

論文

Understanding Japan's defeat, finding the way forward: Orikuchi Shinobu and Kagawa Toyohiko

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Orikuchi Shinobu (1887-1953) is known as a scholar of Shinto and of Japanese folklore, and as a poet/writer. Kagawa Toyohiko (1888-1960) was a Christian evangelist who lived and worked among the poor, and who took leadership in establishing labor and farmers' unions and consumer cooperatives. Also a prolific and popular writer, he was among the Japanese best known internationally before and after World War II. Orikuchi and Kagawa lived through the period of tumultuous change as Japan modernized. They experienced Japan's militaristic build-up and resultant defeat in World War II. Both men spoke out concerning the reasons for Japan's defeat and proposed new ways for rebuilding the country. Orikuchi, speaking from within Japan's Shinto religion, criticized the lack of faith of his people, and argued for a fundamental rethinking of Shinto. Kagawa, as he labored helping his people to survive and recover from the devastation of war, envisioned and worked for a new Japan and a peaceful world.

Both Orikuchi and Kagawa have been overlooked by some of the leading scholars of modern Japanese history; they are unmentioned, for example, by Dower⁽¹⁾ and Bix⁽²⁾ in their writing on postwar Japan. This paper, arguing that Orikuchi and Kagawa need be reheard, will consider Orikuchi's quest to remake defeated Shinto and Kagawa's vision for re-creating defeated Japan.

Orikuchi Shinobu: Remaking defeated Shinto

Orikuchi was born in Osaka to a merchant family.⁽³⁾ From his childhood, he was immersed in the classics of Japanese literature. At the age of three, he memorized the 100 poems of the *hyakunin isshu* Japanese card game. Orikuchi graduated from Kokugakuin University, the leading Shinto university, literally *koku* (country) *gaku-in* (study institute) in 1910, and after teaching at a middle school in Osaka, returned to Tokyo, and taught at Kokugakuin from 1920 until his death in 1953.

Orikuchi was known for his work as a *tanka* poet, a form of poetry that compresses into 31 syllables (letters or characters) pictures of life and nature. His first *tanka* work, written in 1925, *Between the Sea and the Mountains* 海山の間 (*Umi Yama no Aida*), was well received. Along with mentor and colleague Yanagita Kunio, he made Japanese folklore the object of study, and in 1934 established the Japan Folklorists Society (日本民族協会) *Nihon Minzoku Kyoukai*.

Orikuchi regarded the Shinto religion as best expressed in poetry, and strongly opposed Kono Seizo, president of Kokugakuin from 1935 to 1942, and other scholars who sought to make Shinto into a moralizing, ethical system with the Emperor its god.⁽⁴⁾ The goals of these mainline Shinto nationalist scholars were to strengthen the traditional values of "treasuring the emperor, loving the country, respecting the gods, and worshipping ancestors," and "awaken and stir a sense of national identity."⁽⁵⁾ The Kono group expressed its vision of Shinto and the Japanese Empire in its

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Kokutai no Hongi 国体の本義 (Principles of National Polity), published to the praise of the Ministry of Education in 1937. Orikuchi and Yanagita thus stood outside of the State Shinto (*Kokka Shinto* 国家神道) establishment during the pre-war militaristic buildup.

Orikuchi experienced deep loss through Japan's devastation and defeat in World War II. Personally, he lost his adopted son and lover, Harumi Fujii, in battle at Iwo Jima. After the shock of the August 15, 1945 defeat, Orikuchi went into seclusion in Hakone for forty days, following the Shinto tradition of returning to hermitage in the mountains in time of crisis. He could not go back to business as usual. Orikuchi's poem "The gods have been defeated" (神破れたまふ: *Kami yabureta maou*) in *Collection of modern wounds* (『近代悲傷集』: *Kindai hi shou shuu*) was rare among the followers of Shinto as he deeply mourned the defeat of Japan's Shinto gods and criticized the shallow faith of the Japanese (Shinto) people. In the words of Orikuchi scholar Tanigawa,

