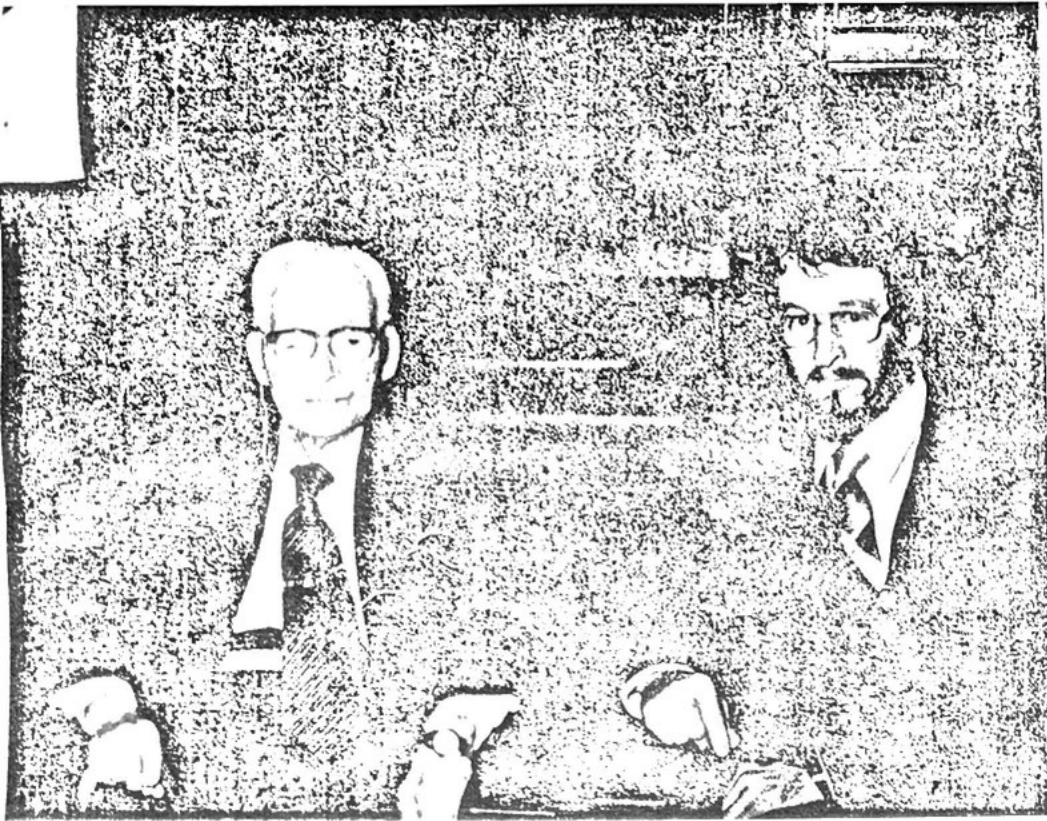


George M. Williams Jr.



Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka and Prof. George M. Williams are shown discussing the history of liberal religion in Japan at the Faculty Club, Tokyo, 1988.

Prof. George M. Williams teaches history of religions at California State University, Chico. His works on Swami Vivekananda have won international acclaim. His first visit to Japan occurred at the end of a sabbatical leave to complete research on the variety of religious experience and work on the creation of a discipline of experiential phenomenology. In Japan he recognized something which was to require three visits to Japan and two searches of materials at Harvard. Slowly, an untold story emerged. One of the treasures he found — in fact, a national treasure in education — was Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka. But the story of this modest giant will be told in another monograph. This study succinctly describes a network of religious groups that are involved in nothing short of a religious reformation. The issues of this reformation help one better appreciate the concerns of classical liberal religion. Understanding the dimensions of this reformation will aid in understanding of the evolution of religious consciousness in modern life.

The kanji characters are *Jiyu Shukyo* (free religion).

LIBERAL
RELIGIOUS
REFORMATION
IN
JAPAN

自由宗教

BL
7207 5

LIBRARY
OF THE
MEADVILLE
THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL



DL
2207.5
.W54
1964

ROBERT COLLYER FUND

94842

George M. Williams Jr.

自由宗教

LIBERAL
RELIGIOUS
REFORMATION
IN
JAPAN

New Horizons Press
and the

American Chapter,
International
Association
for Religious Freedom

Including a Call for an International
Association for Free Religion
from Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka.

Copyright © 1984 by George M. Willians Jr.
All Rights Reserved, including all translation rights.

Printed in the U.S.A.

NEW HORIZONS PRESS
P. O. Box 1758
Chico, CA. 95927

and
The American Chapter
of the
International Association
for Religious Freedom

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGING DATA

Willians, George M., Jr. 1940-
The Liberal Religious Reformation in Japan



Produced at The Print Center, Inc., Box 1050, Brooklyn, N.Y.,
11202, a non-profit printing facility for literary and arts-related
publications. Funded by The New York State Council on the
Arts and the National Endowment for the Arts.

Table of Contents

<i>Preface</i>	5
<i>History of Liberal Religion</i> <i>in Japan</i>	
<i>Phase One (1854-1900)</i>	11
<i>Phase Two (1900-1948)</i>	19
<i>Phase Three (1948-present)</i>	29
<i>Representative Issues</i>	35
<i>The Task Ahead</i>	45
<i>Appendices</i>	
<i>Unitarians and Free Inquiry</i>	47
<i>From Religious Freedom to</i> <i>Free Religion</i>	53
<i>Variety of Religious Experience</i> ..	61
<i>Bibliography</i>	70
<i>Index</i>	

自由宗教

Jiyu Shukyo. Free religion.

These two notions side by side are not native to Japanese sensibilities. Something modern, even foreign, may be expressed. If modern, then it can be achieved in Japan. But if it is completely foreign, then it will most likely be rejected.

PREFACE

Japanese and Western scholars have tended to describe contemporary religious events in Japan as a story of the continuation of Buddhist and Shinto traditions and of the arrival of New Religions. Neither of these categories seems to work when liberal religion in Japan is studied. In fact, the Protestant Reformation is brought to mind. Even acknowledging that there are no exact parallels, this notion of a reformation of Japan's religious heritage may help one grasp the significance of events so current that the religious leaders mentioned in the last section of this study are all alive. A word, then, must be said about the notion of New Religions.

The category of "the New Religions" has been used to describe modern developments for so long that it will seem like a scholarly heresy to suggest something different. After three visits to Japan focusing on liberal religion in

Japan and discovering that some of the New Religions are cooperating with the heart of religious liberalism in Japan--Kiitsu Kyokai or Japanese Unitarianism, the historian of religions in me suspects that there is more error in the New Religion category than insight. When the category of newness (*shin, shinko*) was applied by Japanese religionists to their concerns, it implied a response to modernity, as in *Shin Bukkyo doshi kai* (Fellowship on New Buddhists, 1899) and *Shinko Bukkyo seinen domei* (Youth League for New Buddhists, 1920s). Either as a Japanese governmental classification or as a category in the field of anthropology, "new religions" connotes escape from the realities of modern life rather than appropriate adaptation. When this same category is used as an explanation of the success of the "cargo cults" in the South Pacific, the hidden norm within this category becomes transparent. Even with more varied usage in Japan, the category of "new religions" remains essentially pejorative. Such an implication is not acceptable in the view of this study as an interpretation of the contemporary religious situation in Japan.

Most of the so-called New Religions of Japan are not new. All have continuities which go back centuries into Japanese religious history. All of the New Religions have begun as revivals rather than innovations. The main innovation in Japanese religious history in the modern period is the reintroduction of Christianity. Yet its

arrival and practice in Japan was not at first innovative; for Christianity is usually non-innovative, seeking to follow the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth rather than invent or create something new.

Innovation and modernization can be dated from the opening of Japan's ports by Commodore Perry. There was also a modernization which included a religious form which was new in human history. Its origin in Europe has been carefully delineated by George H. Williams, in his *Radical Reformation*. This radical religious reformation came to Japan with an inherent tension between obedience to "true Christianity" and practice of freedom of conscience and--more significantly--freedom of inquiry. This impetus toward truth-finding wherever it might lead led to a non-traditional expression of religion--liberal Christianity. But liberal Christianity would further evolve into an even less exclusive faith -- free religious associations.

The following pages will suggest a development of a Liberal Religious Reformation in Modern Japan among a representative number of religious groups. Roman Catholic scholars used to label the Protestant Reformation, the Protestant Revolution. Perhaps that dramatic term expresses the innovations which took place in the radical left wing of the Protestant Reformation. Those groups championed such world shaking notions as freedom of conscience and worship, political equality (which opposed kings and other forms of

inequality by birth), equality between the sexes, equality before the law, and the stuff of human freedom. (See *Appendix A* for some details presented to Japanese Buddhists about Unitarianism and its place in the drive for human freedom and for free inquiry.)

As the forces of modernization erupted upon Japan, liberal religion in the form of Unitarian Christianity became both a force for innovation and an element in the Japanese Religious Reformation itself. That Reformation is still underway. Some of the leaders of the Japanese Religious Reformation are still living. Leaders like Shinichiro Imaoka, Nikkyo Niwano, Toshio Miyake, Yukitaka Yamamoto and a number of others will be described briefly to support the thesis that these leaders are involved in the reformation of religious life in Japan.

Other groups which have been previously considered conservative and staunch defenders of the past like Ise Grand Shrine (Shinto) or militantly fundamentalist like Soka Gakkai (a Nichiren Buddhist group) have begun to consciously examine their values and practices and may begin the course already braved by groups which will be mentioned in this volume. Martin Marty has pointed out the significance of deciphering change within the symbols of non-change. Such is the case in Japan; Japan is in the throes of religious transformation, often with symbols and rhetoric of continuity.

This volume is dedicated to the 102 year old Rev. Dr.

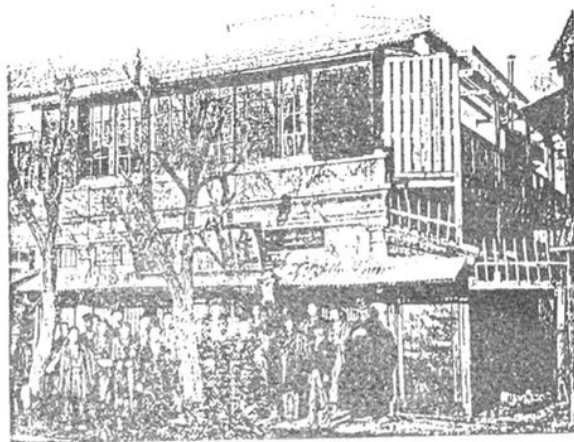
Shinichiro Imaoka, rightly revered as if he were a Japanese Unitarian saint; the Japan Free Religious Association; and the Japan chapter of the International Association for Religious Freedom. Even trying to account for the limitations of this study, the conclusion seems supportable that the leaders of these groups head the forces of significant religious development and evolution in Japan -- forces which are pointing toward the development of *Jiyu Shukyo* (free religion) in particular religions. (*Appendix B* contains Rev. Imaoka's call for further move toward free religion.)

Transliteration of Japanese words is quite problematical for reasons better left unstated here. The Japanese words for the Unitarian Church in Tokyo could be either *Ki Itsu Kyo Kai*, *Kiitsukyokai*, or, *Kiitsu Kyokai*. The later has become the choice through use. Japanese surnames precede the "first name," but we will generally follow the Western order. Rev. Imaoka Shinichiro will become Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka. (At one hundred and two years of age he has become used to this inversion.) Japanese dates are referenced by important periods such as the *Nara* (710 - 781 of the present era), the *Tokugawa* (1600 - 1868), et cetera. Again, Western dates will be used to clarify times mentioned.



