category presupposes multiple Christian communities in a specific geographic territory, while the Protestant work in Japan in the period, 1859-1890’s, would *ipso facto* not qualify. “Trans-regional” would mean that the revival has spread not in a narrow geographic area, but through the larger growing Christian Church.

## **II. A Short History of Notable Revivals in Protestant Japan from 1859 to 1890’s**

It was in 1859 that Protestant missionaries first officially came to Japan. However the road was being paved by the arrival of the “black ships” of

Commodore Perry in 1853 and the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and Japan (July 28, 1858)<sup>10</sup> which provided for the free exercise of religion to United States citizens. The first Japanese citizen that was baptized was by John H. Ballagh at Yokohama, Genryu Yano in 1865.<sup>11</sup> Overall in the first 10 years or so of ministry there was not much fruit anywhere in Japan.

### **A. The 1872 Revival in Yokohama**

It was through the call to prayer by the “World Evangelical Alliance” in 1872 that a spark of an awakening was kindled<sup>12</sup>, although these prayer meetings had begun in 1860.<sup>13</sup> The foreigners began prayer following their calendar year’s beginning whereas a request was made by Keinosuke Shinozaki for a Japanese prayer meeting starting in February of this same year. This Shinozaki was an English student of Rev. Ballagh. Through this a revival broke out and on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1872, the Yokohama Koukai Church<sup>14</sup> was established.

J. H. Ballagh describes the beginning of this revival:

The circumstances leading up to the first revival in Japan occurring in the stone chapel of Yokohama were that Keinosuke Shinozaki, a kind and tender-hearted young man, came to me and asked for the use of the Chapel (one of the rooms). When I inquired why he wanted it, he replied that it was for holding a prayer meeting. So I loaned it. The prayer meeting began on the second day of the old New Year (February 10, 1872) and I joined them. I read Isaiah 32.13-15. Yoshiyasu Ogawa prayed. Then others prayed. Even though we continued three months, the meetings did not stop. On March 10 (Western calendar) I baptized nine persons.<sup>15</sup>

Hideaki Yamamoto writes:

. . . both men and women were present to the number of 20 to 40 people daily. Prayer after prayer, overjoyed with never-ending fervency, the prayer meetings were prolonged which were originally planned for a week. As the time went on fervency increased and some wept and prayed to God as the day of Pentecost in the first Church. We prayed that the glory of Jesus Christ would be shown and now we have experienced it. . . .<sup>16</sup>

It was not only fervency in prayer, but also a consistent exposition of the scriptures by Ballagh, specifically Isaiah, the Gospel of Matthew and the Book of Acts.<sup>17</sup> There was great evangelistic results beyond the confines of the church walls. Two

delegates were sent outside of the Yokohama area in October of 1872 and in the following year itinerant evangelism was being done by seminarians from the church.<sup>18</sup>

An interesting issue is the spiritual ancestry of Ballagh and this first revival in Japan. Satoshi Moriyama argues that the first Protestant missionaries that came, including J. H. Ballagh, “were pious puritans, they went through the fire of Finney’s last revival in 1857-58 and therefore are Finney’s children.”<sup>19</sup> Also concerning this revival of 1872 that, “...similar phenomenon as in Finney’s ministry as that which they had been hearing from Ballagh”<sup>20</sup> However, we have not been able to trace any direct influence of Finney on Ballagh and the first generation Protestant missionaries. Neither do we see signs of the “New Measures” at this time.<sup>21</sup> This does not negate the high probability that they were influenced by the first and second Great Awakening in the United States.

In summary it can be said that this 1872 revival began with a prayer emphasis and led to baptisms and the establishment of a church. We would categorize this revival as a revival that was personal and moved finally to an institutional stage with the establishment of the first Japanese Protestant Church. It led also to further evangelism and church planting.

