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THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF JAPAN, 1912-1954:  
A TIME OF TROUBLES


Masatoshi John Shōji

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Master of Divinity  
in St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary,  
Crestwood, N.Y.

May 2007

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## **Abstract**

Author: Masatoshi John Shōji

Title of the Thesis: The Orthodox Church of Japan, 1912-1954: A Time of Troubles

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Put in broadest terms, this thesis presents the history of the Orthodox Church of Japan from around the time of the repose of St. Nicholas (Kasatkin) in 1912 to 1954. The thesis describes three different eras: the succession of Bishop (later Metropolitan) Sergius (Tikhomirov) following the repose of St. Nicholas; turmoil within the Church in the decades leading up to World War II; and continuing turmoil, but also movement towards reconciliation and reconstruction, following World War II.

After the repose of St. Nicholas in 1912, the Orthodox Church of Japan was headed by his former vicar, Bishop (later Metropolitan) Sergius (Tikhomirov). However, the young and successful mission diocese suffered from multiple unexpected external challenges as well as internal problems: the first, the Russian Revolution in 1917-18; the second, destruction of the Cathedral of Tōkyō by great Kantō earthquake in 1923; the third, World War II.

The Russian Revolution required the Church of Japan to re-evaluate and restructure her activities due to grave financial difficulties. The reconstruction of the cathedral of Tōkyō following the earthquake was a necessity, due to its spiritual importance for the Japanese people, but reconstruction work placed added pressure on the tight church finances. But World War II was the worst of the three troubles that the Church experienced. Due to the rise of extreme nationalism and new governmental policies, Metropolitan Sergius was forced into retirement. Then the Church split into two groups, with two different church councils and two different episcopal candidates. The turmoil continued in the post-World War II period. In 1946 Bishop Nicholas (Ono), the first Japanese native bishop, who was consecrated in 1941 by ROCOR bishops, was forced by his opponents to retire. Again the church split into two; the majority coming under the North American Metropolia and the minority under the Moscow Patriarchate.

The terminus chosen for this thesis is 1954, when Bishop Nicholas was reconciled to the Orthodox Church of Japan led by Bishop Ireney (Bekish) of the North American Metropolia. At this point, most personal conflicts and divisions going back to the 1940s ended. Nevertheless a schism influenced by Cold War rivalries between the Soviet Union and the United States did continue until 1970, when relations between the Moscow Patriarchate and the Orthodox Church of Japan finally were regularized on the basis of autonomy.

This thesis is dedicated to:

*His Eminence, the Most Reverend Archbishop Seraphim (Storheim)*

*And*

*Naoki Cyril Inoue*  
*(1957-2006)*

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Finally, for his immense guidance and patience, I am most grateful to Fr. John H. Erickson, the director of my thesis; with his kindest sincere direction I would never have completed this project.

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## **Introduction**

### **Why I Chose This Topic**

The great missionary work of St. Nicholas (Kasatkin) of Japan is becoming more famous year by year in the Orthodox Christian world. At this point there are several books published about him and his missionary work. However there are not many books or articles about the history of the Orthodox Church of Japan covering the period after St. Nicholas. Even in Japan and Russia, researchers are only now beginning to turn their eyes from St. Nicholas to later periods. In the English-speaking world there is virtually nothing after St. Nicholas. That is the reason why I decided to write on this topic.

The years on which I focus are a kind of taboo to speak about in Japan. I have tried to present “bare facts” rather than polished “church history.” Some may criticise me for this; nevertheless, I strongly believe that knowing the bare facts is more important than writing so-called “sacred history.” In writing this thesis, I did not hide records of the “dark side” of the history of the Orthodox Church of Japan. This may challenge the naïveté of some people. However, I hope that people who read this thesis will be able to take away some valuable lessons along with the factual information.

### **Difficulties in Research**

The primary problem in researching the history of the Orthodox Church of Japan is the lack of accessible resources. For example, it might be better to focus more on certain specific years or incidents; however, the lack of archival materials makes this difficult. There are only very limited archival resources within the Orthodox Church of Japan because many written materials were destroyed by the fire that followed the great Kantō

earthquake of 1923 in Tōkyō. Also, even if you find material in a particular parish, you may not be able to use it. Sometimes parishioners are extremely protective; they are afraid that a piece of information may cause a scandal.

Very unfortunately there is no active and well-organized church archive in the Church of Japan. There are fine church libraries in Osaka, and there is a fine collection of the Church Council Minutes in the church in Morioka, a rural city in northeastern Japan. I strongly hope that the Orthodox Church of Japan will someday have an official church archive.

To write this thesis, I basically depended on two kinds of sources. One is the minutes of the Annual or Extraordinary All Japan Church Council, often called “kōkai.” This council is composed of both clergy and laity. It discusses such things as the church budget, mission plans, problems, etc. Another source is *Seikyōjihō* [*The Orthodox Messenger*], which is the official monthly church magazine. These source materials are mainly to be found in the churches in Osaka and Morioka. I also used some materials that I found in the National Library. In addition, I used two official church history books and archival materials in the archives of the Orthodox Church in America (OCA), in Syosset NY.

My study of the Orthodox Church history of Japan is intended to be just a beginning. Much more needs to be done not only on Orthodoxy in Japan but also on Orthodoxy in the whole of Northeast Asia. I hope that my research about the Orthodox Church history of Japan will help stimulate further study.

## **Chapter 1: The Problems of the Church of Japan at the Time of the Succession of Metropolitan Sergius (Tikhomirov)**

### **Necessity of re-evaluation of St. Nicholas (Kasatkin)**

For a long time in Japan, many people have considered St. Nicholas of Japan as a perfect and strong church leader. They also have considered his successor, Metropolitan Sergius, as a weak leader who was eclipsed by the greatness of St. Nicholas. However, this is unfair to Metropolitan Sergius. For example, the external troubles that Metropolitan Sergius had to deal with were heavier than those faced by St. Nicholas. In addition, many of internal troubles that Metropolitan Sergius had to deal with were an accumulation of problems originating in the days of St. Nicholas. Recent academic research, especially continuing work publishing his diary, would give us a great opportunity to re-evaluate St. Nicholas and to create a truer image of him and of the people related to him. The fact is very simple: St. Nicholas was a great saint with natural human weaknesses! Without accepting this fact, we are not able to see the characteristics and nature of the great missionary accomplishments of St. Nicholas and Metropolitan Sergius.

### **Tensions Between the Japanese Clergy and Laity and the Russian Hierarchs**

Relationships between the Japanese clergy and the Russian hierarchs were basically good and amicable. However, this did not mean there were no problems. For example, there were always arguments about the transfer of clergy and catechists. So also, when the construction of the cathedral was being decided, Fr. Paul Takuma Sawabe, the first convert of St. Nicholas, organised a group to oppose the plan, etc. Unfortunately, not everybody who came to the seminary wanted to serve in the Church. In fact some of them

came to the seminary to obtain a free education. For example, in 1894 thirty seminarians left the seminary of Tōkyō<sup>1</sup>. This incident horrified and traumatized St. Nicholas. Afterwards, in his diary, St. Nicholas occasionally lamented seminarians who decided not to serve because of good-paying jobs outside of the Church. Eventually St. Nicholas started to fear resignation of Japanese clergy and lay professors at the seminary, especially those who had graduated from theological academies in Russia. Even people who stayed and served the church sometimes pressured him about raising their salaries or tried to prevent being transferred by using the word “resignation.” This situation had not changed by the time of Metropolitan Sergius.

### **Tensions Between the Japanese Laity and the Russian Hierarchs**

Since the Meiji Restoration began in 1868, the new Japanese government strongly pursued the modernisation and industrialisation of Japan. This policy brought the country huge socio-economical transformation. As the Constitution was established in 1889 and Imperial Diet in 1890; Japanese society was slowly transformed into a modern civil society. Although this was imperfect and limited, more people were awakening to the idea of being a citizen of a modern state. The victories of both the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) brought a strong sense of national identity and pride. In addition, the period between the years 1912-1924 in Japan was that of the so-called “Taishō Democratic Movement.” The name “Taishō” for the name of the era came from Emperor Taishō<sup>2</sup> (1912-1925). This movement was a peak of civil political movement before the World War II. With rising political awareness, people

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<sup>1</sup> Kennosuke & Etsuko Nakamura ニコライ堂の女性たち *Nikolai-dō no jostēachi* [*Women in the Nikolai-dō*] (Tōkyō: Kyōbunkan, 2003), 298.

<sup>2</sup> His personal name was *Yoshihito*.

wanted to change authoritative government structures and society. This movement eventually ended in 1924 after suffrage was extended to every male citizen over 25 years old.

This social movement may be reflected in developments in the Church as well. It was natural that, even in the Church; more people wanted to participate in church operations. Two major examples are the All Japan Laity Conference in 1909 and Annual All Japan Church Council of 1919. Although the All Japan Laity Conference in 1909 was held with the blessing of St. Nicholas and was prepared and organised carefully, both St. Nicholas and Bishop (later Metropolitan) Sergius felt that the resolutions of the conference presented a challenge to the church authorities. In the All Japan Laity Council in 1909, the power balance between clergy and laity was unequal. Actually the clergy, and especially the hierarchs, held the initiative. The situation was clear, “clergy (including hierarchs) versus the laity.” However, this was changed in the Annual All Japan Church Council of 1919, where the clergy split between those who favored the hierarchy and those who favored the laity.

We may assume that this change was caused by the laity becoming a more solid and cohesive group, but this also was caused by hierarchical authority and influence in administration becoming weaker than before. Before the Russian Revolution, the Church of Japan was dependent on financial support from Russia. The money from Russia was sent to the Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan, which was headed by the president (St. Nicholas, then Bishop Sergius). Only the president of the mission had decisive power to spend this money. In other words, the church administration did not need to depend on the laity. However, after the Russian Revolution, the Church had to depend financially on the laity. Therefore the bishop’s authority in “material” administration decreased.

## **Problems in the Japanese Laity's Understanding of Ecclesiology**

To read the minutes of these councils, some people appear to have had some distorted views on ecclesiology. For example, many people believed that financial independence automatically achieved church political independence. They also appear to have believed that, if the Church consecrated three bishops, it would achieve autocephaly. Not many people understood that recognition by the Mother Church is necessary for obtaining either autonomy or autocephaly for a local church.

In general, for lack of proper education and wider perspective, a majority of people could not think of Orthodox Christianity beyond Japan and Russia. There was no understanding of the Orthodox Church of Japan as being a part of world Orthodoxy. These misconceptions in ecclesiology would lead to total disaster in the 1930s.

## **Chapter 2: Metropolitan Sergius (Tikhomirov), the Successor of St. Nicholas of Japan**

### **A Brief Biography of Metropolitan Sergius Before Succession to St. Nicholas of Japan**

Metropolitan Sergius was born on June 16 (Julian calendar), 1871, in a village called Guzh, near Novgorod in Russia. He was the second son of an archpriest of the village. As was common with a son born into a priest's family at that time, Sergius went to seminary in Novgorod. Upon his graduation from the seminary in 1892, he went to St. Petersburg Theological Academy.

While he was studying there, he made the monastic profession in 1895, at age 24, and was ordained a deacon immediately. Later in the same year he was ordained as a priest. In 1896 he graduated from the Academy with the degree of *Candidat*. In the same year he was appointed as the *Inspector* (Dean of Students) of the seminary of St. Petersburg, and three years later, in 1899, he was elevated to archimandrite and made the Rector of the Seminary of St. Petersburg. In 1905, he was awarded the degree of *Magister* for his thesis on "the history of churches, monasteries, and parishes in 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>-century Novgorod." At the same time he was elevated to the episcopacy, becoming the third vicar of the diocese of St. Petersburg, and he also was appointed as the Rector of St. Petersburg Theological Academy.

Then, in June 1908, he was appointed to become the bishop of Kyoto and went to Japan. This appointment seemed rather curious to some people later in the 1930s. Even now people may wonder why a brilliant young bishop was sent to a distant mission in the Far East.

In 1930s an article in *Seikyōjinhō* [*The Orthodox Messenger*], since November 1912 the official monthly church magazine of the Orthodox Church of Japan, suggested that



Metropolitan Sergius's assignment to Japan was a punishment<sup>3</sup>. The article said that the metropolitan (at the time a bishop) was relocated to Japan because he performed a Panikhida for naval officers who had rebelled against the imperial government. However, this story was nothing more than a polemical anecdote. The article in question was written when newly elected Japanese church leaders were trying to justify their strong anti-Sergius campaign.

A letter of St. Nicholas to a priest in Berlin, Germany, also raises questions about Metropolitan Sergius's abilities. The letter, which was found by Prof. Mitsuo Naganawa of Yokohama National University of Japan at the National Archives of Russia, suggested that the newly arrived Bishop Sergius had troubles managing money. St Nicholas complained<sup>4</sup>:

He believes other people too easily about money matters... he thinks that it is all right to divert church money temporarily for some other use if the money would be repaid later...<sup>5</sup>

Prof. Naganawa believes that this letter shows a total difference in personality between the two bishops, that it indicates the remote cause for Sergius's transfer to Japan, and also that the personality of Metropolitan Sergius as described in this letter prophesies that he would come to a disastrous end.

However, to consider Sergius's appointment as a vicar bishop in Japan as a punishment is based on nothing more than rumor and faint suspicion. In fact, his case

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<sup>3</sup> Fr. John Chūzō Yoshimura, “セルギイ府主教と藤平長司祭 Sergii fushukyō to Tōhei chōshisai [Metropolitan Sergius and Archpriest Tōhei]” *Seikyōjihō [The Orthodox Messenger]* Vol. 31, No. 3, (1941), 15.

<sup>4</sup> Mitsuo Naganawa, “日本の府主教セルギイ・チホミーロフ小伝 Nihon no Fushukyō Sergij Tikhomirov shōden [A Brief Biography of Metropolitan Sergius (Tikhomirov) of Japan],” *Roshia-Sei to Kaos- bunka rekishi ronsō [Russia -Holiness and Chaos – An Anthology of Culture and History]* ed., Tokuaki Sakauchi, et al., (Tōkyō: Sairyū-sha, 1995), 416-418.