Yuiitsukwan (Unity Hall), Mita, Tokyo, Japan.

Unity Hall (Yuiitsukwan), center of Japanese Unitarian Mission in Japan, built in 1894 but sold in 1921 as American Unitarian Association left.



FRONT FACADE OF SENSHIN GAKUIN, KAGACHŌ, TŌKYŌ.

School of Liberal Theology (*Jiyu Shin Gakko*) and later renamed *Senshin Gakuin*, begun in 1893 by the Unitarian Mission but abandoned for lack of funds seven years later even though it had an increasing enrollment. (photos from *Harvard Divinity School Library collections*)

HISTORY OF LIBERAL RELIGION

The story of liberal religion in Japan could involve the coming of Buddhism in the seventh century and that portion of Buddhism which struggled to be free religion. But Buddhism could not far transcend the structural limitations of the times which required tribal and feudal expressions. Later, for the 250 years before Meiji (beginning 1868) Japanese religion was least able to be liberal (freeing, liberating, enlightening). To my knowledge a history of liberal religion in Japan has not been compiled. Prof. Masaharo Anesaki's and Prof. Hideo Kishimoto's works locate liberal religion in the modern period. This study is deeply indebted to the hours of interviews granted by Rev. Shinichiro Inaoka, Professors Keiichi Yanagawa (Todai), Norihisa Suzuki (St. Paul's, Tokyo), Eiichi Kiyooka (Keio), and leaders of the International Association for Religious Freedom, the World Conference on Religion and Peace, and the Japan Free Religious Association.

We begin our account at 1854 and the forcing open of Japan by Admiral Perry. This 130 year span (1854-1984) can be organized into three periods with the hint of the beginnings of a fourth. Each phase of liberal religion is marked by interesting achievements and struggles. Any periodization of history is only illustrative and often uses overlapping periods (because persons hardly ever fit into just one period).

PHASE ONE. (1854-1900): The Situation in Japan, Influences from the Outside World, and The Remarkable Record.

The situation in Japan has been described and interpreted in many places--for example by Robert Bellah in his *Tokugawa Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan* (Boston: Beacon, 1957). The Tokugawa Shogunate (1600-1868) had used Buddhism as a political arm to register all their subjects and to keep track of them. Shinto was lost in a mixture with folk practices and with Buddhism. Tokugawa feudalism limited religion to scholasticism, ritualism, non-political superstition (from the viewpoint of the Confucian trained literati) and personal pietism. The Tokugawa Shogunate with 250 years of isolation, except for the limited contact with the Spanish and Portuguese, had worked well in keeping out most foreign influences. Roman Catholicism was introduced but then ruthlessly eradicated and proscribed by imperial edict as "a devil religion." Tokugawa feudalism was in its final years once Commodore Perry entered Yedo (Tokyo) Bay in July 1853 and forced upon

the Japanese a new age with the signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa (1854).

The first American and European treaties (unequal and inequitable) were dictated to Japan in 1854. In 1859 new treaties granted the right of permanent residence and from that date Christian missionaries once again began to arrive. The shogunate was abolished in 1868. The edict against Christianity was modified in 1873 and in 1874 it was entirely removed. In 1884 the Japanese government abolished all official relations with Buddhist and Shinto priests and took from them the exclusive control of burial places. This meant that Christians could receive a decent burial. Another liability for turning to Christianity was removed. "Once well in power, the ministry of the restored Mikado (emperor), and in the name of the Mikado, determined to accept for the nation the political, commercial, industrial, social, educational, and other aims and methods of the aggressive civilization of America and Europe." (Clay MacCauley, "The Religious Problem in Japan: How Solve it?," (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1893), p.14) As Japanese Westernization became less critical in the 1880's, counter tendencies began to question such an abandonment of Japanese values and culture.

The Rev. Tomoyoshi Murai, a Congregational minister who also served as a Unitarian preacher in Tokyo, looked back at this period and wrote for the *Christian Register* (November 29, 1900) an analysis of this phenomenon:

Christianity made a great progress in Japan some ten years ago, when the tendency of Europeanization was in high tide. Christianity was welcomed as the religion of civilized nations, and was accepted just as it was presented by orthodox missionaries. But this period of implicit and childlike faith was soon followed by that of criticism and cross-examination. The result was that the majority of native Christians became dissatisfied with the theological teachings of orthodoxy, and expressed their sympathy toward Unitarian thought.

Critical evaluations written in this period contained four brilliant observations. First, there had been an expectation that feudalism could be repudiated at all levels, including religion. It was first believed that Western civilization would have a non-superstitious religion (Christianity). Second, Christianity was found to be of many types and many of them were feudal (traditionalist) and highly "superstitious" (in the terminology of day). Third, the evangelization by traditionalist Christian missions of Japan entailed an unthinking loss of Japanese culture (denationalization) and a shift in group identity. Fourth, liberal religious missions in Japan generally copied the methods (educational, worship, except evangelization) of conservative, traditionalist, colonial Christianity. They were not yet reflective of their liberal possibilities. The exception to this conclusion appears to be the Unitarian Mission in Japan, primarily because its leadership was from the beginning in the hands of highly trained Japanese with only the assistance of an American fieldworker.

Influence from Outside Japan. Three liberal religious missions came to Japan. The first was the

Unitarian Mission in Japan which was invited by a number of leading Japanese, including Yukichi Fukuzawa and Yano Fumio. "These gentlemen were desirous, they said, that a rational Christianity, under a wholly free and independent form of administration, should be represented and taught among their fellow Japanese," Clay MacCauley, a Unitarian fieldworker in Japan from 1888 through 1920, wrote in his memoirs. The major concern of Fukuzawa was the building of Keio University, and the Unitarian Mission which came to Japan in 1888 included three illustrious professors who taught at Keio. MacCauley, in fact, lived next door to Fukuzawa and saw him each day until 1900, when MacCauley returned to the United States. MacCauley even believed that Fukuzawa had the intention of making Keio a Unitarian university. But upon Fukuzawa's death all memory of the Unitarian connection was lost until his grandson, Prof. Kiyooka, began researching the history of Keio.

The German Liberal Christian Mission (*Evangelisch Protestanten Missionverein*) was founded in 1890. This provided contact with European liberalism. The Universalist Church also started missionary work in Japan in 1890 with three missionaries. The notion of perfecting Christianity on Japanese soil, of "purifying" it of all "superstition," worked for continual evolution.

These three groups talked once of uniting but nothing serious came of it. But the very presence in Japan of representative forms of rational Christianity which did not accept ancient creeds on external authority (non-

authoritarian), actually read the Christian Bible in the light of modern research and textual criticism (non-literalistic), allowed personal opinions and beliefs (non-creedal), and was open to the truths of all religions (non-exclusive), was enough to touch all other religious groups with liberalizing ideas and concerns. However, the religious forms that came to Japan were not as liberal as they would soon become in the second or purely Japanese phase.

The sphere of liberalized religion was, surprisingly, traditional Christian missions. The forces of modern education did not deal kindly with sectarian and colonialist Christianity and eroded even the most dogmatic Christian missions. As noted earlier, Japanese converts soon surpassed their missionary teachers in accepting reason as one criterion for religious faith and practice, and soon found themselves in conflict with their foreign teachers. The case of Doshisha University parallels the necessity for liberal education to be free -- non-sectarian and free of creedal authority. (Harvard and other denominational schools freed themselves because conservative religion did not maintain the quest for truth with steadfast commitment.)

The Remarkable Record. Within less than two decades liberal ideas in education, social work, politics, economics, and religion were coursing into the life of Japan. But modernization by Western ideas was the price a warrior society was willing to pay for a survival which would eventually infuse the *samurai* spirit in militarist

pursuits beyond the borders of Japan. Japan had moved in a direction which contained the essence of liberal ideas and ways. Yet, some *samurai* would be able to ignore those aspects of a liberal education which would not fit their purpose -- to raise their military class to renewed power.

Humanitarian activities gave Japan the appearance of an enlightened kingdom-state by the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet liberal religion and liberal religious leaders would discover their political weakness when faced with nationalist militarism. (Of course, Japan is not the only nation to misuse religion. The point is that the quest for international peace and justice spoke directly against the "tribal" impulses of nationalism, but liberal Japanese did not learn to deal with militarists politically. That was true also in the West. Liberal religion in Japan did not have the mechanisms of mass education and communication to stem the tide of militarism--even if it had recognized each of its forms in the first half of the twentieth century.) The vision of a new world order founded upon international equality and justice had little real political or economic power and was weak in comparison to the desire for national revival. Western education became both a means for combating Western colonialism and for imitating colonialism.

The misuse of liberal education was not seen at the time. Clay MacCauley, the American Unitarian fieldworker, thought that the best aspects of the human spirit had prevailed in Japan and liberal religion would be adopted.

The universal prevalence of Unitarianism among the Japanese would, therefore, necessarily mean the breaking down of all sectarian barriers now standing between religions in the Empire; it would mean the meeting together of Buddhists, Shintoists, Confucianists and Christians, all guided by harmonious desire and by freely offered co-operation, each allowing all the others to hold their own sincere judgments upon the myriad problems of life, and all united in antagonism only against the powers of selfishness and of social alienation; against superstition, bigotry, ignorance and sin...
The Unitarian Mission to Japan. Tokyo: Shikokumachi, 1909, pp. 20-21.

Then MacCauley summarized what he thought had been the distinctive character of the Unitarian mission.

The Unitarian Mission in its inception was a frank departure from the customary aim and method of foreign missionary work. It was commissioned "not to convert, but to confer." -- Our Mission has proclaimed a new missionary motive. It has sought to discover the good in all existing forms of faith. It has recognized the underlying sympathy in all religions and emphasized unities rather than diversities. (*ibid.*, pp. 24-25.)



Rev. Clay MacCauley served as a fieldworker for the American Unitarian Association in Japan from 1889-1900 and 1909-1919. For his work in Japan he received an honorary doctorate from Princeton and two imperial awards from Japan for his service to international understanding.

HISTORY OF LIBERAL RELIGION

Phase Two (1900-1948): Two Forces -- visible Liberal Religion and dispersed Liberal Religion, and Liberal Forces at Work.

The two forces for liberal religion worked in quite differing ways. The first continued the liberal missionary effort to establish "pure," "rational," liberal Christianity in a form recognizable as a liberal Christian church. Thus, Unitarians, Universalists, German Liberal Christians imitated conservative Christianity in organizing churches and baptizing converts. (Baptism would be abandoned during this period by Japanese Unitarians as inconsistent with their more universal principles.) Yet even while Clay MacCauley remained as fieldworker alongside Japanese Unitarians, free religion, which was not centered in Christ, began to evolve. How could this not result, for the realization that all religions contained truths implied that none had the only Truth!

Dispersed liberal religion would produce a faith and practice freed of denominational and sectarian organizations. This freeing of liberal religion from its churchy form had already occurred in New England with Emerson and the Free Religious Association. It is probably no accident that Emerson was translated into Japanese and was among the most popular publications of the Japanese Unitarian Tract Society from 1890 until 1920.

Liberal Religious Forces at Work. Liberal religion began penetrating Japanese society through visible liberal religion and its invisible counterpart. Both would effect education, social work, interfaith dialogue, politics, economics, peace and international movements, labor movement, and the ethical society.

