

# The Diaries of Arthur J. Stirewalt, 1941-1942

## Part I: Repeating the Everyday: Community and the Crisis of War

Timothy S. McKenzie \*

This paper is Part I in a two part series on the diaries of Arthur J. Stirewalt during the period of 1941-1942. This paper will examine the role of Stirewalt in the transfer of missionary held assets to the Japanese church in light of both domestic and international pressures that threatened to make enemies of churches that had accompanied one another for nearly fifty years. Stirewalt's diaries, as a record of the everyday, allow us to see that though Japan and the United States had become politically estranged on the eve of the war, these churches continued to cooperate. This cooperation speaks to the interiority of human community and matters of the heart that even war could not completely destroy. As a methodology, this paper seeks to utilize the thought of early Shōwa period philosopher, Tosaka Jun, and his concept of "the principle of the everyday." Tosaka argued that the daily repetitions of everyday life were the "crystal core" of historical time itself. Thus, through the everyday record of one missionary, we are able to see the daily repetitions of human community that give hope to history.

**Keywords :** Arthur J. Stirewalt, Tosaka Jun, Mission History, World War II, Early Shōwa Japan

### Introduction

This paper is the first part in a two part series covering the period of 1941-1942. In this series we will attempt to understand something about the nature of community, faith and friendship, through the example of the historical relationship between the Japan Mission of the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA)

and the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church (JELC) during this difficult period. This series will attempt to examine daily life events and decisions that helped to ensure an ongoing relationship between two churches, in two nations, whose political relationship was moving toward war. Specifically, in this paper we will examine the transfer of ULCA Mission assets to the JELC, an objective meant to protect the long-term work of the church in the Japan context. Though this history is well known, this two part series will examine this period through the diaries of Arthur Julius Stirewalt (1881-1968),

---

\* マッケンジー、ティモシー・S.  
Associate Professor of Historical Theology,  
Japan Lutheran College and Theological Seminary

a Lutheran missionary at work in Japan during this period. Stirewalt's diaries are a valuable resource offering a view into a time that was marked by great change both internationally and domestically. His diaries offer glimpses into daily life, work and relationships, and also offer fresh information on how two churches navigated this difficult period of war and nationalism.

Primary documents such as diaries, as opposed to institutional documents such as reports and minutes, provide an opportunity to view daily life in its complexity and contradiction. In short, diaries record the daily repetition of events that, over time, become larger histories. Shōwa period philosopher Tosaka Jun (1900-1945), who was writing roughly during this same prewar period, termed the historical location of daily life, the "principle of the everyday" (*nichijōsei no genri*).<sup>1</sup> This paper will attempt to use Tosaka's concept of "the everyday" as a methodology to see more clearly what is embedded in the text of the everyday life of one missionary whose voice, through these diaries, is still accessible.

Sources such as diaries offer a counter or balance to institutional histories, which tend to either edit out completely, or redact the experience of the everyday. How a period in time was experienced through the daily repetition of events often goes unrecorded, and yet it is within this experience of the everyday, as Tosaka Jun argued, that the events of "history" unfold. How was 'the everyday' experienced during wartime in imperial Japan as two churches sought to safeguard their shared work and history? What things of significance might these diaries help us to see in times of social rupture, such as war, social unrest and natural disaster?

A word about the Stirewalt Diaries during this period and their uniqueness is, perhaps, in order. Arthur J. Stirewalt kept a diary for much of his adult life.<sup>2</sup> Stirewalt began writing his diary when he was a student at Lenoir College in 1900 and, with the exception of several years, continued this form of personal documentation until his death in 1968. Stirewalt was diligent in recording his daily life and fastidious about details. His diaries contain a wealth of information from meteorological notations about the weather, to the decisions of the church and its mission, to observations about life in Japan. In this way, the diaries often describe the events of this period, both mundane and extraordinary.

Other civilian authors have written memoirs about their experiences during World War II, for example, in Japanese internment camps. However, these accounts were often written after many years had passed. *Eight Prison Camps: A Dutch Family in Japanese Java* by Dieuwke Wendelaar Bonga; *Shantung Compound* by Langdon Gilkey; *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun* by Judy Hyland and *Evidence Not Seen* by Darlene Deibler Rose all offer highly personal accounts of civilian internees during the Second World War.<sup>3</sup> John Coventry Smith's autobiography, *From Colonialism to World Community*, looks back upon missionary experience during wartime Japan within the context of an entire career.<sup>4</sup> Maud O. Powlas' autobiographical account of a lifetime of work in Japan, *Gathering Up the Fragments*, contains valuable material on daily life in Kumamoto Japan and in Japanese occupied Shanghai.<sup>5</sup> Tuulikki Korpinen wrote of her life in wartime Japan in *Seitsemän Vuotta Sotaisessa Japanissa* (Seven Years in Military Japan), which records her experience from 1938-1945, and the hard life faced by Finnish missionaries in Karuizawa

during the war.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these kinds of autobiographical accounts, Michael Onorato has edited an oral history of internment titled, *Forgotten Heroes*, that attempts to recover the voices of those whose stories have not been told.<sup>7</sup> However, this body of literature (memoirs, autobiography and oral history) is distinctly different from diaries kept during the period itself. It is also perhaps not quite fair to compare Stirewalt's diaries to recollections of internment experiences, as Stirewalt was not among those interned in Japan in the early months of the war, though he did report on those who were interned in Tokyo. Through Stirewalt's recording of the everyday in wartime Tokyo, however, we are able to see and understand a bit more, perhaps, about what both moves history and why it so hard to recover the past.

Finally, a word of introduction about Tosaka Jun's concept of 'the everyday' is in order. In a work titled *Gendai tetsugaku kōwa*, Tosaka Jun described "the principle of everyday" and its relationship to historical time, writing,

The meaning of the principle of the contemporary age is the principle of the present-day. This is *the principle of the present-day - the principle of daily life*. In this way, historical time is ruled by 'the principle of the everyday.' Most surely, in the principle of the day to day, in the principle of day by day, in the principle that there is a daily repetition of things and yet each day is different, in the principle that in common food and drink resides the inevitability of daily life – in these things dwells the crystal core of historical time, the secret of history. This character, which I have said has the same value as historical time, is in actuality the principle of the everyday.<sup>8</sup>

In this way, Tosaka argued that historical time is governed by the repetition of daily life. The accumulated layers of day-to-day life form a hidden "crystal core" of history that often goes undocumented because it is located the very living of life itself. History is borne out of this inevitable or inescapable experience of the everyday, out of the place where humanity resides physically, in shared meals and experiences – in the repetitions of human community.

Tosaka cautions, however, that human understanding about the present derives from a "phenomenological conception of time" (*genshōgakuteki jikan gainen*).<sup>9</sup> Tosaka argued that though human consciousness understands time phenomenologically, human beings do not physically reside in the phenomenological. Tosaka wrote, "The place where we live is *the present* of historical time, which is the present within a particular period, that is to say *the present period*."<sup>10</sup> Tosaka admits that this is not a particularly new concept, but that "the present period is brought into relief against historical time and emerges as a distinctly unique *period*."<sup>11</sup> Tosaka argued that the duration or span (*nagasa*) of the present period is dependent upon the character of the present, and that this functions to vary the experience of the duration of time.

This conception of the present is similar to, for example, the concept of time and remembrance put forth by Augustine in the *Confessions*. As Augustine argued, the present, as a moment of time, has no duration because it is always in the process of passing.<sup>12</sup> What we understand as the present we see through the measurement of time made while it is passing. However, what endures or persists is the mind's attention, its "remembrance of the past."<sup>13</sup> Tosaka's conception of "the everyday" as the daily repetition of events over the course

of a series of new and different days offers another way of understanding the duration of the present as it extends into the future. For Tosaka this duration of the everyday is linked to what he described as the “crystal core of historical time, the secret of history.” That is, the inescapable repetitions of daily human life. Participation in historical time necessarily brings with it commitments, relationships and loyalties which are ongoing. More than memory, they require daily participation and renewal. These events take place within the everyday – as the principal events of daily life that give direction and meaning to historical time.