<sup>5</sup> RGIA f.834, op.4 ed. er. 1206, l. 2-3 cited in Mitsuo Naganawa “日本の府主教セルギイ・チホミーロフ小伝 Nihon no Fushukyō Sergij Tikhomirov shōden [A Brief Biography of Metropolitan Sergius (Tikhomirov) of Japan]”.

was not special in the administration of Russian Orthodox Church at that time. For example, the fact that St. Patriarch Tikhon (Belavin) of Moscow served as hierarch in North America from 1898 until 1907 is well known. In fact, Metropolitan Sergius was well received by St. Nicholas of Japan and by the people of the Church of Japan. Later he was elevated to the rank of Archbishop in 1920, and then to the rank of Metropolitan in 1931.

### **Metropolitan Sergius and his pastoral work**

Bishop Sergius was talented in languages; he understood classical languages (Greek, Hebrew, and Latin) and modern languages (English, German, and French). Therefore, he mastered Japanese with amazing speed. He was able to give sermons in Japanese within a year. St. Nicholas of Japan wrote as follows in his report to the Holy Governing Synod<sup>6</sup>:

Our Bishop of Kyoto, His Grace Sergius, has accomplished the essential work of a missionary: he spent more than half of the last year visiting churches, preaching and directing parishioners, catechists, and clergy, and also reaching out to non-believers...<sup>7</sup>

Soon after arriving, Bishop Sergius energetically visited a number of parishes with Japanese clergy. He was well received by the people. An old parishioner who remembered him said to Prof. Naganawa of Yokohama National University:

His Eminence remembered each one of us: He approached people very frankly, like ‘Long time no seen you. How are you Mrs. NN?’ So, everybody was deeply moved...

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<sup>6</sup> Naganawa, 1995, 412.

<sup>7</sup> *Pravoslavnyi Blagovestnik*, t.1, No 2. ianvar', 1910, str 52-53. cited in Mitsuo Naganawa “日本の府主教セルゲイ・チホミーロフ小伝 *Nihon no Fushukyō Sergij Tikhomirov shōden* [A Brief Biography of Metropolitan Sergius (Tikhomirov) of Japan]”.

Speaking Japanese fluently, he was a good preacher. Even non Christians were impressed. (Mrs. Noriko Norioka)<sup>8</sup>

### **An Accomplished Scholar and Ecumenist**

It was obvious that the personalities and talents of Metropolitan Sergius and St. Nicholas were very different. St. Nicholas was a charismatic missionary, and Metropolitan Sergius was an accomplished scholar-theologian. For example, St. Nicholas wrote several articles in Russian magazines about his mission reports, introducing Japanese culture and history to a Russian audience. However, Metropolitan Sergius's articles were purely academic. He obtained his *Magister* degree on “the history of churches, monasteries, and parishes in 15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> - Century Novgorod.”<sup>9</sup> He published another book on “The Consubstantiality of the Twelve Apostles – Regarding a Question of Primacy of the Apostle Paul.”<sup>10</sup> In his memoir about the 1923 Great Kantō earthquake,<sup>11</sup> he wrote about a personal tragedy: manuscripts of three essays which he was planning to publish were all burned by the fire after the earthquake. The three papers were entitled “One Hundred Years of Christianity in Japan, 1539- 1637,”<sup>12</sup> “Archival Records of the Egorievsky-Lusky Cemetery in the 15<sup>th</sup> –17<sup>th</sup> Centuries,”<sup>13</sup> and “History of the Province of Novgorod, 15<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Mitsuo Naganawa, “日本の府主教セルギイの栄光 - 東京復活大聖堂復興における働きの跡 - Nihon no Fushukyo Sergij (Tikhomirov) no eikō - Tōkyō Fukkatsu Daiseidō fukkō ni okeru hataraki no ato - [The Glory of Metropolitan Sergij (Tikhomirov) of Japan - His work of Reconstruction of the Holy Resurrection Cathedral of Tokyo-]” *Ikyō ni ikiru-rainichi Roshia-jin no sokuseki- [Living in foreign land - foot steps of Russian Emigres in Japan -]* ed., Mitsuo Naganawa, Kazuhiko Sawada. (Yokohama, Japan: Seibunsha 2001), 196.

<sup>9</sup> Arkhimandrit Sergii Novgorodskii *uiezd Votskoi piatiny, po Pistsovoi knigie 1500 goda, Istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk* (Moskva: Univ. Tip., 1900).

<sup>10</sup> Sergii, Mitropolit Yaponskii *Dvoenadesiatitsa sviatykh apostolov, k voprosu o priamatie Apostola Petra* (Paris: YMCA Press, 1935).

<sup>11</sup> In Japanese, 関東大震災 *Kantō daishinsai*.

<sup>12</sup> *Sto liet khristianstva v Iaponii, 1539-1637*.

<sup>13</sup> *Materialov k istorii Egor'evskago Lusskago pogosta XV-XVII st.*

<sup>14</sup> *Istoriia Novgorodskoi Oblasti XV-XVII st.*

The majority of his books were related to history and dogmatic theology. His knowledge of these subjects helped him to participate in ecumenical and inter-denominational dialogue, especially with High Church Anglicans. From the beginning, the Orthodox and Anglican missions in Japan had an amicable relationship. In his diaries St. Nicholas of Japan recorded that Anglican bishops and clergy frequently visited him, and he occasionally visited them as well. This amicable relationship continued in the days of Metropolitan Sergius. A picture of the re-consecration of the Cathedral of Tokyo shows Bishop John McKim of the Anglican Church joining in the cross procession. Bishop McKim proceeded in front of Metropolitan Sergius, and it is clear that he was vested with cope and miter.

In the All Japan Annual Church Council of 1926, the Church of Japan decided to send seminarians to the Anglican Seminary. The Orthodox Seminary of Tōkyō was closed because of the financial difficulties of the church. The Metropolitan convinced people to make this decision by emphasizing the high quality of theological education in seminaries outside of the Orthodox Church of Japan. He also cited the academic background of the Church Fathers (Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian) and of present Russian and Greek hierarchs<sup>15</sup>: “Who knows Greek here? No one knows. Then you say you are ‘Greek’ Orthodox. You are blind!”

### **Reconstruction and Re-consecration of the Holy Resurrection Cathedral of Tōkyō**

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<sup>15</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 大正 15 年度公会議事録 *Taishō 15 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [*The Minutes of Annual All Japanese Church Council in 15<sup>th</sup> of Taishō Era*] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1926), 114-119.

The Russian Revolution was the primary disaster that Metropolitan Sergius faced in his early days as the primate. The 1923 Great Kantō earthquake and destruction of the Holy Resurrection Cathedral of Tōkyō obviously comes next.

The earthquake occurred on September 1, 1923. The earthquake and the ensuing fire destroyed the capital area widely, including Tōkyō and Yokohama. Over 105,000 persons were killed or missing, 570,000 homes were destroyed, leaving an estimated 1.9 million homeless. The damage is estimated to have exceeded one billion U.S. dollars at contemporary values.

The dome of the cathedral was destroyed by the collapse of the bell tower. Then fire broke out in the church, and because the main door was blocked by debris no one could enter and save anything inside the Cathedral. Almost all the buildings in the complex, including the library, the seminaries, and the rectories, were burned. This disaster gave people in the Orthodox Church of Japan a great shock. On October 20 an Extraordinary All Japan Church Council was held in the Theophany Church in Yotsuya, which was the only the church saved from the earthquake and fire in Tōkyō.

Despite the opposition of a few people, the Council decided to reconstruct the Cathedral. Metropolitan Sergius encouraged people to raise money through choir concerts, church bazaars, etc., he did this not only by word. He himself visited almost all the parishes and households of the Orthodox Church of Japan. In 1923-1929, for the purpose of asking for donations to reconstruct the Cathedral of Tōkyō, he energetically made 47 pastoral trips to visit Orthodox Christian homes in almost all parts of Japan and

some parts of Korea, which was then a Japanese colony. Altogether he visited some 2,700 households.<sup>16</sup> On December 15, 1929, the Cathedral was re-consecrated.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Chancery of the Orthodox Church of Japan ed. 府主教渡来 25 周年記念誌 *Fushukyō torai 25 shūnen kinen-shi* [*the Commemoration Book for Silver Jubilee of Metropolitan Sergius' arrival to Japan*] (Tōkyō: the Metropolitanate of Japan, 1933), 201.

<sup>17</sup> Until the consecration, services were held at St. Nicholas Church, which was moved from Matsuyama, Shikoku. This wooden church was originally built as a chapel for Russian POWs during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) in Matsuyama, Shikoku.

### **Chapter 3: The Russian Revolution (1917) and the Church of Japan**

#### **The Church of Japan at the Time of the Russian Revolution**

The Japanese Orthodox Church that Metropolitan Sergius inherited, the young Orthodox Church of Japan, was in good standing as a mission church. According to the census in 1912, the Church of Japan had 33,377 members including one bishop [Metropolitan Sergius], two Russian clerics [Nikolai Kuzmin in Southern Sakhalin and Deacon Dimitry Lvovsky], 34 priests, six deacons, one hierodeacon, three subdeacons, 97 catechists, 15 subcatechists, two seminary teachers, and nine choir directors, in 266 communities including cathedrals, parish churches and mission stations. In addition there were three schools: a male seminary and a female seminary in Tōkyō and a female seminary in Kyōto<sup>18</sup>.

Some of the clergy and seminary lay teachers were graduates from various theological academies in Russia and held the degrees of *Candidat* or *Magister*; and one<sup>19</sup> of the choir directors was trained in Imperial Conservatory in St. Petersburg under Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov.

Generally speaking, although it had various problems, the young Church of Japan could be described as being in decent shape. However, after the Russian Revolution people realised that this was a sandcastle.

#### **Shrinkage of Church Activities**

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<sup>18</sup> Archpriest Proclus Yasuo Ushimaru 日本正教史 *Nihon Seikyō-shi* [The History of Orthodox Church of Japan] (Tōkyō: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1978), 117.

<sup>19</sup> Innocent Kinoshin Kisu.

Despite of a forty-years effort of Japanese Church authorities to establish a solid independent fund, the Church of Japan depended almost exclusively on money from the Church of Russia. Therefore, when financial support from Russia stopped, the Church of Japan had to change its missionary activities. The church fired many of the catechists; closed many missions; closed the female seminary in Kyōto, and eventually both the male and female seminaries in Tōkyō.

In the opening address of the All Japan Church Council in 1918, after a brief explanation of the present political situation in Russia, Bishop Sergius emphasised<sup>20</sup> that the Council should concentrate on discussing the “independence<sup>21</sup>” of the Church of Japan. Bishop Sergius reported that among 158 clergy, only 45 (22 priests, 4 deacons, and 19 catechists) were fully supported financially by their parishes, and 20 catechists had already resigned. Also it was impossible for 71 communities to be financially independent. (As I have written above, most of those communities eventually disappeared.)

### **Misanalysis about the Russian Revolution**

Unfortunately, in the Church of Japan, people including Metropolitan Sergius himself were not able to analyse the Russian Revolution very accurately. For example, in his opening address at the All Japan Church Council in 1918, Bishop Sergius was still optimistic, or at least he could not imagine at all the establishment of an anti-religious

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<sup>20</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 大日本正教会神品公会議事録全 1918 *Dainihon shimpin kōkai gijiroku-zen 1918* [*The Minutes of the Great Japan All Clergy Church Council in 1918*] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1918), 6-13.

<sup>21</sup> The minutes recorded just “independence.” Somehow they did not say “financial independence.” In fact, this apparently confused people and caused trouble in the history of the Church of Japan.



regime. Protopresbyter Symeon Michirō (or Dōrō) Mii<sup>22</sup> was sent to the 1917 All Russian Church Council as a delegate. He was a graduate from the Kiev Theological Academy with degree of *Kandidat*, and a good friend and advisor of Metropolitan Sergius. He wrote his memoir about the council after his return to Japan in the same year. In this memoir<sup>23</sup> he was basically focused on the election and consecration of St. Patriarch Tikhon, reunion with his classmates, and encounter with other delegations<sup>24</sup>. Although he watched some gunfights in the city, attended funerals, experienced starvation, etc., he did not attempt to offer any objective analysis of the situation. He just called the revolutionaries “rebel-extremists.”

The Bolshevik Revolution became another stigma for the Orthodox Church of Japan. Before the Revolution, the Orthodox Church was regarded as having connections with Russian Empire. Now the Orthodox Church came to be considered as having connections with the Communists! Although the Orthodox Church of Japan was very patriotic, it could not avoid being viewed with suspicion by the wider society, because neither the Church nor society would ever forget the fact that the Church came from Russia.

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<sup>22</sup> Chancery of the Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 昭和 11 年度公会議事録 *Shōwa 11 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [*The Minutes of the Annual All Japanese Church Council in 11<sup>th</sup> of Shōwa Era*] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1936), 5-6. There is confusion about the title of Fr. Symeon Mii. Many record including the Orthodox Church ones refer to him as Archpriest. However, in his opening address at the Annual All Japanese Church Council in 1936, Metropolitan Sergius announced a telegram from *Deputy Patriarchal Locum Tenens* Metropolitan Sergius (Stragorodsky) that he elevates Fr. Symeon to the rank of Protopresbyter (although the minutes misspell the word ‘protopresbyter’).

<sup>23</sup> He wrote his memoir for the parish bulletin of the church in Nagoaya. In 1982, one of his sons, Yoshihito, compiled his works and published a limited edition of 100 copies as a private collection with the title of 三井道郎回顧録 *Mii Michirō (Dōrō) Kaikoroku* [*The Memoir of Michirō (or Dōrō) Mii*]. The book contains his autobiography, including his experiences as a delegate at All Russian Orthodox Church Council in 1917.

<sup>24</sup> According to his memoir, which was published by his son as private collection, he shared a room with several other delegates. Among them was Fr. Georges Florovsky, 131. He also encountered Fr. Leonid Turkevich, later Metropolitan Leonty of the Greek Catholic Russian Orthodox Church in North America, 136.

## **Metropolitan Sergius and the Karlovtsy Synod, or Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR)**

Contrary to other hierarchs in Northeastern Asia, Metropolitan Sergius kept his loyalty to the Patriarchate of Moscow until the end of his life. Unlike Russian émigrés, the majority of Japanese Orthodox Christians had only very limited information and knowledge of world-wide Orthodoxy. Their point of view was quite domestic. In fact, they did not understand the Church of Japan within the context of world-wide Orthodoxy. In other words, not many people paid attention to the establishment or existence of the Karlovtsy Synod/Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR). At most, people who tended to be nationalists wanted the Japanese Church to be independent (autocephalous). For them, any authority beyond them was an obstacle. Thus in Japan there were a certain number of people who wanted to cut off relations with Moscow; however this did not mean that they wanted to transfer Orthodox Church of Japan to the Karlovtsy-Synod/ROCOR. Around the 1930s, Archpriest Sergius Kyūhachi Suzuki of Dàlián<sup>25</sup>, Manchuria, reported that Japanese Orthodox Christians including his congregations in Manchuria faced a jurisdictional problem. They were not accepted in Manchuria by all the Orthodox churches belonging to the Karlovtsy-Synod/ROCOR<sup>26</sup>.

