

Early Lutheran Missionaries and Theological Education in Japan

— The lives and work of Brown, Nielsen, Horn and Stirewalt

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This article is an attempt to outline the lives and the contributions to theological education by Lutheran missionaries during the period prior to the Second World War. This paper focuses upon four missionaries of historical significance in the development of a Lutheran theological tradition in prewar Japan: Charles L. Brown, Jørgen P. Nielsen, Edward T. Horn, Jr., and Arthur J. Stirewalt. Their work in Japan spanned the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa periods and contributed to the establishment of schools and social welfare institutions during this period. This work was informed by a combination of respect for a Lutheran tradition of confessional theology; an inner life of piety centered upon the study of scripture, prayer and worship; and a concern for the social welfare of Japanese society. These characteristics have left their mark upon the life of the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church and its work of theological education today.

Keywords : Meiji Period, Lutheran Missionary Work, Lutheran Confessions, Social Welfare Work

Preface

This article is an attempt to outline the lives and the contributions to theological education by Lutheran missionaries during the period prior to the Second World War. The scope of this paper will focus mainly upon four figures of historical significance in the development of the Japan Lutheran Theological Seminary (JLTS) and the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church (JELC).¹⁾ Three of them, Charles L. Brown, Jørgen P.

Nielsen, and Edward T. Horn, Jr. served as the first three presidents of JLTS, while Arthur J. Stirewalt was instrumental in founding both lasting Lutheran educational and social welfare institutions in Japan. Though beyond the scope of this paper, it must be acknowledged that there were also significant Japanese contributions to theological education and research during this period. For example, Satō Shigehiko (1887-1935) is commonly acknowledged as a pioneer of Luther studies in Japan, and who, in addition to teaching at JLTS, wrote systematically on Luther's theology.²⁾ Another example is Asaji Noboru, who translated many Luther related

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works such as the *Small Catechism*, the *Large Catechism*, the *Smalcald Articles* and the *Augsburg Confession*.³⁾ When reviewing the totality of Lutheran theological education in prewar Japan, these two figures should also be considered as a subject of future research. The present work is an initial step toward a more systematic mapping of the topography and contours of a Lutheran theological tradition in prewar Japan. Though much has been written about this period, sources are scattered and at times without citation. Little has also been written in English about this period in the last fifty years; therefore, another purpose of this work is to bring together sources for the sake of future research and the conclusions they may reveal for today.

Research for this paper was carried out in Japan, and in the United States at the Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America located in Elk Grove Village, Illinois, and at the James R. Crumley Archives of the Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary in Columbia, South Carolina. The author was also permitted access to the privately held diaries of A.J. Stirewalt through the generosity of the Davis family. To these institutions and to the Davis family, the author offers his deepest gratitude.

Introduction

It would be impossible to begin this paper without a brief review of the early Meiji period and the world into which this early generation of Lutheran missionaries began their missionary endeavors. James A.B. Scherer and Rufus B. Peery, the first Lutheran missionaries sent to Japan, arrived in Yokohama in 1892.⁴⁾ They began work in Saga in early 1893, and were aided in their early work by Yamanouchi Ryôhei, who had been baptized into the Presbyterian Church.⁵⁾

Their church in Saga was initially named Saga Church of the Cross (*Saga jyûji kyôkai*), and the first public worship service was held on Easter morning, 2 April 1893. This date is significant because it points to the fact that Lutheran work was begun 33 years after the *Ansei Trade Treaties* (1859) that “opened” Japan to trade and cultural discourse with Europe and the United States, and 24 years after the Meiji Restoration (1868). Though Lutherans did not experience the difficult period of Christian prohibition (1859-72), it must be said that the period during the 1890s was also a very difficult time to begin any new Christian work in Japan.

Roughly two years before Lutheran missionaries arrived in Japan, an event occurred that would have a profound impact upon how Christianity was perceived within Japan. On 9 January 1891, a young unknown Christian teacher at the Tokyo First Higher School named Uchimura Kanzô enflamed growing nationalist opposition to Christianity by his refusal to bow before the *Imperial Rescript on Education* (1890) in a ceremony held at the school in which he worked as a teacher.⁶⁾ The Uchimura “incident of disrespect” (*fukei jiken*), as it became known, came to a head in 1893 with the publication of a work by Tokyo Imperial University professor Inoue Tetsujirô titled, *The Collision of Education and Religion* (*Kyôiku to shûkyô no shôtotsu*) which portrayed Christianity as a religion incapable of loyalty to the Japanese state.⁷⁾ The perceived disloyalty of Uchimura was imputed upon Christianity in general in Japan, resulting in an attack from which Christian churches found it difficult to recover during this period. It was into this difficult cultural context that Scherer and Peery began their initial work in Saga. Peery provided an eyewitness account of the violent opposition to this early Lutheran work, writing,

At every meeting there were loud cries and interruptions, with insulting replies to the speaker. Sometimes stones and mud were thrown into the house, and everything possible was done to break up the meetings. We usually braved it out, but occasionally the interruptions were so bad that we had to close the meetings.⁸⁾

Peery wrote that such opposition to their work lasted for two years. While there is not sufficient space here to thoroughly review the fields of discourse surrounding religion and nationalism during the Meiji period, this theme is raised here to give the reader some idea of the difficult context into which the first Lutheran missionaries began their work in Japan.⁹⁾