## **B. The 1876 Revival in Kumamoto**

The next signs of revival were in Kumamoto. Rev. Verbeck was asked to send an appropriate teacher to the Kumamoto Yougakkou. The requirements were that he be a military man and teach an amalgam of western curricula.<sup>22</sup> Leroy Lansing Janes, a West Point graduate responded and arrived in 1871. He stayed until 1876 when his contract expired and anti-Christian and anti-school feelings became overpowering. During the first three years of his teaching, he did not share his faith explicitly; however as the students’ ability in English improved, he began a Bible study at his home on Wednesday nights. Seven of the students became fervent in their faith and began evangelizing their friends and neighbors. By the winter of 1875, 30 to 40 students confessed faith in Christ. Every night they had prayer meetings and Bible studies. Hiromichi Ozaki writes,

Earnest people prayed all night, some were as though crazed, and during the winter months some would douse themselves with cold water as a faith discipline. Many of the student thought only of religion, and all day and night they held meetings. When the new years opened, classes were started again, but hardly anyone attended the classes, as though it was a revival.<sup>23</sup>

One student reported, “our preaching was not confined to the school, but found its way to the servants of the teachers, our kindred at home, and to the men and women in the streets.”<sup>24</sup> On January 30, 1876 the students climbed Mount Hanaoka and swore an oath of allegiance to God. However a great persecution broke out among family members and the community. All were asked to renounce their faith. Through the correspondence of Captain Janes with Rev. Davis at Doushisha, many of the students were able to transfer to Doushisha and continue their education which led to Christian service. It was this same, Doushisha that experienced a revival in 1884.

The Kumamoto Revival can be categorized as also a personal and institutional revival, however unlike that of the 1872 revival it did not end in the establishment of a church. Instead the institution, i.e. the Kumamoto Yougakkou was closed. Its predominate characteristics of prayer and Bible study mixed with a open public witness was combined with a samurai ethos. They wanted to win Japan.

### **C. Should Clark’s work in Sapporo be considered a Revival?**

At about this time, Dr. W. S. Clark was invited to teach at the Sapporo Agricultural College. Through his short, eight months stay many of his students came to confess their faith in Christ. This was made public through the Covenant of Believers in Jesus in 1877.<sup>25</sup> However, we do not feel that this fruitful event should be classified as a revival. Clark did not really teach any theology, but stressed the moralistic aspects of Christianity. Although Kiyotaka Kuroda, the governor of Hokkaido, asked him not to teach Christianity, Clark persuaded Kuroda that without teaching the Bible he could not teach the students the moral education which Kuroda wanted him to stress. He told his students just to “be gentlemen.” And he gave them a pledge of temperance which was not only to the students but also to the faculty of the school.<sup>26</sup>

Clark, who was never recognized as an evangelistic Christian in the United



States, was earnest to share his faith with the students. Many people still wonder why his Christian faith burned so at Sapporo. We are told that “every day before the class started, President Clark read the Bible and talked on the passage, he let the students memorize the Bible passages and some hymns, then he prayed earnestly.”<sup>27</sup>

Many of his students were attracted to his personality and started to share their teacher’s faith. Their faith was more moralistic and intellectual than spiritual. Kanzo Uchimura, who was a member of the second class, was forced to sign the Covenant of Believers by the elder class men. Uchimura wrote “The public opinion of the college was too strong against me, which it was beyond my power to withstand. They forced me to sign the covenant. . . .”<sup>28</sup>

Under these circumstances it is impossible to call what occurred in Sapporo a revival. The extant descriptions do not reverberate with Archibald Alexander’s descriptions cited above. He laid a foundation, that needed to be built upon to establish a state of revival. It is important to note, however that Kanzo Uchimura was a delegate to the Zenkoku Kirisutokyouto Daishinbokokai of 1883, where revival fires were being stoked.

#### **D. The 1883 Revival**

In 1881, July 12, missionaries and Japanese Christians gathered together and made a covenant: “I agree to pray every morning for three months from this date (God helping me) for the outpouring (sic) God’s Holy Spirit upon Tokyo and Yokohama; upon all Christian labor and laborers throughout Japan.”<sup>29</sup>

It was at the aforementioned, “World Evangelical Alliance” prayer meeting of 1883, that a renewed awakening began as what seems to be the answer to the covenanted prayers. This prayer meeting, at the Yokohama Kaigan Church lasted for more than a month. It directly affected the Zenkoku Kirisutokyouto Daishinbokokai.