Orikuchi could not help but to feel deep anger at the many people who during the war boasted of their country and waited on the Divine winds (神風: *kamikaze*) [to save them], but who sealed their lips as though it was none of their business when Japan was defeated...Japanese almost never thought in terms of their own faith, and rose easily over the threshold of defeat. This was of course the case of those who during the war flaunted right-wing ideology, but as though dropping a fox, after the war [dropped their right wing ideology and] ran after democracy, and in the same way, with those strong nationalists who had not even the consciousness of defeat. There were certainly not many who like Orikuchi honestly recognized the defeat of the gods of Japan.⁽⁶⁾

An English translation of Orikuchi's poem follows.⁽⁷⁾

The gods have been defeated

1. Here, the gods have been defeated

Susano-wo, Okuni-nushi too

Have strayed out of the court that is in

Mahoroba surrounded by blue mountains

(*Susano-wo* and *Okuninushi* are gods in *Kojiki*; *Mahoroba* is in the heart of Japan (the region of Nara, Yamato, and Asuka), and the traditional center of Japanese Shinto)

2. Feces, vomit, urine flowing

Worms crawl out, clouds of flies swarm

People lie face down in the dirt

Aohitokusa (Japanese people) all colorless (due to defeat)

3. Villages, fields, mountains are the same color, monotone blue

Vacantly, only blue; sea and sky are the same blue color.

4. Barnyard grasses are picked off before the heads appear;
For babies, instead of mother's milk, people give them drops of grass tea.
5. After the war, the gods of soldiers assemble. The gods of *Kashima* and *Katori* are silent, without a word.

(*Kashima* and *Katori* were the imperial shrines to the gods of martial arts, located on either sides of the Tone River. Soldiers departing to war would pray at these shrines.)

6. The gods of *Suwa* and *Omiwa* speak little, with lonely words and deep lamentations.

(*Suwa* Shrine is in Nagano; *O-miwa* Shrine is in Miwa (Nara))

7. Early in the war, we had lost. It was obvious who would win and who would lose.
Battles between humans (nations) are watched by the gods in heaven.

(After Japan's defeat at Midway early in the war (1942), the war's outcome was obvious.)

8. Why did Heaven refuse to hear the prayers of the gods to whom the people appealed? Heaven answers only according to the fervency with which the people pray.

9. If giving their hearts in this fleeting world, if exhausting all powers, the people had fought with deep faith, the gods would have heard.

The gods looked down from the sky (where prayers are heard; the prayers were not answered in the earthly realm of the faith-lacking Japanese people.)

10. *Suwa*, *Kashima*, *O-miwa*, *Katori*, and all other powerful gods demonstrated each his power in response to the speeches of the subject people of the nation (*kokumin*).

11. The fighting spirits of the gods strengthened the soldiers to the degree they trusted in them.

12. But as battles of the gods were fought, so peoples' battles were fought. The way of victory or defeat was decided.

13. Oh, the strength of the sovereign's prayer, oh, his deep belief in the gods. Gods of war shouted wildly; soldiers tried every means to fight.

14. But as gods' powers were weakened, so soldiers' powers weakened. As a result, the people of *Yamato* lost their gods.

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15. The belief of people—their country was protected by gods—this was hoping for a miracle. But in vain was such belief. Without true belief, how can there be a miracle?
16. Afterwards people spoke of it. The hearts of gods were deeply injured, and all their equipment spoiled.
17. The powers of the gods could not be shown; the gods in battle were completely defeated. Respect for them was lost. Now the gods have gone back to heaven (to the *kizonsha*, or eternal god).
18. The gods' tales were thus sorrowful. After separation from the gods, I remembered how deep was my belief in them. It now seems all a dream.
19. Truly, Japanese people forgot their gods. The people lost their gods. On another day, we must console their injured hearts.
20. O gods, please come back each to your shrine, and forget the defeat of war. Quiet your hearts. My country and my heart will be healed.

Hanka (Response)

1. Here, gods fell defeated. The quiet *Mahoroba* mountains have no place to depend on.
2. People of this country supposed that their gods were no different than airplanes that flew the skies.
3. I will face without shame those who had little faith in the gods. Though defeated, the gods are still to be worshipped.

