

Saint-Petersburg State University

Manuscript Copyright

Irina Vladimirovna Kuzmina

**EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY OF THE RUSSIAN ECCLESIASTICAL MISSION
IN JAPAN DURING THE MEIJI PERIOD (1868–1912) AND ITS ROLE IN THE
CHRISTIAN ENLIGHTENMENT OF THE COUNTRY**

Scientific speciality

5.11.3. Practical Theology (Orthodoxy)

Thesis for the degree of
Candidate of Theology

Translation from Russian

Supervisor of Studies:

PhD Sciences, Doctor of Theology

(Received in the Russian Orthodox Church)

Stanislav A. Zinkovsky

(Bishop Methodius)

Saint-Petersburg

2025

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	4
CHAPTER 1. THE REFORMS DURING THE MEIJI PERIOD. PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC MISSIONARY WORK IN JAPAN	32
1.1. The impact of reforms to the education system of Japan in the period from 1868 to 1912 on the Christian missionaries’ educational activity	33
1.2. Protestant denominations’ educational activities in Japan.....	43
1.3. The Catholic Church and its activities in the field of education in Japan (16th — early 20th century).....	59
Conclusions for Chapter 1	74
CHAPTER 2. NICHOLAS OF JAPAN’S, EQUAL-TO-THE-APOSTLES, PEDAGOGY: THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS	79
2.1. Nicholas of Japan’s, Equal-to-the-Apostles, pedagogical views formation	80
2.2. The theological analysis of the fundamental principles of Nicholas of Japan’s, Equal-to-the-Apostles, pedagogy	103
2.3. Practical approaches to the organization of Christian enlightenment in Japan by Nicholas of Japan, Equal-to-the-Apostles.....	118
Conclusions for Chapter 2	138
CHAPTER 3. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY THE RUSSIAN ECCLESIASTICAL MISSION AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR CHRISTIAN PREACHING IN JAPAN	142
3.1 Organization of the educational process in the Tokyo Theological Seminary	142
3.2. Women’s educational institutions by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission	159
3.3. Training Christian preachers in Catechetical and other schools.....	170
Conclusions for Chapter 3	182
CONCLUSION	185

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED	194
REFERENCES	195
APPENDIX 1. Changes in the number of protestants missionaries and educational institutions	231
APPENDIX 2. Changes in the number of Catholic educational institutions.....	232
APPENDIX 3. Members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan (1870–1912)	233
APPENDIX 4. Changes in the number of educational institutions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and students	235

INTRODUCTION

Relevance of the research topic. At all times, the Christ's followers have carried the Gospel to the whole world, as the Lord taught His apostles: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" (Matthew 28:19). This commandment contains the key aspect of the Christian mission, namely the teaching, i.e. direct evangelical preaching and education are inextricably linked with each other and are directed towards a single goal — the salvation of the human soul.

In their missionary work all the Christian churches have paid special attention to Christian education, bringing their children up in the faith formation their Christian worldview. Theological disciplines, primarily Missiology and Theology of Education, provide an opportunity to consider various Christian missions' educational and enlightening activities in close connection with their direct missionary work.

The present dissertation research resulted in scientific understanding of the educational work conducted by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan (hereinafter referred to as the RDM in Japan) during the Meiji era. Regarding the mission's experience scientifically is of undoubted interest from the two points of view, namely applying this experience in modern missionary and educational activities by the Russian Orthodox Church and proper theological research tasks.

The theoretical part raises the questions about the moral and personal qualities a missionary (or, in a broad sense, any specialist involved in Christian education) should necessarily possess, as well as issues of forming their approaches to missionary and pedagogical activities. Following the development of the RDM head's, namely St. Nicholas of Japan's Equal-to-the-Apostles (Ivan D. Kasatkin, 1836–1912) pedagogical views, the influence of the whole range of factors on their genesis can be traced, first of all, the Christian education concepts developed by prominent figures of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian Empire.

Nowadays the issues of forming the younger generation's value-sense orientations need to be resolved urgently. The historical experience of the educational activities by the Russian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox regarding education primarily as upbringing of a spiritual and moral personality can significantly influence this process. Consequently, the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission head's pedagogical views, his practical approaches to teaching and upbringing are in demand in modern realities, therefore requiring scientific theological analysis.

Identifying the characteristics of the mission addressees and the educational activity objects was of equal importance from the theoretical point of view, primarily due to their belonging to various strata of the Japanese society and the tasks faced by each Christian mission. Considering these features, the missionaries chose and implemented certain educational models.

In addition, the theological analysis of St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical views provided by the present dissertation research deepened the scientific understanding of the saint's views on the human personality and its nature.

The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's functioning during a period of radical changes in all areas of the Japanese state life influenced its educational work. This makes it necessary to consider its activities as related to the social and political situation in the country. In 1868 Japanese Emperor Mutsuhito (Meiji, 明治天皇; 1852–1912) came to power. At the beginning of his governance, he accepted the Five Charter Oath one of the points of which assumed the active borrowing of scientific knowledge from the whole world¹ and enlightenment of the Japanese population in general. According to the new Japanese government, the enlightenment would let Japan be a civilized country on Western sample (they understood “civilized” exclusively as “like a Western one”²). Christianity was also regarded by the Japanese as the part of Western civilization and the compulsory

¹ World History. Volume 5. The World in the Nineteenth Century: towards the industrial civilisation / Edited by A.O. Chubaryan; responsible editor of the volume V.S. Mirzekhanov. Moscow: Nauka, 2014. P. 217.

² See: *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Meiji era reforms: The human dimension // The Yearbook Japan. 2018. Vol. 47. P. 357–358.

basis for scientific discoveries and technical breakthroughs. For this reason the new Japanese government found it reasonable to examine and accept it.

This idea was also supported by the educational activities of Christian missionaries. In the second half of the 19th century the Christian denominations' missionary activity reached its peak. The growth of the missionary societies' number in Western countries and their supporting Christian missions around the world were the characteristic features of that period. As a result thousands of Protestant and Catholic missionaries rushed to preach in India, Africa, Australia and Asia. The missionary activity of the Russian Orthodox Church was developed both inside and outside the country. Because of Russian ecclesiastical missions' fruitful activities the missionary Church service in the Holy Land, China, and North America was significantly expanded during this period. An example of such service is the work of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan.

At present, the Russian Orthodox Church has intensified its external missionary activities, besides, on the African continent. Therefore, one of the directions of this activity is the study of "the pre-revolutionary experience of preaching to non-Christians and its reinterpretation for the application to the realities of the present day"³. Undoubtedly, the experience of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and its educational activity, must be used at the present time.

When organizing the educational activity every Christian mission used its own educational experience. The members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan (mainly its head of the mission), undoubtedly learnt from the Russian ecclesiastical missions' successful missionary and educational work experience in Jerusalem, Beijing, the north of the American continent, the missions within the country. Just like the activists of these missions of the Russian Church, the head of the mission wanted the mission's institutions not only to teach, but also to raise new orthodox Christians, and to educate them morally, to introduce them to the "moral and spiritual foundations of the Orthodox

³ On the Modern External Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church / Journal No. 80 of the meeting of the Holy Synod dated 16.07.2013 [Electronic resource] // <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3102956> (date of access: 20.05.2024).

life, ... without imposing the own civilizational stereotypes, but expecting conscious acceptance of the Orthodox faith and conversion to it”⁴.

This attitude was radically different from the non-Orthodox missions’ approaches. In this regard, the comparative analysis of the educational activities by all three Christian denominations’ missions conducted in the present dissertation research for the first time is not only relevant from the scientific and historical points of view, but also significant for subsequent application of their experience in the missionary activities.

Thus, the **relevance of the stated research topic** is determined by the following main factors: firstly, knowledge of the history of educational work carried out by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan in the Meiji era, is an important basis for further developing practical solutions for the implementation of the Russian Orthodox Church missionary and educational activities at the present time; secondly, the study of St. Nicholas of Japan’s, Equal-to-the-Apostles, pedagogical experience makes it possible to identify his main views on education and training, upon which approaches to spiritual and moral education of the Russian youth, particularly in higher educational institutions, can be subsequently based; thirdly, a theological understanding of non-Orthodox missionaries’ approaches to educational activities is useful for developing practical steps of our Church’s missionary work; fourthly, analyzing the process of forming St. Nicholas of Japan’s pedagogical views makes it possible to identify significant factors influencing the formation of moral and personal qualities necessary for a missionary and teacher.

Degree of theoretical development of the research topic. The present research is interdisciplinary, so the historiographic review was conducted in several directions.

First of all, it was necessary to describe the educational activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan in the historical context of transformations in the country that occurred after the imperial rule restoration. Therefore, scientific works analyzing the reforms of the Meiji era were considered first of all. The works regarding the changes in

⁴ *Smirnova I.Yu.* Confessional factor of Russian policy in the Middle East and North Pacific regions in the middle of the XIX century: 1840–1860s [Text] : diss... Doctor of Historical Sciences: 07.00.02 / Smirnova Irina Yurievna. Moscow, 2017. 530 p.

spiritual, cultural and social life, particularly in the education system, were analyzed separately.

Russian authors addressed the topic of reforms in Japan even before the revolution. As Japan and the Japanese were changing rapidly, researchers were trying to comprehend the essence of these transformations. A number of authors drew the parallels between the Meiji Restoration and the Great reforms of the Emperor Alexander II, trying to find the reasons for the successful implementation of Japanese reforms in a relatively short period of time. This group of authors includes V.D. Cherevko⁵, L.I. Mechnikov⁶, D.M. Pozdnev⁷, E.G. Spalvin⁸, D.I. Schrader⁹ and some others. Works by some of them, for example, Mechnikov and Schrader, addressed the issue of Christian preaching in Japan, particularly, the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in the country. Besides, at the beginning of the 20th century, some works translated into Russian were published that were dedicated to Japanese reforms: for example, “The Age of Great Reforms in Japan”¹⁰ by A. Siebold. In 1904, the brochure “Essays on Japan”¹¹ was published as a free supplement to the magazine “Picturesque Review”. The brochure was a compilation of K.L. Brownell's work “Heart of Japan”¹² and contained interesting facts about the state of the Japanese society and Christian preaching in the country during the Meiji era.

At the same time, works reflecting changes in the educational field were published. One of the publications describing the Japanese educational system is a brochure by

⁵ *Cherevko V.D.* From the Modern History of Japan, 1854–1894 // Bulletin of Europe. 1894. No. 11. P. 227–272.

⁶ *Mechnikov L.I.* Meiji. The Era of Enlightenment in Japan // Delo. SPb., 1876. No. 10. P. 133–170.

⁷ *Pozdnev D.M.* Japan: Geographical and Statistical Essay. Tokyo: type. Tokyo insatsu kabushiki kaisha, 1906. 154 p.; *Ib.* Japan: Japan: General Overview of the Country: lectures, read for 1st year students practical. Oriental Academy at the Society of Oriental Studies in 1911. St. Petersburg: Publishing House of the 1st course, 1911. 191 p.

⁸ *Spalvin E.G.* Review of the Political Structure of Japan in the Past and Present: (From a Course of Lectures, Read at the Oriental Institute). Issues 1–2. Vladivostok: Oriental in-t, 1911. 130 p.

⁹ *Shreider D.I.* Japan and the Japanese: Travel Essays on Modern Japan. SPb.: A.F. Devrien, 1895. 658 p.

¹⁰ *Siebold A. von.* The Era of Great Reforms in Japan (Der Eintritt Japans in das europäische Völkerrecht). SPb., 1905. 84 p.

¹¹ *Essays on Japan / (Comp. V.I. T-skaya).* St. Petersburg: printing house of St. Petersburg joint-stock company “Slovo”, 1904. 111 p.

¹² *Brownell Clarence Ludlow.* The Heart of Japan. New York: McClure; Philips & Co, 1904. 364 p.

Count M.R. Kantakouzen¹³, an official of the Public Education Ministry of the Russian Empire. Works of other pre-revolutionary researchers regarded public education as well, such as I.A. Shlyapkin¹⁴, G.N. Sorokoletov¹⁵, L.B. Khavkina¹⁶, etc. These works are mainly descriptive and scarcely contain authors' assessments of the changes in education and conclusions about the results of these transformations. In 1913, a report by N.I. Konrad¹⁷ dedicated to the Japanese primary school system was published, in which the author briefly reviewed the history of education in Japan, analyzed its current state and compared Japanese primary education system with the Russian one.

After 1917 the Meiji reforms were mostly regarded through the prism of view of the Soviet worldview. First of all, the works written during this period by orientalists should be mentioned, such as N.I. Konrad¹⁸, E.M. Zhukov¹⁹, A.V. Efimov²⁰, K.M. Popov²¹ and some others. K.M. Popov was the first in our country to analyze the history of the Japanese national culture, scientific thought, education. Moreover, in his major work K. M. Popov studied the degree of foreign influence on this process²². For obvious reasons, the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan are hardly mentioned in these works, except for a small passage in Popov's work. It mentions the educational work carried out by the mission, particularly, the foundation of a library, a printing house and a school teaching Russian language²³.

¹³ *Cantacuzene M.R.* Public Education in Japan. St. Petersburg: type. V.S. Balasheva, 1879. 45 p.

¹⁴ *Shlyapkin I.A.* Public Education in Japan: (According to Data from the Liege exhibition of 1905 in Belgium). SPb.: Senate Printing House, 1906. 44 p.

¹⁵ *Sorokoletov G.N.* Materials on Primary Education in Japan. Part One. A Brief Historical Outline of the Development of Primary Education in Japan. Vladivostok, 1915. 24 p.

¹⁶ *Khavkina L.B.* Public Education in Japan. Moscow: Editorial Board of the Journal "Bulletin of Education", 1904. 57 p.

¹⁷ *Konrad N.I.* Modern Primary School in Japan: Extract from the "Journal of the Ministry of Public education". SPb.: Senate Printing House, 1913. 156 p.

¹⁸ *Konrad N.I.* Japan. People and State: Historical Essay. Pg.: Science and school, 1923. 168 p.; *Ib.* Public Education in Japan // Japan: Collection of articles / Ed. by E. Zhukov, A. Rosen. Moscow, 1934. Pp. 196–203.

¹⁹ *Zhukov E.* History of Japan: Brief Essay. Moscow: Sotsekgiz, 1939. 220 p.

²⁰ *Efimov A.V.* Revolution and Meiji Reforms in Japan: Transcript of a lecture, read. May 21, 1940. M., 1940. 18 p.

²¹ *Popov K.M.* Japan: Essays on the Development of National Culture and Geographical Thought. Moscow: Mysl, 1964. 639 p.

²² *Ibid.* P. 3.

²³ *Popov K.M.* Japan: Essays on the Development of National Culture and Geographical Thought. P. 417.

The works by Archpriest Innokenty Seryshev deserve some special attention. Between 1920 and 1922 he lived in Japan studying the educational process in Japanese institutions. Archpriest Innokenty Seryshev published several works on Japanese school education²⁴ describing its organization, practical orientation, ideological bias and other characteristic features.

The historical context the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan conducted its educational and enlightening work in, besides the characteristic features of the Meiji era are reflected in the works by modern researchers of Japan such as A.N. Meshcheryakov²⁵, V.E. Molodyakov²⁶, E.V. Verisotskaya²⁷, S.B. Markarian, E.V. Molodyakova²⁸, etc. Among the authors who considered the Japanese national culture formation in their works, particularly the education in the Meiji era, the scientific works of the famous Japanologist L.D. Grisheleva²⁹ deserve some special attention. Both on her own and in collaboration with N.I. Chegodar the author explores the changes in the religious, cultural and social life of Japan.

²⁴ *Seryshev I.N., Archpriest. Fundamentals of the Japanese System of Public Education // Vestnik Azii. No. 51–52. Harbin, 1925. Pp. 117–178.*

²⁵ *Meshcheryakov A.N. The Meiji Emperor and His Japan. 3rd ed., corrected. Moscow: OOO Lingvistika, 2023; Ibid. Japan in the Meiji Period (1868–1905): from the Beginning of Reforms to the Russo-Japanese War // History of Japan / Ed. by D.V. Streltsov. Moscow: Aspect-Press, 2018; Ibid. Transformations of the Meiji Era: the State and Physical Dimension // Japan in the Era of Great Transformations / Ed. by D.V. Streltsov; scientific ed. by D.V. Streltsov. Moscow: AIRO-XXI, 2020. Pp. 77–112; Ibid. Meiji Era Reforms: The Human Dimension // Japan Yearbook. 2018. Vol. 47. Moscow: AIRO-XXI, 2018. Pp. 350–366; *Ib.* The External Factor in the History of Japan // Asia — Dialogue of Civilizations. SPb.: Hyperion, 1996. Pp. 77–112.*

²⁶ *Molodyakov V.E. “School of National Sciences” and the Formation of the Japanese Idea // Vostok, 1994, No. 3. P. 45–53; Ibid. Meiji Ishin — Conservative Revolution // Problems of the Far East, 1993, No. 6. P. 112–117.*

²⁷ *Verisotskaya E.V. Westernization, National Idea and Realities of Japanese Policy in the Meiji Era. Vladivostok: Oriental University Press, 2005. 333 p.*

²⁸ *Markaryan S.B., Molodyakova E.V. Meiji Model of Development // Reflections on Japanese History. Moscow, 1996; Japan: The Experience of Modernization / Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Ed. Molodyakova E.V., Markaryan S.B. M.: AIRO-XXI, 2011. 283 p.*

²⁹ *Grisheleva L.D. Formation of Japanese National Culture. End of the 16th — beginning of the 20th century. Moscow: Nauka, 1986. 288 p.; Grishcheleva L.D., Chegodar N.I. Japanese Culture of the New Age. Meiji Era. Moscow: Eastern Literature, 1998. 237 p.*

One of the first scientific works entirely devoted to the history of Japanese education and foreign influence onto its formation was the study by S.C. Lim³⁰. The author gives a general idea of the Japanese school education system, educational institutions, the teaching staff and students. The scientific monographs by A.F. Prasol³¹ are also dedicated to the history of Japanese education. The historical stages of the education development from the second half of the 7th century to 1945 are studied there, the main forms of educational institutions are characterized and the peculiarities of each institution's functioning are described. The national cultural peculiarities of Japan reflected, among other things, in the organization of education, were studied by V.T. Nanivskaya³², A.N. Nurutdinov³³, N.F. Klobukova³⁴, etc.

Some foreign authors having studied the reforms of the Meiji era as well, for instance W.G. Beasley³⁵, L.M. Cullen³⁶, Marius B. Jansen³⁷ and others. Their studies analyze development of the events having occurred after 1868, their causes and immediate consequences. R. Dore, G. Passin³⁸ and B. Platt³⁹ focused specifically on the issues of transformations in the Japanese educational system. In the handbook "Education

³⁰ *Lim S.C.* History of the Japanese Educational System: Late 19th — first half of 20th century. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2000. 364 p.

³¹ *Prasol A.F.* The Forming of Japanese Education (VIII–XIX centuries). Vladivostok: Dalnauka, 2001. 391 p.; *Ib.* Japanese Education in the Meiji Era (1868–1912). Vladivostok: Dalnauka, 2002. 358 p.

³² *Nanivskaya V.T.* The System of "Moral Education" in the Japanese School: dissertation ... Candidate of Historical Sciences: 07.00.03. Moscow, 1983. 271 p.

³³ *Nurutdinov A.R.* The Main Trends in Education in Japan in late 19th — 20th centuries: Formation, Development and Reform of the System Aesthetic Education. Kazan: KNRTU Publishing House, 2016. 194 p.

³⁴ *Klobukova N.F.* Confucian Moral and Educational Function of Music: from the History of Japanese School Education // The Journal of Society for Music of Theory. 2022. No. 2 (38). Pp. 30–41.

³⁵ *Beasley W.* The Japanese Experience: A Short History of Japan. L., 2000. 299 p.; *Beasley W.G. & Auslin Michael R.* The Meiji Restoration. Stanford University Press, 2018. 536 p.

³⁶ *Cullen L.M.* A History of Japan, 1582–1941. Cambridge University Press, 2003. 357 p.

³⁷ *Jansen Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan. First Harvard University Press paperback edition, 2002. 936 p.

³⁸ *Dore R.P.* Education in Tokugawa Japan. London and New York: Routledge, 2010. 346 p.; *Id.* A. Japan // Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey. Princeton University Press, 1964. Ch. 5. P. 176–204; *Passin H.* Society and Education in Japan. New-York: Teachers College. Columbia University, 1965. 347 p.

³⁹ *Platt Brian.* Japanese Childhood, Modern Childhood: The Nation-State, the School, and 19th-Century Globalization // Journal of Social History, George Mason University Press. Vol. 38, No. 4, 2005. P. 965–985.

in Japan”⁴⁰ edited by E.R. Beauchamp and R. Rubinger a separate chapter is devoted to foreign influence on school and higher education development. Yamasaki Yoko's article⁴¹ highlights some aspects of the Western pedagogical thought reception process by Japanese teachers and attempts to evaluate it. The brochure “Education and education in Japan”⁴² by Yoshida Kaoru is of particular interest as well. Most of these authors emphasized the significant influence of Christianity on implementing social reforms, primarily related to education.

However, the mentioned scientific works cover the history of spreading of Christianity in Japan only in general terms. The works devoted exclusively to the history of Christianity in Japan have discussed this topic in more detail.

First of all, the works dedicated to the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission should be mentioned. The activities of Orthodox missionaries in Japan were frequently regarded in pre-revolutionary publications. In the period from the 1870s to 1912, more than a hundred monographs and articles in various periodicals were published in Russia.

An Orthodox missionary in Japan Hieromonk Nickolas (Kasatkin) became famous to the Russian society in the late 1860s for a number of scientific and educational works⁴³ examining the history of «the Land of the Rising Sun», the peculiarities of its state, religious and social structure, reporting on the prospects for broadening the Christian preaching in Japan and suggesting to establish an ecclesiastical mission. The active journalistic activity of Father Nicholas provoked the Russian society's interest in studying the neighbor country, its history, geography, climate, etc., and attracted attention of the

⁴⁰ Education in Japan: A Source Book / Ed. Edward R Beauchamp, Richard Rubinger. New York; London, 1989. 316 p.

⁴¹ *Yamasaki Yoko*. The Impact of Western Progressive Educational Ideas in Japan: 1868–1940 // History of Education. Vol. 39. No. 5. P. 575–588.

⁴² *Yoshida Kaoru*. Upbringing and Education in Japan / K. Yoshida and T. Kaigo. [Tokyo]: South Manchurian Railway Joint Stock Company. 113 p.

⁴³ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk*. And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful....: Letter Russian from Hakodate // Christian reading. St. Petersburg, 1869. No. 2. Pp. 239–258; *Ibid.* Japan from the Point of View of the Christian Mission // Russian Bulletin. Moscow, 1869. No. 9. P. 219–264; *Ibid.* Seoguns and Mikado // Russian Bulletin, 1869. No. 11. P. 207–227; No. 12. P. 416–460.

church hierarchs and government officials to the issue of Christian preaching “among the pagans”.

After the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan was established in 1870, many authors address the topic of Orthodox missionaries’ activity. At the same time, works by Archimandrite Nicholas, Hieromonk Anatoly (Tikhay), Hieromonk Vladimir (Sokolovsky), Hieromonk Moses (Kostylev) and other members of the mission continue to be published in the press. Articles about the Orthodox mission in Japan were published in the “Missioner” journal by the Orthodox Missionary Society and other issues such as “Christian Reading”, “Church Bulletin” and some others. It should be noted that the writings by the contemporaries of the first missionaries hardly contained in-depth analysis and were mostly descriptive.

One of the first known publications entirely dedicated to the Orthodox mission is a small brochure “On the spread of the Orthodox Christian Faith by Russian religious preachers in Japan”⁴⁴, published in 1874 by the Useful Books Distribution Society. This publication made an attempt to summarize all the information about the mission available at the moment, systematize it and describe the main directions of the mission’s activity. The brochure was accompanied by a plan of a building being constructed for a church and a catechetical school. Among the works on Orthodox Mission in Japan published before 1917 we should mention the texts by S.O. Makarov⁴⁵, F. Ornatsky⁴⁶, I.G. Veniaminov⁴⁷, F. Prokhorenko⁴⁸, S.V. Nedachin⁴⁹, etc.

In 1889, Hieromonk Alexy (Vinogradov) dedicated a section in the first volume of his major work “The History of the Bible in the East”⁵⁰ to Christian preaching in Japan.

⁴⁴ On the Spread of the Orthodox Christian Faith in Japan by Russian Religious Preachers. Moscow: Society for Distribution of Useful Books, 1874. 26 p.

⁴⁵ *Makarov O.S.* Orthodoxy in Japan. St. Petersburg: Synodal type, 1889. 28 p.

⁴⁶ *Ornatsky F.* Russian Orthodox Mission and Orthodox Church in Japan. St. Petersburg, 1889. 24 p.

⁴⁷ *Veniaminov I.G.* Religion and Christianity in Japan. St. Petersburg, 1905. 61 p.

⁴⁸ *Prokhorenko F.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and Korea. Kharkov, 1907. 101 p.

⁴⁹ *Nedachin S.V.* The Orthodox Church in Japan. SPb.: Kolokol Printing House, 1910. 59 p.

⁵⁰ *Alexei (Vinogradov), Hieromonk.* History of the Bible in the East, with an Overview of the Method and Conditions Favorable and Unfavorable to its Translation and Dissemination by the Christian Church among Different Peoples. Vol. 1. The Chinese State, Korea, Japan, Burma, Annam, Siam, etc. Issues 1–2. SPb.: Panteleyev brothers’ Printing House, 1889–1895. 1194 p.

The author not only described the activities of the Orthodox mission, but also provided brief information about Protestant and Catholic preachers. The work “Our External Missions”⁵¹ by S.A. Archangelov is also devoted to the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan. The book was based on works a member of the mission Archimandrite Sergius (Stragorodsky) published in the “Theological Herald” and “Russian Herald”⁵² magazines. The book itself was published in 1899. The activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan were also regarded in the work⁵³ by L.A. Tikhomirov on the tasks of the Russian Orthodox Church mission in the Far East.

The personality of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission head was of particular interest to pre-revolutionary researchers. Articles and brochures dedicated to his biography began to be published during Bishop Nicholas’⁵⁴ lifetime and continued to appear for a long time after his death, until 1917⁵⁵. In the Soviet time works devoted to the St. Nicholas’ personality and activities began to be published only in the 1960s⁵⁶. They were mostly based on pre-revolutionary publications and some archival documents. The interest in the history of Christian preaching shown by Russian researchers in the

⁵¹ *Arkhangelov S.A.* Our Foreign Missions: An Essay on Russian Ecclesiastical Missions. SPb., 1899. 208 p.

⁵² *Sergius (Stragorodsky), Archimandrite.* In the Far East: Letters of a Japanese Missionary. Moscow: Sretensky Monastery Publishing House, 2013. 384 p.; *S. [Sergius (Stragorodsky)].* Christian Preaching in China and Japan // Russian Bulletin. Moscow, 1892. No. 12. Pp. 7–31.

⁵³ *Tikhomirov L.A.* Christian Tasks of Russia and the Far East. Moscow, 1900. 47 p.

⁵⁴ *Sinyavsky P., Archpriest.* Materials for Biography of His Eminence Archbishop Nikolas, Head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan // Strannik. SPb., 1910. No. 10. Pp. 402–410.

⁵⁵ *Pozdnev D.M.* Archbishop Nicholas of Japan. (Memories and Characteristics). SPb., 1912. 54 p.; *Galakhov, I., Archpriest.* His Eminence Nicholas, Archbishop of Japan. February 3, 1912 // Tomsk eparchial vedomosti. Tomsk, 1912. No. 6. Pp. 340–348; No. 7–8. Pp. 394–402; *Sergius (Tikhomirov), Bishop.* In Memory of His Eminence Nicholas, Archbishop of Japan // Christian Reading. SPb., 1913. Vol. 239. Part 1. Pp. 3–76; *Vishnevsky E., Priest.* My Memories of Archbishop Nicholas of Japan, Who Reposed in God // News of the Kazan Diocese. 1912. No. 18. Dep. unofficial. Pp. 579–584; *Kedrov N.* Archbishop Nicholas of Japan in Letters to Archpriest N.V. Blagorazumov // Russian Archives. 1912. No. 3. Pp. 379–402; *Pavel (Ivanovsky), Archimandrite.* In Memory of His Eminence Nicholas, Archbishop of Japan // Pravoslavny Blagovestnik. 1912. No. 10. Pp. 429–439; *Platonova A.* Apostle of Japan. Essay on the Life of Archbishop Nicholas of Japan. Pg., 1916. 96 p.

⁵⁶ *Kazem-Bek A.* Apostle of Japan, Archbishop Nicholas (Kasatkin). (100th Anniversary of Orthodoxy in Japan) // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1960. No. 7. Pp. 43–58; *Yoshimura John, Archpriest.* 60 Years in Ecclesiastical Mission // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1968. No. 12. P. 21–26; *Tyshchuk A.* Japanese Autonomous Orthodox Church // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1970. No. 11. P. 42–47; No. 12. P. 43–51; *Shcherbina A.A.* Nicholas Kasatkin — One of the First Russian Japanologists // Peoples of Asia and Africa. 1977. No. 4. P. 154–163.

1960s is largely connected with the preparation to St. Nicholas of Japan's canonization and granting autonomy to the Japanese Orthodox Church. This determines the nature of the research papers published during this period.

The active study of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission activities in Japan began in the 1990s when the research materials by G.D. Ivanova⁵⁷, L.V. Zenina⁵⁸, O.V. Shatalov⁵⁹, K.I. Logachev⁶⁰, Archimandrite Georgy (Tertyshnikov)⁶¹ and other scholars were published.

Talking about the modern researchers analyzing the history of Christian preaching in Japan, we should mention Abbot John (Rubin)⁶², A.M. Bogolyubov⁶³, A.D. Bertova⁶⁴,

⁵⁷ *Ivanova G.D.* Life and Work of St. Nicholas of Japan // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 2. St. Petersburg State University, 1996. Pp. 10–19; *Ibid.* Translators of Russian Literature are Students of the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Tokyo // *Ibid.* P. 59–64; *Ibid.* Russians in Japan in the 19th — early 20th centuries: Several Portraits. Moscow, 1993. 168 p.

⁵⁸ *Zenina L.V.* Japanese Scientists about the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 2. St. Petersburg State University, 1996. P. 21–30; *Ibid.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission and Russian Orthodox Church in Japan under the Leadership of Saint Nicholas, Apostle of Japan (1836–1912) // Problems of History, Philology, and Culture. Issue 9. Magnitogorsk, 2001. P. 275–282.