Hatanoshin Yamaga, a seminarian at the time of the revival, visited it out of curiosity and found himself caught by the overflowing blessing. He does not report the phenomena itself, because of its sacredness; however he claimed that the revival started in response to J. H. Ballagh’s dream and his confession that followed.

Ballagh's dream was that a flock of sheep were on the top of a steep cleft. It was obviously a dangerous place. However, in spite of the danger, the sheep were happy and frolicking on the cleft. Ballagh wondered why, until he saw a beam of light coming from the heavens. He wonder where the shepherd of the flock was. Then he saw that the shepherd was far away from the flock and enjoying a deep sleep. Ballagh awoke and interpreted the dream as showing his own personal neglect in his responsibilities of an evangelist. He then repented that as a pastor, he was not protecting his flock. The people were greatly moved by his confession. After his confession many earnest prayers were raised to God and then revival began.<sup>30</sup>

Mizugaki and his colleagues write:

The week of prayer at the New Year of 1883 showed signs of a renewal of faith similar to the revival that started in the New Year week of prayer in Yokohama eleven years before. Picked up by churches and Christian schools, the prayer meetings continued for several weeks, spreading like wildfire from Sendai in the North through Kobe and Osaka in the central part of Japan over into the island of Shikoku, resulting in a large number of earnest Christians.<sup>31</sup>

Mrs. L. H. Pierson described it by writing,

Then the heavenly showers decended (sic) and the waiting spirits of God's redeemed were refreshed and vivified, blossoming into living beauty and coronaed (sic) with the joy of the Lord, which is perpetual strength. It was a grand awakening, the revival of the Church of Christ in Japan, and many were added to its members, of such, as should be saved.<sup>32</sup>

Hiromichi Ozaki when describing the progression toward revival indicated that the Kaigan Church began their New Year prayer week as usual; however they specifically prayed for the falling of the Holy Spirit. This prayer meeting outlasted the week and continued. Other churches began to imitate and prayed earnestly. By the middle of March, people began to repent and became spiritually awakened. And by the beginning of April a revival state was established and the prayer meetings were extraordinary.<sup>33</sup>

After this the Tokyo Eiwa Gakkou and other schools began to experience the revival. One seeker, because of heavy conviction from sin could not sleep properly. He dreamt at this time that there was a flood and many were drowning. A boat came to rescue him, but he was not able to get aboard because he was a

sinner. The next morning at 5 a.m. he went to the pastor's home and repented of his sins and became a believer.<sup>34</sup> This example is paradigmatic of this 1883 revival in that others have cited the "repentance" factor as evident.<sup>35</sup>

In May 8-12<sup>th</sup> the 3<sup>rd</sup> Zenkoku Kirisutokyouto Daishinbokukai was held with 400-500 people attending. Most Japanese Church History texts include a picture of this important event, however it is not usually viewed through the lens of the revival that was present at that time. Other meetings followed the Daishinbokukai in which attendance were in the 3,000 to 4,000.

Many Christian leaders commented on these meetings and their effect. Kanzo Uchimura's dairy records that, "the church's faith was renewed, the conscience was challenged, love and unity was greatly strengthened and the meeting was generally pentecostal."<sup>36</sup> Jo Niiijima said that "within ten years our country will become Christian." Missionary Eby stated, "Heaven is opened" to explain the state of the revival. The Christian population grew from 5,634 in 1882 to 10,542 in 1885. This rate of increase continued for several 3 year periods.<sup>37</sup>

The Daishinbokukai is strangely lacking in statements of "repentance" experiences *per say*.<sup>38</sup> The predominate mood was "at times encouraging, at times crying, at times being warned. At the communion people were touched."<sup>39</sup> Preaching was dominated, after an initial series of resolutions dealing with Christian ethic and practices such as the freedom of cremation and rules of order had been discussed.

