

## ENGLISH SUMMARY

### **The Triumph and Suffering of the Cross: Three Case Studies of the Influence of Foreign Missionaries on Japan**

H. A. ION

*(Royal Military College of Canada, Kingston, Canada)*

*Keywords*; GEORGE COCHRAN, DAVIDSON McDONALD, NAKAMURA MASANAO, *DOJINSHA*, KOISHIKAWA CHRISTIAN BAND, SHIZUOKA CHRISTIAN BAND, WALTER WESTON, JAPAN ALPS, SAMUEL HEASLETT, JAPAN-BRITISH RELATIONS

This paper examines three case studies of foreign missionaries in Japan at three different periods in the development of the Japanese Christian movement. The first case study looks at the early Meiji period and the relationship between Edward Warren Clark, an American teacher first at the Shizuoka Gakumonjo and later Kaisei Gakko in Tokyo and the first two Canadian Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in Japan, Davidson McDonald and George Cochran. In 1874-75 McDonald formed the Shizuoka Christian Band from among students that Clark had earlier taught. McDonald's colleague, George Cochran was introduced to Nakamura Masanao by Clark and came to teach at Nakamura's *Dojinsha* school in Koishikawa, Tokyo. Cochran baptised Nakamura on Christmas Day, 1874 and subsequently formed an important Christian group at the school which also included Kaisei Gakko students that Clark had taught.

The second case study looks at the end of Meiji and early Taisho periods. It investigates Walter Weston, a British Anglican missionary, who did much to popularize mountain climbing as a leisure sport in Japan. Weston who had admired the unaffected Japanese who lived in the mountains and the beauty of Japanese nature wrote a number of important English-language books on climbing in the Japan Alps.

The third case study looks at the early Showa period. It looks at Samuel Heaslett, who was a British Anglican missionary and primate (head bishop) of the Nippon Seikokai. In 1937, when he had to face a crisis caused by the Archbishop of Canterbury taking part in a protest in London, England against the bombing of Chinese cities by the Japanese military. Heaslett later had to face another crisis caused by the demand of the Japanese government that the Nippon Seikokai join the union Protestant denomination in 1941. Heaslett was imprisoned at the beginning of the war in December 1941. He was repatriated to England in 1942, and returned in 1946 to help the recovery of the Japanese Christian movement after the devastation of the war.

# **“Transnational” Mission Work of the ABCFM Japan Mission’s Missionaries to Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii in the Late Nineteenth Century**

YOSHIDA Ryo

*(Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan)*

*Keywords*; TRANSNATIONAL MISSIONARY WORK, AMERICAN BOARD, JAPAN MISSION, HAWAIIAN EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION, JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS, HAWAII

Overseas migration is one factor which expands missionary work beyond a single nation-state or region. Only a “transnational” approach can explain the history of missionary work among immigrants. A typical example of “transnational” missionary work was that of the Japan Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions among Japanese immigrants in Hawaii between the 1880s and the 1920s. The “transnational” missionary work deterritorialized geographically the mission field of the Japan Mission and challenged missionaries’ political loyalty and cultural identity. While missionaries generally move to a “field,” the “transnational” missionary work done by the former missionaries of the Japan Mission among the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii contained entirely new phenomena. First, the primary motivation for these missionaries moving to a new mission field was that the proselytized from Japan had migrated to Hawaii, a territory of the U. S. Since Hawaii was an American territory, the Foreign Mission field (A. B. C. F. M. Japan Mission) intersected with the Home Mission field (Hawaiian Evangelical Association [HEA]). At the same time, the Japanese immigration to Hawaii played a key role in motivating the Methodist Episcopal Church to start its mission field in Hawaii. That is, the “transnational” missionary work among the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii connected three different sets of geographically and denominationally restricted mission fields. Second, the “transnational” missionary work affected the histories of missionary work by the HEA and Kumiai (Congregational) Church in Japan. This missionary work expanded HEA’s influence upon the Japanese immigrants and played a part in the reorganization of the domination of Hawaii by Anglo Christian civilization. And to the Kumiai Church in Japan, this work absorbed the shock caused by the forced independence and reorganization of this Church and strengthened their unity in the late nineteenth century.