Though they had, as yet, no formally established seminary, Scherer and Peery recognized the need to begin theological training and in the spring of 1896 they began a basic course of theological education for 3 students.¹⁰⁾ Lutheran church work continued in a series of developments. In June 1898 the name of the church at Saga was changed to the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church. The following year, the first two Japanese pastors, Yamanouchi Ryōhei and Yamanouchi Naomaru, were ordained.¹¹⁾ Finally, in 1900 the first annual meeting of the church was held and a church council established.¹²⁾ The establishment of an ecclesiastical legislative body and church council was crucial for it allowed the first Lutheran newspaper, the *Lutheran News* (*Rûteru kyôhô*), to come into being, thereby providing the church with a means of general reporting and education. In 1900 at this first annual meeting, the JELC passed a resolution establishing this newspaper, and the name of the paper was changed to the *Rûteru shinpô* in 1902.¹³⁾ The establishment of this new publication was significant for it also allowed the

church to also begin advertising the possibility of a program for theological education.¹⁴⁾ Two advertisements were made in 1902 and 1903, but there is no record of any response to these initial two advertisements. In 1893, in addition to taking these initial steps toward the work of theological education, Peery completed a translation of part of the *Service of Holy Communion* (which was fully published in 1897). This was followed by the publication of Luther's *Small Catechism* in 1895, and the *Augsburg Confession* in 1900.¹⁵⁾

With a basic foundation of work in place, the stage was set for the next generation of missionaries and their Japanese colleagues to begin the difficult task of organizing and building a formal seminary to continue the work of theological education. In the following sections of this paper, the lives, work and theological contributions of Brown, Nielsen, Horn and Stirewalt will be sketched as far as present sources allow in an attempt to uncover characteristics of an early Lutheran theological tradition in Japan. Let us turn to the lives of these four figures.

Charles LaFayette Brown (1874-1921)

Charles LaFayette Brown was both a founder and the first president of JLTS, and is considered the founder of Kyûshû Gakuin. He was born in Iredell County, North Carolina on 3 December 1874, the fifth child born to Robert H. and Susan Amelia Brown. His father was of Scotch-Irish descent, and his mother was descended of German immigrants who settled in the area around Salisbury, North Carolina.¹⁶⁾ When Charles was a small boy, misfortune struck his family when his father gave up farming, went into business as a merchant, and failed again at that. Charles' mother died when he was

nine years old, and Charles was sent to live with an aunt and uncle in Richmond, Virginia. There he learned the printer's trade, and was deeply influenced by his aunt to become a pastor.¹⁷⁾

In September 1892, at the age of seventeen, Charles entered Roanoke College. He was a member of the Demosthenean Literary Society and was active in the Y.M.C.A.¹⁸⁾ He was the valedictorian of his class, graduating in 1895. In 1898, Brown graduated from the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, and was ordained that year at the Synod Assembly of the South West Virginia Synod. He married Virginia Franz, whom he had met in college, on 29 September 1898.

Brown was originally called to serve a congregation at Graham, Virginia, but just before his seminary graduation, the Board of Missions of the United Synod of the South sent him an urgent call to serve as a missionary in Japan.¹⁹⁾ The Browns arrived in Japan in November 1898 and were sent to serve in Saga, on the island of Kyushu, where Scherer and Peery had begun work in 1892. After two years of language study, Brown moved to Kumamoto on 10 December 1900. In Kumamoto, the Browns worked earnestly to establish a number of Sunday schools. Brown and other missionaries felt that in order for the church to grow they needed to establish a middle school. However, the Board of Missions of the United Synod of the South argued that it was unable to financially undertake this step at the time. Brown answered that this was a matter that involved the future existence of Lutheran mission work in Japan. Brown returned to America on furlough in June 1906 and, at a meeting of the United Synod of the South held in Dallas, Texas, argued successfully for the establishment of a mission school. The Synod commissioned him to raise the sum

of \$25,000 for the establishment of a school in Kumamoto.²⁰⁾

In October 1908, Brown returned to Kumamoto from furlough and it became clear that the \$25,000 raised in America would not be adequate to purchase the land required and build the necessary buildings to establish the school. Due to inflation after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the costs involved in the establishment of a school had grown dramatically.²¹⁾ Though no permanent location had yet been secured, classes of the Lutheran seminary were formally begun on 27 September 1909 in Stirewalt's missionary residence at 412 Shinyashikimachi in Kumamoto.²²⁾ Brown served as the Dean of the seminary from 1909, teaching New Testament Exegesis and Dogmatics.²³⁾ Brown and Stirewalt made multiple trips to look at possible sites for the school, and suitable property was purchased from 19 different owners in November 1909 for \$13,642.95.²⁴⁾ Though land was purchased, there was not enough money remaining to actually build the school, so Stirewalt was appointed to raise the remaining funds on his furlough in 1910. Initially, the Japan mission had asked for an additional \$15,000, but the Mission Board authorized a larger goal of \$25,000. Stirewalt's fundraising efforts exceeded the goal set by the Board and by 1912, \$32,000 had been gathered.²⁵⁾ Brown oversaw the construction of the buildings, and the first class was admitted to Kyushu Gakuin in April 1911. Brown continued to serve as Dean of the newly established Theological Department of Kyūshū Gakuin until 1916.

In 1916, C.L. Brown returned to the United States on furlough expecting to return to Japan, but was elected to serve as Acting General Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Synod of the South, replacing Rev. Rob-

ert C. Holland who had died in December 1915. After his return, his alma mater, Roanoke College awarded Brown with the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1916. After the formation of the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA) in 1918, Brown continued to serve as secretary of foreign missions with responsibility for work in Japan, Africa and South America.²⁶⁾ In 1921, Brown was chosen by the National Lutheran Council as one of two special commissioners to investigate mission fields abandoned by German Lutheran missions during the First World War.²⁷⁾ He departed on 16 April 1921, and toured the former mission fields of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission of Leipzig, the Berlin Society, and the Bielefeld Mission in the Tanganyika Territory of East Africa (today Tanzania), journeying over 500 miles on foot. Brown met with English officials and indigenous leaders, making arrangements for the preservation of the missions as Lutheran missions under the care and direction of the American Lutheran synods.²⁸⁾ Departing on 1 September 1921, he visited India and toured the areas of Lutheran mission work there, and then departed for Liberia, via Marseilles and Sierra Leone. On 5 December 1921, Brown died of typhoid fever with complications in Sanoghie, Liberia, where he is buried. Charles L. Brown is remembered as the central figure in the transition from the era of Scherer and Peery to the foundation of JLTS and Kyūshū Gakuin. He worked in pioneer evangelism in Kumamoto and his vision for the establishment of Lutheran theological education made him a strong advocate for Lutheran work in Japan after he returned to the United States to serve in the administration of the ULCA.

