Revisiting the 1910 World Missionary Conference –
Its Backgrounds and Delegates from Asia

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This paper examines the backgrounds of the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. Beginning with William Carey’s proposal for decennial conferences, missionary cooperation eventually led to fruition in the 1910 Edinburgh conference. At Edinburgh, representatives from Asia such as Cheng Jingyi, V.S. Azariah, Honda Yôitsu, and Harada Tasuku argued that it is only “with all saints” that we “comprehend the love of God” through working, worshipping and learning together. Ibuka Kajinosuke and Arthur Stirewalt both saw Edinburgh as the beginning of a “new era.” These voices from Edinburgh remind us that it is only through the encounter of those who differ from us that we come to see and understand Christ’s body the church as expressing “the fullness of God.” These voices are a source of challenge and hope, as contemporary churches continue to face theological division and estrangement from one another. This paper seeks to show the early and foundational connection between mission and ecumenism that has influenced a contemporary understanding of the church today.

Keywords: Ecumenical Movement, Edinburgh, Meiji Period, World Missionary Conference, Asia

Introduction

The World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh, Scotland from June 14th-23rd, 1910 has long been viewed as a crucial event in the development of contemporary ecumenism. Ruth Rouse wrote that the World Missionary Conference was “the birthplace of the modern ecumenical movement,” and “a watershed between two eras of Church history.”1) In the wake of the creation of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948, William Richey Hogg praised the work of the Edinburgh conference because it had helped to establish the “basic working principle of ecumenical organization.”2)

However, the clarity of purpose evidenced at Edinburgh was not necessarily the product of Edinburgh itself. The ecumenical shape of the conference, its “official” delegates and “working” committees, was the outcome of several factors that converged at Edinburgh. The general description of the 19th century as one of missionary expansion and the 20th century as a move-

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ment toward Christian unity is helpful, but it also masks the constant interplay between mission and ecumenical cooperation that is perhaps a more accurate description of this period.\(^3\)

Though considerable movement toward ecumenical unity occurred during the 20\(^{th}\) century, at the same time during this period, there has been a growing recognition that this ecumenical dimension of the church is essentially missiological in nature.\(^4\)

In the first part of this paper, I propose to return to some of the well-known backgrounds of the 1910 Edinburgh conference in order to better understand the development of cooperation across denominational boundaries. I will examine the influence of three conferences held in Asia that influenced the shape and events of the Edinburgh conference - Madras (1902), Shanghai (1907), and Tokyo (1909). The Madras and Shanghai conferences pioneered the organizational structure of Edinburgh, while the Tokyo conference prepared the Japanese delegates for their roles at Edinburgh. There is much merit in revisiting certain significant moments in this history, because as Ruth Rouse noted, “It cannot be said too often or too emphatically that the ecumenical movement arose from the missionary movement.”\(^5\)

In the second part of this paper, I will look specifically at participation by several delegates from Asia at the Edinburgh conference. The delegates that I propose to examine are Cheng Jingyi, V.S. Azariah, Ibuka Kajinosuke, Honda Yōitsu, Harada Tasuku, and Arthur J. Stirewalt, a Lutheran missionary working in Japan.\(^6\) The conference at Edinburgh was largely a gathering of representatives of western churches. Of the official 1,215 delegates to the World Missionary Conference, only 19 represented the non-western world.\(^7\) If the root of the word “ecumenical” meant “the entire inhabited world,” a conference overwhelmingly attended by delegates of western churches can hardly be said to have represented the church in its fullest global dimension. Moreover, these 19 delegates did not attend as official representatives of their own national church bodies, but rather, under the auspices of western churches as representatives of what was referred to at the time as the “younger churches.” Though these delegates were included amongst the delegate lists for American and European churches, their remarks and speeches at the conference may also be seen as voices in counterpoint to their western colleagues. By examining the example of Arthur Stirewalt and the Lutheran churches at Edinburgh, I hope to show one further example of how denominational unity could be influenced by cooperative work in mission.

As the first decade of the 21\(^{st}\) century comes to a close, the missionary movements of the 19\(^{th}\) and early 20\(^{th}\) centuries recede evermore into distant history. However, throughout this period there was interplay between Christian mission and movements for unity. It is my belief that these historical movements of mission and ecumenism form an inseparable unity that has deeply marked a global understanding of the church in which differing expressions of the Christian faith have come to be understood together as manifesting Christ’s body, the church.

Research for this paper was carried out at Japan Lutheran Theological Seminary and Japan Lutheran College, Tokyo; Tokyo Union Theological Seminary; and St. Paul’s University, Tokyo. Research was also done in the United States at the James R. Crumley Archives of the Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina. The author was permitted access to the diaries of Arthur Stirewalt.
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**Part I:**

**Preludes to 1910 - Missionary Cooperative Conferences in Asia**

Though the Edinburgh conference has often been called the starting point of the modern ecumenical movement, it is probably more accurate to say that four distinct movements converged at Edinburgh. These four movements were: 1) Cooperative Missionary Conferences; 2) Anglo-American Conferences; 3) European Cooperative Committees; and 4) The Student Volunteer Movement. Though there is not space here to recount all four of these movements, I would like to revisit three cooperative conferences in Asia that influenced the proceedings at Edinburgh.