**Semi-Colonial Mission Field in Japan**  
**— Jurisdiction over Japan with Anglican Missionary**  
**Enterprises —**

OE Mitsuru

*(Rikkyo University, Tokyo, Japan)*

*Keywords;* RELIGIOUS SEMI-COLONIAL MISSION, ANGLICAN JURISDICTION  
 OVER JAPAN, TAIWAN MISSION

In 1894, after ten years Africa was partitioned by the Berlin conference, and when Japan succeeded in revising the unequal treaty imposed by Occidental Powers, Anglican Missionary Enterprises agreed to divide up their mission field in Japan between England and USA. There was no room for the Japanese clergy to do missionary works in Japan independently due to the monopolized jurisdictions by the foreign bishops. And so there was nothing else for the Japanese but to do in Taiwan as New Mission. Since then, except the Japanese bishopric founded in Tokyo and Osaka in 1923, all the missionary districts of Nippon Seikokai under English or American jurisdictions has succeeded too many dioceses in the NSKK, as a negative legacy, by the Japanese who brought up under either English or American bishopric until today.

**Research on Foreign Missions :**  
**The State of the Field in the United States**

KOHYAMA Rui

*(Tokyo woman's christian University, Suginami-ku, Japan)*

*Keywords;* FOREIGN MISSION, MISSIONNARIES, JAPAN, U. S., EAST ASIA,  
 HISTORIOGRAPHY, GENDER, SECULARIZATION, DECLINE, CHRIS-  
 TIANITY

This article attempts to contribute an introductory guide to the study of Protestant missionaries in East Asia by explaining how studies of foreign missionaries and missions have been perceived and pursued, especially in academia in the U. S. Missionaries sent from North America were more influential in East Asia than those from Great Britain and Europe, simply because the North Americans outnumbered the others. For this and other reasons—notably that more primary sources remain in U. S. than anywhere else—researchers in East Asia who are interested in this topic must often depend upon works and sources in U. S. Here, I hope to assist readers in comprehending the nature and the position of the historical source materials and the research that has been done on Protestant missions.

In the course of my research on American missionaries in East Asia, I have often felt that the perception of missionaries in the U.S. is different from that in Japan. Ironically, in Japan, to which they came uninvited, missionaries are often portrayed favorably, as “saints” or “great men or women.” By contrast, in the U. S., missionaries are often perceived as “out of the mainstream,” as “invaders of other nations and cultures,” or even as irrational fanatics. The positive evaluation in Japan often arises from the historical background and the position of the researchers: a majority of studies on missionaries have been produced by Christians as their personal testimonies or by mission school authorities as their school histories. At the same time, Japanese view the missionaries positively because they were Westerners who introduced new knowledge. They were in a position of power, and in fact, many Japanese benefited from missionaries’ work. This being the case, what are the reasons for the negative image of missionaries in the U. S.? Who has led the research on missions and missionaries overseas? What is it that accounts for the recent trend of reappraisal in research on missionaries, and the increasing number of works in fields other than religious studies?

In this essay, first I identify the meaning of foreign missionary enterprise in nineteenth-century America. The missionary presented an ideal human type and by extension constructed an idealistic self-image for American society. That is, the foreign missionary enterprise contributed to the construction of the altruistic human as an ideal type to counter the Darwinian image of humans in which the fittest would survive by trampling the weak. Further, I argue that such construction was gendered.

In the second part of this article, I analyze the process of rapid decline of foreign mission enterprise by mainstream churches in the twentieth century and especially after World War I from three perspectives: 1) secularization, 2) the rise of nationalism in mission fields and the increase in criticism by the people who had been the objects of missionary effort, and 3) the division between liberals and conservatives among Protestants. In the process of decline, suspicion toward the foreign mission enterprise was aroused among liberal intellectuals.

The third part of this essay explicates the history of foreign mission studies in the U. S., categorizing these studies as belonging to four lines: 1) studies produced in the environment of theological seminaries, 2) studies influenced by John Fairbank (i. e., Harvard), 3) studies produced as women’s history, and 4) studies influenced by “the new diplomatic history.”

In the fourth section of the article I briefly review Japanese studies of Protestant missionaries and the mission enterprise.

It is hoped that future research on missionary activity and on the missionaries themselves will be done with a broader perspective and a wider range of interests than previous missionary studies, which were largely defined by Christian academism.