Thus describing the terrors of the war and its aftermath, Orikuchi lamented the defeat of his gods, and exploded with anger at the shallow spirituality of his countrymen as he spoke out of the vacuum left by the defeat. He urged his people to repent for their lack of faith, to turn and be healed. Though they had been defeated, Orikuchi still believed in the gods. They, and the Shinto religion, just had to be redesigned.

Hamada sees in this poem an intense consciousness of Japanese war responsibility and guilt, rooted in a deep religious consciousness and reflection.⁽⁸⁾ In Orikuchi's words

The defeat of the gods means that we did not practice the religious life; our actions showed no consideration for the gods. Because we defiled the gods, their dignity could not be expressed. In other words, I think we lacked a sense of thankfulness and repentance towards the gods...At least, for the casting down into the pits (degrading) of our gods, we

who serve them must take responsibility. If one does not feel responsibility, he cannot be called a religious leader (神主 *kannushi*).⁽⁹⁾

If we look into mainline Shinto, we see its advocates did not think of how to strengthen the religious nature of Shinto, considering efforts to make Shinto more religious as interference to their moralizing, ethicizing Shinto.⁽¹⁰⁾

Hamada goes on to note Orikuchi's advocacy for all-out efforts to recreate Shinto.

1. Shinto lacked an organized system of doctrine. It had many myths, but no one has abstracted them into a logical religious system—a systematic theology, so to speak.

We have come out with many beliefs, but we don't have a logical, systematic theology to abstract these beliefs. There are many myths, but we have not made them into the logical foundation of a religion...When we organize and show properly the connecting themes, the proper form of a religion will come forth.⁽¹¹⁾

2. Shinto needed a founding figure/high priest (教祖 *kyousu*). Orikuchi envisioned someone like the Roman Catholic Pope at the head of Shinto. Such a leader could resolve issues of doctrine, including the issue of whether Shinto should be mono or polytheistic. Orikuchi felt the emperor could best fill this role.⁽¹²⁾
3. Shinto needed to at least learn from, if not model itself on monotheistic religion. The eight million gods (八百万の神 *yaoyorozu no kami*) of Shinto blurred and watered down the object of faith.⁽¹³⁾ Orikuchi proposed a god like the "Already existing one" (既存者 *kizonsha*) as the proper object of faith. He sought in Shinto for a god or gods, one between flesh and spirit that had the power to bring forth life, a creator god, a god that promoted growth, a god that bound things together, one that performed holy acts.⁽¹⁴⁾
4. Orikuchi opposed Shinto's emphasis on the worship of ancestors as its central belief, and in this the worship and deification of emperor as descendant of the gods. The pillar of mainstream Shinto, the divinity of the emperor, Orikuchi rejected saying that 1) "being god is most troublesome for the emperor" and 2) "there is no way the emperor is god."⁽¹⁵⁾

Orikuchi addressed his Shinto fellow Japanese following the war with many essays, whose titles typically reveal their content: "The meaning and significance of making Shinto more into a religion" (神道宗教化の意義 *Shinto shuukyoka no igi*) (August 1946); "To my Shinto friend" (神道の友人よ *Shinto no yuujin yo*) (January 1947); "From folk religion to religion for humankind" (民族教から人類教へ *Minzokukyo kara jinruikyo e*) (February 1947) "A new direction for Shinto" (神道の新しい方向 *Shinto no atarashii houkou*) June 1949.⁽¹⁶⁾

Orikuchi believed the form of Shinto must be broken down, disassembled in order to remake it. In Tanigawa's analysis

Orikuchi argued for getting rid of the Shinto that was based on faith in the ancestors, called out for a Shinto based on a transcendent god, and published essays saying the emperor was not god with the intent of making Shinto in every way more

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a religion, to make the politics which had worn the false skin of a religious and political union more purely into politics, and to free Japanese folklore study from its attachment to Japanese soil, and to remake it as a more universal field of study. Orikuchi argued for the independence of the three fields of religion, politics, and scholarship.⁽¹⁷⁾

