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Riding on the Eagle's Wings:
The Japanese Mission under American Occupation, 1948-52
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I. Introduction

This article will review major ecclesiastical developments in the Japanese Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from its establishment in March 1948 to the time the San Francisco Peace Treaty took effect in April 1952, the period of approximately four years during which Japan was occupied by the Allied (or virtually American) forces. During this period, Japan's political, economic and social foundation was being forcefully transformed by a foreign power, and the Church and its missionaries enjoyed a special status as representatives of that occupying power. Our purpose is to trace the Japanese Mission's early beginnings in occupied Japan within the broader historical context of that period, and to present historical analyses of why things happened the way they did when they did.

With the defeat of Japan in August 1945, American troops began to land in various parts of the country to assume occupation duty, as commanded by General Douglas MacArthur of the United States Armed Forces in the Pacific (AFPAC), who subsequently assumed the position of

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Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP).² The advancing troops received virtually no resistance either from the Japanese forces or from the war-weary Japanese public who, following initial apprehension, looked to the prospect of peace with anticipation. With the fabrics of the old militaristic and totalitarian regime shattered, the people were generally open to new ideas and new ways of doing things. Rarely in the history of mankind, a conquered nation had so openly and willingly accepted and cooperated with the will of a conquering nation.

On their part, the Americans quickly set up an apparatus of occupation to execute the terms of the Potsdam Declaration, namely, to restore and strengthen democracy and human rights in Japan. MacArthur established his headquarters (GHQ/SCAP) in Tokyo, with dual military and civil functions, and launched on an ambitious program of post-surrender reforms through the existing organs of the Japanese government. In religious matters, the important reforms included the SCAP directives of October and December 1945, requiring that no one should “be discriminated against because of his failure to profess and believe in or participate in any practice, rite, ceremony, or observance of” any religion, and establishing “such fundamental human rights as the freedom of assembly, speech, and religion.”³ A Religious Corporation Ordinance was issued in December 1945, stipulating that a religious organization could now be incorporated simply upon notification to the authorities and filing of registration with a local

² MacArthur held the post of Supreme Commander during the first sixty-seven months of the occupation. He was then succeeded by General Matthew B. Ridgway, who served in that position during the remaining sixteen months.

³ Japanese Government, Foreign Office, Division of Special Records (compl.), Documents Concerning the Allied Occupation and Control of Japan, Vol. 2, Tokyo, March 1949.

court.⁴ As a culmination of these and other developments, the new Constitution of Japan was promulgated on November 3, 1946, upholding the principles of democracy, the dignity of the individual and all basic human rights.

For one reason or another, the Church as an organization did not immediately respond to this changed religious climate in Japan. The Japan Mission, closed in 1924 for lack of success, remained closed. No official contact was attempted with the few dozen Japanese converts from the pre-war era who still identified themselves with the Church. So it was with the self-motivated, and often unauthorized, initiatives of American Mormon servicemen that the work of the Church was carried out, even among the Japanese. During the first three years of the post-World War II era, the Church relied on such individuals as Warren Richard Nelson (an Army chaplain), Edward L. Clissold (a Navy officer), and Russell N. Horiuchi (a staffer at the GHQ/SCAP) to initiate missionary work, reestablish contact with the prewar members, and keep the Church alive. The conversion of Tatsui Sato and his family in Narumi (just outside of Nagoya) and the initiation of Sunday meetings for Japanese members in Tokyo by prewar convert Fujiya Nara were among the achievements of these men and women in military uniform.

It was in the spring of 1947 that the Church authorities in Utah took the first concrete step to reestablish the Church in Japan by appointing Melvyn Weenig, president of the Honolulu-based Central Pacific Mission (CPM)⁵ to visit Japan, accompanied by Edward L. Clissold. Entry restrictions were

⁴ Japanese Government, Kanpo (Official Bulletin), No. 5689, December 28, 1945.

⁵ It was renamed from the Japanese Mission in May 1944.

placed by the occupation authorities, however, because the Church had not “carried on missionary work” during “the years immediately preceding the war,” allowing only one “representative missionary” to enter Japan, and requiring nearly ten months to grant clearance. Under these circumstances, it was decided to create a separate Japanese Mission in Japan and to appoint Clissold as the president, given his previous experience in occupied Japan as a Naval officer. Clissold was set apart by George Albert Smith on October 22, 1947.

II. The Japanese Mission Begins Work

The formal ministry of the Church among the Japanese during the post-World War II period began in the spring of 1948, when Clissold finally obtained clearance to enter Japan. In anticipation of his departure for Japan, on January 13, 1948, Clissold had written a letter from Honolulu to the members of the Church in Japan. The letter, typed in Japanese, in part read:

“Our Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will reopen a mission in Japan. I have been appointed as Japanese Mission President and will be in charge of setting up the mission and organizing branches. I am scheduled to leave in mid-February, when entry permit will be granted by the authorities. At present, it is planned that the headquarters will be established in either Tokyo or Yokohama. As soon as suitable facilities are found after my arrival, a notice will be placed in newspapers, informing you of the location.”⁶

⁶ As quoted in Tomigoro Takagi, “Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro (When We Received the Light Again),” Seito no Michi, January, February, and March 1961, pp. 23-26, 62-65, and 126-127. Tomigoro received the letter on February 3, 1948. The author’s translation of the Japanese original.

The letter reached the Japanese members with known addresses in early February. In the event, Clissold's departure was a bit delayed, and he arrived in Yokohama harbor on Saturday, March 6, 1948. On the following day, Sunday, March 7, guided by Tokyo military group leader William Paul Merrill, he attended Fujiya Nara's Japanese Sunday meeting in Gotanda, and was welcomed by a group of over forty people in attendance.

Edward Lavaun Clissold, born on April 11, 1898 in Salt Lake City, was ideally suited for his assignment. As a successful banker in Hawaii, he had vast experience in Church leadership, having served at different times as a counselor in the first Stake Presidency of the Oahu Stake (1935-1944), twice president of the Hawaiian Temple (1936-1938, 1942-1944), and president of the Hawaii-based Japanese Mission (1942-1944). Given his (limited) Japanese language skill, moreover, he was closely associated with the members of Japanese ancestry. Of equal importance and relevance to his assignment as the inaugural president of the Japanese Mission was his previous experience in occupied Japan as a Naval officer attached to the GHQ/SCAP's Civil Information and Education Section (CIE), charged with responsibility for religious matters. Clissold's term in office, however, lasted only till August 1949. In view of many years of absence from his business affairs, he had accepted the call with the understanding that he would be released as soon as the mission was established and running smoothly.⁷

The first full-term president of the Japanese Mission was Vinal G. Mauss, who succeeded Clissold in August 1949 and served for four years in office until October 1953, about eighteen months beyond the end of the

⁷ Edward L. Clissold, "Personal Experiences in the Life of Edward L. Clissold," not dated.

occupation in April 1952. Mauss, born in Murray, Utah on October 16, 1900, had served as a missionary in the prewar Japan Mission from 1922 until 1924, when his terms was cut short by the decision of the Church to close the mission. In 1931, he moved to California and worked as a broker in real estate and insurance. He was a prominent member in the Oakland area and was serving as bishop at the time of his call as mission president. He was set apart by George Albert Smith on August 2, 1949, and arrived in Yokohama on August 20, accompanied by wife Ethel Louise and three children.

When the mission was established in March 1948, the first order of business was to find a mission home in the bombed out city of Tokyo, not least because Clissold's legal status in Japan beyond the probationary period of 60 days was contingent upon success in finding an adequate facility to accommodate himself.⁸ After "several days of continuous driving all over Tokyo in search of a house for rent or sale, all to no avail," as he begins the lengthy report of his experience, "I went for rest and relaxation to visit my former acquaintance."⁹ His friend was not there, but his family was able to introduce Clissold to a Mr. Kawasoe, the business advisor of Prince Takamatsu. Through this contact, on Saturday, March 20, Clissold was driven to see "the skeleton of a once palatial residence in a very good neighborhood opposite a park" in the Azabu district. He was immediately impressed with the site, which he learned on March 22 was for sale for 2,000,000 yen (or \$10,000 at the prevailing, though overvalued, exchange rate). On March 27, Clissold arranged for an inspection by architects and

⁸ Clissold, "Personal Experiences." See also Deseret News, Church Section, "Pres. Clissold Takes Hold of New Field Upon Arrival in Japan," April 24, 1948.

⁹ Edward L. Clissold, "Acquiring a Mission Home in Japan," December 5, 1948. Church Historical Department.

engineers from Kajima Construction Company (one of the largest construction companies in Japan) as well as Church members with the Army Engineers, who “all pronounced the skeleton in good condition and the house very well constructed, as evidenced by the little damage done by three direct bomb hits.”

Because of the foreign exchange controls, however, the Church did not have the means of raising the yen funds needed to purchase the property. Upon learning that the building belonged to a businessman by the name of Hachiro Shimizu,¹⁰ Clissold decided to see the man. He writes:

“I liked Mr. Shimizu right away and was sure we could do business with him. In fact, after much praying over this matter I felt we would eventually get the property no matter what the obstacles.”

After exploring different options to get around the problem posed by the exchange controls, Shimizu agreed to “deed the property to the church [sic] free of encumbrances and that the Church would give him a letter agreeing to pay him \$10,000 or the then equivalent in yen when the law permitted.” It turned out, however, that no mention of foreign monetary value could be made in a commercial transaction, so that the only solution was to make “an agreement in which the sale price of the property would be mutually

¹⁰ Hachiro Shimizu was president of Taiyo Engyo, Ltd., a company which took over the management of Mitsui’s salt manufacturing operations in Niigata prefecture in December 1947. See Jinji Koshinsho, Zennihon Shinshiroku (Who’s Who in Japan), Tokyo, 1950. According to Clissold’s report, he also had a foreign automobile dealership. No doubt, he was a relatively well-to-do man for his day. According to government records, Shimizu had purchased the property only in October 1947 from Shinzo Mihashi, a prominent businessman affiliated with Mitsui. Tokyo Legal Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Justice.

determined at a future date.” Undaunted, Shimizu said that “he had decided to let us have the property and that the word of the Church through me was security enough for him.”

On April 19, in accordance with the requirement of the Religious Corporation Ordinance of December 28, 1945, Clissold filed a notification of incorporation for the “Japanese Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” in its English form with the Ministry of Education. On April 20, with the certificate of incorporation issued,¹¹ Clissold and Shimizu signed the papers deeding the property to the Church, in exchange for a “deposit slip showing \$10,000 credited to a special account in the National City Bank of New York and my word that the money would be held there by the Church subject to his order.” Clissold summarized his feeling at the conclusion of the 6-week search for a mission home:

“We left his office with all the signed papers and I marvelled at the trust and kindness of the man. Mr. Yamamoto, a lawyer, remarked he had never seen anything like this piece of business in all his experience!”

On April 24, a contract was signed with Kajima Construction Company to refurbish the building for 2,700,000 yen. Work began on May 1 and lasted until Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1948.¹² In keeping with Japanese custom, on May 19, an inauguration ceremony was held in which Kajima’s vice president and the former owner Shimizu spoke, followed by a prayer offered by Clissold in Japanese. To give weight to the occasion, the Church was

¹¹ The application to register the mission property with a local court was made on April 21, 1948. Tokyo Legal Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Justice.

