

Uchimura Kanzô
Studies and Translations in Western Languages
A Bibliography

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Robert N. Bellah is said to have counted Uchimura Kanzô among the three most outstanding figures in the history of thought in Japan. Nonetheless, we have to admit to the fact that the greater part of the nearly two hundred studies on him listed below mainly concentrate on his becoming a soldier of Christ and of his country, and not on his specific contribution as a thinker.

This may be due to the fading topicality of Uchimura's most important philosophical problem, that of how to unite science (meaning the theory of evolution) and Christian belief. Some of his followers continued this inquiry, in a slightly different form, as a search for a synthesis of Marxist ideas and Christianity. Certain scholars regard these disciples as the true ones. Others adopted his emphasis of the Non-church principle (*Mukyôkai shugi*) and/or his Biblical interpretations.

There are some studies in Western languages about the Non-church Movement which have a sociological and historical focus, but studies on Uchimura's theological thought are still rare. Another obstacle to the understanding of his life and work is the commentary of his followers and scholars on the question of whether his Christian belief represents a special Japanese form of Christianity, or the original Christianity of the first church.

Uchimura became known in the Western world through his autobiography *How I Became a Christian*, and through a book on prominent figures in Japanese history, *Japan and the Japanese*, later reprinted in an expanded version under the title *Representative Men of Japan*. Uchimura actually wrote *How I Became a Christian* before *Japan and the Japanese*, but because of its harsh criticism of American "Christendom" he could not find an overseas publisher until it was published by a Japanese company and *Japan and the Japanese* had already come out.

Although the English original was the first to be published, it can truly be said that the German translation of *How I Became a Christian* was by far the most popular, and it was the inspiration for further translations into other European languages. It was not only the affinity of German Pietism to Uchimura's reformed Protestantism that underlay this popularity, as *Mukyôkai* members nowadays tend to suppose. The popularity of *How I Became a Christian* was also influenced by Japan's debut on the world stage when it started the Russo-Japanese war. Europe longed to know about these Davidian Japanese who had challenged a Goliath such as Russia. A Japanese autobiography written in English served the purpose of introducing the West to the thought of the Japanese people.

On the whole, the European reception of his works was in alignment with Uchimura's own claim to be a medium between his people and the West. For this reason he wrote many works in English. These books and articles fill seven volumes of one edition of his complete works, and are, together with posthumously discovered materials, also included in the forty volume edition of his complete works (*UKZ*).

To compile the following bibliography I used previously published bibliographies such as the one by Nakazawa Kôki and those contained in monographs. I checked all data carefully and had to remove many titles, either because their content was too far removed from Uchimura and *Mukyôkai*, or because they could not be found. Additionally, I searched all accessible internet and CD-ROM resources and tried to obtain a copy of those titles. I still was not able to find all of the works cited. In the case of those not found, I indicated them by naming the sources in which they were originally listed. There were also some unexpected discoveries made while making my way between long, dusty bookshelves. For example, I found the English translation of *Ichinichi Isshō* at the Imaikan Library in Tokyo, translated by a bedridden 79-year-old man, Itojiro Morimoto, who took four years to translate the full text of the book.

I have decided to list all titles chronologically to enable the reader to follow the process of reception and interpretation of Uchimura and his works. I do not name specific phases of reception, but it is clear that in the Western world it started with his English books and their translations. This was followed by descriptions of his ideas and activities as well as introductory descriptions of the Non-Church Movement. The studies from the 1950's mainly concentrate on the role of *Mukyôkai* in Japanese Christianity and its relationship to the established church. Emil Brunner's attempt to act as a medium between the Church and *Mukyôkai* reflects the consciousness of the time, in that these

articles have a rather evangelistic nature. Scientific studies were first published in the late fifties by Uchimura's most important advocate in the West, John F. Howes, and scholars such as W.H.H. Norman. At the same time Uchimura's political attitudes and his relation to the Japanese state became more and more the focus of Western scholars. Later he was studied for his outstanding individualism. Many scholars place particular emphasis on this trait, but in doing so it is often forgotten that he deeply believed in God's treatment of mankind as a whole and that his actions therefore arose from a strong sense of responsibility for his fellow human beings, rather than from simple individualism (*kojin-shugi*).