Two missionary conferences held during the decade prior to 1910 had a profound impact upon the organization of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. These were the conferences held at Madras in 1902, and at Shanghai in 1907. Prior to these conferences, missionary participation at conferences was largely “volunteer” in nature as opposed to being “official” with representation by churches and mission societies. In previous conferences there was also little permanent committee structure in place to ensure the continuity of conference work into the future. At both the Madras and the Shanghai conferences, missionaries attended as official representatives of their respective churches and societies, and both of these conferences contained working committee structures that produced reports and resolutions for the conference. These two factors, official representation and a working committee structure, profoundly influenced the shape of the conference at Edinburgh.

In 1806 the idea for an international conference on mission was first voiced by William Carey (1761-1834) in a letter to Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society. Carey advocated a decennial conference that would meet at the Cape of Good Hope starting in 1810, which would be a “general association of all denominations of Christians from the four corners of the world.” Unfortunately, as with many good ideas, it was not to be. Fuller rejected Carey’s idea stating that in such a meeting “there would be no unity, without which we had better stay home...” Rouse argued that Fuller rejected Carey’s idea “because of the universally held assumption that Christians of various churches could not meet without quarrelling.”

However very soon after this period, almost as if to prove Carey correct, a series of cooperative missionary conferences was held in India. These conferences eventually grew into large national events. Of all of the regional and decennial conferences, the two held in Madras, the South India Conference of 1900 and the Decennial Conference of 1902, were the most influential.

These two conferences effectively utilized the two new organizing principles of official delegates and working committees. The significance of this new conference structure was that until the 1900 Madras conference, all of the conferences had been “inter-missionary” in nature, whereas, after 1900, this new structure enabled conferences to become “inter-mission” in nature. What began as a feeling of cooperative unity among missionaries gave way to a recognition of the necessity of cooperative unity.
between ecclesiastical mission bodies. The 1902 Madras conference is historically significant in that this new system was used for a national conference.\(^{17}\) The conference records indicate that this system was implemented because it was so "successfully followed at the South India Missionary Conference of 1900." \(^{18}\)

In contrast to the 1902 Madras conference, the China Centenary Missionary Conference, held at Shanghai, April 25\(^{th}\)-May 8\(^{th}\), 1907, proved that this new structure could be used for a much larger conference.\(^{19}\) At Madras, 286 delegates attended from 55 mission organizations, whereas, at Shanghai, the total number attending was 1,186 of which 509 were voting members.\(^{20}\) The planning committee of the Shanghai conference intentionally modeled the conference after Madras 1902; however, because of the size of the conference, voting was limited to elected delegates, members working in China for 25 years or more, and members of the General Committee.\(^{21}\)

At Shanghai, the report of the committee on "Comity and Federation" recounted the history of division and the movement toward unity that was emerging in the early 20\(^{th}\) century.

The nineteenth century opened in the midst of theological strife; especially was this true in the United States. The church was divided into parties which gradually swung off into denominations. The Civil War in America resulted in the vivisection of these fragments, and other sects came into being. Is the twentieth century, in these opening years, to witness the welding of these broken fragments into something like unity? \(^{22}\)

The report went on to speak of a new consciousness of unity and toleration that was emerging in church to church relationships during this period, writing, "A consciousness has grown that no fragment of the universal church possesses all the truth in all its relations, or even enough of the truth to unchurch those of other ministries." \(^{23}\) It was lamented that, since the Reformation, the church had been divided into ever greater numbers of denominations.\(^{24}\)

The committee on Comity and Federation very clearly saw common mission as a key toward unity, writing.

The question of union must be settled primarily by missionaries on the field and the societies at home. The authorities at home in some instances have been responsible for continued divisions which could have been treated on the field.\(^{25}\)

We will return to this theme below in part two and the question of Lutheran unity in Japan as one precursor to the eventual formation of the United Lutheran Church in America in 1918.

The third conference prior to Edinburgh that I would like to revisit is the Semi-Centennial Conference held in Tokyo, October 5\(^{th}\)-10\(^{th}\), 1909, which commemorated fifty years of Protestant mission in Japan.\(^{26}\) The conference was held at the Tokyo YMCA Building under the auspices of the pan-Protestant council, the Evangelical Alliance (Fukuin dōmei) as well as missionary societies and churches working in Japan. Though the 1909 Tokyo conference did not influence the structure of the Edinburgh conference, it did affect the proceedings. The Tokyo conference can be said to have prepared the Japanese delegates for their roles in Edinburgh through their presentation of ideas about mission and unity.\(^{27}\)

Two things about the Tokyo conference separated it from the Madras and Shanghai conferences. First, from planning to implementation, it was a conference with complete integration
between Japanese leaders and missionaries. Second, the language of the conference and its records was in Japanese rather than English. These two factors, unity between Japanese leaders and missionaries, and proceedings in the local language made the Tokyo conference uniquely different and perhaps more ecumenically unified than the other predecessor conferences in Asia.

The conference was chaired jointly by Koizaki Hiromichi (1856-1938) and Edward Rothesay Miller (1843-1915) and a conference committee was comprised of both veteran Japanese and missionary leaders. Significantly, this conference would pass a resolution, which Ibuka Kajinosuke would introduce at Edinburgh, calling for the creation of a Christian university in Japan. Though the conference did not produce committee reports, it did have a full schedule over six days of eighty-one speeches and papers given by thirty-three missionaries and forty-six Japanese leaders on every possible aspect of Christian work in Japan. In addition, Viscount Ōkuma Shigenobu, Prime Minister Katsura Tarō, and Minister of Education Komatsubara Eitarō gave greetings - the significance of which has been noted that this marked the first time that Meiji government officials recognized Christianity by their attendance at this kind of public event.