Jørgen Peter Nielsen (1877-1963)

Jørgen Peter Nielsen served as the second president of JLTS. He was born in Denmark on 18 December 1877 to Peter and Caroline Nielsen. The family immigrated to the United States, arriving in New York on 4 July 1879, and seems to have settled in the Midwest, probably in Nebraska.²⁹⁾ Nielsen attended Dana College in Blair, Nebraska from 1897-01; then attended Trinity Seminary in Blair from 1901-04, earning a Bachelor of Divinity. Graduate study at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia followed in 1904-05. In 1905, Nielsen was ordained into the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church (UDELC), and married Anna in the same year. After ordination, Nielsen served as pastor of St. John's Danish Lutheran Church in Philadelphia from 1905-07, and from 1908-09 served as principal of Brorson Folk High School in Kenmare, North Dakota.³⁰⁾

The background of the Brorson school sheds some light on the church that sent Nielsen to Japan. Brorson Folk High School (*Folkehøgskole*) was begun in 1901 in the parsonage of Pastor H. Hansen, pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church, and provided education and spiritual guidance to Danish immigrants.³¹⁾ The school generally operated for four months during the coldest winter months with a principal and three teachers. In 1905, Danish lay evangelist Jens Diken (1858-1931) oversaw the construction of a new Brorson Folk High School building erected next to the church, becoming its principal for seven years.³²⁾ Diken was also at the center of a spiritual awakening in the Danish immigrant community in North Dakota, providing spiritual guidance to this frontier community. He is credited with being a profound influence upon many students and teachers who either became

pastors or missionaries.³³⁾ Foreign mission was a central interest of this Danish frontier community, and in 1902 the North Dakota District organized the North Dakota District Evangelical Lutheran Foreign Mission Society.³⁴⁾ It was within this context of a Danish frontier community experiencing a revivalist spiritual awakening that Nielsen first began his work as a theological educator. It was a frontier experience that no doubt prepared him for his future missionary work in Japan. However, the influence of the mission-minded Jens Diken upon the Nielsens remains unclear. What impact, if any for example, did the Brorson folk school experience have upon Nielsen's own conception of his seminary work in Kumamoto and Tokyo? An answer to this question is difficult, but his time in the Danish community of North Dakota would suggest that it had at least some impact upon his decision to enter missionary service after his year as headmaster of the Brorson school.³⁵⁾

In 1909 the Nielsens were sent to Japan as missionaries under the call and support of the UDELIC.³⁶⁾ After arriving in Japan, the Nielsens engaged in evangelistic work alone in Kurume from 1910-19, after J.M.T. Winther was sent from Kurume to teach at the seminary in Kumamoto.³⁷⁾ In 1919, Nielsen was appointed to the seminary in Kumamoto to teach Dogmatics and Christian Ethics, and later also taught Old Testament. Anna Nielsen taught music at the same school.³⁸⁾ Nielsen became the Dean of the Theological Department of Kyūshū Gakuin from 1921.³⁹⁾ He was also instrumental in negotiating with the ULCA Board of Foreign Missions to have the seminary relocated to Tokyo.⁴⁰⁾ In 1927, the Nielsens returned to the United States for health reasons.⁴¹⁾ Anna Nielsen passed away after suffering a prolonged illness the following year in 1928.⁴²⁾

After being called in 1927 to serve as professor of Systematic Theology at Trinity Seminary in Blair, Nebraska, Nielsen became its president serving from 1932-46.⁴³⁾ In an address at the fiftieth anniversary of Trinity Seminary in 1934, Nielsen reflected upon the changes that had occurred in the Danish American community in the process of Americanization. The problems of language, culture and scriptural interpretation were addressed, as Nielsen sought to ground Lutheran theological education in the Word of God rather than in contemporary currents of theology.⁴⁴⁾ One can perhaps sense a bit of anti-Grundtvigianism in Nielsen's argument that the study of the Word of God should be central in a Lutheran theological tradition, and that this alone should interpret doctrine and the confessions. One can only wonder about how this aspect of Nielsen's thought may have been alive during his years of missionary service in Japan in his understanding of language, culture and scriptural interpretation. Nielsen later married Gertrude Jensen.⁴⁵⁾ Nielsen also served as the Superintendent of Good Shepherd Home for the Aged in Blair, Nebraska from 1949-56. Jørgen Peter Nielsen died on 31 July 1963. His contributions to theological education in Japan and the United States spanned almost 40 years and bridged an immigrant Danish frontier church, a missionary church in Japan, and the process of Americanization within the American-Scandinavian context.