To summarize the year 1883 and the revival that was taking place during this year, it is important to note that this revival began personally and moved through the institutional stage. Unlike the revival of 1872, this revival extended beyond and moved into what we have labeled "trans-regional. The movement from Kaigan Church and through the Daishinbokukai was a major progression that spread the revival fires. In fact the Daishinbokukai acted as a hub in spreading the revival still further. Shizuo Ono observes that the 1883 revival was the "top of the primitive evangelistic movement in Japan." He further comments that later on evangelism was institutionalized.<sup>40</sup> Characteristic of this revival in 1883 is that "repentance" was highlighted from the start with Ballagh's dream, interpretation and modeled public repentance. There is no evidence, however, of explicit "New Measures" to elicit this repentance.

We would be amiss not to note that at this time Masahisa Uemura<sup>41</sup> warned about the emotional upheaval in this revival and that it would not last. Naomi Tamura<sup>42</sup> who was in the United States at the time, has written that this revival was emotional and shallow as it progressed.

### **E. The 1885 Revival at Doushisha**

The Doushisha revival that started through a prayer meeting begun at the school in January of 1884, reached its full bloom on March 17<sup>th</sup>, 1884. At this meeting there was great fervor and deep touching. Although the leaders of the meeting dismissed the group, many stayed on and prayed, some staying through the night. “Those who were cold to religions shed tears and repented, those who were arrogant became humble like children and those who were undecided, decided and believed at that time.”<sup>43</sup> There were about 200 students at the time and it seems that all made a profession of faith through the revival. The school had to even be closed for a whole week in response to the work of grace.

The record of this revival has two unexplained threads. First, neither J. D. Davis in his Niijima biography nor Evert Boutell Greene’s biography about Daniel Crosby Greene mention this notable event. Niijima, who both attended the Daishinbokkai and gave strong signs of approving the 1883 revival, seems to have been preoccupied with establishing the school as a University.

Davis writes:

In the early part of 1884 it became evident that the strain of the last nine years had so exhausted Mr. Neesima that he must have a complete change. He had tried in vain to rest in Japan; he could not escape from the many calls which pressed upon him everywhere; he could not forget the great work he had undertaken; it was always before his eyes and upon his heart. He at last yielded to the earnest solicitations of his friends, and accepted Mr. Hardy’s generous invitation to go to the United States by way of Europe, and on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April, 1884, he started from Kobe on his long journey. He landed in Italy at Naples.<sup>44</sup>

This means that Niijima left Doushisha during the midst of the revival.

Daniel Crosby Greene was also teaching at Doushisha during the period of the 1884 revival, but nothing is recorded concerning his involvement or lack of it. Instead we read a quote from a letter he wrote during 1884 where he expresses a

high optimism not unlike Nijjima's Daishinbokukai statement:

The whole country is in a state of great expectancy. The minds not of Christians only, but of all classes seem to be directed in a wonderful way toward Christianity. High government officials, even members of the cabinet, though apparently without any personal interest in the Christian religion, are reported to be anxious to see it spread in Japan.<sup>45</sup>

In spite of this positive attitude toward the Christian expansion and influence, the revival is passed over in silence.

The second thread concerns the actual description of the March 17<sup>th</sup> meeting. Hiromichi Ozaki writes that,

. . . there were also many faculty members at the prayer meeting, one student stood up and exhorted all to repent. Especially toward the missionaries, strongly urging them to repent. In the end, strong words such as "You are a demon, get out of here" were used. He picked up a chair and attempted to drive them out. Even when others attempted to calm him down by physically restraining him, his madness did not cease. He then collapsed and lost consciousness, was brought into Nijjima's house and forced to lie down.<sup>46</sup>

There is also a report of several students who became mentally disturbed and one who died.<sup>47</sup> The zealous would climb a nearby mountain early every morning to pray or nightly pray till late, going to the bamboo woods of the Sokoku Temple.

The positive side the Doushisha revival can be seen in Ozaki's description. He writes that "they were filled with joy, filled with an evangelistic fervor and . . . thereby sent three delegates."<sup>48</sup> These three delegates brought the revival throughout the Kansai churches. The remaining students continued to pray and assisted in the churches in Kyoto. These churches also experienced an extraordinary renewal.