In 1930 a mysterious document was read in a plenary session of the Annual All Japan Church Council which slanders Metropolitan Sergius (at that time Archbishop). This act may have taken place on purpose by a nationalistic group of delegates, because in this Council a draft of a resolution “to clarify the autocephalous status of the Japanese

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<sup>25</sup> 大連 “Talien” by Wade-Giles Style.

<sup>26</sup> Chancery of the Orthodox Church of Japan, 1936, 46.

昭和15年度公会議事録 *Shōwa 15 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [The Minutes of Annual All Japanese Church Council in 15<sup>th</sup> of Shōwa Era] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1940), 67.

Church and cut off clearly the relationship to ‘Soviet-Russian Church’” was submitted and almost passed. According to Sergius’s quotations from the minutes,<sup>27</sup> the document said:

Archbishop Sergius recognised the synod in Serbia that was organised by hierarchs who fled from Russia at the beginning of the Russian Revolution. Then afterwards he rejected it and recognised the synod of Metropolitan Sergius who stayed in Russia... He [Metropolitan Sergius] transferred to Moscow because the synod in Serbia refused to grant him a diamond cross for his klobuk, which he wanted.<sup>28</sup>

The document was a slander. Metropolitan Sergius decided to give a detailed explanation in order to refute this charge. I assume this was done in order to address a canonically problematic draft of a resolution that was submitted in the council. The minutes recorded 18 pages of explanation.

Metropolitan Sergius started his refutation and explanation by giving his opinion about the Karlovtsy Synod:

Brethren, the Russian Church did a shameful act in the year of the revolution. “I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. He who is a hireling and not a shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees; and the wolf snatches them and scatters them.” (John 10:11-12) Regretfully, some of the bishops left the sheep and fled. They forgot the commandment of Christ. They fled. I do not know how many of them fled; I do not know the exact numbers: for example, Metropolitan Anthony was captured once, after that, he fled to a Polish monastery, then to Serbia. Bishops Theophan of Poltava, Theophan of Kursk, Sergius of Chernomor, Seraphim of Ruvno, Benjamin of Sevastopol - he served as a chaplain in Denikin’s corp<sup>29</sup> - all fled. There were many others that fled to Europe. Metropolitan Platon fled to the United States. Now. I clearly say “they fled.” Those hierarchs who fled organized the Synod in Serbia, but do you think they had a right to do?<sup>30</sup>

Then he continues the history of his contacts with the Karlovtsy Synod:

In 1921, the Synod in Serbia sent a letter to me. It said, “We are going to organize the Synod to govern the Church. Would you accept our authority?” I did not reply at all.

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<sup>27</sup> Chancery of the Orthodox Church of Japan, 1930, 62-81.

<sup>28</sup> Chancery of the Orthodox Church of Japan, 1930, 62-3.

<sup>29</sup> General Anton Ivanovich Denikin led the "Armed Forces of the South of Russia."

<sup>30</sup> Chancery of the Orthodox Church of Japan, 1930, 63.

Following in 1922 and 1923, I did not reply either; however, after the earthquake<sup>31</sup> I wrote a letter to the Patriarch about the damage to the mission and sent a copy of that letter to both Metropolitan Sergius<sup>32</sup> and Metropolitan Anthony<sup>33</sup>... Since then, I have said neither “Yes” or “No” to them; however, eventually I started to think it would not be nice if I did not express my opinion, so I wrote 52 pages of a personal letter to Metropolitan Anthony. Indeed I just wrote about the past five year and my impressions. I never asked any permission; however, I wrote my opinion as an Archbishop. “As an Archbishop I have a difficult issue. According to tradition, we start a strict fast on December 19 of the Julian calendar. However, this day falls on New Year’s Day in Japan. Because the Japanese celebrate New Year, I think that for Christmas and Theophany it would be better to adapt the New Calendar.” Upon reading my letter, Metropolitan Anthony replied to me. “We basically disagree with using the New Calendar; however, for your convenience, we would accept celebrating Christmas and Theophany with New Calendar.” He gave an ukase to me. This was purely permission, not an order.<sup>34</sup>

Metropolitan Sergius also explained that he sent a blueprint of the reconstruction plan of the cathedral to the Karlovtsy Synod and received a comment from Metropolitan Anthony about the plan. Then he concluded his speech about the Karlovtsy Synod:

In 1927, Deputy Patriarchal Locum Tenens Metropolitan Sergius (Moscow) Patriarchal Synod ordered (third time) the Synod in Serbia to be dissolved; however they have not followed this order... Their attitude is to rebel against the Patriarch. I do not want to rebel against him, so, since October of 1927, I have not written any letter to Serbia and I have not received any letter from them.

However, this speech was different from Metropolitan Anthony’s understanding of the correspondence with Metropolitan Sergius. On August 4 (Old Style) of 1926, Metropolitan Anthony sent a letter to Metropolitan Evlogy (Georgievsky) of Paris, who had left the Karlovtsy Synod, in order to defend the canonicity of the Synod:

You are saying that the churches in the U.S. and Japan are keeping silence..... Now, I have a letter from Archbishop Sergius of Japan dated 21<sup>st</sup> -27<sup>th</sup> of July which I just received. (I asked Archbishop Vladimir and Bishop Veniamin to read this letter.) He is asking for permission to celebrate some of the feasts on the New Calendar in Japan, and asking an answer concerning his opinion of the necessity of changing the name of

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<sup>31</sup> The Great Kantō Earthquake which was occurred on September 1, 1923.

<sup>32</sup> *Deputy Patriarchal Locum Tenens* Metropolitan Sergius (Stragorodsky).

<sup>33</sup> Kharpovitsky.

<sup>34</sup> Chancery of the Orthodox Church of Japan, 1930, 64-5.

the mission from “Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan”<sup>35</sup> to “Orthodox Spiritual Mission.”<sup>36</sup> How would you able to write and claim that the churches of the U.S. and Japan are keeping silence?<sup>37</sup>

Either intentionally or not, this shows the existence of mutual misunderstanding in the correspondence between Metropolitan Sergius and Metropolitan Anthony.

### **Metropolitan Sergius and White Russian Émigrés in Japan**

After the Revolution, a certain number of Russians took refuge in Japan. A Russian community and school was organised in the cathedral complex in Tōkyō. There were churches in both Kōbe and Nagasaki where a majority of parishioners were Russian émigrés and services were in Church Slavonic. The church in Yokohama also had a strong presence of Russian émigrés.

Relationships between Metropolitan Sergius and the White-Russian emigrés were basically good; however, Metropolitan Sergius’s loyalty to the Moscow Patriarchate and his moderate political and ecclesiological views eventually caused some troubles.

According to Japanese Security Police archival materials that were discovered by Prof. Naganawa, there were two Russian émigré groups in Japan. One was the St. Nikolsky Society, which was headed by Metropolitan Sergius, and another one was the Russian Émigrés’ Association, established by Georgiy Ivanovich Chertokov in July 1930.

Chertokov, who took refugee in Japan in 1922, had been an officer of the White Guards.

He was very active in organising an anti-Soviet movement in Japan. Metropolitan

Sergius considered that a radical political movement of Russian émigrés might cause

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<sup>35</sup> *Rossiiskaia Dukhovnaia Missiia v Iaponii.*

<sup>36</sup> *Pravoslavnaia Dukhovnaia Missia.*

<sup>37</sup> Kijurō Constantine Kondō “亡命ロシア正教会の確執と極東の宣教会 Bōmei Roshia Seikyōkainai no kakushitsu to kyokutō no senkyōkai [Internal Conflicts within ROCOR and Orthodox Missions of Far East]” *Harukanari waga kokyo -Ikyō ni ikiru III- Faraway from fatherland - Living in foreign land III-* ed., Yoshikazu Nakamura, et. al, (Yokohama: Seibunsha, 2005), 161-171.

more troubles for the Russian Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union. Japanese Security Police recorded some conflicts between the two groups.

In 1931 Metropolitan Sergius offered quite an optimistic view of Russia. He quoted from a letter from his hometown and expressed his strong support for Metropolitan Sergius (Stragorodsky). He also expressed a positive view about changes in the place of church structures in society in comparison with the situation in Imperial Russia<sup>38</sup>. This speech became highly controversial and caused serious divisions among Russian émigrés in Japan. For example, the Nativity of Christ Church, a Russian émigré parish in Kōbe, expelled Fr. Bobrov, who supported Metropolitan Sergius and brought in a ROCOR priest named Fr. Khodakovsky from Manchuria. The Security Police records indicate that the Russian community in the Tōkyō-Yokohama area made a similar attempt, but because of the lack of funds, it did not succeed.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> For example, he said “Russian Orthodox Church was a mistress of the government.”

<sup>39</sup> Mitsuo Naganawa, “日本の府主教セルゲイの悲哀 Nihon no Fushukyo Sergij (Tikhomirov) no hiai [The Sorrow of Metropolitan Sergij (Tikhomirov) of Japan],” *Ikyō ni ikiru II -rainichi Roshia-jin no sokuseki- [Living in foreign land II – foot steps of Russian Emigres in Japan –]* ed., Yoshikazu Nakamura, et al., (Yokohama, Japan: Seibunsha 2003). 154-59.

## Chapter 4: The Rise of Japanese Nationalism Within the Orthodox Church

### All Japan Laity Conference in 1909 and Creation of *Shingikyoku*

As I have mentioned in chapter 1, an All Japanese Laity Conference was held in 1909. This council was planned from July 7 – 16 at the initiative of the laity but with the blessing of the hierarchs. According to the invitation letter which was carried on the preface of the minutes,<sup>40</sup> this conference was held because the All Japanese Church Council had been held by only clergy since 1906. Discussion topics that were mentioned include issues related to finance, administration, and mission. Clergy and laity had a joint meeting on July 13, then, on July 19 four lay representatives attended the clergy meeting with St. Nicholas and Bishop Sergius, carrying with them resolutions and petitions from the laity meeting. Also more than forty laity came to observe the meeting.

The result of this meeting was rather bitter. It showed serious separation or distance between the hierarchs and the laity. The minutes described that while a representative was reading petitions, St. Nicholas left the meeting without giving any reason.<sup>41</sup> Also the lay representatives were dissatisfied. They were dissatisfied by the answers and the attitude of clergy toward the laity. In the epilogue of the minutes, Alexander Gensaku Sugiyama, one of the four representatives to the clergy meeting, wrote his impressions: Their speeches were often disturbed, etc. They also felt that the clergy did not treat the laity as equals. For example, only clergy were seated on chairs, and they laity were given only

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<sup>40</sup> Zenkoku shinto-taikai jimusho [Secretariate of All Japan Laity Conference], ed. 全国信徒大会議事録 *Zenkoku shinto-taikai gijiroku* [The Minutes of All Japan Laity Conference] (Tokyo: Zenkoku shinto-taikai jimusho, 1909), 1-6.

<sup>41</sup> Zenkoku shinto-taikai jimusho [Secretariate of All Japan Laity Conference], 1909, 13.

poor stools.<sup>42</sup> St. Nicholas commented that this meeting was not fruitful.<sup>43</sup> In fact, an All Japan Laity Conference was never held again. St. Nicholas decided instead to have laity representatives in the All Japan Church Council.

Participation of the laity in church administration was rejected by St. Nicholas in 1909. However, in 1912 the Church of Japan did accept the idea of having a permanent council that included laity in the archdiocesan chancery<sup>44</sup>. The role of this council, called *shingikyoku*, was to be an advisory body to the bishop. It is important to remember that, before the establishment of this council, there was no permanent council with such a role. This decision to establish the council was a compromise between the hierarch and the people of the Church. The newly created *singikyoku* was organised by three priests and four laity. Also, this council marks the first time ever that clarification of the relationship between the Russian Church and the Church of Japan was requested.

### **Establishment of Church Constitution Constitutional Council in 1919**

This council was held in 1919 as the usual Annual All Japan Church Council. However, representatives later renamed this council as the “All Japan Church-constituent Council.” After the council started, the entire discussion was occupied by the creation of the “Church Constitution.” Interestingly, at the council in the previous year, words like “Church Constitution” or any kind of regulations were not mentioned at all.

Bishop Sergius, in the opening address of the council, said that when he was informed of the plan to establish a Church Constitution, he thought people were planning

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<sup>42</sup> Zenkoku shinto-taikai jimusho [Secretariate of All Japan Laity Conference], 1909, 50.

<sup>43</sup> Zenkoku shinto-taikai jimusho [Secretariate of All Japan Laity Conference], 1909, 32.

<sup>44</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 明治45年度公会議事録 *Meiji 45 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [The Minutes of All Japan Church Council in 45<sup>th</sup> of Meiji Era] (Tōkyō: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1912), 137-43.



to establish a detailed application of canon law to the situation of Japan.<sup>45</sup> In the meeting, therefore, he did not hide his surprise; also he was warning people that process was moving too quickly. Fr. Symeon Mii expressed his apprehension that this Constitution might contradict canon law.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting that majority of people who expressed their opposition or apprehension to establishing Constitution were those educated in Russia. Those people were more concerned about canon law and clearly understood the status of Japanese Church as a mission diocese of Russian Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, the Constitution was established. People claimed the necessity of establishing the Church Constitution to adjust to the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and to clarify the future of the Church of Japan.

By this Constitution, *Sōmukyoku* was created. *Sōmukyoku* was organised by both clergy and laity, and its role was overseeing the whole church administration along with the bishop. This was another important change of governance for the Church of Japan.

### **Movement to Consecrate Japanese Bishops**

Since St. Nicholas came to Japan to establish the church of and for the Japanese, it was a natural conclusion to have native Japanese bishops. There were a couple of plans to consecrate native Japanese to the episcopacy. The first attempt was the case of Paul Keiji Nizuma. He was ordained as a monk-priest, and St. Nicholas was considering his

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<sup>45</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 大正8年度憲法議事録 *Taishō 8 nendo kempō kōkai gijiroku* [The Minutes of Annual All Japanese Church Council in 8<sup>th</sup> of Taishō Era] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1919), 8-12.