Edward Traill Horn, Jr. (1887-1966)

The third president of JLTS, Edward Traill Horn, Jr., was born in Charleston, South Carolina on 23 September 1887 to the Rev. Dr. Edward T. and Harriet Chisolm Horn. Edward's father served as pastor of St. John's Lutheran

Church in Charleston for 21 years, before serving as professor of Ethics and Missions at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. Edward graduated from Muhlenberg College in 1907; earned a master's degree from Yale University in 1908; and graduated from Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia in 1911. He married Laura Rossiter in September 1911, and shortly after their marriage the Horns departed for Japan to serve as missionaries of the United Synod of the South, arriving there on 3 November 1911. They moved to Kumamoto in February 1912, and Edward was assigned to teach at the newly established Kyûshû Gakuin, where he also taught English Bible in the Theological Department. Years later, Horn reflected on this period commenting that he studied Japanese with tutors, often 8 hours a day.⁴⁶⁾

In September 1915, Horn was assigned to work in Nagoya with Rev. Chiga Toranosuke doing pioneer evangelism. Traveling mostly by bicycle, they laid the groundwork for Lutheran church work in the Nagoya area. In 1919, Horn returned somewhat earlier than normal for furlough, to attend the synod assembly of the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church at Cedar Falls, Iowa as a representative of the Board of Foreign Missions of the ULCA. Horn reported that he was "to urge the closest possible cooperation between the ULCA and Danish Church in the work in Japan, so that there might be only one Japanese Lutheran Church."⁴⁷⁾

After returning from furlough in 1920, Horn was appointed to serve as chaplain of Kyûshû Gakuin in September 1921. He supervised the completion of the buildings of Jiai-en, while founder Maud Powlas was on furlough,⁴⁸⁾ and gave the dedicatory address at the foundation of that institution on 7 April 1923.⁴⁹⁾ In 1924, Horn was appointed to purchase the land for Kyûshû

Jogakuin and supervise the construction of the buildings, while Martha Akard was in the United States.⁵⁰⁾

In April 1926, Horn was called to be a professor at JLTS and moved to Tokyo. Three years later, Horn was elected president of JLTS at the 1929 JELC assembly in Kumamoto.⁵¹⁾ During this time, Horn taught Old and New Testament Theology as well as Greek. As seminary president, Horn oversaw the planning and construction in 1934 of the new main building on the Tokyo Saginomiya campus, which was paid for by the Luther League of America. In 1941, as required by the newly established Religious Bodies Law, Horn presented his resignations as seminary president and seminary board member.⁵²⁾ Horn's family had returned to the United States in February 1941, and Horn left Yokohama aboard the S.S. *Hiei Maru* at the end of June 1941.

In addition to his educational and pastoral work, Horn also served in many additional ways in the church, one of which was as the chairperson of the Literature Committee of the JELC. For example, in celebration of the 400th anniversary of *The Augsburg Confession*, this committee published new translations by Asaji Noboru of Luther's *Small Catechism* (1930), and *The Augsburg Confession* (1930). This committee also later published translations by Asaji of Luther's *Large Catechism* (1933) and the *Smalcald Articles* (1934) and other Luther related materials.⁵³⁾ For many years, Horn also served on the Advisory Board of the American Bible Society in Japan, and later the Executive Committee of the Japan Bible Society. Horn also was a member of the Executive Committee of the Japan Federation of Churches, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Christian Schools. In addition, Horn served as a

member of the Board of Christian Literature of the publishing house, *Kyô Bun Kwan*.

After his return to the United States, Horn served as Pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Canton, Ohio (1942-46), and as chaplain and chairperson of the Department of Religion and Philosophy at Muhlenberg College from 1946-52, where his teaching work included courses in Bible and Japanese History. Horn's final call was as pastor of Tannersville Lutheran Parish from 1952-61, after which he retired. On 18 May 1965, in recognition of his contributions to education during his 30 years of service in Japan, Dr. Horn was awarded the "Fourth Class Order of the Sacred Treasure" (*kunyontô zuihōshō*) by the Showa Emperor. The award was presented to Dr. Horn by the Japanese Consul-General, Togo Fumihiko in New York.⁵⁴⁾ Edward Traill Horn, Jr. died on 7 August 1966 in Allentown, Pennsylvania. Horn's wife, Laura Rossiter Horn, died on 28 July 1983. Edward T. Horn, Jr. served in Japan as both a pioneer pastor and as an educator at the seminary in both Kumamoto and Tokyo. His contributions to theological education are most evident through his planning the expansion of the Saginomiya campus in 1934-35 and through his sustained work in the editing and publication of Lutheran confessional writings.

Arthur Julius Stirewalt (1881-1968)

Arthur Julius Stirewalt served in many ways as a missionary in Japan between 1905-52. He is remembered as a founder of JLTS and taught in the theological department of Kyûshû Gakuin during its early years. He was a pioneer evangelist at many churches, particularly in the Tokyo area, and aided Rev. Honda Denki in building up Tokyo Lutheran Church. Stirewalt also helped found social welfare institutions,

Bethany Home and Tokyo Rôjin Home, after the Great Kantô Earthquake of 1923. After his retirement in 1952, he continued to work, teaching at Kobe Lutheran Bible Institute and Kobe Lutheran Theological Seminary until 1968.

A.J. Stirewalt was born on 5 February 1881 in Luray, Virginia to John N. and Emily A. Stirewalt. Stirewalt's father was a pastor in the Tennessee Evangelical Lutheran Synod, and served in the Confederate States Army during the Civil War. Stirewalt's paternal grandmother was descended from the Henkel family, which put Stirewalt in a direct line of ministers going back to Germany to the time of the Reformation.⁵⁵⁾ Stirewalt's grandfather, Jacob Stirewalt was one of the translators of the first English edition (1851) of the *Book of Concord*, having translated Luther's *Large Catechism*. The Henkel family was also the publisher of this work.⁵⁶⁾ This family background, confessional identity, and a deep personal sense of call to the ordained ministry made Stirewalt uniquely positioned to contribute deeply to the mission of the Lutheran church in Japan.