In modern technological societies, though governmental and industrial regulation is present in things such as the repetition of work and consumption, I would suggest that Tosaka’s conception of a durational present, the everyday, makes room for matters that are also more difficult for governments and industry to regulate, things such as matters of the heart – friendships, loyalties, love, faith, compassion and charity. These things, the interiority of human community, which experienced within the repetition of daily life, give meaning and direction to persons and the institutions to which they find themselves in relationship. Therefore, though Augustine recognized the persistence of memory, Tosaka offered insight into the duration of the present—“in the principle that there is a daily repetition of things and yet each day is different.” What is continued into a new day are the small but inevitable repetitions, the work and relationships of daily life.

This paper is divided into two parts. Part one will examine the international and domestic backgrounds essential to a reading of Arthur Stirewalt’s diaries during this period. Part

two will examine Stirewalt’s diaries against this backdrop of deteriorating international relationships and a domestic religious policy that necessitated the transfer of American church assets into the hands of the Japanese church.

A word of thanks is in order to both the James R. Crumley Archives at Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina and to the ELCA Archives in Elk Grove Village, Illinois for their generous access to primary documents. I am also indebted to the Davis family for access to that portion of the diaries that were not in archival holdings at the time of research. I am also grateful to my colleague Rev. Isamu Aota for access to ULCA Japan Mission records. To our academic neighbor, International Christian University, I offer sincere thanks for gracious access to primary sources such as newspapers and journals that contain tangible traces of the everyday, though they are often difficult to experience in their original vibrancy and emotional power because of the time that has passed. Unless noted, all translations are mine as are all errors.

## **Part One:**

### **The International Situation in 1941**

Before turning to Stirewalt’s diaries, it will also be helpful to briefly review some of the conditions of the world in which they were written. The gradual breakdown of diplomatic discussions between the United States and Japan during 1941 is well documented and there is little need to go into detail here. However, certain diplomatic issues left Japan and the United States polarized, and increasingly moving toward a final unavoidable slide into war during the summer and fall of 1941. The Roosevelt

Administration's order to freeze all Japanese assets in the United States on July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1941 had profound ramifications for both nations, as well as for church relationships in the months leading to the final break in diplomatic relations, and ultimately to war.

The reasons for the freezing of Japanese assets by the Roosevelt Administration were a combination of factors, notably: Japanese occupation of southern Indochina (from July 1941), the Sino-Japanese War, and the Tripartite Pact.<sup>14</sup> Though the talks between United States Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Japanese Ambassador Nomura Kichisaburô quickly focused on the two issues of Japanese withdrawal from China and the Tripartite Pact, Hull's insistence on comprehensive agreement over these issues made it difficult to find a diplomatic solution.<sup>15</sup>

After Japan began its occupation of southern Indochina in July 1941, the diplomatic question of the importance of Southeast Asia in American foreign policy forced the Roosevelt Administration into more assertive diplomatic action.<sup>16</sup> Roosevelt issued two orders which were calculated to impact diplomatic relations with Japan: reinforcement of US defenses in the Philippines and the signing of Executive Order 8832 freezing all Japanese assets in the United States.<sup>17</sup> Roosevelt intended a selective freeze whereby funds could be released to Japan for goods that the United States thought that Japan should have, namely oil. However, the task of implementing the freeze was given to Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who put in place not a flexible plan for the freezing of assets and selective purchase of goods; but rather, a full - scale embargo on oil.<sup>18</sup> In effect, this plan placed a time limit on peace in the Pacific by making Japan run down its stockpiled

fuel, whereby Japan would be forced to seek fuel either by reopening negotiations with the United States or seizing the oil of the Dutch East Indies.<sup>19</sup>

In retaliation to this freeze, the Japanese government issued "Reprisal Laws" on July 28<sup>th</sup> which froze the assets of US citizens and organizations and those of the Commonwealth of the Philippines in Japan.<sup>20</sup> These new laws were meant to strictly control the financial transactions of US personnel and organizations in Japan. The reprisal laws made it difficult for US citizens residing in Japan to gain access to funds, and to buy and sell goods. It also made it extremely difficult for organizations to transfer funds and properties. As we will see, Stirewalt's diaries attest to this freezing of assets and its impact upon the management of daily life.

Though the final diplomatic stages of the prelude to war are outside the scope of this paper, a speech made by Premier Tōjō Hideki in the fall of 1941 illustrates how estranged Japan and the United States had become. On November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1941, Tōjō described the impending break in a speech given in Hibiya marking the first anniversary of the Japan, Manchukuo, China Joint Declaration (*Nichimanka sankoku kyôdô sengen*) for "a new order in East Asia" and the reorganized National Government of China. Saying that he was speaking for all the peoples of Asia, Tōjō stated,

Both England and America have strong ambitions to rule Asia, and from the beginning this has been their favored plan. For the honor and pride of humanity, we must absolutely and thoroughly expel their ambitions [from Asia] (*danjite kore wo tetteitekini haigeki shinakerebanaranu*).<sup>21</sup>

The speech was picked up in the English speaking press and aggressively translated "we

must purge this sort of practice from East Asia with a vengeance.”<sup>22</sup>

It has been argued, that in order for Japan to attempt to create a “new order” in Asia, it was necessary to “expel” the West from Asia.<sup>23</sup> Japan’s “new order” in Asia, the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” (*Daitōa kyōeiken*) was meant to be an economically self-sufficient sphere of “coexistence and co-prosperity” among the nations of East and Southeast Asia under Japanese leadership. A driving principle of this was that the self-governance of Asia meant the expulsion of those Western nations that had “exploited” Asia during the previous century.<sup>24</sup> As we will also see below, spiritual unity in Japan was also to become a significant component of this self-reliance.

## The Domestic Situation of the ULCA Japan Mission in 1941

As mentioned above, Japan’s attempt to lead economic and cultural relations in Asia can also be seen in its seeking control over national religious and spiritual life. Passage of the Religious Bodies Law (*shūkyō dantai hō*) in 1939 can be understood as an attempt by the Japanese government to regulate and unify national religious life. This was not the first time that a Religious Bodies Bill had been attempted by the government. In the 1899–1900 imperial Diet, and again in 1927 and 1929, bills for the Religious Bodies Law were introduced into the Diet, but were not passed into law.<sup>25</sup> However, in 1939, with Japan at war in China, the conditions were favorable for passage of the bill. The conditions of the new law required that churches have at least 5,000 church members and 50 churches. This made merger a necessity for the two small Lutheran churches begun by

American and Finnish missions. After merging, Lutherans could then qualify to take part in the formation of a new “union church,” which was also mandated by the new Religious Bodies Law. The new pan-denominational church would be called the United Church of Christ in Japan (*Nihon kirisuto kyōdan*, hereafter *Kyōdan*).

On April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1940, a Merger Committee (*gōdō kyōgikai*) of the JELC and the Evangelical Lutheran Church (*Fukuin rûteru kyōkai*), the church of the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF) met at Japan Lutheran Theological Seminary in Tokyo to prepare a merger.<sup>26</sup> On October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1940, these two churches officially merged at a special national assembly in Tokyo.<sup>27</sup> The new church retained the name Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church (JELC).

The provisions of the new Religious Bodies Law made it impossible for missionaries to continue in positions of administrative and financial leadership over Japanese registered religious bodies and related organizations. Because of this new law, the ULCA Mission Executive Committee set to work at making changes in the fall of 1940 that would place all ULCA assets into the hands of the JELC.<sup>28</sup> The following spring, at the Annual ULCA Mission Meeting held in May 1941, Edward T. Horn, President of the Lutheran seminary and Mission President, summarized the changes of 1940–1941 in his annual report, writing that the new law had “serious repercussions in theological seminaries” through requiring the resignations of missionary leadership and the cutting of foreign aid.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to the seminary, this also meant an end to missionary leadership in all mission schools and the Boards of Directors of these institutions. Horn further reported that many

missionaries had been relieved of their duties as evangelistic ministers, and that young people have been advised to not attend classes in the homes of "foreigners," assessing the situation as more anti-foreign than anti-Christian.<sup>30</sup> Horn called the Religious Bodies Law and the increasing diplomatic tension with the United States the "two serious disconcerting factors;" that were driving this change.<sup>31</sup> In a letter to the Mission Executive Committee, Horn assessed the situation, writing,

This is the first time in the history of American Missions that [missionaries] are confronted with the anomalous position of attempting to present the Gospel of Christ to a people which regards them as representatives of a hostile nation on the verge of actual belligerency...we are conscientiously unable to overlook the fact that we are *personae non gratae* because we are Americans.<sup>32</sup>

The matter of the role of foreign personnel in national church life was further complicated by diplomatic pressure. In October 1940, the government of the United States issued warnings advising evacuation of all US citizens whose presence in Japan was considered "not highly essential."<sup>33</sup> The warning was reiterated in written form in February 1941.<sup>34</sup> The governments of Great Britain and Canada also issued similar advisory warnings.<sup>35</sup> Increasing international pressures forced many missionaries and families to make very traumatic decisions about leaving Japan. As the *Japan Christian Yearbook* for 1941 went to press in April of that year, it was estimated that of nearly one thousand Protestant missionaries in Japan, less than two hundred remained.<sup>36</sup> In a cablegram dated March 18<sup>th</sup>, 1941, ULCA Council of Secretaries Chairman, George Drach,

granted permission for missionaries to make judgments about their evacuation, "except for three concentrated in Tokyo."<sup>37</sup> This referred to Hepner, Horn, and Stirewalt.