## Colonial Occupation, Christianity, and Cross-Cultural Communication : The Case of Japanese Military Occupation of Taiwan (1895)

TAKAI-HELLER Yuki

(Research Fellow, Institute for the Study of Christianity and Culture, International Christian University, Mitaka, Japan)

*Keywords*; COLONIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY, CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION, IMPERIALISM, CIVILIZATION/UNCIVILIZED, NATIONALISM, ENCOUNTER, RELATIONSHIP BUILDING, MISUNDERSTANDING

To date, there has been a tendency to view the issue of colonialism and Christianity from the “Church and State” perspective, under which Christianity has generally been regarded negatively and self-critically. This is due to conciliatory actions of Christianity toward colonial powers, which were typical in “Christendom” of the West and which also holded in the case of Japanese colonialism where Christianity was not the national religion. However, the role frequently played by Christianity as a medium through which the “oppressed” and the “oppressors” have overcome cultural and political obstacles and successfully communicated under the multi-cultural conditions created by colonialism has largely been neglected. The case studied in this paper describes the encounters and communications of Japanese Christians with Taiwanese Christians and Western missionaries in 1895, the starting year of the Japanese colonial occupation of Taiwan. The paper seeks to show the reality and issues faced by those seeking to engage in cross-cultural communication under the auspices of Christianity, under colonial occupation.

The paper first investigates the communications between Christians in the Japanese military and Christians among the Han people in Penghu, an island that was occupied by Japan just prior to the occupation of the island of Taiwan. The study traces the existence of what can be called “friendly” relations between the two sides. At the same time, it also notes that there was a degree of misunderstanding, where the sides were unable to connect with each other.

The paper then turns its attention to the *imonshi*, who were pastors sent out by the Japanese Protestant church, under the sanction of the Japanese military, to console the soldiers. The encounters and communication between the *imonshi* and the Christian community in Taiwan is shown. The movements of one *imonshi* in particular, Kiyoshi Hosokawa, are studied in detail. In showing the communication and relationship building that occurred among Hosokawa and the Taiwanese churches and English and Canadian missionaries, the problematic aspects of his mentality as an *imonshi* are considered.

It is interesting that in a time of deep mutual suspicion between the Japanese army and the Taiwanese people there could exist “friendly” relations among the Taiwanese, Japanese, and English/Canadians through the medium of Christianity. Yet, amid language difficulties, these relations were possible because the “oppressor” mentality of the Japanese side was not clearly grasped by either the Taiwanese or the missionaries. The

broad existence of this type of gulf between the intentions and expectations of the three parties became clear over the ensuing fifty years of Japanese colonialism in Taiwan.

## **Women's Freedom of Speech : Protestant Missionaries, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Japanese Church Men and Women**

YASUTAKE Rumi

(*Konan University, Kobe, Japan*)

*Keywords*; WCTU, TOYOJYU SASAKI, *WOMEN'S FREEDOM OF SPEECH*, PAUL'S INJUNCTION, CHURCHWOMEN, GENDER RELATIONSHIP

In the summer of 1888, a booklet titled *Women's Freedom of Speech* was published in Japan by Toyojyu Sasaki. Sasaki was an officer of a newly established Japanese churchwomen's organization, Tokyo Fujin Kyofukai that was a branch in Tokyo of an American churchwomen's organization, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). In fact, the booklet carried a Japanese translation of an English essay that first appeared in the WCTU's public organ, *Union Signal*, in July 1886. The essay argued that it was a mistake to universalize Paul's injunction—"Let Your Women Keep Silence in the Churches"—and to apply it today ignoring differences in social and historical contexts.

American churchwomen's missionary movements of various denominational churches involved the largest mass of churchwomen in late nineteenth century America and created a number of women's home and foreign missionary boards divided by denominational lines. Subjugated to the male clergy who dominated missionary enterprises of each denomination, American missionary women working in Japan as well as churchwomen who supported their work in America experienced various constrictions on their behaviors and activities. A good example was Paul's injunction that discouraged women from speaking in public, especially to gender-mixed audiences. Based on bitter experiences of women's boards, American churchwomen established the WCTU as a nondenominational women's organization advocating a secular cause of "temperance." The WCTU also dispatched its missionaries to the world to expand its organization. Some of these WCTU missionaries arrived in Japan promoting their version of American churchwomen's social activism that was slightly different from that of their predecessors, American Protestant missionary women.