Orikuchi died of cancer in 1953, rather isolated within the Shinto he sought to reform. Why did his reflection meet stony silence from the perpetrators of the Shinto order? The defeat in World War II did not dislodge Shinto nationalists, and though Shinto's god descended "partway from heaven" (in Dower's expression), the emperor himself would cling most tenaciously to his position, and protest his innocence to the end. The answer lies at least in part in the nature of Shinto. Conversion is antithetical to the Shinto understanding of an unbroken succession of ancestors who become gods at death—or at succession, in the case of the emperor. To divert from this course would be to deny the essence of Shinto.⁽¹⁸⁾

As for the Showa Emperor, complicit as he was in the war effort, and responsible directly or indirectly for the millions who died for him and due to his decisions, his reaction at the end of the war was pure Shinto: dressed in the white silk pajamas of Shinto ritual purity, he confessed his innocence, his disassociation from the matters of war, a stance he would meticulously and ingenuously defend to the end of his conscious days.⁽¹⁹⁾

Kagawa Toyohiko: Re-creating defeated Japan

Kagawa went into hiding at the end of the war, fearing that rumors that the United States was seeking to make him the prime minister of Japan would make him target for assassination by the right-wing nationalists. But he was soon on center stage, approached by Prince Higashikuni to help reform the failed Shinto and Buddhist morality of Japan with a Christian touch. Kagawa proposed within the *Kyodan* the repentance of the 100 million Japanese (一億の総懺悔 *ichioku no souzange*), a slogan which was likely a part of his discussion with Higashikuni, and which would become one bandied by leaders, but criticized by thinkers, (for obfuscating the actual responsibility for war by transferring it from the perpetrators of war—the militarists, oligarchs, the emperor, and enforcers of State Shinto—to the general populace) and ignored by most. He addressed a letter to MacArthur in the August 30, 1945 *Yomui Hoshi* calling for the preservation of the emperor as the only one who could lead Japan through the post-war crisis.⁽²⁰⁾ Kagawa was a regular visitor to the Imperial House, one of the many leading Christians who were advocates for the emperor. Kagawa was also sought out by MacArthur, and was welcomed by the pious general as a Christian brother a week before the famous meeting between MacArthur and Hirohito. Kagawa shared with MacArthur the sense of the importance of the emperor as a figurehead for pacifying and reforming Japan (as he seemed to share with MacArthur the dream of an Imperial House converted to Christianity, and Christianity in place of Japan's "spiritual vacuum").^{(21), (22)}

Kagawa became immediately immersed in numerous official appointments, relief efforts for his starving and homeless fellow citizens, rebuilding his own projects and starting new efforts. Still, he found time to write a booklet, which alongside the interviews he had with American media, helps to encapsulate his thinking in the immediate post-war period.

Guide to a New Life (新生活の道標 *Shinseikatsu no douhyou*), written in January 1946, five months after the end of World War II, gave in Kagawa's own words as addressed to his Japanese readers his understanding of Japan's defeat and his prescriptive vision for Japan's future.⁽²³⁾ Japan, with 3 million dead, 10 million forced from their homes and lacking food, clothing, work, 700,000 in the process of being repatriated from overseas, its major cities destroyed, was in a state of exhausted shock (強打つ *kyoudatsu*). On the first of January, the Emperor had just given his declaration of humanity (人間宣言 *ningen sengen* 「我神にあらず」 "*Ware kami ni arazu*" "I am not a god (divine)").

Both enthusiastic for and critical of his country, yet always a master of positive thinking, Kagawa encouraged the Japanese in this booklet as he began "Our dark and depressing night is over. Having drunk the bitter cup of defeat, the bright light of dawn shines on the Japanese people."⁽²⁴⁾ The Meiji Restoration prohibition against carrying a sword had now been made effective in East Asia by the Potsdam Declaration. Japan was like the shellfish that has evolved from its pre-historic need for a hard shell, and now in its shell-free flexibility had been resurrected into the original calling for humanity, free from armaments, eternal peace in its grasp. "What happiness!" Kagawa exulted. "Japan has leaped up from the world of flesh to the world of spirit. What a great calling!" Kagawa the pastor, poet, and visionary concluded his cheerleading introduction with the central biblical metaphor "On the cross of defeat, Japan has discovered eternal salvation."⁽²⁵⁾