Liberal religion continued to work upon Japan's creation of a modern education system. Although Prof. Eiichi Kiyooka indicated there are no records in Japanese sources, Unitarians, like Clay MacCauley, record that they were invited directly by Fukuzawa to bring liberal education and religion to Japan. Three Unitarian professors came to help Fukuzawa "create" Keio University. At this earliest stage of liberalism in Japan (1890-1920) Japanese Unitarians were already coming back from America and Europe to help in the modernization higher education. Isso Abe became a professor at Waseda University as did Hideo Kishimoto. Professors H. Minami, H. Onishi, J. Saji, M. Anesaki, and S. Imaoka all taught in the universities at this time. As the period of

dispersion (the invisible free "church") was entered (1920-1947), the various departments of religious studies and Seisoku High School became foci for the free study of world religions. Seisoku produced a steady stream of future college professors and national leaders -- among whom were such outstanding scholars as Motoyae Hiroshi (literature), Nakagawa (law), and Yanagawa (religion).

Social work was mentioned in the first published report of the Unitarian Mission in 1892. Already one member of the Tokyo Unitarian Church had become a city superintendent, Jitsunen Saji. Rev. Imaoka's son, Prof. Kenichiro Imaoka, is currently working on a large monograph detailing the history of social work in Japan which will record the place of liberal religion.

Interfaith dialogue had such a prominent place in this period that the major developments will be presented with some detail. In America in 1868 the Free Religious Association revolted against sterile Unitarian rationalism and a growing theological creedalism. After twenty-six annual meetings the Free Religious Association's work for free inquiry culminated in 1893 in the Chicago World Parliament of Religion. (Stow Persons, *Free Religion* <Boston: Beacon Press, 1963>) Japanese delegates were in attendance and brought back to Japan a sense of a worldwide movement for internationalism encompassing world progress and understanding.

In 1897 Dr. John Henry Barrows, one of the organizers

of the World Parliament visited Japan and met a small gathering of Buddhists, Shintoists and Christians (*Congress of Japanese Religionists* <Tokyo: The Kinkodo Publishing Co., 1904>). The 1897 meeting was remembered in the preface of the publication of the 1904 Congress of Japanese Religionists (*ibid.*). In that 1904 meeting, which was in the midst of the war between Japan and Russia, there was a national outpouring of sentiment "to remove misunderstandings among the Japanese as well as among foreigners, and to give counsel to believers of different faiths as to the attitude they should assume, and thus make clear to the world the position of religionists at this great crisis." (p.9) Over a thousand delegates attended including Unitarians Abe, Inouye, Kanda and Saji. Mr. Jitsunen Saji addressed the assembly "On the Fundamental Principles of the Different Religions." (*ibid.*, pp.20-3). Professor Abe was among a handful of Japanese who would see that free religion transcended nationalism and the immediacy of patriotism's use of religion as a partner in "justified war." Abe began his lifelong resistance to war.

The Association Concordia (Ki Itsu Kyo <a different Kyo than in the name of the Tokyo Unitarian Church> Kai) was founded in 1913 by "cultural people" working for cultural betterment. This association would lead to an Inter-Faith Association. In 1914 Dr. J. T. Sunderland of the American Unitarian Association visited Japan with his proposal for a second Parliament of Religions. Plans were adopted for

Japan's participation, but World War I ended this series of world conclaves before they could be held.

In 1920 Prof. Sakusaburo Uchigasaki attended the International Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston. (Pictured opposite p. 264 in Paramhansa Yogananda, *Autobiography of a Yogi* <New York: The Philosophical Library, 1946>) In 1923 Nihon Shukyo Konwa Kai, the Japan Interfaith Association, was founded. Its impetus for bringing Japanese religionists together concerned the treatment of Japanese in America, but it became an informal forerunner of the Japan Free Religious Association. (During the work of this organization a friendship developed between Rev. Imaoka and President Nikkyo Niwano of Rissho Kosei-kai.) In 1928 Nihon Shukyo Kai-gi, Japan Three Religions Conference, was held with many religious groups represented and fifteen hundred delegates. (R. C. Armstrong, "The Three Religions Conference," *The Japan Christian Quarterly* <July, 1928>, p.271) It was held in conjunction with a national event, consistent with the emphasis of Nihon Shukyo Konwa Kai -- the commemoration of the Imperial Coronation (Showa). While others were prominent in public roles, such as the Rev. Shikyo Michishige, Lord Abbot of the Zojoji temple at Shiba, as chairman, again the behind the scenes work was done by liberal religionists, including Shinichiro Imaoka. The proceedings were published in a 480 page book entitled *Nihon Shukyo Tai Kai*.

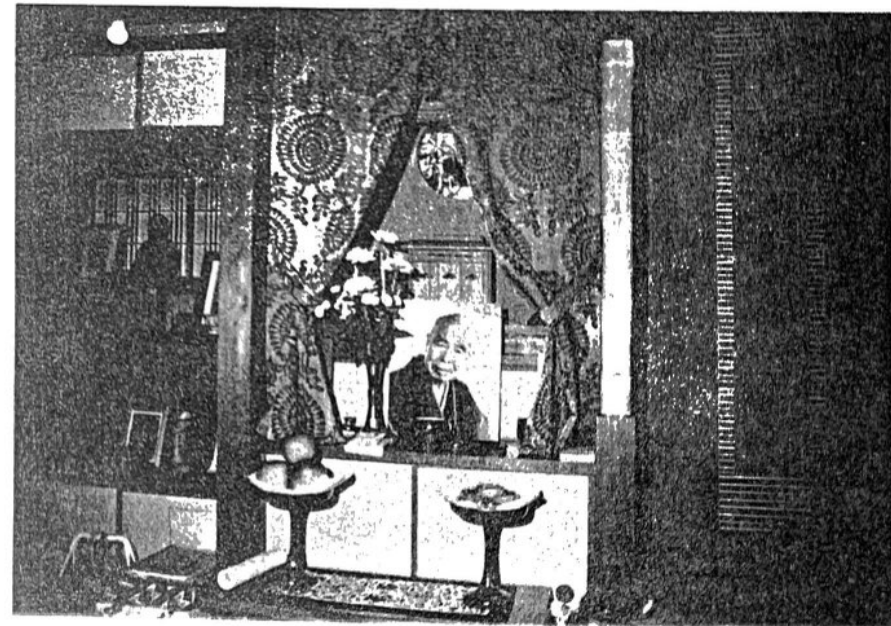
Between 1932 and 1940 as war raged in Pacific and East

Asia, a symbolic quest occurred as Rev. Imaoka often traveled with Joseph W. T. Mason to visit Shinto shrines and learn about its faith and practice. Rev. Masamitsu Nakagawa of Teppozu Inari Shrine stated that "Mason became a good Shintoist." During this period the connection between liberal religion and Tsubaki and Teppozu shrines was strengthened.

The record is hardly complete for this period. One cannot forget that the first labor movement began in Unity Hall of the Tokyo Unitarian Church where Bunji Suzuki founded in 1912 the Friendly Society (Yuaikai); and when the American Unitarian Association sold Unity Hall in 1921, it was to Bunji Suzuki and Yuaikai. Religious humanism, religious socialism, and religious pacifism began among Japanese leaving organized Unitarianism.

When the American Unitarian Association closed its mission in 1921 and sold their property (since Japanese Unitarians including Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka could not afford the expense, Unitarian house meetings continued in the home of Prof. Uchigasaki until around 1923. By then the process of dispersion into Japanese life was complete. There would be no visible Japanese Unitarian fellowship until 1948. They had all gone into the world to leaven it with the liberating power of their faith and hope in a better world. Anasaki, Kishimoto, Minami, Uchigasaki, Abe and Imaoka had gone into education, Suzuki into the labor movement, Saichiro Kanda into banking, and not a few into

politics--Hoshijima (Speaker of the Parliament), Nagai (Minister of State and member of parliament). Thus, the Japanese Unitarians were departing from organized religion even as they worked to bring together in dialogue and for humanitarian service all faiths in Japan. (Something yet to be carefully studied cross-culturally is the phenomenon of liberal religionists touching the reigns of power before both World Wars only to become crushed by nationalistic militarism.)



Memorial to Tenko-san at Itto-En, near Kyoto. Although small, Itto-En as a communitarian society has had a major symbolic impact on Japan.



Representing WCP, President Niwano addressed the United Nations special session on disarmament in 1978, imploring: "Instead of taking risks with arms, please take major risks for peace."



The 1979 Templeton Foundation Prize for Progress in Religion was presented to President Niwano at Windsor Castle by the Duke of Edinburgh on behalf of Mr. John M. Templeton (third from right), founder of the Foundation.

President Nikkyo Niwano of Rissho Kosei-kai, speaking at the United Nations in 1978 and receiving the Templeton award in 1977 (photos and text from Rissho Kosei-kai)



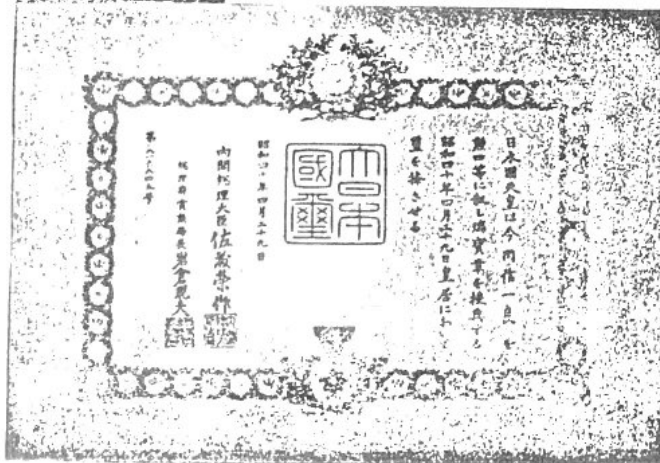
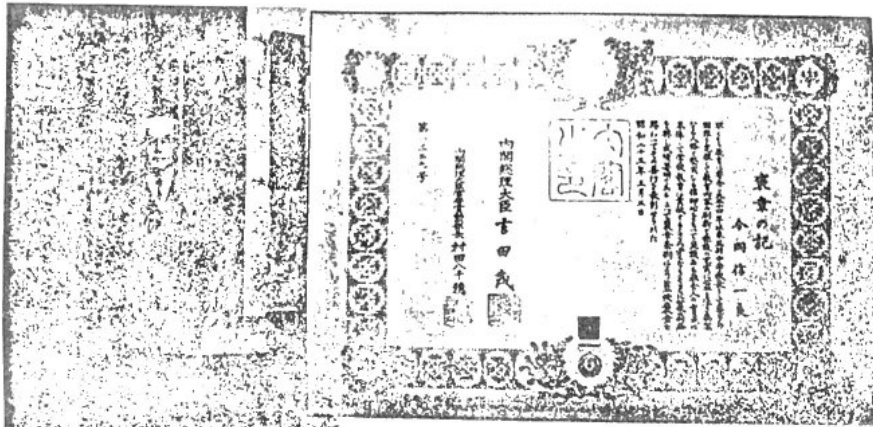
Rev. Toshio Miyake met Mother M. Teresa, Nobel Laureate for Peace in Calcutta, India on February 9, 1980.



ACRP's meeting in Singapore, during November 24 - December 3.

The middle is Archbishop Angelo Fernandez, President of WCRP and right to him Rev. Toshio Miyake, Vice-President of WCRP.

Rev. Toshio Miyake, speaking at the Asian Conference on Religion and Peace, 1976, and meeting Mother Teresa in 1980. (Photos and text, Konko-Kyo Church of Izu).



Although Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka received one of his country's highest awards for service in education, it has been a family secret. During a return visit to Japan and only after his daughter-in-law interceded for me in order that his story would be complete, Rev. Imaoka allowed her to show me these awards given to him as principal of Seisoku High School, a symbol of excellence in private education.