⁵⁹ *Shatalov O.V.* The Initial Stage of the Activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan: 1870–1875. An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction Based on Archival Materials // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 2. St. Petersburg State University, 1996. P. 31–39.

⁶⁰ *Logachev K.I.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission and its Relationships with Other Christian Missionaries // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 2. St. Petersburg State University, 1996. P. 40–48; *Ibid.* The Contribution of St. Nicholas, Archbishop of Japan, to Domestic Theory of Translation of the Holy Scripture // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 3. St. Petersburg State University, 2001. P. 147–152.

⁶¹ *Georgy (Tertyshnikov), Archimandrite.* The Missionary Feat of St. Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas in Japan // Alpha and Omega. 1998. No. 3(17). P. 181–199.

⁶² *John (Rubin), Abbot.* Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan and Eastern Orthodox Churches // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. Issue 7. Moscow: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2017. P. 76–88; *Ibid.* In Commemoration of 150th Anniversary of Baptism of First Japanese Converts by St. Nicholas of Japan // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. Issue 9. Moscow: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2018. P. 34–47; *Ibid.* Letters of St. Nicholas of Japan Equal-to-the-apostles as Source of History of the Japanese Orthodox Church // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. Issue 10. M.: Publishing department of Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2019. P. 43–57.

⁶³ *Bogolyubov A.M.* The Russian Press about the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan (Meiji period, 1867–1912) // From the History of Religious, Cultural and Political Relations between Russia and Japan in the 19th–20th centuries. SPb., 1998. Pp. 69–82; *Ibid.* The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan in the late 19th — early 20th centuries. Dissertation ... Candidate of Historical Sciences Degree: 07.00.03: / Bogolyubov Alexey Mikhailovich. SPb.: State Hermitage Museum, 2004. 131 p.

⁶⁴ *Bertova A.D.* Christians in Japan: Experience of Historical-Religious Analysis. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2017. 318 pp.; *Ib.* The Samurai and Christianity: on the Question of Social Affiliation of Japanese

G.E. Besstremyannaya⁶⁵, E.B. Vasilyeva⁶⁶, A.V. Lukin and O.V. Puzanova⁶⁷, Naganawa Mitsuo⁶⁸, E.B. Sablina⁶⁹, priest Roman Savchuk⁷⁰, N.A. Sukhanova⁷¹ and others. Many aspects of Christian preaching history in Japan have been rather poorly studied by Russian historiographers to this day: only a few works by the Russian researchers have been devoted to the foreign missionaries' activities. The monograph by A.D. Bertova is practically the only separate study in Russian having made an attempt to analyze the missionary activities of various Christian churches emphasizing the work of Protestant missions. In this regard it can be concluded that further studying the spread of Christian preaching in Japan during the Meiji era is necessary and promising.

Some researchers of Orthodoxy in Japan having turned to certain aspects of the mission's educational work considered the pedagogical views of its head, St. Nicholas of

Christians in the Second Half of the XIX Century // International Journal of Cultural Research. St. Petersburg, 2018. No. 4(33). P. 132–146, and others.

⁶⁵ *Besstremyannaya G.E.* The Japanese Orthodox Church. History and Modernity. Sergiev Posad: Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, 2006. 320 p.; *Ib.* Christianity and the Bible in Japan: A Historical Essay and Linguistic Analysis. Moscow: Department for External Church Relations, Moscow Patriarchate, 2006. 318 p.

⁶⁶ *Vasilyeva E.B.* Christianity in Japan during the Meiji Era and the Problems of Cultural Identification by Japanese // Christianity in the Far East. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference. Part 1. Vladivostok: FESU, 2000.

⁶⁷ *Lukin A.V., Puzanova O.V.* “And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful...” Evolution the Worldview of St. Nicholas of Japan and Intercivilizational Interaction between Russia, Japan and the West. Moscow: Ves' mir, 2021. 368 p.

⁶⁸ *Naganawa Mitsuo.* The Japanese Orthodox Church in the Meiji Period (1868–1912) // Vostok. No. 6. 1993. P. 18–26.

⁶⁹ *Sablina E.B.* 150 years of Orthodoxy in Japan. History of Japanese Orthodox Church and its Founder Saint Nicholas. Moscow: AIRO-XXI; SPb.: Dmitry Bulanin, 2006. 525 p.

⁷⁰ *Savchuk R.A.* Problems of Relations between the Church and Society at the Border XIX–XX centuries in the Understanding of St. Nicholas of Japan. Moscow: Ruscience, 2020. 134 p.; *Ib.* Saint Nicholas of Japan, Equal-to-the-Apostles. Life and Works. Moscow: Publishing House of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2022. 304 p.

⁷¹ *Sukhanova N.A.* Blossoming Branch of Sakura. History of the Orthodox Churches in Japan. Moscow: Publishing house of the Church of the Holy Martyr Tatiana, 2003. 96 p.

Japan. Such works were written by N.Y. Sukhova⁷², priest Roman Savchuk⁷³, deacon Daniil Shevchenko⁷⁴, T.V. Fedorova⁷⁵, A.D. Bertova⁷⁶, V.P. Mazurik⁷⁷ and others.

St. Nicholas' pedagogical views the following were analyzed using the works by famous teachers and missionaries, such as St. Innokenty (Veniaminov)⁷⁸, St. Theophan the Recluse⁷⁹, St. John of Kronstadt⁸⁰, S.A. Rachinsky⁸¹ and others.

Foreign researchers of the history of Christianity in Japan focused mainly on the activities by Catholic and Protestant missions, including their educational work.

⁷² *Sukhova N.Yu.* Orthodox Education in Japan through the Eyes of Graduate of the Kazan Theological Academy Mikhey Nakamura // *Pravoslavny sobesednik*, 2023. Pp. 19–30; *Ibid.* Orthodoxy in Japan and Russian Theological Academies (1880–1910) // *Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Teachers' Works of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. Issue 4. M., 2014. P. 78–97.*

⁷³ *Savchuk Roman, Priest.* Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan on Love for Students and Firmness in the Teacher [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://www.orthedu.ru/obraz/16782-ravnoapostolnyy-Nicholas-yaponskiy-o-lyubvi-k-uchenikam-i-tverdosti-vvospitatele.html> (access date: 11/10/2023); *Ib.* Pedagogical Notes of Nicholas of Japan [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://dialog-nn.rf/deyatelnost/publikatsii-i-intervyu/1084-pedagogicheskie-zametki-Nicholasa-yaponskogo-statya-2> (access date: 11/10/2023); *Ib.* Pedagogical Ideas of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. [Electronic resource] URL: <https://pravoslavie.ru/77311.html> (date accessed: 10.11.2023).

⁷⁴ *Shevchenko Daniil, Deacon.* St. Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas the Japanese — a Fellow Countryman, a Contemporary and a like-minded Person of the Outstanding Pedagogue-enlightener of the XIX century S.A. Rachinsky: the Similarity of Pedagogical Views // *Ryazan Theological Bulletin*. 2018. No. 2(18).

⁷⁵ *Fedorova T.V.* Foundation of the Russian Orthodox Mission of Theological Schools in Japan in the second half of the 19th — early 20th centuries // *History and archeology: materials of the IV International scientific conference (St. Petersburg, July 2017)*. SPb.: Svoyn Publishing House, 2017. P.45–48.

⁷⁶ *Bertova A.D.* Some Aspects of the Influence of Christianity on the Formation of New Educational Principles in Japan at the end of the XIX — beginning of the XX century // *Asiatica: Works on the philosophy and cultures of the East*. 2015. No. 9. P. 143–149.

⁷⁷ *Mazurik V.P.* Pedagogy of St. Nicholas of Japan and S.A. Rachinsky and the Age of Enlightenment in Japan // *Christianity and Traditional Values of South and East Asia: History and Modernity*. Moscow, 2021. P. 34–42.

⁷⁸ *Innokenty (Veniaminov), Metropolitan.* Instructions to a Priest, appointed to convert non-believers and guide those converted to Christian faith, compiled in God by the late Right Reverend Metropolitan of Moscow Innokenty before his taking of the bishop's cathedra of Kamchatka. M.: L.F. Snegirev Printing House, 1881. 24 p.; *Ibid.* Note on the education of children // *Works of Innokenty, Metropolitan of Moscow / Coll. by Ivan Barsukov. Book 1. 1886. P. 290–302.*

⁷⁹ *Theophan, Bishop.* The Path to Salvation: (A Brief Essay on Asceticism): Concluding AP. to Letters on Christian Life. 2nd ed. Issue 1. St. Petersburg, 1869. 112 p.; *Ib.* Outline of the Christian moral teachings. 2nd ed. M.: Pravilo Very, 2010. 686 p.; *Ib.* Letters on Spiritual Life. 3rd Athonite ed. Panteleimon Monastery. M., 1897. 275 p., etc.

⁸⁰ *John of Kronstadt, Saint.* To Teachers and Students: from the Works Saint Righteous John of Kronstadt: Excerpts from Diary Notebooks for 1856–1866. Moscow: Otchiy Dom, 2014. 205 p.

⁸¹ *Rachinsky S.A.* Notes on Rural Schools. SPb., 1883. 123 p.; *Ib.* Absit Omen: (Concerning the transformation of the secondary school). SPb.: pub. gr. P.A. Kapnist, 1901. 17 p.

However, almost all scientific works turned to the history of the Orthodox preaching spread in the country, although in rather different ways. One of the studies is the major scientific work “A History of Christianity in Japan”⁸² by Cary Otis, published in 1909 and reissued in the 1970s. This publication is of great importance since it is one of the first attempts to analyze the process of spreading Christianity in Japan in the 19th century. The study provides quite extensive information about the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, its activities and the personality of the mission.

In the 1960s the attention of the researchers, both in Russia and in the Western countries, was focused on the history of Christian missions. Probably it was due to the political changes that took place in post-war Japan after 1945, and to strengthening Christian missionaries’ activity there. A number of theories were introduced to explain the wide spread of Christianity in Japan during the Meiji era, some of them are influential till the present day⁸³.

R.H. Drummond's work⁸⁴ examines the missionary activity of all the Christian denominations in Japan, including the actions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission. Christian preaching is also analyzed in the studies by R.B. Peery⁸⁵, M.R. Mullins⁸⁶, J.M. Kitagawa⁸⁷, Kazuo Kasahara⁸⁸ and others. Most authors have separately studied the Christian missions’ impact on changes in the social sphere, for example, in education, culture, the status of women and children.

⁸² *Cary Otis*. A History of Christianity in Japan. New York: F.H. Revell, 1909. 372 p.

⁸³ *Scheiner, Irwin*. Christian Converts and Social Protests in Meiji Japan / I. Scheiner. University of Michigan, 2002. 280 p.

⁸⁴ *Drummond R.H.* A History of Christianity in Japan. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1971. 397 p.

⁸⁵ *Peery R.B.* The Gist of Japan; the Islands; their People and Missions / R.B. Peery. – Edinburgh; London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, [1906?]. 324 p.; *Id.* Lutherans in Japan. Newberry, S.C.: Lutheran Publication Board, 1900. 192 p.

⁸⁶ *Mullins Mark R.* Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements / M.R. Mullins. Honolulu, 1998. 288 p.; *Id.* Handbook of Christianity in Japan / M.R. Mullins. Leiden: Brill, 2003. 423 p.

⁸⁷ *Kitagawa Joseph Mizio*. Religion in Japanese History. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2005. 586 p.

⁸⁸ A History of Japanese Religion / Ed. by Kazuo Kasahara. Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 2001. 648 p.

There are also some works devoted only to educational activities of Christian preachers. First of all, the works by J.L. Barton⁸⁹ should be mentioned. The author analyzes the actions of Protestant missions in this sphere. H. Burton-Lewis⁹⁰, J.R. Mott⁹¹ and others studied this area as well. Modern Western researchers admit the role of Christianity in shaping the national culture of «the Land of the Rising Sun» and the influence of missionary activities on the Japanese education system genesis. In the early 2000s, a number of international reference books⁹² were published. Various aspects of religious education and its influence on the secular educational process organization were considered there.

There are also a few foreign studies devoted only to the Orthodox mission in Japan, for example, the works by G.A. Lensen⁹³, M. Van Remortel and Peter Chang⁹⁴. The lack of Western researchers' interest in studying the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan was caused, among other things, by the mission's "closeness" and not providing statistical information to foreign organizations, as well as the lack of the mission history research by Russian scholars over a long period, which hindered scientific discussion.

Summing up the historiographical review of the research topic, the following should be emphasized. Firstly, until now there has hardly been a separate work containing a comprehensive analysis of the educational activities by the Russian Ecclesiastical

⁸⁹ *Barton James L.* Educational Missions / J.L. Barton. – New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1913. 271 p.; *Id.* Human progress through missions. New York: Fleming H. Revel, 1912. 96 p.

⁹⁰ *Burton-Lewis Harry.* Christian Mission and Higher Education in Japan // Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan / ed. by Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young. Lewiston; New York, 1995, P. 175–187.

⁹¹ *Mott John R.* Strategic Points in the World's Conquest: The Universities and Colleges as Related to the Progress of Christianity. L.: Nisbet, 1897. 218 p.

⁹² *Gerald Grace Joseph, SJ O'Keefe.* International Handbook of Catholic Education. Springer Science & Business Media, 2007. 906 p.; *William Jeynes, David W. Robinson.* International Handbook of Protestant Education. Springer Science & Business Media, 2012. 714 p.

⁹³ *Lensen G.A.* Report from Hokkaido: The Remains of Russian Culture in Northern Japan. Hakodate, 1954. 216 p.; *Id.* Russian Push Toward Japan. New York: Octagon Books, 1959. 553 p.

⁹⁴ *Van Remortel M. and Chang Peter,* eds., Saint Nicholas Kasatkin and the Orthodox Mission in Japan: A Collection of Writings by an International Group of Scholars about St. Nicholas, his Disciples, and the Mission. Point Reyes Station, California: Divine Ascent Press, Monastery of St. John of Shanghai and San Francisco, 2003. 203 p.

Mission in Japan and assessing its influence on Christian preaching. Secondly, there are very few studies having conducted a comparative analysis of the actions by various Christian denomination missionaries in the country during the Meiji era, particularly in the educational sphere. Thirdly, the pedagogical views of the mission head are highlighted rather superficially, his approaches to education and training are hardly compared with the pedagogical ideas by other famous Russian teachers of the second half of the 19th century.

The source base of the research. Along with the above-mentioned works by Russian and foreign authors, the main sources for writing this dissertation research were documents, both published and unpublished, related to the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, Japanese priests and preachers.

First of all, these are official correspondence and letters by the mission head: reports, financial statements, letters to the hierarchy, church and public figures, particularly, to S.A. Rachinsky⁹⁵, a famous teacher of the second half of the 19th century. Most of these documents were published in the “Collection of Works of Nicholas of Japan, Equal-to-the-Apostles”⁹⁶ by the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary. The author of the present dissertation research took an active part⁹⁷ in the compilation of this collection.

Along with the official documents of the Ecclesiastical Mission, and St. Nicholas’ epistolary heritage, his diaries published in 2004⁹⁸ are a valuable source, which gives us a chance to follow the daily work the mission head and other members did to educate and

⁹⁵ *Kuzmina, I.V., Pantuev, P.A.* “Hurry Up and Do Your Life’s Work in Russia!”: Letters of St. Nicholas of Japan to Sergei Alexandrovich Rachinsky // *Christian reading*. St. Petersburg, 2024. Issue 3. P. 198–221.

⁹⁶ *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*: In 10 volumes. Vol. 1: Official correspondence (1860–1883). 2nd ed. revised and enlarged. M: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2022. 498 p.; Vol. 2: Official Correspondence (1884–1912). M.: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2018. 584 p.; Vol. 3: Letters (1860–1911). Moscow: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2019. 756 p.; Vol. 4: Diaries (1870–1888). Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2020. 780 p.; Vol. 5: Diaries (1889–1895). Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2021. 932 p.; Vol. 6: Diaries (1896–1899). Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2023. 936 p.

⁹⁷ See: *Kuzmina I.V.* “Collection of Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan” as a Source on the History of Orthodoxy in the Far East // *Herald of the Historical Society of St. Petersburg Theological Academy*. 2021. No. 2 (7). P. 124–133.

⁹⁸ *Diaries of St. Nicholas of Japan / Comp. K. Nakamura*. St. Petersburg: Hyperion, 2004.

train Japanese Orthodox believers. The work also uses fragments of an unpublished review by Hieromonk Nickolas (Kasatkin), identified by the author of the present study in the collections of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents (hereinafter referred to as RGADA)⁹⁹.

The enlightener of Japan does not have any separate works entirely devoted to the education and training issues. Along with his epistolary heritage and diaries, sermons, most of which have come down to us only in Japanese, have become important sources for identifying the main principles of St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogy. Some of these sermons were published in Japanese in 1911 and republished by the Japanese Orthodox Church in 1998¹⁰⁰. The present study uses excerpts from a working translation of these materials into Russian by A.G. Fesyun.

Letters and articles published by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission members in pre-revolutionary media¹⁰¹ have become the sources for the present study as well. The present study was particularly interested in the letters by Hieromonks Anatoly (Tikhay) and Vladimir (Sokolovsky), since both missionaries taught at the mission's schools. The notes by M.A. Cherkasova, a missionary who arrived in Japan in 1879, contain the information about the functioning of the women's school at the mission. These writings of Christian missionaries served as a necessary and important published source for writing the dissertation research.

Letters of Japanese students who were sent to Russia to continue their education at higher theological educational institutions became another valuable source for this study. These documents, which are stored in the collections of The Manuscript Department of

⁹⁹ RGADA (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts). F. 1385. Inv. 1. C. 925. L. 1–18.

¹⁰⁰ Works from the Legacy of St. Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden / Publisher) [publisher] of the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisuto sei-kyokai kyūdan fushukyochō). Tokyo, 1998.

¹⁰¹ See, for example: *Vladimir (Sokolovsky), Hieromonk. Letter ... // Missioner, 1879. No. 9. P. 72; Ibid. From a Letter of a Japanese Missionary // Ibid. No. 31. P. 263; Ib. From Japan // Ibid. No. 48. P. 410; Anatoly (Tikhay), Hieromonk. Letter from a Missionary from Hakodate (in Japan) and Japanese Christians to His Grace Benjamin, Bishop of Irkutsk and Nerchinsk // Additions to the Irkutsk Eparchial Vedomosti. Irkutsk, 1875. No. 8. Pp. 77–82; Ib. News from Japan // Missioner, 1876. No. 44. P. 358–359; Cherkasova M. Notes of a Russian Orthodox missionary in Japan Maria Alexandrovna Cherkasova // Missioner, 1879. No. 43, 44.*

the Russian National Library (hereinafter referred to as the OR RNB), were identified and studied by the author for the present research¹⁰². Moreover, documents found in the funds of the Central State Archive of Moscow (hereinafter referred to as CGAM) (in particular, the certificate of graduation from the Tokyo Theological Seminary for 1913¹⁰³) let the author conduct a comparative analysis of the changes in the theological school curriculum over the first 40 years of the school functioning.

The work also uses materials from the English-language press published in Japan in the second half of the 19th century: first of all, these are notes and articles dedicated to problems on Christian education¹⁰⁴. Talking about sources in English, the letters by the Protestant Doshisha University founder Joseph Neesima deserve some special attention. These letters were published at the end of the 19th century¹⁰⁵. The present study also uses reference books and statistical materials on the activities of the Christian missionaries¹⁰⁶.

The official documents of the Holy Synod and the Orthodox Missionary Society are of considerable interest as well: the reports of the Synod Chief Prosecutor and of the Orthodox Missionary Society let us reconstruct the functioning of the mission educational institutions during the entire period — from 1870 to 1912.

The object of the research is the Christian enlightenment in Japan during the Meiji period.

¹⁰² *Kuzmina I.V.* Letters from Japanese Students of Russian Theological Academies to S.A. Rachinsky as a Source of Information about the Activities of the Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan // Theological and Historical Collection. 2024. No. 2 (33). Pp. 273–287; *Ib.* Election of the Head of the Tokyo Theological Seminary: Analysis of the Letter of John Kawamoto (Senuma) to St. Nicholas of Japan // Ugreshsky Sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. 2023. No. 14. P. 122–129.

¹⁰³ TSGAM (Central State Archives of Moscow). OKhD (Document Storage Department) until 1917. F. 427. Inv. 1. C. 4142.

¹⁰⁴ For example: The Problem of High-Class Education by Missionaries // The Japan Weekly Mail. No. 16, 1895. P. 414–415.

¹⁰⁵ *Hardy A. Sh.* Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima. Boston; New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company, 1891. 350 p.

¹⁰⁶ For example: *Gordon M.L.* An American Missionary in Japan. Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1893. 276 p.; *Warren Charles M.* Some Results of Christian Work in Japan // The Journal of Race Development. Vol. 3. 1912. P. 95–108.

The subject of the research is history of Russian Orthodox Mission educational activity in Japan during the Meiji period and its influence on the development of Christian education in the country.

Dissertation research purpose and tasks. The purpose of this research is to examine and analyze the educational activity by The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, and to assess its impact on the Christian enlightenment during the Meiji period for the purpose of identifying factors that may influence the implementation of the missionary and educational activities of the Russian Orthodox Church at the present time.

The present study aims to achieve the research purpose by fulfilling the following **tasks**:

1. To analyze the main socio-political changes taking place in Japan during the period under review, particularly the educational system transformations, and to identify the degree of their impact on the Christian missions' activities.

2. To determine the characteristic features of the educational activity organization by Catholic and Protestant missionaries and to identify the main directions of their work in this sphere.

3. To identify the stages of forming the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission head's, namely St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical views and the factors that influenced the formation process, particularly, to show the impact of some prominent Russian theologians', missionaries', government and public figures' views.

4. To conduct a theological analysis of the Orthodox mission head's pedagogical views and compare them to the views of his contemporaries, Orthodox theologians and teachers, and to the Holy Father's views basing on the previously published sources and the documents introduced into scientific use for the first time.

5. To study the approaches of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission head to its educational activities in comparison with the non-Orthodox missions' approaches and methods; to identify their key characteristic features.

6. To analyze the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's educational institutions in relation to their impact on Christian preaching in the country using the

entire corpus of currently known documents by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan.

The hypothesis of this research is that the main purpose of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's educational work in Japan, unlike that of other Christian confessions, was training priests and catechists to preach. It was a strictly confessional activity, that is why the influence of the Orthodox Church on the social and public life in Japan was rather limited. The choice of such strategy was determined by a variety of factors, including those related to St. Nicholas of Japan Equal-to-the Apostles' views on Christian education.

The chronological framework of the dissertation research is determined by its topic: in 1868 Emperor Meiji began to rule the country, and the educational activities of Christian missions and missionaries intensified significantly; in 1912 the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, Nicholas Archbishop of Japan, died. In the same year the Meiji period ended. At the same time, in order to identify the character features of the missionary work in the field of education, the study examined earlier periods, starting with the Catholic Church's first attempts to conduct Christian preaching in Japan and the Christian preachers' activities after the country's opening until 1868.

The scientific novelty of the research. The present dissertation research is the first theological study to analyze the educational activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan as part of its missionary service, particularly to investigate its head's pedagogical views basing on a significant number of sources, both published and unpublished. Although new studies and works are currently appearing on the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, the personality and deeds of its head, St. Nicholas of Japan, the pedagogical experience of the mission and its members has not been sufficiently studied: there is no separate study presenting the educational activities of the mission as part of the Orthodox Church missionary service in Japan.

Moreover, the present study attempts: 1) to compare approaches to the education used by the three Christian missions operating in Japan during the period under review to identify their features; 2) to consider the educational and, in a broad sense, enlightening activities of the RDM in Japan in the historical context, thereby identifying the impact on

it the socio-political transformations in the country had; 3) to identify the factors that had great impact on the Orthodox Mission's educational activities and did not let the mission implement a number of educational projects; 4) to identify the stages of forming St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical worldview; to show the role of the Orthodox theologians', educators', missionaries' and Russian statesmen's ideas in this process. It is worth mentioning that unpublished archival documents were identified during the present dissertation research. The information they contain may change the existing ideas about the educational activities of the mission and provide an additional incentive to continue studying this problem.

The theoretical and practical significance of the research is related to high demand for works analyzing the historical experience of Christian preaching in other countries, especially situated in Asia and Africa. Since the educational activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan have influenced the Christian enlightenment of the country, the practical approaches of the mission can be applied in the modern missionary practice of the Russian Orthodox Church. The successful and, in many ways, unique experience of holding "friendly gatherings" in Japanese Christian communities and educational institutions for mutual teaching of the Christian doctrine fundamentals and studying the Holy Scripture can be applied in the catechetical practice of the Church.

The research materials can also be used by the development of work programs for study courses such as "The History of the Russian Orthodox Church", "The History of the Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church", "Missiology" and others. Pedagogical views and approaches of St. Nicholas of Japan, head of the mission, to the education of young Japanese and his experience in organizing the educational institutions' functioning can help to carry out similar activities in Russian schools and universities.

Research methodology and methods. The dissertation research analyzes different aspects of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's activity in Japan in the second half of the 19th century. For this reason, the study uses a complex multidisciplinary approach that lets the author analyze facts in the historical context, and find out how they are related to the transformations in political, social life in Japan during the Meiji period and to the situation in the country in general. Additionally, the materials for some disciplines were

used, such as “History of Church”, “History of the Russian Orthodox Church”, “Missiology”, “Theology of Education”, “History of Japan”, “History of Education”, “Didactics”, “Comparative Pedagogy”.

The present study uses systemic approach that let us unite St. Nicholas of Japan’s pedagogical views with their practical realization in educational institutions of the Orthodox mission. Using this approach, the present study identified those of his ideas that could be used for the spiritual and moral education of young people, including of practical use in modern educational activity of the Russian Orthodox Church, particularly in Its missionary activities.

St. Nicholas of Japan’s pedagogical principles will be discussed basing on the Orthodox pedagogy principle classification proposed by Archimandrite George (Shestun)¹⁰⁷ as the most applicable and widely used at the present time.

To solve the tasks he present dissertation research used both general scientific methods such as analysis, synthesis, systematic approach, and historical methods such as comparative historical analysis, cause-and-effect analysis, biographical and descriptive methods.

The statements put forward for the thesis defence:

1. The Meiji government reforms aimed at borrowing the achievements of Western civilization and applying it in the political, social and cultural life of the country became the prerequisites for the wide spread of Christian preaching in Japan in the second half of the 19th century. The liberal educational reforms implemented in 1870s and lifting the ban on the Christian preaching contributed to the Christian educational institutions’ development. At that stage the organization of teaching in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission’s schools became one of its key missionary activity methods. Since the late 1880s, after the government had abandoned the Westernization policy and the nationalist tendencies in society had been strengthened, the activities of foreign missions have also been changing.

¹⁰⁷ George (Shestun), Archimandrite. Orthodox Pedagogy [Electronic resource] // ABC of Faith: URL: <https://azbyka.ru/deti/pravoslavnaya-pedagogika-protevgenij-shestun> (date of access: 23.04.2024).

2. All Christian missions, including the Orthodox one, began their missionary activities in Japan as educational, using similar methods to introduce Japanese people to Christianity, namely teaching foreign languages and "Western disciplines", translating and distributing religious books, etc. In the future, the organization of each mission's educational work had its characteristic features: in particular, they prioritized the development of certain educational institution forms. This was due to each mission's unique approach to the Christian enlightenment of Japan, the peculiarities of the mission addressee (their territorial location and social status) and the educational activity object.

3. St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical views, in the development of which four interrelated stages can be distinguished, were formed, among other things, under the influence of St. Theophanes (the Recluse), St. Innokenty (Veniaminov), K.P. Pobedonostsev, S.A. Rachinsky and others. Since, according to St. Nicholas of Japan, each preacher's primary task was teaching and educating a person for Heaven, his pedagogical views directly influenced the missionary activity of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan determining its attitude to the moral and professional qualities of a missionary and teacher.

4. St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical views is in line with the patristic tradition and based on the principles of Russian traditional (Orthodox) pedagogy. His understanding of Christian education as the spiritual and moral upbringing of a person is reflected in the methods used by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in its educational institutions, particularly, teachers' and pupils' joint attendance of worship schools, their participation in church sacraments, holding "friendly meetings", teachers' monitoring students' compliance with the rules, etc.

5. A characteristic feature of the saint's pedagogy was the mutual learning principle having formed the basis for the mission's activities to develop "friendly meetings" of Japanese believers dedicated to the joint study of the Holy Scripture and the Christian faith foundations.

6. The key distinguishing feature of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's educational activities is its strictly ecclesiastical character: almost all educational institutions of the mission provided the Japanese with professional religious education.

This specificity was determined by St. Nicholas of Japan's fundamental approach, namely spreading Orthodox preaching through the Japanese themselves having previously trained them in the mission's schools.

7. The activities of the mission and its head aimed at establishing church schools and colleges (almost all types of theological educational institutions except academies were formed: the latter remained a project) is an attempt to integrate the traditions of Russian theological education into the educational system of Japan: the structure, educational process organization, curricula, methodological materials and textbooks were borrowed from the Russian theological school.

8. The result of the mission's educational activity was the upbringing of pastors, preachers and active laypeople. Under St. Nicholas of Japan's guidance and care they created the still existing Japanese Orthodox Church.

Approbation of the research results. The main principles of this dissertation research have been discussed at numerous International and Russian National conferences, including International Theological Conference named “The Spiritual Heritage of Nicholas of Japan Equal-to-the-Apostles” (Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2022) and “Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan and the missionary service of the Russian Church” (Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2024 and 2025); V Russian National Historical Conference “History of the Church: Fact and Thought” (Moscow Theological Academy, 2023); Russian National Intercession Conference (Moscow Theological Academy, 2023); VII International Research and Practice Conference “Teacher and teaching: the experience of the Church in the 19th — early 20th centuries” (Kaluga Theological Seminary, 2023); Annual International Conference “Culture and History of Japan” (Higher School of Economics, 2024); V Russian National Feofanov Theological and Pedagogical Conference (Tambov Theological Seminary, 2024); Russian National Intercession Conference (Moscow Theological Academy, 2024), VIII Research Conference “Orthodoxy in the Far East” (St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg Theological Academy, 2024).

Main scientific results of the research. Three articles have been published in journals included into the List of peer-reviewed scientific editions on the topic of the research.