Kagawa was speaking his heart. He was also striving in the dark exhaustion and privation of the first postwar winter to speak vitality and hope into his nation. Japan's defeat was an opportunity deep in significance and unique in history. Fortunately, Occupation Forces Commander General MacArthur was "a man of character" who was proceeding with "considerable understanding in his strategy for defeated Japan," but the task of rebuilding the country would not be an easy matter for the Japanese people.⁽²⁶⁾

Key to rebuilding, in Kagawa's eyes, was the "restoration of conscience." "Let us not forget that the strength of the Anglo-Saxons is the strength of conscience in their way of life."⁽²⁷⁾ This contrasted with the weakened conscience of the Japanese. Kagawa went on to praise MacArthur for encouraging the young women of Japan to flee to the suburbs in light of the weakness of the occupation forces in resisting sexual desires, while castigating the Japanese leadership for advertising in the newspaper for young women to serve in the government sponsored brothel districts prepared to serve these forces. Noting that tens of thousands of young women answered these ads for but thousands of positions, and that flesh-broking profiteers sold their conscience to run the prostitution industry, Kagawa saw in the presence of such a failure of conscience a cause for the Japanese defeat. He drew on history to compare the moral and political collapse of the Bourbon Dynasty in the French Revolution with the revival work of John Wesley in England, where pubs were closed and dance halls turned into house of prayer, and where churches were packed; England, with conscience revived, then using the flag of free trade had expanded its power throughout the world. What a model for Japan!⁽²⁸⁾

Kagawa wrote next on the need for transparency in history, but in particular gave yet another moral failure (again in the realm of sexual mores) as reason for Japan's defeat: the refusal of the Japanese leadership in Manchuria to promote sexual purity and monogamy. Japan needed a morality that held to the standards of the world. Lacking this, Japan had lost the chance to free East Asia,

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and rather made the world its enemy. Freedom could not be produced in Asia without love, and Japanese education, on the point this love, had failed miserably. Countries that had a keen sense of social mutuality, even without laws, achieved moral solidarity, and had a scientific mentality that led to inventions, discoveries and sure progress. Kagawa saw in early Meiji Japan this character, which gave way to violence, immorality, and disregard of science and cooperation at the end of Taisho and in the Showa era.

Kagawa then listed ten reasons for Japan's defeat in WWII: ⁽²⁹⁾

Kagawa's ten reasons for Japan's defeat

1. *Lagging behind in the natural sciences* Kagawa gave the example of the airplane, where Japan, lacking radio locator, radar, etc, had become easy game for the B-29 (This weakness in aircraft technology had been pointed out to Kagawa by Nehru during Kagawa's visit with him in India in January, 1939). The atomic bomb, for Kagawa, was conclusive evidence for the lack of scientific equipment and expertise in Japan. (This reason for defeat was one commonly expressed among the Japanese, and in part leads to the emphasis on the sciences in Japanese education that prevails to this day.)⁽³⁰⁾
2. *Moral breakdown* The education system had not educated in morality, including the promotion of morals sexual and otherwise among the young. A Japanese leader returning from the Philippines told Kagawa that Japan did not lose the Philippines due to lack of numbers of soldiers, inferior arms, or lack of food. It was rather the lack of a broad moral education that led to Japan's defeat. General Yamashita gave almost the same report. "Japanese have education, but no real training. There is (teaching) (教 *kyou*) but no growth (育 *iku*)."⁽³¹⁾
3. *Lack of leadership with a basic moral philosophy or worldview* It was not until as Japan was withdrawing in 1945 that it had given Indonesia its promised independence. No one in Asia could trust such a Japan, whose leadership fell to the temptation to colonize rather than free Japan's neighbors.
4. *Ignoring the working class* The consumers' cooperatives were forced to disband, and workers subjected to the militarist bureaucracy suffered hunger while a few capitalists became criminally wealthy.
5. *Lack of unity between army and navy*, (epitomized by the February 26, 1936) Army coup attempt incident) which if overcome, would have allowed, even in defeat, for a better ending to the war.
6. *Ignoring the laborers*—unlike Stalin, who relied on the landless class for national defense.
7. *Failure in religious policy* Lacking respect for and tolerance of other religions, the Japanese leaders had ordered Muslims to pray facing not Mecca, but Japan; closed the churches in China, persecuted Christianity in Japan, and forced Korean pastors to make *kamidana*. These fatal failures came from the complete lack of religious education in Japanese schools.
8. *Failure of education* Hearing a troop of soldiers singing lustily together a bawdy tune as they marched off to war, Kagawa felt deep shame, and wondered what the purpose was of education that totally ignored the soul of the students.
9. *Ignorance of speed in production*, etc. (not grasping the quickness of American response; lacking speed in own processes)