¹² Edward L. Clissold, “Mission Head Reports Japanese Mission Baptisms,” Deseret News, Church Section, December 15, 1948.

represented by Chojiro Kuriyama, a prewar convert who was serving in the House of Representatives.¹³ In the meantime, on August 11, 1948, the mission gave Shimizu a check for 2,915,000 yen, “paying him in full for the mission home property,” indicating that Shimizu made an exchange gain of 915,000 yen by waiting for four months. As to the restoration work on the building, the final figure came out to be 6,220,000 yen, and Kajima was paid in full on December 23, 1948. Clissold summed up his experience in acquiring the mission home in these words:

“Through [the CIE’s] help and the channels which I understood through military government training I was able to purchase land, obtain materials, and labor, and establish the mission ready to receive my wife and five missionaries who arrived five [sic] months later.”¹⁴

III. The Arrival of Missionaries

Concurrent with the progress of restoration work on the mission building, Clissold was busy getting ready to receive missionaries from North America. At the time of Clissold’s call, two missionaries had already been called to assist him and were temporarily assigned to the CPM under Weenig’s supervision. In making that assignment, the First Presidency wrote

¹³ Chojiro Kuriyama (1896-1971), a journalist educated at the University of Utah and Harvard, held executive positions at the Mainichi Shinbun, was elected to the House of Representatives from the Tokyo Second District on a Japan Liberal Party ticket in April 1946, and served in the House until March 1953. He held several important appointments, including those of chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and Parliamentary Vice Minister of Education. See Shinji Takagi and William McIntyre, Nihon Matsujitsu Seito Shi, 1950-1980 (Japan Latter-day Saint History, 1850-1980), Kobe, Beehive Shuppan, 1996.

¹⁴ Clissold, “Personal Experiences.”

to Weenig that “Brother Clissold feels that after he has been in Japan for a while he will be able to make necessary arrangements for these two Elders and others to join him” and requested that Weenig “go over your list of missionaries, and be in a position to make recommendations to appoint some of them to Japan as soon as the mission headquarters has been established and conditions warrant their going.”¹⁵ In order to secure the clearance of the occupation authorities to allow missionaries to enter Japan, what Clissold needed was the evidence of logistical support.

The help came from Shigenori Yajima, whom Clissold met on March 19, 1948 through their mutual acquaintance by the name of Nagai. Yajima, born in 1909, had served in the Japanese Imperial Army in Shanghai and Manchuria during World War II. After the conclusion of war, in November 1945, he established a school to teach English conversation, called Clover Beikaiwa Gakuin (Clover American Conversation Institute). In time, the school grew in enrollment and American soldiers began to teach as volunteers.¹⁶ By securing the address of Yajima’s relative by the name of Tomokazu Iwata in Saitama prefecture,¹⁷ Clissold immediately filed an application with the occupation authorities for clearance for four missionaries (Paul C. Andrus, Wayne McDaniel, Harrison Theodore Price, and Raymond Price) to enter Japan, on March 25. He continued to file applications for more missionaries,

¹⁵ First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, letter addressed to Melvyn A. Weenig, October 22, 1947.

¹⁶ Later, Mormon missionaries also helped with the teaching. Both Yajima and his wife joined the Church (May 6, 1949 and November 6, 1948, respectively) and participated in its activities for some time. Shigenori Yajima, letter addressed to author, December 31, 1995; and Shigenori Yajima, personal interview with author, Tokyo, September 19, 1996.

¹⁷ Tomokazu Iwata operated a large rubber factory in Saitama prefecture. Yajima, personal interview. In the application, however, the name was erroneously spelled as Tomoichi, instead of Tomokazu.

including his wife Irene, daughter Carol and Kooji Okauchi on May 11, Kenji Akagi, Kojin Goya, Jeaune Iwaasa, Kimiaki Sakata, and Kiyoshi Yoshii on August 25, Bessie Yukiko Okimoto and Tomiko Shirota on August 30, and Paul S.

Carter, Daniel E. Nelson and Murray L. Nichols on October 29.¹⁸

While the entry of foreigners into Japan was in principle strictly controlled by the occupation authorities and “the provisions relating to missionaries regularly admitted” did not apply to the Church for one year (because of its failure to carry out missionary work during the years immediately preceding the war), it appears that clearance for additional missionaries was liberally granted. This may have been a special favor extended to Clissold from his former colleagues at the CIE. Or it may well have simply reflected the more general relaxation of the entry restrictions after the summer of 1947.¹⁹ To some extent, the ease with which the Church obtained clearance for additional missionaries may also have reflected the Christian orientation of the occupation. While the CIE was opposed to MacArthur’s idea of Christianizing Japan on the ground of separation of church and state, it may have been hospitable to the idea of bringing more Christian missionaries to indoctrinate Japanese thinking along Western Christian lines.²⁰

Whatever the reason might have been, missionaries began to arrive in Japan at a steady interval. The first group of five missionaries (Andrus, McDaniel, Okauchi, and the two Price brothers) arrived on June 26, 1948. Of the five missionaries, McDaniel and Ted Price had been proselyting in the CPM

¹⁸ In all subsequent applications, however, the address of the newly acquired mission home in Azabu was used. From late 1951, the mission was no longer required to file an affidavit for logistical support with the occupation authorities. See Vinal G. Mauss, letter addressed to Ernest A. Nelson, January 3, 1952. Church Historical Department.

¹⁹ On August 15, 1947, as many as four hundred trade representatives from various countries were invited to enter Japan and to reside indefinitely, provided that the purpose of the visit was deemed contributory to the goals of the occupation.

²⁰ Eiji Takemae, GHQ, Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, 1983.

since early December of 1947, while waiting for permits to enter Japan. Likewise, Andrus had been laboring in the CPM since February, and Ray Price and Okauchi since May. Until the mission home was completed, Andrus and Ray Price lived with the Merills in Yokohama, while McDaniel, Okauchi, and Ted Price lived with the family of an Air Force officer, Spencer R. Savage, in western Tokyo.²¹ Following the arrival (by plane) of his wife Irene on September 4, the second group of seven missionaries (Akagi, Iwaasa, Goya, Okimoto, Sakata, Shirota, and Yoshii) arrived on October 21. They were all Nisei missionaries and all but one came from Hawaii. Iwaasa, a Canadian, was scheduled to arrive with the first group, but immigration complications had prevented him from arriving in Honolulu in time for the departure of the ship that brought the rest of the group.²² They were followed by the arrival, on December 28, of three missionaries (Carter, Nelson, and Nichols).

Initially, these missionaries found a particularly receptive soil in Japan, as the void created by the outcome of the war had undoubtedly created much occasion for soul searching and an openness to things American. In fact, during the Clissold era, hundreds of Japanese people were literally flocking to the Church. In April 1949, for example, over eleven hundred people were said to be attending various Church meetings in Tokyo alone.²³ Apostle Matthew Cowley assessed the situation, as existing in the summer of 1949, in the following words:

²¹ Harrison Theodore Price, letter addressed to author, December 1995.

²² He labored in the CPM until the departure of the second group. Jeane Iwaasa, letter addressed to author, January 16, 1995.

²³ According to Clissold's report, as quoted by David O. McKay at the April 1949 General Conference. Conference Report, April 1949.

“In Japan we have one of the greatest opportunities for missionary service I have ever heard of or read of in the history of this Church. While I was there,[twenty-one hundred people] were coming to the missionaries; the missionaries were not seeking them out as we do in other missions of the Church.”²⁴

Not all the missionaries who served during the occupation period experienced the same fertile soil, however. After the arrival of Mauss, the situation began to change. As early as in March 1950, a newly arrived missionary wrote in his diary:

“The Japanese Mission is quite a bit different than I was led to believe..... I was told back in the U.S. that the people were seeking out the L.D.S. missionaries and the people were ready for the Gospel....they don’t come looking for the Elders nor do they seem to be ready for the Gospel. they aren’t particularly interested in the Gospel.”²⁵

To appreciate this sudden change in religious climate, one must understand the profound economic and political changes that were taking place in Japanese society at that time, largely attributable to the shift (or the “reverse course”) in US occupation policy.²⁶ With the escalation of the Cold War in 1947, the emphasis of US policy shifted from demilitarization and democratization to economic recovery and independence, as a way of

²⁴ Conference Report, September/October 1949.

²⁵ Dennis H. Atkin, Journal, March 11, 1950.

²⁶ Justin Williams, Sr., Japan’s Political Revolution under MacArthur: A Participant’s Account, Athens, Georgia, University of Georgia Press, 1979, pp. 208-215.

ensuring that Japan would become a prosperous ally of the United States. With the increasing chance of communist victory in China, this shift became even more pronounced in early 1949.²⁷ The outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, moreover, increased the urgency to conclude a peace treaty with Japan.

In December 1948, in order to place the Japanese economy firmly on a rehabilitation path, the US government demanded that a major stabilization program be adopted to arrest the mounting inflation which was running at the annual rate of over 100 percent, and dispatched the Detroit banker Joseph Dodge as special advisor to the GHP/SCAP. The Dodge plan, consisting of an austerity budget, the unification of multiple exchange rates, rationalization of administered prices and gradual relaxation of economic controls, was implemented in April 1949. While the Dodge plan initially placed deflationary pressure, with price stability ensured and the market mechanism largely in place, the Japanese economy began to recover, and the pace of recovery became strong and steady after the outbreak of the Korean War. This marked improvement in economic conditions was also accompanied by an increased prospect of regaining political sovereignty. As a way of excluding the participation of the Soviet Union from the peace treaty process, President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State Dean G. Acheson appointed John Foster Dulles to conduct bilateral negotiations with potential signatory nations, and the agreed Treaty of Peace with Japan was signed by Japan and forty-eight countries in San Francisco on September 8, 1951, to become effective April 28, 1952.

²⁷ Shiro Haga, Mihon Kanri no Kiko to Seisaku (The Apparatus and Policies of Occupation Government in Japan), Tokyo, Yuhikaku, 1951, p. 46.

No doubt, the apparent increasing religious apathy of the people in the early 1950s was related to these economic and political developments. Mauss noted this negative correlation between temporal improvements and religious inclination in his annual report of 1951:

“With the expected peace treaty coming into effect it is generally felt there will naturally be considerable adjusting and a period of levelling off which may bring some difficulties. The past year has been a prosperous year for Japan as a whole and we have noticed it in the attitude of the people. There has developed the spirit of indifference which always seems to come when there is an abundance of material things.”²⁸

Thus, the occupation period was by no means even in terms of religious climate. In fact, it was a period of declining religious interest, ending with a level of apathy not too much distinguishable from that observed in the succeeding years of relative economic prosperity. All in all, from June 1948 to April 1952, a total of 105 missionaries arrived in occupied Japan under two mission presidents (see Appendix I for the list of missionaries who arrived during the occupation period).

IV. Clissold Completes His Mission

Initially, Clissold’s activities were confined to the Tokyo area. On March 28, 1948, in order to accommodate a greater number of participants, he moved the Japanese Sunday meeting from a private home in Gotanda to

²⁸ “Report of Mission President,” Mission Annual Reports, 1951, as quoted in Murray L. Nichols, “History of the Japan Mission of the L.D.S. Church 1901-1924,” M.S. thesis, Brigham Young University, November 1957, p. 107.