Stirewalt studied at Lenoir College (presently Lenoir-Rhyne College), graduating in 1902. In September of that year, he entered Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary, graduating in 1905. The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Synod of the South called him to serve as a missionary to Japan, to depart in the fall of 1906.⁵⁷⁾ However, this date was changed to the fall of 1905 after R.B. Peery and family were unable to return to Japan due to illness.⁵⁸⁾ After receiving this call and upon graduation from seminary, Stirewalt was ordained by the Tennessee Synod, of the United Synod of the South on 12 August 1905 at St. Paul's Church in Shenandoah, Virginia. Stirewalt sailed for Japan aboard the S.S. *Shawmut*, which departed Seattle on

December 8th and arrived in Yokohama on 31 December 1905. Soon after his arrival Stirewalt found himself alone, the sole Lutheran missionary working in Japan, as the Browns, Winthers, and Lippards had all returned to the United States on furlough or medical leave.⁵⁹⁾

As mentioned earlier, advertisements for a theological training program were placed in the *Lutheran News* (*Rûteru shinpô*) in 1902 and 1903, though there is no record of any kind of response.⁶⁰⁾ One step in the process towards the establishment of a seminary and eventually Kyûshû Gakuin, was taken in August 1908 with the establishment of a new Lutheran operated school named the 'Kumamoto Kôtô Yobi Gakkô'. The school was meant to be a preparatory school for those who had graduated from junior high and aimed at high school entrance examinations.⁶¹⁾ Beginning in August 1908, Stirewalt served as the principal of this school, which was established in the Ôe area of Kumamoto.⁶²⁾ Though this school is now considered a forerunner of JLTS and Kyûshû Gakuin, it was closed June 26th of the following year. The reasons for this remain somewhat unclear, and Fukuyama states that the closing occurred after a speech by the Minister of Education at a meeting of school principals.⁶³⁾ However, a close reading of Stirewalt's diaries also suggests that another possible reason for the closing of the school was that the Ministry of Education did not favor teachers from the Higher Fifth School and the Kumamoto Kôtô Kôgyô Gakkô teaching at the Lutheran run Yobi Gakkô. Stirewalt wrote on 21 April 1909,

We are anxiously waiting to see what the present session of the *Monbusho* will do about continuing to let the higher school teachers teach in outside schools. If they do not, our *yobikô* may fall flat.⁶⁴⁾

It was suggested that such use of faculty could pose a conflict of interest in such things as entrance examinations.⁶⁵⁾ Stirewalt's diaries contain entries stating that the school and mission were closely watching the Ministry of Education for a decision to be made on this type of case.

However, Brown and Stirewalt deeply believed that the establishment of a Lutheran mission school in Kumamoto would further the work of the Lutheran mission. In order that land might be purchased to build such a school, the Japan Lutheran mission applied for approval to form a *shadan* association.⁶⁶⁾ On 3 July 1909 the formal approval notice was received by Brown, and on 6 July 1909 Brown, Stirewalt, Lippard and Miller gathered in Saga to hold a meeting at which it was decided that Brown would be president of the association and that Stirewalt would be the secretary and treasurer.⁶⁷⁾ In spite of the fact that a permanent location and land had yet to be secured for a school, the first classes of JLTS were held on 27 September 1909 in Stirewalt's home at 412 Shinyashikimachi in Kumamoto.⁶⁸⁾ Because the \$25,000 that Brown had raised proved inadequate, Stirewalt was requested by the Mission Board to return the United States for an early furlough in 1910 order to raise additional funds for the construction of the Kyûshû Gakuin campus.

On his way back to America, Stirewalt attended the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland as the sole representative of the Japan Mission and the United Synod of the South.⁶⁹⁾ Once back in the United States, Stirewalt made his case for additional funding before the Board of the United Synod of the South. The Japan Mission had asked for an additional \$15,000, but the Board authorized a larger goal of \$25,000. Stirewalt's fundraising efforts exceeded the goal set by the Board, and by 1912,

\$32,000 had been gathered.⁷⁰⁾ Stirewalt commented, “The constituency of the United Synod in the South was neither numerous nor wealthy. Its response was very commendable.”⁷¹⁾ After returning to Japan in October 1912, Stirewalt became an instructor of English at the newly opened school.

Stirewalt returned to the United States with Board permission to be married during the summer of 1914. Arthur married Alice Marie Wulbern of Charleston at St. John’s Lutheran Church in Charleston, South Carolina on 5 August 1914. They returned to Japan sailing from Vancouver on 22 September 1914. Stirewalt commented that these were very tense days as the First World War had just begun, and the ship sailed at night under blackout.⁷²⁾ After Brown’s return to the United States in 1916, Stirewalt was given charge of and responsibility for the work that Brown had been doing at Kyūshū Gakuin.⁷³⁾ Stirewalt continued in this capacity at the school until his furlough in 1920, after which J.P. Nielsen was elected Dean of the Theological Department in 1921. However, it is unclear in what official capacity Stirewalt undertook Brown’s work at the school. At present it is uncertain whether Stirewalt was as the elected dean, acting dean or worked in a more informal capacity. Official communication between Brown and Stirewalt between 1916-20 would seem to at least indicate that Stirewalt was in charge of the financial responsibilities for the school.⁷⁴⁾

When the Stirewalts returned from furlough in October 1921, they were assigned to work in Tokyo, thus ending their service in Kumamoto. During the 1920s, Rev. Honda Denki and Stirewalt worked together on the purchase of property for and the building of Tokyo Lutheran Church. After the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1 September 1923, Honda and Stirewalt also

worked hard to establish Tokyo Rōjin Home (1923) and Bethany Home (1923) for elderly persons and mothers with children who had been displaced by the earthquake.⁷⁵⁾ Alice Stirewalt, who had been ill for several years, died at home on 4 January 1941. Her funeral was conducted on January 7th at Tokyo Lutheran Church, with addresses by Rev. Miura Inoko and Rev. Charles Hepner.⁷⁶⁾ Alice Stirewalt is buried at Tama Cemetery in Fuchu City, Tokyo.