Problematic as this revival seems to have been, it follows the stages of the personal and institutional levels. However it is difficult to determine if this revival was trans-regional or if it was itself an extension of the 1883 revival and the Daishinbokukai meetings as many Japanese Church History texts report. We would rather point in the direction of a two pronged influence from Kumamoto and the Kaigan Church revival without an explicit connection with the Daishinbokukai. This is because the Kaigan 1883 Revival emphasized repentance which seems to have been central to the Doushisha 1884 revival. Also, members of the Kumamoto

Yougakkou were present at Doushisha as faculty. There are also parallels in fervency with Kumamoto.

### **III. Conclusions:**

In conclusion, we have argued that the period, 1859 to the 1890's, definitely saw revivals in the Japanese Protestant Church. The years 1872, 1876, 1883, 1884 produced revivals to the institutional and even trans-regional stages.

These revivals were characterized first of all by prayer meetings that continued temporally and even geographically beyond their original intent. The strange fact that they were all part of a New Year's prayer meeting is interesting. The prayer meetings of the 1872 and 1876 revivals were new events for the participant. However the prayer meetings involved in the 1883 and 1884 revivals were regular events that were spontaneously vivified.

The second observation is that the revivals during this period did not utilize the so-called "new measures" in what we have been able to determine through this investigation. John Ballagh is described as being "amazed" at what was taking place. We may therefore conclude that these revivals should be categorized as "spontaneous" in their inception.

Thirdly, the revivals all led to lay-preaching outside of the Church. This comes in the form of "delegates" being sent out to actively spread the revival. With the except of the Daishinbokukai, clergy play a secondary role in these revivals.

In contrast, evangelism, beginning in the 1900's was characterized by mass evangelization and the integration of the "new measures." Ozaki in fact states that John R. Mott, who plays a crucial role both financially and in terms of active participation in the great mass evangelism crusades, taught that for evangelism, Finney, Moody and Spurgeon are important figures to study.<sup>49</sup> The world seems to have become a small place and all know what is happening in Christendom.

Finally, we conclude that the revivals in this period provided an avenue to internalize one's Christian faith in a new dynamic manner. Revival assisted the Japanese Christian in enculturating their faith, especially during the Daishinbokukai. It may still be argued these revivals were strongly influenced by the First and Second Great Awakenings in the United States, along with an impact

from the Revival of 1857-58, however the tag on the end product does not read, "Made in the U.S.A."