HISTORY OF LIBERAL RELIGION

Phase Three (1948-present):
Period of Elder Statesmen of
Japanese Liberal Religion, of
Inter-faith Work, and of The
Results with International
Consequence.

The elder statesmen of Japanese Liberal Religion include some truly extraordinary persons. Although some have died, most are still alive. All have accomplished so much that these brief descriptions will be less than adequate. Hopefully, an idea will be gained of their individual and collective importance.

Dr. Shinichiro Imaoka, born in 1881, has almost single-handedly stood as a lightning-rod for liberal religion. He became a Unitarian in 1911 and worked with Rev. Sakusaburo Uchigasaki and Prof. Masahuru Anesaki. Rev. Imaoka was involved in each of the inter-faith dialogues mentioned in the second phase of liberal religion. He is

the link between each of the groups working together in the Japan Free Religious Association and the Japanese members of the International Association for Religious Freedom. His service has been typically Japanese in that others have led publicly while he worked out of the limelight. Recognition has begun to come with two imperial awards in education (in 1950 the Order of Blue Ribbon Medal by Law of Merit and in 1965 the Fourth Order of Merit and Order of Sacred Treasure), a Doctorate of Divinity from Meadville Theological Seminary in 1972, and a special award from International Association for Religious Freedom at the Hague in 1982. He has championed a non-theistic, non-Christocentric, free faith and practice, which includes *seiza* (a form of sitting meditation).

Tenko Nishida or Tenko-san (1872-1968) founded Itto-en, the Garden of One Light. He raised the same questions about capital and economics at the same time as did Tolstoy and Gandhi and founded a lay Buddhist, pietistic community. Its meditative practice (*seiza*) combined inner strength with humanitarian service. Tenko-san and Imaoka met in 1906 and worked together until Tenko-san's death in 1968. His grandson, Rev. Takeshi Nishida, leads the religious community today.

Rev. Shigetaro Akashi was already part of the Universalist Mission staff in 1902. His ministry and contribution to liberal religion has not yet been adequately chronicled. Rev. Akashi and Rev. Imaoka worked together

from the beginning of the second phase. Prof. Michio Akashi, his son, has continued his father's work and has been past president of the Japan Free Religious Association. Both father and son have sought to create a pure Christianity in Japan. This kind of religious liberalism is theistic and Christocentric; it teaches that Christianity has never been fully expressed in history and the unique character of the Japanese people to perfect whatever it finds will lead to a higher development of Christianity in Japan.

The 95th Chief Priest of Tsubaki Grand Shrine, Rev. Yamamoto, was a religious pacifist and was jailed by authorities. He was a longtime friend of Rev. Imaoka. His eldest son, Rev. Yukitaka Yamamoto, followed his father's quest for a free Shinto. Tsubaki's membership in International Association for Religious Freedom has brought a connection with all of Shrine Shinto. Rev. Yamamoto has been recently honored with the highest rank for a Shinto priest. Rev. Yukitaka Yamamoto is currently working with Rev. Richard Boeke of the First Unitarian Church of Berkeley to establish a Japanese culture center in the Bay area (Tsubaki Grand Shrine in America).

President Nikkyo Niwano, current President of the International Association for Religious Freedom, needs little introduction. Rissho Kosei-kai has published much about him. Rev. Niwano rose from humble beginnings as co-founder to president of a great lay-Buddhist organization. He received the first Schweitzer Award in

1976 and then was given the prestigious Templeton Award in 1979. His service is multiplied by a dedicated cadre of highly talented co-workers. President Niwano and Rev. Imaoka have worked together since the days of Nihon Sukyo Konwa Kai. Although Rissho Kosei-kai did not join the Japan Free Religious Association, it was invited and has joined the International Association for Religious Freedom directly.

Rev. Toshio Miyake of Konko Kyo Church of Izuo has been active in International Association for Religious Freedom, the World Conference on Religion and Peace (a vice president) and inter-faith dialogue in Korea and China. He has distinguished himself in Konko Kyo as an extraordinary faith-healer. His ministry at Osaka extends to thousands who seek wholeness and health. He has begun direct humanitarian support for India and Southeast Asia. He and Rev. Imaoka have known and worked on liberal causes since the thirties.

Rev. Genyu Yamamoto of Shosei-ji Buddhist temple in Kameoka is a liberal Buddhist priest of an otherwise rather conservative tradition. Often referred as the "Buddhist Yamamoto," he conducts study groups in his small community and has made a noteworthy contribution to liberalism. While his small family temple is not financially prosperous, his Unitarian-Buddhist spirit is tremendous. He met Rev. Imaoka in 1937 and has adopted a free religious path. Rev. Genyu Yamamoto provides a link with devotional Buddhism of the Pure Land school.

Inter-faith Work.

The Japanese Unitarian dispersion into society was reversed in 1948 when a visible liberal community gathered as Kiitsu Kyokai in Tokyo under the pastorate of Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka. Once again a Unitarian group could meet with other faiths. In 1948 the desire for a religious organization more liberal than the Japan Inter-Faith Association led to the founding of the Japan Free Religious Association (Nihon Jiyu Shukyo Renmei). Dr. H. Kishimoto was the first president and Rev. Imaoka was chairman of the Board. In 1954 the Universalist Church in Japan (Dojin Shadan) joined the Japan Free Religious Association.

In 1952 the Japan Free Religion Association was admitted as a non-Christian organization into the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom (IALCRF). In 1964 Rev. Imaoka petitioned the IALCRF to change its name to drop the Christocentric nomenclature. In 1965 after world conferences on religion and peace had been held in Prague and Japan (the Japan Inter-Religious Conference on Peace in May, 1947 and a Round Table Conference on Religion and Peace in 1948 (Homer Jack, *Religion For Peace* (New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1973), p. 1)), an exploratory Religious Leaders' Conference of Peace was held in mid-January at the Church Center for the United Nations, New York. In 1966 the National Inter-Religious Committee on Peace meeting in Washington voted to explore founding a World Inter-Religious Committee on Peace. (Homer Jack, *World Religions and World Peace*

<Boston: Beacon Press, 1968>, p. xi.) In 1978 the Pilot International Inter-Religious Symposium on Peace was held in New Delhi, India with Archbishop Angelo Fernandes as President and Nikkyo Niwano (Rissho Kosei-kai) as an Honorary President. In October 1970 the World Conference on Religion and Peace was held in Kyoto. The WCRP bears a direct lineage from a free and liberal religious tradition which is broader than liberal Christianity. (It is hard not to suspect that liberal -- and Western -- Christianity faced a dilemma: either become more open to Asian liberal religious movements or lose them.)

In the meantime, the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom finally chose to change its name to the International Association for Religious Freedom, a name which is difficult to interpret without sufficient knowledge of the organization's history. Rev. Imaoka has repeatedly called for its name to be the International Association for Free Religion. (See Appendix B).

By 1969 the two international organizations (IARF and WCRP) had expanded beyond liberal Christianity to include religious liberals from Asia. By the end of the seventies one of their number, President Niwano of Rissho Kosei-kai, would be honored with the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion. As the eighties have begun, Japanese liberal religious leadership and financial support are evident in both organizations.

The third phase continues as these great leaders move

their groups along the fragile path of mutual understanding, study, humanitarian service, and the work for peace.

The Arrival of a Fourth Phase

What will happen when all of these leaders have passed from the scene? Will success lead these groups to mind the religious store--to conserve their gains and grow prosperous? It is a general rule in the history of religions that, when a great founder of a religious movement dies, the movement will become more conservative. It will consolidate his/her teachings, limiting the collective possibilities and dogmatizing as *the* standard that which was last accomplished by the founder.

A new generation of internationally trained leaders appear ready to continue a struggle toward religion free of corruption, open to science and appropriate criticism, free of sectarianism and dogmatism -- striving for a more just world, yet critical of injustice and half-measures.

Of this new generation a remarkable number have studied another faith than their own. For instance, a grandson of Rev. Toshio Miyake of Konko Kyo, has studied liberal Christian theology at Doshisha University, as well as Western psychology.

The most ardent international students have been from Rissho Kosei-kai, where younger leaders have gone to Meadville, Starr King, Chicago, Vanderbilt, Harvard, and Oxford, to name but a few institutions where study of Western religion has taken place. Yet, there is lacking a

way of integrating all this learning back into their own tradition. There seems to be little application other than in international meetings. If free and liberal religion is to evolve beyond knowing the basics about one or more of the other traditions in the International Association for Religious Freedom and elsewhere, then a place for advanced study and practice must be created. Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka has envisioned a Center for the Study of World Religions in Japan (modelled a little after Harvard), bringing together students and the world's religious leaders in an environment of study. He once had me ask President Niwano if Rissho Kosei-kai would not build such an institution. Although I did not understand the subtleties of his indirect response, I believe that President Niwano's answer was "maybe."

If one has a tendency to be hopeful, then one can take a single event as prophetic. A study group has begun around two of the younger generation of liberal leaders--Mr. Masumi Goto, head of the International Section of Rissho Kosei-kai, and Rev. Yoshitsugu Konno, of Kiitsu Kyokai (Japanese Unitarian Church) and a teacher at Seisoku High School. Materials have been sent from Dr. Richard Boeke's Unitarian Church of Berkeley, as well as some from the Unitarian Universalist Association, Boston. Dr. Alan Seaburg of Harvard Divinity School Library has sent extra books. That this study group meets in homes after working hours reminds one of the kind of excitement and interest which characterized the first phase of liberal religion in Japan.

REPRESENTATIVE ISSUES

Where have all the liberals gone? Of all the groups which have been touched by

liberal endeavors in the first three phases, why do so few remain? One way to account for the survival of liberal religion in Japan is Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka. Two world wars all but extinguished liberal religion. This is not the place to talk extensively about the susceptibility of liberal and free religion to war (both military and economic). When chauvanism reigns during the time of war, religion that best serves the warring nation is nationalistic, non-reflective religion. Despisers of religion have rightly referred to this as the tribal response. Open-minded questioning and free inquiry can be deemed traitorous and may not be tolerated by a nation at war, if that nation is to acquire the totalitarian powers needed to wage full-scale war on its enemies. The American war in Vietnam is an example of a nation's failure to

demonize fully the enemy, to justify its own actions as righteous (just or righteous war?), and to silence internal criticism (free inquiry, investigative journalism, etc.). It can be certain that other nations will study this process carefully in order to know how to better utilize religion in nationalistic ways. Internationalism, leading to a commitment to peace and justice for the whole planet, is an alien view once war comes. Thus, liberal religion, with its commitment to human justice on a planetary scale and its belief that only through free inquiry can understanding lead to justice, will be susceptible to the process of war. Nationalistic, non-reflective religion is the more easily manipulated by the state because of its notions of group identity -- racial or group purity -- and ideological conformity. All these are useful for a state waging war. So, liberal religion must be weakened by a warring nation when the need to understand one's neighbors is lost to the need to demonize them. (In the current economic climate <1984>, which is not yet an economic war between Japan and the United States, the use of subhuman categories and group characterizations have again begun to appear in the United States and free inquiry and mutual understanding have already been lessened by tribal responses.)

As mentioned above, Rev. Imaoka has been like a lightning-rod, drawing a few exceptional religious leaders and their organizations together. And he has been involved in this process for almost eighty years. Japanese have

taught that liberal religion lasts only with extraordinary discipline, study, insight, and commitment to its principles and practice. The processes of liberation suggest that mankind's latest mental differentiation (self-conscious, reflective reason) is being integrated with emotional, physical (including the kinesthetic sense), and intuitive faculties. This integrative process has not proceeded without a return to earlier unreflective, literalistic modes of living. This dynamic struggle can be illustrated with examples from two of the groups identified with liberating religion in Japan -- Tsubaki Grand Shrine and Rissho Kosei-kai. After briefly noting some intellectual history, each group will be discussed.