Anticipating such a contingency as a financial freeze, Horn reported at the May 1941 Mission meeting that the transfer of ULCA Mission assets to the JELC was,

to render our Church and its Institutions as free as possible from the dread of impoverization through untoward occurrences in the financial world, as for example possible freezing of credits; or through the sudden and complete evacuation of missionaries before the moneys in hand could be properly transferred.<sup>38</sup>

It would fall upon Arthur Stirewalt, as elected treasurer of the Mission, to carry out much of this transfer of assets to the JELC.

However, Horn also called for generosity in the face of this crisis, stating that the ULCA Japan Mission was to hand over all of its property and financial resources to the Japanese church without "prejudice, pique or disappointment."<sup>39</sup> These words encouraged missionaries to focus on their community together with the Japanese church, rather than their increasing estrangement as citizens of two politically opposed nations. Horn's words stand in stark contrast to Tōjō's call to expel England and America from Asia. If missionaries were to leave, they would leave Japan focused on the Japanese church and its financial wellbeing. It is against the backdrop of these two factors: worsening diplomatic relations and a rapidly changing domestic religious policy that we now turn to Arthur Stirewalt's diaries.



## Part Two: The Everyday and the Diaries of A. J. Stirewalt in 1941

1941 was a difficult period in the life of Arthur Stirewalt. His wife Alice Marie passed away on January 4<sup>th</sup>, 1941 at their Hyakunin-machi residence in Tokyo. In the following months a great deal of stress was placed upon Stirewalt's health, as well as on his own self-understanding as a missionary. In part two of this paper, we will attempt to understand what happened during this crucial period. As his diaries are a personal record of daily life, it is not possible, nor is it appropriate to include everything. I have elected to divide part two of this paper into several representative sections below.

### Implementing the Decisions of the ULCA Mission

As we have seen in part one above, the Japan Mission of the ULCA made the decision in early 1941 to place into the hands of the JELC all of their assets and property. The responsibility for nearly all of the actual carrying out of this decision fell upon Arthur Stirewalt. At the May 5<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the Japan Mission, Stirewalt was elected Treasurer of the Mission,<sup>40</sup> and in his diary for May 5<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt wrote, "I dread the work of the Treasurer."<sup>41</sup> This was not the voice of one who didn't want to do the work; it was the voice of one who knew exactly what the work would entail. Stirewalt had been the chairman of the Mission Finance Committee during this period, but more than that he had been intimately involved in creating the very structure of the Mission itself, during the critical period of 1909 when ULCA predecessor body, the United Synod of the South, was putting in place a plan

to establish a seminary and middle school in Kumamoto. Key to this plan was the formation of the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Association (hereafter 'Shadan') in 1909. A founding member of the original Shadan, Stirewalt was also the Chairman of its Board of Directors in 1941; therefore, it made excellent sense for him to also function as the Treasurer of the Mission.<sup>42</sup> As many church, parsonage, school and institutional properties were held in the name of the Shadan, it was wise to consolidate the transfer of assets under one highly motivated and trustworthy person.

Prior to the annual meeting of the Mission, Stirewalt had begun, with the JELC, to investigate revising the Shadan Constitution (*teikan*). On February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1941 he recorded in his diary,

Attended Mission Ex. Comm. Meeting all day, except in P.M. until 4 o'clock during which time I went with Mr. Miura to our lawyer and to the Educational Dept. to investigate about the revision of our Shadan Constitution.<sup>43</sup>

Mission homes and properties related to charitable work (eleemosynary work) were to remain under control of the Mission, even though legally all properties would be under the name of a newly reorganized Shadan. On March 3<sup>rd</sup>, Stirewalt wrote, "At night, I drew up an agreement regarding mission homes and the control of them, and also the control of property for eleemosynary work – an agreement with the proposed reorganized Shadan of the Japan Lutheran Church."<sup>44</sup> The next day he continued,

Brought the deed for the Hyakunin-machi land from the bank vault. Hepner and I lunched with Horn and then we discussed and agreed on a form of contract for the Japan Luth. Church and its proposed



Shadan to sign, guaranteeing mission home and eleemosynary work property, and Koromo rural property, as being under the control of the Mission. It will be of moral force only.<sup>45</sup>

The implied meaning of this placed these assets into the hands of the Japanese church as a matter of trust. Also implied was the ongoing relationship of the two churches, even if missionaries had to leave Japan in the event of war.

On March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1941 Stirewalt, Horn and Hepner met at the office of the Shadan's lawyer, Mr. Katayama, to investigate revising the Shadan constitution. They then went to the Ministry of Education office (*Monbushô*) for final approval. Stirewalt noted that between the three copies that needed to be signed, he had to affix his signature seventy-five times.<sup>46</sup>

Revision of the Shadan constitution was timed to occur before the JELC entered into the new union church, the *Kyôdan*. At its May 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup>, 1941 assembly, the JELC voted to join the *Kyôdan*. The ULCA Mission then held its Annual Meeting on May 5<sup>th</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup>, 1941 voting to turn over its assets to the JELC.<sup>47</sup>

On May 7<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt again went to Katayama's office to discuss the alterations to the Shadan constitution.<sup>48</sup> Though the ULCA Mission and the JELC were legally free to make these changes, on May 14<sup>th</sup> Stirewalt was visited by an officer of the Metropolitan Police and questioned regarding the recent Mission meeting.<sup>49</sup> This highlights both the level of tension at the time about foreign led organizations and the amount of police surveillance that missionaries faced.

Stirewalt records that a Shadan Board meeting was held in his home on June 23<sup>rd</sup> 1941. Stirewalt noted that before this meeting

he went to Katayama's office to take receipt of the revised constitution. This meeting was crucial for at it, a majority of Japanese Directors were elected to the Board for the first time in its history. Miura Inoko was elected as the first Japanese Chairman of the Board. Stirewalt was elected as Treasurer. The new Directors elected were: Miura Inoko, Honda Denki, Hirai Kiyoshi, Inadomi Hajime, Charles Hepner, George Schillinger and Stirewalt.<sup>50</sup> This gave the JELC a majority on the Board, and ensured that the Shadan would continue under the JELC, should the fear of war become a reality. It also ensured that the assets of the Shadan would remain under the JELC, within the new "Union Church" (*Kyôdan*). To ensure this, it was crucial to change the name of the Shadan from the Shadan Association of the Japan Mission of the United Lutheran Church in America, to the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Association (*Nihon Fukuin Rûteru Shadan*). This change legally put into place a Japanese led Shadan, with missionaries in supporting roles.

The June 23<sup>rd</sup> Shadan Board meeting at Stirewalt's home was timed to occur immediately before the organizing assembly of the United Church of Christ in Japan (*Kyôdan*), held from the following day, June 24<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup>, 1941 at Fujimichô Church.<sup>51</sup> Stirewalt notes that Miura gave he, Horn and Hepner 10 tickets to give out, and that Paul S. Mayer (Evangelical Association), Galen Fischer (Y.M.C.A), G. Ernest Bott (United Church of Canada) and William Axling (American Baptist Church, USA) were also in attendance.<sup>52</sup> On the second day of the *Kyôdan* assembly, Stirewalt noted,

There seemed a lack of enthusiasm throughout. Probably it was because of the presence of policemen and representatives of the Educational Department who took

notes. Also, the Ed. Dept. has not yet recognized this new organization, as a *Kyôdan*, but will likely do so soon. It was a historical meeting. 300 delegates.<sup>53</sup>

Because the formation of the *Kyôdan* came about originally due to the requirements of the Religious Bodies Law, it should have come as no surprise that the organizing assembly lacked energy. In the above we have seen Stirewalt's role in the restructuring of the Shadan, however, transferring the actual assets remained to be done.