1. The article “Letters from Japanese Students of Russian Theological Academies to S.A. Rachinsky as a Source of Information about the Activities of the Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan”¹⁰⁸ analyzes unpublished sources discovered by the author in the funds of the Russian National Library Manuscript Department, namely letters by Tokyo Seminary graduates who studied at Russian theological academies during the period under review. 78 letters were found and examined altogether. As a result, conclusions were drawn about the importance of the mission's educational institutions for the Christian enlightenment of Japan and for the spread of Orthodox preaching in the country. The students' statements, although expressing their subjective opinions, made it possible to identify the main problems and tasks facing the RDM during the period under review. In addition, the letters became an indirect source for analyzing the educational work of missionaries from other Christian confessions.

2. The article “Pedagogical Views on the School Education of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan in Comparison with the Views of St. Theophan the Recluse”¹⁰⁹ analyzes the views of St. Nicholas on upbringing and education in comparison with the views of Theophanes the Recluse. Since boys and girls aged 12–14 were enrolled respectively in the Seminary and the women's school of the mission, the article examines Bishop Nicholas' thoughts on school education. This is one of the first comparative analyses of the missionary's pedagogy and the Recluse of Vyshensk's views on upbringing, as a result of which an assumption is made about the influence of the ideas of St. Theophanes on forming the Japanese enlightener's pedagogical ideas. The article

¹⁰⁸ *Kuzmina I.V.* Letters from Japanese Students of Russian Theological Academies to S.A. Rachinsky as a Source of Information about the Activities of the Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan // Theological and historical collection. Kaluga: Kaluga Theological Seminary, 2024. No. 2 (33). P. 273–287.

¹⁰⁹ *Kuzmina I.V.* Pedagogical Views on the School Education of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan in Comparison with the Views of St. Theophan the Recluse // The Theological Collection of the Tambov Theological Seminary. 2024. No. 3 (28). P. 174–188.

also concludes that St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical provisions are in line with the patristic tradition.

3. The letters to S.A. Rachinsky from the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan were published and analyzed for the first time in the article “‘Hurry Up and Do Your Life's Work in Russia!': Letters of St. Nicholas of Japan to Sergei Alexandrovich Rachinsky”¹¹⁰ written in collaboration with the researcher of S.A. Rachinsky's activities. 10 letters altogether were found and examined, 9 of which were discovered by the author of the present study in the Russian National Library collections. The article draws conclusions about the similarity of the two correspondents' views on the Christian enlightenment of Russia and Japan and on the education (more broadly, upbringing) based on the principles of Orthodox pedagogy as the key element of this process.

In addition, the results of the present dissertation research have been published in the following editions:

1. The article “The Role of Humanitarian Assistance to the Orthodox Missions in the late 19th — early 20th Centuries Based on the Example of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan”¹¹¹ analyzes the structure of the mission's financial expenses basing on official documents, highlights the main spending items and concludes that the mission's activities, including educational ones, were funded insufficiently.

2. The article “Member of Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan, Priest Nikolai Kuzmin's Vital Events”¹¹² is devoted to one of the mission's educational projects,

¹¹⁰ *Kuzmina I.V., Pantuev P.A.* “Hurry Up and Do Your Life's Work in Russia!': Letters of St. Nicholas of Japan to Sergei Alexandrovich Rachinsky // Christian reading. St. Petersburg. 2024. Issue 3. P. 198-221.

¹¹¹ *Kuzmina I.V.* The Role of Humanitarian Assistance to the Orthodox Missions in the late 19th — early 20th Centuries Based on the Example of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan // Herald of the Historical Society of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy: Scientific Journal. SPb.: Publishing House of St. Petersburg Orthodox Theological Academy, 2020. No. 2(5): Special issue. The History of the Orthodox Mission in the Far East. P. 170–185.

¹¹² *Kuzmina I.V.* Member of Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan, Priest Nikolai Kuzmin's Vital Events // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program Students of the Nikolo-Ugresh Orthodox Theological Seminary. 2021. No. 11. P. 159–168.

namely, the organization of education for children of Russian citizens who remained in southern Sakhalin after this part of the island had been handed down to Japan.

3. The article “On the Issue of Reorganization of the Tokyo Theological Seminary in the mid-1890s”¹¹³ examines the situation that had been developed in the educational institution by the mid-1890s, highlights the main provisions of St. Nicholas of Japan’s Seminary transformation plan and analyzes the reasons for the mission head’s refusal of implementing it.

4. The topic of the Tokyo Seminary reconstruction in the mid-1890s was continued in the article “Election of the Head of the Tokyo Theological Seminary: Analysis of the Letter of John Kawamoto (Senuma) to St. Nicholas of Japan”¹¹⁴ in which the future theological school rector’s ideas about the educational institution’s tasks and directions are analyzed based on his unpublished letter.

The volume and structure of the thesis. The thesis consists of 235 pages; it includes introduction, three chapters each divided into three paragraphs, conclusion, list of abbreviations used, list of 370 references used and four appendixes.

¹¹³ *Kuzmina I.V.* On the Issue of Reorganization of the Tokyo Theological Seminary in the mid-1890s [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://uchkom.info/publikatsii/i-v-kuzmina-k-voprosu-o-pereustroystve-tokiyskoy-dukhovnoy-seminarii-v-seredine-1890-kh-godov-20370/> / (date of access: 9.10.2024).

¹¹⁴ *Kuzmina I.V.* Election of the Head of the Tokyo Theological Seminary: Analysis of the Letter of John Kawamoto (Senuma) to St. Nicholas of Japan // *Ugreshsky Sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary*. 2023. No. 14. P. 122–129.

CHAPTER 1. THE REFORMS DURING THE MEIJI PERIOD. PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC MISSIONARY WORK IN JAPAN

The transformations in Japan that began after the imperial power restoration in 1868 affected all the spheres of Japanese social life. The country started modernization for the purpose of becoming an industrially developed rich and modern state with educated population and strong army. The slogan “Wakon yosai” (和魂洋才, “Japanese spirit — Western knowledge”), which replaced the slogan “sonno joi” (“honor the emperor, expel the barbarians”) in 1868, was one of the main idea of the Japanese state reforming policy implemented by the Meiji government.

According to the fifth point of Emperor Meiji's Oath, successful modernization in Japan required borrowing cultural, scientific and technological achievements in the whole world, first of all, in Western countries. The reforms, especially in the education system, carried out by the Meiji government in the second half of the 19th century directly influenced the Christian missions' to educational institution organizing activity. Some restrictions related to Christianity were lifted in 1873. As the Christian faith and missionary work were illegal before that, missionaries could not actively preach. For this reason, they concentrated on carrying out the “indirect” mission, thereby preparing the ground for future preaching. Educational activities played an important role here, as missionaries could introduce Christianity to the Japanese through teaching them in educational institutions. After the ban was lifted, Christian preachers were given the opportunity to develop all types of educational institutions: from primary and secondary schools to high schools.

Since each of the missions used its “best practices” in the educational process implementation, comparative analysis of their actions will make it possible to identify the most significant approaches and solutions for their further implementation in the Russian Orthodox Church's missionary activity.

When considering the educational activities of Protestant and Catholic missions and missionaries, mainly English-language sources were used, including those published

between the 19th and 20th centuries, because the missionary activity of non-Orthodox preachers in Japan of the Meiji period was hardly considered by Russian scholars: there are some studies (for example, by A.D. Bertova¹¹⁵ and G.E. Besstremyannaya¹¹⁶), but they give only general information about this process. The most valuable sources in this regard were statistical reports of Protestant and Catholic missions¹¹⁷, memoirs by foreign missionaries and main figures of Japanese Christian education in the second half of the 19th century¹¹⁸.

1.1. The impact of reforms to the education system of Japan in the period from 1868 to 1912 on the Christian missionaries' educational activity

During their study trips there in the 1860s the Japanese got acquainted with the European and American educational systems. The new rulers of Japan considered them to be the fundamental condition of these countries' superiority. Therefore, reforming the existing educational system of Japan was necessary for the successful transformation of the country, making it "civilized", strong and rich.

The first step towards changing the Japan's educational system was the creation of a committee for the purpose of preparing recommendations for schooling reorganization¹¹⁹. In 1869 the first university was formed on the basis of the three

¹¹⁵ *Bertova A.D.* Christians in Japan: Experience of Historical-Religious Analysis. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2017. 318 p.; *Ib.* The Samurai and Christianity: on the Question of Social Affiliation of Japanese Christians in the Second Half of the XIX Century // International Journal of Cultural Research. St. Petersburg, 2018. No. 4(33). P. 132–146, and others.

¹¹⁶ *Besstremyannaya G.E.* The Japanese Orthodox Church. History and modernity. Sergiev Posad: Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, 2006. 320 p.

¹¹⁷ For example: Report of the General Conference on Foreign Missions, held at Mildmay, Oct., 1878. Paper by Rev. Dr. Ferris, on "Missions in Japan"; *Hecken, Joseph Leonard van.* The Catholic Church in Japan since 1859. Tokyo: Herder Agency, 1963, etc.

¹¹⁸ For example: *Gordon M.L.* Thirty Eventful Years: The Story of the American Board's Mission in Japan, 1869–1899. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1901; *Hardy Arthur Sherburne.* Life and letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company, 1891.

¹¹⁹ *Verisotskaya E.V.* Society and Educational Reforms in Japan on the Initial Stage of Modernization (1870–1880s) // Oriental Institute Journal. Special issue: Japan: [Collection of Articles] / Ch. ed. Morgun Z.F. Vladivostok, 1998. P. 116.

governmental higher schools existing in Japan at that time. Foreign teachers were invited to teach there; Guido Verbeek, one of the Protestant missionaries, was appointed to a leadership position in the “South school”. In 1871 the faculties of literature, applied sciences, law and medicine were opened in this educational institution.

The establishment of the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) in July 1871 and the universal education project preparation committee in December of the same year intensified the development of education reform. The committee consisted of scientists supporting intensive assimilation of Western knowledge¹²⁰ and achievements of foreign pedagogical science. Of particular importance for the development of the new educational system was the work of the Iwakura Tomomi mission (岩倉具視; 1825–1883), which visited European countries and America in 1871–1873, including to study the educational systems in force there. The development of the project based on the French administrative model¹²¹ since France was the only country at that time where the state system of public education functioned. The law on universal education promulgated in summer of 1872 reflected the pedagogical ideas of other foreign countries as well, for example, the American educational system has influenced the content and methods of teaching.

The document set ambitious goals: “For any village not to have a single illiterate family, for every family not to have a single illiterate member”¹²². By the early 1870s, there were several forms of education in Japan, created for each class of Japanese society: there were princely schools (hanko:) providing a high-level education for samurai children, community schools (terakoya) for ordinary town and village inhabitants, and private home schools (shizuku)¹²³. The new law abolished the diversity of school education forms and affirmed equal rights to education for the Japanese belonging to all social classes. The universal primary education was introduced for children from 6 to 14 years old. In accordance with the chosen administrative model, the empire territory was

¹²⁰ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era (1868–1912). Vladivostok: Dalnauka, 2002. P. 40.

¹²¹ *Jansen Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan. First Harvard University Press paperback edition, 2002. P. 403.

¹²² *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. 3rd ed., rev. M.: Linguistics, 2023. P. 235.

¹²³ *Lim S.C.* History of the Japanese Educational System: Late 19th — first half of 20th century. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2000. P. 10–11.

divided into 8 districts, and a university was to be founded in each of them. Each of the eight districts was divided into 32 parts. A secondary school and 210 primary schools were founded in each part. Thus, the reform of 1872 focused on the primary education development. Organizing 53760 schools, each for 600 students¹²⁴, was planned according to it. Private schools (home schools, girls' schools, etc.) were also preserved. Although primary education was subsidized by the Ministry of Education and local authorities, parents still had to pay for it.

When preparing the reform the members of the committee relied on the ideas and proposals of Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉, 1834–1901), who ardently supported of the policy of borrowing from the West. According to him, rational (utilitarian) approach to education and training¹²⁵ and natural science achievements had to be borrowed first of all. This approach was used in his Keio school, officially opened in 1868 (the future Keio University), and described in his works “Gakumon no susume” (“Encouragement of Learning”) and “Bunmeiron no Gairyaku” (“An Outline of a Theory of Civilization”). These works called for getting rid of class prejudices, abolishing outdated canons of Confucian science and mastering the practical knowledge¹²⁶. Encouraging his compatriots to seek for education, Fukuzawa wrote that “a person who does not study will remain an ignoramus, in other words, a stupid person”¹²⁷.

The preamble to the law adopted in 1872 (Gakusei) declared that “learning is the key to success in life, and no man can afford to neglect it”¹²⁸. In other words, it was determined that getting an education is necessary for everyone who wants to have a decent career and to be successful in the life. Educational institutions were encouraged to focus on practical learning and encourage their students' independent thinking, so that people

¹²⁴ *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. P. 235.

¹²⁵ *Meshcheryakov A.N.* The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi as a Reputation Resource // *Otechestvennye zapiski*. Moscow, 2014. No. 1(58). P. 254.

¹²⁶ *Kobets V.N.* Fukuzawa Yukichi: Worldview and Activities // *From History of Social Thought in Japan. XVII–XIX centuries*. Moscow, 1990. P. 138.

¹²⁷ *Grishelyova L.D.* Formation of Japanese National Culture, end of the 16th — beginning of the 20th century. Moscow: Nauka, 1986. P. 31.

¹²⁸ *Jansen Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan. P. 402.

would have the opportunity to identify their own talents and abilities and to use them making the unique contribution to the state prosperity.

In a relatively short period a network of public (government) schools was formed in the country. Japan received a gold medal at the 1878 Paris Exposition for organizing it. Visiting one of the founded schools, the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission highlighted the excellent order maintained in the rooms of the educational institution and the students being especially neat¹²⁹.

At first, public schools suffered from the lack of the necessary supplies: for example, they were short on textbooks. For this reason many educational institutions had to use either translated American and European books the content of which was often unclear for Japanese schoolchildren or the works by Fukuzawa Yukichisuch as “Encouragement of Learning” and “Life in the West”¹³⁰. The work “Self-help” by the famous American moralist Samuel Smiles became very popular in Japan at this time. This book argued that personality development is directly related to the progress of the entire nation and that every person striving for self-development contributes to the public good.

Applying a utilitarian approach to education, the government has practically excluded morality, a subject traditionally important for Japan, from the primary school education programs. It was rated only the sixth-important and taught only to 6 to 9 year-old students¹³¹. This fact dissatisfied parents and confused teachers, who did not know which method they should choose: Confucian, Buddhist or Western (Christian). The need to pay for education and to take children away from agricultural work during school hours strengthened the negative attitude towards the new law of 1872 as well.

At the same time, many young people were delighted with the opportunity to get a good education and serve their country. They strived for entering secondary schools to study “Western sciences” and foreign languages, especially English, and to make a

¹²⁹ Diary entry from May 30 / June 11, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Vol. 5. Diaries (1889–1895). Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2021. 932 p. (hereinafter referred to as Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan Vol. 5). P. 591.

¹³⁰ *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. P. 236.

¹³¹ *Lim S.C.* History of the Japanese Educational System. P. 138.

contribution to modernization of Japan. Foreign teachers played an important role in it. In 1873, a special resolution was adopted on opening educational institutions of two types: specialized schools (*senmon gakko*;) — “higher-level with foreign teachers” — and foreign language schools (*gaikokugo gakko*;) ¹³². Although the main provisions of this document were not implemented, the resolution marked the foundation of higher-level educational institutions and organization of numerous private schools where foreign languages were taught (in the 1870s, 156 English-speaking schools ¹³³ taught more than 6000 students). Many of these schools were opened by Christian missionaries.

Adopting the law on universal education of 1872 and lifting the bans on Christian preaching in 1873 Christian missions were given an opportunity to open private primary and secondary schools. The number of people wishing to learn new things and to master Western knowledge was significant. According to the Japanese ideas, the Christian religion was the basis for the achievements of the Western powers. Therefore, it was believed that studying and accepting Christianity was necessary for the successful modernization of Japan. In a letter to his friends in Sendai the first Orthodox Japanese Pavel Sawabe calls them to come to Hakodate to study the Orthodox faith. In his opinion, national restoration depended on people’s unity, which had to be achieved through the population’s acceptance of the true Orthodox religion ¹³⁴. At that time Sawabe considered the Orthodox faith as the key to national revival.

The Law on universal education adopted in 1872 made the primary education available for all children regardless of gender. Moreover, co-education was introduced. However, the number of female students still lagged behind that of male ones: girls did not attend co-educational schools (in 1872, only 15% of Japanese girls and young women attended schools, in 1892 — 32% ¹³⁵), were still educated at home or did not study at all. Christian women schools attracted parents who wished a good education for their daughters.

¹³² *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era (1868–1912). P. 52.

¹³³ *Jansen Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan. P. 404.

¹³⁴ *A History of Japanese Religion.* Ed. by Kazuo Kasahara. Kosei Publishing Co., Tokyo, 2001. P. 508.

¹³⁵ *Grishelyova L.D.* Formation of Japanese National Culture. P. 42.

In the second half of the 1870s, trends opposing “Westernism” began to grow in Japanese society and government circles since many Japanese leaders came to the conclusion that Western civilization is not a benchmark and its path should not be followed blindly. The role of conservative politicians in the Meiji government increased who advocated returning to Japanese traditions, particularly in the educational sphere.

Gradually, the emperor himself began to lean towards their opinion. After a trip around the country in 1878, he understood that teaching traditional Japanese moral principles in public schools had to be necessarily strengthened: school teachers complained about students' disrespect for them and the elders¹³⁶. The emperor's opinion was reflected in an Imperial Rescript “The Great Principles of Education” signed in September 1879¹³⁷. In accordance with it the purpose (or essence) of education was “to make clear the ways of benevolence, justice, loyalty and filial piety and to master knowledge and skill”¹³⁸. The Rescript criticized those who went to extremes, violated the rules of good taste and harmed the Japanese traditional way of life¹³⁹ blindly following the “foreign civilization”.

In 1879 the Rescript on Japanese education abolished the law on universal education adopted in 1872. Like the previous document, the new rescript focused on primary education development (for example, only the first 4 out of 8 years of universal primary education became compulsory¹⁴⁰). The new rescript demanded some decentralization of school affair management and strengthened the role of local education authorities, i.e., in fact, it was a continuation of the liberal law adopted in 1872. This caused severe criticism from conservative politicians and public activists, and in December 1880 a new edition of this document was published, which was radically different from its old version.

¹³⁶ *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. P. 324.

¹³⁷ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era (1868–1912). P. 111.

¹³⁸ *Jansen Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan. P. 405. Here and below is the translation from English of the author of the dissertation research.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era (1868–1912). P. 113.

Firstly, decentralization was replaced by centralization: the central authorities' control over the educational institutions' activities and the role of the Ministry of Education were strengthened. Secondly, teaching morality (moral education) was introduced in all primary school grades. According to the instruction for primary school teachers published in 1881, teachers also had to make efforts to cultivate their students' respect for the emperor and their love for the homeland¹⁴¹. Thirdly, using translated books at school was prohibited, and it became an obstacle for the distribution of Christian publications in educational institutions; Fukuzawa's writings were also excluded from the school curriculum — all textbooks used in educational institutions had to be permitted by the Ministry of Education.

The school education reform implemented in 1880 marked Japan's rejection of the Western educational system structure. In 1882 university lectures in foreign languages were prohibited, the Japanese having studied in Western educational institutions¹⁴² began to replace foreign teachers. In 1886, Mori Arinori (森有礼, 1847–1889) was appointed the Minister of Education. He advocated the statist views claiming that educated people are a necessary condition for future strength and welfare of Japan, therefore not people but the state benefits the education so much. Several rescripts adopted in the middle of 1886 shaped the image of Japanese education for many years and affected all the educational institutions: primary, secondary schools, teacher training colleges and universities. The documents were aimed at strengthening the education management centralization, further regulating of education and increasing state control over educational institutions.

Having studied and analyzed different countries' education system organizing experience, Mori concluded that a multi-stage system of training the elite for public service was the path that Japan had to follow¹⁴³. According to him, future senior public officers needed elite and comprehensive education, while shortened one was enough for the general population. Primary education, as the first stage, should contribute to the

¹⁴¹ *Grishelyova L.D.* Formation of Japanese national culture. P. 45.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* P. 44.

¹⁴³ *Jansen Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan. P. 407.

spiritual, physical development of children, provide knowledge and skills necessary for the later life, i.e., as A.F. Prasol pointed out, school subjects were pushed to the second place¹⁴⁴.

The parents were supposed to pay for their children's education, and the shortfall had to be covered from the local communities' budgets. The parents were dissatisfied, because tuition fees were burdensome for many of them. Free primary education in Japan was introduced only in 1900.

Secondary schools prepared students for management jobs or for admission to higher education. According to the reform, they were divided into two levels: ordinary and advanced. The ordinary secondary schools were under the jurisdiction of the prefectures they were located in, while the advanced ones were directly subordinate to the Ministry and fully financed by the Government. Teaching practical skills and abilities rather than theoretical disciplines prevailed in the secondary school curriculum.

Mori's work had a particular influence on pedagogical education. In his opinion, a school teacher should have three main qualities: law-abiding, integrity and self-esteem¹⁴⁵.

Since 1880, school teachers were banned from participation in political life, particularly in political meetings. Some time later reading fiction was prohibited and paramilitary discipline was introduced in teacher training schools, from where, according to a researcher of Meiji period Japan Marius B. Jansen, "it eventually spread to infect the classrooms of an entire nation"¹⁴⁶. Teachers were equated to public officers, and loyal subject upbringing was their main task.

In 1886, the University of Tokyo received the "Imperial" title: its graduates received an advantage over the growing private university leavers: they could be appointed to the positions in the bureaucratic system without taking exams¹⁴⁷.

In 1889 the Constitution was adopted that fixed the religious freedom. The official course was taken on returning to the Japanese state traditions symbolized by the imperial

¹⁴⁴ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era (1868–1912). P. 136.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* P. 130.

¹⁴⁶ *Jansen Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan. P. 409.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* P. 408.

family and the current emperor uniting the entire population of the country¹⁴⁸. The Imperial Rescript on Education signed in October 1890 was the culmination of conservative education reform and marked the end of the Western cultural borrowing period.

The document reflected the idea that the purpose of education is learning to serve the society and the state. Citizens were ordered to express filial respect for their parents, to love their brothers and sisters, to demonstrate kindness, and to be modest and restrained¹⁴⁹. At the same time, the document called to striving for knowledge, obtaining a profession, developing personal talents and mental strength¹⁵⁰. Moral prescriptions of the Rescript, particularly patriotism, were directly related to the emperor and his ancestors, and the most important life value, which had to be cultivated since childhood, was the loyalty to the emperor¹⁵¹. Subjects had to obey the authorities, starting from their parents and ending with the emperor.

The document significantly influenced the Japanese education until World War II: it was read aloud in every educational institution, a special ceremony was introduced to worship the portrait of the emperor, which served as a full-fledged replacement for the monarch, and the text of the document¹⁵². An incident is connected with this ceremony, which let the conservative-minded part of the Japanese public conclude that “Christians do not accept Confucian morality ... they are rioting around the Rescript”¹⁵³: one of the secondary school teachers, Christian Uchimura Kanzo, did not bow respectfully in front of the portrait during the ceremony, but only bowed his head. His action caused a wide public resonance: 143 long articles on this occasion appeared in Japanese periodicals¹⁵⁴.

¹⁴⁸ *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. P. 409.

¹⁴⁹ *Gordon A.* A Modern History of Japan: from Tokugawa Times to the Present. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. P. 105.

¹⁵⁰ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era (1868–1912). P. 174.

¹⁵¹ *Scheiner Irwin.* Christian Converts and Social Protests in Meiji Japan. University of Michigan, 2002. P. 185–186.

¹⁵² *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. P. 427.

¹⁵³ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era (1868–1912). P. 268.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

In the 1890s, various resolutions and instructional letters were adopted, which fixed the priority of moral and spiritual education over knowledge in the Japanese education system; the resolutions and instructional letters strengthened imperialist and nationalist tendencies in education and upbringing (for example, performing patriotic songs and hymns during various ceremonies and meetings became obligatory, St. Nicholas mentioned this fact in his diary¹⁵⁵). The entire educational system was built upon the ideas of loyalty to the emperor and the imperial house. The Civil Code adopted in 1898 declared the traditional patriarchal family the basis of national unity. Japan was perceived as a huge family, where every citizen made efforts for the common good of the state. The aim of education was to develop such qualities as perseverance, diligence and discipline claimed as the necessary virtues for the national prosperity.

Education beyond primary school was voluntary: it was limited only by the child's ability to pass entrance exams and the financial resources of parents who could afford to pay for education and not lose the income of a working child. Nevertheless, a significant number of young people were enrolled in secondary schools and studied there: by 1905, about 104 thousand students attended various secondary educational institutions¹⁵⁶. In the 1890s, and especially at the beginning of the 20th century, secondary vocational schools developed, which trained technical specialists and workers for trade and agricultural sphere (by 1912, they taught almost 7 thousand students¹⁵⁷). Higher schools and, in particular, imperial universities, designed only for men, provided students with a greater degree of autonomy and some freedom: they were, for example, encouraged to read Western philosophy and political literature. The creator of the Japanese higher school Mori Arinori was convinced that future leaders of the nation supposed to be educated at

¹⁵⁵ Diary entry from January 2/14, 1898 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 6: Diaries (1896–1899). Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2023. 936 p. (hereinafter referred to as the Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6). P. 452.

¹⁵⁶ *Gordon A.* A Modern History of Japan. P. 106.

¹⁵⁷ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era (1868–1912). P. 208.

universities needed to learn how to be initiative and responsible, therefore they needed some independence for their successful formation¹⁵⁸.

All in all, having briefly considered the formation of a new Japanese educational system in the second half of the 19th century, **it can be concluded** that there were several stages in its development that were closely related to the changes in social and political life of the country. The liberal educational system reforms caused by the government's Westernization policy were replaced by gradual rejection of Western borrowings and increased the regulation of educational institutions by the state in the 1880s. The Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 not only proclaimed a return to traditions, but also consolidated the centralization of the educational system and a high degree of state control over education. These changes had a significant impact on the Christian preachers' activities.

1.2. Protestant denominations' educational activities in Japan

The first Protestant missionaries arrived to Japan in 1859. Several missionaries arrived from America almost simultaneously. They were John Liggins (1829–1912) and Channing Moore Williams (1829–1910) representing the Episcopal Church, Samuel Robbins Brown (1810–1880), Duane B. Simmons (1832–1889) and Guido F. Verbeck (1830–1898) representing the Dutch Reformed Church and James Curtis Hepburn (1815–1911) representing the Presbyterian Church. After some time, members of the Baptist Societies (1860)¹⁵⁹ started arriving to Japan.

In the early 1860s, due to the Christian preaching ban and the need to learn Japanese the missionaries' activity was focused mainly on the religious service for their compatriots. At the same time, they also worked sometimes as translators, and began teaching the Japanese the English language. The first missionaries rightly believed that

¹⁵⁸ *Gordon A.* A Modern History of Japan. P. 107.

¹⁵⁹ *Mullins Mark R.* Christianity Made in Japan. A Study of Indigenous Movements. Honolulu, 1998. P. 14.

with the Christian preaching being banned teaching English opens up opportunities for them to start practical activities.

The Dutch missionary Guido Verbeck's example is worth noticing in this regard. Holland was the only European country to maintain some contact with Japan during the period from 1641 to 1853. Through the Dutch trading post on Dejima Island, information about European sciences penetrated into Japan, which were studied and translated into Japanese by scholars of the Rangaku (Dutch studies) school. Therefore, Dutch language was, in fact, the only means of spreading European culture and communication with Westerners used by the Japanese¹⁶⁰. Dutch by origin, Verbeck won the favor of Japanese officials and began teaching the foreign language. His pedagogical activity was successful; therefore the missionary was invited to teach at a foreign language school opened by the Japanese government in Nagasaki¹⁶¹, from where he then moved to the Chienkan School on Kyushu Island¹⁶². In these schools he taught foreign languages (English, German and Dutch) and some natural sciences.

The number of the school students, some of whom would become political and social leaders of Japan¹⁶³, reached one hundred. After 1868 Verbeck's former students appointed to the new government offered him advise Japanese authorities on educational issues. In particular, he was directly involved in the creation of the Japanese higher educational institution (now the University of Tokyo), contributed to sending young Japanese men to study in Europe and America, to the invitation of Western teachers to work in Japanese educational institutions. He was the first to propose sending an embassy abroad and became an adviser for Iwakura Tomomi's mission. Many researchers, such as J. M. Hommes, A. F. Prasol believe that it is due to Verbeck's activity as a consultant for

¹⁶⁰ *Griffis William Elliot*. A Maker of the New Orient. Samuel Robbins Brown: Pioneer Educator in China, America, and Japan. The Story of his Life and Work. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1902. P. 139.

¹⁶¹ *Cary Otis*. A History of Christianity in Japan. New York: F. H. Revell, 1909. P. 49.

¹⁶² *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era. P. 44.

¹⁶³ *Hommes James Mitchell*. Verbeck of Japan: Guido F. Verbeck as Pioneer Missionary, Oyatoi Gaikokujin, and "Foreign Hero". Doc. Diss. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 2014. P. 21.

the Japanese government that the law on universal education adopted in 1872 (Gakusei) considered many principles of Dutch and German educational systems' functioning¹⁶⁴.

Protestant missionaries who began to actively teach foreign languages in state translator schools opened in large cities recalled the spies and government inspectors being present at the classes very frequently. This situation lasted until 1864 when the Japanese authorities became less suspicious towards the missionaries¹⁶⁵.

Protestant preachers used every chance to introduce the teaching of Christ to the Japanese while teaching them English. Missionary Samuel Brown later recalled his teaching English at a school in Yokohama: "It is as easy to illustrate the principles of English grammar, you know, by means of quotations from the Bible as by any other. Hence, I have not refrained from such quotations and put them on the blackboard as often as they would serve my convenience"¹⁶⁶. The editions containing phrases from the Holy Scriptures¹⁶⁷ were used for teaching reading in English as well.

European and American authors' books containing references to Christianity that were translated by missionaries into Chinese became another means of spreading Christian teachings. Editions in Chinese were understandable for the educated Japanese, and the treaty signed by America and Japan, allowed the Americans to sell everything except opium and firearms. Missionaries took advantage of this treaty: they sold the historical, geographical and other scientific publications in Chinese to the people interested in them. According to missionary John Liggins, these publications eradicated the Japanese's misconceptions about Christianity and prepared the ground for disseminating the Holy Scriptures¹⁶⁸.