Yajima's Clover Institute in Ogikubo, where a formal Sunday School structure was instituted on August 22, with Nara as superintendent and Shiraishi and Koshi Nakagawa as assistants. On April 6, he baptized Nara's wife Motoko and Miyoshi Sato, an investigator who had been active with the Nara Sunday group.²⁹ After the first group of missionaries arrived in June, Clissold began to make a systematic effort in locating the old prewar members. In a letter dated July 20, 1948, Clissold wrote to the Japanese members:

“As soon as the mission home is completed, I would immediately like to visit the members outside Tokyo..... (By the end of the year), the missionaries will begin to labor in the different areas where you members live. So please be patient for a little while. We intend to make up for our absence since the closing of the mission.”³⁰

Then he requested help in updating the membership records of the Church. As a result of these and other efforts, both in Tokyo and later in other areas, about fifty prewar members (out of the 184 individuals baptized in Japan through 1939) had been found by April 1949.³¹

In the summer of 1948, the work began to spread beyond the Tokyo area. During his tenure, Clissold visited all the places where known members resided, including Narumi (on August 1, 1948), Takasaki (on October 27),

²⁹ Clissold, “Mission Head Reports Japanese Mission Baptisms.”

³⁰ Takagi, “Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro.”

³¹ As quoted by David O. McKay in the April 1949 General Conference. Conference Report, April 1949. Of the total of 184, 174 were baptized in the Japan Mission through 1924, two by Takeo Fujiwara (who succeeded Fujiya Nara as presiding elder) in 1935, and eight by Hilton Robertson in 1939. Of the 174 baptized before 1924, ten had been excommunicated prior to the closing of the Japan Mission. See Takagi and McIntyre, Nihon Matsujitsu Seito Shi.

Osaka (on November 19-21), Sapporo (on March 9-10, 1949), and Kofu (on April 26). Besides Tokyo, Osaka, Sapporo and Kofu had been the only viable centers of missionary activities in the prewar Japan Mission. Missionary work went on in Sapporo from October 1905 until the closing of the mission, Kofu from February 1907 until January 1922, and Osaka from September 1911 until the closing of the mission. On these visits, Clissold met such old-timers as Tsuruichi Katsura, Susumu Hisada and Ichitaro Ohashi in Osaka, Ren Yoneyama and his son Morizo in Kofu, and Tamano Kumagai, Kenji Ono and Masaichiro Soman in Sapporo. In Narumi, Clissold met Tatsui Sato and called him as the official translator for the mission. In Takasaki, a hundred miles north of Tokyo, there was a prewar member by the name of Morisaburo Sato, who had returned from spending the war-time years in China.³²

Clissold was frequently on the road, for both business and pleasure, visiting such places as Sendai, Nara, Shizuoka and Karuizawa, and returned on a few occasions to such places as Narumi-Nagoya, Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto, and Takasaki-Tomioka. Towards the end of his tenure, in early June 1949, he visited the rice producing region of Niigata to investigate an offer of land to the Church (see the next section for details). In early August, shortly before his release, he visited Komatsu on the Japan sea coast to explore the prospect for missionary work. He gave a number of talks at educational or vocational institutions. On October 5, 1948, he even spent some time with Prince Takamatsu at his mansion in Takanawa, discussing religious matters.

He accompanied Apostle Matthew Cowley, president of the Pacific Mission of the Church,³³ on his tour of Japan during June and July 1949. By

³² Takagi, "Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro."

³³ The Pacific Mission structure of the Church (as an umbrella organization over individual missions) was discontinued in November 1949. It

this time, Clissold had already been informed by the First Presidency that he would soon be succeeded by Vinal G. Mauss. Thus, this tour of Japan was the opportunity to report his mission to his superior, and to help him become familiar with the conditions in Japan. Cowley and his wife arrived in Japan on June 11, 1949 by plane from Honolulu. Immediately, Cowley left with Clissold by train to Nagoya where, on the following day, he ordained Tatsui Sato an elder and set him apart as an interpreter and translator for the people of Japan “for the rest of your life.”³⁴ While in Japan, Cowley travelled extensively for both business and pleasure, visiting such places as Karuizawa, Takasaki, Kobe, Nara, Okayama, Hiroshima, Kashikojima (in Mie prefecture), Kyoto, Osaka, Kamakura, and Tenno. From July 2 to July 16, Cowley was in Hong Kong to install a mission presidency there.

While Clissold thus visited several areas of Japan, met with most of the prewar members who still identified themselves with the Church, and dispatched what few missionaries he had to a dozen or so locations (see the next section for details), his singular accomplishment remains the acquisition and refurbishing of the mission home. It was thus fitting that the closing part of his mission was highlighted by a special conference, which featured a dedicatory prayer for that building. On Sunday, July 17, 1949, a general session was held at one o'clock in the auditorium of Junshin Girls' High School in Hiroo, just several blocks away from the mission home. Those in attendance at the conference included Kumagai from Sapporo, Katsura from Osaka, Morisaburo Sato from Takasaki, and Tatsui Sato from Nagoya (Narumi). Following the general session, a group of members and

was decided that the various missions of the Pacific would be visited by any one of the General Authorities on assignment from the Church.

³⁴ As remembered by Ted Price who was present at the scene. Harrison Theodore Price, letter addressed to author, November 27, 1995.

missionaries moved to the mission home to attend a dedicatory service, which was held at five o'clock.³⁵

In the dedicatory service, Clissold spoke and Apostle Cowley, after making a few remarks, offered a solemn prayer, dedicating the new mission home to divine purposes. Quoting from his journal entry on July 17, 1949, Ted Price wrote to the Church Historian in these words:

“In this inspired and inspiring prayer Elder Cowley gave thanks for the countless blessings in the Lord’s work here to date, and went on to prophesy ‘THERE WILL SOME DAY BE MANY CHURCH BUILDINGS—AND EVEN TEMPLES BUILT IN THIS LAND.’ I was sitting on the first row in this gathering and clearly heard these words. As was my practice I wrote these important things in my journal that same evening while they were still fresh in my mind (emphasis original).”³⁶

In October 1980, Cowley’s prophecy was partially fulfilled in the dedication of the Tokyo Temple on that very spot.³⁷ It was ironic, however, that the fulfilment of the prophecy came about at the expense of that beautiful building that was being dedicated on that occasion.³⁸

³⁵ Takagi, “Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro.”

³⁶ Harrison Theodore Price, letter addressed to the Office of the Church Historian, December 31, 1956.

³⁷ This was consummated by the dedication of the Fukuoka Temple in June 2000.

³⁸ Clissold was released on August 31, 1949 and left for Hawaii on September 5. He succeeded E. Wesley Smith of the Hawaiian Mission and Weenig of the Central Pacific Mission to become the first president of the combined Hawaii Mission. For his activities, see Edward L. Clissold Oral History. Interviewed by R. Lanier Britsch, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1976. Typescript, the James Moyle Oral History Program, Church Historical Department.

V. Geographical Expansion under Clissold and Mauss

The sequence in which new areas outside Tokyo were opened for missionary work might appear perplexing to an outside observer, particularly regarding the early openings of such seemingly insignificant places as Hirao (opened prior to Hiroshima), Tenno and Shibata (opened prior to Niigata), and Komatsu (opened prior to Kanazawa). To understand these puzzling facts, one must recognize that decisions were sometimes made in response to the whims of circumstances. As these and other places would turn out to be too small to sustain missionary activities, some of them would subsequently be closed down, with a few remaining members left behind. With the benefit of hindsight, the limited number of missionaries may well have been better deployed with more proactive planning.

The choice of the first five areas opened outside Tokyo was logical enough, as some prewar members were known to be residing there. The very first was Narumi, just outside of Nagoya, where Tatsui Sato and his family lived. The priority given to Narumi is evident by the fact that Kojin Goya, a member of the second group of missionaries, was sent there with Ted Price on October 22, 1948, only a day after the group had landed in Japan, indicating that Clissold sent the two missionaries as soon as the arrival of additional missionaries had increased the missionary force from five to twelve. Immediately after the arrival of the third group on December 28, 1948, sets of missionaries were sent to Osaka (with a population of about two million in 1950) and Takasaki in early January, 1949.³⁹ With the arrival of

³⁹ In a two-day conference held on January 6-7, 1949, the following assignments were made: (1) Ted Price and Goya to Narumi (Nagoya); (2) Nichols and Yoshii to Osaka; (3) Ray Price and Okauchi to Takasaki; (4) Akagi and Carter to Denenchofu in Tokyo; (5) Sakata and Nelson to Takanawa in

the fourth group on April 29, 1949,⁴⁰ missionaries were sent to Sapporo (with a population of over 300,000) on April 30 and to Kofu on May 9. It is thus clear that these five cities with known members received the first allotments of missionaries. In each of these cases, Clissold first visited the area to meet with the members, and subsequently sent the missionaries.

The first area without known members to be opened was Sendai (with a population of about 350,000), to which Lynn Oldham and Kenji Akagi were sent on July 24, 1949.⁴¹ The decision to open Sendai early was no doubt related to the fact that missionary work was performed there in the prewar mission, though intermittently. In fact, Akagi and Oldham spent July 24 “attempting to locate old members.” In the prewar period, missionaries were stationed in Sendai from July 1905 to October 1907, and again from July 1922 to the mission’s closing in July 1924, and two baptisms were recorded.⁴² Although Clissold was not successful in locating the members during his visit, he must have decided to open Sendai just in case the Church could possibly capitalize on its early presence. It was not a bad decision in any case, because Sendai is a principal city in the Tohoku region and had to be opened for missionary work sooner or later.

Tokyo, (6) Shirota and Okimoto to the mission office and the Azabu vicinity; (7) McDaniel and Iwaasa to Ogikubo in Tokyo; and (8) Andrus as Tokyo district president or, effectively, assistant to the mission president.

⁴⁰ Their arrival was delayed by three months due to a shipping strike. H. Lynn Oldham, telephone interview with author, January 13, 1996.

⁴¹ It should be noted that Tenno was opened on the same day. Thus, Sendai and Tenno share the honor of being the first areas to be opened without known members.

⁴² Shizuo Kikuchi and Hiroo Yamauchi, both males, were baptized, respectively, on April 16 and June 30, 1924, shortly before the mission was closed.

The early opening of the next three places, namely, the city of Shibata (along with the adjoining area of Tenno) in the rice producing region of Niigata prefecture in July 1949, the city of Komatsu on the Japan Sea coast in August 1949, and the town of Hirao (along with the adjoining town of Yanai) on the Inland Sea coast of Yamaguchi prefecture on the southern tip of Honshu in February 1950, may require some explanation. First, the opening of Komatsu was made in apparent response to the request of a widowed lady by the name of Yukiko Nojima for missionaries. Apparently, Nojima was introduced to the Church through a relative by the name of Shigeo Masukawa who was a recent convert in Tokyo. The first missionaries, William Akau and Gerald Okabe, were sent to Komatsu on August 18, and began to live at the Nojima home. Work, however, would gradually shift to the neighboring principal city of Kanazawa (with a population of about 250,000), and the Komatsu branch would be terminated in 1957.