#### The Repetitions of Daily Life – Work and Illness

In addition to the task of implementing the decisions of the ULCA Mission's assets, Stirewalt's diaries record his daily life in Tokyo during this time. Japan had officially been at war in China since 1937, and arguably, since the Manchurian Incident of 1931. Ration tickets, the search for food staples, lack of fuel, visits from the police, the sale of property, and blackouts are some of the recurrent notations in Stirewalt's diaries.

After his wife Alice's death and funeral, Stirewalt spent time and effort to have her grave at Tama Cemetery finished. Understandably, the cemetery also became a frequent destination to which he took flowers and bulbs to plant. Stirewalt also spent time packing his wife's effects to send to his three daughters, who were living in the US. At the same time as he was occupied with these personal matters, Stirewalt also began preparations to sell the Hyakunin-machi property and move into the Linn house at Umabashi in Suginami-ku. Selling unneeded property was part of the Mission plan to consolidate assets, which would eventually be handed over to the JELC.<sup>54</sup> The Linns were on furlough in the US, and due to the worsening diplomatic situation, would not be returning to

Japan.

In breaking up his household, Stirewalt also held a large sale of effects on March 22<sup>nd</sup>, in which he sold the family car "Anna Belle." Stirewalt noted in his diary,

This P.M. I sold Anna Belle, the auto for 300 Yen. We bought it July 27, 1928, in Seattle, and it has been a faithful car. The family has had much pleasure and service from it. Because of the lack of gasoline, the value of used cars has gone low. It was worth much more. Good-bye Anna Belle, and thanks for all your service.<sup>55</sup>

The lack of not only gasoline, but of coal for heat would become a problem later in the year. Japan's war in Asia and the increasing difficulty of importing fuels made daily life difficult.

Over and above these personal responsibilities, Stirewalt continued to go about his church work at Okubo Church (Tokyo Church), Ebara Church (predecessor to Yukigaya Church), the Kanagawa preaching point, and at Tokyo *Rôjin* Home (Tokyo Home for the Aged).<sup>56</sup> Stirewalt traveled to each location at least once a week to aid the pastor by leading either worship or Bible study meetings. According to his Station Report for 1940, after the pastor at the Kanagawa preaching point became ill in July 1940, he led Sunday services, until informed by the local authorities that he could no longer travel to Kanagawa.<sup>57</sup> At the *Rôjin* Home, he led a weekly worship service and also had administrative oversight of the management of the Home.

Stirewalt's days were often very busy during this period. An example of a typical day is described on February 6<sup>th</sup> 1941, the day after his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday,

In A.M. Mr. K. Hoketsu of the Foreign Office came to see the house. He says the yard is too small...Had lunch with Mr.

Gressitt in the Castle, in the Maru Bldg. went to Toranomon, and then to Akasaka to get a packer to pack the china which I want to send to America. Went to Hongoku Cho to inquire price of hand sewing machine. Went to Yokohama at night. Only Mr. Otake was at class. In P.M., Mr. Hara and Mr. Nanjo, *Kyūshū Gakuin* graduates, who are connected with the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun*, called and stayed a long time. Fine Day. Much warmer – too warm.<sup>58</sup>

The trip to Marunouchi was to take letters to meet the sailing of the mail boat that day, another feature of the day now long forgotten. This kind of day was common for Stirewalt and is probably one of the reasons that, in addition to implementation of the Mission asset transfer that he would fall ill in the summer of 1941.

Stirewalt records that the sale of the Hyakunin-machi property was decided in late February at a price of 70,000 Yen.<sup>59</sup> After this decision, Stirewalt continued to prepare to move into the Umabashi house. The combined stress of the loss of his wife, a busy work schedule, packing and working on the Shadan restructuring began to have an effect upon Stirewalt's health. In his diaries, he notes his exhaustion.<sup>60</sup> The break came on July 6<sup>th</sup> 1941 when Stirewalt collapsed in Koenji Station, on the way to teach a Bible class.<sup>61</sup> Stirewalt was hospitalized from July 6<sup>th</sup> – 28<sup>th</sup>, his diary noting many visitors.

The freezing of assets by the US and Japan had gone into effect just before Stirewalt was released from the hospital. The pressing need to finalize the transfer of Mission assets to the JELC was acute. Stirewalt noted in his diary on August 4<sup>th</sup>, "Callers: Revs. Miura and Hirai. Everyday there is something for me to sign regarding *Shadan* matters, or applications to the

Finance Dept., for money."<sup>62</sup> After the freezing of assets, any transfer of funds had to be applied for through the Ministry of Finance, and gaining final access was often difficult.

After the freezing of assets, Stirewalt noted, with increasing frequency, visits by the police and government officials. On July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1941, he recorded such a visit:

A plainclothes policeman called. He tells me not to worry, that he will take care of me in case of war. Two men from the Finance Dept. came to get information about the possessions I have. I gave all information.<sup>63</sup>

It is probably to Stirewalt's credit that he was open with the police and government in all his dealings, because after the beginning of hostilities between Japan and the US, a number of missionaries were arrested and placed in detention under suspicion of espionage.

In times of crisis, there are often dates beyond which one senses the quickening of worsened conditions. In Stirewalt's diaries, August 6<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>, 1941 seems to be such a threshold. On August 6<sup>th</sup> Stirewalt notes that fellow missionary, S.O. Thorlaksson was to have sailed on the *Nitta Maru* on August 7<sup>th</sup>, but that the sailing of ships from Yokohama had been postponed indefinitely. This was a problem as Stirewalt was still trying to get governmental permission to send Linn's household effects as well as a ship to take them.

August 7<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> deserve to be quoted in their entirety for the insight they shed into the transferring of assets within the everyday.

Tokyo. Thurs., August 7, 1941. Mr. Hepner came for breakfast. We went downtown, to the U.S. Consulate, Embassy, Finance Dept., Bank of Japan, National City Bank of New York, and then I went to the

Mitsubishi Bank. Lunched at Lohmeyers. We had supper at my home. After supper, we went to his home where we met with Miura and Asaji. Our finances are now very troublesome. How to get our money!

Tokyo. Sat., August 9, 1941. Soon after breakfast, I went to Mr. Miura's to sign some applications for funds for the Japan Lutheran Church. I then went with Mr. Kawagiri to the Bank of Japan with them. The bank accepted the applications. We then went to the National City Bank of N.Y. and gave them a copy. Rain in the evening. A plainclothes policeman called.

Tokyo. Sun., August 10, 1941. Hot day. Went to Okubo Church - the first time since my illness. Revs. Miura, Fukuyama, and Kawagiri called in the evening.

Tokyo. Mon., Aug. 11, 1941. In A.M., I went to Miura's. The meeting of the Executive Board of the Japan Lutheran Church was just beginning there, so I signed some papers - a request to draw ¥11,000 for the Kyoto Church building, and then hurried home. Nakamura san filled out my blanks, reporting my possessions, and I then took them to the Bank of Japan. Wrote to Mr. Erskine, Sec.-Treas. of MMAA, but will there be a boat to take it?<sup>64</sup>

Several observations may be made here. First, accessing funds was taking massive amounts of time, adding a layer of governmental oversight to a transfer process that should have been fairly straightforward. Police monitoring of Stirewalt's activities continued, highlighting perhaps, suspicions over his role in these transactions between a US held entity and a Japanese registered organization. After his illness, Stirewalt resumed his church duties, while continuing other

administrative responsibilities such as MMAA (The Missionaries Mutual Aid Association) administration.<sup>65</sup> Finally, travel and mail service via ship was becoming difficult, foreshadowing difficulties of evacuation after October 1941.