In later years some studies with a comparative focus followed. As for the trend of the last 15 years, it is striking that Uchimura and his movement are increasingly understood in the context of the so-called New Religions of Japan. Although *Mukyōkai* has not yet been called a New Religion, such an assessment may not be far off. As was the case in previous decades, the growing interest in Uchimura within representatives of the New Religions – especially those of Buddhist origin, e.g. Ikeda Daisaku at Sōka Gakkai – reflects the consciousness of our time.

Abbreviations

<i>AHCI</i>	<i>Art and Humanities Citation Index 1980–99</i>
<i>ArticleFirst</i>	<i>FirstSearch – ArticleFirst</i>
<i>BJOAF</i>	<i>Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CRJ</i>	<i>Contemporary Religions in Japan</i>
<i>DAO</i>	<i>ProQuest – Dissertation Abstracts Ondisc</i>
<i>ICU</i>	<i>A Bibliography of Christianity in Japan – Protestantism in English Sources (1859–1959)</i> . Compiled by Fujio Ikado and James R. McGovern. Tokyo: International Christian University, 1966. xvi, 125 pp.
<i>JAAS</i>	<i>Journal of Asian and African Studies</i>
<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
<i>JCQ</i>	<i>Japan Christian Quarterly</i>

<i>JCR</i>	<i>Japan Christian Review</i>
<i>JCY</i>	<i>Japan Christian Yearbook</i>
<i>JES</i>	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>
<i>JJRS</i>	<i>Japanese Journal of Religious Studies</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>The Journal of Japanese Studies</i>
<i>JQ</i>	<i>Japan Quarterly</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Japanese Religions</i>
<i>Kimura-Andres</i>	Kimura-Andres, Hannelore. <i>Mukyôkai: Fortsetzung der Evangeliumsgeschichte</i> . Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1984. ix, 362 pp. (Erlangener Monographien aus Mission und Ökumene, Bd. 1), Bibliography 336–62.
<i>MN</i>	<i>Monumenta Nipponica</i>
<i>Nakazawa</i>	Nakazawa, Kôki. “Gaikokugo Uchimura bunken (Mukyôkai ni kansuru mono wo fukumu (Bibliography of Writings on Uchimura and Mukyokai).” <i>Uchimura Kanzô Kenkyû</i> 2 (June, 1974): 96–112.
<i>SCR</i>	<i>Kirisutokyô kenkyû – Studies in the Christian Religion</i>
<i>SSCI</i>	<i>Social Sciences Citation Index</i>
<i>TICOJ</i>	<i>Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan</i>
<i>PA</i>	<i>Pacific Affairs</i>
<i>PCI</i>	<i>Periodicals Contents Index on CD-ROM</i>
<i>UKZ</i>	<i>Uchimura Kanzô zenshû</i> (Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzô). 40 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1980–84.
<i>WorldCat</i>	<i>FirstSearch – WorldCat</i>