Speaking on the topic “The Outlook for Christian Education,” Ibuka Kajinosuke (1854-1940) President of Meiji Gakuin, said that the most pressing issue of the day was the creation of a Christian university in Japan. He spoke of the difficulties that the Ministry of Education’s Directive No. 12 had created by prohibiting religious education and ceremony in private schools accredited by the government. He argued that in this situation, students needed Christian alternatives for higher education, namely a Christian university.

Ibuka gave two pressing reasons why such a university was needed. First, such a school was needed to build Christian character in students, who otherwise would be entrusted to universities that had little use for religion, and were injuriously anti-Christian in nature. Second, such education developed the individual to be active in their faith for the purpose of the Christianization of the nation and the fostering of national character. Ibuka argued that such a university should not be the school of a single denomination, but rather should be a non-denominational university, which could accept students from a variety of backgrounds. Such a school, he argued, would help solve the issue with the Ministry of Education and give students graduating from Christian schools a clear path toward the future. The idea for a Christian university was therefore borne out of the reality of an increasingly secular educational system and the need to educate from a foundation of faith. In reply to Ibuka’s appeal, the Tokyo conference, at the Business Meeting on the morning of October 9th, passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a Christian university. We will return to this resolution in part two of this paper.

Addressing the topic “The Formation of Ministers,” Harada Tasuku (1863-1940), President of Dōshisha, similarly argued that there was dire need for Protestant churches to establish union theological universities for the formation of candidates for the ministry. Harada said that at such schools, classes for differing ecclesiastical polities could be offered, and a system of dormitories such as those at Cambridge and Oxford could be used to house seminarians from different churches. Harada went on to argue,

If someone graduated from an imperial uni-
versity and wanted to study theology for the purpose of evangelistic work in Japan, where could they go to study? Is it not the case that there is no such place? For the future of Christian mission, it is crucial that people be cultivated for intellectual leadership in Japan. However, if there are no schools for theological education to cultivate such leaders, it will be impossible to give direction to the intellectual world in Japan.\(^\text{39}\)

Harada clearly articulated a view that theological education carried with it a public dimension and responsibility to be in dialog with society about the intellectual currents of the day.

Finally, Honda Yōitsu (1849-1912), Bishop of the Methodist Church in Japan, spoke on the topic, “Regarding Past and Future Missionary Work.”\(^\text{40}\) Honda said that he wanted missionaries to be "ambassadors of peace," rather than representatives of their respective nations.\(^\text{41}\) Alluding to Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Honda stated, “Recently Japan’s attitude has become a bit proud, and for this reason it is really necessary to speak of peace.” \(^\text{42}\) He stated that, “At one time missionaries also forgot they came to Japan with their own strong nationalist ideals, thereby doing injury to the Christian spirit to be Christ-like.” \(^\text{43}\) He argued that even though their customs and traditions were different, missionaries and Japanese Christians should “become one” in their common work toward Japanese society. Honda closed by offering a hope for the future that missionaries, who had been leaders in church politics for many years, would in the future become the “spiritual directors” (seishinteki shidōsha) of the church.\(^\text{44}\)

In this way, conferences held in India, China and Japan did much to prepare the way to Edinburgh through adopting new conference structures, and through an experience of cooperation on issues specific to the local context that led to the articulation of local theologies. In the second part of this paper we will examine the role of delegates from various parts of Asia at the Edinburgh conference.

**Part II:**

**Voices from China and India - Visions of One Family and True Friendship**

In its report on “Co-Operation and Unity,” Commission VIII of the Edinburgh conference observed a growing national consciousness in many non-western churches, writing.

Not only is the ideal of a united Church taking more and more definite shape and colour in the minds of foreign missionaries at work in foreign lands, but it is also beginning under the influence of the growing national consciousness in some of these countries to capture the imagination of the indigenous Christian communities, for whom the sense of a common national life and a common Christianity is stronger than the appreciation of differences which had their origin in controversies remote from the circumstances of the Church in mission lands.\(^\text{45}\)

In some cases, a “growing national consciousness” was deepening beyond Christian unity as a simple slogan, and indigenous expressions of Christianity were growing independent of western theological tutelage. For example, in 1893 Japanese pastor Yokoi Tokio (1857-1927) published *Shûkyôjô no kakushin* (The Reform of Religion), in which he stated, “We are not only to spread Christianity vis à vis the traditional religions of this nation, we are to bear the responsibility for reforming the traditional thought
Yokoi was not alone in advocating Japanese expressions of Christianity in order to engage in mission in Japan. For example, Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930) famously advocated “Japanese Christianity” (Nihonteki kirisutokyō) and “Non-church” (Mu-kyōkai). However, what is central to our discussion is that when the various streams of western Christian cooperation merged at Edinburgh, they were joined by indigenous Christian representatives who also voiced their own visions of Christian unity and cooperation.