On August 30<sup>th</sup>, 1941, Stirewalt handed over all Shadan deeds from his bank vault to Rev. Miura. Stirewalt recorded the event, writing,

I took out all Shadan deeds and went with Miura to the Mitsui Trust Co., where he "squeezed" them into his vault box. This is historical. We had given the Japanese 6 to 3 membership on the reorganized Shadan, and now I have turned over all property to Miura, the chairman of the newly reorganized Shadan.<sup>66</sup>

Stirewalt continued almost daily during September to negotiate governmental and banking applications for transfers of funds to the JELC, often accompanied by Miura Inoko.

In this section, we have seen how implementing the ULCA transfer of assets to the JELC required multiple trips to banks and government offices with Japanese colleagues. In many cases, asset transfers took place passed hand to hand, as the example of Stirewalt handing over the Shadan deeds to Miura above illustrates. We have also seen how the intensity of this daily repetition led to illness and hospitalization for Stirewalt. Through all of this, however, friendships between American and Japanese colleagues formed a layer of the everyday to which Stirewalt's diaries witness.

#### Evacuation and War

The freezing of assets escalated fears of war, and ULCA Council Chairman, George Drach, sent a cable to Stirewalt, received on July 31<sup>st</sup> 1941, which read, "Urge all women evacuate now. Return of men left to their best judgment.

Drach.”<sup>67</sup> As Stirewalt was still recovering at home from his recent hospitalization, he asked JELC President Miura to forward the message to the women members of the Mission.<sup>68</sup>

Yet it took some time for this order from the home mission office to be observed. Declining numbers of passenger ships bound for the US and missionary reluctance to return were contributing factors. In July in addition to Stirewalt: Charles & Alma Hepner, George Schillinger, S.O. Thorlaksson, Annie Powlas, Maude Powlas, Marion Potts, Martha Akard, and Faith Lippard still remained in Japan. With the exception of Stirewalt and the Hepners, these missionaries were to sail from Nagasaki for Shanghai, and from there, to the US, on September 25<sup>th</sup>, 1941.<sup>69</sup> In preparation for evacuation, Hepner and Stirewalt realized that the Japan Mission would have to give a financial report to the ULCA. Stirewalt noted on September 12<sup>th</sup> that Mission President Hepner finally agreed to let Thorlaksson take the Mission’s financial records to the US.<sup>70</sup> Stirewalt cabled Drach asking that the ULCA pay for passage for these missionaries on the American President Line, wiring payment to that company’s Shanghai office. Regarding the JELC, Stirewalt’s record reads, “Please send to our credit, The American Trust Co., San Francisco, in October, eleven thousand dollars as the second half of your gift to the Japan Lutheran Church.”<sup>71</sup> Even as missionaries were leaving, the ULCA would fulfill its designated gifts to the Japanese church. Further, the decision to let Thorlaksson take the Mission financial records to the US was prescient. After the beginning of the war, no printed or written materials were allowed out of Japan by foreign nationals returning on the 1942 exchange ships.<sup>72</sup>

As plans for the evacuation of missionaries

unfolded, Stirewalt continued finalizing the transfer of Mission assets, and continued with his other church responsibilities. However, fatigue continued to manifest itself in the fall of 1941. On September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1941, as he led worship at Tokyo *Rôjin* Home, Stirewalt suffered a possible stroke. His diary he reads,

While holding services, my vision became so bad that I could not read my Bible. Later while holding the service in the infirmary, I found that I could not finish my sentences. I would become confused and use the wrong words, and before finishing the sentences, I would forget how I began it. Now, 9:30 P.M., I feel all right except a slight pain in my head. In A.M. I had no pain. I rather believe that I had a slight stroke.<sup>73</sup>

The following week, Rev. Honda Denki, the pastor with whom Stirewalt worked at Tokyo Lutheran Church, went to the *Rôjin* Home to lead services instead of Stirewalt.<sup>74</sup>

In spite of this, Stirewalt continued working at the task set before him. On September 22<sup>nd</sup>, he recorded,

After breakfast, I went to Mr. Honda’s and gave to him ¥1,167.10 [for] *Rôjin* Home building fund and the blueprints of Tokyo Lutheran Ch., and also of the parsonage. I consider it wise to turn such things over to our Japanese brethren.<sup>75</sup>

As he had turned over all of the Shadan deeds to Miura, Stirewalt continued to place into the hands of the Japanese church as much as he was able. Stirewalt continued his church work, recording interest and concern for the church and its pastors in his diary.<sup>76</sup> Stirewalt makes mention of JELC pastors who had been drafted,

Rev. Kawagiri received notice yesterday that on Nov. 23, he must report for service

with the army – not as a soldier, but for army work of some kind. Rev. Aota Jr. is now with the army for the second time. Rev. Sakai is also back in China.<sup>77</sup>

Regarding Kawagiri Shinichi, three days later Stirewalt recorded, “Went to Kawagiri’s home before going to church, and again in P.M. I gave him a ¥50 farewell gift before he goes to the army, on the 22<sup>nd</sup>.”<sup>78</sup> In light of growing diplomatic tension, Stirewalt’s concern for these pastors is commendable. In 10 days Tōjō would make his speech calling for the expulsion of America and England from Asia, and in three weeks Japan and the US would be at war. Throughout Stirewalt’s records, one senses his genuine concern for friends and relationships that had been the fruit of years of work in Japan.<sup>79</sup>

Just as Stirewalt was concerned about his colleagues in the JELC, he was also concerned about his colleagues in the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland (LEAF). LEAF began work in Japan in 1900, founding the Evangelical Lutheran Church (*Fukuin rûteru kyōkai*).<sup>80</sup> Due to the war with Russia, many LEAF missionaries were not only unable to return to Finland, they were unable to access funds needed to continue daily life. Stirewalt touches on this issue several times in his diary regarding financial assistance for members of LEAF. On June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1941, Stirewalt noted in his diary,

From 2 P.M., Messers Horn, Hepner, Thorlaksson and I met Messers Karen and Minkkinen here at my home and we talked over the financial situation of the Finnish Mission. Since March of this year, they are not permitted to receive any more money from Finland, because of the embargo on money, due to the war with Russia. They have enough money to carry their work

until the end of August, but their pastors get no more salary after June. It seems that our Board, or the World Lutheran Relief (American Committee) must help them. We will present the appeal of their case.<sup>81</sup>

Stirewalt was friends with LEAF missionaries, the Minkkinens, who arrived in Japan in January 1905, roughly a year before Stirewalt arrived.<sup>82</sup> As mentioned in part one above, Stirewalt also worked together with Taavi Minkkinen and Artur Karen on the Merger Committee (*gōdō kyōgikai*), which prepared the merger between the Evangelical Lutheran Church and the JELC in April 1940.<sup>83</sup>

Based on the June 17<sup>th</sup> meeting between the ULCA and LEAF missionaries, \$2,000 was wired to Japan for the Finnish mission. Accessing the funds after the freezing of assets was, however, a problem. Stirewalt again mentions this issue on August 13<sup>th</sup>, when Taavi Minkkinen visited his home, writing,

Mr. Minkkinen has received order for \$2,000 from the World Lutheran Service, in the U.S.A. The order is on the National City Bank of N.Y., and he is trying to get permission to get the money.<sup>84</sup>

This bank was one of the banks that the ULCA used in financial transfers. Several months later, in December 1941, Karen was able to send a brief cable to the LEAF office in Finland stating that they had received some support from Sweden and America.<sup>85</sup> Though Stirewalt’s diary records no more regarding this matter, the Finnish mission did apparently receive the aid sent by the American office of Lutheran World Relief.<sup>86</sup>

Stirewalt also noted in his diary the small kindnesses among friends that often go unrecorded, yet are signs of friendship. When

the Minkkinens visited his home on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1941, he notes that he gave them "various imported food articles."<sup>87</sup> When the Minkkinens visited him again after the New Year on January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1942, he again records that they brought him squash and salad oil.<sup>88</sup> The Minkkinens disappear from his diary narrative at this point, which doesn't mean Stirewalt didn't see them again, only that he made no record of it. What is certain is that after Stirewalt was repatriated after June 1942, he would probably not see his friends the Minkkinens again.<sup>89</sup>

Stirewalt's diary for December 1, 1941 contains the first mention of possibly returning to the US. In spite of this, he continued to work at the consolidation and transfer of assets, mentioning negotiations for the sale of the Saga property with Rev. Tsuboike Takeshi.<sup>90</sup> After receiving a visit from a military police (*kenpeitai*) officer, Stirewalt noted a cable that had just come to Hepner from Drach at the ULCA office in the US. The cable read, "Stirewalt should return Stop If Hepners remain they must bear the consequences Stop Remittances through Cooper now contrary to our government regulations Drach." Stirewalt continued noting, "It now seems that I must leave – if I can."<sup>91</sup> The problem was now time.