Second, the opening of the small town of Hirao (with a population of less than six thousand) was made in response to the request of a Japanese Hawaiian member by the name of Koichi Takeuchi who was a close acquaintance of Clissold.⁴³ Takeuchi was born in Hirao in 1889, immigrated to Hawaii at the age of fifteen in 1904, worked on a sugar plantation on the island of Hawaii, and became successful in the construction business in Honolulu. Ever since joining the Church in 1936, Takeuchi's desire was to see the Church established in his home town, and offered assistance to the Church. Two lady missionaries, Bessie Okimoto and Sarah Pule, were sent to Hirao on February 27, 1950 and were met by Takeuchi himself, who had

⁴³ The major economic activities of Hirao were farming, fishing and salt making. In 1955, Hirao absorbed the smaller adjoining communities to increase its population to sixteen thousand. Township of Hirao, Hirao-cho Shi (History of the Township of Hirao), 1978.

returned from Hawaii to give personal assistance. Not even a week later, Kojin Goya and William Oppie were sent to Hirao to assist the lady missionaries, who had called Mauss for elders' assistance. As the town turned out to be too small to support four missionaries, the elders decided to locate themselves in the neighboring principal city of Hiroshima (with a population of about 300,000) on March 6, and to commute to Hirao on Sundays and as circumstances necessitated.⁴⁴ The opening of Hiroshima was thus an accidental, not planned, event. Later, meetings began to be held concurrently in the slightly more populous adjoining town of Yanai and, in 1954, the smaller Hirao operation was absorbed.

Finally, the opening of Shibata and Tenno was related to the offer of land to the Church, made by a wealthy landholder named Noriatsu Ichishima in early 1949, in connection with the agricultural land reform of 1946-49 (see Appendix III). Faced with the prospect of losing a substantial amount of landholding, and responding to the suggestion of his associate by the name of Seigo Mogi who had once lived among the industrious Mormon farmers in Mexico, Ichishima came up with the idea of donating the land (or its use) to the Mormon Church. Clissold seriously considered using the land to build an agricultural school for the Church, and even invited Apostle Cowley to inspect the place. Concerning the opening of Shibata and Tenno, Cowley spoke at a session of the General Conference on September 30, 1949.

“President Clissold and I went to the city of Shibata. The mayor of the city heard that we were coming... and he asked us to come with him. We followed him upstairs over a bank building to a large chamber, and there

⁴⁴ William H. Oppie, personal interview with author, Kobe, December 18, 1995.

assembled were one hundred and six of the leading businessmen and civic leaders of the city....After he introduced us, he asked us to speak to those people as we saw fit.”

The mayor requested that missionaries be sent and, on August 9, Francis Parker and Katherine Takeuchi arrived in Shibata. The mayor turned over to them a large assembly room in another bank building for their use “until we have a chapel in the city.” Cowley continues:

“Just outside the city of Shibata there is a man named Mr. Ichishima, who was the second [sic] largest landowner in Japan prior to the war. When we visited him, he had with him his banker, his lawyer, and two or three others, and after they had held a meeting together for an hour or so, they joined President Clissold and me, and Mr. Ichishima made a formal offer of his seventeen hundred acres, which surrounded his home, to the Church..... [He] said: ‘Well, send missionaries immediately, not next month, not next year, but immediately.’ And so the following week two missionaries were sent to Mr. Ichishima’s home, and he turned part of his home over to them as a residence....On his land is a private chapel which belongs to the estate, a Buddhist chapel, and they have boarded off the figure of the Buddha and are using it as a chapel for our Church. Mr. Ichishima is the organist for the services.”⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Conference report, September/October 1949. This talk was reprinted as Matthew Cowley, “The Language of Sincerity,” Improvement Era 52, November 1949, pp. 715, 762.

The first missionaries to the area, Wayne McDaniel and Samuel Kalama, arrived at the Ichishima home on July 24, 1949 (the same day as the opening of Sendai) and held their first Sunday School on July 31, with two hundred twenty people in attendance. After the arrival of the two lady missionaries in Shibata about a week later, the elders continued to live at the Ichishima home in Tenno. After all, the Ichishima land deal did not materialize (see Appendix III), but the Church meetings continued on the Ichishima property until early 1952 or thereabout, when the Tenno operation was consolidated into Shibata. Still later in 1957, Shibata, too, would be closed.

VI. Organizational Developments under Mauss

(1) Translation and publication work

Along with the geographical expansion of missionary work, Mauss initiated the program of translation and publication, and began to perfect the Church organization. On August 22, 1949 (before the departure of Clissold), Mauss organized an eight-member Translation Committee, consisting of Mauss himself as chairman, Andrus as vice-chairman, and Tatsui Sato, Genkichi Shiraishi, Mitsue Fujiwara, Fujiya Nara, Kotoe Kodama and Tomigoro Takagi as members. By this time, Tatsui Sato had already been set apart as the official mission translator, and was spending a half the month in Tokyo to work on translation. In January 1950, Sato moved to Tokyo with his family and began to live in a detachment of the mission home. The task of the committee (or principally Sato himself) was to translate the Doctrine and Covenants and the Pearl of Great Price, to retranslate the sacrament prayers, the Articles of Faith and the Book of Mormon, and to publish tracts

in Japanese from time to time. The very first task was to revise the translation of the sacrament prayers and the Articles of Faith.⁴⁶

Church publications began to come out in rapid succession. Around Christmas time, in December 1949, the first issue of the monthly newsletter, the LDS Messenger, was published. The newsletter contained much useful information, including Sunday School lessons, doctrinal expositions, and conference announcements and reports. During 1950, reprints of major prewar translations, Edward H. Anderson's Brief History of the Church (1907),⁴⁷ the Book of Mormon (1909) and James E. Talmage's Articles of Faith (1915) were published in October, June, and November, respectively. However, except for tracts and manuals, and excerpts that appeared in the LDS Messenger, no major translation was published during the occupation period.

(2) Organization of Tokyo branches and the Mission Presidency

On November 6, 1949, as an initial step in perfecting the organizational structure of the Church, Mauss announced the upgrading of three meeting places in Tokyo (Yukigaya, Ogikubo and Aoyama) to branch status, each to be presided over by a Japanese elder. At the same time, in order to better reach the northern portion of Tokyo, it was decided to create a unit out of the Aoyama branch in Ikebukuro. Nara was to preside over Yukigaya, Shiraishi over Ogikubo, and Takagi over Ikebukuro, which came into being at the

⁴⁶ Takagi, "Hikari wo Futatabi Uketa Koro." The new translations of the articles of faith and the sacrament prayers were published in the April 1953 issue of the LDS Messenger.

⁴⁷ A special appendix on polygamy (written by Alma O. Taylor) originally found in the 1907 edition of Brief History was deleted from the 1950 reprint.

beginning of 1950.⁴⁸ In March 1950, the Yukigaya branch was moved to Meguro, becoming the Meguro branch. On October 7, 1951, the four Tokyo branches (Ikebukuro, Ogikubo, Meguro, and Aoyama) were consolidated to form the Tokyo First branch (from the first two) – to be presided over by Takagi – and the Tokyo Second branch (from the latter two) – to be presided over by Nara – in order to “get as perfect an organization as possible.”⁴⁹ On April 13, 1952, the mission presidency was organized for the first time in the history of the Church in Japan, with Peter Nelson Hansen as first counselor and Dwayne N. Andersen as second counselor. They were both older men who had “answered the call of the Church to return to the mission field” to make up for the declining missionary force.⁵⁰

(3) Experimental Division Structure, 1950-52

During the occupation portion of the Mauss presidency, there were necessarily frequent changes in the geographical setup of the Church in Japan. Of particular interest was an experimental structure, tried for sixteen months from September 30, 1950 to February 7, 1952, in which Mauss divided the mission into “divisions,” each headed by a supervising elder. A division was made up of several districts, which in turn were made up of one or more branches. This seemingly superfluous and duplicative

⁴⁸ Genkichi Shiraishi (born 1890) had been ordained an elder on November 6, 1948, while Tomigoro Takagi (born 1894) was ordained an elder on November 8, 1949. Japanese Mission, list of ordained elders, not dated. Church Historical Department.

⁴⁹ Atkin, Journal, October 8, 1951. According to Japanese Mission, “Historical Records and Minutes” (September 10, 1951), however, the reason given for this change was the “decreasing number of missionaries being called.” It is not clear how much of this (given retroactively by the mission historian sometime during 1952) should be taken at face value because these branches were staffed mostly by Japanese members.

⁵⁰ Japanese Mission, “Historical Records and Minutes.”

structure was designed, in the words of its originator, "to facilitate the work and give more help to the various districts and branches." Initially, four of the first five missionaries were given the assignment to supervise the divisions, with Ray Price over the Hokkaido division, McDaniel over the Northern division, Andrus (released as the Tokyo district president) over the Central division, and Ted Price over the Southern division.⁵¹

It may be that the division structure was intended to be a vehicle of opening new areas for missionary work, whereby an older (in terms of age) and seasoned (in terms of experience) missionary could travel freely in a relatively large yet small enough portion of the mission in search of a new area and, if found, easily incorporate it into one of the existing districts. Supervising elders did travel widely in their divisions. Most notably, it was under this division structure that supervising elder Ted Price opened Fukuoka for missionary work in November 1950. Others had similar intentions. In a report filed sometime in 1951, Andrus stated that the "city of Shizuoka with a population of 225,000 could be opened up with good success just as soon as missionaries are available" and that "the larger cities on the Chiba [sic] Peninsula have not yet been investigated but looks [sic] very well."⁵² In early February, 1951, shortly before his release, McDaniel visited such

⁵¹ This organizational structure was announced at a special leadership meeting held in Tokyo on September 30, and was communicated to the missionaries in a letter of October 2. Initially, the Hokkaido division consisted of the Sapporo, Otaru, Muroran and Asahikawa districts. The Northern division consisted of the Gunma district, the Niigata district, and the Miyagi district. The Central division consisted of the Tokyo district, the Kanagawa district, the Yamanashi district, and the Nagano district. Finally, the Southern division consisted of the Aichi district, the Ishikawa district, the Osaka district, and the Hiroshima district. Japanese Mission, "Proselyting Area Histories, 1945-1952." Church Historical Department.

⁵² Japanese Mission, "Proselyting Area Histories, 1945-1952."

places as Fukushima, Koriyama, Kitakata, Morioka, Sakata and Yokote, all in the Tohoku region.⁵³ Of these cities, Morioka was opened in October 1951.⁵⁴

For this system to function well, it required a constant inflow of additional missionaries to support the opening of new areas, as well as the availability of older and seasoned missionaries who could be entrusted with a relatively large geographical responsibility. Perhaps contrary to the initial expectations of Mauss, however, it became increasingly clear that these conditions would not be met. First, with the breakout of hostilities on the Korean peninsula in June 1950, and the associated drafting of a greater number of young Mormon men into military service, a sizable increase in the missionary force could no longer be expected. In fact, the number of missionaries in the mission peaked at eighty in early 1950 and subsequently declined through the end of the Korean War, despite the term of three years specifically applied to male missionaries called to Japan.⁵⁵ Second, with the release of the earlier groups of missionaries, who were almost all World War

⁵³ See Atkin, Journal, January 28-February 9, 1951. Atkin was McDaniel's companion.