By examining the historical background for the publication of *Freedom of Women's Speech* by a Tokyo WCTU member, Toyojyu Sasaki, in early Meiji Japan, this article examines the gender relationship observed by American Protestant missionaries working in Japan, and studies how this relationship was challenged by American WCTU missionary women who followed their wake while promoting temperance. At the same time, the article speculates on how the competing concepts of gender relationship

displayed by American Protestant and WCTU missionary women affected Japanese church men and women who were eager to participate in the process of redefining the role of women in the midst of Japan's modern-nation-building efforts in the late 1880s.

## **Missionaries in China and the Unequal Treaties: The 1860s and '70s**

WATANABE Yūko

*(Chuo University, Hachioji, Japan)*

*Keywords*; PROTESTANT, MISSIONS, UNEQUAL TREATIES, DIPLOMATIC POLICIES

This Paper treats of the political and diplomatic aspects of Protestant missions in late Ching China, discussing how those missionaries related to the diplomatic policy of their nations and what they thought of about having their activities protected by the privileges inserted in “the unequal treaties.” It focuses on the period from the negotiations of the Tianjin and Beijing Treaty to the debates over “treaty privileges of Christianity” stimulated by the two anti-Christian incidents in 1868 in which British missionaries and their Chinese converts were injured.

## **The Mission Activities in China and Japan of the American Medical Missionary Mary Anna Holbrook : Clues from Missionaries' Correspondence, 1881–1907**

ISHII Noriko

*(Jochi University, Tokyo, Japan)*

*Keywords*; WOMAN MEDICAL MISSIONARY, GENDER, NORTH CHINA MISSION, JAPAN MISSION

Drawing on missionary correspondence of an American woman medical missionary to North China Mission and Japan Mission from the 1880s to the turn-of-the-century, the paper shows that the demand of the mission field was more decisive than the missionary's professional expertise in determining the nature of the mission work. In this case study, Mary Anna Holbrook, M. D. was engaged in dispensary work and in educating medical Bible Women at Tungcho Mission, whereas in Kobe, she was instrumental in the collegiate expansion at Kobe College in 1894. Facing the Japanese demand for advanced women's education, Holbrook devoted her life to teaching “Home Hygiene” and establishing the scientific department with the intention to apply science to Japanese home life. Although small in number, Holbrook's students further developed home economics

departments as faculty members at various women's colleges. In retrospect, Japanese families gained subtle yet long-standing missionary impact in adopting scientific house-keeping.

## **The Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and Japanese Imperial Rule : From the Beginning of the Twentieth Century to the 1920s**

Lee Sung Jeon

*(Keisen University, Tama, Japan)*

*Keywords;* IMPERIALISM, FOREIGN MISSION, MODERNITY, GOVERNMENT GENERAL, PRESBYTERIAN, CHRISTIANITY, KOREA MISSION, CULTURAL RULE, MISSIONARY

Through analysis of Presbyterian Korea Mission materials, this article clarifies how the Korea Mission viewed Japanese imperial rule over Korea in the early part of the twentieth century.

Before the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, Arthur Brown, the secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, had an ambivalent attitude regarding Korean independence. He radically changed his view after the war. In 1909, even before Korea was annexed as a colony of Japan, he affirmed the British and American recognition of imperial rule in various regions of the world; by logical extension he approved of Japanese imperial rule of Korea.

However, in the 1910s, after the colonization of Korea, missionaries in Korea became antagonistic to the Japanese Government General; the view of people in the field was contrary to that of the Board of Foreign Missions. This was because the Government General not only oppressed the Korean Christianity but also banned the teaching of the Bible and religious activities in Mission Schools.

The Government General revised its educational and religious policies at the beginning of 1920s, and tried to appear generous to Christianity. The Government General also asked missionaries to cooperate with its "politics of culture" (*bunka seiji*). The Korea Mission changed its antagonistic attitude to the Government General, and affirmed Japanese imperial rule in the 1920s. This did not mean simply that the Government General's conciliatory measures were successful. Behind the shift from the antagonism to the affirmation of Japanese imperial rule lay the Mission's view of civilization.

The Government General and the Korea Mission shared a common attitude toward imperialism, but in the 1930s, fundamental differences appeared between the American form of modernity and the Japanese form of modernity.