On December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1941, Stirewalt experienced another possible stroke on the way to a prayer meeting. In his diary he recorded,

On the way to Koenji Station, I felt too badly to go. Got in a *kuruma* [taxi] and returned home, and went to bed. I felt the same trouble in my head that I felt when at the Old People's Home. I think I should have fainted, had I gone on.<sup>92</sup>

Stirewalt rested the following day at home, which meant that he worked at home. Remittances from the Board of the ULCA to

Japan may have ceased, but Stirewalt continued making what payments he still could make in Japan, noting, "After I make all November payments, there will be ¥641.37 left to Mission credit. We now have to stop, as the Board can send no more."<sup>93</sup>

Stirewalt's plan to move to the Hepner home was made more of a necessity by the lack of funds and fuel. He had been living in the Linn residence at Umabashi since the spring. He wrote on December 7<sup>th</sup> 1941,

I have no coal except just a little which was in the bin when I moved here, and the restrictions on electricity do not permit me to use the electric heater...When the Hepners were here today, we decided that I should move from this house, and live with them, since we can get no more money from the Board. I must save the ¥150 rent each month.<sup>94</sup>

With sudden swiftness, the Pacific War began on December 8<sup>th</sup> (Japan time). Stirewalt mentions first hearing of the beginning of war from a friend who heard it on the radio. In his diary for December 8<sup>th</sup>, he wrote,

Tonight, light must not be seen from windows, or elsewhere. Heretofore, we have practiced black-outs, but now it is to be in fact. I am in my little bedroom with its one window covered, and my lamp well hooded. I am anxious to know if the *Tatsuta Maru* which sailed on Dec. 2 will continue under the promise of a safe return – if there was such a promise – or whether it will return, bringing John Smith & Co. back. If war has begun, we can expect it to be a long and bitter struggle, with only loss to all, and profit for none. Too bad! Especially, so, as the diplomatic negotiations were being carried on in



Washington to prevent a clash.

Tonight, thirty-six years ago, I sailed from Seattle, on the Shawmut, commanded by Capt. E.V. Roberts, for Japan, as the field of my life's work. It is sad that this anniversary day should be marred by the outbreak of war between these two countries.<sup>95</sup>

His mention of John Smith above is significant.<sup>96</sup> As Stirewalt noted, the Smiths sailed on the *Tatsuta Maru* on December 2<sup>nd</sup> for Los Angeles. The ship sailed the Great Circle route, passing several hundred miles north of Hawaii. After crossing the international dateline (the date continued to be December 7<sup>th</sup>, the same time zone as Pearl Harbor), the ship turned around without warning at 11:40 AM. The ship returned to Yokohama by government order, and the passengers were interned at the Yokohama Amateur Boat Club.<sup>97</sup>

On December 11<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt noted that fellow ULCA missionary Charles Hepner was also taken to a detention camp in Setagaya ward, along with other missionaries.<sup>98</sup> The following day, Stirewalt reported in his diary that he was visited by JELC President Miura, who said that the National Christian Council and the *Kyôdan* had met earlier that day and advised that missionaries no longer attend church services.<sup>99</sup> On December 13<sup>th</sup>, Stirewalt recorded a Shadan Board and Zaidan Board (the holding body of the church's schools) meeting at his home attended by Miura, Hirai, Honda, Inadomi and Kishi. He recorded,

I agreed to their taking the Jiai En, Bethany Home, Tokyo Old People's Home, and the Newspaper Evangelism work, and run these institutions the best they could, only that according to our agreement, they are not to dispose of any of the property, without

Mission approval...We all agreed, as Zaidan, to ask the Ex. Board of the Japan Luth. Church to recommend someone to be called as president of the Theol. Seminary. Mr. Asaji has been acting as Pres., since Mr. Horn resigned.<sup>100</sup>

This was the final such meeting recorded by Stirewalt in his diary. The transfer of assets was completed as best as the situation would allow, and in this way the ULCA Mission and JELC each made the transition that the war necessitated. By continuing to work on asset transfers and transition through the Shadan meeting of December 13<sup>th</sup>, continuity of church work toward the future was safeguarded.

Though Stirewalt was not arrested and sent to a detention camp, he was visited by the police on December 18<sup>th</sup>. He recorded the visit:

At about 11:30 A.M., three plainclothes men came from the police and searched my house. They asked about two boxes which had come from Mr. Schillinger in Sept., and since I had not yet opened them, they opened them and examined the contents. They left at 2:30 apparently satisfied. They were very gentlemanly and apologized for having to do this very distasteful duty, saying that they had been commanded to do it...The police today took my U.S. automobile road maps, maps of Karuizawa, National Geographic Magazine maps, the book, *The American Government* with its maps, Matsushima picture (from its frame), various picture post cards. They say they will return them.<sup>101</sup>

He was visited, again, by five policemen on December 23<sup>rd</sup>, noting this time that two of them were among those that visited him five days before.<sup>102</sup>

On the last day of 1941, Stirewalt reflected

that the year had been a sad one with the death of his wife Alice, and the outbreak of war. He wrote of his being “marooned” in Japan and that “no purpose is being served by being here.”<sup>103</sup> He closed his diary for 1941 with a written prayer,

Oh Lord, grant that the children of men may learn wisdom, and that ceasing to destroy, they may seek peace and use their energies to help each other. Have mercy on those who suffer because of war, and grant unto each one to know Thy presence, and to put full trust in Thee. Speedily bring these conflicts to an end, and do Thou exalt thyself in all the earth, to the casting down of all that is unrighteous. Let justice and mercy prevail. Amen.<sup>104</sup>

As he wrote in this prayer petition, Stirewalt’s daily life seemed to embody this prayer by continuing to use his own energies to help friends and colleagues in the church at a time when nations had become estranged by war. In order to transfer all of the assets, property and institutions of the ULCA Mission into the hands of the JELC, Stirewalt stayed in Japan beyond a time when he could have been evacuated. Though this allowed him to assist the church, aiding in the orderly transfer of assets to the JELC, it came at personal sacrifice and risk to his own health and safety.

## Conclusion

In part one of this paper, ULCA Mission President Edward Horn wrote that the goal of the ULCA Japan Mission was to hand over all of its assets to the Japanese church without “prejudice, pique or disappointment.”<sup>105</sup> Missions were to see themselves in the larger context of the Japanese church’s needs, and

contribute to this, even as evacuation and war were immanent. We have seen how Arthur Stirewalt faithfully carried out this task through the repetition of the day to day, in community with colleagues in the JELC. Stirewalt’s diaries have left many tangible traces of the everyday and its tremendous difficulties during 1941. The diaries witness to a common work that missionaries and Japanese church leaders shared that allowed them to realize a common goal during a time of great crisis.

Tosaka Jun’s concept of “the everyday” as the “crystal core of historical time, the secret of history” allows us to see that it was through the repetition of daily life and its friendships, collaborations, and even shared meals, that the everyday became the historical. With meticulous care, Stirewalt recorded in his diary the inescapable repetitions of daily life. His diaries demonstrate that during a period of extreme national crisis for both Japan and the United States, participation in the historical present brought with it commitments, relationships and a shared faith that were able to survive the currents of nationalism and the powerful undertow of war.

From the time of his wife’s death in early 1941, until his repatriation in June 1942, Stirewalt, though he did not always seem to understand or see it, accompanied and was accompanied by both missionary and Japanese friends and colleagues. This was not without conflict or contradiction. There were times when Stirewalt expressed doubt and frustration. However, this did not bring an end to relationships built up over decades of a shared experience of the everyday; rather, it strengthened them. As the world descended into ‘total war’ with nations mobilized against one another, and even religions pressed into

the aid of the nation, relationships forged out of the repetition of daily life seemed to provide a counter balance that even war could not completely destroy.