⁵⁴ By then, Lynn Oldham was the supervising elder for the Northern Division (which had incorporated the Hokkaido division). The first missionaries, Gene Millward and Herbert Sproat (previously Oldham's companion), arrived in Morioka on October 26, 1951, accompanied by Oldham, Amy Igarashi and Zona Walker, who were on their way to Hokkaido to help put the new Sunday school plan into effect. The decision to open Morioka may have been influenced by the fact that proselyting work was performed there during the prewar mission, from 1907 to 1911. See Gene C. Millward, Journal, October 24-December 17, 1951. Morioka, however, was closed on November 30, 1952.

⁵⁵ The regular term of full-time missionaries from North America was two and a half years for foreign missions and two years for domestic missions. The length for those called to Japan was reduced back to two and a half years in 1959.

II veterans in their late twenties, the average age of the remaining cohorts of missionaries began to decline. To supervise a division may have been a task beyond the ability of most of the remaining younger missionaries. For these and possibly other reasons, the division structure was terminated in February 1952, when two of the three supervising elders (Follett and Oldham) were released to return home.⁵⁶

Whatever the original intent might have been, no additional area was opened for missionary work during this period, with the notable exceptions of Fukuoka in November 1950 and Morioka in October 1951.⁵⁷ In addition to the lack of missionaries, the general lack of geographical expansion in the early 1950s may also have reflected the seemingly rising religious apathy of the Japanese people, as earlier noted. In fact, average attendance at all meetings (presumably with double counting) throughout Japan did decline from 2,046 in 1951 to 1,414 in 1952. Attendance at a typical meeting in a branch probably was from a few to about forty.⁵⁸ The number of baptisms declined from 214 in 1951 to 162 in 1952. Thus, this short-lived attempt at the division structure provides important insights into the aspirations,

⁵⁶ Earlier, on June 19, 1951, the four divisions were reduced to three, and many of the districts were combined together to form larger districts, "in the face of a decreasing number of workers being called due to the present world conditions."

⁵⁷ There was a geographical enlargement, however. On June 23, 1951, the Philippines, Guam and Okinawa were added to the mission, in view of the increasing number of Mormon servicemen in the area following the outbreak of the Korean War. Korea was also added to the mission sometime during 1951. Mauss made his first tour of the Philippines, Guam and Okinawa from October to November and of Korea in late December, all in 1951. Deseret News, Church Section, "Japanese Mission Head Reports Tour of Islands," January 2, 1952 and "Pres. Mauss Reports Visits to Servicemen," January 16, 1952.

⁵⁸ Based on unidentified branch attendance statistics, in author's possession.

constraints, and realities under which the Church was operating during the very last part of the occupation era.

VII. Conclusion

This article has reviewed major ecclesiastical developments in the Japanese Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Japan from its establishment in March 1948 to the end of American occupation in April 1952. During this period, the Church was a beneficiary of the US military presence. The initial opening itself and the setting up of the mission home were supported by the military resources made available on a reimbursement basis. Missionaries received temporary accommodations at military member homes and installations, rode on military trains, used the military medical facilities for treatment, and otherwise enjoyed the status accorded by being the citizens of the occupying powers.

While the Church received an extraordinary level of attention at the very beginning of the Japanese Mission, religious apathy increased as the standard of living rose and political independence approached, and the Church began to suffer from declining attendance and dwindling interest in its message. Even so, almost six hundred individuals joined the Church during the occupation period, well over three times the prewar figure. Japanese society's cultural affinity towards things American remained strong, even beyond the occupation period. The Church may well have been able to capitalize on that favorable socio-cultural (though not religious) climate, had it maintained (if not increased) the size of the missionary force during the rest of the 1950s. The later missionary success of the Church in the early 1960s seems to support such a possibility.

Ironically, though, US military presence in Japan became more permanent and official at the conclusion of the occupation era. When Japan regained sovereignty under the terms of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in April 1952, the new Japan-United States Mutual Security Assistance Pact (succeeded subsequently by the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security of 1960) took effect, allowing the United States continued access to military installations in Japan. With the permanence of US military presence, the presence of American Mormon servicemen also became permanent in the few places where the US military bases were maintained, giving rise to the emergence of a parallel Church structure within Japan, with no or little interaction with the local Church. This parallel Church has subsequently been enlarged with the addition of ethnic units for expatriate Mormons, which are existing side by side with local units in their very neighborhoods. The parallel Church structure in Japan presents a sharp contrast to the symbiotic relationship that existed between American and Japanese members during the occupation period.

This contemporary scene, however, should not distract us from recognizing the singular contribution of American servicemen and missionaries of the occupation era to the establishment of the Church in Japan. It was they who kept the Church alive when there was no mission, and initiated the process of institution building for the Church. Throughout this early period, the Church structure remained fluid, and there were frequent organizational changes. Even after the end of the occupation period, there would still be additional changes, including the closing of a few areas and the

opening of a few.⁵⁹ Yet, the geographical scope of the Church in Japan would remain essentially unchanged until the latter half of the 1960s, with the exception of the enlargement of the mission to include Okinawa and Korea in 1956. After all is said and done, the groundwork for Church ministry during the first twenty years of postwar Japan was laid by those men and women who had come riding on the Eagle's wings.

Appendix I. The Arrivals and Releases of North American Missionaries during the Occupation Period (* indicates lady missionaries)⁶⁰

During the occupation period, a total of 105 missionaries (including three locally called American missionaries) arrived in Japan from North America, including Hawaii. From the force of only seventeen at the end of 1948, the number of missionaries quickly increased, reaching the peak of 80 at the end of 1950, but subsequently declined marginally. In addition, two native Japanese elders, Toshiro Murakami and Yotaro Yoshino, were called to serve full-time missions during this period. Both were from Takasaki and were set apart on December 30, 1951.⁶¹ The following list of missionaries is organized by order of arrival or release, with the numbers in brackets indicating changes in the resulting balance.

(1) Arrived on June 26, 1948: Paul C. Andrus, Wayne Proctor McDaniel, Kooji Okauchi, Harrison Theodore Price, and Raymond Culver Price [5].

(2) Arrived on October 21, 1948: Kenji Akagi, Kojin Goya, Jeane Iwaasa, *Bessie Yukiko Okimoto, Kimiaki Sakata, *Tomiko Shirota, and Kiyoshi Yoshii [7].

(3) Arrived on December 28, 1948: Paul Smith Carter, Daniel E. Nelson, and Murray Leo Nichols [3].

⁵⁹ The only major area to be opened after the occupation period was Okayama (with a population of about 200,000) in 1955. The beginning of work in Okinawa and Korea in 1956 represented a territorial expansion.

⁶⁰ Information in Appendix I comes from Japanese Mission, "Historical Records and Minutes."

⁶¹ See also Deseret News, Church Section, "First Japanese Elders Called from Local Units," January 16, 1952.

(4) Arrived on April 29, 1949: Tomosue Abo, *Philomena Andrade, John R. Clawson, Marvin D. Follett, Howard Gorringer, Samuel Kalama, Hideo Kanetsuna, *Ruth K. Needham, Hugh Lynn Oldham, and *Francis Parker [10].

(5) Arrived on July 23, 1949: William Ah You Akau, James Adams Uilakulani Auld, Wayne R. Herlin, Gerald K. Okabe, *Sarah Kekelaokalani Pule, William Gustaff Sproat, and *Katherine Kiyoko Takeuchi [7].

(6) Arrived on October 7, 1949: Robert Noble Boyack and Hal Goerge Ferguson [2].

(7) Arrived on November 21, 1949: Orville LeGrande Eliason, Harold E. Norton, William Harry Oppie, and Frank Eugene Tueller [4].

(8) Arrived on December 17, 1949: *Fauntella J. Clarke, James C. Hoggan, Robert A. Swenson, and *Zona Evans Walker [4].

(9) Arrived on February 17, 1950: Dennis H. Atkin, Cherril Dean Cooper, Eugene H. Pusey, Jesse Fredrick Shumway, Ralph B. Sperry, Jr., and Ira Hatch Todd [6].

(10) Arrived on April 26, 1950: Earl Aipoalani, Lester Sin Fook Ching, Max B. Christensen, *Amy Keiko Igarashi, *Lorraine Waimaka Kauai, *Dorothy Anna Koolau, Kiyoshi Nii, Edward J. Shimbashi, and Lon B. Stallings [9].

(11) Arrived on June 12, 1950: Oscar Kent Hulet, Gene Cleon Millward, Keith M. Munk, and Dallas Peterson [4].

Released on June 28, 1950: Bessie Yukiko Okimoto and Tomiko Shirota [-2].

(12) Arrived on July 27, 1950: Wendell W. Jensen and Richard D. S. Kwak [2].

(13) Set apart on August 28, 1950: *Dorothy Taylor Curtis (locally called) [1].

(14) Set apart on September 18, 1950: *Margueriete L. Mauss (locally called) [1].

(15) Arrived on October 7, 1950: Lloyd K. Adams, Clyde Kanuumealani Isaacs, George S. Kanahale, Kenneth B. Kenney, Parley J. Linvingston, Ronald D. Pexton, Milton K. Shaum, Richard Nelson Smith, and Dale Gene Swenson [9].

(16) Arrived on November 20, 1950: Ralph W. Bird, Paul Clifton Canfield, Sheridan G. Hatch, and Thomas A. James [4].

(17) Set apart on November 28, 1950: Douglas R. Philips (locally called) [1].

(18) Arrived on December 11, 1950: Jeremiah H. Clark, Alfred Floyd Clifford, Darrell LeRoy Hadley, and Len C. Humphries [4].

Released on January 18, 1951: Harrison Theodore Price and Kiyoshi Yoshii [-2].

Released on February 4, 1951: Jeaune Iwaasa and Kooji Okauchi [-2].

Released on February 11, 1951: Paul C. Andrus and Wayne Proctor McDaniel [-2].

(19) Arrived on February 19, 1951: Boyd L. Crane, Roy P. Hill, Gideon Stanford Jarvis, Richard Reed Olson, David F. Parrish, Burtis F. Robbins, Jr., and Garth W. Skouson [7].

Released on March 7, 1951: James Adams Uilakulani Auld (dishonorably discharged) [-1].

(20) Arrived on March 15, 1951: Wayne G. Aamodt and James E. Taylor [2].

Released on April 22, 1951: *Ruth K. Needham, Daniel E. Nelson, *Francis Parker, Raymond Culver Price, Kimiaki Sakata, and *Katherine Kiyoko Takeuchi [-6].

(21) Arrived on April 29, 1951: Russell W. Oakey [1].

Released on May 14, 1951: Tomosue Abo, *Philomena Andrade, John R. Clawson, and Kojin Goya [-4].

(22) Arrived on May 24, 1951: Wallace K. Bell, Noriyuki Iwamura, *Kahanamau Kaanaana, and Herbert Kamakaohua Sprot [4].

Released on June 30, 1951: Howard Gorringer, Samuel Kalama, and *Sarah Kekelaokalani Pule [-3].

(23) Arrived on July 29, 1951: *Elizabeth Puha, *Sumiko Shirota, and *Gertrude Keliikipi Souza [3].

Released on September 5, 1951: Murray Leo Nichols [-1].

Released on September 27, 1951: Kenji Akagi and Paul S. Carter [-2].

(24) Arrived on October 28, 1951: Dwayne N. Andersen [1].

Released on November 29, 1951: *Fauntella J. Clarke and Zona Evans Walker [-2].

(25) Arrived on December 12, 1951: James Kubota [1].

Released on January 15, 1952: William Gusaff Sproat (for illness) and James E. Taylor (for poor health) [-2].