Several Representative Issues.

One has only to remember how few generations were needed in New England for liberal religion among Unitarians to become an orthodoxy with dogmatism, creeds, and even intolerance for other points of view. No religious group can afford to lose sight of the struggles in its evolution, or it will surely follow the early fate of American Unitarians and lose some of its young leaders. Recall how Emerson and Abbot formed the Free Religious Association in 1868 because of Unitarian orthodoxy's intolerance. It took American Unitarians four decades to move away from that orthodoxy and acquire an open-ended commitment to liberal religion. This is mentioned to suggest that each group has

a unique struggle arising from its religious type (whether rational Christianity as with early American Unitarianism or devotional Buddhism as with Rissho Kosei-kai or actional Shinto as with Tsubaki Dai Jinja) and from its phenomenological structure (a highly complex set of relations between group and individual structures). (Refer to Appendix C). The continuing necessity for liberating religion to renew itself in each generation may be illustrated by examples from Rissho Kosei-kai and Tsubaki Grand Shrine.

Reformation in Nichiren Buddhism

To indicate the liberalizing forces within Rissho Kosei-kai requires knowledge of its past. Almost forgotten is its connection with faith healing practices of Japanese folk religion, although that is a factor in understanding the depth of spirituality and personal magnetism of President Niwano. His disciplines during that period of his development have equipped him with a practical knowledge of spiritual healing. This means that President Niwano has known another type of religious experience (formally classified as Actional Religion) before his discovery of the fullness of the Lotus Sutra and the completeness of Nichiren Buddhism. (The notion of religious completeness implies exclusivity and a claim of group superiority. It even separates Nichiren Buddhism from other Buddhists by claiming for itself a preeminence that begs hubris.)

Partly because of this two-part religious path which combined faith healing and devotion to the Buddha as taught in the Lotus Sutra, President Niwano did not become a narrow sectarian follower of the Lotus Sutra and a dogmatic disciple of Nichiren Buddhism. He had to combine Buddhist teachings with the experience of the *kaei* and some of the earlier disciplines of the movement. When Soka Gakkai (another sect of Nichiren Buddhism) charged through the national press that Rissho Kosei-kai was not true Buddhism, President Niwano avoided a fraternal fight over which group was the true representative of Nichiren and sought a more international way of expressing his faith. (I do not want to be misunderstood; these are words of high praise for a man I deeply respect.) President Niwano did not lead Rissho Kosei-kai along the path of Buddhist fundamentalism—authoritarian, practicing radical displacement of all opposing views (*shakubuku*). Instead he accepted the advice of Rev. Imaoka and ignored the Soka Gakkai criticism and did not compete with them to see who was the "pure" or true Buddhism. He began walking a path which has led to worldwide recognition of his service to humanity.

President Niwano may be compared with John Wesley as a reformer of Japanese Buddhism, having begun the road to transcend its more narrow confines and risking new paths of dialogue and understanding. Yet, Rissho Kosei-kai's slowness to understand the strength of a non-exclusive faith has cost Rissho Kosei-kai the chance to be a leader in the

Buddhist world. The claim that the Lotus Sutra is primary for one's own faith does not entail a claim that it must be so for all other Buddhists. It does not help in Buddhist circles to claim that the Lotus Sutra contains the highest teachings of the Buddha. A more reflective faith may lead Rissho Kosei-kai to a liberating message which will revitalize Buddhism while gaining a hearing in the Buddhist world and beyond for the particular depth to be gained by devotion to the Lotus Sutra.

Reformation in Shrine Shinto

The visits of J.F.T. Mason and Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka to Tsubaki Dai Jinja in the 1930's created a link between liberal concerns and the Yamamotos. The elder Chief Priest Yamamoto resisted the militarist use of Shrine Shinto and was jailed as a pacifist. With the death of his father, Rev. Yukitaka Yamamoto became the 96th Chief Priest of Tsubaki. But after World War II no worshippers came and the shrine was without support. For a period of eight years, Yamamoto practiced austerities, especially *misogi* (ritual bathing in the temple waterfall at midnight every night of the year). Finally, worshippers returned and he began rebuilding a major shrine. He evidenced signs and powers common to actional religion -- such as faith healing, mental telepathy, precognition. (These are not subjects with which many liberal religionists are comfortable or usually know much about. But much scientific inquiry is being done

in this area of experience (cf. Charles Tart, Julian Jaynes, and the thrust of the Association of Transpersonal Psychology)). Nevertheless, Rev. Yamamoto has emerged as a major liberalizing force in Shrine Shinto.

What may seem like a simple thing, teaching foreigners about Shinto, has turned a Shinto priest who was once scorned as a *yamabushi* (a mountain Shaman) into the Martin Luther of Shrine Shinto. When he asks foreign visitors to participate in the rituals of Shinto, he often challenges his own tradition directly on the matter of ritual purity. When he, or other Shinto priests practicing liberating religion, invite a foreigner into a ritually pure area of the temple complex, they are opening Shinto's much more narrow views of purity (even racial purity) to new practice and understanding.

Rev. Yamamoto has called for a committee to give formal theological expression to Shinto. But he did something far more revolutionary. He brought Casey Flaherty over to Japan. This young California Unitarian studied Shinto at a Shinto seminary with the intention of becoming a Shinto priest and a Unitarian minister. Rebuffed by Shinto University and some of the major Shinto Shrine seminaries, Rev. Yamamoto finally persuaded Atsuta Shrine Seminary to allow Casey to study there. Even though Casey did not finish the two year program, a foreigner was brought into the locus of Shinto's purification symbology. Even though Casey was never allowed at Atsuta Jinja to go beyond certain

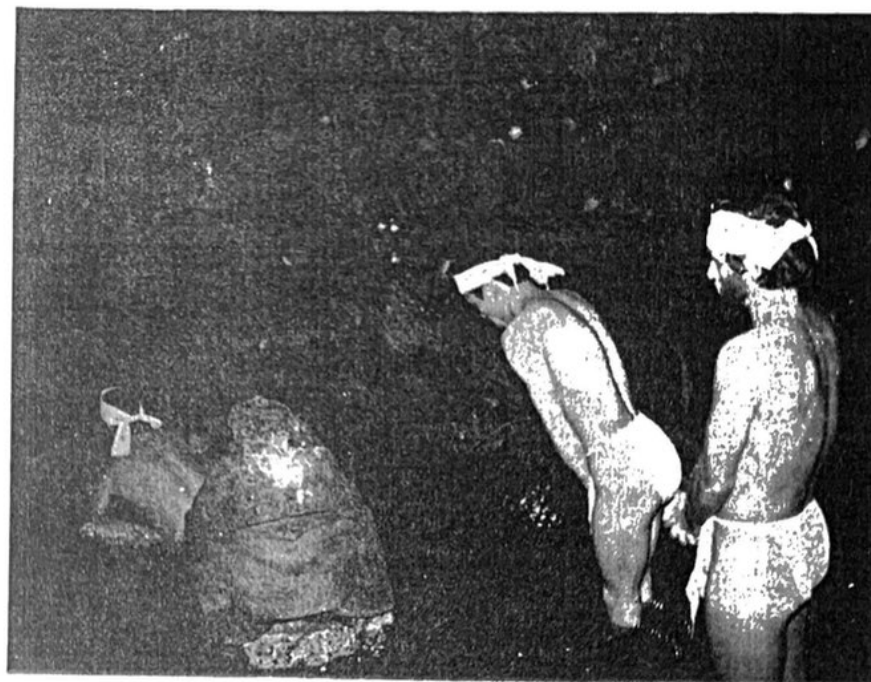
points forbidden to the impure, the issue of racial impurity has been raised at the heart of Shinto. Each day Casey trained at Atsuta brought new restrictions on his participation in Shinto ritual-- because he was a foreigner he was impure.

The issues have been joined between the reformation wing of Shrine Shinto and the more traditional shrines. Why is a foreigner impure even when he is studying to be a Shinto priest? Is there no purification in traditional Shrine Shinto adequate to purify a foreigner? When you go to Tsubaki in Suzuka or Teppozu in Tokyo and you are invited to participate in all rituals, even encouraged to stand in specially pure spaces, you are being involved in the liberalization of Shrine Shinto. These are revolutionary acts which mark a reformation of both how Shinto is to be conceived and how it will be practiced. Yet, there is a major difference in comparing Rev. Yamamoto's career with Luther; Rev. Yamamoto has recently received the highest rank of the Shinto priesthood, which would be like having made Martin Luther a Cardinal.

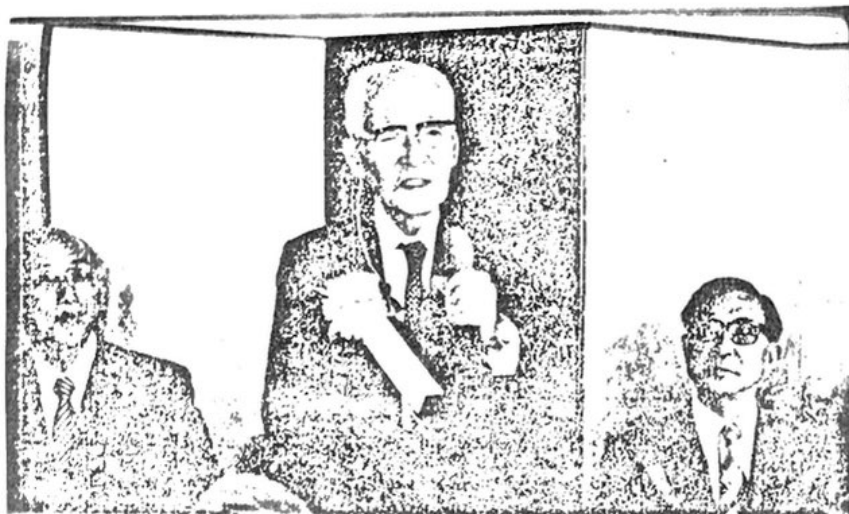
A Broader Reformation

These two examples could be matched by what is happening in each of the groups mentioned, but to spell that out goes beyond the scope of this study. What is being suggested is that a religious reformation is occurring in modern Japan and that it is developing within the context of

Japan's culture, its history, and its way of valuing life. But despite all of the expressions which make it Japanese, there are universal factors which make these developments significant for all interested in a freer, more realized humanity. Liberating (free) religion must be understood by each generation (and each culture) in terms of its own particular history and struggle or it will not be free to reach new possibilities.



Author and priests of Tsubaki Grand Shrine doing *misogi* in the winter of 1978/9.



Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka (1881 -) at his 100th birthday celebration with Rev. Niwano, president, IARF (left) and Prof. Akashi, president, Japan Free Religious Association (right). Rev. Imaoka is still an active Unitarian minister. Besides speaking once a month at Ki Itsu Kyokai, he is currently involved in a national radio series and had been interviewed on several hour long educational television programs.



Prof. K. Yanagawa (chairman, Department of Religious Studies, Tokyo University) and Rev. N. Niwano (Rissho Kosei-Kai, IARF), talking together at Rev. Imaoka's birthday. Will academic study of religion and liberal devotional Buddhism be integrated in the fourth phase of the reformation in Japan?