Translations and Studies Chronologically Listed

- 1 UTSCHIMURA Kanso
Wie ich ein Christ wurde. Bekenntnisse eines Japaners. Rechtmäßige Verdeutschung (by Wilhelm Gundert and Louise Oehler). Stuttgart: Verlag von D. Gundert, 1904. 126 pp.
German translation of *How I Became a Christian* (UKZ 3: 3–164).
Reprints: 1911 (and later, but dates are unknown).
Source: UKZ 12: 161, *Worldcat*.
- 2 UCHIMURA Kanzô
Huru jag blef Kristen. Ur en Japans Dagbok. Af Kanso Utschimura. Öfversättning (translator's name omitted). Stockholm: E.V. Hellströms Förlagsexpedition, 1905.
Swedish translation of *How I Became a Christian* (UKZ 3: 3–164).
Source: UKZ 13: 129, 483–84.
- 3 UCHIMURA Kanzô
Mitenkä minusta tuli kristitty. Japanilaisen päiväkirjasta. Tekijän luvalla Englanninkielisestä alkuteoksesta suomensi, K. Suomalainen. Sortavala: Karjalan Kirjakauppa-ja Kustannusliike O.-Y., 1905.
Finnish translation of *How I Became a Christian* (UKZ 3: 3–164).
Source: UKZ 13: 296, 493–94.
- 4 UCHIMURA Kanzô
Hvorledes jeg lev en Kristen. Autoriseret Oversættelse ved Maria Wolff. Kobenhavn: Det Schønbergske Forlag, 1906.
Danish translation of *How I Became a Christian* (UKZ 3: 3–164).
Source: UKZ 14: 403–04.
- 5 UCHIMURA Kanzô
Karakterbilleder fra det gamle Japan. Autoriseret Oversættelse ved Maria Wolff. Kobenhavn: Det Schønbergske Forlag, 1907.
Danish translation of *Representative Men of Japan* (UKZ 3: 169–293).
- 6 UTSIMURA Kanzô
Japanische Charakterköpfe. Rechtmäßige Verdeutschung von J[ohannes] Hesse. Stuttgart: D. Gundert 1908. 123 pp.
German translation of *Representative Men of Japan*, UKZ 3: 169–293.

- 7 GUNDERT, Wilhelm
 “Vorwort eines Freundes,” in *Utschimura Kanso. Bekenntnisse eines Japaners*. Rechtmäßige Verdeutschung (by Wilhelm Gundert and Louise Oehler). Stuttgart: Verlag von D. Gundert, 1911.
 Source: *Nakazawa*.
- 8 SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN, C.
 “Redakteur Kansô Utschimura,” in *Aus Japan, wie es heute ist – Persönliche Eindrücke von C. Skovgaard-Petersen*. Übersetzt von H. Gottsched. Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1912. 208 pp., 121–24.
- 9 NO AUTHOR
 “Mr. Kanzo Uchimura, the noted author...,” *Kaitakusha – The Pioneer* 8.1 (Jan., 1913): 1.
- 10 OUTCHIMOURA KANSO
La crise d’âme d’un Japonais, ou, comment je suis devenu chrétien? Par Kanso Outchimoura. Traduit avec autorisation par Jules Rambaud. Précédé d’une préface de Raoul Allier. Genève: Jeheber, 1913. 220 pp.
 French translation of *How I Became a Christian* (UKZ 3: 3-164).
 Reproduced as microfiche: Woodbridge, Ct.: Research Publications International, 1993 (Western Books on Asia, Japan).
- 11 WAINWRIGHT, Samuel H.
 “Kanzo Uchimura and his teaching,” *Japan Evangelist* 28 (May, 1921): 138–42.
 Source: *ICU*.
- 12 ROBERTSON-SCOTT, J. W.
The Foundation of Japan: Notes Made During Journeys of 6,000 Miles in the Rural Districts as a Basis for a Sounder Knowledge of the Japanese People. London: John Murray, 1922 / New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1922. xx, 446 pp.
 Contents: “A troubler of Israel” 90–97.
 References to Uchimura (apart from the above chapter): 99, 101, 141, 326–27, 362.

- 13 KUROSAKI Kokichi
Bekehrung eines Gottlosen. Berlin: 1924. 20 pp.
Source: *Nakazawa*.
- 14 JORGENSEN, Arthur
“Dominant ideas in Mr. Uchimura’s writing,” *Kaitakusha – The Pioneer* 22.2 (Feb., 1927): 1–4.
- 15 JORGENSEN, Arthur (translator)
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- 16 JORGENSEN, Arthur
“Missionary opinion on race,” *JCQ* 1.1 (1928): 54–62.
Source: *Kimura-Andres*.
- 17 UCHIMURA Kanzô
“Japanisch-Christliche Mentalität,” *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin* 73 (March, 1929): 86–89.
Source: *ICU*.
- 18 CARY, Otis
“Death of Mr. Kanzô Uchimura,” *The Missionary Herald* 76.7 (July, 1930): 290.
- 19 NO AUTHOR
“Kanzo Uchimura – Noted Christian leader dies. Fought a notable battle,” *The Japan Times* (March 29, 1930).
Source: Handwritten Notes by Nakazawa Kôki held at Imaikan Library, *Tokyo*.
- 20 KUROSAKI Kokichi
“Kanzo Uchimura,” *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin* 75 (May, 1931): 129–35.
Source: *ICU*.