(26) Arrived on January 24, 1952: Beverly Ah Fee Akuna [1].

Released on February 7, 1952: Marvin D. Follett and Hugh Lynn Oldham [-2].

(27) Arrived on February 19, 1952: Peter Nelson Hansen and *Dora Annie Noble [2].

Released on April 14, 1952: *Dorothy Koolau and Lon B. Stallings [-2].

Appendix II. Selected Area Beginnings by District^{6 2}

Hokkaido District

(1) Sapporo

⁶² Unless noted otherwise, information in Appendix II comes from Japanese Mission, "Proselyting Area Histories, 1945-1952;" "Historical Records and Minutes;" and "Missionary District Journal, November 1948-December 1949." Church Historical Department. The areas are organized by district, as constituted at the beginning of 1953, when the organizational structure of the Church in Japan became relatively stable. In addition to the areas covered here, missionary work was conducted briefly in Morioka (from October 26, 1951 to November 30, 1952) and the Togura District (near Lake Towada) of Akita Prefecture (from May 12 to August 2, 1952, in the post-occupation period).

Sapporo was the fourth area to receive missionaries outside the Tokyo area. On March 9 and 10, 1949, Clissold was in Sapporo and visited with prewar members Tamano Kumagai, Kenji Ono, and Masaichiro Soman. According to the arrangement made then, Andrus and Iwaasa arrived in Sapporo on April 30 and were met at the station by Kumagai, who took them to a first-class Japanese inn called Yamagataya. Later, Kumagai called her boss at the newspaper office about the “big news” of the Mormon missionaries’ arrival.⁶³ On May 1, Andrus was featured in the Hokkaido Shinbun as an American soldier who had returned to Japan as a missionary. On May 15, the missionaries held a meeting on a nearby US military base. On May 16, they visited the family of the late Takeo Fujiwara, the second and last presiding elder for Japan during the time when the mission was closed. The first Sunday School was held at Sapporo Keizai High School (on 14th Street South) on June 12, with fifty-two people present.

(2) Otaru

On April 3, 1950, preparation was made to open work in Otaru by Sapporo missionaries, Atkin and Iwaasa. On April 11, all Sapporo missionaries and two members went to Otaru to hold a cottage meeting with over fifty investigators.⁶⁴

(3) Muroran

On July 10, 1950, Iwaasa and Atkin visited Muroran, with a Mr. Itoi, to check into the possibility of opening the area for missionary work.⁶⁵ On August 19, 1950, Kanetsuna and Ray Price arrived in Muroran at 5:30 p.m. and found temporary lodging at the home of Norimitsu Kuribayashi at 135 Tokiwa-cho. On August 21, they found living quarters in Bokai, a suburb of Muroran. Price returned to Sapporo and sent Munk to be Kanetsuna’s companion.

(4) Asahikawa

Asahikawa was opened for missionary work by Nelson and Shaum on October 31, 1950. During the first week, they lived at the Hokuetsu Hotel. They then secured a room in the home of Kotaro Bando at 6 jo-dori 2-chome.

Northern District

63 Paul C. Andrus, letter addressed to author, January 10, 1996.

64 Atkin, Journal.

65 Atkin, Journal.

(1) Niigata (including Tenno, Shibata, Niitsu and Sanjo)

Work in Niigata prefecture began not in the principal city of Niigata, but in the smaller communities about fifteen miles southeast of the city, namely, the agri-based city of Shibata and the adjoining farmland of Tenno (or Tenno-Shinden) in the village of Nakaura. The place name Tenno (or Tenno-Shinden) was essentially identical with the farm and the house that belonged to the wealthy landlord Noriatsu Ichishima, and even the train station was named after it.⁶⁶ As stated in the text (and further elaborated in Appendix III), the decision to send missionaries to the sparsely populated rural district of Niigata was directly related to the prospective offer of land made in the early summer of 1949 by the Ichishima family, in connection with the GHQ/SCAP-directed program of agricultural land reform.

To investigate the land, on June 9, 1949, Clissold arrived at Tenno-Shinden, accompanied by Church members Nara, Takagi and Morisaburo Sato. Another visit was made on June 30 by Clissold, accompanied by Apostle Cowley. On the basis of the arrangement made, on July 24, 1949, the first missionaries, McDaniel and Kalama, arrived at Tenno-Shinden, accompanied by Mr. Doi, Ichishima's agent. The first Sunday School was held at the Ichishima home on July 31, with two hundred twenty people in attendance, about 25 percent of whom were adults.

On August 3, 1949, Clissold came to visit again. On August 9, a set of lady missionaries, Parker and Takeuchi, arrived at Tenno-Shinden station, accompanied by Mrs. Mogi, the wife of Ichishima's associate. They were to live in the city of Shibata, just a few miles east of Tenno. The first MIA meeting was held in Shibata on August 18. From this time on, Church meetings were held both at the Ichishima home in Tenno and in Shibata. On August 27, Clissold and Mauss arrived at Tenno-Shinden. Clearly, the purpose of the visit was to introduce the new mission president to Ichishima and the general conditions surrounding the prospective offer of land to the Church.

The Church authorities tried hard to negotiate to acquire the land. As late as August 22, 1951, Vinal Mauss visited the Ichishima estate, accompanied by Hilton A. Robertson of the Chinese Mission (then in San

⁶⁶ After the divestiture of Ichishima's agricultural landholdings, on September 1, 1950, the name of the station was changed from Tenno-Shinden to Tsukioka. Keishikai, "Ichishima-ke no Kankei Shiryo (Documents Related to the Ichishima Family)," August 1991.

Francisco) in order to clear up “the mess concerning the property.”⁶⁷ Robertson had been “sent by the First Presidency to assist in the final disposition of the property under Tenno, Niigata Prefecture which had been offered to the Church by Mr. Ichishima.”⁶⁸ Ichishima was away, most likely on purpose, but the talk with his agent “was fruitless, disgusting to say the least.”⁶⁹ Church records only state that the offer of land “had been withdrawn” and that Robertson and “President Mauss made several trips to Niigata and tried to see Mr. Ichishima but were denied an interview, nor did Mr. Ichishima offer any explanation for why the offer had been withdrawn.” The elders moved out of the Ichishima home on August 20, 1951, but Church meetings continued to be held there until early 1952 or thereabout.⁷⁰

Concurrently, work was extended to adjoining communities, such as Suibara, Niitsu, Sanjo and the city of Niigata. The work in the adjoining communities was performed on an intermittent basis, initially by missionaries living in Tenno-Shibata. Niitsu was opened for missionary work on February 24, 1950 by Sperry and Kalama, assisted by a Mr. Ajira Doi, a “prominent resident” of Shibata. On March 3, they were finally established in a private home after eight days of searching. Sanjo was opened in early 1951. The city of Niigata was officially opened by Hadley and Boyack on June 30, 1951, when they moved into a home within the city, although it was closed on May 22, 1952. After Shibata and Sanjo were closed in the fall of 1957, the Niigata branch (by then reopened again) became the only branch in Niigata prefecture.

(2) Sendai

Sendai was the sixth place to be opened for missionary work outside the Tokyo area. On March 11 and 12, 1949, Clissold visited Sendai and met with members in the armed forces. On July 24, the first missionaries, Akagi and Oldham, arrived and spent the day attempting to locate old members. They stayed with “Brother and Sister Versluis”, who were with the occupation forces. The first Sunday School was held sometime in

67 Gideon Stanford Jarvis, Journal, August 22 and 23, 1951.

68 Japanese Mission, “Historical Records and Minutes,” September 5, 1951.

69 Jarvis, Journal, August 22 and 23, 1951.

70 “Proselyting Area Histories” under “Tenno” states that a special Sacrament meeting was held on October 14, 1951 and that MIA meetings were being held in Tenno on Wednesdays in November. As the section on Tenno ends with an entry on November 23, however, it is not possible at this time to identify exactly when the Tenno operation was terminated.

September.⁷¹ The first convert, Masao Watabe, was baptized on November 6, 1949. A large Japanese house was purchased on December 16, 1952, as the second Church-owned meetinghouse in Japan.

(3) Yamagata

Work in Yamagata (with a population of about 100,000) began on September 19, 1950, with Atkin and Okauchi commuting from Sendai. At that time, it took about three hours to get there from Sendai by train.⁷² On October 12, 1950, Gorringer and Christensen were stationed in Yamagata on a permanent basis.

Central District

(1) Tokyo

On August 22, 1948, the Ogikubo Sunday School (meeting at the Clover American Conversation Institute) was fully organized, with Fujiya Nara as superintendent, Genkichi Shiraishi as first assistant, Koshi Nakagawa, as second assistant, and Motoko Nara as secretary. A Sunday School was opened in Denenchofu on October 31, 1948, and in Takanawa on November 28, 1948. On May 29, 1949, Nara was sustained as the superintendent of the Denenchofu Sunday School; Shiraishi took over Nara's position at the Ogikubo Sunday School.

On November 6, 1949, Mauss announced the upgrading of the Yukigaya (changed from Denenchofu), Ogikubo and Aoyama (changed from Takanawa in June 1949) Sunday Schools as branches, each to be headed by a native Japanese elder. At this time, it was decided to create a unit out of the Aoyama branch in the northern Ikebukuro section of Tokyo, so that an Ikebukuro branch came into being in January 1950. In March 1950, the Yukigaya branch was moved to Meguro, thus becoming the Meguro branch. Apparently, the Aoyama branch remained in central Tokyo, which the mission staff (including Tatsui Sato) continued to attend.

In October 1951, the four Tokyo branches (Ikebukuro, Ogikubo, Meguro, and Aoyama) were consolidated to form the Tokyo First branch (from the first two) and the Tokyo Second branch (from the latter two). A large Japanese house was purchased in the Namikibashi section of Shibuya on April

71 Oldham, telephone interview.

72 Atkin, Journal.

10, 1953 in order to accommodate these two branches, which began to meet in the same building. This was the third Church-owned meetinghouse in Japan.

(2) Yokohama

Yokohama, a port city located only thirty miles south of Tokyo, is part of Tokyo's metropolitan area. It was in Yokohama that Clissold landed on March 6, 1948 and spent the first few days at the home of William Paul Merrill, an American civilian employee of the occupation forces. After the arrival of the first group of missionaries on June 26, 1948, two of them, Andrus and Ray Price, proselyted in Yokohama, while living at the Merrill home, pending the completion of the mission home. The work in Yokohama continued for sometime with missionaries resident in Tokyo, but was terminated in July 1949 when Akagi was transferred to Sendai. On November 28, 1949, Follett and Herlin were permanently assigned to Yokohama.

(3) Takasaki

On October 27, 1948, Clissold and his wife went to Takasaki and met Morisaburo Sato, a prewar convert.⁷³ During this visit, Clissold also met with some of the dignitaries of the city, including the mayor and members of the city council. A Mr. Nakahara invited the missionaries to live at his house when some were assigned to Takasaki. On January 5, 1949, Ray Price and Okauchi spent the day at Takasaki, making plans for opening the area. On January 10, they arrived in Takasaki to live with Mr. Nakahara temporarily.