<sup>46</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, 1919, 25-26.

future consecration to the episcopacy; however this plan failed because of Fr. Paul Nizuma's deposition.<sup>47</sup>

After that St. Nicholas became more cautious about the idea of consecrating Japanese natives to the episcopacy. For example, in his diary he wrote that he told people in Japan; the Church of Japan should invite a Russian bishop after him; the Church of Japan should not be in a rush to be an independent church; the Church of Japan must be under the Synod of Russia for at least a hundred years and must strictly obey the guidance of the Russian bishops without having any question; otherwise the church might be deformed by people into a kind of Protestant church.<sup>48</sup>

In 1923 the Episcopalians consecrated their first two Japanese bishops.<sup>49</sup> Then in 1927 the Roman Catholics consecrated their first Japanese bishop.<sup>50</sup> It would not be surprising that this stimulated Orthodox Christians. In 1930 at the council, two motions were made for consecration of a Japanese bishop.<sup>51</sup> This was repeated in 1931 also. In 1932 Metropolitan Sergius's "Ten Year Plan for Autonomy" was mentioned<sup>52</sup> by the Chancellor, according to which three Japanese bishops would be consecrated under the Metropolitan. In 1933, again the motion was made. Since this issue had been brought

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<sup>47</sup> Eventually he was allowed to serve church as a Catechist. And he was a vocal representative to All Japanese Council for ages.

<sup>48</sup> Kennosuke Nakamura, ed., tr., 宣教師ニコライの日記抄 *Senkyō-shi Nikolai no nikki shō* [*The Abridged Diary of St Nicholas of Japan.*] (Sapporo, Japan: Hokkaido Univ. Press, 1994), 358.

According to the daily of Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup> of July 1904, St. Nicholas was invited to the tea party by people (according to St. Nicholas "all priests and professors of seminary who graduated from Theological Academies [in Russia], and translators of the Church Press" where he said people).

<sup>49</sup> Nippon Sei Kou Kai Diocese of Kobe. "わたしたちの教会とは Watashitachi no kyōkai towa [About our church]" *Nippon Sei Kou Kai Diocese of Kobe* April 30, 2007, <<http://www.nskk.org/kobe/kb01.htm>>

<sup>50</sup> Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan. "カトリック長崎大司教区 Katorikku Nagasaki daishikyō-ku[Catholic Archdiocese of Nagasaki]" *Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan* April 30, 2007 <<http://www.cbcj.catholic.jp/jpn/diocese/nagasaki.htm>>

<sup>51</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, 1930, 36.

<sup>52</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 昭和7年度公会議事録 *Shōwa 7 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [The Minutes of Annual All Japanese Church Council in 7<sup>th</sup> of Shōwa Era] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1932), 24.

into public, Metropolitan Sergius was always positive about this issue. In this year, he basically agreed on near-future consecration of Japanese bishops; his basic apprehension was about the availability of sufficient funds to support the new bishops. In this council the plan to have Japanese bishops was approved, and a special committee to search for episcopal candidates was organized, and in 1934 the special committee drew up a detailed plan.<sup>53</sup>

However, in 1935 the committee concluded that the plan would have to be postponed in view of the realities of the Church of Japan,<sup>54</sup> i.e., the lack of appropriate candidates and funding.<sup>55</sup> In 1936, at the opening address of Annual All Japan Church Council, Metropolitan Sergius mentioned the letter from Deputy Patriarchal Locum Tenens Metropolitan Sergius (Stragorodsky), in which he elevated Archpriest Symeon Michirō Mii to the rank of protopresbyter and awarded a jewelled pectoral cross to Mitred Archpriest Paul Ryō Morita and also proposed that both of them be co”nsecrated to become auxiliary bishops.<sup>56</sup> (Mii refused this proposal, and gravely ill Morita passed away in January 1938.) In 1939, again the motion was made. Metropolitan Sergius commented, “I really am glad that this motion was made by 13 lay delegates headed by Arsenius Hēkichi Iwasawa,”<sup>57</sup> Again, a special committee was organised. Since 1930,

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<sup>53</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 昭和9年度公会議事録 *Shōwa 9 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [*The Minutes of Annual All Japanese Church Council in 9<sup>th</sup> of Shōwa Era*] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1934), 22-23.

<sup>54</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 昭和10年度公会議事録 *Shōwa 10 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [*The Minutes of Annual All Japanese Church Council in 10<sup>th</sup> of Shōwa Era*] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1935), 30-31.

<sup>55</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 昭和14年度公会議事録 *Shōwa 14 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [*The Minutes of Annual All Japanese Church Council in 14<sup>th</sup> of Shōwa Era*] (Tokyo: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1939), 39.

<sup>56</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, 1936, 5-6.

<sup>57</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, 1939, 40.

Arsenius Iwasawa had been a vocal activist for consecrating Japanese bishops. In addition to Iwasawa, three other activists were lay member of *Sōmukyoku* at that time.<sup>58</sup>

At the council meeting, a decision was made to have this motion discussed by the appointed special committee again. The special committee was to be organised by the 13 delegates that made the motion and were members of *Sōmukyoku*. However, the question of consecration became more confused this time because of the interference of governmental policy. Issues relating to the consecration of Japanese bishops caused serious turmoil in the church which continued directly until 1954 and indirectly until 1970.

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<sup>58</sup> Other two were George Isami Nizuma and Linus Shin'e Satō.

## Chapter 5: Japan's Path to War and Its Consequences for Christianity

### Rising extreme militant-nationalism and Christianity

In the 1930s, Japanese society was marked by social disturbances caused by misgovernment. Because of the failure of redistribution of wealth and multiple economic depressions, despairing people put their hope in army. The rise of the influence of the army finally brought Japan into World War II. As rising militarism combined with nationalism, the government started to suppress religious freedom as well as other freedoms. Emperor worship was extremely strengthened.

Christianity was considered as a dangerous religion because Christianity whether passively or aggressively questioned the deity of the emperor. Especially after the *Kokka sōdōin hō* [National Mobilization Law], which allowed the government to control all resources - including human resources - to accomplish its war aims was established in 1938, a policy of Japanization of Christianity was pursued by the government.

### Establishment of Shūkyō-dantai hō [Regulations of Religious Organizations or Rules Governing the Federation of Religions]

On March 23, 1939, the Diet of Japan enacted a bill named “Shūkyō-dantai hō” [Regulations of Religious Organizations]. Before this law was enacted, there were various laws including the Constitution<sup>59</sup> relating to religious organizations, yet there was no comprehensive or inclusive one. The Diet announced that this law would be enforced from April 8 of that year and would be implemented from April 1, 1940.

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<sup>59</sup> The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (from 29 November 1889 until 2 May 1947) or more commonly known as the Imperial or Meiji Constitution accepted freedom of religion “as long as it would not interfere with the peace and order of the society and would not diminish adherents’ responsibility as subjects” (Article 28) 「安寧秩序ヲ妨ケス及臣民タルノ義務ニ背カサル限ニ於テ」(第 28 条).

decision.<sup>68</sup> He recognised Archpriest James as his legitimate successor. Then Archpriest James Shintarō Tōhei was elected as the episcopal candidate. He was the second oldest priest at that time. This election was authorised by “retired” Metropolitan Sergius, and he granted Fr. James a mitre as the sign of his blessing.<sup>69</sup> The anti-Iwasawa group occupied the chancery and started to function as the church administration.

### **The Election and Consecration of Bishop Nicholas Ono**

However, Iwasawa’s group forestall the anti-Iwasawa group. They quickly had contact with the Karlovtsy Synod for the consecration of a bishop. Archpriest John Ono was elected as episcopal candidate. At that time he was the oldest priest in the Church of Japan. In addition, he and Arsenius Iwasawa originally came from the same parish.<sup>70</sup> The Synod received the and decided about Fr. John Ono’s episcopal consecration.

Archpriest John Kiichi Ono was a married priest. His wife Vera Shin was the third daughter of Archpriest John Atsurē Sakai<sup>71</sup>, the first Japanese who was ordained into the priesthood. Upon his election as an episcopal candidate, his wife Vera took a monastic vow according to the tradition. Monastic tonsure of both Fr. John and Vera took place on the same day and time at different monasteries in Harbin, Manchuria. Fr. John was given the monastic name of Nicholas, and Matushka Vera was given the monastic name of Helen.

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<sup>68</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, 1941, 35.

<sup>69</sup> Yoshimura, Vol. 31 No. 3 (1941), 14.

<sup>70</sup> Takehiko Higuchi, “明治期ロシア正教の伊豆伝道 Meiji-ki Roshia Seikyō no Izu dendō [The Missionary Work of the Russian Orthodox Church in Izu around Meiji Era],” *Numazu-shi Hakubutsukan kiyō* 20 [The Bulletin of the Museum of the City of Numazu No. 20], ed., The Museum of History and Folklore of City of Numazu and The Meiji Archive of City of Numazu, (Numazu, Japan: The Museum of the City of Numazu, 1996), 1-31.

<sup>71</sup> According to the Monastic Profession of Bishop Nicholas Ono, Vera was adapted by Ono family. Thus her maiden name was Vera Shin Ono. Upon his marriage, Bishop Nicholas adapted her family name. His original family name was Yamazaki. (*Seikyōjihō* [The Orthodox Messenger] ), Vol.31, No.5 (1941).

On April 6, 1941, Archimandrite Nicholas was consecrated as a bishop at the St. Nicholas Cathedral<sup>72</sup> of Harbin, commonly known as the Central Cathedral or the Central Square Cathedral, by ROCOR hierarchs in China: Metropolitan Meletius (Zaborovsky) of Harbin and all Manchuria, Archbishop Nestor (Anisimov) of Kamcatka and Petropavlosk (resident in Harbin), Archbishop Victor (Svyatin) of Beijing,<sup>73</sup> Bishop Juvenal of Qiqihar<sup>74</sup>, and Bishop Demetrius of Hailar.

### **The Extraordinary All Japan Council of 1942**

Both the Iwasawa group and the anti-Iwasawa group (or Ono's group and Tōhei's group) continued to fight each other about their legitimacy with very un-churchly behaviour. Iwasawa's group hired gangsters to eliminate the opposition. Then, when Iwasawa's group brought newly consecrated Bishop Nicholas Ono to the cathedral first, the anti-Iwasawa group locked out him of the cathedral. *Seikyōjihō* [*The Orthodox Messenger*] reported that Bishop Nicholas celebrated paschal services at the house of a deacon who lives in the Cathedral yard. The official church magazine, *The Orthodox Messenger*, was controlled by Iwasawa's group. Therefore they criticised their opponent. This conflict continued. It was even reported by the newspapers.<sup>75</sup> Finally, the Metropolitan Police Department,<sup>76</sup> the Military Police, and the Ministry of Education

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<sup>72</sup> This wooden built Cathedral was built in 1900 and destroyed on 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 1966 by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution.

<sup>73</sup> Some sources name Bishop John (Maximovich) of Shanghai instead of Archbishop Victor. For example, the memoir of Mrs. Mitsue Eugenie Kaminaga, a niece of Nun Helen (Ono) wrote "Bishop John came from Shanghai took three days travel" See Appendix 3.

<sup>74</sup> "Tsitsihar" by Wade-Giles Style.

<sup>75</sup> Asahi Shimbun, "Hōjō ni toki no mēan" *Asahi Shimbun*, March 2, 1941, Tōkyō edition.

Asahi Shimbun, "Shukyō-joninshiki de kōsō" *Asahi Shimbun*, March 7, 1941, Tōkyō edition.

<sup>76</sup> Until the abolishment of the Home Ministry which minister police public works and elections in 1947, Metropolitan Police Department was under this Ministry.

came to arbitrate between the two groups.<sup>77</sup> Both groups signed an official document for compromise on June 23. Upon this compromise with a governmental provision, an Extraordinary All Japan Council was held on July 18, 1941, with the presence and observation of a captain from the police and an official from the Ministry of Education.<sup>78</sup> The council made three resolutions. First, Bishop Nicholas Ono was officially accepted as primate of the Church of Japan; second, the near-future episcopal consecration of Fr. James Nīzuma was decided; third, a new chancery member would be elected by popular vote. In fact, this council could not resolve all the problems facing the church; however, it became the last council before and during World War II. A meeting only of archpriests was held on August 17-18, 1943, because the church did not have the power to hold a big meeting due to the war. As a result, Fr. James Tōhei's episcopal consecration never took place. Fr. James passed away in January 1945.

### **The Arrest and Death of Metropolitan Sergius**

In 1945, now retired Metropolitan Sergius was arrested on suspicion of spying for the Soviets by the *Tokubetsu Kōtō Keisatsu* (Special Higher Police), commonly called *Tokkō*. The exact date was not sure. Some records say the Saturday of Bright Week (May 12); however, records for an attorneys' meeting on May 21 mentions that he was arrested on May 14.<sup>79</sup> The arrest was mainly caused because a Soviet diplomat frequently visited

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<sup>77</sup> Asahi Shimbun, "Nikolai funsō-ni 'dan'" *Asahi Shimbun*, June 18, 1941, Tōkyō edition.

Asahi Shimbun, "Nikolai funsōkaiketsu" *Asahi Shimbun*, June 24, 1941, Tōkyō edition.

<sup>78</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., 昭和16年度公会議事録 *Shōwa 16 nendo kōkai gijiroku* [*The Minutes of Annual All Japan Church Council in 16<sup>th</sup> of Shōwa Era*] (Tōkyō: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1941), 22-24.

Asahi Shimbun, "Washite shin-hossoku, Nikolai-do no motsure kaiketsu" *Asahi Shimbun*, June 1, 1941, Tōkyō edition.

<sup>79</sup> Bishop Seraphim (Tsujie), "セルギイ府主教の死亡広告 *Sergī fushukō no shibō kōkoku* [The Obituary notice of Metropolitan Sergius]" (*Seikyōjihō* [*The Orthodox Messenger*]), No. 1397 (2007), 18.



the house of Metropolitan Sergius. More seriously, he made a petition to receive a Soviet passport. Also the minutes of attorneys' meeting recorded; "we are going to decide his case after seeing a procedure of judicial decision of the Yokohama Case."<sup>80</sup> The Yokohama Case was a governmental prosecution of journalists who were suspected of being communists. In any case, Metropolitan Sergius was suspected of having a relationship with the Soviets and Communists. Many resources mention the high possibility that Metropolitan Sergius was tortured; however, this does not have clear evidence. In fact, the minutes of the attorneys' meeting recorded that "he should not be tortured."<sup>81</sup>

On the other hand, Victor Pokrovsky, the former conductor of the choir of the Cathedral of Tōkyō, who was arrested by the Special Higher Police around same time, was tortured.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, the truth is still in mystery. Metropolitan Sergius was held captive for forty days. Terribly exhausted, he fell asleep in the Lord on August 10, 1945, just five days before the surrender of Japan.