- <sup>1</sup> Akio Dohi, *Nihon Purotestant Kirisutokyoushi* (Shinkyoushuppan, 1980), 17-25.
- <sup>2</sup> Jonathan Edwards, *Thoughts on the Revival in New England*, as quoted in Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 28.
- <sup>3</sup> William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), xiii.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.
- <sup>5</sup> William W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1983, 4<sup>th</sup> reprinting of Harper & Row, Publishers, 1930), 5-6.
- <sup>6</sup> Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Medieval Christianity: Prophecy and Order* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971), 1.
- <sup>7</sup> Kathryn Teresa Long, *The Revival of 1857-58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 9.
- <sup>8</sup> Archibald Alexander, "Letter I" in Sprague, *Lectures*, Appendix, 4-5 as quoted in *Ibid.*, 16.
- <sup>9</sup> Malcolm McDow & Alvin, L. Reid, *Firefall: How God has shaped History through Revivals* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1997), 7; N.B. pp. 7-11.
- <sup>10</sup> Richard H. Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 144.
- <sup>11</sup> Kiyoshi Mizugaki, ed., *100 Years of Evangelism in Japan: Ballagh, McAlpine, McAlpine* trans. J. A. McAlpine, (Decatur, Georgia: Mission to the World Presbyterian Church in America, 1986), 21-22; Wataru Saba, *Uemura Masahisa to Sonojidai* Volume 1 (Kyoubunkan, 1937, reprinted 1966), 372.
- <sup>12</sup> Ebisawa Arimichi and Saburo Oouchi, *Nihon Kirisutokyoushi* (Nihon Kirisutokyoudan Shuppanyoku, 1970), 175.
- <sup>13</sup> Saba, *Ibid.*, 442.
- <sup>14</sup> Later the name is changed to Kaigan Church.
- <sup>15</sup> quoted in Mizugaki, *ibid.*, 25-26.
- <sup>16</sup> Hideaki Yamamoto, *Nihon Kirisutokyoukaishi* (Nihon Kirisutokyoukai Jimusho, 1929, reprinted 1973), 23-24.
- <sup>17</sup> Mizugaki, *Ibid.*, 26.
- <sup>18</sup> Yamamoto, *Ibid.*, 35-36.
- <sup>19</sup> Satoshi Moriyama, *Horinesu bando no Kiseki* (Horinesu Bando Showa Kirisutokyou Dan-atsushi Kankoukai, 1983), 11.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.
- <sup>21</sup> Keith J. Hardman, *Issues in American Christianity: Primary Sources with Introductions* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House Company, 1993), 115, summarizes the new measures by "public praying by women in mixed audiences; protracted series of evangelistic meet (i.e., daily services); colloquial language used by the preacher; the anxious seat or bench (where concerned people could come at the sermon's end on the preacher's invitation); the practice of praying for people by name, and immediate membership for converts."
- <sup>22</sup> Saba, *Ibid.*, 491; F. G. Notehelfer, "Leroy Lansing Janes and the American Board," in Doushishadaigaku Jinbungaku Kenkyuujo, ed., *Nihon no Kindaika to Kirisutokyou* (Shinkyoushuppan, 1973), 3ff.
- <sup>23</sup> Hiromichi Ozaki, *Jijoden* (Ozaki Zenshuu Kankoukai, 1938), 15. Also cited in Saba, *Ibid.*, 449.
- <sup>24</sup> M. L. Gordan, *An American Missionary in Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1892), p. 58 as quoted in Notehelfer, *Ibid.*, 9.
- <sup>25</sup> Saba, *Ibid.*, 550-553.
- <sup>26</sup> Masataka Ooshima, *Clark and his disciples* (Kokushokankoukai, 1973), 9.
- <sup>27</sup> Ooshima, *Ibid.*, 105.
- <sup>28</sup> Kanzo Uchimura, *How I became a Christian* (Keiseisha, 1895), 12.
- <sup>29</sup> Saba, *Ibid.*, 547 as quoted from L. H. Pierson, *A Quarter of a Century in the Island Empire of the Progress of a Mission in Japan*, (Methodist Publishing House, 1899), 65.
- <sup>30</sup> Saba, *Ibid.*, 547-549.
- <sup>31</sup> Mizugaki, *Ibid.*, 45.
- <sup>32</sup> Saba, *Ibid.*, 547 as quoted from L. H. Pierson, *A Quarter of a Century in the Island Empire of the Progress of a Mission in Japan*, (Methodist Publishing House, 1899), 65.
- <sup>33</sup> Hiromichi Ozaki, 89.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.
- <sup>35</sup> see Saba, *Ibid.*, 553ff.
- <sup>36</sup> Masumoto and Fujisawa, *Uchimura Kanzou Den*, as recorded in Saba, *Ibid.*, 566.



<sup>37</sup> Ebisawa and Oouchi, *Ibid.*, 296.

<sup>38</sup> Although several messages dealt with this topic.

<sup>39</sup> Saba, *Ibid.*, 563.

<sup>40</sup> Shizuo Ono, *Nihon Purotestanto Dendoushi* (Nihon Kirisuto Kaikakuha Kyoukai Seibu Chuukaibunsho Inkai, 1989), 22-23.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>42</sup> Naoomi Tamura, *Shinkou Gojuunenshi* (Keiseisha, 1924), 154-156.

<sup>43</sup> Ozaki, *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>44</sup> J. D. Davis, *A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Hardy Neesima* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1894), p. 90.

<sup>45</sup> Evarts Boutell Greene, *A New-Englander in Japan: Daniel Crosby Greene* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), 204.

<sup>46</sup> Ozaki, *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 593.