10. *Lack in knowledge of and breadth of understanding of the world.* The blind were leading the blind; neither the people nor the leaders understood the world. The people had become proud, ignorant, unreflective, lacking in care for others, without purity, not grasping Asia's destiny, and had failed to apologize to China where apology was due, bringing on themselves the disaster of defeat.

Following Kagawa's discourse on the reasons for defeat, he noted hope for Japan on the basis of recent invitation to speak with Prince Mikasa at the Akasaka Palace. Mikasa commented to the effect that it was better that Japan had lost the war, rather than perpetuate the craziness of the military regime.⁽³²⁾ Kagawa is not shy about his interchange with the royal family, and sees within it the power to lead the nation.

Protecting the Showa Emperor, proposing a constitutional monarchy

Kagawa saw a constitutional monarchy as the only viable form of government for post-war Japan, and argued strenuously for the retention of the emperor. Stability could not be found except in a leader who transcended the vicissitudes of political parties. Kagawa pointed to England and the Scandinavian countries as models for Japan—peaceful, democratic nations with a royal figurehead. The emperor was the one best positioned to lead Japanese society into the future, to provide guidance for life and a standard for morality.⁽³³⁾

Why was Kagawa so positive about the emperor as Japan's leader?

1. Kagawa had fairly regular contact with the Imperial House, and noted meetings with Prince Mikasa, for example, both before and after the war. The actual contact he thus had was with those like the more liberal, open-minded Prince Mikasa (who stood up in the Privy Council and indirectly urged Hirohito to step down and accept responsibility for Japan's defeat (Bix, 571-2)).⁽³⁴⁾
2. In the eyes of Kagawa biographer Schildgen, Kagawa was a child of the Meiji Era, and inculcated from youngest days with a respect for the emperor.⁽³⁵⁾
3. Kagawa believed, as he wrote to MacArthur in August 1945, in the power of Hirohito to sway and settle the people, as in his announcement of surrender, in the direction of peace and democracy.
4. Kagawa feared chaos, perpetrated either by a return of the military right or the emergence of the "godless" Communist party. The emperor alone had the power to lead a nation sworn to peace.
5. Kagawa had hoped for the conversion of the emperor, or at least of some in the Imperial House. This would greatly aid in the effort to convert 3 million to Christianity.
6. Kagawa had no way of knowing the inscrutable, Shinto-trained heart of his sovereign, and his deep complicity in and leadership of the war effort. This secret was kept, and the image of the emperor as a man of peace groomed, making the exposé of Bix, 55 years after the end of the war, a Pulitzer Prize winner.

Kagawa waxed poetic as he set out the possibilities of a new, peace-loving Japan, awakened from the nightmare of a crazy war. Japan had the calling, the potential to lead the world into an age of cooperation. And Kagawa had the blueprints for shaping a society that could do just this. He summarized his long-promoted themes: working together in cooperatives, tree horticulture and increased variety of crops for adequate food production in mountainous Japan, education for love and

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good works, and the importance and power of religion in education, politics, science, and world peace.