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<sup>80</sup> Yokohama Case was the case which over 60 journalists and editors were arrested and tortured in 1943-45. They were suspected of planning to re-construct Communist Party which was illegalised. 4 people were killed by torture and 30 people were given suspended sentences. This case is believed a totally frame up. However, the majority of judicial records were destroyed after the World War II, there is only a copy of the syllabus in National Archive of the United States. Thus, the truth of the case is also in the mystery.

<sup>81</sup> Keijikyoku shisō-ka, ed. "昭和 20 年 5 月連絡会議議事録 Shōwa 20 nen 5 gatsu renraku kaigi gijiroku [The Minutes of (attorneys') Meeting of May in 20<sup>th</sup> of Shōwa Era]" 25. *Japan Center for Asian Historical Records(JACAR) National Archives of Japan* April 30, 2007  
<<http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/MetaOutServlet>>

<sup>82</sup> According to the word of his daughter Mrs. Lydia Kosar.

## **Chapter 7: Postwar Confusion in the Church of Japan, 1946-1954**

### **The Defeat of Japan in World War II**

On August 15, 1945, the Japanese government officially declared unconditional surrender, which is described by the Potsdam Declaration, and Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito) announced this through a radio broadcast. On September 2, the Japanese government signed the Japanese Instrument of Surrender, which officially ended World War II. From September of 1945 until April 28, 1952, for about six years and nine months, the country was under the occupation of the Allied Powers headed by American General Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) (September 1945-April 1951), and later by Matthew Bunker Ridgway, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander (tenure: June 1950 - April 1952). The defeat of Japan in World War II was the end of 15 years of continuing war for Japan. However, for the Orthodox Church of Japan, this was the beginning of another chapter of turmoil.

### **The Extraordinary All Japan Church Council in April 1946**

Although the war was ended, with poverty, starvation, total destruction of transportation and communication, etc, every church was too busy for its day-to-day survival; therefore it was difficult to hold the Church Council immediately. On April 5, 1946, about eight months after the defeat of Japan, the Extraordinary Council of the Church of Japan was held. Upon the proposal of the chancery, the council basically discussed three subjects: First, revision of the Church Constitution; second, acceptance of the authority of the Patriarchate of Moscow as the Mother Church; third, revision of the articles of the association.

At this meeting, Bishop Nicholas was accused about his association with the war-time government by his opponents (the previous “anti-Iwasawa group” such as Alexander Rijū Manabe). He refused to resign, saying, “Unless you have an order from General MacArthur or the Patriarch of Moscow, you do not have any power over me;” however, he finally was convinced to accept “temporary retirement;”

Also the second resolution was changed into three detailed subjects: first, to accept the authority of the Patriarchate of Moscow and to have good relationships with it; second, to reconstruct the Church of Japan, and with the assistance of SCAP to ask the American Church’s direction and support; third, due to the presence of many Russian émigré s and American soldiers, with the assistance of SCAP to invite a Russian bishop to Japan.<sup>83</sup>

This change caused a contradiction because Bishop Nicholas and the chancery already had sent a letter on March 27 asking the Moscow Patriarchate to receive the Church of Japan and to send bishops to Japan through the Soviet Consul General Volgin. In fact, the Moscow Patriarchate sent two bishops to Japan; however, their entrances into Japan were prevented by SCAP.

From our present perspective, the council’s resolution appears to be contradictory; however, its inconsistencies may be explained by the fact that people had no information about Orthodox churches outside of Japan. In any case, the revised resolution was approved by the council, and this was approved in the Annual All Japan Church Council in July 1946 also.

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<sup>83</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., *昭和 21 年度臨時公会議事録 Shōwa 21 nendorinji kōkai gijiroku [The Minutes of Annual All Japan Church Council in 21<sup>st</sup> of Shōwa Era]* (Tōkyō: Orthodox Church of Japan, 1946), 30.

## Transfer under the Omophorion of the North American Metropolia

Upon the resolution of the Annual Ordinary Council of April, the chancery<sup>84</sup> made contact with SCAP to pursue the resolution. At the same time, “to make things easier” the chancery officials very strangely tried to make direct contact with the United States: They asked an American officer, upon his return to that country, to bring messages from Japan to the United States. The family name of the officer, “Royster,” was mentioned; he is now Archbishop Dmitri of the OCA’s Diocese of the South.

The chancery report to the council in July said, “I heard that a personal letter was delivered to SCAP by Mr. Royster which said that he went to New York and met with Metropolitan Benjamin.”<sup>85</sup> On the following page, another person reported, “I received a letter from Mr. Royster. He negotiated the issue with Bishop Benjamin, and the bishop said, ‘I will answer you after I have negotiated with Moscow.’”<sup>86</sup> This Metropolitan Benjamin presumably would be Metropolitan Benjamin (Fedchenkov), who was Metropolitan of the Russian Patriarchal Exarchate of North America from 1933-1947. (This assumption agrees with the memoir of Alexander Rijū Manabe.<sup>87</sup>) This contact, however, was not successful, and the chancery received no response. Later the chancery explained this:

The chancery did not receive any response. Later, Mr. Beliayev, a Russian in Tōkyō received a letter from Metropolitan Benjamin. Metropolitan Benjamin wrote that he had written a letter to the Patriarch in which he asked the patriarchal blessing for him to visit Japan. However the Patriarch wrote to him; “You do not need to visit Japan. I

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<sup>84</sup> Some of documents referred the chancery as *Konsistoriia* “the Consistory.”

<sup>85</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, 1946, 46-47.

<sup>86</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, 1946, 41.

<sup>87</sup> Alexandre Rijū Manabe, “日本正教会 50 年史(5) *Nihon seikōkai 50 nen-shi* (5) [Fifty years of the History of Orthodox Church of Japan, Part 5]” *Nihon Seikyōkai-hō* (*Vestnik pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v Iaponii* [*The Orthodox Messenger of Church in Japan*]), Vol. 1, No. 8 (1968).

will send a bishop to Japan from Moscow.” Therefore he cancelled his visit to Japan.<sup>88</sup>

However, it is questionable, even if Metropolitan Benjamin had received the blessing, whether SCAP would have accepted for him to visit Japan, because SCAP already had a different plan for the future of the Orthodox Church of Japan. SCAP already had entered into negotiations with Metropolitan Theophilus of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America, commonly known as the Metropolia, to send a bishop to Japan.

According to Alexander Rijū Manabe, on October 7, 1946, SCAP summoned representatives of the Orthodox Church. Manabe and Moses Osamu Baba, as full-time lay members of the chancery, along with chancellor Archpriest Samuel Tokuju Uzawa, went to the office of SCAP. At the meeting, SCAP promised them “on the behalf of the United States,” that they would support the Orthodox Church of Japan. Four officers talked to them, and one of them was Colonel Boris Pash, the son of Metropolitan Theophilus (Pashkovsky).<sup>89</sup> However, interestingly, he never revealed who his father was.<sup>90</sup> Later, Colonel Pash wrote a very interesting memoir about this meeting and events thereafter up until the official reception of Bishop Benjamin (Basalyga) for *The American Legion Magazine*.<sup>91</sup>

For some people, this jurisdictional change was not welcome. This was especially true for Russian émigrés who had received Soviet passports after World War II. These

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<sup>88</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., “臨時総務局会議 Rinji Sōmukyoku kaigi [Extraordinary Chancery Meeting]” 総務局報 *Sōmukyoku-hō* [The Chancery Newsletter]” 6 (1946), 1-3.

<sup>89</sup> There are some personal letters mentioned about the Church of Japan written by Colonel Boris Pash to Metropolitan Theophilus. See Appendix 4.

<sup>90</sup> Alexandre Rijū Manabe, “日本正教会 50 年史(3) Nihon seikōkai 50 nen-shi (3) [Fifty years of the History of Orthodox Church of Japan, Part 3]” *Nihon Seikyōkai-hō (Vestnik pravoslavnoi Tserkvi v Iaponii)* [The Orthodox Messenger of Church in Japan] Vol. 1 No. 6 (1968), 8.

Also, Pash himself asked his father to keep secret about his works in Japan. See Appendix 4.

<sup>91</sup> Pash, Boris T., “Checkmate!,” *The American Legion Magazine*, April, 1958, 14-15, 42-43.

were led by Philip Shvets, a lay chancery member for the Russian émigrés. On October 24 Shvets came to a meeting at the chancery with Volgin, the Consul General of the Soviet Union in Tōkyō, and six other Russians. They urged the chancery to change the decision to have an American bishop.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Chancery of Orthodox Church of Japan, ed., “臨時総務局会議 Rinji Sōmukyoku kaigi[Extra ordinary Chancery Meeting]” 総務局報 *Sōmukyoku-hō* [The Chancery Newsletter]” 6 (1946),1-3.

## **Chapter 8: Reconstruction of the Church of Japan, 1946-1954**

### **The Arrival of Bishop Benjamin**

According to Colonel Boris Pash, Bishop Benjamin (Basalyga) arrived in Tōkyō on January 6, 1947. Then, he entered the cathedral of Tōkyō on January 7. Fearing that there might even be attempts at physical violence by pro-Soviets; he asked chaplains of many army units around Tōkyō to make an announcement to their Orthodox personnel about the church service and to encourage them to attend.<sup>93</sup> On January 20, Bishop Benjamin was elected as bishop of Japan by an Extra Ordinary Church Council of Japan. His life in Japan was not easy in many ways. He spent seven years in Japan and did his best. Until 1949 there were some troubles, but thereafter the situation eventually calmed down. After 1950 a certain measure of normal church life came back; for example, a national meeting of church school teachers was held on August 24, 1950. Then, the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of St. Nicholas's arrival in Japan was celebrated along with the Annual All Japan Church Council on July 12, 1951. Bishop Benjamin was elevated to the rank of archbishop in 1950.

### **Bishop Ireney, the Reconstructor**

Reconstruction in a real sense was undertaken by Bishop Ireney (Bekish), the successor of Bishop Benjamin. He came to Japan in July 1953 and served in Japan until 1960 as bishop and later as archbishop. He energetically carried out pastoral visitations to parishes in order to understand the situation of the Church of Japan better. In addition, the reopening of seminary education was announced in September 1953, with new male

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<sup>93</sup> Pash 1958, 43.

and female seminaries opening on October 18, 1954. It was also during Bishop Ireney's time, beginning in 1958, that seminarians began to be sent for further study in the United States at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary. Bishop Ireney also tried to train nuns. Novices were sent to the United States and France; however, this undertaking was not successful. He also reprinted various service books in 1960. From 1947 until 1972, there were four American bishops who served in Japan as primate, but among them Bishop Ireney accomplished the most.

### **Schism in the Church of Japan and Attempts at Reconciliation**

Russian émigrés who received Soviet passports did not accept the transfer of the Church of Japan to the Metropolia in 1947. They gathered in the Russian School in the Cathedral yard to have separate services, and they maintained a relationship with the Moscow Patriarchate. At the request of those Russians, Archpriest (later Protopresbyter) Anthony Makio Takai started to serve there. He had long experience as a pastor to Russian émigrés. Bishop Nicholas (Ono) joined this group

On May 27, 1954, which was Holy Saturday, a signing and reconciliation ceremony between Bishop Nicholas and Orthodox Church of Japan was held. According to the agreement, all priests under Bishop Nicholas were supposed to accept the reconciliation. Nevertheless, Fr. Anthony and two other priests and their parishioners (about 300 people) did not obey Bishop Nicholas's decision. They continued their activity as the "True Orthodox Church of Japan" – in 1968 reorganized as the "Japanese Orthodox Church" – under the Moscow Patriarchate.

Although this schism was finally resolved in 1970 by the reconciliation of the Orthodox Church of Japan with the Moscow Patriarchate, the factional strife between the



Iwasawa and the anti-Iwasawa groups that had begun in 1940 basically ended in 1954.

Therefore the reconciliation of Bishop Nicholas is an appropriate place to end this thesis.

## Conclusion

As I have indicated in previous chapters, the Orthodox Church of Japan faced three major external sources of trouble: first, the Russian Revolution, then the great Kantō earthquake, and finally World War II. The Church was seriously damaged by these events, and the results can be felt even today. For example, the membership of the Church today has shrunk to about a third of its size in the days of St. Nicholas. Although the sources of trouble were external, they resulted in very serious internal damage to the Church.

As I have mentioned before, Episcopalians and Catholics faced similar problems similar to those of the Orthodox. For example, they needed to establish Japanese leadership for church administration during World War II. Nevertheless, those churches did not split when they consecrated their bishops and other leaders, which is what happened with the Orthodox. What was the difference between those churches and the Orthodox Church of Japan? One reason may be related to the issue of nationalism among the Orthodox.

From the beginning, the Orthodox Church in Japan emphasised patriotism. In fact, a majority of early converts into the faith were *shizoku*, former samurais, and many of the first generation of priests came from this proud and patriotic class. Christians had been seen as somewhat special or as outsiders by Japanese society. In the case of the Orthodox Church, potential suspicion by the society was even stronger because of its connection to Russia, a potential enemy. Thus, perhaps more than other Christians in Japan, Orthodox Christians may have needed to prove that they are good Japanese, good patriotic Japanese, all the time.

In reading the minutes of church councils, I often sensed a certain incompatibility or “disconnect” because there were so many discrepancies in the discussions between Metropolitan Sergius and the people. Metropolitan Sergius tried to get the people to understand the Church of Japan within the context of worldwide Orthodoxy; however, people could not understand this at all. Especially when the issue of the independence of the Church of Japan arose, this misunderstanding was clear. In the late 1940s the situation became even more disastrous, as odd combinations of nationalistic patriotism and faith appeared frequently. Sometimes faith was totally swallowed up by nationalism. Therefore, when governmental policy urged nationalism, some people totally lost their way as Christians.