One of the remarkable examples of such turning to Christ is the story of the Japanese educator Neesima Jo (Joseph Hardy Neesima (Niijima); 1843–1890). He chanced upon a book on geography and history of America and "A Brief History of the World", both translated into Chinese. The latter began with the words: "In the beginning

¹⁶⁴ See, for example: *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era. P. 45.

¹⁶⁵ *Griffis William Elliot.* A Maker of the New Orient. P. 189.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* P. 186.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Cary Otis.* A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 45.

God created the heavens and the earth” (Gen. 1:1). After reading it and feeling gratitude to the Creator, he decided to seek God and secretly went to America¹⁶⁹. Neesima himself recalled this as follows: “... I wished at once to visit a land where the gospel is freely taught, and from whence teachers of God's words were sent out”¹⁷⁰. In America he was baptized and educated at Amherst College and Andover Theological Seminary. On his return to Japan he founded the first Christian University Doshisha still functioning at the present day (Doshisha University (同志社大学)).

The American Civil War of 1861–1865, difficult conditions of staying in Japan led to the fact that missionaries of various Protestant denominations initially combined their efforts and acted as a single force in education and enlightenment activity matters. Gradually, the Dutch language was replaced by English. The replacement was accelerated by significant scientific and technological developments of the English-speaking countries in the second half of the 19th century and active work of American diplomats, businessmen, missionaries, etc. The Japanese did not consider the English language as a means of communication: the purpose of studying it was to understand scientific and technical texts and documents¹⁷¹.

English began to be widely taught in schools for the Japanese of all ages most of whom “wore two swords”¹⁷². Undoubtedly, the samurai accounting for about 5–6% of the population in the mid-19th century¹⁷³ and considered one of the most educated classes in Japan attracted missionaries’ attention and required their efforts most of all. Protestant preachers believed the samurai to be most open to Christianity¹⁷⁴ due to their good education and a strong desire to serve the country in changing political circumstances. Many researchers, such as Irwin Shiner, believe that social influence of Christianity was

¹⁶⁹ *Stock Eugene*. Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society. L.: Selly, Jackson & Halliday, 1887. P. 90.

¹⁷⁰ *Hardy Arthur Sherburne*. Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company, 1891. P. 31.

¹⁷¹ *Golovacheva L.R.* Functioning of the English Language in Japan // *Oriental Institute Journal*. Vladivostok, 2004. No. 8. P. 122.

¹⁷² *Griffis William Elliot*. A Maker of the New Orient. P. 190.

¹⁷³ *Hommes James Mitchell*. Verbeck of Japan. P. 46.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

disproportionally large due to the fact that most converts of the initial period belonged to the samurai class¹⁷⁵. But it should be noted that the desire to acquire new knowledge for better adaptation to the changing circumstances was common for most classes.

In many educational institutions missionaries began teaching “Western disciplines”, in some schools there were several Protestant preachers at once. English and American textbooks such as “Christian Reader” containing, among other things, the basic principles of the Christian doctrine, were frequently used at the lessons. Fundamentals of Christian faith entered the minds of students and became «the subject of explanations and comments in classroom»¹⁷⁶, themes for the students’ additional questions and a reason for mentioning facts from the history of the Church in school classes. The Holy Scripture Books were used as reading textbooks: the students purchased them for home use, distributed among others interested in learning a foreign language, visited missionary homes for additional Bible reading classes. Their next step was seeking the Christian religious instruction: in 1864 (according to some sources, in 1865¹⁷⁷) the first Protestant Christian was baptized¹⁷⁸.

An important area of Protestants missionaries’ educational activity was translating the Holy Scripture and other books covering religious topics into Japanese for the country citizens to be able to read the Bible in their native language. Almost immediately upon arriving in Japan they began to study the language, which posed a significant problem in the early 1860s, as the Japanese officials were very cautious about Christian preachers and it was difficult to find a language teacher. Several missionaries (J.K. Hepburn, Samuel R. Brown, and others) worked on the Holy Scripture translation, simultaneously but separately¹⁷⁹. Thus, in 1866, one of the Protestant publications in America mentioned a complete translation, probably by Brown. However, the translation manuscript was destroyed by a fire in 1867¹⁸⁰. In May 1867 Hepburn published a Japanese-English

¹⁷⁵ See, for example: *Scheiner Irwin*. Christian Converts and Social Protests in Meiji Japan. University of Michigan, 2002.

¹⁷⁶ *Cary Otis*. A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 63.

¹⁷⁷ See, for example: A History of Japanese Religion. P. 513.

¹⁷⁸ *Cary Otis*. A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 55.

¹⁷⁹ *Griffis William Elliot*. A Maker of the New Orient. P. 172.

¹⁸⁰ *Cary Otis*. Op. cit. P. 85.

dictionary that quickly became a standard handbook for students studying Japanese¹⁸¹. In 1871 the Baptist preacher Jonathan Goble published a translation of the Gospel of Matthew¹⁸². A year later Hepburn and Brown translated the Gospels of Mark and John, in 1873 their translation of the Gospel of Matthew was published. Before that, translations of the Ten Commandments, of the Lord's Prayer and of the Creed were published. Mass printing of the religious publications, including the Holy Scripture, and their wide distribution by «book peddlers» (as St. Nicholas of Japan Equal-to-the-Apostles called them) were one of the important methods of the Protestants' missionary activity.

Since the early 1860's, many Japanese principalities began to ignore the prohibitions that had existed since the mid-18th century, and sent young men to study in America and Europe. When the ban on travelling to study abroad was lifted, Protestant missionaries provided support for this process: under their influence, many Japanese young men began to strive for going on a trip abroad and seeing the vast outer world¹⁸³.

The organization of the first “missionary schools” dates back to the end of the 1860s. Christian missionaries were teachers and principals in such educational institutions. One of the first “missionary schools” was organized by Presbyterian missionaries Christopher Carrothers (1839–1921) and Julia Sarah Carrothers (1845–1914)¹⁸⁴. There were several girls among the school students.

Christian missionaries were among the first to found separate educational institutions for women. The missionary J.K. Hepburn's wife organized a small class of 5 girls, the basis for the future first women Christian school in Japan. Upon American Mary E. Kidder's (1834–1910) arrival to Japan the class was assigned to her guidance, and the

¹⁸¹ *Hamish Ion A.* American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi and Japan, 1859–73. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009. P. 80.

¹⁸² *Wisbey Herbert A., Jr.* Biography of Jinrikisha Inventor / Book Review Jonathan Goble of Japan Marine, Missionary, Maverick by F. Calvin Parker / A.H. Wisbey // The Crooked Lake Review. Issue No. 28. July, 1990. [Electronic resource] URL: https://www.crookedlakereview.com/articles/1_33/28july1990/28wisbey2.html (date of access: 12.01.2024).

¹⁸³ *Barton James L.* Educational Missions. New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1913. P. 174.

¹⁸⁴ *Cary Otis.* A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 68.

number of students reached 22 people quite quickly¹⁸⁵. The educational institution was given a separate room, in 1874 it received a plot of land where a boarding school for girls would be built; the school was officially named Ferris Women School, or Ferris Seminary¹⁸⁶. At first, such women Christian educational institutions taught only English, the basics of Christian doctrine and Holy Scripture reading. But later the general education subjects were included into the school curriculum, such as History, Japanese and Chinese Literature, Geography, Botany, Arithmetic etc. Almost everything was taught in English; students were also required to speak English outside the classrooms as well.

In the 1870s, women schools were created by almost all the Protestant denominations; large cities such as Yokohama, Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto and Nagasaki had one or more women schools under the missionaries' auspices¹⁸⁷. In most cases tuition was paid for and the payment partially covered the costs (for example, at Ferris Seminary the tuition cost about \$3 per month for boarding girls and about \$1 per month for day students¹⁸⁸). Emphasizing the important role of women Christian schools, one of the Tokyo Imperial university professors said that activity in the field of women's education had been started and developed by missionaries¹⁸⁹.

Until 1873, missionaries from several Protestant denominations united their efforts: in 1872 Presbyterian, Congregational and Reformed Churches' representatives decided not to use their denominational names when preaching and organizing the Christian communities¹⁹⁰. But when the restrictions were lifted, "the desire for united witness through joint mission was soon replaced by the desire to create Western confessional churches"¹⁹¹. The reason for that was, first of all, the significant growth of the missions after 1873. By 1882 their number of missionaries had more than doubled¹⁹², and each of

¹⁸⁵ *Burton Margaret E.* The Education of Women in Japan. New York; Chicago [etc.]: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1914. P. 34.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* P. 35.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* P. 39–40.

¹⁸⁹ *Warren Charles M.* Some Results of Christian Work in Japan // *The Journal of Race Development*, 1912. P. 98.

¹⁹⁰ For more details, see, for example: *Griffis William Elliot.* A Maker of the New Orient. P. 242–244.

¹⁹¹ *Mullins Mark R.* Christianity Made in Japan. P. 13.

¹⁹² *Hommel James Mitchell.* Verbeck of Japan. P. 49.

the Protestant missions had a sufficient number of members for all types of activities. It was also necessary to carefully record missionaries of each denomination and converts.

The first educational institutions openly teaching the Holy Scripture were created at the end of 1872, even before lifting the restrictions. The missionaries from various Protestant denominations founded Christian schools in Kobe, Yokohama, and Osaka. The Bible was the main textbook in these schools¹⁹³.

Since the main goal of the Japanese educational system in the 1870s was primarily the students' acquisition of the Western knowledge for its subsequent application for scientific and technological development of the country, foreigners were invited to teach Western sciences in which Japan lagged behind. Most of these teachers were Christians, some of them significantly influenced the spread of Christianity in the country.

In 1876, the Japanese government invited William Smith Clark (1826–1886) was to Hokkaido to found an Agricultural College on the island. The island governor granted him broad power to start a college and implement ambitious agricultural initiatives. Clark quickly won the sympathy and respect of his students. One of the subjects he taught them was morality. In these lessons, Clark, supported by the governor, taught the principles of Christian ethics using the Bible¹⁹⁴. Soon his students came to the belief that Christianity plays the central role in Western civilization, therefore it should play the same role in the revival of Japan. In 1877 31 Agricultural College students from the in Sapporo declared their Christian faith by signing a document prepared by Clark and creating an association named the “Sapporo Band”¹⁹⁵. Prominent Japanese Protestant figures such as Uchimura Kanzo (1861–1930) and Nitobe Inazo (1862–1933)¹⁹⁶ were the members of this group.

Another foreign teacher Leroy Lansing Janes (1838–1909) began his teaching career in Japan in 1871 in the school of “Western sciences” in Kumamoto. He taught several disciplines here including morality. After three years, convinced that his students

¹⁹³ *Cary Otis*. A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 78.

¹⁹⁴ *Maki John M.* A Yankee in Hokkaido: The Life of William Smith Clark. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2002. P. 144.

¹⁹⁵ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 515.

¹⁹⁶ *Bertova A.D.* The Samurai and Christianity: on the Question of Social Affiliation of Japanese Christians in the Second Half of the XIX Century // International Journal of Cultural Research. St. Petersburg, 2018. No. 4(33). P. 135.

began to trust him and their knowledge of English is good enough to understand Christian faith fundamentals, Janes invited them to his home for the Bible study class¹⁹⁷. After a while some of the students accepted his Christian faith instructions and began to preach themselves, not only at school, but also “to the servants of the teachers, our kindred in our homes, old men and women in the streets”¹⁹⁸. After some time they swore solemnly that they would preach the Gospel to their compatriots, even if they had to sacrifice their lives. Thus, another Christian group named “Kumamoto Band” was created. Some of the group members became famous Japanese Protestant preachers, for example Kozaki Hiromichi (1856–1938), Ebina Danjo (1856–1937), Tokutomi Soho (1863–1957), Yokoi Tokio (1857–1927), and others¹⁹⁹.

By 1882 Protestant missions had founded 9 boys’ schools for, 15 girls’ schools, 39 co-educational institutions and 7 theological seminaries²⁰⁰. Many of them became the basis for modern Japanese Christian colleges and universities. The three separate schools opened by the missionaries S. Brown, J. Hepburn and G. Verbeck in the 1860s were united to form one of the oldest educational institutions of this kind — Meiji Gakuin University (明治学院大学). Another old university, Aoyama Gakuin (青山学院大学), originated from a girls' school organized by the Methodist missionary Dora E. Schoonmaker (1851–1934) in 1874. Later missionaries Julius Soper (1845–1937) and Robert Samuel Maclay (1824–1907) founded a boys' school and a Methodist Seminary. These three educational institutions were united in 1895. The education in the institution lasted for three years; the program included mainly theological subjects, such as the Old Testament, the History of the Old Testament, New Testament, Life of Christ, Dogmatic and Moral Theology, Christian Ethics, Greek Language, Bible, Church History, Philosophy of Religions, Biblical Philosophy, Methodist church history, etc.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ *Gordon M.L.* An American Missionary in Japan. Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1893. P. 55.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* P. 58.

¹⁹⁹ *Bertova A.D.* The Samurai and Christianity. P. 135.

²⁰⁰ *Mullins Mark R.* Christianity Made in Japan. P. 17.

²⁰¹ *Shlyapkin I.A.* Public Education in Japan. St. Petersburg: Senate printing house, 1906. P. 24.

In 1886 the Methodist Church opened a women school in Hiroshima, that would subsequently become the basis for Hiroshima Jogakuin University (広島女学院大学) formation. Over the twenty years the number of students at this educational institution increased to seven hundred²⁰², and it was considered the largest women school organized by missionaries²⁰³. This educational institution operated the Sunday school, kindergartens and held women's meetings.

The Church of England opened several educational institutions in the 1870s, for example, St. Paul's College (1874) (currently Rikkyo University (立教大学)), St. Margaret's High School for Girls (1877) (now called St. Margaret's Junior College; 立教女学院短期大学)), St. Agnes's School (1874); currently Heian Jogakuin St. Agnes School (平安女学院大学)), etc.

The Doshisha college (then University) has the most remarkable creation and development history. Its founder Nijima Jo (or Neesima) began planning to found a Christian college in Japan not yet having come from America. According to him, the idea of creating such an educational institution was strongly associated with the prosperity of the state and nation. Later he wrote the following: “The reason I established a private university was ... but instead to truly cultivate businessmen, politicians, literary men, all people who will be ... love truth and freedom, respect morality and the true principle, and, therefore, devote themselves to our nation Japan. <...> will strengthen the independence of Japan, and bring about the peace and happiness of our nation”²⁰⁴.

In 1874, Neesima addressed the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereinafter referred to as ABCFM) with a request to allocate funds to “provide for us the highest and best possible downright Christian institution”²⁰⁵. His project received support, and the council agreed to build a Christian university, “so equipped with everything necessary to place it on a par with the best public

²⁰² Hiroshima Kindergarten. Board of Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 1908. P. 2.

²⁰³ Ibid. P. 6.

²⁰⁴ *Scheiner Irwin*. Christian Converts and Social Protests in Meiji Japan. P. 168.

²⁰⁵ *Hardy Arthur Sherburne*. Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima. P. 171.

schools”²⁰⁶. In 1875, Doshisha College was founded in Kyoto; its first teachers were American missionaries, for example, Davis Jerome Dean (1838–1910).

Most of its first students had already been Christians. In the 1870s, all Christian schools saw an explosion in enrollment: in 1884, 172 theological students were studying at the Doshisha college with 48 people preparing to enter it²⁰⁷. After some time, in addition to the college for young men, a girls' school and additional catechism courses taught in Japanese were opened. During their studies students were involved in active missionary work, as the result of which new Protestant communities were created²⁰⁸. For example, one of the most famous graduates of this college, Japanese Protestant thinker and missionary Ebina Danjo, founded several Christian churches²⁰⁹.

Since Doshisha received funds from American Council, the Japanese authorities had regular questions regarding college funding and payment for hiring foreign teachers. Their main goal of pressurizing Christian schools such as Doshisha College was to reduce these educational institutions' dependence on foreign missions.

Subsequent reforms of Japanese education carried out in 1886 defined the difference between governmental (state) educational institutions and private ones; control over private schools was gradually strengthened. At the same time, desire for independence from foreign missionary societies had gained popularity within the Christian communities since the mid-1880s, for example, some Japanese students refused the scholarships given them by missions²¹⁰. Nationalistic ideas were gaining the weight within the Japanese society, and everything foreign, including Christianity, began to be regarded disapprovingly. Some missionary schools closed down because of financial difficulties and inability to withstand such pressure²¹¹.

²⁰⁶ Report of the Committee on a Christian College for Japan. June 21, 1875. Cit. by: *Gordon M.L.* An American Missionary in Japan. P. 261.

²⁰⁷ *Stock Eugene.* Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society. P. 91.

²⁰⁸ *Cary Otis.* A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 137, 145, 146.

²⁰⁹ *Bertova A.D.* Development of the Concept of the “Kingdom of God” in philosophical Thoughts of Ebin Danjo // *Voprosy filosofii.* Moscow, 2018. No. 3. P. 188.

²¹⁰ *Scheiner Irwin.* Christian Converts and Social Protests in Meiji Japan. P. 32.

²¹¹ *Stevenson William R.* Christian Universities in Japan / W.R. Stevenson // Jun A., Collins C.S. (eds.). Higher Education and Belief Systems in the Asia Pacific Region, Education in the Asia-Pacific Region:

In the early 1890's 527 Protestant foreign missionaries worked in Japan, a significant part of them in the educational field. 97 missionary departments were opened throughout the country²¹². Appendix 1 shows the dynamics of the number of missionaries of Protestant missions in Japan, showing a significant increase in their numbers in the late 1880s. The number of converts exceeded 33 thousand people. 349 students were studying at theological seminaries in 1891²¹³. At the same time, the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission employed 3 Orthodox missionaries (two more clergymen belonged to the diplomatic mission and participated only in the teaching some disciplines) and owned 3 mission stations (departments) — in Tokyo, Hakodate and Kyoto. 119 people studied at the Theological Seminary and catechetical school²¹⁴. In 1889 Bishop Nicholas complained that “Protestantism is spreading like a stream across the country, the education in the country is entirely under the Protestant missionaries’ guidance”²¹⁵. At the same time Tokyo Seminary teacher Arseny Iwasawa wrote to the Russian teacher S.A. Rachinsky that more than a half of educational institutions are under Protestant missionaries’ guidance²¹⁶. According to him, the Protestants gained success because they spread their teachings among the educated classes of Japanese society.

But gradually nationalist ideas and the Japanese authorities’ political decisions worsened the situation. In Doshisha the situation worsened after Nijjima Jo’s death: the conflicts began between Japanese authorities and teachers on the one side and foreign teachers, who were missionaries, on the other side for the control over the school and fund distribution. In 1895, ABCFM sent a special committee to Japan to review the

Issues, Concerns and Prospects 49. Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd., 2019. P. 55; Diary entry from April 16/28, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 509.

²¹² Protestant Missionary Work in Japan for the year 1891. Cit. by: *Gordon M.L.* An American Missionary in Japan. P. 268–269.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1890, dated March 28, 1891 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 2: Official correspondence (1884–1912). M.: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2018. 584 p. (hereinafter referred to as Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2). P. 207.

²¹⁵ Diary entry from August 23 / September 4, 1889 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 66.

²¹⁶ Letter from Arseniy Iwasawa to S.A. Rachinsky, dated December 6, 1888 // OR RNB (Manuscripts Department of the Russian National Library). F. 631. Unit of storage. 44. L. 259.

situation in the college and to fully investigate the higher education issue dealt with by Christian missionaries; the committee also had to collect information about Doshisha University according to special instructions and “to investigate whether the university is useful in terms of spreading Christianity”²¹⁷. The conducted research revealed that “religion is not a compulsory subject, and, according to rumors, most students treat it with indifference”²¹⁸. Other religions, such as Buddhism, were also taught in the educational institution²¹⁹. All in all, it was confirmed that the Christian character of the educational institution had undergone changes.

Many Christian schools wanted to receive state accreditation, that would let their graduates enter universities and be appointed as public officers, as well as give them a deferment from the military service. But school curriculum required changes as religious education had to be stopped in accredited schools according to the decree adopted in 1899. Some schools refused to change their curriculum, as a result, many ambitious students left these educational institutions for the state ones. Simultaneously with the document prohibiting religious education a decree was adopted that let only those children enter the private educational institutions who have “fulfilled their educational obligation”, in other words, over 14 years old²²⁰. This led to closing some Christian primary schools.

According to these two documents, some changes were made in Doshisha college: the teaching of the Bible outside the theological school was abolished, they even attempted to exclude the term “Christianity” from the educational institution charter. For these reasons the financial support from American Council was terminated, almost all missionary teachers disagreeing with the situation decided to quit, the number of students decreased by more than the half, and the law and science departments were forced to close²²¹. Only an appeal to the press by J.D. Davis, one of the educational institution trustees, with threats to begin the litigation stopped the destruction of the Christian

²¹⁷ The Problem of High-Class Education by Missionaries // Japan Weekly Mail. October, 19. 1895. P. 414.

²¹⁸ Ibid. P. 415.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Cary Otis. A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 285.

²²¹ Stevenson William R. Christian Universities in Japan. P. 56.

educational institution. At the beginning of the 20th century, the university was no longer connected with any Christian mission but completely controlled by the Japanese trustees. In 1900 only 158 students were studying there, and only 21 of them identified themselves as Christians²²². Although the university continued to function as Christian, many contemporaries stated that “this institution does not now exert the positive influence for Christianity that it formerly did”²²³.

The Japanese government's regulations on separating religion from education quite dissatisfied the Christian society of Japan, particularly because it contradicted the spirit of the Japanese Constitution. In 1903 the Ministry of Education was forced to compromise: the rule was cancelled, but graduates of some Christian schools were allowed to enter higher education institutions on an equal basis with the graduates of state schools; private schools meeting the national “high school” standards could obtain military service deferments for their students²²⁴.

The Protestant education was quite revived at the beginning of the 20th century: most large schools created the same conditions for their graduates as state-owned schools did; new buildings were constructed. Creating Christian youth groups in Japanese higher education institutions has become a characteristic feature of the Christian preaching among the Japanese students. The activities by John Raleigh Mott (1865–1955), the head of The World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) and The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), played an important role here. He visited Japan several times giving lectures at several Japanese secondary and higher educational institutions, including the Imperial University.

Educator and preacher Rufus Benton Peery (1868–1934) provides statistical data on the educational activities of Protestant denominations in 1906. There were 80 educational institutions in total, where more than 4 thousand students were studying at the same time, the majority of whom (more than 3 thousand) were students of girls'

²²² *Stevenson William R.* Christian Universities in Japan. P. 56.

²²³ *Peery Rufus Benton.* The Gist of Japan; the Islands; their People and Missions. Edinburgh; London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, [1906?]. P. 181.

²²⁴ *Cary Otis.* A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 293; *Stevenson William R.* Christian Universities in Japan. P. 56.

schools. Peery classifies only 11 out of the 80 educational institutions as theological (spiritual) schools. These schools had just over a hundred students²²⁵. Educational institutions functioned under the guidance of:

- “the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) (Doshisha University, and 4 girls' boarding schools having 864 students in total).
- Presbyterian Church (Meiji Gakuin University, having both academic and theological faculty; Steele College in Nagasaki; 5 boys' boarding schools with 376 students in total; 16 girls' boarding schools educating 795 students totally).
- Methodist Church (5 boys' boarding schools for 329 students; 16 girls' boarding schools for 970 students; 5 theological schools for 60 students).
- Episcopal Church (5 boys' boarding schools for 169 students; 8 girls' boarding schools for 263 students; 4 theological schools for 52 students).
- Baptist societies (1 boys' boarding school for 14 students; 6 girls' boarding schools for 205 students; 2 theological schools for 21 students”²²⁶).

In 1906 the total number of foreign missionaries in the said missions amounted to more than 600 people. Besides, the missionaries from other Protestant denominations preached in Japan, for example, of the Lutheran Church. The author noted that the majority of missionaries were involved not in direct preaching work²²⁷ but in Christian education.

Peery's work, like the research by other authors in the late 1900s, discussed the future of Protestant education in Japan and sometimes expressed diametrically opposed point of views on this process. For example, the traditional method of educational institution funding was criticized, which “impedes the self-sufficiency of local churches”²²⁸, and it was proposed to bring the schools' activities in line with the Japanese Christians' capabilities. It was stated that the largest part of financial resources was used to support the activities of academic (not theological) schools, but at the same time more

²²⁵ A Theological faculty also existed at Doshisha University (Peery does not provide statistical data on it).

²²⁶ *Peery Rufus Benton*. *The Gist of Japan*. P. 180, 184–185, 186, 187.

²²⁷ *Ibid.* P. 251.

²²⁸ *Ibid.* P. 260.

than half of Japanese catechists had not been educated in these institutions. Protestant education activist J.L. Barton emphasized that only 3% of Protestant school graduates chose a professional path directly related to catechetical work or other Christian service²²⁹. At the same time, he pointed out the significant proportion of Christians among those employed in such areas as education (“there is hardly a middle school in Japan that has not among its English teachers a graduate or graduates of a mission school, and there is not a mission school that has not sent many such men into the teaching profession”²³⁰), literature, writing and journalism, i.e. in the areas responsible for forming ideas and meanings in a society. There were supporters of increasing educational activity expenses: they noted that Christian schools were lagging behind state schools both in the education level and in the amounts of necessary equipment supply²³¹.

According to Protestant educationalists, closer cooperation with the Japanese government was of great importance for the future of Protestant education: some officials’ claims that religion is directly related to moral education and “that there is nothing inherently dangerous in recognizing religion as a factor in education”²³² let Protestants hope for such interaction. Despite some disagreements, the authors were generally optimistic about further educational activities carried out by Protestant missions. They were all convinced that the success of such work largely depended on the missionary teacher’s personality, his moral character, physical and intellectual preparedness for educational work²³³.

Thus, having considered Protestant denominations’ educational activities in Japan, the **following general conclusions** can be made.

At the initial stage, the Protestants’ main method to evangelize Japanese was teaching them English, the language which was considered necessary for the successful transformation of the country. English language schools and schools of “Western

²²⁹ Barton James L. *Educational Missions*. P. 176.

²³⁰ Ibid. P. 177.

²³¹ See, for example: Hiroshima Kindergarten. P. 11–12.

²³² Barton James L. *Educational Missions*. P. 175.

²³³ Barton James L. *Op. cit.* P. 181–184; Peery Rufus Benton. *Op. cit.* P. 192–208.

disciplines”, the publication of Christian books and foreign teachers’ work in Japanese educational institutions laid the foundation for further Christian preaching. After lifting the ban on Christianity, the Protestant missionaries aimed their efforts at developing all forms of educational institutions, such as primary and secondary schools, higher education institutions, theological faculties and purely theological schools. The most significant success of protestant missions was achieved in the field of women education.

1.3. The Catholic Church and its activities in the field of education in Japan (16th — early 20th century)

Unlike Protestant denominations, the Catholic Church has done its educational work in Japan for a very long time. The beginning of this activity is closely connected to the first evangelization attempt undertaken by Catholic missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Europeans entered Japan for the first time in 1542, exactly to say, they were Portuguese traders who landed on the Tanegashima Island. Seven years later the first Catholic missionaries appeared in Japan, namely the Jesuit monks Francisco (Francis) Xavier (1506–1552), and Cosme de Torres (1510–1570), also the Jesuit layman Juan Fernández (1526? — 1567). They arrived accompanied by the Japanese Anjiro (アンジロ), baptized Paulo de Santa Fé, who was their guide and translator providing them with initial information about the country.

Xavier stayed in Japan for just over two years, preaching and striving to lay the foundations for the spread of Christianity here. During this period he and his fellow workers managed to convert about 1,000 people to the Christian faith²³⁴. The missionaries encountered significant difficulties as Japanese did not resemble any other language they had encountered before and required a long time to study. The language barrier haunted the Jesuits throughout their mission in the 16th century: in 1580 one of its famous figures

²³⁴ Bertova A.D. *Christians in Japan: Experience of Historical-Religious Analysis*. P. 16.

Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) wrote that the missionaries still spoke like children independently of how much they learnt the language and how much effort they made for it²³⁵. Despite the fact that the Jesuits concentrated their efforts on learning Japanese, they admitted that it was necessary to study the language for at least 15 years to preach independently²³⁶. For this reason the Japanese taught by the Jesuits were the main preachers and catechists for the new converts in the first years of the Catholic mission, which means that religious education in the form of teaching catechism already existed in that period. The missionaries' need to interact with the local mission staff required the Japanese' studying Latin and the Jesuits' learning Japanese. The importance of communicating in Japanese and of Christian preaching in a way understandable to people was emphasized in Francis Xavier's letters to his fellow missionaries²³⁷.

The primary schools organized by Catholic missionaries were first mentioned in the early 1560s. Before that, boys and young men from newly converted families attended “terakoya” schools, most of which were organized at Buddhist monasteries. To eliminate the Buddhist impact on Christian children, missionaries suggested an alternative to the traditional Japanese education. They began to teach the fundamentals of Christian doctrine and some non-religious subjects basing on elementary Japanese tuition²³⁸. The students were taught literacy, etiquette, reading psalms and singing (chorale)²³⁹. Primary schools were usually created close to the residences of Catholic missionaries, for example, in 1563, Brother Luis de Almeida (1525–1583) founded a primary school in Arima, where the converts' children could study both Japanese written literature and the basic Christian dogmas²⁴⁰. If a school was located in a rural area, the missionaries gathered local teenagers in the evenings after their daily field work. Sometimes the Jesuits

²³⁵ *Moran J.F.* *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth-Century Japan*. London; New York: Routledge, 1993. P. 179.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* P. 180.

²³⁷ *Abé Takao.* *The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of the Earlier Jesuit Experience in Japan / Studies in the History of Christian Tradition*; vol. 151. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011. P. 84.

²³⁸ *Ibid.* P. 93.

²³⁹ *Prasol A.F.* *The Forming of Japanese education (VIII–XIX centuries)*. Vladivostok: Dalnauka, 2001. P. 151.

²⁴⁰ *Abé Takao.* *Op. cit.* P. 94.

organized day care for children, for example, small children on the Tokushima Island came to the missionaries early in the morning and at noon when their parents were working in the fields²⁴¹.

From 1549 to 1570 the efforts of Catholic missionaries resulted in baptizing about 26,500 Japanese²⁴². Some researchers note that only about 200 primary schools were established before 1581²⁴³. But, most likely, we are talking about the number of church communities throughout the country, since the Catholic mission did not have such a significant number of trained teachers (in October 1580, only 59 foreign missionaries were working in Japan²⁴⁴). At the same time, it is assumed that the Japanese themselves taught in elementary schools as well.