Fukuyama Takeshi has written that the mass exodus of missionaries in 1941 was an unfortunate sacrifice due to worsened diplomatic conditions.<sup>106</sup> What was implied, of course, was that if war had not come, many missionaries might have remained in Japan continuing their work. However, the war ruptured missionary service for most missionaries, and it was probably inevitable that many did not return after the war. However, it is also true, as Stirewalt's diaries reveal, that during this period of international crisis and war, people continued to work together, visit one another, and share concern for one another. Indeed, this is what made the everyday such a difficult place for the state to exert complete control through laws meant to regulate religious discourse. This interiority of human community and its matters of the heart are what finally gave meaning and direction to the transfer of assets on the eve of, and into the early days of the war.

Stirewalt and his diaries allow us to glimpse the often hidden core of historical time, and its very human commitments to community and relationships. His diaries remind us today that everyday relationships, such as those that we have seen here, have the power to continue to create community and friendships that transcend the ideologies of state. These records of daily repetitions also, finally, give shape not only to history but also to our anticipation of a future that is tomorrow.

## Notes

- 1 Tosaka, Jun, "*Gendai tetsugaku kōwa*," *Tosaka Jun Zenshū*. Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1966, 3:101. Tosaka was a Materialist philosopher and Marxist, who was arrested under the provisions of the Peace Preservation Law, and died in Nagano Prison days before the end of WWII on August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1945.
- 2 For a narrative treatment of Stirewalt's life see McKenzie, Timothy, "Early Lutheran Missionaries and Theological Education in Japan – The lives and work of Brown, Nielsen, Horn and Stirewalt," *Rūteru gakuin kenkyū kiyō* (Vol. 43, 2009), pp. 19-32.
- 3 Bonga, Dieuwke Wendelaar, *Eight Prison Camps: A Dutch Family in Japanese Java*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1996; Gilkey, Langdon, *Shantung Compound*. New York: Harper & Row, 1966; Hyland, Judy, *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984; Rose, Darlene Deibler, *Evidence Not Seen: A Woman's Miraculous Faith in a Japanese Prison Camp During WWII*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988.
- 4 Smith, John Coventry, *From Colonialism to World Community*. Philadelphia: The Geneva Press, 1982.
- 5 Powlas, Maud O., *Gathering Up the Fragments*. Greenville, NC: Era Press, 1978. This work documents the lengths to which Powlas went to protect the independence of *Ji Ai En* in Kumamoto on the eve of the war.
- 6 Korpinen, Tuulikki, *Seitsemän Vuotta Sotaisessa Japanissa* (Seven Years in Military Japan). Helsinki: Söderström, 1949. Quoted extensively in Aho, Ilma Ruth, "A Record of the Activities of the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland in Japan, 1900-1946." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969.
- 7 Onorato, Michael P., *Forgotten Heroes: Japan's Imprisonment of American Civilians in the Philippines, 1942-1945*. Westport & London: Meckler, 1990.
- 8 Tosaka, *Tosaka Jun zenshū*, 3:101. Emphasis in original. I am indebted to Harry Harootunian's discussion of the concept of the everyday in *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). I am also indebted to Robert Stolz's fine translation of Tosaka Jun in *From Japan's Modernity: A Reader*. Chicago: The Center for East Asian Studies, The University of Chicago, 2002.

- 9 Tosaka, 3:101.
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.
- 12 Saint Augustine, *Confessions*. Translated by R.S. Pine-Coffin. Middlesex, England and New York: Penguin Books, 1961. pp. 269-270 (Book XI:21).
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 277 (Book XI:28).
- 14 Utley, Jonathan G., *Going to War with Japan 1937-1941*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985, pp. 145-151.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 144-147.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153; "Freezing Statement's Text," *New York Times*, 26 July 1941, p. 5; and *The Japan Times & Advertiser*, 26 July 1941, p. 1. For broader discussion see Miller, Edward S., *Bankrupting the Enemy: The U.S. Financial Siege of Japan before Pearl Harbor*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2007, pp. 168-204; and Morgan, Forrest E. *Compellence and the Strategic Culture of Imperial Japan: Implications for Coercive Diplomacy in the Twenty-First Century*. Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2003, pp. 125-183.
- 18 Utley, p. 153; Miller, pp. 191-203.
- 19 Utley, p. 156.
- 20 'Reprisal Laws for U.S. Actions in Force Today,' *The Japan Times & Advertiser*, 28 July 1941, p. 1.
- 21 "*Eibei no yabô wo haijo, kyôei no daikeirin tassei he (Tôjô sôsai aisatsu)*," *Asahi Shimbun*. 11/30/1941, p. 1; and "*Eibei no yabô wo haijo, seigyô tassei he sarani kinmitsu teikei*," *Yomiuri Shimbun*. 11/30/1941, p. 1.
- 22 "Japan Asserts East Must End Exploitation 'With Vengeance'," *The New York Times*. 11/30/1941, p. 1; and "Address from Tôjô Delivered at Meeting of Three Nations," *The Japan Times & Advertiser*. 12/1/1941, p. 1.
- 23 Iriye, Akira, "Wartime Japanese Planning for Post-War Asia," in *Anglo-Japanese Alienation 1919-1952*, Ian Nish, ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 180.
- 24 *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180.
- 25 Hardacre, Helen, *Shintô and the State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 126. For a thorough discussion of the Religious Bodies Bill in the Meiji period, see Abe, Yoshiya, "Religious Freedom Under the Meiji Constitution." Ph.D. diss, The Claremont Graduate University, 1969.
- 26 Aho, p. 418; Fukuyama, Takeshi, *Nihon fukuin rûteru kyôkai shi*. Tokyo: Nihon Fukuin Rûteru Kyôkai, 1954, pp. 449-450; and Inoue, Saburô, *Fukuin rûteru kyôkai shi*. Tokyo: Tôshin Hokubu Kai, 1959, p. 71.
- 27 Fukuyama, pp. 449-450; Inoue, pp. 71-72.
- 28 Two special meetings of the ULCA Mission were held in the fall of 1940. See *Minutes of Two Special Meetings and of the Annual (1941) Meeting of the Japan Lutheran Mission, Tokyo, Japan, September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1940; October 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, 1940; May 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>, 1941*, pp. 55 (hereafter cited as Japan Lutheran Mission Minutes 1941).
- 29 Horn, Edward T., "Institutional Reports - Japan Lutheran Theological Seminary," in Japan Lutheran Mission Minutes 1941, p. 69.
- 30 Horn, Edward T., "To the Mission Executive Committee," 2/19/1941. p. 1. (Hereafter cited as Horn Letter) ULCA Missionary correspondence. ELCA Archives, Elk Grove Village, Illinois.
- 31 Horn Letter, 2/19/1941, p. 2.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 33 *Ibid.* Also see Iglehart, Charles, "The Japanese Christian Movement in Crisis," *The Japan Christian Yearbook* 1941. Tokyo: Kyô Bun Kwan, 1941, p. 79.
- 34 Horn Letter, 2/19/1941, p. 3.
- 35 Iglehart, *The Japan Christian Yearbook* 1941, p. 79.
- 36 *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
- 37 Drach, George, "Cablegram to Japan," 3/18/1941. ULCA Missionary correspondence, ELCA Archives, Elk Grove Village, Illinois.
- 38 Horn, Edward T., "President's Report," Japan Lutheran Mission Minutes 1941, p. 55
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- 41 Stirewalt Diaries, 5/5/1941. Hereafter cited as SD. Stirewalt Collection, James R. Crumley Archives, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina.
- 42 Stirewalt was a founding member of the Shadan in 1909, which was formed to purchase land for *Kyûshû Gakuin*, in Kumamoto.
- 43 SD., 2/20/1941.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 3/3/1941.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 3/4/1941.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 3/29/1941.
- 47 "Actions of the Regular Mission Meeting," Japan