During the discussions at Edinburgh on Commission VIII, a young Chinese pastor from Beijing, Cheng Jingyi, spoke very directly to the issue of the need for a union church in China without denominations. Cheng Jingyi (1881-1939) attended Edinburgh under the London Missionary Society, and had been in Great Britain from 1903-1908 assisting with a new Chinese translation of the New Testament, as well as doing further study at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow. Because of his presence in Glasgow in 1907, he had not been present at the Shanghai conference. However, in 1910 he spoke with clarity and certainty about the universal church. Speaking of the need for a union church in China, Cheng argued, “From the Chinese standpoint there is nothing impossible about such a union. Such difficulties as may be experienced will be due to our Western Friends and not ourselves.” Denominationalism, Cheng argued, was of no interest to the Chinese, and went on to state,

The Church of Christ is universal, not only irrespective of denominations, but also irrespective of nationalities – “All one in Christ Jesus.” The world is, to use a Chinese expression, one family, and China is a member of that family.

Cheng voiced a very clear vision of the church in which all denominations and nations were one family in Christ. He laid blame with the western churches for Protestantism’s splintering into denominationalism and an unrealized unity.

One of the most remembered speeches at Edinburgh was that presented by V.S. Azariah. Vedanayagam Samuel Azariah (1874-1945) was consecrated the first Indian bishop of the Anglican Church in India in 1912, and was instrumental in expressing a vision of an indigenous Indian led church. Azariah’s speech, delivered on the evening of June 20th of the conference is a helpful introduction to a significant issue of that day, namely, the relationship between foreign and indigenous workers. Opening his speech, Azariah wrote.

The problem of race relationships is one of the most serious problems confronting the Church today. The bridging of the gulf between the East and West, and the attainment of a greater unity and common ground in Christ as the great Unifier of mankind, is one of the deepest needs of our time.

Azariah argued that Christian unity and cooperation could only result from being in proper relationship to one another, and said that blame was to be found on both sides for relationships that had not yet reached a level of true friendship. Speaking squarely at the assembled conference of missionaries, Azariah argued that both missionaries and Indian Christians had often failed to become true friends to one another, and the love expressed by missionaries often tended to be paternalistic and condescending. Azariah gave voice to his vision of ecumenical unity, writing.

The exceeding riches of the glory of Christ
can be fully realised not by the Englishman, the American, and the Continental alone, not by the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Indians by themselves – but by all working together, worshipping together, and learning together the Perfect Image of our Lord and Christ. It is only “with all Saints” that we can “comprehend the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that we might be filled with all the fullness of God.”

In order for the church to be experienced in its unity, complexity, and even in its differences, the contributions of all members were argued to be crucial. No one group or church could be said to be complete without the other’s gifts and experience. Azariah concluded his address to the assembled body of missionaries from around the world with words, which have become well known, “You have given your goods to feed the poor. You have given your bodies to be burned. We ask for love. Give us FRIENDS!”

It is almost impossible to fully understand the impact of these words upon the assembly in 1910. Carol Graham has written that this was “indeed the cat among the pigeons.” Azariah had been proposed as the first Indian bishop, but the speech seems to have created some tension, which fortunately by 1912, had subsided.

Azariah attended the conference as a “special delegate” appointed by the British Executive Committee and not as a representative of an Indian church. Though his name is listed on the same list as other special delegates such as the Archbishop of Canterbury and various bishops of the Church of England, such placement can also be understood as precisely the arm’s length sort of friendship that he spoke about regarding colonial India. Azariah’s speech very clearly set the goal for all succeeding church to church relationships and their local manifestations between workers of differing national backgrounds. Mutuality and equality in relationships between those who differed in language, culture and history could only be accomplished by “worshipping and learning together” the image of Christ.

**Voices from Japan - A “New Era” of Unity**

We now turn to the contributions of the delegates from Japan at the Edinburgh conference. In the discussion that followed the Report of Commission III, “Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life,” Ibuka Kajinosuke spoke to the issue of the establishment of a Christian university in Japan. In light of the resolution made the previous year at the Tokyo conference, Ibuka Kajinosuke addressed the Edinburgh conference stating,

> In such a Christian university every Christian school in the country will find a stimulus and goal; and in it the whole Christian movement in Japan will have a strong friend. Its establishment will mark a new era in the history of the nation, and it may be in the history of all Eastern Asia.

If this image of a “new era” was hard for western delegates to understand, Ibuka spoke in terms much easier to grasp, stating,

> My Christian friends, if you will simply recall the names Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Yale and Princeton, you will at once realise the significance of the resolution. I know we are asking much. But may we not expect great things of God?

It will be recalled that the resolution that Ibuka spoke of had been passed the previous year at the Tokyo conference. The Edinburgh commission on Christian education quoted from
this resolution, which argued that a Christian university was needed as a corrective to the Modernism of government schools, as well as being able to represent Christianity in a milieu where modern Buddhism had already established its own universities.63

Though the Commission’s report came to the general conclusion that Christian colleges in “the great strategic centres” should be established, it not pass a resolution specifically upon a Christian university in Japan. However, it is illuminating that Tokyo Women’s Christian University (established in 1918) for example, begins its own history by recounting the 1909 Tokyo conference and the 1910 Edinburgh conference, noting that the school was established as a result of this ecumenical movement toward the establishment of a Christian university in Japan.64

By using the example of foundational institutions in Great Britain and the United States, and in light of his speech at the 1909 Tokyo conference, Ibuka can be understood to have argued that the establishment of a Japanese Christian university was also meant to help shape Christian intellectual discourse in Japan, in ways similar to those that had shaped intellectual discourses in the West. This proposal, while asking for assistance, also can be understood to be arguing for independence from western models of theological discourse in order that theological discourse in Japan be allowed to grow and exert leadership in Japanese society.