However, we should not blame people too much for their lack of a wider perspective. Although the literacy rate of Japan was quite high (about 90% of the population in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century), information and educational resources about the world beyond Japan were really limited. In fact clear differences in mentality can be seen behind council speeches between Japanese priests who had studied outside of Japan and those educated only in Japan. Also we should never forget that even ordinary people – and not impersonal outside events - caused “turmoil.” We have to consider the historical context. These people basically had good will behind their behavior. They thought their way was the only the way to survive as Orthodox Christians in Japan. Nevertheless, I cannot stop thinking about a possibility: If the people had had a better understanding of ecclesiology, the turmoil of about the consecration Japanese bishops might have been less disastrous.

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五田谷邑太子堂町四五五  
 府主教 七リキ  
 (自系口交人)

市邑山王町二丁目六五四  
 森 謙 永  
 手書 永

18.7.17  
 5

1943 года, июля 17-го.  
Сэтайа-ку, Тайсидо,  
№455.

+

Многоуважаемый и возлюбленный  
Кирилл Никитич.

13-го числа сего июля месяца добрый старец  
г. Наканиси Павел, которого я знаю с 1909 г. по церк-  
ви в г. Отачу, принес мне, назвав с октября 1942 г.,  
вот уже 25-ю жертву от японских братьев и  
сестер ц. Кана, — на этот раз Вашу, дорогой Ки-  
рилл Никитич... <sup>говоришь он:</sup> „Думаю, получишь десятку... Может  
быть двадцать... И. Варуга: сто“. Старец поражен  
Вашей щедростью... А я умилен Вашей „милосткией“  
до глубины сердца, и много раз, крестясь и проли-  
вая благодарные слезы, я посылаю Вам мыслен-  
но спасибо.

Пенсия мне „хонкай“ давал с сентября 1940 г.  
по июнь 1941 г., т.е. 10 месяцев, признавая мое пра-  
во на нее, — значит. Но с июля 1941 г. до сегодня, без  
всякого предупреждения, без всякого объяснения  
пенсия (¥200) „хонкай“ прекратил выплачивать, — за 24  
месяца я не получил уже 4.800 эн.

Как жить и живу? Жил нищим и буквально  
голодал в июль-август-сентябрь 1941 г. Первыми  
помогли мне русские Тоокёо (октябрь 1941 г., 450 эн, в

ИМЕНИНИ 8 ОКТ.), ВТОРЫМИ ПОМОГЛИ МНѢ РУССКІЕ КОБѢ  
(ДЕНЬ МОЕЙ ХИРОТОНІИ, 19 НОЯБРЯ 1941 г. — 312 ЕНГ), ТРЕТЬИМИ  
ПОМОГЛИ МНѢ ВТОРИЧНО РУССКІЕ ТООКѢ (16 ІЮНЯ 1942 г.,  
ВЪ ДЕНЬ МОЕГО РОЖДЕНІЯ, — 1.200 ЕНГ НА КВАРТИРУ).....

А СЪ ВЕСНА 1942 г. НАЧАЛИ ПОМОГАТЬ И ЯПОНСКІЯ ЦЕРК-  
ВИ, А ТАКЖЕ БРАТѢ И СЕСТРА. ТАКЪ: Ц. НАГОЭ ( $\frac{127.00}{107.00}$ ) 234,  
Ц. СЕНДЭЙ (300.00), Ц. ЯНАГАВА — ФУДЗИНСКОЙ (65.00), КОЮЮ-  
КАЙ, ТООКѢ 22 МАЯ 1942 г. (35.00), Ц. СИТАЭ (40.30.30.152.00  
30.00, 15.00 = 297.00), Ц. ЕЦУЭ (652.00), Ц. ОДАВАРА (200.00); ЦЕР.  
КАНДЯ 17 ЯНВ. 1943 г. „О-ТОСИДАНЯ“ 200, ГЕРЕЗЪ П. НАКАНИСИ 304.00,  
ОТЪ ДОМА АНДО 30.30.20, 100 [ВСЕГО 684]; ОТЪ МѢ КОНДО 200 И ОТЪ Ц.  
СИДЗУКА 337.00 ( $\frac{537.00}{}$ ); ОТЪ СЫНА (50) И ДОЧЕРИ ( $\frac{30}{}$ ) МІЙ — 80.00, ИЗЪ ХИ-  
МЕДЗИ 120.00, И МН. ДР.

ВЪ ОБЩЕМЪ, БЛАГОДАРЯ БОГУ, РУССКИМЪ, НѢКОТО-  
РЫМЪ ЯПОН. ЦЕРКВАМЪ, И МНОГИМЪ ЯПОН. БРАТѢМЪ И  
СЕСТРАМЪ, ЖИВУ БЕЗЪ НУЖДЫ СЕЙЧАСЪ.

НО СЛУГИ НЕ ИМѢЮ СЪ 9 ІЮЛЯ 1941 г. ЖИВУ ОДИНЪ.  
НАЧАТЬ СЛУГУ И НЕ ДУМАЮ: ДЕНЕГЪ НА ЭТО НѢТЪ; ДА  
И ЛЮДЕЙ НѢТЪ. СЛУЖУ ДЛЯ РУССКИХЪ: ЭТО И ДУХОВНО  
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СКУЧНО...

ЛЮБЯЩІЙ ВАСЪ (Митрополитъ  
Сергій.)

Митрополитъ СЕРГІЙ,  
БѢЛЫЙ РУССКІЙ.



## Metropolitan Sergius of Japan

Metropolitan Sergius had arrived in Japan in 1908 to assist St Nicholas of Japan in his missionary work among the Japanese. After St Nicholas died in 1912 he became the Archbishop of Tokyo as St Nicholas' successor.

After the great Tokyo earthquake of September 1923, in which the Resurrection Cathedral (Nicolai-do) was seriously damaged, Archbishop Sergius needed an experienced choir director. He came to Manchuria, where many of the remnants of the Russian White army were living, to find a new director. It was here that Archbishop Sergius met Victor A. Pokrovsky. The Archbishop liked Victor and asked him to join the Japanese archdiocese at the cathedral in Tokyo. So, began their cooperation of the next two decades.

The following are memories of Victor, Irene, and Lydia Pokrovsky about Archbishop Sergius as remembered by Lydia (Pokrovsky) Kosar.

### Bishop Sergius

Lydia Kosar

My earliest recollection of Bishop Sergius was when he would come every morning to our apartment living room in the Nicolai-do compound. This was a long narrow building with living quarters on one side and kitchens on the opposite side. We lived in the middle section with priests and other Christian families as neighbors. The Bishop's house was at the end of the building, right across from the Cathedral.

On week days, every morning, Bishop Sergius came and sat in our living room. He always had a towel around his neck since he just had an ofuro bath. Only the bishop had a private bath. The rest of us went to public bath houses. The Bishop and my father would discuss church matters. My mother gave him some tea and would do her housework, usually cooking, and just ignore him. I thought he was some kind of relative (a grandfather?). He had the kindest eyes and a long beard. I was never afraid, he was my friend with whom I could play. Only on Sundays I would ask and wonder "is that my friend in the middle of the church getting dressed in the Bishop's regalia."

I remember several trips with the Bishop and my family to visit Bishop Nicholas' grave. I thought that this was just another family ritual. Also, I remember when he took us to some resort, to the mountains and a lake (his dacha near Lake Yamanaka at the base of Mount Fuji), during the summer. On one of these trips he bought my mother a souvenir box. He also took us to restaurants. I remember one special occasion when, on my birthday, he took us to a department store in Tokyo and told me to pick out a dress as a birthday present. I picked out a long red velvet dress. My parents protested. It must have been expensive. But, the Bishop insisted that if she

wants it she gets it.

Once the Bishop and my parents were standing outside in the Church grounds. I must have been three or four years old and very little. The Bishop said that he was going to test my money knowledge. He held out his hand with a large impressive coin with a hole in it and a smaller but more valuable coin. "Let's test her knowledge in mathematics," he said. "Let's see which one she picks." I hesitated for the longest time then shyly stretched out my hand and grabbed both coins. Again my parents protested but the Bishop just said, "Let her have both coins. She really is a good mathematician."

On one of his walks with us we were passing a "honey bucket" cart, a cart that collected human waste that was used for fertilizer, when Bishop Sergius casually said, "See that cart. They will deliver my body to church in such a cart."

Bishop Sergius was also my older brother George's Godfather.

Bishop Sergius was very generous and aided many people. Later, after I had grown up, my parents told me that unknown to many people he had paid off the debts of a number of people. Since my father was trying to support a growing family on a small salary the Bishop also supplemented my father's salary from his own funds.

As World War II approached the militaristic element in the Japanese government began to assert its power more. One of those assertions was to remove all foreign influence from Japan, even from the religious organizations. As a result Metropolitan Sergius and my father were removed from their positions with the Orthodox Church in Japan. We were forced to move from the Cathedral grounds. The Metropolitan was moved to a residence outside of Tokyo, and our family was moved to a residence on the bluff in Yokohama with many other families.

Although the Metropolitan told my father that he was offered positions in the United States, the Metropolitan firmly asserted that he would remain with his flock. He would not leave Japan.

I remember so well when I went to my first confession. This was in a little chapel in his residence out in the Tokyo suburbs after he and my family were evicted from Nicolai-do. I was so scared but he quickly calmed me down.

One of the last times I remember seeing Metropolitan Sergius was in our Yokohama house (actually a room in the house that we shared with several other families) in the bluff area. He had

come for the christening of my new sister, Larisa. It was late in the summer of 1943. I remember my mother looked radiant and beautiful in her Chinese flowered kimono. There were other people from our community present as Metropolitan Sergius baptized my sister in the room in a big metal tub. The Bishop must have been tired and said to my father, "If I could only have a glass of cold beer." My father, some how, was able to find a cold beer for the Metropolitan.

In August 1945, about three days after World War II ended, Bishop Sergius came to my mother in a dream. We were living in a Japanese house with several other families in Kariuzawa, a town in the Japanese alps, several hours train ride from Tokyo. She related to us that in the dream he came into our room. He appeared to be his casual self, coming to visit us as usual in the morning, the familiar wet towel around his neck just as though he came from an ofuro. My mother habitually invited him in and offered him some tea. The Bishop quickly declined, saying, "I only came to say good bye, but one day I will come again to greet you." Later that morning there was a knock on the door. A young Russian boy said that they had some news. "Bishop Sergius had died!" my mother stated. "How did you know?" the surprised young boy asked. To which my mother answered, "Oh, the Bishop visited us to say good bye."

Although Tokyo was a bombed out field with very few running vehicles, Father was able to attend Bishop Sergius' funeral. The Japanese Christians did have a funeral service in Nicolai-do for Bishop Sergius. And, yes, his coffin was brought to the Cathedral on a small "honey bucket" cart as there were no other vehicles available.

Exactly two weeks before my father died on 11 February 1990, Bishop Sergius appeared again to my mother in a dream in their Vienna, Virginia apartment living room. "I came to greet you," he said. My mother woke up and quickly told my father that Bishop Sergius came to greet her. "I'm going to die," she said. "No, no," my father answered. "He came to get me. It is I who will die shortly."

All morning of the day my father died he kept pointing to a clock on the wall of the hospital room in front of him. My mother kept saying there's nothing there except a clock. My father was not able to talk (his throat was atrophied and paralyzed). Within the hour before he died I handed him a scratch paper and pencil and he scribbled, "A man came to me."

My and my family's memories of Metropolitan Sergius are of a man dedicated to Christ, putting to practice Christ's teaching as a friend and leader of his Christian flock in Japan.

## エレン小野修道女の思い出

エヴゲニア 加美長 美津枝

フィオドシー府主教陛下のご逝去に伴い、新しく日本正教会の代表としてお三方の主教品が叙聖されました事は、日本正教会発展の為に真に喜ばしい事とお祝いを申し上げます。

昨秋以来、数々の正教時報で主教候補神父方の剪髪式や叙聖式の詳細な報道を拝見しまして、私が身近に参加しました、日本人で最初の主教叙聖式までの日々を思い起こして居ります。あれから五十九年が経ちました。

それは昭和十六年私が二十歳になった年でした。第二次世界大戦勃発の年でもありました。私の一家は当時旧満州国のハルビン市に住んで居りました。日本は中国への侵略戦争を始めて十一年が経っており軍閥政治の真つ只中に有り、キリスト教団の何れの団体も代表者は日本人でなければならぬとの命令が出て不思議ではない世の中でした。

日本正教会も、セルギイ主教が存命でいらつしても政府の指令に従うほがなく、昭和十五年の公会で邦人主教設立特別委員会ができました。その頃、ロシア正教会のアレキシー総主教府はソ連でスターリンの迫害を受け、宗教活動もできず、モスクワで逼塞していらした頃でしたので、日本の主教選立に対するご指示も祝福も受ける事はできませんでした。しかし、ユーゴスラビアのベオグラードに総主教代理のアナスタシー府主教が居られ、そちらに連絡が取れました。アナスタシー府主教からは日本正教会に、「一日も早く主教を選立し、教権を正常に継承されたい旨、また「主教叙聖に関してはあらゆる便宜を供与致しましょう」という親書が届きました。インターネットもファックスも民間航空路もない時代、西欧でもヒトラーの侵略戦争が始まった頃で全てに随分と時間の掛る事でした。

父の処には東京から同窓の方が数人主教叙聖の件で来満され、父はユーゴからの電報等も拝見した上で協力をお約束しました。ユーゴの府主教府からは主教候補者五人を選出し、その経歴・功績等を示すリスト送付の要請があり、送りましたところ、主教会議で選考が行われ、二人の神父が選ばれました。日本の神父方は全て妻帯者でしたので、その二人の中の「妻女を修道女として離別する者一人を主教として祝福する」というのが条件でした。その二人の神父の一人がイヨアン小野神父でした。もう一方の神父は、条件が受けられないと早々に辞退されました。小野神父は辞退も出来なくなり、齢六十八歳になり病弱のため杖を突いても一人歩きがおぼつかない老妻を離別することは、余りにも酷で進退極まったと話していたそうです。しかし、マトシカ ウエラ小野しんは、聖ニコライ大主教陛下から日本で最初に受洗しました三人の日本青年の一人、酒井篤礼の末娘として函館に生まれ、教会の附属小学校で学び、長じて東京の

女子神学校を卒業して小野帰一と結婚することにより神品の妻として半世紀に  
余る人生、神父の牧会を支え五人の子供を育てた真に気丈な女性でございま  
した。

彼女は「私が修道院に参りますことが、日本正教会のために必要とされ、神  
の聖旨に叶う行為であるなら、私は自分の意志で修道女にな리ましょう」と申  
し出られ、自筆の誓約書を委員会に提出されました。そこでベオグラードの府  
主教府に小野神父が受託の旨連絡されました。当時四人以上の主教が居り、往  
来ができる地域はロシア人が三十万人も居住していましたハルビン市以外には  
ありませんでした。