Conclusion

How do we evaluate Orikuchi and Kagawa, speaking out as they did at this most critical junction of Japanese history? Kagawa had long resolved the personal questions of faith, and with conviction and comfort could press on with the practical matters of realizing the goals for a free and democratic society he had long held dear. He was grim about the tragic losses war (and American bombs) had imposed upon his people. But he was also free of the fascist conspiracy that had throttled his own speech and work. He had the skills and resources, as well as connections with the GHQ, in America, and within Japan to bring some immediate physical relief: food for the starving, building materials for the homeless, etc. He could move forward with renewed vigor towards his own vision of a "New Jerusalem" (the Puritan "city on a hill," if you will), the realization of the Kingdom of God on this earth.⁽³⁶⁾

Orikuchi, deeply entwined in the world of Shinto, faced the greatest crisis of his life, the loss the "family" that his newly embraced "son" and lover was, and the landscape of destruction that can mean to the true believer in Shinto nothing but the loss of the country and its gods. Orikuchi would devote his remaining years to recreating Shinto into a religion that connects on a world level. In a way, this meant continuing on a quest he began in late Meiji to find (create) a god in Shinto that was not drawn from the literature of the past, but a living, connecting, life-giving entity amidst the many raging gods of "today." With the defeat, he faced a deep "zero" moment in time and space, akin to a death experience from which he could emerge only by creating a new god, one he would liken to Yahweh in the Old Testament, a beyond-time "*kizonsha*."⁽³⁷⁾ To face the loss of son Harumi, to reunite other such lost souls, Orikuchi imagined a world between "the other world" and "this world," a world where souls could meet. In this new world, Orikuchi would name a life giving "god that gives birth to spirit," and that breathes into and unites all things having spirit.⁽³⁸⁾

Orikuchi could challenge Shinto to "know thyself" and urge it "get its house in order." But Shinto, by traditional definition unchanging, would move on silently, secretly, behind the palace walls, ignoring the prophet, silencing dissidence in the "Family." (i.e. Michiko, Masako, et. al.). Outside the palace, a still ambiguous Shinto "animism" or its polytheistic "tolerance" would bathe in the praise of professors (like Furuda of Tsukuba University) or politicians (like Kato Koichi).⁽³⁹⁾ Orikuchi's "impossible" task remains; the wounds from which poured his honest poetry and searching essays should continue to challenge the status quo.

As should Kagawa's life. He is largely forgotten, but his vision lives on in the works he founded, the lives he touched, and when listened to, the message that his life is.⁽⁴⁰⁾

[Notes]

1. John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Aftermath of World War II*. (London: Penguin Books, 1999). Pulitzer Prize winning account of occupation period.
2. Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2000). Pulitzer Prize winning indictment of Hirohito.
3. The bulk of the insights into Orikuchi come from the work of Hamada Tatsuo of Seigakuin University. Hamada, a pastor, graduated from Kokugakuin, and his book, *Shinto Scholar: Orikuchi Shinobu and Christianity*, [濱田辰雄『神道学者・折口信夫とキリスト教』聖学院大学出版会(1995)] provides an excellent window into this unrecognized side of the well-known writer and thinker. Rev. Hamada also gave generously of his time, and from his library of books and articles on Orikuchi. The author here expresses deep gratitude for Rev. Hamada's support in this project.
4. Touji Kamata, *Shinto no "hondou" wo riido: Kouno Seizou* ["Leading the Shinto mainstream: Kouno Seizou"] in *Chugai Nippon*, May 20, 2008 [鎌田東二、『神道の「本道」をリード：河野省三』中外日報], and ("Nihon tokuyuu no dentouteiki shinnen keishou"), ["Carrying on Japan's unique core traditions"] [『日本特有の伝統的信念継承』] in *Chugai Nippon*, May 22, 2008. These two articles give a good summary of the conflict between Kono and mainline Shinto on the one side, and Orikuchi and Yanagita Kunio on the other.
5. Kamata, *Chugai Nippon*, May 22, 2008.
6. Kenichi Tanigawa, "Rethinking Orikuchi Shinobu" (*Orikuchi Shonobu Sai Kou*) in *Orikuchi Shinobu*, 1972, Yuuseido [谷川健一「折口信夫再考」(日本文学研究資料刊行会編『折口信夫』有精堂出版(1972))], p. 99.
7. Yoshio Ogura, 2008, unpublished. Professor Ogura translated the poem and provided explanations, which were augmented by Rev. Hamada as well.
8. Tatsuo Hamada, *Shinto gakkusha: Orikuchi Shinobu and Kiristokyou* [*Shinto Scholar: Orikuchi Shinobu and Christianity*], (Seigakuin University Press, 1995), [濱田辰雄『神道学者・折口信夫とキリスト教』聖学院大学出版会(1995)] p. 114.
9. Shinobu Orikuchi, *Collected Works of Orikuchi Shinobu*, Vol. 20, p. 447. [折口博士記念古代研究所編『折口信夫全集』中央公論社(1970-1988)第二十巻] Quoted in Hamada, (1995), p. 114.
10. Orikuchi, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 449. Quoted in Hamada, p. 115.
11. Orikuchi, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, pp. 455-56. Quoted in Hamada, p. 115.
12. Ibid, p. 116.
13. Tanigawa, p. 100.
14. Orikuchi, pp. 458-60, in Hamada, pp. 117-18. Echoed and made explicit by Ando, "*Shintou wo kaitaishi saikousaku e*," [『神道を解体し再構築へ』] May 15, 2008.
15. Hamada, p. 119.
16. Tanigawa, p. 99.
17. Ibid, p. 102.
18. Hamada, pp. 9-15.
19. Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2000), pp. 1-18.
20. Kagawa Toyohiko, *Collected Works*, Vol. 13
21. Waichiro Yonezawa, *Kagawa Toyohiko no sengo* [*Post-war Kagawa Toyohiko*], (*Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyo Kenkyuujo*, *Kiyo* No. 40, December 2007). [米沢和一郎「賀川豊彦の戦後」(『明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要』第40号(2007))].