When the mission was headed by Francisco Cabral (1529–1609) who had a negative attitude towards the Japanese (he considered them hypocritical, and their government barbaric²⁴⁵), it was forbidden for Japanese people to learn Portuguese, and the missionaries could not deepen their knowledge of Japanese. This led to the fact that, as it was discovered by the inspector Alessandro Valignano during his visit to the mission in 1579, more than 20 foreign missionaries could not speak Japanese²⁴⁶, and the level of the Japanese' knowing the Christian faith dogmas was unsatisfactory²⁴⁷.

According to Valignano, these problems could be solved through active educational and enlightening activities among the local population as well as through the attraction of the most talented to the Society of Jesus with the aim of forming the trained Japanese clergy and missionaries. The first important step was the creation of educational seminaries and colleges where the Japanese could be taught the fundamentals of the

²⁴¹ *Abé Takao*. The Jesuit Mission to New France. P. 94–95.

²⁴² A History of Japanese Religion. P. 426.

²⁴³ For example, such a number is indicated in the article: *Nelyubin P.G.* Western Education in Traditional Japan: Lessons of Jesuits // *Oriental Institute Journal*. Vladivostok, 2021. P. 66. A.F. Prasol also cites this number of primary schools, but with the caveat that “the exact number of schools is unknown”. See: *Prasol A.F.* The Forming of Japanese education (VIII–XIX centuries). P. 151.

²⁴⁴ *Elison George*. *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973. P. 408.

²⁴⁵ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 427.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* P. 428.

²⁴⁷ *Bertova A.D.* *Christians in Japan: Experience of Historical-Religious Analysis*. P. 17.

Christian faith and prepared for priestly and preaching service since childhood. In his report to the Society of Jesus' authorities Valignano noted that, firstly, founding seminaries in Japan will not let newly converted Japanese boys become disobedient and indulge their desires. Secondly, the study of Latin and other academic subjects would prepare the Japanese to the missionary work. Thirdly, founding seminaries was necessary to replace Buddhist education with the Christian²⁴⁸.

At the same time, it was necessary to facilitate the study of Japanese for the missionaries and enhance their knowledge in the language. A Japanese grammar book and a Japanese-Portuguese dictionary were written for this purpose by Valignano's order. This dictionary published in 1603²⁴⁹ contained many examples of colloquial expressions and about thirty thousand words related to a wide variety of topics²⁵⁰. The authors accomplished the tasks so successfully that the dictionary was republished in the 19th century. One of the editors was the priest and translator Joao Rodriguez. In 1604–1608 he also prepared and published a complete grammar book on the Japanese language “Arte da Lingo de Iapan”²⁵¹.

In 1580–1581, documents were adopted containing the fundamentals of Catholic education organization in Japan, primarily regarding seminaries for preparing local residents to the priestly work, namely “Private Regulations for the Mission Superior in Japan” and “Guiding Regulations for Seminaries”²⁵². In accordance with them the territory of Japan where the Catholic mission operated was to be divided into three districts. It was decided to establish seminaries in each of them for training the Japanese clergy and brothers of the Society: one for young men over 18 years old and two for boys under that age, in which only the sons of nobles would study²⁵³. Thus, Valignano intended to use the seminaries, among other things, to gain the Japanese influential feudal lords'

²⁴⁸ *Abé Takao*. The Jesuit Mission to New France. P. 95.

²⁴⁹ *Besstremyannaya G.E.* Christianity and the Bible in Japan: A Historical Essay and Linguistic Analysis. Moscow: Department for External Church Relations, Moscow Patriarchate, 2006. P. 86.

²⁵⁰ *Boxer Charles Ralph*. The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California press, 1967. P. 195.

²⁵¹ *Besstremyannaya G.E.* Op. cit. P. 86.

²⁵² A History of Japanese Religion. P. 429.

²⁵³ *Boxer Charles Ralph*. The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650. P. 87.

support. Due to unstable political situation in the country all educational institutions created had to be distributed²⁵⁴. Valignano stood for teaching the Japanese everything the Society was able to teach them. The curriculum of the seminaries had to include reading and writing in Japanese and Latin, humanities and other disciplines, including the education of virtue, teaching good manners and decent behavior. The textbooks used had to be compiled specially for the occasion, and the Jesuits could edit and arrange them according to their own judgement²⁵⁵.

But the original plans to create a number of seminaries training theology students were not realized. Two seminaries were opened: one of them in Azuchi (Azuchi seminario), and the other one in Arima (Arima seminario); due to political instability, these educational institutions changed their location several times. In Azuchi, the separate three-story building was constructed for the Seminary, as for Arima, the classes took place in a Buddhist temple building the local daimyo handed over to the mission²⁵⁶. Here the selected boys were educated by missionaries and their assistants for three years²⁵⁷ away from their parents. The Seminary program included the study of humanities, such as Latin, Japanese (the curriculum included 6.5 hours of Latin and 3 hours of Japanese on weekdays; on Saturdays the whole morning was devoted to the study of Latin and two hours in the evening to the study of Japanese²⁵⁸), literature and history, as well as mathematics and theological disciplines. In addition, music and painting was taught, students learned how to emboss on copper plates as well.

Seminaries encountered several difficulties during their functioning. Firstly, there were not enough teachers who knew both Japanese and Latin (although the level of Catholic missionaries' proficiency in Japanese increased, by 1592 only a small group of Jesuits knew the language well²⁵⁹); secondly, they were short on educational literature, and students "had to copy their teachers' textbooks"²⁶⁰. Many students had to be

²⁵⁴ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 429, 430.

²⁵⁵ *Boxer Charles Ralph*. The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650. P. 87.

²⁵⁶ *Prasol A.F.* The Forming of Japanese education (VIII–XIX centuries). P. 152.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ *Elison George*. Deus Destroyed... P. 408–410.

²⁵⁹ *Moran J.F.* The Japanese and the Jesuits. P. 175.

²⁶⁰ *Nelyubin P.G.* Western Education in Traditional Japan: Lessons of Jesuits. P. 66.

practically forced to study Latin, since they preferred to study Japanese classics at every opportunity²⁶¹.

In one of his letters the Catholic missionary Jesuit Francesco Pasio (1554–1612) described the educational process at the Seminary in Arima in 1594 as follows: “There were this year in the seminary about one hundred pupils divided into three classes of Latin, written and oral, of writing Japanese and Latin, and of chanting and playing musical instruments. Those of the first class can already compose and recite therein, reading some lessons in a masterly manner, and they can perform some dialogue plays in Latin. Twenty students will graduate this year... The painters and those who engrave in copper plates become daily more skillful, and their works are but little inferior to those which are brought from Rome”²⁶². A.F. Prasol gives the following data on the number of students in seminaries (without indicating the year of study): there are 22 students in Arima and 25–26 people in Azuchi²⁶³.

In 1580 St. Paul's College in Funai (Funai korejio) was opened, which would become the strongest point in the system of Christian education²⁶⁴. A Japanese man who had been educated in one of the seminaries and expressed a desire to become a Jesuit had to spend two years as a novitiate and then enter the college to study Philosophy and Theology²⁶⁵. The first students of the college were 8 Europeans who had to improve their knowledge of Japanese, for this reason they were educated in this language. As the first Japanese entered the college in 1583, Latin became the language of tuition²⁶⁶. In the same year Philosophy began to be taught at the college; a little later the students started to learn Theological disciplines.

In addition to seminaries and colleges, some studies mention other educational institutions organized by the Jesuits, such as novitiate (noviciado; for example, the novitiate in Usuki was founded in 1580²⁶⁷), the academy (non-religious high-level

²⁶¹ *Boxer Charles Ralph*. The Christian century in Japan 1549–1650. P. 206.

²⁶² *Ibid.* P. 205.

²⁶³ *Prasol A.F.* The Forming of Japanese education (VIII–XIX centuries). P. 152.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ *Elison George*. Deus Destroyed... P. 68.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.* P. 69.

²⁶⁷ *Nelyubin P.G.* Western Education in Traditional Japan: Lessons of Jesuits. P. 67.

schools; for example, the medical school-academy in Funai and the mathematic-astronomical academy in Kyoto²⁶⁸). It is necessary to mention the painting school (*seminario dei Pittori*) founded in Kumamoto around 1590, where the students were taught to paint in different techniques — from oil painting to watercolor. The tuition was guided by the Italian artist, Jesuit Giovanni Niccolò (1560–1626). Not only Japanese, but also Europeans and Chinese were educated in this institution. Over time, it became Asia's largest school of Western painting during that period.

At the end of the 16th century the Japanese authorities changed their attitude to Christian missionaries. In 1587, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣 秀吉, 1537–1598) issued the first rescript banning the Christian faith and Christian education. But these persecutions were local and episodic: during this period the number of converts grew faster than before increasing by 10,000 people each year²⁶⁹. After the edict was issued, several Franciscan monks arrived to Japan in 1593: despite the authorities' ban on open preaching, they began to preach in the streets. Additionally, conflicts over the influence in the country began between them and the Jesuits²⁷⁰, therefore the Japanese rulers' mistrust to Christian missionaries increased. As a result of this a new edict banning Christianity was adopted in 1597. Toyotomi Hideyoshi's successor, Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川 家康, 1543–1616) intensified the persecution of Japanese Christians: edicts prohibiting the Christian faith were adopted in 1606 and 1614. As a result Christian schools were closed throughout the country: by 1612 they remained only in Nagasaki²⁷¹, and after the edict of 1614 there was not a single open school in Japan with foreign missionaries as teachers.

After the Shimabara Rebellion of 1637–1638 the Japanese authorities decided to close the country for foreign influence. The widespread posters were hung up everywhere, one of which contained the following text: “So long as the sun shall continue to warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the King of

²⁶⁸ *Prasol A.F.* The Forming of Japanese education (VIII–XIX centuries). P. 153.

²⁶⁹ *Peery Rufus Benton.* The Gist of Japan; the Islands; their People and Missions. P. 151.

²⁷⁰ *Bertova A.D.* Christians in Japan: Experience of Historical-Religious Analysis. P. 19.

²⁷¹ *Prasol A.F.* The Forming of Japanese education (VIII–XIX centuries). P. 154.

Spain himself, or the Christians' God, or the great God of all, if He dare violate this command, shall pay for it with His Head”²⁷². This way the Catholic missionaries' almost century-long stay in Japan ended: their efforts in preaching the Christian faith were quite successful (according by some estimates, the number of Christians amounted to 500,000 people²⁷³). Although the educational activity was not the main direction of the Jesuits' missionary practice, it still played an important role in enlightening the Japanese, particularly introducing the achievements of Western civilization to them.

After the borders were closed, Japanese Christians tried to adhere to Christian traditions and customs. During the period of self-isolation of the country, in the absence of communication with Catholic priests and the impossibility of receiving instructions in faith from them, the meaning of some Christian practices and rituals was lost, and some Christian dogmas — about the meaning of the death and resurrection of Jesus, the dogma of the Trinity — underwent significant changes²⁷⁴. In this regard, it should be noted that after the opening of Japan and the arrival of Catholic missionaries in the country, not all “Hidden Christians” (Kakure Kirishitan) entered the bosom of the Catholic Church.

The second wave of Catholic missionaries' arrival began in October 1858 after signing the treaty between Japan and France. France was the only country with the Catholic population predominating that signed a treaty with Japan. The Paris Foreign Mission Society (Missions Étrangères de Paris, hereinafter referred to as MEP) was formally responsible for the Japanese mission as well as for the work of other Catholic missionaries in Asia. Before that, in 1846, the Apostolic vicariate of Japan was created, the jurisdiction of which extended over the entire territory of the country. A French priest Theodore-Augustin Forcade (1816–1885) was appointed the first vicar of Japan. This post was nominal²⁷⁵, since Forcade was not even able to arrive to the main part of the state as Japan was closed from the rest of the world. Nevertheless he lived on the Ryukyu Islands

²⁷² *Peery Rufus Benton*. Op. cit. P. 157.

²⁷³ *Grishelyova L.D.* Formation of Japanese National Culture. P. 25.

²⁷⁴ *Bertova A.D.* Distinctive Features of Religious Practices and Traditions of the “Hidden Christians” in Japan // *Vestnik of St. Petersburg University*. Series 9: Philology, Orientalism, Journalism. St. Petersburg, 2008. Issue 3. Vol. 1. P. 98.

²⁷⁵ *Besstremyannaya G.E.* Christianity and the Bible in Japan. P. 92.

for some time, trying to learn Japanese and get to the country through this island kingdom²⁷⁶.

In 1855, three Catholic priests arrived to the Okinawa Island: Eugene Emmanuel Mermet-Cachon (1828–1889), Prudence Seraphin-Barthelemy Girard (1821–1867) and Louis-Theodore Furet (1816–1900). For two years of living there they have not managed to convert any of the locals to Christianity, but succeeded in learning Japanese. Mermet-Cachon accompanied French diplomatic representative as an interpreter during the negotiations with the Japanese authorities and became the first Catholic priest who visited Edo after the 17th century²⁷⁷. After opening the French diplomatic mission in Japan a chaplain was appointed to the mission. It was Prudence Seraphin-Barthélemy Girard (he arrived there in September 1859²⁷⁸), whose main task was to spiritually nourish foreign Catholics. In November 1859, E.E. Mermet-Cachon came to Hakodate for the same purposes. Like others Christian missionaries, they could not preach openly and directly, so they acted cautiously: their efforts were concentrated on learning Japanese, nourishing the foreigners and teaching the Japanese the French language. In 1860 Mermet-Cachon opened the first French language school in Hakodate²⁷⁹; similar schools were founded in other ports opened for foreigners²⁸⁰, however, such schools were not so widely distributed as the English language schools.

In February 1865, the French priest Bernard Thaddée Petitjean (1829–1884) sanctified the 26 Japan Martyr Saints' church in Nagasaki, called in honor of the Japanese Christians crucified in Nagasaki in the late 16th century. In the following month the “discovery of Hidden Christians” took place in this church: a group of elderly Japanese women approached Petitjean with questions about his faith. After his explanations, the

²⁷⁶ *Lehmann Jean-Pierre*. French Catholic Missionaries in Japan in the Bakumatsu and Early Meiji Periods // Religions and Missionaries around Pacific, 1500–1900 / ed. by Tanya Storch (The Pacific World: Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500–1900). L.: Routledge, 2006. P. 53.

²⁷⁷ *Drummond Richard Henry*. A History of Christianity in Japan. Grand Rapids: WB Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1971. P. 301.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 498.

²⁸⁰ *Hecken Joseph Leonard van*. The Catholic Church in Japan since 1859. Tokyo: Herder Agency, 1963. P. 156.

Japanese women declared themselves Christians: “The heart of all of us here is the same as yours”²⁸¹. Thus, the Catholic missionaries’ hope to find the remnants of Catholic Christians somewhere in Japan from the 16th and 17th centuries, was justified. Several thousand “Hidden Christians” made up the initial flock of the Catholic Church in Japan (the number of believers, according to missionaries’ estimates, accounted for about 20 thousand²⁸²): they had to be instructed in the faith. A short catechism and a prayer book were prepared for them. Special terminology used there subsequently became traditional among the “secret Christians”²⁸³.

The arrival of so many believers to the church (1,500 people attended the church in Nagasaki²⁸⁴ on Holy Thursday and Good Friday in 1865), active “hidden” preaching of Japanese catechists who visited Hizen Province (in 1868 they reported on over 2,000 converts in Urakami, over 1,500 converts in Fukabori, etc.²⁸⁵), and foreign missionaries’ secret visits to populated areas²⁸⁶ soon attracted the authorities’ attention. The following persecution of Catholic Christians that followed reached its peak in 1869. Many Christians became victims of physical violence and went to prison. Thousands had to leave their native lands forced into exile (by 1870 more than three thousand Catholic Christians had been banished from Urakami to other parts of Japan²⁸⁷). Persecution provoked a negative reaction from some foreign representatives in Japan. This issue was also raised during the visit of the Japanese missions headed by Iwakura Tomomi to America and Europe (1871–1873), when it faced criticism of the Japanese laws against Christianity. These reproaches became a significant reason for lifting the ban on Christianity in February 1873²⁸⁸.

²⁸¹ *Drummond Richard Henry*. A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 303.

²⁸² *Ibid.* P. 304.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Cary Otis*. Japan and its Regeneration. New York: Laymen’s missionary movement, 1899. P. 80.

²⁸⁵ A Brief Essay on the Spread of Christianity / Translated from Japanese by Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) / RGIA (Russian State Historical Archive). F. 796. Inv. 205. C. 490. L. 3, 7.

²⁸⁶ *Lehmann Jean-Pierre*. French Catholic Missionaries in Japan. P. 59.

²⁸⁷ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 500.

²⁸⁸ *Jansen Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan. P. 463.

The first attempts to translate and publish in Japanese the works by Catholic authors date back to 1865. Girard published a brochure “Explanation of the Christian Doctrine Fundamentals” which was a literal translation of the Chinese edition into Japanese²⁸⁹. After some time, in 1868, the work “Fundamentals of Christianity”²⁹⁰ was published.

Until 1873 the Catholic missions were not active in the educational work. In 1866, thanks to the assistance of a French diplomatic representative, permission was obtained from the Japanese government to open a Franco-Japanese school in Yokohama. But these plans were not realized due to the political instability at the end of the bakufu reign²⁹¹. In 1865, realizing that the future church organization of Japan needed local priests, the Catholic missionaries attempted to prepare candidates for the local clergy: Petitjean selected three young men whom he hoped to consecrate as priests and settled them in his attic as servants. Later 10 more people joined them, and the missionaries Joseph-Marie Laucaigne (1838–1885) and Jules-Alphonse Cousin (1842–1911) taught them Catholic catechism and Latin²⁹². In 1868 the beginning persecution of Catholic Christians forced the missionaries to send some of their students to MEP College in Penang, in 1870 the remaining part went to Shanghai and then to Hong Kong²⁹³. In 1871 most of them were returned to Yokohama and continued their education in a kind of Seminary functioning in one of the buildings the missionaries lived in. The priest Marc Marie de Rotz (1840–1914) was appointed as the leader. His task was “establishing a dormitory under the roof of the house”²⁹⁴. Some of the students continued their studies at the MEP College in Penang and then returned to Tokyo in 1873.

At the end of 1871, a missionary priest Henry Armbruster has opened a language school in Tokyo. Some of its 130 students were high-ranking officials²⁹⁵. In 1873 a Seminary was formed on the basis of this school. At the very beginning the Seminary was called “Franco-Latin School”. There were about 40 students, about half of which were

²⁸⁹ *Besstremyannaya G.E.* Christianity and the Bible in Japan. P. 92.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Hecken Joseph Leonard van.* The Catholic Church in Japan since 1859. P. 156.

²⁹² *Ibid.* P. 222.

²⁹³ *Drummond Richard Henry.* A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 307.

²⁹⁴ *Hecken Joseph Leonard van.* Op. cit. P. 226.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* P. 157.

non-Christians. Studying French and Latin, all the students above the certain grade were required to speak Latin even during their free time²⁹⁶.

In 1876 the territory of Japan was divided into Apostolic Vicariates of Southern Japan and Northern Japan. After the division the Tokyo Seminary students from the southern regions were called back to continue their studies at the Seminary in Nagasaki opened in 1875. From that time until 1890 there were two theological seminaries, namely in Tokyo and Nagasaki. In 1890 Pierre-Marie Osouf (1829–1906) was appointed as the head of the Apostolic Vicariate of Northern Japan. It was decided to send all the students from this vicariate to be trained in Nagasaki, and the Tokyo Seminary ceased to function until 1914. The theological school in Nagasaki continued functioning: in different years, from 40 to 70 people studied there²⁹⁷. The first Japanese Catholic priests graduated from this school in December 1882, namely Pierre Fukahori Tatsuemon, Dominic Ariyasu Hidenoshin and Jean-Baptiste Takaki Gentaro.

In addition to the theological seminaries in Yokohama, Tokyo and Nagasaki, similar educational institutions were founded in different years in Osaka (operated from 1876 to 1882), Sendai (opened in 1901), and Sapporo (opened after 1912)²⁹⁸. But the number of students in each theological school was rather small: it accounted for about 10 people. Therefore, the Nagasaki Seminary can be considered the center of Catholic clergy training from 1875 to 1912: for 50 years, 288 people graduated from the Seminary, 63 of whom became clergymen²⁹⁹.

The Japanese catechists' active preaching was one of the Catholic Church's missionary activity methods. They were important and absolutely essential assistants in the 1860s and 1870s, when the missionaries' knowledge of the Japanese language was still insufficient and their access to the interior of Japan was hampered significantly. In addition, catechists navigated the complex structure of Japanese society and could find the necessary words about Christianity for the representatives of each class. There were

²⁹⁶ *Hecken Joseph Leonard van*. *The Catholic Church in Japan since 1859*. P. 228.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.* P. 232.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* P. 234–236.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.* P. 233.

men and women among the catechists: in the 1870s about 230 Japanese preachers of both genders helped the missionaries to preach³⁰⁰. Undoubtedly, they needed to be trained, and the special educational institutions were created for this purpose: for example, in 1876 three schools were organized in Tokyo where Japanese preachers were trained³⁰¹. After the training of two lessons a day, which usually took about five months³⁰², the catechists not only preached to non-Christians, but also catechized the existing flock.

In contrast to Protestant missions, the Catholics had not particularly developed their activities in higher and secondary education until the beginning of the 20th century. This was primarily due to the fact that Catholic missionaries mainly concentrated their efforts on creating schools for the poor (“underprivileged”) class in small settlements, often located in remote parts of the Japanese provinces (in 1877, there were about 1,200 Japanese Catholics in the Northern Vicariate, the number of them in the Southern Vicariate amounted to about 16.6 thousand people living near Nagasaki³⁰³). People from these village, as a rule, were not rich and their level education was comparatively low. In this regard, it was important and necessary at that time to create schools that would provide elementary knowledge in addition to the basics of the Christian faith. This requirement primarily applied to the girls’ and young women’s education.

At the same time, one cannot fail to note the efforts of Catholic missionaries to organize educational institutions for girls and young women. The Sisters of the Infant Jesus (L'Institut des Soeurs de l'Enfant Jesus), or the Saint-Maur Sisters (Dames de Saint-Maur) were invited to Japan to organize such schools. In 1872 a group of French nuns headed by Mother Mathilde Raclot (1814–1911) arrived at Yokohama and opened a girls’ school (now the International School of St. Maur)³⁰⁴. They had founded similar schools in Tokyo and Kobe³⁰⁵ by 1877 and in Shizuoka³⁰⁶ in 1903. These schools offered both daytime and boarding options. The education given there was valued not only in Japan,

³⁰⁰ *Drummond Richard Henry*. A History of Christianity in Japan. P. 308.

³⁰¹ *Lehmann Jean-Pierre*. French Catholic Missionaries in Japan. P. 67.

³⁰² *Drummond Richard Henry*. Op. cit. P. 308.

³⁰³ *Lehmann Jean-Pierre*. Op. cit. P. 64.

³⁰⁴ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 504.

³⁰⁵ *Lehmann Jean-Pierre*. Op. cit. P. 64.

³⁰⁶ *Hecken Joseph Leonard van*. Op. cit. P. 158.

but also abroad. Bishop Nickolas (Kasatkin) mentioned in his diary that in 1899 4 Russian Orthodox girls were studying at a boarding school in Tokyo³⁰⁷.

The Sisters of the Child Jesus (Soeurs de l'Enfant-Jésus de Chauffailles) were another female monastic order opening girls' schools³⁰⁸. In 1877 several nuns of this order came to Japan and settled in Kobe, where they subsequently organized an orphanage and a girls' school (in 1899 it was named St. Mary's School). In 1886 they opened girls' schools in Nagasaki and Kyoto, in 1889 in Kumamoto and in 1890 in Urakami³⁰⁹. The Sisters of St. Paul's Church of Chartres (Soeurs de Saint-Paul de Chartres) worked in the Vicariate of Northern Japan. They arrived to Hakodate in 1878 and opened several girls' schools on the islands of Hokkaido and Honshu³¹⁰.

The Congregation des Soeurs, Amantes de la Croix created by Japanese religious women and its activities deserve some special attention. The society was formed in Urakami under the leadership of de Rotz, a Catholic missionary³¹¹. Initially the purpose of this society was to help victims (mainly children, the elderly and the sick) of the dysentery epidemic, the people persecuted in the late 1860s etc. The sisters' society operated in Nagasaki Prefecture, creating orphanages, shelters and elderly care centers. An important area of this society's activity was creating schools for education of Christian children and girls' handicraft (housekeeping) schools³¹². Along with Christian doctrine, the educational institution students were taught the basics of modern agriculture and various crafts, such as net knitting, weaving, sewing, etc., in other words, those skills that would be useful to them for life in the village. Thus, the Japanese Christians directly connected improving the social status of the poor through teaching them the necessary knowledge with the Catholic missionaries' activities and with the faith they preached. Undoubtedly, this connection influenced the Catholic Church's preaching positively.

³⁰⁷ Diary entry from April 5/17, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 687.

³⁰⁸ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 504.

³⁰⁹ *Hecken Joseph Leonard van*. Op. cit. P. 158–159.

³¹⁰ *Ibid*. P. 159.

³¹¹ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 500.

³¹² *Hecken Joseph Leonard van*. Op. cit. P. 159.

In addition to girls' schools, boys' Christian schools needed to be founded. The Marist Brothers of the Schools (*Fratres Maristae a Scholis*) invited to Japan for this purpose arrived to Tokyo in January 1887 and founded the boys' Gyosei School³¹³.

Until the late 1880s, the number of boys' and girls' primary schools grew rapidly: while in 1873 there were only 7 such schools for 215 students (6 boys' schools and 1 girls' school³¹⁴), by 1880 there were 67 Catholic schools with 3,159 students, and in 1887 93 schools educated 4,718 students³¹⁵. Appendix 2 provides the dynamics of the number of Catholic educational institutions during the period under review.

The Imperial Rescript on Education adopted in 1890 and the resolution adopted in 1899 prohibiting to admit children under 14 years old to private educational institutions negatively influenced the Catholic schools' functioning that provided primary education. All the primary schools came under the control of the Japanese Ministry of Education and teaching religion during regular school hours was prohibited. In addition, the rescript adopted in 1890 based the public school education on the elements of Shintoism. As a result, a large part of Catholic primary schools were closed, most successful ones were transformed into secondary schools (for example, the Gesei School or the Saint Maur Sisters' School) or to kindergartens, such as one of the schools in Urakami³¹⁶. By 1909, only 26 Catholic primary schools with 5,522 students functioned in Japan³¹⁷.

In contrast to the Protestants, the Catholic mission had not organized higher education institutions until 1908, when three Jesuit priests arrived to Japan whose names were Joseph Dahlman, James Rockliff and Henri Boucher. They began to create a Catholic university, which had to include four faculties, analogically to the existing Imperial University of Tokyo (Philosophical, Historical and Philological, Mathematical and Natural Science Faculty). The difficulties appeared in the process of the university creation, including those associated with implementation of the educational reforms in 1910, which led to strengthening the control over higher educational institutions. After

³¹³ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 504.

³¹⁴ *Hecken Joseph Leonard van*. Op. cit. P. 159.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.* P. 159–160.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.* P. 161.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

the main provisions of these reforms had been cancelled under public pressure and funding had been received from German believers in 1911 the building in Tokyo was acquired where the first Catholic higher educational institution named Jōchi daigaku, or Sophia University, was opened in 1913.

Women's higher education began to develop in 1908, when the members of the *Societas Sacratissimi Cordis* arrived for the purpose of founding a girls' Catholic high school in Japan. In April 1910 they opened the Seishin Jōshi Gakuin School in Tokyo, which included the kindergarten, the primary school and the high school for girls³¹⁸. In 1908, the Sisters opened a high school for girls in Akita³¹⁹.

To sum up the current paragraph, it can be noted that the mission of the Catholic Church in Japan, unlike that of the Protestant Church, was aimed mainly at direct evangelization of the population, and the educational activity was only a part of this process. Along with the direct preaching, charitable institutions played an important role in spreading the Catholic faith, for example, orphanages (in 1902 more than 20 of them raised and educated 1,560 children in Japan³²⁰), free pharmacies for the poor, hospitals and outpatient clinics (in 1903 such institutions provided assistance to about 50 thousand patients³²¹). In his diary Bishop Nicholas cites a case when 50 people in Kyoto were converted to the Catholic faith at the same time who saw the Catholic sisters' of mercy selfless service in an "infectious" hospital and stated that the Catholics "act not so much by teaching as by deeds"³²².

Conclusions for Chapter 1

In the first Chapter a comparative analysis of the Catholic and Protestant missions' educational activities was carried out the in the context of the Meiji government's

³¹⁸ A History of Japanese Religion. P. 504.

³¹⁹ *Hecken Joseph Leonard van*. Op. cit. P. 161.

³²⁰ *Bertova A.D.* Christians in Japan. P. 26.

³²¹ *Cary Otis*. Japan and its Regeneration. P. 82.

³²² Diary entry from February 3/15, 1897 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 255.

reforms, in particular, in the education system. As the result, the characteristic features, main directions and methods of their work were identified. For this purpose, the missionaries' actions when organizing the Christian elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities were studied and the approaches to their educational activities were compared.

1. It was revealed that before 1873 the main methods of conveying the gospel truths to the people of Japan were distributing the Christian authors' publications in Chinese and Dutch, teaching foreign languages and other subjects including in government schools of "Western disciplines", activities aimed at translating the Holy Scripture and assistance in directing the Japanese students to study in Europe and America. The Japanese believed that the main scientific and technical achievements came from English-speaking countries, and actively strove to learn English. The missionaries' teaching foreign languages provided an opportunity to interact with the Japanese and to introduce the Christian faith to them. This largely explains the successes of Protestant missionaries, most of whom were English-speaking, during this period.

2. The liberal reforms carried out by the Meiji government, first of all, in the education system, lifting the ban on Christian preaching in 1873, then abandonment of the policy of Western borrowings in the late 1880s significantly influenced the Christian education.

1870s and first half of the 1880s were the period of its various forms' flourishing. The new system was based on the Western models. In this regard that Christian missionaries were appointed as the Japanese government's consultants on education reform, and to leadership positions in new educational institutions, moreover, they participated in organizing the educational process in the institutions. The Meiji government policy and the implementation of Western scientific and technological achievements demanded the Japanese citizens' receiving good education only missionaries could provide at that time. This fact can be easily proved considering the organization of female education: Christian missionaries became pioneers in this direction and influenced the change in the Japanese society's attitude towards women.