ハルビンのロシア正教会ブラゴウエシエンスキ男子修道院におられたミ  
レータイ府主教の処にも、ユーゴの総主教府代理アナスタシー府主教の指示が  
届いておりました。

ミレータイ府主教・ネストル大主教（この方はセルギイ主教の同窓生で度々来  
日されました）・デミートリー主教、ユウエナリー主教方は皆暖かく小野神父を  
迎え「主教への叙聖式を正式に執り行います」と承諾して下さいました。

昭和十六年二月末、ハルビンは未だ零下二十度以下の冬でした。小野神父に  
遠藤補祭が随行し五日の旅程の後、私宅へ到着されましたのは三月二日でござ  
いました。私共と小野家は親類で、マトシカは私の祖母の妹で私には大叔母に  
当たります。神父到着後、私の父はロシア正教会の府主教様始め各主教様方へ  
小野神父のご紹介とご挨拶、十数カ所にも及ぶ教会巡り等案内を致し、父が多  
忙な日は私が代役を務めました。十日後に小野神父は剪髪式の準備や修道服・  
祭服等の寸法合わせの為男子修道院に入りました。その後マトシカが娘婿赤柴  
千丈氏に付き添われ、五日の旅を終えて無事に私宅に到着されました。府主教  
にお知らせ致しましたところ、神父とマトシカの剪髪式は男子と女子修道院に  
て同時刻に執り行うと決まりました。十日ほど静養の後、女子修道院でも色々  
準備が必要な為、ウエラ大叔母と私は修道院に入り修道院暮らしが始まりました。  
マトシカは和服しか着ない人でしたので靴をお履きになるのは大変な苦行でござ  
いました。ハルビンの女子修道院には身寄りのない老女のための養老院と四  
十人ほどの女児孤児院が附属しており、修道女と未だ宣誓をしていない若いシ  
スター達総勢八十人くらいの世帯でした。マトシカと私は七畳ほどの部屋に住  
み、早朝の祈祷、朝食後の製パン作り、イコン製作、修道院の収入源でもあり  
ましたパッチワークの掛布団づくりの見学や手伝い、部屋での剪髪式の勉強な  
どに日を過ごしました。私はマトシカが休んでおります間におにぎりや日本茶、  
和菓子、煮物等を自宅に取りに行きトンボ帰りで修道院に戻るといふ生活をし  
ていました。しばらくして剪髪式の日取りが決まりました。三月の半ば過ぎの  
ことでした。

夕方祈祷後、堂内はローソクの灯りだけの薄暗さになり、聖堂の中央には  
白布のバージンロードが敷かれています。その両側に黒いマントを着て正装し

た修道女達が並んでいます。剪髪を受けるマトシカは、白い下着のステハリー一枚で白髪を全部前に梳き下げ、頭を下げたまま跪き、床に手をつきいざりながら前に進みます。両側の修道女方は自分のマントを広げて上から覆います。マントのトンネルの中を進む形になるのです。私は片手でマトシカを支えつつ自分も膝でいざりながら進みました。

イコノスタスの天門の前にはデミトリー主教が立っておられ、途中で頭を押されるたびに手足を十字形に延ばし、白い床にうつ伏せになります。祈祷の后、またいざり進みを三回繰り返しますと主教様の前に着きます。そして頭は下げたまま跪きます。すると主教様ははさみを床に投げられ「剪髪を受ける覚悟はあるか」と厳しい声で聞かれます。受剪者は鉋を探し「神に誓ってお願い致します」と主教様の前にひざまずき鉋を差し出します。これが誓いの言葉で三回繰り返されます。主教様は髪の毛を四箇所剪髪します。そこで初めて足で立ち上がる事ができるのです。祈祷と聖歌の中で修道服が着せられ、帯を締め、マントを掛けられ修道帽をかぶり、木の十字架が掛けられます。そしてチヨトキ（数珠）を渡され、エレナ修道女の名を頂いて、剪髪式は終わりました。

その式は真に壮絶で、恐ろしいとしか形容し難いものでございました。私は震えが止まらず、何と答えていたのか覚えがないくらいでした。三回の十字形・うつ伏せの行はこの世での肉親との決別、俗世との決別、全ての欲望と自我との決別を意味するものでした。私は健康なばかりの小娘でしたが随分疲れしました。しかし、その後エレナ修道女と私はその晩は深夜まで聖堂で祈祷を続けました。十二時ごろルフイーナ院長様がお迎えに見え部屋に帰して下さいました。私は修道女を支えながら一緒に行動し、三回ロシア語で誓いの言葉を繰り返した事になりました。

数日後、小野主教の叙聖式がハルビンで最もふるい木造の中央寺院という大聖堂でメレータイ府主教・ネストル大主教・デミトリー、ユウエナリ両主教に加え上海からはるばる三日も汽車に乗り続けて五人目のイヨアン主教が駆け付けて下さり、盛大且つ厳かに執り行われました。エレナ修道女はルフイーナ修道院長様他全修道女方と共に修道女の正装で叙聖式に参加されました。私も付き添いとして側におりました。式典には当時ハルビンに居られたニコライ神学校出身の方々も家族と共に多数参加され、各教会の神品や信者等大勢の人々が集まり聖堂の外まで溢れてお祭のようでした。

夕方からメレータイ府主教様始め四人の主教方や各教会の神品の方々、日本人信者を含め二百人以上の人々が参加され、大きなレストランで祝賀会を開催致しました。

ニコライ小野主教は叙聖後数日してネストル大主教に伴われ、未だ女子修道院に居られましたエレナ修道女にお別れに見えました。修道女は涙もみせず祝福を受け「一切無事に帰国下さいませ」と挨拶されました。

主教は遠藤補祭と帰国されました。幾分春めいて来ました四月始めにエレナ

修道女も体調を調えるためにお許しを得て私宅に戻り静養し、半月程して赤柴氏がお迎えに見えましたのでハルビンの皆様にご挨拶回りの上帰国されました。その年、十二月八日に日本は米国に宣戦布告をし大東亜戦争が始まりました。それからの復活祭や降誕祭には私宅に主教様方が次々とお祝いに見えるようになり姉と私は大忙しでございました。デミトリー主教は私に「エヴゲニアは修道女の誓を立てたからもうお嫁には行けないよ」とからかわれ私も東京に修道院を建ててエレナ修道女を助けてあげたいのでお金を出してと父に迫ったりしましたが、実現できる情勢ではありませんでした。

小野主教について「あれは軍部が立てた人だから」と侮蔑的に言う人が今もいます。その人達は当時ご自分が何才であり、日本正教会内にあった内紛や悪質な流言蜚語、暴力沙汰の真実をどれほど正しく理解した上で小野主教を未だに誹謗しているのでしょうか？私には納得ができません。

本来小野神父は昭和十四年七月の公会で四十年勤めた高崎教会から東京本会付き司祭となり横浜教会の司祭も兼任することになっておりました。横浜教会にもその年には信者の間に内紛があり、セルギイ主教が小野神父に和解の労を取るように命ぜられた事実があります。セルギイ主教様には本当に信頼されていました。しかし、セルギイ主教が過激派信者に強制的に池袋へ移される際、助けを求められたにもかかわらず、神父は自室のドアを外から閉鎖され出る事が出来ませんでした。その後、セルギイ主教は「貴方も私を助けてはくれませんか」と言われ、この事が宣伝されて、悪者にされてしまったと言うことでした。

小野主教は叙聖後、当然本会に帰京して来られたわけですが、ニコライ堂は正面の鉄扉が溶接されて、聖堂に入ることが出来ず、取り敢えず神田教会で帰京の祈祷を行なったとの事でした。

前述の如く、小野主教は正式な教会法に従って叙聖されましたのに、その真実を伝えられる人は今では全て亡くなってしまいました。

終戦後、昭和二十一年十月に引揚者として帰国しました私達は、小野主教に對する日本正教会の迫害ぶりに涙しました。主教は二十一年の春に、臨時公開が開かれ、病氣療養という名目で引退させられ、終には祈祷すら禁じられることになり、娘宅で寂しい日々を送っておられました。

エレナ修道女は帰国後、金成教会の司祭でした小野警神父の所に同居し、金成教会で祈祷しながら、昭和二十三年三月六日 七十五歳で永眠されました。金成の墓地に埋葬されましたが、後に改葬され、今はフェオドシー府主教のご指示でニコライ堂の納骨堂に眠っています。

私の父勘平は七十歳になりましたが、小野主教の復権と日本正教会内にありました色々な問題の改革をライフワークにすると申し、昭和二十九年アメリカのイリネイ府主教座下が来日されたあとは南部教会でお世話になりながら、府主教を手伝って様々な調査を行ない、土地や税金問題の解決、小野主教の復権

を目指し必死で働いておりました。三十年小野主教とイリネイ府主教の間で和解が成立し、翌三十一年五月二十七日、小野主教の復権が正式に通達され、本会に復帰されましたが、父はそれを待たずに病に倒れ、同年三月に永眠致しました。

小野主教は二十九年六月十七日、イリネイ主教からの和解申し入れとご自分の考えを含め、モスコーのアレキシー総主教にその後報告と祝福の願いを自筆で書き送っております。

小野主教は、復権が叶った昭和三十一年十一月十九日 八十四歳で永眠され、谷中墓地の聖ニコライ大主教の左隣に埋葬されておられます。私には、その事がせめてもの幸せに思われます。

七十歳に手の届く年配で、静かに暮らせたはずの老後を、唯、日本正教会の為にとの思いで、自分達の自我を押さえ主教になり修道女になった、小野主教とエレナ修道女が、今は誰にも知られることも無くなりました。一分始終に立ち合った唯一の生証人として私は、何かを書き残しておくべきでないのかとの念にかられ、薄れゆく記憶を辿りつつ拙い筆で思い出を書き綴る事に致しました。

二〇〇〇年二月三日 七十九歳の誕生日に 之記

七十九歳の誕生日に  
之記





GENERAL HEADQUARTERS  
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS  
Military Intelligence Section, General Staff

30 JAN 1947. 11-7-47  
M.O.

Дорогой Паул:-

Простите беспокойную записку и пусть  
скажут тебе что и ты и я очень благодарны  
за твое внимание только — пожалуйста  
не пиши мне никаких записок — пожалуйста  
ника из армии не уйдешь. Наконец не говори  
никому что я пишу в этом деле (частном)  
какое либо отношение. Конечно никому не  
покажешь тех вещей которых я тебе пи-  
сал. Если ты вообще не хочешь за-  
ниматься делом говори кому либо что можешь  
быть я принимаю как утешение что-то  
скажи что ты так предполагаешь потому  
что я здесь на службе. Вани если  
официальная моя служба тебе. Дело в  
том что блокба не может через себя  
своего заблуждения.

Была у нас Mrs Steven. Мне ей  
нужно не говорить о частных делах  
так как не знаю ее. Но она была

у нас на ливне и видна дола. Скажи  
мо и Соли што ти можеш о томе воопште  
не говориш ништа.

Душама овде пробудило се све  
животи и напредује на нама. Погледај  
о нама што ја не особено знам овде  
Но то видно јује.

Пока још иду ове крочи и  
Вил Венин завојева расположених  
много. Он постепено освојева.

Вс целој крочи. Јако  
ево, но овога још не предвиди.

Ловиш ме и брзо со

Бор.

Дорогой Папа; -

Фев. 8, 47

Поздравляю Вас с Днем Рождения Тоню  
и желаю Вам здоровья и многих лет!..  
Владимир постепенно устроивается здесь и  
когда становится немного теплее, сможет  
разрешиться по своему желанию. Его здесь  
внутренний день радужно. Католическая шко-  
ла в течение семи минут, пока он едет  
из дома в церковь. Холод в церкви для  
удачливый. Каждый раз Вл. отирает руки,  
пар клубами катится. У Вл. маленькая, но  
теплая комната в одном из маленьких  
зданий. Там также Сергей Савицкий живет.  
Когда наступит Вл. переедет жить в цер-  
ковный дом, который постепенно прибо-  
дится в порядок. Там было посвящено ~~много~~  
но священных и духовных. Как раз в проше-  
ле воскресные школы священника, а также  
дядя наш ~~и~~ ~~и~~ ~~и~~ - кухарки. Приезжа-  
ет и мать сюда для портрета и дома  
у нас. Все же христиане - много. Дру-  
гие, многие и приятные на разговор. Наша  
мать во время читает ~~в~~ Библию  
и много молится. Станет теплее, будет  
больше народу посещать, но и так наша  
воскресная школа приходит.

Miss Steven Davis. Она старшая и как будто наша. Она русский и как будто наша. Она русский и как будто наша.

Мы едим в кафе, где много русских. Там же  
по две церкви, но одна старая, а другая в  
доме устроена. В этих же церквях служат  
очень старенькие батюшки, которых про  
сил Габа поговорить с Вл. и прочее его, и  
соединить их к нашей церкви как можно  
скоро, т.к. они должны больше жить. Дру  
го те батюшки повернул к большевикам,  
но большевики потеряли все здесь, у нас лишь  
в угрозу и теперь многие, которые хотят полу  
чить сов. удостоверение - стали передумывать.  
Следите в газете или в Times, будет температура  
показана в War Dept., а потом в Ministry of  
Gen. MacArthur. Там же ясно сказано и что  
лишается Вам имя. Замерзла и холодно было  
бы проведено здесь и ясно подтверждено лютые  
положения Советников здесь. Несмотря на все  
это, Ген. Деревяшко едет с Габа на скакун. Не  
все ведь когда стали покупать деревню в  
Москву. Молодец Габа, да и его держат и оттаивают.  
События в газете о приезде Вл. стало больше  
61 всеобщий чернов. Многие записали в свои  
Сер. Савинский играет большую роль при Владике  
и через Габа, рекомендует Вл. что делать и как  
поступать в критические моменты. А как Корда?  
Там ведь тоже есть русские черны! Все же очень  
интересно бы. Когданибудь подробно бы рассказали.  
Будьте здоровы и всем храните. Целую Вас и Лиду

29 JUNE

Дорогой Па.

Все продолжается  
работать на стирке  
бумаги и удивлении со-  
ветником. Я доволен тем  
что мы не меняем  
ни машинки и  
начинаем с ними обра-  
щаться нежно и бережно.