THE TASK AHEAD

If mutual understanding of the world's faiths is taken seriously, then an Asian

Institute for the Advancement of Free Religion must be undertaken. Only Rissho Kosei-kai has the resources by itself to do this. But how much better would it be if an educational institution to train future leaders of all liberal and free perspectives were supported by as many groups as possible.

Education will be a key for the future of liberal religion in Japan. Secular freedom will continue to cause a "brain drain" for all religious groups. Liberal education and liberating religion must be found in harmony or the only religious positions which survive will be sectarian, non-reflective, and hopelessly narrow.

The search for liberal spirits in traditional, sectarian religion must continue. Some of the distinctions between liberal and conservative religion no longer make

sense. Already both Roman Catholicism and the World Council of Churches have adopted inter-religious dialogue (mutual understanding and cooperation?) as a central activity. If this practice leads to understanding, then religious conflict and strife should be lessened. As Martin Luther King taught, "men of good will" must work together for peace and justice (human, economic, etc.). This work does not suddenly stop when nationalistic concerns produce tension and conflict.

The selection for the first Niwano Peace Prize of Archbishop Camara of Brazil illustrates the necessity for "networking" with all persons of good will. When a Buddhist prize for peace goes to a Roman Catholic, something noteworthy is happening. Old categories which pit liberal against conservative no longer adequately describe what is actually taking place as a religious reformation continues. One of this reformation's chief characteristics is a commitment to the power of freedom—a freedom which liberates from injustice, inhumanity, et cetera and a freedom to life, hope, and possibility. Liberating religion depends more than any other form of spirituality upon liberated persons, disciplined in some particular faith and practice but open to and ever learning from alternative paths.

APPENDIX A UNITARIANS AND FREE INQUIRY

Excerpts from an essay written for Rissho Kosei-kai trying to identify the nature of Unitarianism and its contribution to religious freedom.

How can religious groups overcome differences of culture, language and history plus an even more difficult one -- differences in religious experience. By differences in religious experience one thinks of what is uniquely Buddhist in *hoza* and what is uniquely Unitarian in radical inquiry— even fearless examination of sacred beliefs and practices.

Unitarians and Western History

To understand Unitarians one must first know something about European and American history. Unitarians were at the forefront of the scientific revolution which totally changed Western society beginning in the 17th Century. This revolution brought an end to feudalism by breaking the triple authoritarianism of feudal lords, feudal Christianity, and the mixture of medieval religious beliefs and superstitions. Science, as we know it today, required a

freedom of mind to question all previous answers about nature and discard superstitions. That way of questioning spilled over onto Europe's majority religion — Christianity. Its dogmas included a faith in a triune God (the doctrine of the Trinity), a virgin birth of the son of God to a Jewish woman, a resurrection of that son after death by Roman crucifixion, creation of the world in seven days, and so on. These beliefs are not self-evident and certainly not universal, so they were maintained by a state of non-questioning. Science began to develop in Europe only through the process of doubting old teachings. Scientists like Priestly (discoverer of oxygen), Newton (laws of gravity), and a score of others demanded freedom of mind in religion as in science. They were early Unitarians and contributed to Western civilization and its development of scientific freedom to question old ideas and discover new knowledge about nature and life. Free religion and science developed side by side.

Two Ingredients

In Western civilization the drive for rational freedom has not always been balanced with personal discipline and responsibility to family, society and life itself. This drive forced many to view religion and science as opposed. Unitarianism was founded with an idea that true religion and science were not opposed. Unitarians taught that free human beings should combine two essential ingredients: free, questioning minds and a personal faith of discipline and

study, not just of Christian truths but also of the principles of all other religions as well. Free religion is more than any single particular religion. Yet one is most likely to become free through the discipline and teachings of a particular liberal religion. This is the reason why Unitarians do not attempt to convert others. Unitarians gladly worked with persons of other faiths to help them achieve their goals. Unitarians wanted Buddhists or Hindus or others to be a free Buddhist or a free Hindu rather than becoming another Unitarian. It is part of the Unitarian view that this would happen naturally when each learned from the faith of the other.

Social and Personal Morality

Western culture came to stress the idea of individuality. But what has been forgotten in the West is that individuality had been linked to a moral, disciplined life. Positively, this development of individuality called for an inquiring mind and, when joined with free religion, a moral courage responsive to life. This new conception of a thinking, moral individual engaged in working for the progress of humanity produced an extraordinary new religion in Europe and America—Unitarianism. Negatively, when free inquiry and the capacity to doubt anything was not joined with the disciplined life of liberal religion, a selfish, secular individualism resulted with its demands for "freedom to do one's own thing," to do whatever one pleased.

Possibly the most difficult thing for Japanese to

understand is Western morality or ethics. Japanese, and many other Asian cultures, relate the person to the higher morality of the group, while Westerners attempt to teach morality by developing a responsible individual. The Western need is to educate and free the individual so that, as a free individual, one can choose the proper thing to do. Japanese culture places morality not in the individual but in society, so the solution to morality is very different. There can be much fruitful discussion of the advantages Unitarianism and Buddhism each have in their different experience of freedom because of the different ways each approaches ethical decisions.

A Scientific Faith

Unitarians and Rissho Kosei-kai Buddhists both arrive at a scientific faith, yet each arrives from a different path. Unitarians follow a rational path, often opposing devotional Christianity and many of its ancient beliefs. For them knowledge is proximate and can only be adequate to what is now known. But it is open to what may yet be discovered. Unitarianism has had to fight for rational freedom from irrational beliefs. Its commitment to truth has placed it at odds with some very cherished beliefs of traditional Christianity, such as a belief in an error free Bible, the literal words of God. But mindless acceptance of ancient formulas is not free religion or good science.

Thus, Unitarianism became a home for explorers and questioners. It called together those who were committed to

a better world and were willing to work for it. Its watchword was a love of humanity and a desire to work for the good of all mankind. So a new kind of faith emerged in Europe and America--different from that of devotional Christianity which did not trust the use of reason and freedom to call superstitions into question. Unitarianism had become suspect in the 16th through 18th Centuries and was even actively persecuted. Finally, religious freedom became the law in Western Europe and America. In 19th and 20th Century Europe and America Unitarianism became the refuge for scientists and free thinkers who did not separate religion and human inquiry. This led to a valuing of more and more education, resulting in the interesting statistic that Unitarians are the most educated religious group in America or Europe. Unitarians have the highest number of earned doctorates--from nuclear physics to medicine, from philosophy to astronomy. This gives Unitarianism the appearance of being the religion of professors and scientists. The intellectual aspect of Unitarians makes their quest for freedom of inquiry a religious expression which is small but influential.

The rise of nationalism throughout the world has weakened liberal and free religion. Unitarianism and others influenced the growth of liberal and free religious thought and practice in Japan. The continuation of that light in Japan may soon depend upon an awareness of many others of its nature and worth.



J. W. T. Mason visited Shinto Shrines with Rev. S. Imaoka, including Tsubaki and Teppozu Shrines, attempting to understand and write about Shinto mythology. When he died in New York his body was returned to Japan to be buried in Tokyo.

APPENDIX B
FROM RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
TO FREE RELIGION

Address delivered by Rev. Shinichiro Imaoka at the Worship Service of the national meeting of the Japan Association for Free Religion, October 30, 1983. Translated from Japanese by Bill and Betty Parker, English-speaking Unitarian Fellowship of Tokyo.

"Next year <1984> there will be a meeting in Japan of the IARF, which is rendered in English as The International Association for Religious Freedom. However, we are not translating this name into Japanese literally, as given above, but as 'The International Association for Free Religion.' Our theme today is whether the English title should be changed to conform to the English translation of our Japanese title, that is, using 'for Free Religion' instead of 'for religious freedom.'

"The original English title refers to 'Freedom of Religion,' not to 'Free Religion' but to the search for religious freedom and freedom of religious faith, and also to freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of abode. Freedom of religion means that you must not be bound to any particular religion -- Christianity, Buddhism,

Shintoism. So freedom of faith is freedom of religion. Of course, this is fine.

"But for our religious groups, it is not enough to have an organization simply for religious freedom without reference to religion itself. Freedom of religion is only one aspect of free religion. I have always said this must be an organization for religion itself and not just for one aspect, freedom of faith. That is why from the outset we did not translate the English title literally into Japanese and we called the IARF the IAFR. At the meetings which will be held in Tokyo next summer <1984>, we must insist that the name of the organization formally be changed to the IAFR. Because we have this fundamental problem, I have made this the subject of today's talk.

"We believe in everyone's right to believe whatever he wishes, but this alone is not enough to be the theme for the conference. As you know, the IARF was established 80 years ago in the year 1900, in Boston, with the initial name of The International Association of the Unitarian and Other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers. It was founded as a Unitarian group. But at the second meeting in 1907, the name was changed to The Congress of Religious Liberals. Then in 1910, in Berlin, the name was changed to The International Congress of Free Christianity and Religious Progress. In 1932, in Switzerland, it was changed to The International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom. Since that time, the abbreviation 'IARF'

has been used. The word 'Christianity' was specifically included to supplant the word 'Unitarian' in the original title, and to include all Christianity.

"At Boston in 1969, the word 'Christianity' was deleted, largely because of our efforts. It was good to remove the word 'Christianity,' but then the title was reduced to only The International Association for Religious Freedom. It was because the word 'Christianity' was deleted that such Shinto and Buddhist groups as Rissho Koseikai, Konkokyo, Tsubaki Jinja and Teppozu Inari Shrine could join the IARF. That was fine, but we feel there is something missing in just having an Association for Religious Freedom. Religion itself should be the essential concern. Of course, the movement for world peace is also necessary. It is also important to avoid criticism and attacks on other religious groups. But these things alone are not enough to be the aims of our organization. The WCRP, World Conference for Religion and Peace is mainly dedicated to world peace. The Rissho Koseikai and other groups in Japan support this movement. That's fine, but the transformation of a religious movement into a peace movement poses problems. International peace is very important and we must oppose world conflict. But as a religious association we cannot have peace as our sole objective. Peace is most important. We must work together for peace. But is it enough just to have peace? We do not want to confuse the IARF with the WCRP and have the IARF become a shadow of the WCRP.

"That is why I have made the theme of my talk to you today the change 'From Freedom of Religion to Free Religion.'

"So what is free religion? Free religion is not a religion that was newly created. Unlike Buddhism, Christianity and Shinto, it was not established as a new religion. It is a religion that exists only through self-awareness and self-realization. I do not intend to organize a new religion to oppose existing religions. Nor do I intend to combine all existing religions into one to make a new religion. The nature of man is free, pure and universal. So free religion is manifest in the self-awareness and self-realization of the individual.

"Existing religions originally had the same object as free religion does today. But they failed to accomplish their purpose. Religious conflict is understandable, and the objective of free religion is not just to have peaceful coexistence among religions.

"In the past, there have been all kinds of special religions. I do not intend to unite these religions under the banner of free religion. All religion is nothing but the self-awareness and self-realization of the individual. Even those things that are considered secular, like politics, economic activity, the labor movement and education, are all expressions of human self-awareness and self-realization, and so are free religion. Human life in its entirety is religion.

"Gandhi said to the American and English missionaries, 'We need bread, no missionaries. Many people are dying from hunger. Bread, not missionaries!' Recalling Gandhi's words, I want to say there is something more important than bread, or missionaries, or Christianity. Religion. Religion is present in bread and in economic activity. In Japan we had the case of Rinnoji Temple and Toshogu Shrine fighting for many decades. Finally, the courts settled this dispute which the Shintoist and Buddhists could not settle themselves. I believe that the court decision went beyond Shinto and Buddhism. If law, economic activity and politics involve human self-awareness and self-realization, then they are religion. We must think of religion as having a broad and profound meaning.