Another delegate to Edinburgh from Japan, Arthur J. Stirewalt (1881-1968), attended as a representative of the United Synod of the South.65 Stirewalt reported on Edinburgh in his church’s mission journal, identifying three reasons for the establishment of Christian schools in Japan: 1) The formation of indigenous church leadership; 2) The exertion of influence upon national life; and 3) As a counteraction to anti-Christian tendencies in Western education.66 Lutheran mission work in Japan had begun only 18 years earlier, and it was felt that a seminary and a school were of vital importance for the formation of a Japanese clergy and church. This report, though sounding a bit dated today, contains issues that echo Ibuka’s speech at the Tokyo conference, and also continue to be of relevance today as Christian theological institutions face challenges inherent in educating candidates for ministry and church leadership, while working within contemporary intellectual frameworks that have become increasingly suspicious of religious categories of faith.

One more aspect of Lutherans at Edinburgh should be mentioned here. The Lutheran church in the United States experienced great division during the 19th century. The tensions inherent in the process of the Americanization of an immigrant church, as well as the Civil War, resulted in the splintering of the descendants of colonial Lutheranism into three churches: The General Synod, The General Council and The United Synod of the South. By 1910, these three churches had grown closer to one another through a common confessional understanding and the creation of a common liturgy.67 As we have seen above, cooperative work among missionary organizations in the field often helped bring about organizational unity. This trend also manifested itself in Lutheran churches in the United States. For example, the United Synod of the South had been cooperating informally since 1898 in Japan with the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, and their missionary Dr. J.M.T Winter.68 In October 1908, the General Council sent its first missionary, Rev. Frisby Smith, to Japan to cooperate with the work of the two Lutheran churches already
Stirewalt noted in his diaries written during the Edinburgh conference that a social gathering for Lutherans was held on June 21st, 1910 at St. Andrews United Free Church, Drumsheugh Gardens, at which fifty or more were present. Stirewalt records that the three Lutheran churches that had split from one another, The General Synod, The General Council and The United Synod of the South, were represented at this gathering. This date was also the same day that the report by Commission VIII, “Co-Operation and the Promotion of Unity” was presented, which noted Lutheran movements toward unity, especially that of the General Council, the United Danish Lutheran Church in America, and the United Synod of the South in their plans for joint work in Japan. Stirewalt recorded that Dr. Ezra Bell, of the Board of Foreign Missions of the General Synod, approached him at this gathering saying that he hoped that the General Synod could also send a missionary to Japan to cooperate with the work already being done there. Stirewalt astutely recognized that cooperation in mission could bring about a more formal unity between the churches noting in his diary, “Now here are the Council and Synod coming close to us, and I believe that the United Synod South will be the medium of union between those two, if they ever unite.”

After Edinburgh, the General Synod, the United Danish Lutheran Church and the United Synod of the South met at Roanoke, Virginia on 17 August 1910 to formally approve a plan to form a united Lutheran mission in Japan. After the plan approved at Roanoke had been ratified by their respective churches, missionaries of all three churches met in Kumamoto (December 14-15, 1910) to organize “The Joint Conference of Lutheran Missions Cooperating in Japan.” Stirewalt noted the importance of the Roanoke meeting in his diary, stating, “It may mark a new era.”

Though the Edinburgh conference has often been called a new departure for the modern ecumenical movement, it may also be asserted that Edinburgh helped to clarify and give momentum to denominational movements toward unity that were already in the process of unfolding. The call for a new Christian university, and the movement toward Lutheran unity are both representative of this unfolding spirit of cooperation. Though Ibuka and Stirewalt represented two differing positions, one a Japanese educator and the other an American missionary and educator, both saw the events surrounding Edinburgh as pointing to a “new era.” This “new era” would be one of increasing cooperation not only by missionaries, but also between national churches cooperating to establish new schools and anticipating national mergers at home by establishing joint mission work in the local context.

**Voices from Japan - National Independence and Spiritual Experience**

The report of Commission II, “The Church in the Mission Field,” was given on 16 June 1910 at the Edinburgh conference. That report admitted to the tensions inherent in churches seeking Christian unity, while at the same time remaining faithful to their differing historical traditions. The Commission quoted from the 1908 Lambeth Conference, “We must fix our eyes on the Church of the future, which is to be adorned with all the precious things, both theirs and ours. We must constantly desire not compromise but comprehension, not uniformity but unity.” These words, which many today
might agree with, contained both an eschatological vision of the unity of the church that is always a future promise, and unity that is always a present possibility and challenge.

The Commission admitted to the divided nature of Western Christianity, and wrote that missionaries should "encourage this desire for unity, and make their sympathetic desire to promote it evident to all the Christian communities under their care." Though the Commission noted the role of missionaries in encouraging unity, it also did so using paternalistic language such as "under their care," representative of this colonial period. What would it mean for Christian communities to express their own understandings of unity vis-à-vis the missionary churches? I would like to close this section of the paper by focusing on two Japanese delegates who expressed their own understandings of Christian community.