Омисс в то же  
время заключает 7 ад-  
министративных дел  
по поводу  
заказа (который оштраф  
в сентябре) по поводу  
улучшения.

2  
Две два тому назад  
судна плаговский то  
и тогда у меня был  
и Костюков и еще два  
казака. Я там же рас-  
шир сатрапал.

Надпись что же  
идет у меня бланко-  
мучно. Словом что сего  
будет собо. У меня и  
одна молодая женщина -  
Скучи и здесь в зиме  
была - Поветой Касиной  
и еще сестрица  
была. Поветой Касиной  
не как то на обиду  
Если дураком что



моего помысла, но я  
 с удовольствием принимаю  
 по совету своих друзей.  
 Здесь есть один Анис.  
 по имени, как Роман-  
 гора по имени Давид  
 (Анис). а он потому о  
 том что в церкви Давид  
 недоволен удовлетворен и  
 уже решил. Можно  
 можно ему Анис в церкви  
 ходит только смелее, так  
 недоволен принадлежит  
 как парням и ходит  
 в церковь.

Перед нами в  
 С.Ф. Кривой и другие

носите манентно на-  
горнек

Буду рад сачунах њ  
неће.

Предат омановима  
пробит

Генерал Кривош

Доброј ноћи

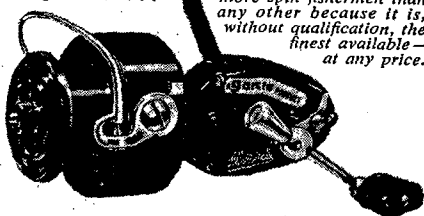
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# THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE



Cover by Richard Beattie

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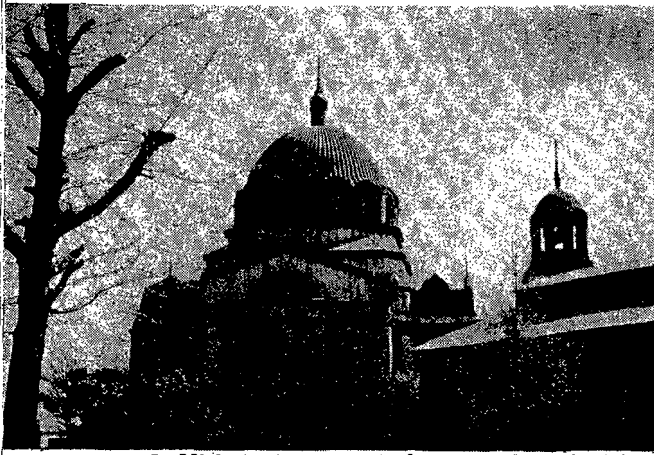
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St. Nicholas Japanese Orthodox Cathedral, Tokyo.



# CHECKMATE!



## HOW THE SOVIETS TRIED TO TAKE OVER THE JAPANESE ORTHODOX CHURCH, USING "DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS."

—By COL. BORIS T. PASH,  
AUS (Ret.)

**T**HERE IS GENERAL Derevyanko heading toward us," I said to the Belgian representative. "I can tell that he has something on his mind.

I was standing with some foreign representatives at a reception at the Netherlands Legation in Tokyo. The reception was a usual one, but the day was significant. It was Thursday, January 9, 1947. As Derevyanko reached our group, the stern expression on his face changed to a friendly smile.

Lieutenant General Kuzma Derevyanko was the Soviet member of the Allied Council to Japan. Officially, the Soviet Government had no mission in Japan but was represented by Derevyanko who maintained a staff — and what a staff! At its peak, the staff numbered about 450. Just what was the true identity of his staff personnel, we could only guess.

Derevyanko was a large man and very jovial by nature, but he was shrewd and always scheming. He was a product of the Bolshevik Revolution and had reached his position by advanc-



Maj. Gen. Paul J. Mueller, who helped Col. Pash foil the plot.

ing up the steps of the political apparatus. He always tried to appear friendly regardless of what he or his henchmen were plotting. He walked up to the group and greeted each of us with a smile and a comment in his very limited English. As he shook hands with me, he said, more to the group than to me, "Ah, my good friend Colonel Pash has again checkmated me." Then he added in an overfriendly voice, "Of course, you understand, I'm speaking of the game of chess." His expression and tone implied that only in chess could I checkmate him. Everyone turned to me, waiting for my answer. My constant clashes with Derevyanko were well known in Tokyo. Many of my friends had told me that since my arrival in Japan to take over as chief of the Foreign Liaison Section in GHQ, the Soviet Mission's freewheeling tactics had been

drastically curtailed.

My reply was not long in coming and, while directed at Derevyanko, was made to the group as a concluding statement to what Derevyanko had said. "I can assure you, gentlemen, that the other times are in line of duty." When Derevyanko's face turned red and his lips moved rapidly before they showed any signs of a covering smile, I knew he realized that another "friendly game" was lost by him.

The Soviet group was unceasingly engaged in activities de-



The bishop arrived and was escorted into the cathedral by church dignitaries.



Lt. Gen. Derevyanko, the crafty head red.

Some of the key staff members at the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo.



signed to break down the authority of General MacArthur, to infiltrate U.S. agencies, to spread propaganda, to carry on subversive activities, to gather intelligence information, or to embarrass the United States in any way. To do this, it was necessary for the Soviet machine to maintain agents in Japan and to have a base from which these agents could operate. We found that the pattern in Japan was no different from what it was in other countries. The Soviets have two methods to accomplish this job. One is to station extremely large numbers of people, most of whom are agents, at embassies, missions, and other representations. The other is to utilize an organization or support a cause through which they can either

introduce advisers from Moscow or in which they replace uncooperative native staffs with native personnel trained in Moscow or by Moscow agents.

Because of my lifelong knowledge of the Russian language and the Russians, I usually dealt directly with Derevyanko or with his immediate assistants. Thus we got to know their needs, and through contacts with some of the Soviet personnel it was possible for us to learn more about Soviet objectives and the methods used in accomplishing them.

I also had a very fine opportunity to become personally acquainted with Derevyanko and to study him closely. We both enjoyed playing chess. At our first encounter in chess we played three games, and I won all three. The entire diplomatic group learned of this the next day. After that Derevyanko would not let a chance go by without challenging me. These contacts gave me added opportunities to study the personal characteristics of Derevyanko.

Having experienced previous Soviet attempts to pull a fast one, I was not surprised when Derevyanko wrote me a letter containing a new twist. It was a request for an entry permit for two bishops from Moscow and a secretary (male); their mission supposedly was "to assist

*(Continued on page 42)*

## CHECKMATE!

(Continued from page 13)

in the spiritual rehabilitation of the Japanese Orthodox Church and to aid in its organization and administration."

What could be more commendable? However, two questions came to my mind: (1) What is the Japanese Orthodox Church? (2) What is behind Moscow's interest?

I had attended services in the St. Nicholas Cathedral in Tokyo. It was a very large and beautiful edifice in the Byzantine style, constructed in the early 1930's. The churchgoers were either Japanese nationals or Russian *émigrés* who fled Russia in the 1920's after the communists seized power. A few members of the occupation forces also attended.

To answer the first question, my office conducted a study of the Japanese Orthodox Church with the following results:

The church was established in the latter half of the 18th century by Russian missionaries who came to Japan through Siberia, Kamchatka, and the Kurile Islands. With the advent of Bolshevism in Russia, the church severed its tie with Moscow.

In 1946 there were 200 Orthodox religious communities with a membership of more than 40,000 scattered throughout Japan. All the clergy were Japanese.

(In recent years the only cleric of Russian background was the head of the church, Archbishop Sergi, who had died under alleged mysterious circumstances a short time before the U. S. Army entered Japan.) The services and the chanting of the choir were in Japanese.

I contacted two members of the Church Consistory (administrative body). One, who had attended a theological seminary in Moscow in 1914, spoke Russian; the other spoke English. We carried on a trilingual conversation.

"Our church is in pretty bad shape," said the first Japanese. "We lost our bishop, the church is without funds, and we need guidance and support in getting back on our feet."

The other added, "Mr. X, a well-to-do Russian businessman, told us that the Moscow Patriarch heard of our plight and is ready to send a bishop from Moscow to head our church and to assist us financially. We prepared a petition to the Patriarch asking his assistance, and gave it to Mr. X who told us he could get it to the Patriarch."

These people did not know that Mr. X was a leading local Soviet agent whose primary mission was to infiltrate and undermine the Russian community.

The first man added, "You can see

that it was difficult to refuse the kind offer of Moscow. Again we will have a bishop to train and ordain our priests and, above all, we shall have financial support which we need badly."

I told these men that many changes had taken place in the world of Eastern Orthodoxy. They were very interested and very impressed.

The Japanese had no way of knowing that although religion was persecuted in the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Government, through the Patriarch of Moscow, was making every effort to bring into the fold the Orthodox churches outside Russia. I knew this because it was my good fortune to assist my father, the late Metropolitan Theophilus, then the head of the Russian Orthodox Church of America, in his successful effort to defeat similar Soviet moves in the Western Hemisphere.

The picture became clear to me. The Soviet group, realizing the tremendous advantages the control of the church would give it, had contacted the church officials, through Russian *émigrés* who were supporting Soviet interests. The Soviets certainly had no intention of assisting the Japanese Orthodox Church. What then was Moscow's interest?

The communist plan was simple and sinister. Moscow wanted to gain control of the church and use it as a cover for operations in Japan. The two bishops — no doubt trained by or at best subservient to the Communist Party, if not actual members — accompanied by a "secretary" who was an MVD agent, would take over the Japanese Orthodox Church. Later, those Japanese priests who fell in line would retain their parishes, while those who opposed Moscow's schemes would be dismissed. Future candidates for the clergy would be sent to Moscow to "study." Later Russian priests would arrive to "administer to the spiritual needs" of the parishioners of Russian descent and to provide "guidance" for them. Thus, about 200 well-trained Moscow agents could be placed in parishes. What a readymade network for Moscow!

In subsequent meetings with the church officials I described in detail the status of the church in America, Moscow's efforts to gain control, and the visits to New York by the Moscow delegation (which, much like the one proposed for Japan, consisted of a bishop and a "secretary"). I also told them of Moscow's failure in America. This encouraged the Japanese. They asked if I thought Metropolitan Theophilus would give them the needed assistance, and I assured them that he would.

"You see, my friends," I told them, "it is only logical that the American Orthodox Church should help the Jap-

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anese Orthodox Church just as other churches of America are assisting their sister churches of Japan, and just as the American people represented by the Occupation Forces are assisting Japan and the Japanese people in rebuilding the nation."

As a result of our discussion, the Japanese realized that by associating with Moscow they would give up their independence.

One Sunday in the fall of 1946 representatives of all the parishes met and resolved to ask Metropolitan Theophilus for the needed assistance. An appeal was prepared to the Metropolitan and was forwarded by mail. However, a copy of the request was furnished me and was in turn forwarded by me to my father, with a full explanation of the situation and with an insistent request that he be prepared to act favorably in order to prevent the Soviets from getting this very important foothold in Japan.

The Soviets had been making persistent attempts in this direction. I was as persistent in my determination to prevent this.

My father needed no persuasion to convince him of the grave situation and of the need for immediate action. He was well aware of Moscow's methods. He replied, saying: "... A bishop will be sent upon receipt of official approval from the State Department. If no qualified volunteer will be found immediately, I shall come myself and remain until a bishop will be selected."

Having been assured of Metropolitan Theophilus' support, the Japanese Church submitted a request to GHQ. At this point I was sure that all difficulties were over and only formal action remained.

The request was submitted through my chief with a recommendation that it be approved. Much to my dismay, the chief not only disapproved but criticized me for meddling in "nonmilitary" matters. It was obvious that he did not see the picture. None of my arguments helped. I then decided to discuss the situation with Max Bishop of the Diplomatic Section of GHQ. This young man had given considerable thought to the international situation and was very realistic in evaluating our position in relation to the Soviets. He was quick to appreciate the situation. Finally, and primarily through Max Bishop's efforts, the developments were brought to the attention of the chief of staff, General Paul Mueller, who called me in and asked for a complete report.

Once General Mueller was fully aware of the situation, the matter was brought to the attention of General MacArthur for a decision. General MacArthur immediately dispatched a communication to the State Department, submitting the request of the Japanese

Orthodox Church and urging that favorable reaction from Metropolitan Theophilus be obtained.

Not long thereafter the news that Bishop Benjamin of Pittsburgh had been selected for assignment to Japan was received with great joy by the Japanese Orthodox Church. Bishop Benjamin arrived on January 6, 1947. The entire Orthodox community was in a festive mood and was busily making extensive preparations to greet him when he officiated for the first time on January 7.

Just prior to the bishop's arrival, General Mueller told me that information received in headquarters indicated possible disturbances during the services. It was reported that the pro-Soviet element might even attempt physical violence. General Mueller asked me if I thought I needed any help. I assured the general that I was confident I could control the situation as long as I had his approval to take necessary measures. The general told me to go ahead.

One of my first moves was to ask the chaplains of the First Cavalry Division and other units stationed in and around Tokyo that the Orthodox personnel among our troops be informed of the ceremonies and encouraged to attend.

At noon on January 7 the cathedral bells proclaimed a day of joy for the Japanese Orthodox community. The St. Nicholas Cathedral and its gardens were

teeming with Japanese, Russians, and Americans who had come to participate in the celebration. A large number of U. S. Army men attended. The bishop arrived amid the great rejoicing of the parishioners and was escorted into the cathedral by the dignitaries of the church. He conducted his first service in the splendor and dignity of the Orthodox ritual, supported by a well-trained choir which sang in Japanese some of the beautiful church melodies by Rachmaninoff, Archangelsky, Bartniansky, and others. The festive occasion passed without incident and thus the Japanese Orthodox Church was re-established, free from control by Moscow.

On January 9 I informed Derevyanko that General MacArthur was very appreciative of his interest in the Japanese Orthodox Church. However, since, at the request of the Japanese, a bishop had already arrived from the United States, there was no apparent need to consider further the Soviet request.

In describing the events to my father, particularly the arrival of the bishop and the first service in the Tokyo Cathedral, and appreciating his fine sense of humor, I concluded my letter by saying: "I do not recall when I have felt more elated than I did on the day Bishop Benjamin arrived, as I entered the portals of the House of God with a prayer in my heart and a blackjack in my pocket." THE END



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