Until the late 1880's, as missions actively sent their staff to Japan, the numbers of schools and students in them grew. The situation changed after adopting the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. The external and internal pressure associated with changes in the Japanese government's education policy and strengthening nationalistic tendencies in Japanese society made part of Christian schools, for example, University Doshisha, close or change their curricula.

The development of the Japanese educational system reduced the number of students in missionary schools as well. In 1899 a resolution was published that forbade teaching religion in educational institutions accredited by the state. These two documents determined the further development of Christian educational institutions led to further reorganization in the educational process and influenced the number of students. In 1903, some amendments made to this law revived the Christians missions' educational activities to a certain extent. In the early 1910s Japanese authorities admitted that teaching religion at schools had a beneficial effect on the young people's moral character³²³. This gave hope that religion would be given a place in the Japanese educational system and the cooperation between Christian missions and the government would develop.

3. It was revealed that Catholic and Protestant missions applied their efforts in different directions, largely due to differences in the approaches of the missions to the Christian education of the country and the specifics of the addressee of the mission, first of all, its belonging to the social strata of Japanese society. For the Catholic mission, educational activity, although inseparable from missionary activity, still did not have such an influence on preaching as among the Protestants; Catholic missionaries focused primarily on the creation of charitable institutions. Since the majority of the Catholic Church's flock belonged to the lower and middle classes³²⁴ and the Catholic missionaries preached mainly in rural areas, there was an urgent need the organize primary schools. Unlike Catholics, Protestants considered educational and, more broadly, enlightenment

³²³ Barton James L. *Educational Missions*. P. 176.

³²⁴ Diary entry from April 9/21, 1884 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*: In 10 volumes. Volume 4: *Diaries (1870–1888)*. Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2020. 780 p. (hereinafter referred to as *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 4). P. 562.

activities to be fundamental to the evangelization of Japan. Because they were active among the upper and educated classes of Japanese society, therefore they concentrated on organizing missionary high schools and then higher educational institutions, thereby offering the Japanese higher level of education. As their graduates were appointed to better-paid positions, Japanese boys and girls were eager to study in these schools. In addition, Protestants often held teaching positions in Japanese public and private educational institutions. Under their teachers' influence students accepted the Christian faith and began preaching.

The social status of the students determined the direction of the female education development as well. Protestant missionaries concentrated their efforts on organizing the girls' secondary schools (boarding schools) in large Japanese cities. Girls' primary and secondary schools opened by Catholic missionaries supplemented the home needlework schools or home economics schools in rural areas, where along with the basics of the Christian faith girls studied crafts and received practical skills that helped them to gain a profession and improve their social status.

The organization of theological education was the one of the directions developed by both Christian missions. Catholic missionaries began to work in this field in the late 1860s by opening the secret training for the future clergy and sending their students to Catholic educational institutions in other countries. After the ban was lifted, they established several theological seminaries in different years. Most of these seminaries functioned for a relatively short period of time. Protestant missions formed specialized theological seminaries and organized theological faculties at universities. But it should be noted that there were relatively few students in theological schools: in 1906, 11 Protestant theological schools educated 123 people³²⁵.

Thus, it can be concluded that educational activities were closely connected with the work of preachers evangelizing Japan: they considered this direction as part of a single activity aimed at achieving one definite, clearly formulated goal, namely the constant

³²⁵ *Peery Rufus Benton*. *The Gist of Japan*. P. 180, 184–185, 186, 187.

striving to establish the Kingdom of Heaven³²⁶. Foreign missionaries sought to develop all forms of educational institutions, but success of their actions depended on external factors, mainly related to the Japanese government's policy and the Japanese citizens' desire to receive formal Western education.

³²⁶ *Barton James L. Educational Missions. P. 2.*

CHAPTER 2. NICHOLAS OF JAPAN'S, EQUAL-TO-THE-APOSTLES, PEDAGOGY: THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The previous chapter's analysis of non-Orthodox missions' work in organizing educational institutions resulted in identifying the directions of the missionaries' activity and their main practical approaches to it, as well as in characterizing the influence of the Christian missions' educational activities on the process of evangelizing Japan. It was shown that the Japanese government policy, in particular in the field of education, were one of the most important factors that influenced this process.

A characteristic feature of the non-Orthodox missions' work in the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century is engaging a large number of male and female missionaries in the sphere of education the majority of whom had practical experience in organizing educational institutions and teaching in them. Another characteristic feature is the use of significant financial resources received from foreign missionary institutions.

The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, on the contrary, did not have such a large number of missionaries (see: Appendix 3), its financial resources were limited as well; most of the mission members did not have practical experience, some of them were not theoretically trained enough to organize the educational process. Therefore, it is necessary to form a comprehensively overview the process of forming the mission head's, namely St. Nicholas of Japan's, Equal-to-the-Apostles, pedagogical views, about his approaches to educational activities and views on this work from a theological point of view. Undoubtedly, the main provisions of the Orthodox mission founder's and permanent head's pedagogy; his plans for the organization of missionary schools; his views on what an Orthodox missionary and teacher should be like influenced all the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's activities in Japan.

2.1. Nicholas of Japan's, Equal-to-the-Apostles, pedagogical views formation

Four interrelated stages can be identified in the formation and development of St. Nicholas of Japan's, pedagogical views. The first of them is childhood, adolescence and student life (1836–1860); the second one is accumulating the practical experience and developing educational work organizing ideas for Japan based on it (1861–1870); the third stage is the period of these ideas' energetic implementation (1871–1895); the fourth is the maturity stage characterized by a gradual departure from active teaching (1895–1912).

The influence of upbringing and education on the genesis of St. Nicholas' worldview was especially evident at the initial stage of his life. The future enlightener of Japan lost his mother Ksenia early: she died when the boy was 5 years old. One of the entries in his diary for 1872 dedicated to the difficult moment of the Japanese mission's beginning mentioned the lack of maternal affection St. Nicholas had experienced in childhood³²⁷.

Little Vanya was mainly raised by his Father, deacon Dmitry Kasatkin. In the first half of the 19th century, the life of a rural deacon's family in the Smolensk hinterland was not easy: the financial support of the clergy was insufficient. Particularly, the parish of the Ascension Church in the village of Bereza where Dimitry Kasatkin had been the deacon since 1828 was not rich³²⁸. In addition, the Father of the Kasatkin family was very ill, and they were constantly in need³²⁹. Undoubtedly, Vanya helped with some household chores and in the church (probably as a chorister³³⁰). Difficulties and adversities experienced in childhood formed the determination, purposefulness and persistency in

³²⁷ Diary entry from December 20, 1871 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 35.

³²⁸ *Redkov N.N.* Historical and Statistical Description of Churches and Parishes Smolensk Diocese: Issue 1. Belsky district. Smolensk: type. P.A. Silin, 1915. Pp. 295, 299.

³²⁹ *Kazem-Bek, A.* Apostle of Japan, Archbishop Nicholas (Kasatkin). (100th Anniversary of Orthodoxy in Japan) // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1960. No. 7. P. 44.

³³⁰ Diary entry from June 29 / July 11, 1880 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 277.

the character of the Saint, and the upbringing the Father gave him laid the solid spiritual and moral foundations of his personality.

Upon receiving the primary education, Ivan Kasatkin was sent to a Theological Schools in the Smolensk province: probably, at first it was the Vyazma district school³³¹. After 1849 when the educational institution in Bely was reopened he began to study there. Ivan belonged to needy students and “endured hardships, hunger and cold for years”³³², as stated by a researcher of his life. Perhaps, memorizing this, since 1909 Bishop Nicholas helped the same students of the Belsky Theological School as he had been himself sixty years ago³³³. Currently it is difficult to find out how he studied at this theological school. The official report by the Belsky School auditor for 1851 indicated that the educational process was in “complete order, and the teachers were capable and diligent in their work”³³⁴.

Upon graduation Ivan was sent to receive secondary theological education at public expense at the Smolensk Seminary. In 1857 he graduated from the Seminary. At that time, this educational institution taught quite a big number of students: the number of them ranged from 400 to 600 people³³⁵. According to the theological education reforms adopted in 1809–1814 and in 1839, a six-year term of study was established at the Seminary. Along with theological subjects, general education subjects were also taught.

In 1853 a Missionary department was opened at the Smolensk Seminary to prepare the best students of the higher department “for the struggle against schismatics”. The department existed until the 1857/1858 academic year³³⁶. It has not yet been possible to determine exactly whether Ivan Kasatkin attended classes there, since education in the department took place on a voluntary basis. Indirect evidence of his attending missionary classes is Ivan’s recollection that he heard about a member of the Beijing Ecclesiastical

³³¹ *Speransky I.P.* Essay on the History of the Smolensk Theological Seminary and the Schools under its Jurisdiction from the Time of the Founding of the Seminary until its Transformation Charter of 1867. (1728–1868). Smolensk: Type. E.P. Poznyakova, 1892. P. 374.

³³² *Kazem-Bek A.* Op. cit. P. 44.

³³³ *Redkov N.N.* Op. cit. P. 301.

³³⁴ *Speransky I.P.* Op. cit. P. 377–378.

³³⁵ *Ibid.* P. 295.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* P. 293.

Mission Hieromonk Isaiah (Polikin) from a Smolensk Seminary professor, and thought about missionary work himself for the first time³³⁷.

The students of the Theological Seminary were mostly taught using the teachers' "notes", in other words, abbreviated summaries of academic lectures. Printed manuals for teachers and students existed in "very few subjects"³³⁸, which undoubtedly had a negative impact on the educational process. Although there was a good library at the theological school, but the student library from where students could borrow books appeared only in 1854–1855.

Almost all members of the Smolensk Seminary's teaching staff during the period of St. Nicholas' studies had graduated from theological academies. The historian of Russian theological education N.Yu. Sukhova noted that due to the lack of teaching methodology in academies, "after becoming a teacher every academy graduate kept to his own teaching method or did not keep to any, leading students by touch"³³⁹. Since St. Nicholas hardly recalled his Smolensk Seminary studies in his diary entries, it is difficult to identify the teachers who could influence the formation of his pedagogical views. Among the mentors of the theological school the following are worth mentioning: the Church history teacher Alexander Ye. Poznyshev (1814–1885), the Holy Scripture Explanation professor and future rector Daniil P. Lebedev (1825–1888), the Seminary inspector and practice teacher of the Missionary department Hieromonk Victorin (Lyubimov; 1821–1882) and some others.

The latter's name can be found in St. Nicholas' diaries³⁴⁰. Hieromonk Victorin was an inspector of the Smolensk Seminary since 1853. In 1857 he was appointed to a similar

³³⁷ Letter from Archbishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the editor-in-chief from the magazine "Svetoch i Dnevnik Pisatelya" A.V. Kruglov dated May 12/25, 1910 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 3: Letters (1860–1911). M.: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2019. 756 p. (hereinafter referred to as Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan Vol. 3). P. 608.

³³⁸ *Speransky I.P.* Op. cit. P. 290.

³³⁹ *Sukhova N.Yu.* On the Pedagogic Training of Graduates of Higher Theological Academic Centers within the Context of Reforms of the 18th to the 20th centuries // St. Tikhon's University Review. Series IV: Pedagogy. Psychology. Moscow, 2007. Issue 3 (6). P. 77.

³⁴⁰ Diary entry from June 3/15, 1880 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 256; Diary entry for June 20/July 3, 1902 // Diaries of St. Nicholas of Japan / Comp. K.

position at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, where Ivan Kasatkin had just begun his studies. Contemporaries noted fr. Victorin's rigor and exactingness to the students' observing the moral rules³⁴¹. One of his pedagogical works, "The True Friend of a Spiritual Youth"³⁴², contained practical instructions for theological school students based on his observations of the Seminary students' "actions". A researcher of the Smolensk Theological School history I.P. Speransky noted that the Hieromonk Victorin's supervision of the students was very strict³⁴³. But at the same time it was thanks to his activities that a student library was formed at the Seminary, living conditions for students were improved, and positive changes occurred in the students' observance of the discipline.

According to St. Nicholas, he "stayed" with Bishop Victorin in Kazan during his visit to Russia in 1869–1871. This fact may indicate their friendly disposition towards each other. It can be assumed that the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission could refer to the experience of his senior colleague and mentor during the Tokyo Seminary guidance. Many of the Saint's co-workers noted, along with his kindness and responsiveness, his exactingness and strictness towards those whom he would like to educate in this way³⁴⁴. This character features manifested, first of all, in St Nicholas' controlling Tokyo Theological schools students' and teachers' observance of moral rules. The head of the mission wrote about it in 1894 in his letter to John Senuma, the future Tokyo Seminary rector, pointing out, among other things, numerous violations in discipline, academic and educational process caused by the teachers' "weakness".

The years spent at the Smolensk Seminary had a significant impact on the formation of both personality traits and the worldview of St. Nicholas, as well as his

Nakamura. St. Petersburg: Hyperion, 2004. Vol. 4. (hereinafter referred to as Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4). P. 649.

³⁴¹ *Speransky I.P.* Op. cit. P. 313.

³⁴² *Victorin (Lyubimov), Archimandrite. A True Friend of a Spiritual Youth: Practical Instructions for Students of Theological Schools / [Comp.] Archim. Victorin, Inspectors of St. Petersburg Theological Academy.* St. Petersburg: print. Koroleva and Co., 1858. 263 p.

³⁴³ *Speransky I.P.* Op. cit. P. 324.

³⁴⁴ Letter from I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma) to S.A. Rachinsky / OR RNB. F. 631. Unit of storage. 90. L. 77 rev.; *Pozdneev D.M.* Archbishop Nicholas of Japan: (Memoirs and Characteristic). SPb.: Synod. type., 1912. P. 2.

pedagogical views. Much later, remembering his Seminary studies on the Memorial Day of St. Abraham Smolensky, St Nicholas declared this Saint the patron and intercessor for the Theological school in Tokyo³⁴⁵.

In 1857, after graduating from the Smolensk Theological Seminary one of the first, Ivan Kasatkin was sent to the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, where he studied until 1860. Then he was tonsured on his own request and sent to Japan to serve at the consulate in Hakodate as a priest. It is interesting that when the Holy Synod discussed sending him to Japan, some of its members objected pointing out that he was too young³⁴⁶, had not completed the academic course and had not submitted a qualifying essay. He was appointed to Japan and awarded the Candidate in Theology on the personal request of Metropolitan Gregory of Novgorod and St. Petersburg (Postnikov; 1784–1860). However, it should be mentioned that the academy students not having completed the course were sometimes sent to serve in other countries at that time: for example, a few years before Hieromonk Isaiah (Polikin)³⁴⁷ became a member of the XIV Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission still studying at the academy.

The announcement of a new domestic policy course by Emperor Alexander II in the middle of the 19th century and the subsequent “Great reforms” implementation affected all the aspects of the Russian state life, including the public life in the country. The desire for change, open discussion of problems and the search for solutions have penetrated into the Church environment as well. The issues of the Church’s interior governance, its relations with the state and financial support for the parish clergy became actively discussed among the hierarchy, clergy, and laity. Simultaneously the role of the Orthodox Church in general and of the parish priesthood in particular in upbringing and school education was widely discussed; the subject of discussions included, among other

³⁴⁵ Diary entry from August 21 / September 2, 1897 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 374.

³⁴⁶ Memories of the Right Reverend Nicholas, Missionary to Japan (from Diaries of Archimandrite Andronicus) // Pravoslavny Sobesednik. Kazan, 1900. October. P. 432.

³⁴⁷ *Khokhlov A.N.* Isaiah (Polikin) [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://www.pravenc.ru/text/674840.html> (date accessed: 01.05.2024).

things, the missionary and educational activities of the Church³⁴⁸. These discussions were reflected by new spiritual and social magazines that began to be published in major cities of the country, such as “Orthodox Review”, “Spiritual Conversation”, “Strannik”. The articles and notes by prominent clergymen, public figures and scholars were published there.

The Russian pedagogical thought was developing rapidly in the middle of the 19th century: specialized magazines on education were published (for example, “Journal for Education”, “Russian Pedagogical Bulletin”) where the founders of Russian scientific pedagogy (for example, K.D. Ushinsky) began to publish their works. The publication of “Spiritual Conversation” was begun in 1858 after the arrival of Metropolitan Gregory (Postnikov) to the pre-eminent department. The materials on religious pedagogy were published there.

Of course, these changes influenced the academic life as well: the academy students fervently discussed the upcoming changes in state and Church life, and in these disputes and conversations, according to St. Nicholas, “only holy, pure, noble things have always poured out for life, like sparkling sparks from flint and steel”³⁴⁹.

The academy studies were relatively easy for the future missionary Ivan Kasatkin: according to the exam results he was among the top ten students of the course doing his best in historical disciplines. Later, in Japan, studying the history of the “Land of the Rising Sun” and traditional Japanese beliefs will become an important stage in his preparation for active missionary and educational activities. It should be noted that it remains unclear whether student Ivan Kasatkin attended the classes at the missionary

³⁴⁸ For more details, see, for example: *Rimsky S.V.* The Russian Church in the Era of Great Reforms (Church Reforms in Russia in the 1860s — 1870s). Moscow, 1999. 567 p.; *Tsybin Vladislav, Archpriest.* History of the Russian Orthodox Church. Synodal Period. Modern Period. Moscow: Publishing house of the Educational Committee of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2004. 839 p.

³⁴⁹ Jubilee Greeting of the Theological Academy on its Centenary, 17 December 1909. Cit. by: *Malyarov S.* Our Graduate, Apostle of Japan, Saint Nickolas [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://spbda.ru/publications/nash-vypuschnik-apostol-yaponii-svyatoy-Nickolas> (date of access: 05/05/2024).

department of the academy, because this course was optional and the preserved materials do not contain his grade for this subject³⁵⁰.

Although one of the main tasks of the Theological Academy was to prepare teachers for other theological schools, the educational institution did not have a pedagogical class as such. N. Yu. Sukhova notes that the academies lacked decent teaching materials on pedagogy; any curriculum for such a discipline did not exist as well. There was also no professional specialization in methods of teaching academic subjects³⁵¹, the attempts to carry out practical classes in pedagogy were fragmentary³⁵². Thus it can be concluded that since the preparation for the future pedagogical field was insufficient, each academy graduate had to develop his own approaches to the educational process organization, independently, basing on the own practical experience and on the pedagogical experience of mentors and colleagues.

The Academy was a place where St. Nicholas could observe his mentors' teaching methods borrowing their basic approaches to teaching.

Archimandrite Feofan (Govorov, 1815–1894), the future Recluse of Vyshensk, was the rector of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy during the period from 1857 to 1859. It can be assumed that some of the rector's pedagogical views and approaches influenced the further formation of St. Nicholas' views. St. Theophan's contemporaries and co-workers recalled that, being the rector, "he was the leader and Father for the academy students and treated them like a Father treats his children"³⁵³. The academy students trusted their rector and freely turned to him with all their needs and doubts³⁵⁴.

³⁵⁰ *Karpuk D.A.* St. Petersburg Theological Academy during the Period Teachings of St. Nicholas of Japan // *Spiritual Heritage of the Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: On the Centenary of his Death. Collection of Scientific Works Conferences / Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary; Institute of Asian and African Countries at Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov.* Moscow: OOO "Publishing House PENATES", 2012. P. 139.

³⁵¹ *Sukhova N.Yu.* On the Pedagogic Training of Graduates of Higher Theological Academic Centers. P. 73–74.

³⁵² *Ibid.* P. 76.

³⁵³ *Klyucharev A.S.* His Eminence Theophan the Recluse and his Pastoral Activity // *Pravoslavny Sobesednik.* 1904, September. P. 633–664.

³⁵⁴ *Georgy (Tertyshnikov), Archimandrite.* The Light of the Russian Land. Life and the Activities of Saint Theophan the Recluse // *Theological Works.* Moscow, 1990. No. 30. P. 161.

Probably, Ivan Kasatkin was among such students. His perceiving the rector's "paternal attitude" towards his students was confirmed by the recollections of St. Nicholas' co-workers and students from theological schools of Tokyo. One of the Tokyo Seminary graduates Sergei Shoji wrote the brochure "How I became a Christian" claiming that the head of the Seminary Bishop Nicholas had not strictly official, but close, almost family-like relationships with his students. "At the same time, they addressed him without any fear and with the feeling with which children expect their Father to resolve their mutual misunderstandings"³⁵⁵.

Like that of St. Theophan, St. Nicholas' Equal-to-the-Apostles attitude towards teaching his students to preach was the most serious. Their views are also close in relation to how a teacher should behave with students. St. Theophan wrote about the education methods in such a way: "Dissolve the strictness of power in meekness, try to earn love with love, true kindness does not shy away from a strict word as well"³⁵⁶. In a letter to the future rector of the Tokyo Seminary John Kawamoto (Senuma), St. Nicholas advised him to emanate love onto his students, but to be firm at the same time.

During Ivan Kasatkin's studies at the Theological Academy famous scholars and theologians taught there, for example, M.O. Koyalovich (1828–1891), who, according to contemporaries, "possessed a remarkable gift of speech as well as historical and philosophical mindset"³⁵⁷. Teaching Russian Civil history, he enjoyed authority among his students and colleagues. The students listened to his lectures with delight. In 1880, while in St. Petersburg at the Academy, the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan wrote in his diary: "When reading the speech, I tried to go back to the old days and imagine that I was listening to Mih[ail] O[sipovi]ch as a student; the charm was complete, his voice was exactly the same"³⁵⁸. The lectures by historian and publicist A.I. Predtechensky, Philosophy professor V.N. Karpov, church historian and publicist

³⁵⁵ *Shoji Sergiy*. How I Became a Christian: The Story of Sergei Shoji. St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1892. P. 34.

³⁵⁶ *Theophan, Bishop*. Letters on Spiritual Life. 3rd Athonite ed. Panteleimon Monastery. M., 1897. P. 85.

³⁵⁷ *Katansky A.L.* Memories of an Old Professor. From 1847 to 1913. Nizhny Novgorod, 2010. P. 103.

³⁵⁸ Diary entry from February 17/29, 1880 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 138.

I.A. Chistovich, I.V. Cheltsov and some other teachers were listened to with special attention as well. Undoubtedly, St. Nicholas borrowed the necessary material from his notes taken during these lectures when starting his teaching career in Japan. Tokyo theological schools also used textbooks by teachers from the St. Petersburg Academy. For example, the Tokyo Seminary used “Experimental Psychology Course” written by I.A. Chistovich³⁵⁹ when teaching psychology.

The memories of St. Petersburg Academy students about the future ArchBishop of Japan are noteworthy. His classmates described him as “the most cheerful and carefree inspirer of visits to dance evenings and theaters, the organizer of private feast visits”³⁶⁰. There were others descriptions. In 1858 the student Ivan Kasatkin began to supervise a Nizhny Novgorod Theological Seminary graduate Alexander Katansky. Later Katansky described his “elder” as “a man... very unsociable and therefore not enjoying our sympathies”³⁶¹. Although later, after their meeting during St Nicholas's visit to Russia in 1869-1871, Katansky changed his opinion to the opposite and described the missionary as a completely different person³⁶².

Based on what was said above we can conclude that studies in St. Petersburg Theological Academy became an important stage in forming St. Nicholas of Japan’s pedagogical views. He highly appreciated the role of his alma mater in shaping his personality. “You expand ... mental horizon, you form... character, temper ... will, and most importantly, you cultivate the ideals in the depths of ... soul with which they must enter the life. And you don’t abandon your pupils after they leave your walls but you accompany them throughout their entire lives”³⁶³, he wrote in his congratulatory message

³⁵⁹ Petition to the Economic Administration of the Holy Synod, 1877 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 1: Official Correspondence (1860–1883). 2nd ed. revised and enlarged. M: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2022. 498 p. (hereinafter referred to as Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1). P. 268.

³⁶⁰ *Karpuk D.A.* Op. cit. P. 139.

³⁶¹ *Katansky A.L.* Memories of an Old Professor. P. 96.

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ Jubilee Greeting of the Theological Academy on its Centenary, 17 December 1909. Cit. by: *Malyarov S.* Our Graduate, Apostle of Japan, Saint Nickolas [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://spbda.ru/publications/nash-vypuschnik-apostol-yaponii-svyatoy-Nickolas> (date of access: 05/05/2024).

to the Academy for its 100th anniversary. Academy was the place where the Saint made his most important decision — to go to another side of the world to preach Gospel.

The second stage of his pedagogical views' formation process began with his appointment as a consular priest in Hakodate.

Young Father Nicholas had probably no idea about where exactly he was going. There was only scanty and vague information about Japan in Russia, moreover, it was almost legendary and often came from a third source³⁶⁴. At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, notes by Russian sailors about this mysterious country began to be published in the country. Sea journals by Adam Laksman, Ivan F. Kruzenshtern's memoirs about the voyage and, undoubtedly, the notes written by the naval captain Vasily M. Golovnin during his imprisonment by the Japanese played a significant role in forming the image of Japan and the Japanese in Russian citizens' minds. The notes by Golovnin, which were republished in 1851, became the main source of the initial information the young missionary knew about Japan.

Hieromonk Nickolas was travelling to “the Land of the Rising Sun”, imagining it as a bride who is waiting for his arrival with a cross, a bouquet of faith, in her hands. “Behold, the news of Christ will spread through its darkness, and everything will be renewed. I arrived and saw my bride sleeping with the most prosaic sleep and not even thinking about me at all...”³⁶⁵ — this is how Bishop Nicholas later recalled.

Having left St. Petersburg in the middle of the summer 1860, Father Nicholas reached Nikolaevsk-on-Amur, the eastern edge of the Russian Empire, only in mid-October, when the navigation was already over. He had to stay for winter. A significant meeting took place in Nikolaevsk-on-Amur, which had a huge influence on the future development of Christian preaching in Japan. There Hieromonk Nickolas meets Saint Innokenty (Veniaminov, 1797–1879), a famous missionary and educator of the Far East peoples. Years spent preaching the gospel on the far North American islands gave Saint

³⁶⁴ *Ikuta Michiko*. Russian Images of Japan in the Edo Period // Oriental Institute Journal. Vladivostok, 2006. No. 13. P. 108.

³⁶⁵ *Sergius (Stragorodsky), Archimandrite*. In the Far East: Letters Japanese missionary. Moscow: Sretensky Monastery Publishing House, 2013. P. 134.

Innokenty the opportunity to study in detail “the peculiarities of the character and behavior of the local inhabitants, their way of life, language and culture, their special spiritual vision”³⁶⁶.

One of the important aspects of St. Innokenty’s activities was his educational and enlightenment work among the peoples for whom he served and preached. He believed that only external, “everyday” education is incapable of having a significant impact on improving indigenous peoples’ moral state: “For how will a savage’s moral state be improved when he learns, for example, that the sun does not revolve around the earth, but at the same time he will understand neither the purpose of the world’s existence, nor the purpose of his own existence”³⁶⁷. In St. Innokenty’s opinion, the goal of Christian enlightenment was the internal transformation of a person, who first of all needs to be given the concepts of important moral qualities, but not just “external signs of education”. The Saint believed that such transformation is possible only through religious education, since education without religious component will only create a decent external appearance, which very often does not coincide with the internal one.

The educational activities of the “Apostle of America” included opening schools and shelters for the local population of the northern American continent, translating the divine service, basic prayers and books of religious and moral content into the Aleut language, the primer and grammar of which Bishop Innocent first compiled during his missionary service. In 1842, he opened a Theological school in Novoarkhangelsk, which was later transformed into a Theological Seminary in 1845. As researcher I.Yu. Smirnova notes, one of the main criteria for selecting students for this educational institution was the high moral qualities of the applicant³⁶⁸, which, according to St. Innocent, “are more precious to the Church, one might say, than gold”³⁶⁹.

³⁶⁶ *Tukish V.A.* Educational Activities of Saint Innokenty (Veniaminov), Metropolitan of Moscow // Development of the Personality. Moscow: Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education “Moscow State Pedagogical University”, 2007. P. 196.

³⁶⁷ Works of Innokenty, Metropolitan of Moscow. Book III / Coll. I. Barsukov. Moscow, 1888. P. 484–485.

³⁶⁸ *Smirnova I.Yu.* Confessional factor of Russian policy in the Middle East and North Pacific regions in the middle of the XIX century. P. 314–315.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.* P. 315.

Undoubtedly, St. Innokenty gave young Father Nicholas the necessary advice on Christian education of the Japanese people. These instructions were truly perceived by the Japanese missionary. He wrote in one of his letters: “I had a whole book filled with his stories, advice, and instructions”³⁷⁰. Three months later, in September 1861, the Bishop Innokenty visited Father Nicholas in Hakodate and continued to instruct him in the missionary field. Their conversation took place there, when Bishop Innokenty responded to the future educator of Japan speaking about his studies in French and German with a remark that a missionary in Japan must “devote himself entirely to the Japanese language”³⁷¹. This “death sentence for the European literature”³⁷², as Father Nicholas called the result of their conversation, significantly influenced his success in learning the Japanese language and turned him towards learning culture and history of the country. This may have been the turning point when the young missionary decided that he would stay in Japan for a long time.

Japan was opening up to the world after more than 200 years of isolation, which led to its lagging behind other “civilized” states. The researcher of Japan A.N. Meshcheryakov figuratively describes this historical period in such a way: “Japan lost orientation for a time, became confused, and an inferiority complex took hold of it”. The Japanese decided that since “there is nothing worthy of praise in their country”³⁷³, they will adopt the things from the Western states that make these countries “civilized”, according to Japanese people. To do this, it was necessary, first of all, to learn the languages of these countries, including the Russian Empire.

In 1862 the first Russian language school in Japan was founded in Hakodate. It was funded by the Russian government. Hieromonk Nicholas began his first practical pedagogical activities there. Undoubtedly, when organizing this educational institution, Father Nicholas used advice and instructions Bishop Innokenty had given him. But the

³⁷⁰ Letter from Archbishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Editor-in-chief from the Magazine “Svetoch i Dnevnik Pisatelya” A.V. Kruglov, dated May 12/25, 1910 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 608.

³⁷¹ Ibid. P. 609.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. P. 11.

situation in which Hieromonk Nicholas acted was fundamentally different from the one in which the Bishop worked: Japan amazed the Russian priest with significant number of literate people. In the 1860s and 1870s, the literacy level in Japan was, according with some estimates, significantly higher than in other countries, even European ones: “All the representatives of the ruling classes were educated, more than half of the city dwellers and about 30-40% of the villagers were literate”³⁷⁴. There were diverse forms of school education: there were princely, community and private schools in the country, as well as schools at Buddhist monasteries. Japanese educational institutions were also traditional centers of moral education for the younger generation.