"Friedrich Nietzsche surprised the Christian world by announcing that God is dead. I think it may be better to say that the God who created heaven and earth and all things is dead. Human beings are indeed heaven and earth and God, if we have to use the word 'God.'

"Milton said in *Paradise Lost* -- 'Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven.' As long as a human being is independent, he should not be a slave to anybody, even to god. He should be free. Better king of the underworld than somebody's slave.

"I believe this must be the attitude of the believer in free religion. As you read in my *Statement of Faith*, there is no mention of God. It is a creed without a god. I

have faith in self, in other people, in society. There is no god in my creed. However, if one believes that the universe is religion, then if it is necessary to use the word 'God,' I see no objection. Then man is God, society is God and the universe is God.

"The founder of Konkokyo, Kawate Bunjiro, pointed out that the kami is dependent on the adherents and the adherents are dependent on the kami. It is understandable how the adherents are dependent on the kami, but it is not clear how the kami is dependent on the adherents unless one realizes that the founder meant that the kami and the adherents are inter-dependent. This can be interpreted as meaning that God depends on the believers and the believers should be worthy of this regard.

"We Japanese say that to show respect one should bow. When you borrow something from somebody you should bow. When you admire something you should bow. Writing a letter to someone is a kind of bowing. No matter what you do you should bow while you are doing it. In this way we bow and we are bowed to. God did not create the universe where there was nothing. When you go to a religious school there is the difficult subject of the theory of the one and only God, and they try to prove the existence of God based on this theory. But we are not talking about such a difficult concept, just about bowing when you write a letter and when you look at something. People are very incomplete but they have the capacity to show mutual respect by bowing to each

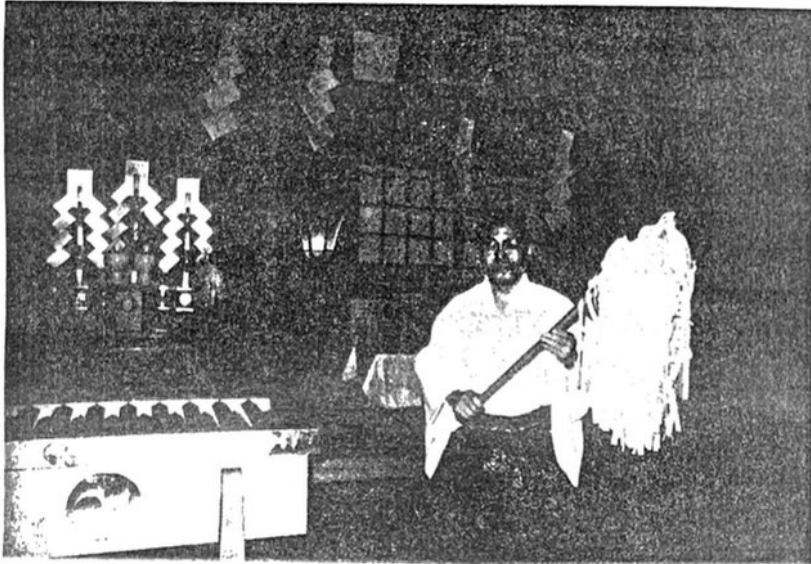
other. Creative humanity manifesting universal freedom is God. We are trying to build a cooperative society in which we bow to such a God and bow to each other.

"We do not always act with subjectivity. With self-realization this universe is God -- it is paradise. We become gods and paradise. I think religion must be like this.

"Free religion is not merely the freedom of religion or religious freedom, and not just getting along with each other. Of course it is fine to have a religious peace movement -- but that alone is not enough. There is something beyond peace. Even with peace we will have problems. After the peace there will be conflict. Each new day brings struggle.

"Therefore, free religion is bowing to each other, joining each other in vigorously promoting the progress without limit of our universe."

--Rev. Shinichiro Inaoka



Rev. Yukitaka Yamamoto, shown at Tsubaki Grand Shrine. His enthusiasm for teaching foreigners about Shinto has involved him in expanding its practices and searching out its deeper beliefs.



Rev. Benyu Yamamoto, Buddhist priest of Soseji Temple in Kameoka. In this quiet mountain town a remarkable person combines worship, study and social concern.

APPENDIX C VARIETY OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

This essay attempts to summarize my work in the phenomenology of religious experience.

After centuries of misunderstandings between religions, it has become folk wisdom that persons of one religion cannot understand adherents of another. Buddhist cannot understand Christian. Christian cannot understand Muslim. Muslim cannot understand Jew. But even more seriously, misunderstanding happens within traditions. Christians are divided so that Christians cannot easily understand each other. And that is true for Buddhist, Muslim, and Jew as well. Why is it that the many religious traditions represented in the International Association for Religious Freedom are so hopeful that avenues toward understanding may soon be found? Why do Rissho Kosei-kai Buddhists and Unitarians (as well as other members of International Association for Religious Freedom) look forward with such optimism to the Tokyo Congress.

Many centuries ago it was noted that there are different types of people who experience life in general

patterns known as *samskaras* (in Sanskrit, "differing tendencies"). In India these differences were classified as four different spiritual paths or *margas* which were appropriate for a particular type of personality. Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) referred to this classification of personality and the corresponding variety of spiritual paths in his works. Carl Jung learned of these four ways of experiencing life from India, but also from Chinese alchemy as well as Western alchemical personality theories. Modern neurophysiology speaks of a least four neurological structures or systems in the human brain that organize and make sense of all stimuli; these structures could correspond to the four *margas*—the rational, emotional, actional, and intuitive centers of human experience. These different ways of knowing and experiencing the world seem to come about as one system is utilized as the primary or major structure of the personality. If one center of experience does not become the final arbiter of all the other structures of experience, then "conclusions" from the emotional, the rational, the intuitive, and the actional/physical neurological systems would compete within the individual and no single "ego" would be possible. The person would be divided—schizophrenic, purposeless, etc. Yet centering in one way of knowing and using it to decide what is most valuable in life has its price. Different religious traditions have differing methods for dealing with the unified "ego." But if the ego's role is forgotten too

quickly because it is "constructed" (one meaning of the *anatman* doctrine in Buddhism), we may not notice that our initial religious tendencies are linked to our "ego" pattern, our personality, and its way of valuing life-experiences and defending itself against threat. According to this view, all human valuing must eventually favor one of these neurological centers. This process produces a specific personality type or pattern. It is not surprising that organized religions tend to favor one structure more than the others, and, more importantly, bring like-minded persons together. A religion helps persons to experience the sacred, the most important, the ultimate, according to one of the structures of perception—the rational, emotional, intuitive, actional (or various mixtures of these). Too often, our group's religious path is experienced as *the* avenue of the holy, the sacred, the true. All other avenues of perception are valued in a way that they do not contradict our primary method of experience. There are many more implications than this. But one is that those who experience life as meaningful, sacred, according to one human structure or tendency are not contradicted when another person or another type of religious experience discovers life to be meaningful and holy but by a different path or pattern of experiencing life.

Even before there could be much understanding between persons of different religious traditions, it had been

thought that there must be understanding and appreciation within one religious tradition. The Christian Ecumenical Movement was based on such a premise--hoping that understanding would lead to Christian unity. This idea has brought about much *intra-religious* or *intra-denominational dialogue*: dialogue between varying schools or sects of Buddhism, or conversations among different Christian denominations. But recently we have advanced to *inter-religious dialogue*, dialogue between adherents of world religions, and we are involved in a task which can be greatly aided by a better "map" of the varieties of religious experience. (At this moment such a "map" has not been fully completed, but a tentative one can be utilized.) Buddhists and Christians have long recognized in their conversations among their own groups that often surprising differences exist. A follower of the way of Zen differs in method from the practitioners of Pure Land. A Japanese Buddhist scholar-priest who translates early Sanskrit texts of the *Abhidharma Pitika* and engages in the dialectical methods of inquiry, study, and exposition follows a seemingly strange path to enlightenment from a Zen perspective. But Buddhism seldom insists that one follow only one path. If, for example, an individual feels the need to meditate, he or she simply goes to a Zen master and practices *zazen*, while remaining a Pure Land Buddhist. Parts of one's spiritual life may be strengthened without fear of losing anything. This lesson from Buddhism is most

valuable to remember as we continue *inter-religious dialogue*.

This sketchy "map" of the variety of religious experience will suggest different spiritual patterns, the reason various religious groups favor different spiritual exercises or methods, and the strengths these practices tend to engender. The examples will be chosen from Japanese religions.

RELIGIOUS TYPES

Religious Pattern	Japanese Example	Spiritual Methods	Strengths
Mystical (intuitive)	Zen	zazen koan	silencing the thinking mind
Cognitive (rational)	Buddhist scholar-priests	study of scriptures exposition	strengthening reason to know Buddha nature
Devotional (emotional)	Rissho Kosei-kai	devotion hoza service	receiving gift salvation thru Lotus Sutra
Actional (physical)	Shinto	rituals purifications (<i>misogi</i>)	knowing Kami though right actions

What is important about this map is that it should touch our

imagination and suggest what we already knew—that misunderstandings between Buddhists or between Christians are not surprising at all. A few words in each column will not even begin to represent the wealth of religious experience of these traditions. If our imagination is empowered by the notion of a variety of religious experience and expression, then sharing begins with particular experiences in particular traditions.

Those who experience the sacred or holy through love and grace are Devotional Buddhists, Christians, or Jews. Risshō Kōsei-kai is most centered in the devotional area. It was partly a reaction to the Tokugawa Buddhism which utilized the rational, scholastic exploration of the Buddha nature, that Risshō Kōsei-kai and other Devotional Buddhist groups appeared this century. Rational Buddhism was found wanting, at least for millions of Japanese. They could not experience the Buddha nature in all of us using the rational processes as the primary religious method. What makes it so extraordinary that Unitarians and Risshō Kōsei-kai Buddhists are coming together is that Unitarians had just the opposite experience. It was over against Devotional Christianity, that Unitarianism arose to meet the needs of those who were centered in rational, thinking processes. When Devotional Christianity was perceived as opposing inquiries of modern science, becoming more and more dogmatic, Unitarians emerged in recent centuries centered in a type of rational Christianity. As the centuries have passed Unitarians have

become more of a religious mixture with small portions of mystical and actional (social concern, civil rights, etc.) experience tempering the rational. But American Unitarians have been least able to bring Devotional Christianity into this mixture. They have been suspicious of any exclusive devotion to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour of the universe. In fact, it is easier for many American Unitarians to be Unitarian and Buddhist than to be Unitarian and Devotional Christian. Devotional Christianity has not looked kindly upon Unitarians, partly because of its fear of the use of reason and partly because of the belief that Unitarians deny the true doctrine of the nature of Christ. Thus, Unitarians have been basically uncomfortable with and cut off from their Devotional Christian cousins. This has even forced some Unitarians to deny that they are Christians—if a Christian is only one who believes in a personal being ("God") who loves some and saves them to heaven and punishes others and sends them to hell. Even though only a small percentage of Christians worldwide hold these extreme views, a large enough number are found in the United States for American Unitarians to have reacted against "fundamentalism." For some Unitarians it is easier to abandon Christianity and follow a more universal path, than to fight with fundamentalist Christians over what is truly Christian. Even European Unitarians do not understand how some American Unitarians would abandon Christianity. This "far left-wing" of American Unitarianism is not very

comfortable with the European Unitarian who insists on being Christian—even if it is some type of religion other than devotional Christianity.