During the morning session discussion on Commission II, Honda Yôitsu spoke to the problem of nationality and independence. Honda argued that the Great Commission of Jesus Christ (Matt. 28:16-20) also contained a recognition of nationality. Honda stated,

This is an age of strong nationality. A country which has not a strong national spirit will not progress. Our Master and Lord recognised nationality in His last Commission when He said "Go ye therefore and teach all nations." And no nation which does not recognise the principle of the Kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness can permanently prosper. In the idea of nationality, and independence in nationality, is involved the idea of independence and personal responsibility, and the missionary work that does not recognise the national spirit and the spirit of independence will make weak-kneed and dependent Christians, and it will give rise to persecution.

Speaking to an overwhelmingly large conference of western church delegates, Honda argued that missionaries who ignored or violated a sense of national spirit as expressed by local churches were "more or less to court disaster" and that ultimate responsibility was to be in the hands of the local church. Honda recognized a common strand that connected all of those who had gathered in Edinburgh - they each came from differing national perspectives. Honda saw this as already recognized within Jesus' command to go to all nations, which meant that differences in national church polities were not to be surprising, they were to be expected. Honda's words are also the product of an intensely nationalistic era, an era when western churches also participated in the national colonial projects of their respective nations. In his speech at the Tokyo conference, Honda had appealed to missionaries not to assert their own nationalisms when working in Japan, but rather to be "ambassadors of peace" and "spiritual directors" to the church in Japan. In this way, Honda seems to have understood Christ's command to go to all nations, as an affirmation of national spirit, while asserting that the ones sent in mission were to be "Christ-like" and "ambassadors of peace."

During the afternoon session on Commission II, Harada Tasuku spoke on the issue of the spiritual experience of Christians in the global context. Harada argued that, "expressions of faith must be the fruits of the Christian life and the spiritual experience" of the local church, stating, "Teach the Bible without too much of our interpretation, and then be patient as well as watchful to await the outcome of the Christian life in non-Christian lands."

We should not judge of others by our own
thoughts. Our system and your system are not necessarily the perfect or final type of Christianity and therefore in the matter of the expressions of faith in non-Christian lands we must be patient, we must wait for the time of the real expression of their spiritual experience. That is important, not only for the sake of the Churches in non-Christian lands, but I think that is important for the sake of the mother Churches, because in all those, and only in all those, our Lord’s full personality will be glorified and revealed in the world.”  

The vision of Christian unity that Harada articulated called for the full and equal participation of all churches in the global context as the only way in which Christ’s “full personality” would be incarnated in the world. This vision of ecumenical unity placed great importance upon each church as a particular aspect of the “personality” of Christ.

Conclusion

We have consistently seen that a movement toward ecumenical unity was often experienced by missionaries cooperating together, and by indigenous church leaders who argued that Christ’s body the church could only be fully experienced through its many global members.

Well in advance of 1910, missionaries had begun cooperating ecumenically for the sake of the work they were carrying out in the local churches in which they labored. Beginning with William Carey’s proposal for decennial conferences, momentum was built through cooperative conferences in Asia that finally came to fruition with the 1910 World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. This history demonstrates the early and foundational connection between mission and ecumenism that has influenced a contemporary understanding of the church. This inseparable unity between mission and ecumenism is a reminder that unity exists for the purpose of cooperating in Christ’s command to go to all nations, so that all nations might be included in Christ’s body the church.

At Edinburgh various non-western delegates such as V.S. Azariah, argued that it is only “with all saints” that we can “comprehend the love of God” through working, worshipping and learning together. This view of the church was echoed by Honda Yōitsu, who argued the necessity of national expressions of Christianity, and by Harada Tasuku, who argued that only through all the gifts of all the churches, would Christ’s “full personality” made manifest. These voices from a century ago continue to be a source of challenge and hope, as contemporary churches continue to face theological division and estrangement from one another. Ibuka and Stirewalt both saw the possibility of the beginning of a “new era” at the time of Edinburgh. They trusted that God would lead their churches into new paths of cooperation leading to unity in common mission throughout the world. The words of Ibuka Kajinosuke, echoing William Carey—“May we not expect great things of God?”—continue to offer hope and motivation to seek understanding where there is disagreement and unity where there is division. These voices from Edinburgh remind us that it is only with all members of Christ’s body that the church can be glimpsed in its future fullness.
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Notes


3) Hogg’s work *Ecumenical Foundations* explores this period and its background in great detail and is essential reading for an understanding of this period.


6) Japanese names are written in the Japanese manner of family name followed by given name.


8) See Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations*. Hogg’s treatment of these four movements leading to Edinburgh is still one of the clearest expositions of how the impulse to ecumenical unity was borne by cooperation in mission.


10) *Ibid.* Also see Hogg, p. 17. For an excellent examination of Carey’s proposal to hold decennial conferences see Rouse, Ruth, “William Carey’s ‘Pleasing Dream,’” *International Review of Missions*, Vol. 38 (April 1949), pp. 181-192. Rouse amassed vast resources to imagine what such a conference would have looked like had it been held in 1810. She argued that had Carey’s ‘pleasing dream’ been fulfilled, it may have quickened the impulse toward ecumenism, as well as prevented theological division well in advance of the 20th century. One wonders if the course of western colonial-ism might have been altered had Carey’s plan brought about the participation of global churches a century earlier.


13) Conferences were also held in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. See Hogg, pp. 28-31.