For the successful functioning of an educational institution at the Russian consulate its organizers needed to familiarize themselves with the experience of the existing Japanese schools, to study the approaches and methods of teaching and learning. Therefore, the young priest many times visited both Japanese secular elementary schools and schools at monasteries. His interest in the learning process is evidenced by memories of the secular private school owner (the name of the school was “Hokumonsha”) whose name was Yanagita Tokichi³⁷⁵. Along with the Japanese teachers, a foreign one worked in this educational institution: it was Brykston, an Englishman who taught the Japanese people English. Fr. Nicholas attended the school lectures every day observing how the classes were conducted. After some time rumors spread around the city according to that he came to the school to preach: any Christian priest was regarded by the Japanese as a missionary³⁷⁶. Since open preaching of Christianity was still banned at that time, the school owner was afraid of trouble caused by these rumors. Talking to him, Father Nicholas tried to dispel the fears by claiming that he also attends classes at a Buddhist

³⁷⁴ *Lim S.C.* History of the Japanese Educational System. P. 99. But there are other estimates of the literacy level. Japanese education researcher A.F. Prasol, based on school enrollment data, concludes that “Japan still lagged significantly behind developed European countries”. See: *Prasol A.F.* Op. cit. P. 12.

³⁷⁵ *Yusha A.S.* Who is More Persistent (from the Work of His Eminence Nicholas — Archbishop of Japan) / In the East. Tokyo: Publishing House Taishiudoo Bookstore, 1935. P. 76–80.

³⁷⁶ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Vice-Director of Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Baron F.R. Osten-Saken, dated October 31 / November 12, 1871 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 75.

school to observe the teaching process. It was so important for the young preacher and teacher to continue gaining experience through attending classes that he responded to Yanagita's threats to use force that he agreed to be beaten, but will still come to the studies. Seeing the young priest's determination and persistence those trying to prevent him from coming had to terminate their attempts.

The initial period of Fr. Nicholas's activity in Japan is associated with his first steps in the missionary field: in 1864 he met the future first Japanese Orthodox Christian Sawabe Takuma (パウエル澤邊(琢磨), 1834–1913)³⁷⁷. Sawabe and his several friends, the former beginning of the Japanese Orthodox Church, began to visit the missionary and study the Christian faith. In April 1868, Father Nicholas baptized three Japanese: Pavel Sawabe, John Sakai (イオアン酒井(川股篤禮)), 1836–1881) and Jacob Urano (イアコフ浦野(大蔵)).

During his first eight years in Japan Father Nicholas had studied the educational process organization and teaching methods in Japanese schools quite deeply, gained practical experience of teaching Russian in a language school. The scientific articles of the late 1860s contain some of his thoughts about Japanese school education and upbringing. For example, he addresses this issue in his yet unpublished review of M. Venyukov's "Essays on Japan"³⁷⁸ where he critically examines the main theses of this work³⁷⁹. In the programmatic article "The harvest In Japan is also plentiful..." he stated that all the young Japanese have two characteristic features — "the absence of skills for systematically building their knowledge and the lack of memory"³⁸⁰, and links this with both the Japanese educational method aimed only at memorizing educational material, and with the lack of clear curricula and necessary teaching aids at schools³⁸¹. Pedagogical experience gained while observing the students at the Russian language school led

³⁷⁷ Letter of Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore, September 14/26, 1864 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 35.

³⁷⁸ *Venyukov M.I. Essays on Japan*. St. Petersburg: type. Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1869. 444 p.

³⁷⁹ Review of Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) on the book by M.I. Venyukov "Essays on Japan" // RGADA (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts). F. 1385. Inv. 1. C. 925. L. 1–18.

³⁸⁰ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk*. And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful... Letters from a Russian from Hakodate // Christian reading. St. Petersburg, 1869. No. 2. P. 252.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Hieromonk Nicholas to the idea of preparing the Japanese who wanted this for the catechist activity, to be exact, to preaching the Christian faith under the direct guidance of the “actual missionary”³⁸² from Russia.

Consequently, he distinguished between the concepts of “missionary” and “catechist”. According to him a missionary is a highly educated preacher having the knowledge of the “complete theological literature”. St. Nicholas also describes the view of a Christian priest as only a missionary³⁸³ spread in the Japanese society. The catechists’ efforts during this period, according to him, should have been directed, firstly, towards further study of the faith through self-study and reading books, and, secondly, to spreading the faith³⁸⁴. Subsequently he supposed that the Japanese could be trained to become preachers “equivalent to missionaries”³⁸⁵.

His ideas about the organization of Japanese catechists’ work were outlined in the draft instructions for the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan³⁸⁶. Father Nicholas comes to the conclusion that its future activities are closely connected with educational and upbringing work which should be necessarily conducted among the new children of the Orthodox Church.

The initial stage of St Nicholas’ educational activities in Japan is characterized by the accumulation of practical pedagogical and missionary experience, on the basis of which the fundamental document of the future Orthodox mission in Japan.

Changes that occurred in the late 1860s and affected all the areas of the Japanese state life were the prerequisites for the implementation of the ideas set out in the instruction compiled by the head of the Orthodox mission. The rescripts of the 17th century banning Christianity in Japan were still a restraining factor, but under the influence of other states, particularly Western ones, the Japanese authorities gradually softened their attitude towards Christians.

³⁸² *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk. And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful...* P. 252.

³⁸³ Letter from Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Acting Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod Yu.V. Tolstoy // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 121.

³⁸⁴ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk. And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful...* P. 252.

³⁸⁵ Draft Instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, dated 19 July 1870 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 130–131.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.* P. 127–136.

After Archimandrite Nicholas moved to Tokyo in 1872 and the ban on Christian preaching was lifted in 1873, the he actively began to organize its educational activities — he founded a Russian language school in the capital. Along with teaching Russian and other disciplines, St Nicholas preached, explaining the basics of Christian doctrine to his disciples. Later catechetical and theological school were organized on the basis of this Russian language school in 1873. In 1874 theological school was transformed into a Theological Seminary.

Chapter 3 will discuss the mission’s educational institutions, namely their time of establishment, structure and goals in more detail.

Until 1874 the head of the mission was both the educational process organizer at school, and, in fact, the only teacher in it. His efforts were successful: the mission report for 1873 mentions three educational institutions (catechist and translation school for adults and a theological school for children aged 12 to 15), in which about 50 people were studying at the same time³⁸⁷ (see also: Appendix 4). In accordance with the instruction the educational institution in Hakodate was preserved, it was guided by Fr. Anatoly (Tikhay). The educational institutions’ further development began in 1874, when other missionaries, both male and female, were sent to Japan and helped Father Nicholas in carrying out educational activities.

In 1870s St. Nicholas gained rich organizational and teaching experience when organizing the work of educational institutions belonging to various forms. For every school a curriculum was developed, necessary textbooks and manuals were purchased, the admission rules were defined as well. The mission’s schools were popular among the Japanese: in the early 1880s, about 200–250 people were educated there simultaneously³⁸⁸. According to the Russian missionary M.A. Cherkasova, “he [Archimandrite Nicholas — I.K.] layed a strong moral foundation, aroused the children’s

³⁸⁷ Petition to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society dated 15 March 1874 / RGIA. F. 799. Inv. 13. C. 114. L. 59.

³⁸⁸ Extract from the Most Faithful Report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod K. Pobedonostsev for the Department of Spiritual Affairs of the Orthodox Confessions for 1882–1884. St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1884. P. 150–151.

desire to hear the Word of God's and their zealous search to make their lives conform to the spirit of Christian teaching"³⁸⁹.

The head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan went to the homeland in 1879 in order to find funds and missionaries for the further functioning of the mission. He was concerned not only with the financial issue: for a year and a half spent in Russia he visited all the theological academies, visited seminaries, secular primary and secondary educational institutions, observing the organization of education and upbringing in them.

During his stay two meetings took place which undoubtedly supplemented and deepened Fr. Nicholas's pedagogical views. Firstly, in 1879 he met the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod K.P. Pobedonostsev (1827–1907), who was actively involved in education and upbringing issues. The Chief Prosecutor believed that the upbringing of the Russian people in the spirit of devotion to the Church and the Motherland will only be successful when religious education will be its basis, namely the church schools that “are the only intended to present... the light of true teaching on the subjects of the faith and the church, the concept of moral duty and good family habits to the growing generation”³⁹⁰. Undoubtedly, during Pobedonostsev's meeting with the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical mission in Japan the issues of the mission's educational and enlightening activities, its educational institutions' functioning had been raised, as after the meeting the Chief Prosecutor sent Father Nicholas a note about the “Tatevo recluse”, Russian teacher Sergei A. Rachinsky (1833–1902) and his experience in organizing a public school in a village.

St Nicholas Equal-to-the-Apostles was interested in learning about the process of education and upbringing in the Tatevo school, since the experience of its organization could be used in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's educational institutions in Japan. In summer 1880, the Orthodox missionary met the famous teacher in person. Bishop

³⁸⁹ *Cherkasova M.A.* Notes of a Russian Orthodox Missionary in Japan Maria Alexandrovna Cherkasova // *Missioner*, 1879. No. 44. P. 377.

³⁹⁰ Most Faithful Report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod K. Pobedonostsev for the Department of Orthodox Confession for 1884. St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1886. P. 372.

Nicholas wrote in one of his letters to Rachinsky: “The memory of you, together with everything I saw in Tatevo, is one of the memories most bright and dear to me”³⁹¹. Correspondence between them began after some time. During archival research in 2023–2024 the author of the present dissertation research together with the researcher of the S.A. Rachinsky’s life P.A. Pantuev revealed and first published³⁹² letters from Bishop Nicholas to Sergei Alexandrovich mainly containing the reflections of the Saint and his requests for the Japanese youth he had sent to study in Russia.

Rachinsky's letters to Bishop Nicholas have not been found yet, but the Saint’s epistles let us claim that not only the topics related to raising new Orthodox Church’s children in Japan were regarded in their correspondence. Being a patriot, St. Nicholas was strongly concerned with the problems of education in Russia. In the very first letter found (August 1884) the Bishop writes about the importance of the matter Rachinsky is engaged in, namely educating and bringing up the future of Russia. “Hurry up, dear Sergey Alexandrovich, do your life's work in Russia! You have imposed your hand onto the task which is now the most important for our Motherland: to educate the people!”³⁹³ The Rachinsky family opened about 30 schools for peasants totally in the Belsky district of the Smolensk province³⁹⁴. His idea that “our dead education is to shame and curse if the people mire in ignorance”³⁹⁵ was fully supported by Saint Nicholas. After all, just like Sergei Alexandrovich, he saw that “Russia was the golden collection” of talents³⁹⁶. It was necessary to educate and enlighten the Russian people, and then, as the Saint wrote, “we would have diplomats and ministers; then we would have missionaries”³⁹⁷. The latter is

³⁹¹ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated August 16, 1884 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 28. L. 80.

³⁹² *Kuzmina, I.V., Pantuev, P.A.* “Hurry Up and Do Your Life’s Work in Russia!”: Letters of St. Nicholas of Japan to Sergei Alexandrovich Rachinsky // Christian reading. St. Petersburg, 2024. Issue 3. P. 198–221.

³⁹³ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) S.A. Rachinsky, dated August 16, 1884 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 28. L. 81 rev — 82.

³⁹⁴ *Minakov M., Ushakova I.* This is not Chatter, but Action and True Feeling: In Memory of Teacher Sergei Rachinsky [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://pravoslavie.ru/65902.html> (date of access: 10.05.2024).

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated August 16, 1884 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 28. L. 82.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

not accidental, since Rachinsky believed “a school separated from the Church... to be incapable of”³⁹⁸ educating and enlightening. In a letter to him Bishop Nicholas wrote that the graduates from schools like Tatevo will conduct Christian preaching and enlighten peoples, thereby fulfilling the Russian people’s historical world mission: “I see them from afar, cheerful and strong indestructible army going to criticize the world in obedience to Christ. This is the Russian people going to accomplish their world historical mission, the highest on the Earth. What a marvelous spectacle! Heaven and earth rejoice together!..”³⁹⁹.

The correspondence between Bishop Nicholas and the head of the Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem, Archimandrite Antonin (Kapustin, 1817–1894), also dates back to the early 1880s. Only two letters have survived, which give an idea of the fairly open and warm relations between the two missionaries.

The formed pedagogical views of the Saint are reflected in Bishop Nicholas’s correspondence of the late 1880s and early 1890s. Apart from the letters to S.A. Rachinsky, the head of the mission addressed the issues of education in his letters to Princess A.N. Golitsyna, Metropolitan Isidore (Nikolsky) of St. Petersburg and some others. A special place among such messages is occupied by the letter to John Kawamoto, a Kyiv Theological Academy graduate, describing the Saint’s main approaches and views on educational and enlightening activities. The letter was written in 1894, when the Bishop Nicholas considered reorganizing the work of Tokyo Theological Schools, first of all, of the seminaries.

The preaching of Protestant and Catholic missionaries, which had become more active since the end of the 1880s, gradual withdrawal from the Westernization politics in education and the changes in the Japanese school system organization caused by adopting the Imperial Rescript on Education in October 1890 required, according to the Saint’s idea, qualitative transformations in the Theological Seminary’s functioning. The head of mission, who was almost 60 years old at the time, understood that the spiritual school

³⁹⁸ *Rachinsky S.A.* Notes on Rural Schools. St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1883. P. 18–19.

³⁹⁹ Letter of Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated August 16, 1884 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 28. L. 82.

reforming process would not have any results without his successor at the Seminary rector position.

In his opinion, John Kawamoto could be such a person, for this reason Bishop Nicholas outlined his pedagogical views in a letter to him, hoping to hand over the educational and upbringing process guidance soon. The thoughts expressed in this message to Kawamoto and in the letter to S.A. Rachinsky, also dating back to 1894, are the quintessence of his discussions on upbringing and education. These documents sum up his active teaching activities and reflections on the mission's educational activities.

Since 1895, when John Kawamoto gradually took over operational guidance of Tokyo theological schools, St. Nicholas focused on the Japanese Church direct guidance and translation work. At the same time, he was still interested in the theological schools' state of affairs. The outlined Seminary reforms did not find their implementation: the educational institution remained only a Church institution training the Church priests, — thus, the fundamental principle of the mission's educational activities is still that the upbringing of the younger generation should be, first of all, based on religious education.

The number of students continues to decrease: the diaries of the Saint reflect his search for ways to attract new students. To be fair, a similar decline in the number of students took place in educational institutions of non-Orthodox Christian denominations. In August 1899 the Japanese government passed the resolution banning “religious education at schools that want to be on par with government ones”⁴⁰⁰, which became a heavy blow to the Christian education⁴⁰¹. In order to successfully introduce “imperial-nationalist” ideology the influence of the Christian religion had to be reduced (or eliminated altogether). In these conditions, Christian missions had to build new relationships with the state in educational matters. According to St. Nicholas, there was no such issue for the mission's educational institutions: the Orthodox mission did not interfere in politics, since the religious teachers' main purpose was to educate people for

⁴⁰⁰ Diary entry from December 21, 1899 / January 2, 1900 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 190.

⁴⁰¹ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era. P. 151.

Heaven⁴⁰² and the mission's educational institutions were aimed at educating such religious teachers.

Since the late 1890s, St. Nicholas' diaries reflecting his inner emotions contained quite a lot of negative statements about the situation in Japanese theological schools (particularly, in Orthodox educational institutions). He linked their "poor situation" with both the "fashionable atheism, utilitarianism, evolutionism, and so on" that had won in Japan and the lack of "well-intentioned" teachers⁴⁰³ (the majority of candidates educated in Russian theological academies, who, according to Bishop Nicholas's idea, were supposed to teach and enlighten the young Orthodox Japanese, left the Church service). The missionary came to the conclusion that mission schools needed a kind teacher from Russia, which would bring order to the moral state of the Orthodox theological schools and would educate spiritual collaborators for himself. As a true believer, Saint trusted in God's Providence and believed that "more noble aspirations would arise little by little in Japan and finally prevail"⁴⁰⁴.

Thus, the present paragraph has dealt with formation and development of St. Nicholas's of Japan, Equal-to-the-Apostles pedagogical views that have had a significant impact on the Orthodox mission's educational activities.

1. The main factors that influenced this process were identified. These include: 1) those that influenced the formation of his views directly such as family, environment, social institutions (upbringing and education) and living conditions; 2) indirectly influencing factors — primarily, this is the era (time) St. Nicholas lived and served in.

2. It was revealed that the process of forming his views consisted of several stages. They can be conditionally divided into the following chronological boundaries: childhood years and years of study in theological educational institutions (1836–1860); accumulation of practical teaching experience (1861–1870); the implementation of his pedagogical plans (1871–1895); maturity and analysis period (1895–1912).

⁴⁰² Diary entry from December 9/21, 1899 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 813.

⁴⁰³ Diary entry from January 31 / February 13, 1901 // Diaries of St. Nicholas. Vol. 4. P. 409.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

At the first stage, the most significant factors having influenced the formation of St. Nicholas's pedagogical views were upbringing and education received in the family and theological educational institutions. The conclusion was made about the special influence on this process by the Smolensk Theological Seminary Inspector Fr. Victorin (Lyubimov) and the St. Petersburg Theological Academy Rector St. Theophan (Govorov). The "Great reforms" that began in Russia and resulted in heated public and church debates had an impact on the formation of the future missionary's views as well: "students of the leading Theological Academy could not help knowing them and being interested in them"⁴⁰⁵.

It was determined that the absence of theoretical and practical pedagogy training and, perhaps, the insufficient knowledge of missionary activity organization in educational institutions, Fr. Nicholas had to form his own unique approaches to teaching and upbringing new children of the Church. Thanks to the meeting with St. Innokenty (Veniaminov) the future enlightener of Japan received the most important initial instructions on the educational and missionary activity organization. But the situation with the education in Japan was different from that on the Far East islands: the country had a network of educational institutions; the literacy rate was among the highest in the world.

In 1860s Japan's turn to the West begun, particularly, borrowing important scientific and social achievements from the Western civilizations was started. It was a prerequisite to the beginning of Fr. Nicholas's teaching activity, and subsequently to his entry to the missionary field. Together with non-Orthodox preachers he suggested that one could preach among students along with studying the language. For 8 years Father Nicholas had prepared for active missionary work, in which, in his opinion, Christian education would play an important role. At the end of this period, to be exact, in 1868, he developed 14 missionary rules, which subsequently formed the basis of the instructions

⁴⁰⁵ *Lukin A.P., Puzanova O.V.* "And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful..." Evolution the Worldview of St. Nicholas of Japan and Intercivilizational Interaction between Russia, Japan and the West. Moscow: Ves Mir Publishing House, 2021. P. 59.

for the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan. This document is a carefully drafted plan for the Christian enlightenment of Japan.

With the establishment of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan in April 1870 a new, third, period began in the development of St. Nicholas's pedagogical views. Lifting the ban on Christianity in 1873 marked the beginning of active educational and enlightening activities of the Orthodox mission. Basing on the developed instructions, the Saint founded various types of religious missionary schools, the future centers of training Japanese clergymen and catechists.

At this time Bishop Nicholas got acquainted with the main pedagogical works and methodological materials ordered from Russia. The missionary also takes into account the experience of educational activities of other Ecclesiastical Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church, which operated both within the Russian Empire (primarily the Altai Mission) and beyond its borders (Ecclesiastical Missions in the Holy Land, Beijing, America). He maintained active correspondence with government and public figures of the Russian Empire. The influence of K.P. Pobedonostsev's and S.A. Rachinsky's pedagogical views on the genesis of the missionary's views was revealed. Bishop Nicholas, being their like-minded person, undoubtedly shared their ideas.

By the end of the 1880s, a gradual change in Japanese policy took place influencing the missionary educational institutions' activities. By the mid-1890s, there was an urgent need to reform Tokyo Theological School. The Seminary transformation plan is the most detailed and thorough exposition of St Nicholas' pedagogical views.

Since 1895 the final stage begins, characterized by the head of mission's gradual withdrawal from educational institution operational management. The Japanese authorities' continuing their nationalist policy had a negative impact not only on Orthodox educational institutions, but also on other Christian confessions' missionary schools. The Saint concluded that materialism and atheistic views had penetrated into the theological schools of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission as well⁴⁰⁶. He evaluated the results of his teaching activities quite pessimistically; concluding that the seeds he had

⁴⁰⁶ Diary entry from January 31 / February 13, 1901 // Diaries of St. Nicholas. Vol. 4. P. 409.

sown produced shoots which “faded and withered”⁴⁰⁷ soon after they appeared. At the same time, relying on God’s Providence, he expresses hope for positive changes in the current situation.

2.2. The theological analysis of the fundamental principles of Nicholas of Japan’s, Equal-to-the-Apostles, pedagogy

Analyzing the formation of St. Nicholas’s pedagogical views on Christian education and upbringing, the present study revealed that the Saint did not receive special pedagogical education as such, since the discipline of “pedagogy” was introduced in theological academies only in the 1867/1868 academic year⁴⁰⁸. The formation of his pedagogical views occurred mainly under the influence of parents, educators and mentors in theological educational institutions, as well as while communicating with famous Orthodox missionaries and public figures of Russia. Moreover, the influence of the pedagogical discussions in the middle of the 19th century on this process cannot be excluded as well. At the same time, the era of the “Great reforms” began in Russian society and the phenomenon of Orthodox pedagogical culture was formed⁴⁰⁹.

The further development of the Saint's views on education was connected with his practical teaching activities in Japan and accumulation of experience in Christian educational institution organization. It can also be noted that Saint Nicholas purchased the most important teaching aids, particularly, the curricula of theological seminaries and schools published by the Holy Synod⁴¹⁰. Undoubtedly, he paid attention to the teaching experience in missionary schools of other Christian denominations: his diary references to his repeated visits to such educational institutions.

⁴⁰⁷ Diary entry from July 28 / August 10, 1901 // Diaries of St. Nicholas. Vol. 4. P. 497.

⁴⁰⁸ *Sukhova N.Yu.* Op. cit. P. 81.

⁴⁰⁹ *Divnogortseva S.Yu.* K.D. Ushinsky and Orthodox Pedagogical Culture of Russia of the XIX century // St. Tikhon's University Review. Series IV: Pedagogy. Psychology. M., 2014. Issue 2. P. 103.

⁴¹⁰ Petition to the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod (dated 1880) // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 351.

The main pedagogical views of Saint Nicholas of Japan were reflected mainly in his epistolary and homiletic heritage, as well as in diary entries, since St. Nicholas has not written any works entirely devoted to issues of education and upbringing.

His letters to the famous Russian teacher S.A. Rachinsky, to the future Tokyo Theological Seminary Rector Ioann Senuma and to mission's benefactor Princess A.N. Golitsyna, as well as diary entries from the period of St. Nicholas's pedagogical activities (1870–1895), sermons of the Saint concerning the issues of raising new children of the Church in one way or another, and some official documents of the Orthodox mission have become the main sources for the present research. The response message from John Senuma and letters from Japanese students to S.A. Rachinsky became the indirect sources for the analysis of the Saint's pedagogical views.

All the reasoning by St. Nicholas Equal-to-the-Apostles is based on Orthodox education principles and traditions formed in the early Christian period. Our Lord God Jesus Christ gave His disciples an eternal example of human education which consists in the desire to become like God: “Therefore you shall be perfect, just as your Father in heaven is perfect” (Matt. 5:48). According to M.I. Demkov, the Russian educator of the second half of the 19th century, His teaching and deeds “contain all the eternal foundations of pedagogy, only further development and application of which was to take place in the coming centuries”⁴¹¹.

The enlightener of Japan turned to the works by the Holy Fathers of the Church, theologians and Orthodox educators of the 19th century while forming his pedagogical views. At the same time St Nicholas developed the ideas embedded in their works, particularly, creatively related them to the conditions of the Japanese reality. Therefore, it seems appropriate to conduct a comparative analysis of the Saint's views, comparing them with the main pedagogical views of the Holy Fathers and with the pedagogical ideas of his contemporaries — teachers, theologians and missionaries.

⁴¹¹ *Demkov M.I.* Brief History of Pedagogy: for Educational Institutions and Seminaries, Pedagogical Classes of Women's Gymnasiums and Institutes, Pedagogical Courses at City Schools and for adv. Teachers. M.: Type. T-va I.D. Sytina, 1917. P. 56.

St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical principles will be examined using the classification by Archimandrite George (Shestun)⁴¹².

The first reflections on the principles of education are found in diary entries by Saint Nicholas of Japan dating back to the early 1870s. The teaching experience gained at the Russian language school, as well as observations of the teaching process in Japanese schools lead a missionary to reflections on the influence of upbringing and education on the young person's "nature". Reflecting on his character traits, Hieromonk Nickolas concludes, that the education can influence a person both for the better and for the worse: "Nature gives birth — that is God's work; upbringing or lack of it spoils, that is our misfortune"⁴¹³. The Saint expresses the idea that education should follow "in the direction" of a person's "nature", which would lead to the emergence of "heroes" instead of the current "petty people"⁴¹⁴.

It is important to determine here what St. Nicholas understood by the words "nature" and "in the direction of nature". According to him, nature is, first of all, the natural strengths and inclinations of a person, their natural qualities. In his notes he refers to the word "nature" quite often when discussing a character of an educational institution student's character, a Japanese catechist or a priest. The Saint also uses this word to characterize an entire people (the Japanese) or part of it (the Orthodox Japanese)⁴¹⁵. He often reflects on the absence of any natural qualities in a person (people) as being not his (their) fault⁴¹⁶. At the same time, St. Nicholas comes to the conclusion that sometimes, when the necessary natural qualities are absent, educating the person in the required direction is impossible: "And what can you do about them if that's their nature! You

⁴¹² *George (Shestun), Archimandrite*. Orthodox Pedagogy [Electronic resource] // ABC of Faith: URL: <https://azbyka.ru/deti/pravoslavnyaya-pedagogika-protevgenij-shestun> (date of access: 23.04.2024).

⁴¹³ Diary entry from December 20, 1876 / January 1, 1877 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 36.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ See, for example: Diary entry from September 11/24, 1900 // Diaries of St. Nicholas. Vol. 4. P. 323; Diary entry from December 13/26, 1900 // Diaries of St. Nicholas. Vol. 4. P. 379; Diary entry from January 2/14, 1889 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 22.

⁴¹⁶ Letter of Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma), dated November 17/29, 1894 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 252; Diary entry from April 26 / May 8, 1896 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 89; Diary entry from June 20 / July 2, 1897 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 338.

cannot act with reasons if there's nothing in the heart" he writes about the Japanese⁴¹⁷. According to the Saint, it is necessary in education to rely on the natural strengths and talents of a person, to develop them in accordance with their nature, following the stages of their development (age).

The same idea can be found by analyzing his later works discussing the prospects of the Christian mission not only in Japan, but in a global scale. According to Bishop Nicholas's ideas, humanity is still very young, — the Saint counts its age from the moment of the Savior's coming to the world. Since "the life of an individual, especially of each nation and, undoubtedly, of the whole humanity goes through periods assigned to it by the Creator"⁴¹⁸, many hundred years must pass before all nations accept and, most importantly, perceive Christ's teaching. Based on the said above, one can single out one of the principles of his pedagogical activity, namely the *principle of nature conformity*.

The Saint reveals the concept of "human nature" from another perspective as well: his views are in line with that of the Holy Fathers, as well as with that of theologians and teachers contemporary for him, such as St. Theophan the Recluse and Hieromartyr Thaddeus (Uspensky). Bishop Nicholas fully shares their views that the human nature came to an unnatural state after the fall, i.e. "all the natural powers of human nature have become corrupted" (mind, will, feeling), and have begun to function "crookedly, askew, erroneously"⁴¹⁹. According to St. Nicholas, human nature is not characterized by "sin and lust", passions are alien to it⁴²⁰ because a man is His godlike creation. The Creator gifted His creation with a clear mind, a pure heart, in which, as in a clear mirror, God Himself was reflected, with a will disposed toward everything good, with a power sufficient to do everything good⁴²¹. But after the fall man forgot God, "defiled man has filled his heart

⁴¹⁷ Diary entry from September 11/24, 1900 // Diaries of St. Nicholas. Vol. 4. P. 323.

⁴¹⁸ Letter from Archbishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Bishop of Vologda and of Totma Nikon (Rozhdestvensky) // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 594.

⁴¹⁹ *Simeon the New Theologian, Rev.* Words Translated into Russian Bishop Theophan. Edition 2. Issue 1. Moscow, 1892. P. 136.

⁴²⁰ Diary entry from May 11/23, 1888 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 621.

⁴²¹ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop.* A Word Said (in Japanese) at the Liturgy in Day of the Consecration of the Temple in Keoto, April 27, 1903 // *Pravoslavny blagovestnik*. M., 1903. No. 14. P. 246–252.

with impure lusts”⁴²² and has become “inclined to evil”⁴²³. Man has perverted his will, and he has no strength to correct its unnatural state independently. And only the Lord God, who created man “will cleanse his heart, correct his will, give strength, return bliss and atone for his guilt before the justice of God”⁴²⁴.

The Saint instructed his disciples to cling to God⁴²⁵, to correlate their lives with the commandments of the Savior, to restore the image of God in them, i.e. try to come to the natural state of their nature: “We serve earthly, but on our way to heaven, since the earthly is our means of education for heaven”⁴²⁶. The thoughts expressed by St. Nicholas are in line with the patristic tradition: for example, according to Clement of Alexandria’s work “The Pedagog”, a person “becomes a citizen of Heaven”⁴²⁷ only through earthly education. “Educate yourself for heaven, live for heaven,” — Bishop Nicholas claimed, based on the words of the Savior “unless one is born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God” (John 3:3), calling this statement the main commandment all the people must fulfill. “One must certainly be born from God”, he concludes in one of his sermons⁴²⁸. According to the Bishop, when all the people realize that they are God’s children and begin to perform the Heavenly Father’s will, “true happiness will come, not only heavenly, but also earthly”⁴²⁹.

Thus, the main ontological principle in St. Nicholas of Japan’s pedagogical views is *Christocentricity*: it means that Christ is, according to his views, the center of the pedagogical process. Since Christ is the sun of the righteousness, it is impossible to know

⁴²² *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. A Word Said (in Japanese) at the Liturgy. P. 246–252.