Now one can see the enormity of this moment when Devotional (and its experiential mixtures of Devotional-mystical and Devotional-actional) Risshi Kosei-Kai Buddhists and Rational (and its mixtures) Unitarians come together to explore the meaningfulness of life and to affirm its possibilities at the 1984 Tokyo Congress of the International Association for Religious Freedom. Each tradition has a history of having difficulty in understanding parts of their traditions. Rissho Kosei-kai does not seem to have given primary emphasis to rational and scholarly forms of Buddhist philosophy and psychology. (For this reason, it forfeits some of its leadership in the Buddhist world. A faith of universal dimensions must be encompass all the forms of its own tradition -- and for Rissho Kosei-kai, this would entail a stronger intellectual Buddhist component.) Unitarians seem to have all but lost the rich devotional heritage of traditional Christianity. Their problem is just the opposite of Rissho Kosei-kai -- the emotional and personal aspect of life has become suspect as an organizing basis for purpose and meaning.

Each of the more than twenty-five groups in the International Association for Religious Freedom will need to be viewed according to their spiritual tendencies and what

they each may share. This world body arrives at the 1984 Tokyo Congress at a time of significant religious change. The Religious Reformation in Japan has significance for more than liberal religions. In a time of growing distrust for any religious belief or practice, religious reformation is both a reaction to and an initiative in the present moment -- a moment in history which from some points of view is the only moment.

SUGGESTED READINGS IN ENGLISH

A. GENERAL BACKGROUND

- Anesaki, Masaharu. *History of Japanese Religion*. London: Kegan Paul, 1930.
- Bellah, Robert N. *Tokugawa Religion*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970.
- Earhart, H. Byron. *Japanese Religion: Unity and Diversity*. Encino, Ca.: Dickenson Publishing Co., 1974.
- Kishimoto, Hideo, editor. *Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era*. tr. by John F. Howes. Tokyo: Obunsha, 1956.
- Kitagawa, Joseph M. *Religion in Japanese History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

B. NEW RELIGIONS (SO CALLED)

- Ellwood, Robert S., Jr. *The Eagle and the Rising Sun*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974.
- Kitagawa, Joseph M. and Miller, Alan L., editors. *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- McFarland, H. Neill. *The Rush Hour of the Gods*. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.
- Thomsen, Harry. *The New Religions of Japan*. Tokyo and Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1963.

Rissho Kosei-kai (Representative Works)

- Niwano, Nikkyo. *A Buddhist Approach to Peace*. Trans. by Masuo Nezu. Tokyo: Kosei Publishing, 1977.
- Niwano, Nikkyo. *Buddhism for Today: A Modern Interpretation of the Threefold Lotus Sutra*. Trans. by Bunno Kato et al. Tokyo: Kosei Publishing, 1976.
- Niwano, Nikkyo. *Lifetime Beginner: An Autobiography*. Trans. by Richard L. Gage. Tokyo: Kosei Publishing, 1978.

Itto En

- Tenko-san. *A New Road to Ancient Truth*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1969.

Konko Kyo

- (Miyai, Katsumi, et. al.) *Konko Daijin: A Biography*. San Francisco: Konko Churches of America, 1981.
- Schneider, Delwin B. *Konkokyo*. Tokyo: International Institute for the Study of Religions Press, 1962.

C. SHINTO

- Ono, Sokyo. *Shinto: The Kami Way*. Rutland, Vt. & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962.
- Phillipi, Donald L., trans. *Norito: A New Translation of the Ancient Japanese Ritual Prayers*. Tokyo: The Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics, Kokugakuin University, 1959.
- Shinto Committee for the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, *Basic Terms of Shinto*. Tokyo: The Association of Shinto Shrines, 1958.

D. JAPANESE UNITARIANISM

- Imaoka, Shinichiro. *Jinsei Hyaku-nen Nokuji*. (A Life for One Hundred Years. Includes several essays in English) Tokyo: Japan Free Religious Association, 1983.
- Woodrooffe, Kenneth S. *What is Religion About?* Tokyo: Tokyo Unitarian Church, 1982.

MacCauley Collection

(Representative materials, either in Harvard or Graduate Theological Union libraries)

- MacCauley, Clay. *The Religious Problem in Japan: How to solve it?* Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1893.
- MacCauley, C. *The Unitarian Mission in Japan*. Tokyo: Shinkokumachi, 1909.
- MacCauley, C. *Memories and Memorials*. Tokyo: Fukuin Printing, 1914. 781 pages.
- Murai, Tomoyoshi. *The Unitarian Movement in Japan*. Boston: Ellis, 1900.
- n.a. *The Unitarian Movement in Japan: Sketches in the lives and religious work of ten representative Japanese*. Tokyo: Nihon Unitarian Kyokai, 1900.
- Senkin, Ichigo, trans. *Passages from Emerson's Writings*. n.p., n.d.

E. JAPANESE UNIVERSALISM

- Keirn, G. I. *1890-1915: Twenty-five Years of the Universalist Japan mission*. Tokyo: n.p., 1915.
- Rugg, Henry W., ed. *Our Word and Work for Missions*. Boston: Universalist Publishing House, 1894.
- Seaburg, Carl. *Dojin Means All People*. Boston: Universalist Historical Society, 1978.

F. RELIGION AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

See these representative Journals:

- Dharma World*.
The Japan Christian Quarterly.
Japanese Journal of Religious Studies.
Japanese Religions.

G. LIBERAL EDUCATION IN JAPAN

- Kiyooka, Eiichi, trans. *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1981.
 Kiyooka, Eiichi, ed. & trans. *Birth of the University Section in Keio Bijukus from New Materials found in Harvard University*. Tokyo: Keio University, 1983.

H. LIBERALISM, LIBERAL AND FREE RELIGION

- Mansfield, Harvey C., Jr. *The Spirit of Liberalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
 Persons, Stow. *Free Religion*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.

INDEX

- Abe, Isso -- 20, 22, 24
 actional religion -- 38, 40, 65-69
 actional religious experience -- 65-69
 Akashi, Michio -- 28
 Akashi, Shigetaro -- 28
 American Unitarian Association -- 24
 anatman -- 63
 Anesaki, Masaharu -- 11, 20, 24, 27
 Asian Institute for the Advancement of Free Religion
 (see also, Center for Study of World Religions) -- 33, 45
 Association Concordia (Ki Itsu Kyo Kai) -- 22
 Atsuta Jinja Seminary -- 41
 Barrows, John H. -- 21
 Bellah, Robert -- 12
 Center for Study of World Religions (Tokyo) -- 34
 cognitional religious experience -- 65-69
 Congress of Japanese Religionists -- 22
 devotional Buddhism -- 38-40, 64-69
 devotional Christianity -- 66-69
 devotional religious experience -- 38, 65-69
 dialogue (interfaith, inter-religious) -- 21, 25, 27, 44, 64,
 Doshisha University -- 16, 33 65
 education -- 24, 45-46, 56
 ego -- 62
 Emerson, Ralph W. -- 20, 37
 faith healing -- 30, 38, 40
 Flaherty, Casey -- 41
 free inquiry -- 7, 21, 35, 36, 47-51
 free religion (see also, *Jiyu Shukyo*) -- 11, 49, 53-59
 Free Religious Association -- 21, 37
 Friendly Society (*Yuaikai*) -- 24
 Fukuzawa, Yukichi -- 15, 20
 German Liberal Christian Mission -- 15, 19
 Imaoka, Kenichiro -- 21
 Imaoka, Shinichiro -- 8, 9, 11, 20, 24, 27-29, 31, 33-36, 40,
 53-59
 International Association for Free Religion -- 53-59
 International Association for Liberal Christianity and
 Religious Freedom (first IARF) -- 31, 32, 54
 International Association for Religious Freedom -- 8, 11, 20,
 29, 34, 54-59, 61, 68
 International Association of the Unitarian and Other
 Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers -- 8
 International Congress of Religious Liberals -- 23, 55
 internationalism -- 36
 Itto-En -- 28
 Japan Free Religious Association -- (also Japan Association
 for Free Religion) 8, 11, 23, 28, 31, 53
 Japan Inter-Faith Association (Nihon Shukyo Konwa
 Kai) -- 23, 29, 30,
 Japan Inter-Religious Conference on Peace, 1947 -- 31
 Japan Three Religions Conference (Nihon Shukyo Kai-Gi) -- 23
 Japanese Unitarian Church (see Ki Itsu Kyokai)

Jaynes, Julian -- 41
Jiyu Shukyo (free religion) -- 9, 53-59
 Kawate, Bunjiro -- 58
 Keio University -- 15, 20
 Ki Itsu Kyokai (also Japanese Unitarian Church, Tokyo) -- 6,
 9, 14, 21, 31, 34
 Kishimoto, Hideo -- 11, 20, 22, 31
 Kiyooka, Eiichi -- 11, 20
 Konko Kyo -- 30, 33, 55, 58
 labor movement -- 24, 56
 MacCauley, Clay -- 13, 15, 17-20
 Mason, Joseph W. T. -- 24, 28, 40
 Michishige, Shikyo -- 23
Misogi -- 40
 Miyake, Toshio -- 8, 30, 33
 mystical religious experience -- 65-69
 Nakagawa, Masamitsu -- 24
 New Religions -- 5-6, 56
Nihon Jiyu Shukyo Renzei (see Japan Free Religious
 Association)
 Niwano, Nikkyo -- 8, 29-34, 38-40, 46
 peace -- 5, 11, 29, 59
 peace movement (see also, religious pacificism) -- 17, 55 59
 Persons, Stow -- 21
 racial purity (impurity) -- 366, 41-42
 radical inquiry -- 48
 rational Buddhism -- 65-67
 rational Christianity -- 15, 38
 religious humanism, pacificism, socialism -- 24
 religious types -- 38, 61-69
 Rinnoji Temple -- 57
 Rissho Kosei-kai -- 29, 30, 32-34, 37-40, 47, 50, 55, 66-69
 Roman Catholicism -- 7, 12, 44, 46
samskaras (differing tendencies) -- 61-65
 scientific faith -- 50
 scientific revolution -- 48-49
 Seisoku High School -- 21, 34
seiza -- 28
 social work -- 20-21
 Sunderland, J. T. -- 22
 Suzuki, Bunji -- 24
 Swami Vivekananda -- 62
 Tart, Charles -- 41
 Tenko, Nishida (Tenko-San) -- 28-7
 Teppozu Inari Shrine (Jinja) -- 24, 42, 55
 Tokyo Congress of IARF (July 1984) -- 61, 69
 Toshogu Shrine -- 57
 Tsubaki Grand Shrine (Dai Jinja) -- 29, 37-38, 40-42, 55
 Uchigasaki, Sakusaburo -- 22, 24, 27
 Unitarian Mission in Japan -- 14, 17-21
 Universalist Church in Japan (Dojin Shadan) -- 15-19, 28, 30
 war -- 22, 24, 25, 35, 36
 Williams, George H. -- 7
 World Conference on Religion and Peace -- 11-13, 30, 32, 55
 World Parliament of Religions -- 21, 22
 Yamamoto, Genyu -- 30
 Yamamoto, Yukitaka -- 29, 41-42
Yuaikai -- 24
 Zen -- 65-66

MEADVILLE LOMBARD THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
 BL2207.5 .W54 1984 MAIN
 Williams, George M./Liberal religious re



3 5701 00004 2558

BL Williams, George M.
 2207.5
 .W54 Liberal religious refor-
 1984 mation in Japan.
 c. 1 94842

**Meadville/Lombard
 Theological School Library**

5701 S. Woodlawn Avenue

Chicago, IL 60637