Morisaburo had spent his war-time years in China, being engaged in the trading business and, later, petroleum sales. He had returned to Takasaki after the war.⁷⁴ At the Priesthood session of the General Conference held on April 4, 1949, David O. McKay quoted from the report of Clissold:

“One of the faithful members of the former mission and a man of considerable influence in Takasaki, a city ninety miles north of Tokyo, has been of great assistance to the missionaries assigned to that district. He

⁷³ Morisaburo Sato later became the custodian of the Takasaki building. Toshiko Yanagida, telephone interview with author, January 11, 1996.

⁷⁴ Tomigoro Takagi, “Nihon Dendobu no Kaiko (A Reflection on the Japanese Mission),” Seito no Michi, November 1958, 29-31.

helps them with a large Sunday School and several weekly meetings, including an MIA gathering of over four hundred young people.”⁷⁵

The first person to be baptized from Takasaki (on April 2, 1949), Toshio Murakami, became the first native Japanese to serve as a full-time missionary, along with Yotaro Yoshino (also from Takasaki) who was baptized on May 28. Murakami and Yoshino were both ordained elders and set apart for full-time missions on December 30, 1951.⁷⁶ Following Clissold’s visit on May 5, 1949, Goringe and Okauchi opened a Sunday School in the adjoining city of Tomioka on May 15, 1949, while living in Takasaki.

On October 29, 1951, the Church purchased a large Japanese-style house in Takasaki. Besides the mission home, this was the first Church-owned property in Japan and the only one during the occupation period. The registration of the property was made in the name of the Corporation of the Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 47 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.⁷⁷ In 1958, Takasaki absorbed Maebashi to become the Gunma branch.

(4) Kofu

Kofu was the fifth place to be opened for missionary work outside the Tokyo area. In the early afternoon of April 26, 1949, Clissold arrived in Kofu, accompanied by Shigenori Yajima. They tried to locate some of the old members, but the addresses proved useless. “Having exhausted every possible resource, President Clissold offered a silent prayer as he walked along the crowded street asking the Lord to direct him to someone who knew something about the people he was seeking. A few moments later he was in the Military Government Office and felt impressed to ask the corps of translators for any information they might have. As the Military Government Office had closed, all the interpreters had left for the day with the exception of one. He remembered seeing a Book of Mormon in someone’s house and although the incident occurred over twenty-five years ago, he finally associated the book with the name of Yoneyama, which was the name

⁷⁵ Conference report, April 1949.

⁷⁶ Soon after returning home, Murakami became disenchanted with the Church. Ryoko Murakami, letter addressed to author, November 9, 1997; telephone interview with author, November 17, 1997. Yoshino later went to the United States to study at BYU and then Stanford, subsequently joining the faculty at Harvard Business School.

⁷⁷ Takasaki branch office, Maebashi Legal Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Justice.

of one of the members whom President Clissold was seeking. In the course of a few minutes he had Brother Yoneyama on the phone [He] and his father arrived at the station one-half hour before the train left and gave President Clissold some valuable information about Kofu and the saints who were still living in the area.”

In consequence, Ray Price and Kanetsuna were sent to Kofu. On May 6, 1949, they spent the day in Kofu and returned to Tokyo at night. On May 9, they left for Kofu to open the area for missionary work. The first Sunday School was held on May 29.

(5) Maebashi

On April 22, 1950, Ray Price and Sproat, who had been living in Takasaki but laboring in Maebashi, moved to Maebashi. Maebashi was consolidated back into Takasaki in 1958.

(6) Matsumoto

The Nagano district was opened for missionary work on June 22, 1950 by Akagi and Peterson, who began their work in Higashi Minowa, twenty miles south of Matsumoto in the Japan Alps. On July 2, 1950, Akagi and Peterson visited the city of Matsumoto, a “very nice city, quite clean, with about 85 thousand people living there.” They moved from Higashi Minowa to Matsumoto on September 1, 1950.

South Central District

(1) Narumi

Clissold came to Narumi on August 1, 1948 and was greeted by a large number of Sunday school children meeting at the Tatsui Sato home. On August 29, Andrus and Ray Price came to Narumi, accompanied by Tomigoro Takagi.⁷⁸ On October 22, Ted Price and Goya came to open Narumi for missionary work and, on November 8, began to hold regular meetings there. On November 22, Clissold made a surprise visit to Narumi. Narumi was closed in March 1956.

(2) Nagoya

⁷⁸ Tatsui Sato, letter addressed to Reed Davis, September 25, 1948.

The history of the Church in Nagoya is intertwined with that in Narumi, as Narumi is on the outskirts of Nagoya. When Clissold and his missionaries came to Narumi on different occasions in 1948, they first arrived in Nagoya and stayed with American military personnel stationed there, by the name of Major Bock and his wife Comfort. It appears that work in Nagoya officially began with the calling of Oldham and Sakata on April 29, 1949, which allowed the other two missionaries (Nelson and Ted Price) to labor in Nagoya while leaving them in Narumi. A separate branch was opened in Nagoya in 1950 and eventually, in March 1956, the Narumi branch was consolidated into the Nagoya branch.

(3) Osaka

On November 19, 1948, Clissold arrived in Osaka in the evening. Katsura was to meet him at the station, but they missed each other as they were at different sides of the station. Clissold stayed at the Naniwa Hotel that night. On November 20, he met Katsura and, later Hisada and Ohashi at the Katsura home.

On January 7, 1949, Nichols and Yoshii were assigned to labor in the Osaka and Kyoto areas. In the evening of January 12, they arrived at Sannomiya station in Kobe, where they were to stay at the house of William Paul Merrill, who had just moved from Yokohama in early December. The first trip to Osaka was made on January 14. They looked for living quarters and meeting places in Kobe, Osaka, and Ashiya, finally settling in the Ishibashi area, north of the city of Osaka. On Sunday, January 30, they held meetings in Kyoto at the house of an American female Church member by the name of Kundrick in the morning and at the Katsura home in Osaka at night.

The first public meeting was held on Sunday, February 13 at the "Japan Democratic Hall" in Osaka, with about thirty in attendance. On February 20, the meeting was held at the same place, but they used an "upstairs room, the auditorium being in use, only few present." It is not certain what building the "Democratic Hall" referred to, as American soldiers had different names for buildings than Japanese did.⁷⁹ However, Tomigoro Takagi quotes a story told him by Eiko Nagao (a prewar member living in Osaka at that time) to the effect that she had attended Sunday school sessions held at the "Osaka Kokaido," but that the meeting place (evidently referring to what the

⁷⁹ Neither Mamoru Iga nor Murray Nichols had a recollection of where the building was located, when the author contacted them. Mamoru Iga, letter addressed to author, June 15, 1997 and Murray L. Nichols, letter addressed to author, January 18, 1996.

American missionaries called the “auditorium”) was inappropriate for Church meetings as it was too large.⁸⁰ Most likely, the building was the “Chuo Kokaido” located in Nakanoshima, the heart of Osaka.

Later, Katsura and other members located a more suitable meeting place at Yodogawa High School (renamed Yodogawa Girls’ High School in 1953) in Juso, close to a commuter train junction linking Kobe, Takarazuka and Kyoto. Through the generosity of Toshio Hirata, the principal of the school, the Church was given use of the school facilities free of charge, including utilities. The first Sunday school in Juso was held on May 8, 1949, with about a hundred forty in attendance, including Nagao, Katsura and Mamoru Iga. In the summer of 1950, another branch was opened in Abeno in southern Osaka.

(4) Kobe

Kobe, a port city twenty miles west of Osaka, is located on the western end of the Hanshin metropolitan area. As William Paul Merrill had moved to Kobe from Yokohama at the beginning of December 1948, in January 1949, the first missionaries to the Osaka area, Nichols and Yoshii, initially stayed in Kobe at the Merrill home until living quarters could be found elsewhere. They arrived at Sannomiya station on January 12 and stayed in Kobe until late February. It was not until October 1957, however, that the first permanent branch of the Church, the Sannomiya branch, was located in the city of Kobe.

(5) Kyoto

Kyoto is an ancient capital of Japan located some forty miles northeast of Osaka. Clissold visited Kyoto in conjunction with his trip to Osaka in November 1948 and attended a servicemen’s meeting there on November 21. Kyoto was also included in the destination of the first missionaries sent to Osaka, Nichols and Yoshii, who were assigned to the Osaka and Kyoto areas. It is possible that Kyoto was included because an American female Church member by the name of Kundrick was living there. The missionaries held a meeting at her home on Sunday, January 30. It was not until February 1950, however, that Yoshii came to live in Kyoto, along with Furguson, as permanent missionaries. They lived at the home of Uzuru

⁸⁰ Takagi, “Nihon Dendobu no Kaiko.”

Hotta for about two months. The first convert, Tomio Katayama, was baptized on June 11, 1950.⁸¹

(6) Komatsu

Clissold first visited Komatsu on August 12, 1949, shortly before he was released as mission president. On Thursday, August 18, 1949, Akau and Okabe arrived in Komatsu. Shigeo Masukawa, a recent convert in Tokyo, was to meet the missionaries at the station but failed to do so because of some misunderstanding. After a short search, they located the home of Yukiko Nojima, where Clissold had earlier made an arrangement for them to stay.⁸² On the following day, the “assistant mayor ... suggested to call the airport commanding officer The army officer arrived and it was learned that he was a Mormon also from Utah, by the name of Lt. Law. He offered the missionaries every possible aid in true Mormon tradition.”

The missionaries arranged English classes to be taught at Rojo Middle School. The first Sunday School was held at the Zenrinkan Hall at 10 a.m. on August 28, with thirty-nine people present. “Brother Masukawa first gave a short introductory talk and Elder Okabe conducted the meeting from then on.” The first convert, Kan Watanabe, was baptized on April 22, 1950. For a time, Komatsu missionaries also proselyted in the neighboring town of Daishoji. In September 1957, the Komatsu branch was closed, and the members were requested to attend the Kanazawa branch, more than an hour away by public transportation. Komatsu was reopened in May 1970.

(7) Kanazawa

Kanazawa (with a population of about 250,000 in 1950) is the principal city of the Hokuriku region, lying twenty miles northeast of Komatsu. On June 1, 1950, Nichols and Akau first began missionary work there, while living in Komatsu. They commuted daily but, on July 24, 1950, moved from Komatsu to Kanazawa.

Southern District

⁸¹ Tomio Katayama, personal interview with author, Kobe, December 31, 1995.

⁸² Yukiko Nojima soon joined the Church and became an exemplary member of the Church, but died of cancer. Atkin called her “a wonderful lady whose only and greatest concern is the welfare of the missionaries.” Atkin, Journal, October 11, 1952.

(1) Hirao-Yanai

On the late afternoon of February 27, 1950, Okimoto and Pule arrived in Yanai in Yamaguchi prefecture and were met by Koichi Takeuchi and taken to their living quarters in Hirao. On March 6, 1950, Mauss called Goya, a mission recorder at the time, into his office and asked him to go to assist the lady missionaries in Hirao as a result of a telephone conversation with them. It was a "sudden decision." On Friday morning, Goya caught a train to Nagoya, picked up his companion Oppie, and continued on to Yanai, arriving there on the following day, and took a taxi to Hirao. Meetings began in Yanai from 1950. In February 1954, the Hirao branch was consolidated into the Yanai branch.