## **Rajah Brooke, Missionary**

NAKAJIMA Toshiro

*(Konan University, Kobe, Japan)*

*Keywords;* RAJAH BROOKE, SARAWAK, IMPERIALISM, MISSIONARY, JAPAN-SARAWAK COMPANY

This article focuses on the relationship between the Brookes and the Christian missionaries, discussing the White Rajahs' motivations for the control of Sarawak. It looks at their way of ruling the Sarawak natives, the role models they presented to the natives, and their own rather paternalistic views of what their influence should be. Based on the activities of the Japan-Sarawak Company (Nissa-Shokai), this research fills a significant gap in the studies on the Brookes' Sarawak which has tended to concentrate on administrative and political aspects.

## **The Influence of Protestant Domestic Scenes on Western-Style Residences**

KAWASAKI Eriko

*(Bunkyo University, Koshigaya, Japan)*

*Keywords;* S. HASHIGUCHI, W. M. VORIES, I. NISHIMURA WESTERN, LIFESTYLE, TAISHO DEMOCRACY

During the period of flourishing Taisho Democracy in Japan, three notable figures with similar background in Protestantism were active in the field of housing design and construction. Shinsuke Hashiguchi founded America-Ya, a trading company, in 1909; W. M. Vories founded the Omi Mission in 1907; and, after starting his training in architectural design, Isaku Nishimura founded Bunka Gakuin School in 1921. They all viewed the traditional housing and living customs of Japan as outmoded and advocated housing reform as a top priority for molding the kind of people fit for a new era. They found a model in American style housing.

This paper illustrates the process of how the western lifestyle and housing spread in Japan. It also attempts a comparative examination of the Protestant tenets and the activities of the missionaries with a special focus on the work and thoughts of these three who lived in the same period.

# **Mission, Missionary and Music in Blind Education of Meiji Japan**

TESHIROGI Shun'ichi

*(Institute for the Study of Christianity and Culture, International Christian University  
Mitaka, Japan)*

*Keywords;* MEIJI, BLIND EDUCATION, MISSION, MISSIONARY

The main purpose of this paper is to introduce the materials of mission, missionary and music in blind education of Meiji Japan.

With the reopening of Japan in 1859, many missionaries started to come to Japan and marked the beginning of missionary revival in Japan. They were engaged in various missionary works. One of them was blind education.

I will discuss blind schools that were established by missionaries, and blind education by Meiji government. And I will discuss the relation between Christianity and blind education of Japan, especially concerning mission, missionary and music, in the relationship between Luther Whiting Mason, Graham Bell, Helen Keller, and Shuji Izawa who visited Kyoto Furistu Mogakko (Kyoto Blind School).

## **The Missions as an Entertainment : The “Lantern Lecture” by George Allchin in Japan**

YAMAMOTO Miki

*(Kobe College, Hyogo, Japan)*

*Keywords;* LANTERN, MISSION, HYMN, GORGE ALLCHIN, THEATER

The Lantern Lecture by George Allchin is an important work as well as his work on hymns during his missions in Japan. His travels for missions extended to rural areas from Tohoku to Kyushu. For many people, it was the first time to listen to the western music or experience the western culture in live. Sometimes his “Lantern Lecture” gathered more than a thousand people at a time. Therefore it was played in theaters like an entertainment show.

In this essay, the author would like to deal with his “Lantern Lecture,” especially his original pieces of “Hototogisu” and “Yowa Nasake”. They were adapted from fables of the Bible; “Prodigal Son” and “Good Samaritan”, respectively.

By examining his missions, the “Lantern Lecture,” his sense as a showman or characteristics of his style in missions will be found. The reaction of the general society in Japan towards the western culture will be made clear as well.

## **Cultural Activities of the Protestant Missionaries in Modern China: Centering on the Shanghai-London Missionary Society Press**

LIU Jianhui

*(International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto, Japan)*

*Keywords*; PROTESTANT MISSIONARY, CHINESE TRANSLATED WESTERN BOOKS, LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY PRESS, THE XIUCAI INTELLECTUALS WHO FAILED IN THE “IMPERIAL EXAMINATIONS”, WESTERN AFFAIRS, INFORMATION NETWORK

The existence of the foreign missionaries has rarely been evaluated positively so far in China's modern history. One of the big reasons is that some of the missionaries had cooperated with the so-called colonial rulers and became members of them. However, the hitherto historical literature that only takes up the political and military aspects while concerning little about other social and cultural factors, I think, also consists of one of the important backgrounds.