- 21 UCHIMURA Kanzô
How I Became a Christian: Out of My Diary; Japan and the Japanese, or, Representative Men of Japan; Essays; Alone with God and Me; The Japan Christian Intelligencer. Tokyo: Iwanami, 1933. vi, 712 pp.
 Source: *WorldCat*.
- 22 MIYABE Kingô; KAKIHARA Seiichiro
 “Kanzo Uchimura in retrospect,” *JCQ* 7.1 (Winter, 1937): 13–28.
 Subchapters: “I. An outline life of Kanzo Uchimura, 1861–1930,” (translated by Matsumoto Tsuyoshi) 15–20, “II. Kanzo Uchimura the prophet,” (by Seiichiro Kakihara) 21–28.
- 23 YANAIBARA Tadao
Religion and Democracy in Modern Japan. Tokyo: The International Publishing Co., Ltd., 1948 (Pacific Studies Series). 41 pp.
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 “This is an English version of Prof. Tadao Yanaihara’s contributory article to ‘A Symposium on Democratization in Japan’ under preparation by the Japanese Institute of Pacific Studies. The author alone is responsible for all statements of fact and opinion.” (note on title page)
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Das Mißverständnis der Kirche. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1951. 154 pp.
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 Source: *Nakazawa*.
- 25 MAYEDA Goro
 “The Churchless Christianity Movement (Mukyokai),” *JCY* 41 (1951): 182–84.
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The Essence and Development of Non-church in Japan. Unpublished term paper submitted to Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1951. 30 pp.

Source: *Nakazawa, ICU*.

- 27 BRUNNER, Emil
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References to Mukyôkai in the appendix. (p. 131). Source: *Nakazawa*.
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- 28 NAKAZAWA Kôki
“The Mukyôkai or non–church movement in Japan,” *Occasional Bulletin of the Missionary Research Library* 3.1 (January 15, 1952). 4 pp.
“A talk delivered at the Overseas Interest Group at Union Theological Seminary, December 14, 19, 1951.”
- 29 NAKAZAWA Kôki
Prophets and the Destiny of Their Country. Unpublished paper submitted to the Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1952.
Source: *Nakazawa*.
- 30 SUZUKI Toshiro
“The ‘non–church’ group,” *JCQ* 18.2 (Spring, 1952): 136–42.
- 31 BRUNNER, Emil
“A word of introduction to the new edition of the Works of Kanzo Uchimura,” *Chosakushu–Geppo* 9 (Dec., 1953).
Source: *Nakazawa*.
- 32 HOWES, John Forman
Uchimura Kanzo, 1861–1930. A Biographical Sketch. Unpublished M.A. thesis submitted to Columbia University, New York, 1953. x, 147 pp., Bibliography 139–47.
Source: *WorldCat*.
- 33 MAYEDA Goro
“Mukyôkai (The Non–Church Group),” *JCY* 42 (1953): 319–23.
- 34 BRUNNER, Emil
“Ekklesia, die Gemeinde Jesu Christi,” *SC* 294 (Oct., 1954): 218–19.