(2) Hiroshima

On March 16, 1950, after spending several days in Hirao, the missionaries decided to establish headquarters in Hiroshima. In Hiroshima, on March 19, Goya met an acquaintance from Tokyo by the name of Yarita. To Goya, it was "in answer to the prayer and desire.....we elaborated on the problems of housing ... Yarita-san consented to help us and so we made arrangements to meet him on Monday at the Hiroshima station." Monday, they "arrived in Hiroshima from Hirao where we are temporarily quartered. This day we spent the whole day looking for homes in and around Hiroshima." They did find a temporary place and returned to Hirao to get their belongings. After a few days, a lady came to the house who claimed to have had a dream about two angels and insisted that the missionaries come and live with her family for a nominal rent.⁸³ The lady, Miyoko Kamotani (born August 30, 1913) and daughter Michiko (born February 28, 1937) were both baptized on October 1, 1950.

An interesting incident took place while Oppie and Goya were in Hiroshima. On May 22, apparently in response to the request of the mission president, they left by train to Nagasaki to locate Susumu Hori, a prewar convert from the Osaka area. They travelled by way of Shimonoseki and Moji, arrived in Kikitsu, and took a bus to what appears to be the town of Tarami (fifteen miles east of the city of Nagasaki) to locate Hori. "He was filled with tears and joy." In June 1951, Hori became a ground keeper for the mission home.⁸⁴

⁸³ Oppie, personal interview.

⁸⁴ Oppie, personal interview; Oldham, telephone interview; and Yanagida, telephone interview.

(3) Fukuoka⁸⁵

Fukuoka (with a population of about 400,000 in 1950) is the principal city on the island of Kyushu. Ted Price, supervising elder of the Southern Division, arrived in Fukuoka on November 14, 1950 to make an arrangement for the opening of the area for missionary work. Pursuant to the arrangement made, on November 24, Nichols and Swenson arrived and began to live in the house of Sumiko Fukuda, the widowed younger sister of Masako Fukuda, then a Japan Socialist member of the National Diet.⁸⁶ The first Sunday meeting was held on November 26 at Sumiyoshi Women's Hall. However, the first baptisms, Yuki Sato and Kyoko An (both females), did not take place until April 13, 1952.

Swenson had earlier been in Nagoya, as a member of the 5th Air Force band from January 1947 to May 1949. It was while there that he met and married his wife (in September 1948). As immigration restrictions prevented him from taking his wife to the United States when he returned in May 1949, he sought an early discharge from the Air Force in November 1949 by availing himself of the special provisions applicable to those entering ministry, and returned to Japan as a missionary. During his mission in Japan, he lived in Nagoya with his wife for about six months, during which time he baptized her (in June 1950). In April 1952, he was released and allowed to return home, this time with his wife.

Appendix III. The Ichishima Land Deal

Given the singularity of the event, perhaps the Ichishima land deal requires additional elaboration. The Ichishima family earlier in the 17th century made a fortune from the business of selling medicine and marine products, and began to accumulate land holdings in the 18th century by reclaiming the vast wet lands of Niigata and by taking advantage of the favors received from the ruling families in exchange for its generous donations. In the latter part of the 19th century, the family was also

⁸⁵ Here, information obtained from Church records is supplemented by Robert Swenson, telephone interviews with author, January 25, 28 and 30, 1996.

⁸⁶ Nihon Tosho Senta, Nihon Josei Jinmei Jiten (Biographical Encyclopaedia of Japanese Women), Tokyo, 1993.

involved in banking and politics,⁸⁷ and established its residence in Tenno in the village of Nakaura. As an heir to the family wealth, Noriatsu Ichishima (1893-1959), upon graduation from Keio University in Tokyo, launched a major program of reclaiming a nearby lagoon (called Fukushima-gata), the title to which he had fully obtained in 1911. His ventures were so successful that, by 1924, a government survey identified Noriatsu's agricultural landholdings, huge by any standard to begin with, as the largest in the prefecture of Niigata and the third largest in Japan, with 1,350 hectares (approximately 3,300 acres) of agricultural land which was being cultivated by 2,488 tenant households. In the following year, his income was reported as 297,900 yen, the highest in Niigata. His residential property was 28,000 m² (approximately 300,000 ft²) in size, and included thirteen buildings with the floor space of 2,000 m² (22,000 ft²). At the end of World War II, his wealth remained undiminished. As of March 3, 1946, the government assessed his assets at 15,420,000 yen, the third highest in Niigata, which compared favorably with the asset value of 26,000,000 yen reported by the 15th wealthiest person in Japan at that time.⁸⁸

During the course of post-surrender reforms, the seemingly feudalistic system of tenant farming caught the attention of the occupation authorities. To be sure, the wide-spread practice of tenant farming was not a vestige of feudalism, as there had already been a major land reform in the 1870s, clearly defining property rights and giving land to the cultivating farmers. Accumulation of landholding actually proceeded subsequent to the land reform of the 1870s, owing to the bursts of declining agricultural prices in the 1880s and 1920s, which forced many of the farmers to sell their land.⁸⁹ Be that as it may, by the end of the war, the concentration of agricultural land ownership had reached the point where only about 30 percent of all the farmers owned enough land for their sustenance. In terms of acreage, almost half of all agricultural land was cultivated by tenants,

⁸⁷ Noriatsu's grandfather was the founding president of the Fourth National Bank in Niigata in 1874, and his father was the first member of the Imperial Diet's House of Peers appointed from Niigata in 1890. Keishikai, "Ichishima-ke no Kankei Shiryo" and "Echigo no Kyodai Jinushi: Ichishima-ke (The Ichishima Family: A Giant Landholder of Echigo)," not dated.

⁸⁸ Keishikai, "Ichishima-ke no Kankei Shiryo" and "Echigo no Kyodai Jinushi."

⁸⁹ Toshihiko Kawagoe, "Nochi Kaikaku (Agricultural Land Reform)," in Yutaka Kosai and Juro Teranishi (eds.), Sengo Nihon no Keizai Kaikaku: Shijo to Seifu (Economic Reforms in Postwar Japan: Markets and the Government), Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press, 1993.

with about two thousand individuals, including Ichishima, owned as much as one hundred acres or more.⁹⁰ The Japanese themselves had earlier attempted to tackle the problem of tenant farming on several occasions, but no major reform was possible given the resistance of the politically powerful landlords. They needed the support of the occupation authorities to implement any substantive change, but the GHQ/SCAP went far beyond what the Japanese had thought reasonable.

With the passage of the Agricultural Land Adjustment Law (and the associated Owner- Farmer Establishment Special Measures Law) in October 1946, absentee landlordism was wholly prohibited. A landlord could keep up to one hectare (or approximately two and a half acres) in the community in which he lived. An actual cultivator was allowed to own as much as three hectares (approximately seven and a half acres) for his own use. Except in the extreme north, all land in excess of these limits, as well as absentee-owned land, was to be bought up by the government, which in turn was to sell it on easy terms to former tenants.⁹¹ As it turned out, with the rampant inflation and the time it took to effect the transfer of land, the predetermined land prices became worthless when the payment was actually made by the government to the landlords, so that this program amounted to a virtual confiscation of land.⁹² Much of the actual work was done by locally elected land commissions, each consisting of five tenant farmers, two owner-cultivators, and three landlords.⁹³ It is said that most of the transfers had been made by late 1949, with the registration of titles remaining to be completed.

The questions that naturally arise, then, are what Ichishima was trying to accomplish by donating land (or use thereof) to the Church and why he chose not to do so after all. Although the full answers to these questions are lost in history, a remark or two may be offered. First, in 1949, the small probability still existed that the conservative cabinet of Shigeru Yoshida, which came into power in January 1949, would scale down, if not completely rescind, the scope of land reform. The Minister of Agriculture was an

⁹⁰ Kazuo Kawai, Japan's American Interlude, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960, pp. 171-173.

⁹¹ Kawai, Japan's American Interlude, pp. 171-173.

⁹² In some cases, an acre of land was sold at a price "equivalent to the black-market price for one carton of cigarettes and was then sold to the former tenants at a correspondingly low price payable in instalments spread over a thirty-year period at 3.2 percent interest." Kawai, Japan's American Interlude, p. 173; also Kawagoe, "Nochi Kaikaku," pp.167-168.

⁹³ Kawai, Japan's American Interlude, pp. 171-173.

outspoken critic of agricultural land reform, and was seeking to obstruct its completion. In fact, it was the action of the Minister of Agriculture, supported by the Minister of Finance, that halted the land registration work in October 1949, to which Douglas MacArthur issued a sharp warning. A contemporary American observer, writing in the early part of 1950, noted the “lingering uncertainties” and remarked that “conservative elements, in many cases genuinely believing that the reform is not in Japan’s best interest, have not surrendered, and can be expected to continue their efforts to bring it down, overtly if feasible and otherwise by indirection.”⁹⁴ Possibly, offering the Church use of his land was conceived as a convenient means of effectively holding onto his land until the dust settled.

Second, in any case, Ichishima must have been resigned to the fact that he would have to yield the major portion of his agricultural land that was being cultivated by tenant farmers. In fact, most of the transfer transactions had already been completed at that time, although the registration was being halted. Thus, the land in question was strictly the land that was not being cultivated by tenants, namely, the newly reclaimed areas around the lagoon and possibly the lagoon itself. This conjecture is consistent with the statement of Apostle Cowley that Ichishima was offering the Church (the use of) “1,700 acres, which surrounded his home.” Concerning this land, the determination of eventual ownership would be made by the local land commission, over which Ichishima must have yielded some influence. By offering the Church use (if not the ownership) of his land, he may have been trying to establish that the land was being used for public good, so as to sway the decision of the land commission in his favor.

Third, if he was genuinely interested in making an outright donation of the land, it may have been because he had no heir at that time. Then, the decision not to give the land after all may be related to the fact that he later adopted a son Noriaki, who was born in 1949. Voluntarily or involuntarily, sometime in the 1950s, Noriatsu sold the lagoon to the government, permanently moved to Tokyo, and died there in 1959.⁹⁵ Ironically, his adopted son decided not to succeed the Ichishima family, so that the family ceased as a legal entity on May 8, 1968.⁹⁶ On the government-owned lagoon, now fully reclaimed, currently stands a wild-bird observation station. The

⁹⁴ Robert A. Fearey, The Occupation of Japan: Second Phase, 1948-50, New York, Macmillan, 1950, p. 95.

⁹⁵ Futazo Nakamura, office chief, Keishikai, interview with author, Tenno, Toyouracho, Niigata, March 10, 1998.

⁹⁶ Keishikai, “Ichishima-ke no Kankei Shiryo” and “Echigo no Kyodai Jinushi.”

residential compound, with all the buildings, is now a designated cultural treasure of the prefecture of Niigata, and is maintained by a non-profit foundation Keishikai. It is a popular spot for tourists who come to savor the life style of a giant landholder of prewar Japan.

Pictures

1. Renovation of the mission home in Tokyo, summer 1948. Courtesy: LDS Church Archives.
2. Matthew Cowley (left), his wife, and Edward Clissold in front of the Tatsui Sato home in Narumi, June 23, 1949. Courtesy: Ryoko Murakami.
3. Street meeting in Sendai, fall 1949. From left to right, Lynn Oldham, Kenji Akagi, Eugene Pusey, and Masao Watabe (the first convert in Sendai). Courtesy: Hugh Lynn Oldham.
4. District conference held at the Ichishima home in Tenno, Niigata, March 25, 1951. Courtesy: Gideon Stanford Jarvis.