14) Hogg, pp. 17-25. The regional conferences in India were: Bombay (1825); Calcutta (1830); Bengal (1855); Benares (1857); Ootacamund (1858); Lahore (1862-63); Bangalore (1879); and Madras (1900). Decennial conferences, meant to be broader India-wide conferences were: Allahabad (1872-73); Calcutta (1882-83); Bombay (1892-93); and Madras (1902).

15) Hogg, pp. 21-22.


19) Conferences had previously been held in Shanghai in 1877 and 1890. See Hogg, pp. 26-28. The conference was to have been held in 1900, but the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion caused that plan to be postponed. Eventually the year 1907 was decided on in order to commemorate the first century of Protestant missionary work in China. See *Records: China Centenary Missionary Conference Held at Shanghai, April 25 to May 8, 1907* (Shanghai: Centenary Conference Committee, 1907), p. II.


21) *Records: China Centenary Missionary Conference*, pp. III, XX.


25) *Ibid.*, p. 320. Significantly, the Shanghai conference passed a resolution that stated that though unity
was still not complete between many denominations, this did not “invalidate the assertion of our real unity in our common witness to the Gospel of the grace of God.” As differing churches, they sought “to plant one Holy Catholic Church.” See Records: China Centenary Missionary Conference, pp. 409-410.

26) For the records of the conference, see: Kaikyō goyū nen kinen kōen shū: fu shukuten kiroku (Tokyo: Senkyō kaishi goyū nen kinen kai jimusho, 1910). Fifty years was measured from the Ansei Treaties of 1859, which “opened” Japan to trade with the West. Prior conferences in Japan were: Yokohama (1872), Osaka (1884), and Tokyo (1900).

27) It is not certain how much influence the Madras and Shanghai conferences had on the Tokyo conference. John Carrol Davison (1843-1928) was present at the 1907 Shanghai conference, and was a Vice-Chairman of the 1909 Tokyo conference. Ernest Wilson Clement (1860-1941) and Bishop Merriman Colbert Harris (1846-1922) both attended 1907 Shanghai and spoke at 1909 Tokyo. See the participant lists in Records: China Centenary Missionary Conference, pp. 784-807; and Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missions of China held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890 (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), pp. xv-xxii. I was privileged to have access to a copy of the 1902 Madras report, which contained a handwritten dedication from V.S. Aza- riah to Motoda Sakunoshin (1862-1928), who was at the time President of Rikkyō Gakuin. Motoda was also a Vice-Chairman of the Tokyo conference. See Kaikyō goyū nen kinen kōen shū, p. 556. This is the only evidence of a possible connection between Madras 1902 and Tokyo 1909 that I have yet seen.

28) Besides the conference records, this unity can be seen in the group photos taken at the conference. There were no separate photos of missionary and Japanese leaders, only group photos taken together.

29) Ibid., p. 556. Kozaki Hiromichi was a pastor of the Japan Congregational and church historian. E.R. Miller was an educator and a pioneer evangelist. He was married to Mary Kidder, founder of Ferris Jogakuan. For all Japan related persons, see the biographical entries in Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten. Nihon kirisutokyō rekishi daijiten henshū iinkai, ed. (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1988).

30) For Ibuka’s introduction of the 1909 Tokyo resolution at Edinburgh, see part two below.


32) Ibuka, Kajinosuke. “Kirisutokyō kyōiku no zento,” Kaikyō goyū nen kinen kōen shū, pp. 69-70. Ibuka was a pastor of the prewar Church of Christ in Japan (Nihon kirisuto kyōkai) and President of Meiji Gakuin (1891-1921).

33) Ibid., pp. 70-71.

34) Ibid., pp. 73-74.

35) Ibid., pp. 74-75.

36) For the full text of Resolution No. 4, see “Ketsugi bun sono yon,” in Kaikyō goyū nen kinen kōen shū, p. 578.

37) Harada, Tasuku, “Kyōekisha no yōsei,” Kaikyō goyū nen kinen kōen shū, p. 79. Harada was a pastor of the Japan Congregational and President of Dōshisha (1907-1920). In 1920 he was invited to assist in establishing the Department of Asian Studies at the University of Hawai, where he taught until 1932.

38) Ibid., p. 80.

39) Ibid.

40) Honda, Yōitsu, “Kako oyobi shōrai ni okeru senkyōshi no jigyō,” in Kaikyō goyū nen kinen kōen shū, p. 556. Honda was the first Japanese Bishop of the Methodist Church in Japan and served as President of Aoyama Gakuin (1890-1907).

41) Ibid., pp. 507, 510-511.

42) Ibid., p. 507.

43) Ibid., p. 511.

44) Ibid., pp. 511-512.