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- 35 BRUNNER, Emil
“Why I returned to Japan,” *JCQ* 20.1 (Jan., 1954): 14–17.
- 36 HOWES, John Forman
“Kanzô Uchimura: The formative years,” *JCQ* 20.3 (1954):
194–208.
First installment of excerpts from Mr. Howes’ master’s dissertation.
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Eternal Life Press, 1954. viii, 80 pp.
Reprint: Monroeville, Pa.: Banner Publications, 1968. 72 pp.
Source: *Kimura-Andres, WorldCat*.
- 38 NAKAZAWA Kôki
“Churchless Christianity in Japan,” *JCY* 43 (1954): 154–59.
- 39 LEE, Sun Bok
“Mukyohoe, As in the Days of Christ,” *Orient Digest* (Sept., 1954).
- 40 BRUNNER, Emil
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- 41 BRUNNER, Emil
“Ecclesia and evangelism – A message to the General Assembly of
the United Church of Christ in Japan, October 27, 1954,” *JCQ* 21
(April, 1955): 154–60.
Subchapters: “The church and ecclesia” 154–55, “The ‘How’ of
evangelism” 155–56, “Need for occupational evangelism” 156–57,
“Fellowship the heart of evangelism” 157–58, “How the church
becomes ecclesia” 158–59, “Japan’s need for Christianity” 159–60.
- 42 BRUNNER, Emil
“Warum ich ein Freund der Mukyokai bin,” *SC* 298 (Feb., 1955):
26–28.
- 43 BRUNNER, Emil
“Was ich der Mukyokai-Bewegung wünschen möchte,” *SC* 299
(March, 1955): 50–52.

- 44 BRUNNER, Emil
 “Zum Abschied von Japan,” *SC* 303 (July, 1955): 170–72.
- 45 HOKKAIDO DAIGAKU (TOSHOKAN)
The Catalogue of Uchimura Library. Sapporo: Hokkaido University Library, 1955. 103 pp.
 Preface in Japanese.
- 46 NO AUTHOR
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 Reprinted editorial from the *Kirisuto shimbun*, July 2, 1955.
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- 48 CARY, Otis
 “Uchimura, Neesima and Amherst – Recently discovered correspondence,” *JQ* 3.4 (Fall, 1956): 439–59.
 Reprint: *Uchimura Kanzo – Prophet, Patriot, Christian*. 1956 (World Christianity Union Collection). 30 pp. “Issued with Yasaka, T. *Uchimura Kanzo*.” (*WorldCat*)
- 49 CARY, Otis
 “Uchimura’s summer of decision – 1885,” *Doshisha University Jimbungaku* (April, 1956): 95–131.
 Source: *Kimura-Andres*.
- 50 JENNINGS, Raymond P.
The View of the Church of Kanzô Uchimura and Its Significance for Japanese Christianity. Unpublished thesis submitted to Berkeley Baptist Divinity School, 1955–56.
 Source: *Nakazawa*.
- 51 KANDA TATEO
 “Mukyokai Worship,” *JCQ* 22.3 (July, 1956): 229–30.
- 52 NO AUTHOR
 “Mukyôkai,” *Time Magazine* 23.04.1956 (Pacific Edition): 43.

- 53 TAKAGI Yasaka
 “Uchimura Kanzo, prophet, patriot, Christian. His contribution to the Japanese tradition,” *JQ* 3.4 (Fall, 1956): 431–9.
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- 54 UCHIMURA Kanzo
 “They went before – Descriptions of Christian worship in the Meiji era. From Kanzo Uchimura’s *How I Became a Christian*, Out of my diary, 1895,” (Part 1) *JCQ* 22.3 (July, 1956): 281–84.
- 55 UCHIMURA Kanzo
 “They went before – Descriptions of Christian worship in the Meiji era. Continued from Kanzo Uchimura’s *How I Became a Christian*, Out of my diary, 1895,” (Part 2) *JCQ* 22.4 (Oct., 1956): 364–67.
- 56 YUASA YOZO
 “Kanzo Uchimura: leader of the non–church group,” *Japanese witnesses for Christ*. Ed. by Ebizawa Norimichi. London: United Society for Christian Literature, Lutterworth Press, 1957. 96 pp. (World Christian books, no. 20): 46–61.
- 57 CARY, Otis
 “Kanzô Uchimura,” *Amherst Alumni News* (July, 1957).
 Source: *Nakazawa*.
- 58 HOWES, John Forman
 “Kanzô Uchimura: Social reformer,” *JCQ* 23 (July, 1957): 243–52.
 “Note: This article concludes the presentation of excerpts from Mr. Howes’ master’s dissertation. The first installment (July, 1954) discussed the question of how Uchimura developed into a Christian leader. The second (April, 1957) described his activities as a teacher and free-lance writer and his role in Japanese history as a prophet and cultural interpreter.” (p. 243)
- 59 HOWES, John Forman
 “Kanzô Uchimura: Teacher and writer,” *JCQ* 23 (April, 1957): 150–6.