At the time of the beginning of hostilities between Japan and the United States on 8 December 1941, Stirewalt was still working in Japan.⁷⁷⁾ He was repatriated to the United States on the exchange ship, *Asama-maru*, which departed Tokyo on 17 June 1942. The exchange was made in Mozambique at Lourenço Marques (present day Maputo), with those aboard the *Asama Maru* boarding the S.S. *Gripsholm*, and the Japanese who arrived on the S.S. *Gripsholm*, boarding the *Asama Maru*. Stirewalt arrived in New York aboard the S.S. *Gripsholm* on 25 August 1942. In a report made to the Board of Foreign Missions of the ULCA (dated 5 October 1942), Stirewalt commented that “the total number of missionaries who arrived on the S.S. *Gripsholm* were: Protestants 509, representing 46 societies; Children of the same 118; Catholics – priests, sisters, and brothers 117.”⁷⁸⁾

After the war, Stirewalt returned to Japan arriving in Yokohama on 9 January 1947, and continued his work as a missionary of the ULCA at Tokyo Lutheran Church. On 4 July 1952, Stirewalt was awarded the “Fourth Class Order of the Sacred Treasure” (*kunyōtō zuihōshō*) by the Showa Emperor, for his 47 years of service to the nation of Japan. After retirement from official service as a missionary of the ULCA, Stirewalt taught at Kobe Lutheran Bible Institute and Kobe Lutheran Theological Seminary

from 1952-68. Stirewalt returned to the United States aboard the *Oriental Jade* on 29 July 1968. He died in Greensboro, North Carolina on 24 September 1968, and his funeral was held at St. Mark's Lutheran Church in Luray, Virginia on 28 September 1968. He is buried at Luray Memorial Cemetery.

Conclusion

On the basis of these brief biographical sketches, some conclusions may be made about an early missionary contribution to Lutheran theological education in Japan. From the earliest beginnings of Lutheran mission work in Japan, missionaries thought it crucial to begin theological training of Japanese clergy as soon as possible. In order to aid this work, Lutheran confessional writings and a Lutheran order of worship were translated and published very early. That another denomination's worship book was not relied upon is telling for it points to a desire to establish Lutheran worship practice and theology in the Japan context. That these missionaries did not have to worry about translating the Bible also allowed them to focus on transmitting aspects of their confessional heritage that were thought necessary in the establishment of a church and a seminary. Each of these missionaries came with a strong sense of Lutheran confessional identity that was no doubt a product, in part, of having had the *Book of Concord* (1851) translated into English by the previous generation in the United States. However, in addition to this respect for the Lutheran confessions, as we have seen in the case of Nielsen, early missionaries also came from an American climate of pietism and revivalist awakening that placed a study of scripture at the center of their ministry, as well as in the formation of a program of

theological education. These two aspects of confessional and scriptural study formed the center of early Lutheran theological education work in Japan.

Each of these four missionaries was also shaped by their early evangelistic work as pastors. Theological education was not an end in itself, but a means to pastoral formation for the purpose of developing leadership to build up the church. In the case of A.J. Stirewalt, this can be most clearly seen in his return to parish work in 1921, and his subsequent work with Pastor Honda Denki in Tokyo after the Great Kantô Earthquake in the founding of the social welfare institutions, Bethany Home and Tokyo Rôjin Home. For Stirewalt, the work of theological education would continue, but in a pastoral context blended with a concern for Christian social welfare work.

A combination of respect for a Lutheran tradition of confessional theology; an inner life of piety centered upon the study of scripture, prayer and worship; and a concern for the social welfare of Japanese society can be seen as some of the basic characteristics of the four missionaries we have examined here. These characteristics have arguably left their mark upon the work of the Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Japan Lutheran Theological Seminary and Japan Lutheran College of today. As each of these missionaries believed that they were building upon the foundation of Christ in the formation of a church and its educational institutions, so too today, these institutions continue to build upon this foundation and the work of this pioneer generation.