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22. Ray A. Moore and Donald L. Robinson, *Partners for Democracy: Crafting the New Japanese State under MacArthur*, (Oxford, 2002), pp. 39-45.
23. Toyohiko Kagawa, *Shinseikatsu no douhyou* (Guide to a new life) 「新生活の道標」 in *The Collected Works of Kagawa*, Muto Tomio, ed. Vol. 13, p 31-57 (Tokyo: Kiristo Shimbunsha, 1963-64). [賀川豊彦全集刊行会編『賀川豊彦全集』武藤富雄編 キリスト新聞社 (1963-1964)].
24. Ibid, p. 31.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid, p. 32.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid, p. 33.
29. Ibid, pp. 35-38. The ten points that follow are translated in part and summarized by the author.
30. Dower, p. 490-96.
33. Ibid, pp. 51-53.
34. Bix, pp. 571-2.
35. Robert Schildgen, *Toyohiko Kagawa: Apostle of Love and Justice*. (Berkley: Centenary Books, 1988), pp. 244-5.
36. George B. Bickle, Jr., *The New Jerusalem: Aspects of Utopianism in the Thought of Kagawa Toyohiko*, The University of Arizona Press, 1976. Bickle holds out the utopian vision of Kagawa as essential for the health of society and for the care of its weaker members.
37. Reiji Ando, "Mirai no 'kami' no soshitsu wo tsuikyuu" ["Seeking for the creative 'god' of the future"] 『みえいの「神」の喪失を追求』 in *Chugai Nippon*, May 8, 2008.
38. Ando, "Shintou wo kaitaishi saikousaku e" ["Taking apart and rebuilding Shinto"] 『神道を解体し再構築』 in *Chugai Nippon*, May 15, 2008.
39. Hiroshi Furuda, a professor at Tsukuba University, wrote *The New Kingdom of the Gods* [Atarashii kami no kuni] (*Chikuma Shobou*, 2007) [古田 博司『新しい神の国』筑摩書房 [ちくま新書] (2007)] in praise of the ambiguity of polythesistic Shinto and the appeal around Asia of its emperor; Kato, an LDP representative, in a lecture at Seigakuin University (May, 2008), likewise touted lightheartedly the Japanese Shinto religion, with no reference to the problems of history suggested in this paper.
40. Kagawa is portrayed in a rather positive light in this paper; in fact, many controversies surround Kagawa regarding the degree and nature of his cooperation with the military government during the war, and his alleged compromise of the Christian faith in following the Shinto directives. These issues are beyond the scope of this paper, and still need to be addressed.

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