It is true that so-called “Missionary Cases” between the foreign missionaries and Chinese general public regarding the former's mission activities had occurred, and it was became big political and diplomatic incidents Sometimes, after the Opium war. And it is also true that a part of the missionaries had been in conspiracy with colonial rulers in order to borrow their power to solve the problems. However, we should not ignore their other social and cultural activities just for that reason, especially their roles as pioneer of introducing and practicing Western culture and civilization, such as translating Western books in Chinese and establishing hospitals. We should not forget their accomplishment of having brought many modernity factors in China by advocating women's liberation and implementing missionary education.

This paper will focus on one of the activity bases, the London Missionary Society Press, by Protestant missionaries in Shanghai in the 1860s. I will introduce the missionaries' undertakings of translating Western books and the Bible, their cultural exchange and cooperative activities with Chinese intellectuals, and will also analyze how their activities had influenced China and the whole East Asian region. I hope this paper could provide some modification to the narrow-minded thinking of Chinese Modern History, and link to the reconstruction of Cultural history studies of China.

# The Missionary Activities of Rev. James Scarth Gale in Korea

LEE Hansop

(Professor, Korea University, Seoul, Korea)

*Keywords*; MISSIONARIES IN KOREA, CANADIAN MINISTER, TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE, KOREAN = ENGLISH DICTIONARY

This article treats the Canadian minister J. S. Gale, who came to Korea in the late nineteenth century and worked to spread the Christian faith. An extremely important figure among the Western missionaries in Korea, Gale was active for thirty years, from 1888 to his return to Canada in 1927. He made an impact on several areas of endeavor.

The first was propagation of Christian teaching. He preached and taught in Seoul from the time of his arrival, and made a great contribution to the spread of Christian doctrine in Korea. The second area in which he was influential was in translation of the Bible into Korean. He joined several other missionaries to form the Bible Translation Committee in the early 1890s, and they produced a Korean translation of the New Testament published in 1906. From 1904 to 1910 they translated the Old Testament, which they published in 1911. Another field in which Gale was important was research; he studied Korean culture, language, and daily life, and he introduced these to the West in books and articles. His mastery of Korean language and particularly his acquisition of the ability to read the Korean classics and writing in Chinese marked him as truly extraordinary among Westerners of his day. The last area of his impact that I take up in this article is dictionary compilation. In 1897, Rev. Gale published *A Korean-English Dictionary* (Yokohama: Kyongsong Society of Jesus Press). A revised and expanded edition of the dictionary was published in 1911, and he brought out a greatly enlarged version in 1931. These dictionaries faithfully reflect the Korean lexicon of their era, and they continue to be highly valued as sources for study of the language of the early twentieth century.

## **New Chinese Words Created by Western Missionaries and their Limitations : Translation of Western Works Prior to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century**

SUN Jianjun

*(Lecturer of the Department of Japanese Language and Culture, Peking University Peking, China)*

*Keywords*; PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES, NEW CHINESE CHARACTER WORDS, MODERN CHINESE WORDS, CHINESE TRANSLATION OF WESTERN WORKS, LIMIT OF COINED WORDS

Taking examples from works on social science, this article analyzes translations of books into Chinese by Western missionaries prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, and the word-creation activity of the translators. I show that the missionaries' talents had limits, in the area of coinage of new words. Of Western books translated into Chinese in the first half of the nineteenth century, works on natural science and religion made up the overwhelming majority, but a few works introducing the political institutions and social systems also appeared. We can distinguish two types of word coinage by the missionaries: neologisms (*shinzōgo*) and appropriations (*ten'yōgo*, taking existing words and applying new meanings to them). Examples of neologisms include words created by choosing characters that sound like the original language and words that are direct literal translations; examples of literal translations are *jōin* ("upper house"), *kain* ("lower house"), *gikai* ("deliberative assembly"), and *kokusai* ("national debt"). Words such as *kokkai* ("national assembly") are abbreviations of longer phrases. In contrast to these coinages, there is a relatively large number of cases in which translators appropriated words from the lexicon of existing words—China had developed a rich classic legal vocabulary, for instance—and turned those words to new usages. Such words as *senkyo* ("election"), *jishu* ("autonomy"), *ryōji* ("consul"), *jiritsu* ("independence"), and *minshu* ("popular sovereignty") are examples. Missionaries succeeded in coining many new words, but their efforts had a number of limitations. Among these were that they lacked specialized knowledge of some fields, they sometimes worked by giving dictation to copyists; and they encountered difficulties arising from different dialects and from rivalries among missionary groups.