Notes

- 1) An early draft of this paper was developed for the centennial history of JLTS. It is available in Japanese in: Eto, Naotomi and Yoshikazu Tokuzen, ed. *Rûteru gakuin hyakunen no rekishi* (Tokyo: Gakkô Hôjin Rûteru Gakuin, 2009).
- 2) For example, see Satô, Shigehiko, *Rutâ no konpon shisô* (Tokyo: Rutâ no Kenkyû Kai, 1933).
- 3) Asaji's translations were foundational for theological education and research. For example, his *Smalcald Articles* (1934) was in use until 1982 when the first full Japanese translation of the *Book of Concord* was published. See section on Edward T. Horn, Jr. below.
- 4) Scherer arrived on 25 February 1892, and Peery on 23 November 1892. Their initial work has been well documented in several sources. Peery published the earliest account of this work, see Peery, R.B., *Lutherans in Japan* (Newberry, S.C.: Lutheran Publication Board of the United Synod, 1900). For later accounts also see, Brown, C.L., *Japan For Christ* (Columbia, S.C.: Lutheran Board of Publication, c.1908); Nihon fukuin rûteru kyôkai sôritsu nijyûnen kinen kai, ed. *Nihon fukuin rûteru kyôkai sôritsu nijyûnen kinen shi* (Saga: Nihon Fukuin Rûteru Kyôkai, 1914); Fukuyama, Takeshi, *Nihon fukuin rûteru kyôkai shi* (Tokyo: Nihon Fukuin Rûteru Kyôkai, 1954); Huddle, Benjamin Paul *History of the Lutheran Church in Japan* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, The United Lutheran Church in America, 1958); Huddle, B. Paul and Sueaki Utsumi, *Nihon rûteru shingakkô gojyûnen no ayumi and A Brief History of the Japan Lutheran Theological Seminary* (Tokyo: Nihon Rûteru Shingakkô, 1959); Tokuzen, Yoshikazu, *Nihon fukuin rûteru kyôkai hyakunen shi* (Tokyo: Nihon Fukuin Rûteru Kyôkai, 2004); and Eto and Tokuzen, 2009 (cited above). The present work will seek to add to this history through the use of primary documents not previously used or available, while also acknowledging that research into many aspects of missionary work in this period still remains to be done.
- 5) Fukuyama, p. 27-28; 40. Yamanuchi Ryôhei was also among the first two pastors ordained into the Lutheran ministry in 1899.
- 6) There are many works available about Uchimura, but perhaps the most accessible work for English readers is, Howes, John F., *Japan's Modern Prophet: Uchimura Kanzô, 1861-1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005). In Japanese, one of the most concise renderings of this event is, Suzuki, Norihisa, *Uchimura Kanzô* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984).
- 7) Inoue, Tetsujirô, *Kyôiku to shûkyô no shôtotsu* (Tokyo: Tetsugaku Shoin, 1893), p. 99.
- 8) Peery, p. 26.
- 9) In addition to the Rescript on Education, the Meiji Constitution (1889); revision of the "unequal" *Ansei Treaties* (1894-95); Directive #12 (1899) and the failed attempt to pass the Religious Bodies Bill (1899-1900) were all intellectual and governmental developments that would have a profound effect upon religious and educational life during this period. For further reading in English on religious conflict and governmental policy during this period, see Ketalaar, James E., *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Thelle, Notto R., *Buddhism and Christianity in Japan: From Conflict to Dialogue, 1854-1899* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987).
- 10) Fukuyama, p. 35-36.
- 11) *Ibid.*, p. 40, 46.
- 12) *Ibid.*, p. 49-51.
- 13) *Ibid.*
- 14) Huddle & Utsumi, p. 4-6 (Japanese text) and p. 4-5 (English Text); also Fukuyama, p. 58-59. Huddle and Utsumi note that the advertisements were significant because they showed both the type of candidate and the academic level being sought by the church. The January, 1902 advertisement called for "moral character, firm faith, practical experience," physical fitness, scholastic ability and a firm financial status. And the June, 1903 advertisement specified a mastery of the following subjects: "arithmetic, algebra, physics, geography, history, Chinese Classics, composition, and English."
- 15) Fukuyama, p. 36-39. After Scherer returned to the United States due to illness in January 1897, much of the publication activity during this period centered on the leadership of Peery.
- 16) Bell, Ezra K., Luther B. Wolf, and George Drach, *In Memoriam, Charles LaFayette Brown* (Baltimore: The Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1922), p. 4.
- 17) *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 18) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

- 19) *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 20) *Ibid.*, p. 9; Brown, C.L., C.K. Lippard, L.S.G. Miller, A.J. Stirewalt, *Kyushu Gakuin: Message From Japan The Appeal of Facts, Our Mission School -1910-* (New Market, Virginia: Henkel & Company's Lutheran Publication Establishment, 1910), p. 3.
- 21) Brown et al, p. 3; Huddle, p. 100-101.
- 22) "Stirewalt Diaries," Davis Family Collection (privately held), 27 September 1909. Cited hereafter as SD. This is the only known eyewitness account, apart from the official account in the *Lutheran News*.
- 23) Utsumi and Huddle (English text), p. 8-9.
- 24) Brown et al, p. 3-4; *In Memoriam*, p. 9; Huddle, p. 101; and SD, multiple entries, 1908-1909.
- 25) Stirewalt, Arthur J., "Autobiography of Dr. A.J. Stirewalt," Stirewalt Collection, James R. Crumley Archives, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, Columbia, SC, p. 9.
- 26) *In Memoriam*, p. 12-13.
- 27) *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 28) *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 29) J.P. Nielsen Personnel File, ELCA Archives, Elk Grove Village, IL. Information is scarce.
- 30) *Ibid.*
- 31) Nyholm, Paul C. *The Americanization of the Danish Lutheran Churches in America* (Copenhagen, Denmark: Institute for Danish Church History, 1963), p. 271.
- 32) *Ibid.*, p. 271, 359. His terms a principal were not contiguous.
- 33) Nyholm, p. 271; p. 358-59, and Jensen, John M. *The United Evangelical Lutheran Church: An Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1964), p. 136-37. Jensen states that Dixen headed the school for about 10 years, and that at least 25 persons became missionaries due to his influence.
- 34) Jensen, p. 137.
- 35) Dixen, himself was a missionary who traveled widely; see Jensen, p. 138-40, and Nyholm, p. 358-59. Both authors state that Dixen also attended the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Scotland. Though a layman, Dixen's name appears in the official record of the conference as "Rev. J. Dixen." See *World Missionary Conference, 1910*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier and New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), vol. 9, p. 63.
- 36) Huddle, p. 101, 249.
- 37) *Ibid.*, p. 101.
- 38) Utsumi and Huddle (English text), p. 28.
- 39) Utsumi and Huddle (English text), p. 17; Utsumi and Huddle (Japanese text), p. 19-20; "J.P. Nielsen", ELCA Archives; and Stirewalt, "Autobiography", p. 10, Crumley Archives.
- 40) Utsumi and Huddle (English text), p. 27, 34.
- 41) Huddle, p. 127; Jensen, p. 203, 288. Huddle writes that Nielsen was called to serve at Trinity in Blair before being fully recovered from his medical condition, suggesting perhaps that had he recovered sooner he might have returned to mission service in Japan. Jensen, however, states that Nielsen was called from Japan to be a professor at Trinity Seminary.
- 42) J.P. Nielsen Personnel File; SD, "16 August 1928."
- 43) J.P. Nielsen Personnel File; Jensen, p. 203, 288.
- 44) Nyholm, p. 180-182. Nyholm quotes extensively from Nielsen's address at the fiftieth anniversary of Trinity Seminary in 1934.
- 45) Gertrude Nielsen served as the first president of the Women's Missionary Society of the UELC, organized in 1932. This organization supported many projects, most notably, foreign missions. See Jensen, p. 208.
- 46) Horn, E.T., "Report on Types of Work Engaged In, 1911-1941," E.T. Horn Personnel File, ELCA Archives, p. 1. Cited hereafter as "Horn Report."
- 47) *Ibid.* This spirit of Lutheran cooperation was borne out of the collegial experience of missionaries in Japan, but also reflected growing Lutheran cooperation in the United States seen the merger of the ULCA in 1918, and the establishment of the National Lutheran Council in 1918. In 1919, the Danish Church joined the National Lutheran Council. In this way Lutheran cooperation in Japan also mirrored a movement of Lutheranism in the United States toward, if not full unity, at least deeper cooperation. See Jensen, p. 153-54.
- 48) Horn, "Horn Report," p. 1-2.
- 49) Powlas, Maud O., *Gathering Up the Fragments* (Greenville, NC: Era Press, 1978), p. 56-57.
- 50) Horn, "Horn Report," p. 2.
- 51) Utsumi and Huddle, p. 34.
- 52) Horn, "Horn Report," p. 3-4.
- 53) *Ibid.*, 5. Missionary involvement in the publication of *The Augsburg Confession*, and Luther's works was not a new thing. In 1900 R.B. Peery published