47) See Uchimura, Kanzō, “Nihonteki kirisutokyō,” Uchimura Kanzō shinkō chosaku zenshū (Tokyo: 40}
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49) Ibid., 9:45; Also see Daniel H. Bays biography in Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions, p. 130; and Brian Stanley's thorough treatment of Cheng Jingyi, pp. 107-111.
51) Ibid., 8:197. "All one in Christ Jesus" is the motto of the Keswick Convention.
54) Ibid., 9:308.
56) Ibid. Emphasis in original.
57) Graham, Mission Legacies, p. 326
58) Ibid. Also see Stanley, pp. 121-130 for a thorough account of Azariah at the Edinburgh conference.
60) World Missionary Conference, 1910, 9:58. Ibuka attended the Edinburgh conference as a delegate of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
63) Ibid., 3:159-160.
64) Tôkyô joshi daigaku no hachijyû nen. Tôkyô joshi daigaku hachijyû nen shi hensan inkai, ed. (Tokyo: Gakô hôjin Tôkyô joshi daigaku, 1998), p. 119. The 80th anniversary history goes on to add that in 1912 a task force was established in the United States to begin studying the possibility of establishing a Christian women’s university in Japan.
66) Stirewalt, Arthur J., “Attitude of World’s Missionary Conference Toward Educational Work.” Lutheran Church Visitor (August 4, 1910), p. 6. Though he attended Edinburgh as his church’s representative, Stirewalt was also traveling back to the United States to raise the remaining funds necessary for the completion of the campus of Kyûshû Gakuin in Kumamoto.
69) Fukuyama, p. 94.
72) SD, June 21, 1910. See also World Missionary Conference, 1910, 9:55.
73) SD, June 21, 1910. In 1918 these three churches merged to form the United Lutheran Church in America.
74) SD, August 17, 1910; and Fukuyama, pp. 100-101. The Roanoke meeting was held at the Hotel Roanoke. The representatives present at Roanoke were: Rev. George Drach of the General Council; Rev. A.S. Nielsen of the United Danish Lutheran Church in America; and Mr. J.A. Cline, Dr. R.C. Holland, and A.J. Stirewalt of the UnitedSynod of the South.
75) Huddle, p. 102. As Stirewalt’s diary attests, the Roanoke meeting was held on 17 August 1910, not
in July as Huddle reported. Also see Fukuyama, p. 100.

76) SD, August 17, 1910. Stirewalt wrote in his diary on 17 August, “The plans as I drew up and had signed by our men on the field were discussed and after some amendments, adopted to be submitted to the several Boards for adoption. Some of the wording was changed, but the substance is the same. 1) A joint conference in Japan. Interchange of native workers, Interchange of missionaries, subject to approval of Board, a common treasurer, that conference formulate rules for prosecution of its own work, that these articles of cooperation go into effect, as soon as the three Boards ratify such, and the missionaries be notified of the same. A plan for cooperation in educational work has not been worked out. It was somewhat discussed, as also the matter of Gen. Council occupying Tokyo. I then had 4 copies of the plan of cooperation in evangelistic work type-written - one for each Board and one to be sent to Japan. I consider this meeting as a very important one. It may mark a new era.”

78) Ibid., 2:268.
79) Ibid., 9:51. Honda Yôitsu attended as a “special delegate” of the American Executive Committee.
80) Ibid., 2:349. Honda spoke in Japanese and was translated by Galen M. Fisher (1873-1955), Secretary of the Young Men’s Christian Association in Tokyo. As he had been a student at Drew Theological School (1888-90), Honda could have probably spoken in English. An abridged version of Honda’s speech was later published in Japanese. This version was missing the reference to Matt. 28 as the departure for Honda’s understanding of national spirit. See Kaitakusha, Vol. 7, No. 4 (April 1912), p. 5. Also see Okada, Tetsuzô, Honda Yôitsu den (Tokyo: Nichidoku Shoin, 1935), pp. 352-356. Okada quotes an eyewitness account of Honda’s participation by Methodist minister, Ono Zentarô (1875-1965), who was also apparently present at Edinburgh, though not as an official delegate.

81) Ibid., 2:350.
82) Ibid., 9:53. Harada Tasuku attended as a delegate of the Congregational Church’s American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
83) Ibid., 2:372, 373. Harada also delivered a speech on 19 June 1910 titled, “The Contribution of Non-Christian Races to the Body of Christ.” See volume 9, pp. 283-288. In that speech Harada stated, “Just as the religion of Christ triumphed over the religion of Rome, not by destroying, but by absorbing all that was valuable in the older faith, so the appropriation of all that the ancient culture of the Orient can contribute will be for the Glory of God, our Father, and of our common Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.” Harada emphasized the necessary contributions of all cultural expressions of Christianity toward the unity of Christ’s body the church.

84) Ibid., 2:373.
エディンバラ世界宣教協議会（1910年）再訪
—アジアにおける背景と参加者たち

ティモシー・S. マッケンジー

この論文では1910年にエディンバラにおいて開催された世界宣教協議会の背景を検証する。ウィリアム・ケアリによる10年ごとの宣教会議開催の提案に始まる宣教師たちの協力は、ようやく1910年にエディンバラで実を結んだ。エディンバラで、誠静怡、V.S. アザリア、本多庸一と原田助というアジアを代表する者たちが「すべての聖人と共に」働いたり、礼拝したり、学んだりすることによってのみ、われわれは「神の愛を理解することができる」と主張した。井深栄之助とA.J. スタイワルトはエディンバラが「新しい時代」の始まりだと理解した。これらのエディンバラからの声が私達に思い起こさせるのは、私達は自らと異なる人々と出会い交流することによってのみ、キリストの体である教会が「神の豊かさ」を表すことを見、理解するようになるということである。現代の多くの教会が互いに神学的な分離と疎遠を経験していることに対して、これらの声はチャレンジと希望を与える。本論文は、この草創期の宣教とエキュメニズムとの間の根本的な関係が、いかに現代の教会の理解に影響を与えたかを示そうとするものである。

Keywords：エキュメニカル運動、エディンバラ、明治時代、世界宣教協議会、アジア