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- 61 NORMAN, William Howard Heal
 “Non-Church Christianity in Japan,” *The International Review of Missions* 46.184 (Oct., 1957): 380–93.
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- 62 PRICHARD, Marianna (Nugent) and Norman (Young)
Ten Against the Storm. Illustrated by Mine Okubo, New York: Friendship Press, 1957. viii, 164 pp.
 Contents: “Warrior for freedom. Kanzo Uchimura” 112–27.
- 63 HIRUNUMA Toshio
 “Amherst and Uchimura: One American contribution to Japan,” *Kwansei Gakuin University, Jinbun Ronkyû* 8.2 (1958): 1–14.
 “An Amherst College Lecture delivered on April 7, 1955 at Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, U.S.A., in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the death of Kanzo Uchimura.”
 Reprint: *SCR* 31.4 (1960), 1–17.
- 64 HOWES, John Forman
 “Kanzô Uchimura on war,” *JCQ* 24 (Oct., 1958): 290–2.
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“Taken largely from John F. Howes and Otis Cary’s, *Japan’s Modern Prophet: Uchimura Kanzo* [...]” (footnote p. 290)

- 65 HOWES, John Forman
 “Uchimura Kanzô on Christopher Columbus,” *TICOJ* 3 (1958): 109–11.
 “This article is being published in a slightly different form in the *JCQ* (Kyôbunkan) for October, 1960.”
 Reprint: *JCQ* (Oct., 1960): 239–45.
 “It is singularly appropriate that this article should appear in this issue of the *JCQ* not only because October is the month of Columbus’ birth but also because the Kyobunkan is about to bring out a new edition of the *Complete Biblical Works of Uchimura Kanzo*.” (headnote p. 239)
- 66 HOWES, John Forman
 “Uchimura Kanzô, a Christian and a Japanese,” in Ryusaku Tsunoda et al. (eds. and translators). *Sources of Japanese tradition*, Columbia University Press, 1958.
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- 67 HOWES, John Forman
 “Two works by Uchimura Kanzô until recently unknown in Japan,” *TICOJ* 3 (1958): 25–31.
- 68 HOWES, John Forman; CARY, Otis (jr.)
Japan’s Modern Prophet: Uchimura Kanzo. Kyoto and Amherst, Massachusetts: Doshisha University Press and Amherst College Press, 1958.
- 69 JENNINGS, Raymond P.
Jesus, Japan and Kanzô Uchimura: A Brief Story of the Non-Church Movement and Its Appropriateness to Japan. A Study of the View of the Church of Kanzô Uchimura and Its Significance for Japanese Christianity. Tokyo: Kyôbunkan, 1958. viii, 120 pp., Bibliography 110–20. (Revision of the author’s thesis at Berkeley Baptist Divinity School)

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Reviews: Hammer, J.R. *JCQ* 25 (July, 1959): 234–36.

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- 71 NORMAN, William Howard Heal
 "A study of the modern No-Church Movement (Mukyokaiism)," in *Festschrift 7* (Dr. H. W. Outerbridge). Tokyo: Kwansai Gakuin University Press, 1958: 279–316.
- 72 REBER, Don D.
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 Source: *WorldCat*.
- 73 BENZ, Ernst
No-Church-Movement. Unpublished paper, 1959.
 Source: Hagiwara Itsue. *No-church Movement: Ein Vergleich des Kirchenbegriffs von Sebastian Franck und Kanzô Uchimura*, p. 164. (Vgl. u. Nr. 94.)
- 74 BRUNNER, Emil
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- 75 BRUNNER, Emil
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- 76 GERMANY, Charles Hugh
Protestant Theologies in Modern Japan: The History of Dominant Theological Currents from 1920–1960, with Particular Reference to the Nature of Their Understanding of the Responsibility of Christianity to Society. Ph.D. thesis submitted to Columbia University, New York, 1959. v, 338 pp., Bibliography 327–38.
- 77 IGLEHART, Charles W.
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