- The Augsburg Confession* (through the 21st Article). In 1914, C.L. Brown translated a *Service of Holy Communion*, which was published under the name of J.P. Nielsen. The 1930 publication of *The Augsburg Confession* was significant because it was a complete translation of this document.
- 54) "Retired LCA Missionary Decorated by Japan," E.T. Horn Personnel File, ELCA Archives, Elk Grove Village, IL.
- 55) Stirewalt, "Autobiography," p. 1.
- 56) *Ibid.* Also see *The Christian Book of Concord* (New Market: Solomon D. Henkel & Brs., 1854, second edition), p. iv.
- 57) Minutes, United Synod of the South Board (1893-1907), ELCA Archives, Elk Grove Village, IL, p. 317-319; Tidings, December 1905, 6.
- 58) Huddle, p. 95.
- 59) *Ibid.*, p. 98.
- 60) Utsumi and Huddle (English text), p. 4-5; Utsumi and Huddle (Japanese text), p. 4-6.
- 61) Fukuyama, p. 90-92. Fukuyama thoroughly covered the establishment of this school, but the reasons for its closure in 1909 were not fully presented.
- 62) Utsumi and Huddle (English text), p. 7; Utsumi and Huddle (Japanese text), p. 8. Utsumi and Huddle state that Stirewalt was principal and that Yamamoto Naomaru "supervisor of business affairs." However, a close reading of Stirewalt's diaries reveals that Stirewalt alone was in charge of all the financial affairs of the school, including, banking (domestic and foreign), the paying of salaries to both missionaries in the field and to Japanese personnel. In the absence of Brown who was still in the United States to raise funds for the school, it would seem that Stirewalt was given oversight of this fledgling work. See SD, multiple entries August 1908-June 1909.
- 63) Fukuyama, p. 96. This is perhaps an allusion to Directive #12 established by the Ministry of Education in August 1899, which forbade religious education and religious ceremony in private schools. See also SD, entries for 25, 26 June 1909. Stirewalt closed the yobikō bank account on the 25th, and paid yobikō salaries on the 25th and the 26th.
- 64) SD, 21 April 1909.
- 65) SD, see entries for 21, 29, April; 6, 10, 24 May; 4 June 1909. 4 June 1909 contained reference to a conversation between Toyama and Stirewalt, in which the decision to close the school had already been reached.
- 66) Brown et al, p. 4.
- 67) SD, see entries for 3, 6, 7, 8 July 1909. According to Stirewalt, the *shadan* was formally registered in Kumamoto on 8 July 1909.
- 68) Fukuyama, p. 95-96; Utsumi and Huddle (English text), p. 8-9; and Brown et al, p. 4-5, which gives September 26th as the date of the founding of the seminary. This must be an error as the SD entry for 27 September 1909 records the opening ceremonies of the seminary and dates them as having taken place on the 27th.
- 69) World Missionary Conference, 9:55.
- 70) Stirewalt, "Autobiography," p. 9.
- 71) *Ibid.*
- 72) *Ibid.*
- 73) *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 74) "Brown to Stirewalt," 24 April 1918, ELCA Archives (photostat), Luther Research Center, Japan Lutheran College, Tokyo.
- 75) Fukuyama, p. 234-236.
- 76) "Funeral of Mrs. Stirewalt," Stirewalt Collection, James R. Crumley Archives, Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary.
- 77) The date of the attack on Pearl Harbor was December 8th in Japan, and December 7th in the United States.
- 78) Stirewalt, Arthur J., "Letter of Rev. Arthur J. Stirewalt, D.D.," A.J. Stirewalt Personnel File, ELCA Archives, Elk Grove Village, IL, p. 11-13.

初期のルーテル教会の宣教師たちと日本に於ける神学教育

— ブラウン、ネルセン、ホールンとスタイワルトの人生と働き

ティモシー・マッケンジー

本論文は戦前のルーテル教会の宣教師たちの人生と神学教育に対する貢献の概略を試みる。ルーテル教会の神学の伝統の発展に重要な歴史的な意義をもつ四名の宣教師に焦点を合わせる：チャールズ・L・ブラウン、ヨルゲン・P・ネルセン、エドワード・T・ホールンとアーサー・J・スタイワルトである。彼らの日本に於ける働きは明治、大正と昭和の三代を渡り、学校と社会福祉施設の設立に貢献をした。この働きはルーテル信条書の伝統を重んじながら、内面の敬虔主義的な聖書の学び、祈りと礼拝を中心にして、日本社会に対する社会福祉的な関心を示していた。この特徴が日本福音ルーテル教会の生活とその教会の神学教育に今日までしるしを残した。

Key words : 明治時代、ルーテル教会宣教師活動、ルーテル信条書、社会福祉事業