- Lutheran Mission Minutes 1941, pp. 32-37. Notably, Action #3, which read, in part, "making available to the Japan Lutheran Church as large amounts as possible at the earliest possible date. It is therefore voted that all available balances be pooled at once."
- 48 SD., 5/7/1941.
- 49 SD., 5/14/1941. Stirewalt records that the officer stayed for about an hour asking questions, noting "a very pleasant man."
- 50 SD., 6/23/1941. Shadan members present at this meeting from the JELC were Miura, Honda, Hirai, Inadomi, Kishi Chitose and Fujisaki Kichizō. Missionaries present were Stirewalt, Hepner, and Horn (as proxy for Schillinger). At the 21<sup>st</sup> National Assembly of the JELC, held October 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>, 1940, Miura Inoko was elected President; Honda Denki, Vice-President; Kishi Chitose, Secretary; Inadomi Hajime, Evangelism Director; Hirai Kiyoshi, Education Director, and Fujisaki Kichizō, Financial Director. The Japanese leadership of the restructured Shadan reflected the JELC leadership at the time. See Fukuyama, pp. 442-443.
- 51 *Nihon fukuin rûteru kyôkai hyakunen shi*. Tokuzen Yoshikazu ed., Tokyo: Nihon Fukuin Rûteru Kyôkai, 2004, p. 92.
- 52 SD., 6/24/1941.
- 53 SD., 6/25/1941.
- 54 Horn, "President's Report," Japan Lutheran Mission Minutes 1941, p. 55, 56.
- 55 SD., 3/22/1941.
- 56 Okubo Church was badly damaged in the March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1941 Tokyo air raid. Ebara Church was destroyed in the May 24<sup>th</sup> air raid, and the Kanagawa (*Shinkoyasu*) preaching point was destroyed in the May 28<sup>th</sup> Yokohama air raid. See Fukuyama, p. 477.
- 57 See Japan Lutheran Mission Minutes 1941, p. 67. Travel to Yokohama was probably restricted because of factories located there and the government's fear of espionage. Stirewalt touches on this in "Letter of Rev. Arthur J. Stirewalt, D.D." Baltimore, October 5, 1942, p. 3. Stirewalt Collection, James R. Crumley Archives, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina.
- 58 SD., 2/6/1941.
- 59 SD., 2/28/1941. The ULCA Mission bought the Hyakunin-machi property back after the war. See "Minutes of the 1947 and the 1948 Annual Meetings of the Japan Lutheran Missionaries Association," p. 7.
- 60 The following are two examples: SD., 3/27/1941; SD., 4/26/1941.
- 61 SD., 7/6/1941. The fall was serious. Stirewalt initially lost consciousness, and the Koenji stationmaster prepared a cot in the station offices where Stirewalt could rest. After release from the hospital, he noted, "Bennie, the dog, was glad to see me." SD., 7/28/1941.
- 62 SD., 8/4/1941.
- 63 SD., 7/30/1941.
- 64 SD for dates noted.
- 65 Stirewalt's diaries note a great amount of time spent sending out assessment notices and reconciling the books for this organization so that they could be turned over to treasurer Wm. H. Erskine in the US. Also see, Stirewalt, A.J., "The Missionaries Mutual Aid Association," *The Japan Christian Yearbook* 1941. Tokyo: Kyô Bun Kwan, 1941, p. 255.
- 66 SD., 8/30/1941.
- 67 SD., 7/31/1941.
- 68 *Ibid*.
- 69 SD., 9/13/1941; 9/14/1941.
- 70 SD., 9/12/1941.
- 71 SD., 9/14/1941.
- 72 The 1942 exchange ships will be taken up in the second paper in this series.
- 73 SD., 9/11/1941.
- 74 SD., 9/19/1941.
- 75 SD., 9/22/1941. See note 56. When Tokyo Church burned after the March 14<sup>th</sup> air raid, presumably, the blueprints were destroyed. After the war, Stirewalt noted visiting S. Suzuki, the architect, to inquire about copies of the blueprints for rebuilding the church. See SD., 4/7/1947.
- 76 For example, Stirewalt noted reading the graduation thesis of Naganuma Michio (ordained 1942). See SD., 11/16/1941.
- 77 SD., 11/16/1941. Ordained in 1931, Kawagiri Shinichi (1905-1945) served as a pastor at Môji, Minamata, and Kurume Lutheran Churches. He was an exchange student in the US, studying there from 1937-1939. During the war, he served as a translator with the Military Police (*Rikugun kenpeitai tsûyaku kan*) in the Philippines. See

- Fukuyama, pp. 472-473.
- 78 SD., 11/20/1941.
- 79 After returning to the US, Stirewalt reported on seminarians, pastors, churches and other institutional work in Japan. See Stirewalt, "Letter of Rev. Arthur J. Stirewalt, D.D." Baltimore, October 5, 1942, pp. 4-9.
- 80 Also abbreviated as SLEY in Finnish. For a history of this mission and church in Japanese see, Inoue, Saburô, *Fukuin rûteru kyôkai shi*. Tokyo: Tôshin Hokubu Kai, 1959. In English see, Aho, Ilma Ruth, "A Record of the Activities of the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland in Japan, 1900-1946." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969.
- 81 SD., 6/17/1941.
- 82 Taavi Minkkinen (1878-1945) remained in Japan during the war. He, and his wife Naimi Johanna, finally repatriated shortly before the end of the war in June 1945. See Aho, p. 437.
- 83 Aho, p. 418; Fukuyama, pp. 449-450; and Inoue, p. 71.
- 84 SD., 8/13/1941.
- 85 Aho, p. 436, and Inoue, p. 76.
- 86 Stirewalt recorded that he met Minkinen at the US consulate December 3, 1941, though the purpose of the meeting was not recorded (SD., 12/3/1941).
- 87 SD., 12/21/1941.
- 88 SD., 1/2/1942.
- 89 Aho recounts the harsh circumstances under which the remaining LEAF missionaries lived during the war in Karuizawa with little money, food, or friendship. All but Tuulikki Korpinen and her son were repatriated in June 1945. The Korpinens were repatriated in February 1946. See Aho, pp. 432-442.
- 90 SD., 12/2/1941.
- 91 *Ibid.* Luther Grady Cooper (1901-1991) was a ULCA missionary in China. It seems that the ULCA was sending funds through China to Japan to possibly avoid the difficulties that the freeze was causing. For other references to Cooper see SD., 9/4/1941, SD., 8/29/1941.
- 92 SD., 12/4/1941.
- 93 SD., 12/6/1941.
- 94 SD., 12/7/1941.
- 95 SD., 12/8/1941.
- 96 John Coventry Smith (1903-1984) was a missionary of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. who served in Japan from 1929-1942. See *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*. Gerald H. Anderson, ed., Grand Rapids & Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., p. 627, and Smith, *From Colonialism to World Community*.
- 97 Smith, *From Colonialism to World Community*, pp. 74-105. Smith recorded his experiences during internment based upon notes made at the time. Especially noteworthy is the number of Japanese visitors who came to visit he and his wife Floy, under risk to themselves.
- 98 SD., 12/11/1941. Those mentioned were Howard Dunlop Hannaford (Presbyterian, 1887-1973) and Theodore Demarset Walser (Reformed, 1885-1949).
- 99 SD., 12/12/1941.
- 100 SD., 12/13/1941.
- 101 SD., 12/18/1941.
- 102 SD., 12/23/1941.
- 103 SD., 12/31/1941.
- 104 *Ibid.*
- 105 Horn, Edward T., "President's Report," Japan Lutheran Mission Minutes 1941, p. 56.
- 106 Fukuyama, p. 468.

## アーサー・J・スタイワルトの日記, 1941年～1942年

### 第一部：日常性の繰り返し：共同体と戦争の危機

ティモシー・S・マッケンジー

この論文は1941年～1942年に於けるアーサー・J・スタイワルトの日記についての上下シリーズの前半である。本論文は、スタイワルトが果たした、50年間近く一緒に歩み続けた日米両ルーテル教会に敵対性を生む恐れのある国内外の圧力の下で、宣教師が管理していた資産を日本の教会へ移転する役割を検討する。スタイワルトの日記が私たちに見せているのは、日本とアメリカ合衆国が戦争の前夜に政治的には疎遠になったにもかかわらず、両教会の協力が続いていたことである。このような協力は戦争でも完全に破壊することができなかった人間共同体の内面性と心の中身を語っている。方法論として本論文は昭和初期の哲学者、戸坂潤の「日常性の原理」という概念を利用する。戸坂は毎日の生活の繰り返しが歴史的時間そのものの「結晶の核」と論じた。故に、一人の宣教師の日常の記録を通して、私たちは人間共同体の毎日の繰り返しが歴史に希望を与えることが見えるようになる。

**Keywords：**アーサー・J・スタイワルト, 戸坂潤, 宣教の歴史, 第二次世界大戦, 昭和初期日本