⁴²³ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. “Prepare your soul for temptation”. Word St. Nicholas of Japan at the Council of the Japanese Church in July 1887 (translated from Japanese) [Electronic resource] // URL: <http://www.sam.hi-ho.ne.jp/podvorie/general/stnick/ru/ugotovi.htm> (date of access: 20.05.2024).

⁴²⁴ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. A Word Said (in Japanese) at the Liturgy. P. 246–252.

⁴²⁵ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. “Prepare Your Soul for Temptation”. [Electronic resource] // URL: <http://www.sam.hi-ho.ne.jp/podvorie/general/stnick/ru/ugotovi.htm> (date of access: 20.05.2024).

⁴²⁶ Diary entry from September 24 / October 6, 1889 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 74.

⁴²⁷ *Clement of Alexandria*. Pedagog. Moscow: Educational and Informational Ecumenical Center of Paul the Apostle, 1996. P. 284.

⁴²⁸ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Speech at the Closing of the Council of the Japan Orthodox Church in 1900 // Pravoslavny blagovestnik. Moscow, 1901. No. 3. P. 120–121.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

anything if you do not rely on Him⁴³⁰. On this basis his entire pedagogy is built, and he follows Apostle Paul's words here: "For no one can lay any foundation other than the one already laid, which is Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 3:11).

The main Teacher and Educator of the soul for heaven, according to the Saint, is Christ Himself, the God-Man, according to His word: "do not be called Rabbi, for One is your Teacher, the Christ" (Matt. 23:8). The school is the temple in which The Teacher teaches infinitely great and important Truths⁴³¹, — communion with God happens through participation in church services, through the Holy Sacraments of Penance and Communion⁴³².

St. Nicholas was especially concerned about maintaining the spirit of churchliness in his pupils: theological school inspector of Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan had to achieve the single goal, namely to cultivate the students' love for the Church of God and Its service⁴³³. Since Japanese Orthodox believers were "in the midst of the paganism sea", so, according to St. Nicholas's thoughts, it was necessary to constantly fan and support this spark of religiosity in students, so that the flame does not go out, is not flooded by a wave of paganism and not smothered by the worldly spirit⁴³⁴. St. Theophan The Recluse also discussed this. He believed that distance from the Church, from its Sacraments, "starves the sprout of Christian life separating it from its sources, and it withers, as a flower withers when placed in the dark"⁴³⁵.

The main means of kindling the flame of Christian faith, according to St. Nicholas, was the students' and teachers' indispensable participation in worship and their partaking

⁴³⁰ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 9. You are the Light of the World // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

⁴³¹ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. A Word Said (in Japanese) at the Liturgy. P. 246–252.

⁴³² Diary entry from October 4/16, 1892 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 373.

⁴³³ The Position of the Rector of the Church of the Russian Imperial Embassy and together with a Member of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, dated February 12, 1890 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 171.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ *Theophan, Bishop*. The Path to Salvation: (A Brief Essay on Asceticism): Concluding AP. to Letters on Christian Life. 2nd ed. Issue 1. St. Petersburg, 1869. P. 59.

of the Holy Mysteries. One of the Bishop's sermons delivered to the students and teachers of Tokyo Theological Schools during the First Week of the Great Lent has been preserved, in which he once again reveals them the importance and necessity of participation in the Church Sacraments for their salvation: “Eating today, through the Sacrament Eucharist, you gain this salvation, become the one with the Lord Christ and receive eternal life”⁴³⁶.

Based on the above reasoning, we can identify the following ontological principle of St Nicholas of Japan's pedagogy, namely *ecclesiocentricity*. According to him, salvation is impossible outside the Church fence: for a person who wants to find salvation must follow the instructions of the Church properly, receive its Holy Sacraments and follow its prescriptions⁴³⁷.

The following pedagogical principle of Saint Nicholas of Japan is based on his views on the younger generation. This principle was defined by Archimandrite Georgy (Shestun) as *pedocentricity*.

Like St. Theophan the Recluse, Bishop Nicholas believed that the education that keeps the most with the human nature is the religious education. This is how he justified the need for such education to one of the Japanese educators of that time named Isawa. To the latter's question if Bishop Nicholas thought that religion is necessary for education, the Saint said the following: “A person must first of all know who he is, what his purpose is, etc. Everything in life is based on those concepts perceived by mind and soul. Instill in a person that he is a descendant of a monkey and that with the death of the body the soul will disappear, can such a person be virtuous? He will be kind, as long as it is useful to him, just as a monkey is good as long as it is caressed; but he will immediately do

⁴³⁶ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 11. On Communion (on Saturday First Week of Great Lent, March 14, 1908) // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

⁴³⁷ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 7. We Must be Obedient Churches // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of Japan Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

something evil if he sees that it is more useful to him like a monkey steals a piece of sugar because that it likes it. It is quite another thing if a person is brought up in the concept that he is the son of God and the heir of the Kingdom of Heaven, which he really is”⁴³⁸.

Religious education, to be exact, religious upbringing should, according to the Bishop, begin from the earliest age. For him a child is a godlike person bearing the image of God. But as everything on earth bears the original sin mark, adults (parents and teachers) need to teach the child Christian virtues from the earliest age.

His parents are the first significant adults for him. In this regard Bishop Nicholas considered it an important duty of parents to “eliminate dangerous paths for children, warning them against dangerous people”⁴³⁹. He compared the character of a child to a mochi⁴⁴⁰ because of its softness and pliability; in the Saint’s opinion, its future depends on the Father’s and the mother’s mood; the child accepts good or evil traits at a very early age. St. Nicholas believed, that this “is already laid down during the time when he [the child — I.K.] crawled at his mother’s knees”⁴⁴¹. According to his views, a duty of raising their child in the Lord was imposed on parents, consequently, Father and mother had to cultivate and maintain the Christian zeal in their souls both for one's own salvation and for the birth and upbringing of God-loving children⁴⁴², setting a good example for their children, turning them to God. The example of living Christian faith and love for God and neighbor common for the parents raises the child kind and pious, as children take on the character from his Father and mother⁴⁴³.

⁴³⁸ Diary entry from October 11/23, 1897 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 399.

⁴³⁹ Diary entry from February 23 / March 6, 1880 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. T. 4. P. 145.

⁴⁴⁰ Traditional Japanese sweets made from glutinous rice ground into a paste.

⁴⁴¹ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 18. The Life of the Church is in Hands of Women Believers // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

⁴⁴² Diary entry from October 5/17, 1889 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 100.

⁴⁴³ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 6. Inheritance of Faith // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] Episcopal Administration of

St. Nicholas's views on the role of parental education are completely consistent with the views of St. Theophan who believed that “the spirit of faith and the piety of parents” is a powerful means of educating their children and strengthening their blessed life⁴⁴⁴.

In this regard, St. Nicholas's arguments about parental love are interesting. Parental and marital loves were put by God into the soul of each person and are branches of the single trunk and root, i.e. have one source. This source (or, as the Saint writes, the root) is love for God; the trunk is love for one’s neighbors⁴⁴⁵. The branches are the parental and marital love, although they are, in St. Nicholas’ opinion, the best and the noblest branches, cannot exist separately from the root and the trunk, since “they will inevitably dry up over time”⁴⁴⁶. Therefore, he concludes, it is necessary to nourish and cherish this heavenly plant in the soul in its entirety, so that love for children and spouse is always alive, fresh and beautiful⁴⁴⁷.

The Saint made several missionary journeys during which he visited all the Orthodox communities of the Japanese Church. In almost all of them the head of the mission preached a sermon about raising children in the spirit of piety and about the important role of parents, especially mothers, in this process. Bishop Nicholas highlights the correlation between how good or bad mothers are today and whether the next generation would be “a society of the happy and kind or a society of the unhappy and evil”⁴⁴⁸. This dependence necessitated paying special close attention to the moral education of girls, future mothers, so that they acquire “complete feminine virtues”⁴⁴⁹.

the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

⁴⁴⁴ *Theophan, Bishop*. The Path to Salvation. P. 27.

⁴⁴⁵ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Princess A.N. Golitsyna, dated March 30 / April 11, 1888 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 171.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 18. The Life of the Church is in Hands of Women Believers. Translated from Japanese: A.G. Fesyun.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

The mother's pious upbringing, her “inexhaustible and never weakening maternal feeling”⁴⁵⁰, the desire “to fill the soul of her child with everything good, kind, and sublime”⁴⁵¹ is a fragrant myrrh that will fragrant the child's soul for the whole life⁴⁵². Bishop Nicholas believed that even if a child, having received proper education from good mothers, subsequently enters a wrong path and becomes impious, in most cases he will correct himself, remembering what his mother taught him⁴⁵³.

But not only parents could, according to Saint Nicholas's thoughts, have a beneficial or negative effect on the younger generation's hearts and souls. No less but perhaps more important was comradeship, under constant, never-ending influence of which one can either receive good from a good comrade, or get moral harm from a bad one⁴⁵⁴. Hence the mission head's constant concern was about the school students' moral state.

Christian community school teachers, local catechists and priests had to be other mentors for the youth on their path to heaven, as the Bishop thought. Their preparation was the goal of founding the Russian Ecclesiastical Missions' educational institutions: the Seminary was supposed to prepare pastors and “educated” missionaries and teachers, a Catechetical School would educate catechists in a two-year period, and the Women School would educate future brides for them. The issue of the teachers' and educators' personal qualities remained essential throughout almost the entire activity of these educational institutions (with the possible exception of the Women School).

For Saint Nicholas, a teacher is not only someone who teaches various disciplines, because “the main path in a person's life does not lie to learning but to virtue,”⁴⁵⁵ as he

⁴⁵⁰ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Princess A.N. Golitsyna, dated March 30 / April 11, 1888 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 171.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid. P. 169.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 18. The Life of the Church is in Hands of Women Believers. Translated from Japanese: A.G. Fesyun.

⁴⁵⁴ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated November 3, 1889 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 49. P. 193.

⁴⁵⁵ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 8. Let us Discover a New Life (Parting Words to Teachers and Students of Male and Female Theological Schools during the Great Lent). Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

told the teachers of the Tokyo Theological Schools. The Bishop compared “external” learning with moonlight, which cannot fully illuminate all subjects. So erudition only illuminates the human path without providing answers to important life questions⁴⁵⁶. Therefore, for the Saint, the education of Christian virtues is the teachers’ task of higher importance.

Because the teachers are responsible for Christian education and bringing up the Orthodox Church members, the teacher’s main feature, according to the Saint, is his burning with his high calling as a teacher, educating his students in piety, doing it with love and at the same time firmly, inspiring them to serve the Church and God. The Bishop especially pointed out love for the pedagogical work as a teacher’s necessary quality, since the educational work would not be successful and useful without the teacher’s possessing this feature⁴⁵⁷. St. Nicholas considered Sergei A. Rachinsky an example of such a selfless teacher and mentor.

Another important quality of a teacher, according to the Bishop, is justice, or “real justice, obvious to everyone”⁴⁵⁸. Injustice in relation to the child closes his soul to the offending teacher, like a snail in sink, and even arms him against the offender, as a result of which proper communication between them is violated.

The third quality a real teacher must have, in the Bishop’s opinion, is firmness. Weakness is the worst and the most harmful trait of an educator, teacher and mentor. St. Nicholas compares a weak teacher with a doctor who conceals a diagnosis from a seriously ill person instead of curing them. As the head of the mission believed, it was the weakness caused by flattery for the students and the desire to please them that caused the difficult situation with the educational process in Tokyo theological schools at the end of the 19th century⁴⁵⁹.

⁴⁵⁶ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 9. You are the Light of the World. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

⁴⁵⁷ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma), dated November 17/29, 1894 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 261.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.* P. 262.

According to Bishop Nicholas, a teacher should be a Father and friend to his students, “giving his soul for them”⁴⁶⁰. “Oh, what a difficult task the educational part is! So far, how many hundreds of people have passed before my eyes, I have not seen a single person who could be a completely worthy teacher!”⁴⁶¹ This phrase from a letter to S.A. Rachinsky clearly shows that there was a problem with mentors in the mission's educational institutions, although in this same letter the Saint gives Anna Kanno, the Women School headmistress, as an excellent example of a worthy educator. Bishop Nicholas imagined exactly this kind of teacher, or more precisely, educator who would be involved in all the smallest problems of the educational process, the institution itself and its pupils when writing the letter to John Kawamoto (Senuma), the Kyiv Theological Academy graduate, offering him the Tokyo theological school inspector post.

Due to the fact that most teachers of educational institutions of the mission were Japanese who had been baptized not long ago and had not received Christian education at home, the Bishop was especially concerned about the spiritual and moral education of the teachers themselves. Realizing the moral responsibility lying on the young Christians' mentors, he communicated with teachers almost daily, addressed them with instructions and sometimes with reproaches. For him it was unnatural for teachers, for example, to only reveal their knowledge in front of the students, but not to attend church services with them, not to pray with them, in other words, not setting an example of living faith and piety for their students. The Bishop especially pointed out the need for the teachers to approach to the Holy Sacraments of Penance and Communion together with students. His sermons directed to the theological school teachers were dedicated, among other things, to the fight against sinful passions. One of such instructions has been preserved dedicated to counteracting the sin of “excessive pride with his successes”⁴⁶² noticed among the school staff. In the instruction he called “to look deeply into the heart and uproot pride

⁴⁶⁰ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma), dated November 17/29, 1894 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 254.

⁴⁶¹ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) S.A. Rachinsky, dated April 15/27, 1894 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 75. L. 7.

⁴⁶² *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 8. Let us Discover a New Life. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

from it, doing this before God”⁴⁶³. It is quite likely that this was not a single instruction by the head of mission to his co-workers.

In order for future teachers to be able to absorb the spirit of Orthodoxy and to gain experience of living in an Orthodox country, Bishop Nicholas sent some of them to study in Russia. Arseny Iwasawa, one of these students directed to St. Petersburg Theological Academy, wrote the following: “He [Bishop Nicholas. — I.K.] sent us here to Russia not only to hear lectures and to read books written in dead letters, but [to] look at them alive as at the living matter, since an ounce of example weighs more than a pound of theoretical rules”⁴⁶⁴. But, to the deep regret of the mission head, not all graduates brought “the right spirit” with them on returning from Russia: after another case of a teacher’s impious behavior St. Nicholas wrote in his diary that Japanese students had become religiously corrupt in Russian academies, since in Russia, they paid attention “to the bad examples of flattering perverted nature of man”⁴⁶⁵, and now “their shameless laziness and impiety are probably considered a sign of civilization”⁴⁶⁶.

Summarizing the above, we can highlight one more St. Nicholas of Japan’s pedagogical principle, namely *moral and pedagogical asceticism* determining the teacher’s attitude towards himself and his professional work activities.

In addition to the five key principles of St. Nicholas of Japan, Equal-to-the-Apostles’ pedagogical worldview one methodological principle can also be highlighted that has been successfully implemented in life, namely a *mutual learning principle*.

It is based on the premise that the students’ teaching each other through exchanging the knowledge can be included into the learning process. Observing the Japanese people’s life, the Saint noted that many Japanese like to gather together for reading speeches devoted to a specific topic with subsequent joint discussion of its main provisions. The Bishop and his missionary co-workers used this feature creatively: they started organizing

⁴⁶³ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 8. Let us Discover a New Life. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

⁴⁶⁴ Letter from Arseniy Iwasawa to S.A. Rachinsky, dated August 23, 1885 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit 33. L. 90.

⁴⁶⁵ Diary entry from March 6/18, 1899 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 666.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

monthly “enzetsukvai” (modern reading: “endzetsukai”) student meetings in theological schools for oral presentations. Such meetings mainly focused on the questions related to the future of Orthodox preaching in Japan, the students’ future work in the sphere of the Japanese people’s Christian education. At these events, the seminarians exchanged their knowledge and thoughts, shared experiences and doubts. This kind of the meetings usually provided students with significant incentive to continue training, thus preparing them for future preaching work.

In addition, almost every Japanese Orthodox community created similar meetings for parishioners, separately for men, women and the youth. They were usually carried out by a local priest or catechist. The main principles of the Orthodox faith were studied during such meetings, the incomprehensible issues from the Holy Scripture were explained and the lives of Saints were read.

So, we have identified the following **fundamental principles of St. Nicholas of Japan, Equal-to-the-Apostles’ pedagogical views**.

The first principle is *nature conformity*. When discussing human nature, Bishop Nicholas concludes that a person must be brought up and educated in accordance with their natural qualities, their “nature”. Only in this case the God-given potential can be fully realized. But at the same time the Bishop reflects on the fact that human nature comes to an unnatural state after the fall. Therefore, the main task of education, according to the Saint, is the return of human nature to its natural state. In the Saint’s words, it is necessary to educate oneself for the heaven. This principle of St. Nicholas's pedagogy can belong to those determining a man’s existence in Christ, i.e. to *ontological* ones.

The next ontological principle fundamental for the Saint’s pedagogy in particular and for the Christian pedagogy in general, is the principle of *Christocentricity*. A person’s not thinking about God and not putting Him at the center of their life will result in death of both their soul and body⁴⁶⁷. Following the patristic tradition, the Saint calls the Lord

⁴⁶⁷ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 3. Sermon on the Feast of the Descent of the Holy Spirit // Works from the Legacy of St. Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [published] by the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府

the infinitely Great Teacher, Who educates and teaches us, his children, proclaiming the truths “eternally dear and beloved to the heart”, “even more necessary for a person’s happiness than the rays of the sun are for their earthly existence”⁴⁶⁸.

If the Lord is a Great Teacher, then His Church is, according to St. Nicholas’s thoughts, the school where He teaches His disciples eternal and blessed Truths. Instructing his pupils in love for Her, the Bishop stops at the high priestly prayer from the Gospel by Apostle John: “I pray for them. I do not pray for the world but for those whom You have given Me” (John 17:9). He asks the listeners a question: who is more unhappy — those who belong to those prayed for or those who do not? He answers this question himself in the following way: those who do not belong to the Church are “removed from the circle of the Lord’s attention”⁴⁶⁹. *Ecclesiocentricity* is the third ontological principle of St. Nicholas of Japan’s pedagogy.

The following two highlighted pedagogical principles suggested by the Saint are attributed by many modern researchers to methodological ones, i.e. to those defining views on pedagogical activity and relations between the pedagogical process participants⁴⁷⁰. Such point of view can be partly agreed with.

The principle — *pedocentricity* — determines St Nicholas’s regarding the child as the center of educational efforts application. According to him, the child is a free person created by the Lord in His own image. Will they grow up evil or good depends on their parents’ love for them expressed in bringing them up in piety. The Saint talks about the close relationship between mother and child, as well as about the role of maternal sensitive upbringing in the child’s future life. The main active force in bringing up the child is, according the Saint, the love growing from the root which is love for God.

主教庁 / Nihon Harisuto sei-kyokai kyodan fushukyochy). Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese: A.G. Fesyun.

⁴⁶⁸ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. A Word Said (in Japanese) at the Liturgy. P. 246–252.

⁴⁶⁹ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 7. We Must be Obedient Church. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

⁴⁷⁰ See, for example, *Slobodchikov V.I.* In Search of the Grounds for Christian Psychology. Part One // News of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. 2016. No. 1(105). P. 84–95.

In accordance with the concept by Archimandrite George (Shestun), the following methodological principle was labeled as *moral-pedagogical asceticism*. It can be divided into two components: the teacher's attitude to their work and their attitude to themselves, their moral and spiritual state. The problem of a teacher's, an educator's, a mentor's and, broadly speaking, a missionary personality concerned Bishop Nicholas deeply: throughout his entire teaching career he talked about the features necessary for a teacher. In the Saint's opinion, the teacher is morally responsible for his students. That is why the highly moral example of their mentor is so important for the disciples. And this example must be real, not "apparent": the Bishop believed that children would certainly notice their being deceived⁴⁷¹. Therefore, a trusting relationship between the mentor and educated is, according to the Saint, necessary for the success of education.

The present research identified another methodological issue characterizing the Saint's pedagogy, namely the *mutual learning principle*. This principle was laid down by the enlightener in the instructions for the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission: he assumed that Japanese believers would exchange their knowledge of the Christian faith under the guidance of their priests, catechists and teachers. This principle was expressed in the friendly meetings for mutual teaching of faith and discussion of various church issues organized in almost every Orthodox community.

2.3. Practical approaches to the organization of Christian enlightenment in Japan by Nicholas of Japan, Equal-to-the-Apostles

The system of St. Nicholas's pedagogical views analyzed in the previous paragraphs served as the basis for his activities in the field of Christian education and enlightenment. Over time his solutions were often transformed or rejected by the Saint himself because of their unsuccessfulness. But the main practical approaches the

⁴⁷¹ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Princess A.N. Golitsyna, dated March 30 / April 11, 1888 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 171.

missionary used throughout his entire work in organizing the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's educational activities in Japan can still be highlighted.

Treaties between Japan and the Russian Empire signed in 1855 and 1858 allowed the opening of a Russian consulate in Hakodate and the construction of the country's first Christian church, namely the Church of the Resurrection of Christ, in the same city. Initially it was planned to open it in one of the consulate rooms, but the first Russian consul I.A. Goshkevich decided to construct a separate building for the church in order to elevate it over other temples in the eyes of the Japanese⁴⁷². In 1859 priest Vasily Makhov arrived to Japan and served in the consulate for less than a year. Then, for several months, services were conducted in the church by the dean of the Amur flotilla, Hieromonk Filaret, who consecrated the Resurrection Church⁴⁷³. After Fr. Vasily Makhov left, Goshkevich addressed the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointing out the need to send a new priest with the academic background to Hakodate. The priest had to conduct Christian preaching as well. Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) who arrived in Hakodate on the second of July 1861 became such a priest.

According to the order of the Asian Department, it was planned to open a school in Hakodate together with the consulate. The school was supposed to teach Russian language, History, Geography and Mathematics^{474, 475}. Ivan, the son of Father Vasily Makhov, was among those supposed to participate in the school's teaching process. By the end of 1860 he had even compiled and published several hundred copies of the Russian alphabet for the Japanese. After Ivan Makhov's departure in 1861 Father Nicholas (Kasatkin) took charge of organizing the educational process in the school.

⁴⁷² *Shcheglov Nikolay, Priest*. Hakodate Holy Resurrection of our Lord Church and its First Father Superior Archpriest Vasily Makhov // *Ugreshsky Sbornik*. Collected Works of Teachers and Master's Program Students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological seminaries. Issue 6. M.: LLC "Publishing House PENATY and BOOK", 2017. P. 152.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.* P. 153.

⁴⁷⁴ From the History of the Consulate in Hakodate [Electronic resource] // Embassy of Russia in Japan. URL: // https://tokyo.mid.ru/ru/iz_istorii_posolstva/g_khakodate/ (date accessed: 01.06.2024).

⁴⁷⁵ *Masako Tatsumi*. Activities of Joseph Goshkevich in Hakodate // *Journal of International Law and International Relations*. Minsk. 2014. No. 3. P. 69.

As it was stated in the previous paragraphs, the educational institutions had not separately trained the young missionary in pedagogy. But his academic background undoubtedly enabled him to teach at the consular school.

The educational institution in Hakodate was small. In 1864 only 6 Japanese of different ages were studying there⁴⁷⁶, at the end of the 1860s there were about 20 students in total.

Particular attention was paid here to teaching Russian language — the language of a country the Japanese regarded as a part of “Western civilization”. While schools teaching English were actively opened in the main cities of Japan, the Russian language was taught almost only at the consulate school in Hakodate, and after Fr. Nicholas moved in 1872, also the school opened in Tokyo. There were several reasons including those related to limited financial resources allocated to the school. Hieromonk Nicholas considered teaching Russian language as an important way to bring two countries and two cultures closer together: “The more people know the Russian language and Russia, the more friends Russia will have here, the stronger the connection and friendship between Russia and Japan will be”⁴⁷⁷. At the same time, for Father Nicholas, as well as for non-Orthodox preachers, teaching a foreign language meant the opportunity to regularly communicate with Japanese, therefore indirectly introducing Christian doctrine to them. Thanks to his teaching at the consulate school there were many people in northern Japan who wanted to learn about the Orthodox faith⁴⁷⁸. In 1871 a missionary claimed that “the inclination towards Orthodoxy decisively”⁴⁷⁹ prevailed in Hakodate.

⁴⁷⁶ Letter-report of Hieromonk Nickolas (Kasatkin) to the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod A.P. Akhmatov, dated August 21, 1863 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 74.

⁴⁷⁷ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Vice-Director of Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Baron F.R. Osten-Saken, dated July 15/27, 1872 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 81.

⁴⁷⁸ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the benefactor, merchant A.M. Polezhaev, dated May 10/22, 1871 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 72.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid. P. 73.

In St. Nicholas's opinion, the lack of a printed guide for studying Russian language was the main reason for the relatively small interest in this subject⁴⁸⁰. Fr. Nicholas took several steps to change the situation: he prepared a Russian-Japanese dictionary and phrasebooks for printing, translated Russian grammar into Japanese. Moreover, he ordered textbooks in Russian from Russia, sometimes at his own expense⁴⁸¹. Hieromonk Nicholas also contributed to the appearance of Russian fonts in Japan⁴⁸² and actively participated in the preparation of a student group sent by the Japanese authorities to study in Russia⁴⁸³.

Distribution of books written by foreign authors and translated into Chinese or Dutch was a way to introduce the Western culture and its basis, namely the Christianity, to the Japanese. Therefore, the translation of books, primarily of the Holy Scripture, into Japanese and their preparation for the publication belonged to the St. Nicholas's main concerns throughout his ministry in Japan. In his opinion, the new children of the Church first of all should be given the word of God in their native language, which is the "flame of Divine and inextinguishable love, the all-illuminating lamp of Divine wisdom"⁴⁸⁴. There was also a need for Christian books of edifying and religious content that explained to the Japanese the basic principles of their new faith.

In the early 1870s, a lithographic press was installed at the mission which began to print publications necessary for initial training. Such publications included the short prayer book, "The Orthodox Confession" of St. Demetrius of Rostov, "Discourses on the Christian Faith" and some other publications translated into Japanese from Chinese⁴⁸⁵.

⁴⁸⁰ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Vice-Director of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Baron F.R. Osten-Sacken, dated July 15/27, 1872 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 80.

⁴⁸¹ Letter from Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Former Consul in Hakodate I.A. Goshkevich, dated May 2/14, 1866 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 51.

⁴⁸² Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Vice-Director of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Baron F.R. Osten-Sacken, dated July 15/27, 1872. // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 80.

⁴⁸³ Letter from Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Former Consul in Hakodate I.A. Goshkevich, dated September 11/23 1865 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 45.

⁴⁸⁴ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the benefactor, merchant O.P. Tyulyaev, dated February 11/23, 1875 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 101.

⁴⁸⁵ Report to the Holy Synod, dated January 15, 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 159.

But low machine power, lack of necessary financial resources for ensuring its operation and outdated technology that did not allow printing decent quality books prevented the wide distribution of the Orthodox mission books. Father Nicholas bitterly stated that the mission was often forced to use the publications by Protestant authors to provide the new children of the Orthodox Church with Christian books⁴⁸⁶. Subsequently the situation with the book supply improved significantly: a publishing department was established at the mission; Tokyo Theological Seminary trained people of several professions, besides translators; original works by Japanese Orthodox authors began to appear among the publications. Already by the mid-1880s the mission was able to send religious books on requests received from Orthodox communities. The head of the mission considered the option of distributing publications by book distributors (book peddlers), which was used, for example, by Protestant preachers⁴⁸⁷.

“The desire to become enlightened, to borrow all the good things from foreigners penetrates them to the core”⁴⁸⁸, Father Nicholas wrote about the Japanese people in early 1870s reporting to Russia on the prospects of Christian preaching in Japan. The «Land of the Rising Sun» citizens considered the Western countries the source of new miracles⁴⁸⁹ that could improve and transform Japanese reality. The Japanese government encouraged policies in according to that comprehending Western sciences, such as foreign languages, medicine and military affairs⁴⁹⁰, was planned first of all.

The Imperial power Restoration in 1868 and the subsequent turbulent reforms made it possible to begin active Christian preaching in the country. This was also facilitated by the fact that Christianity was regarded by many Japanese reformers as an important component of Western civilization: many of them believed that the “new religion” could become a means of political and spiritual renewal of the country. To some extent these

⁴⁸⁶ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the benefactor, merchant O.P. Tyulyaev, dated February 11/23, 1875 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 104.

⁴⁸⁷ Diary entry from October 30 / November 11, 1892 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 419–420.

⁴⁸⁸ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to an unknown addressee (1873) // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 84.

⁴⁸⁹ *Shoji Sergey*. How I Became a Christian. P. 9.

⁴⁹⁰ *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era. P. 22.

views were influenced the book by the American author Henry Wheaton “Elements of International Law” published in Japan in 1865. It called Japan a “semi-civilized” country that could become “civilized” by adopting Christianity⁴⁹¹.

In the second half of the 1860s, especially after the beginning of the Meiji reforms having deeply affected school and higher education, government schools are opened in key cities where foreigners began to teach most of whom were Christians. The Japanese who strove to enter schools that taught the “mysteriously profound science of the West”⁴⁹² were primarily interested in acquiring specialized knowledge and skills. However, under the teachers’ influence they often showed interest in the Christian religion and were baptized later, as their faith deepened⁴⁹³.

Father Nicholas, like other Christian confession representatives, supposed that educational institutions are one of the important ways for the Christian preaching. “School is an important tool for the implantation of Christianity, since the hearts of parents are where their children are, and children at school are imbued with the spirit of Christianity that flows straight into the hearts of the parents. There has not been an example yet of parents staying pagans having their children raised in our school”⁴⁹⁴, — the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission wrote a little later.

In 1868 he developed 14 missionary rules, which determined the main directions of future Orthodox missionaries’ activity. The work on Christian education organization, including teaching Russian language, was called one of the significant points there⁴⁹⁵. These rules were subsequently reflected in the Instruction of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, namely the. It contained the Saint’s main approaches to preaching and

⁴⁹¹ *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. P. 127.

⁴⁹² *Shoji Sergey.* How I Became a Christian. P. 17.

⁴⁹³ *A History of Japanese Religion.* P. 513.

⁴⁹⁴ Diary entry from September 5/18, 1901 // *Diaries of St. Nicholas of Japan.* Vol. 4. P. 521.

⁴⁹⁵ *A History of Japanese Religion.* P. 505.

“was one of the keys to the success of the Orthodox mission in Japan”⁴⁹⁶. This document was approved by the Holy Synod in 1871 for a period of five years⁴⁹⁷.

According to the instruction, missionaries were required to continuously guide and teach new children of the Orthodox Church, paying special attention to the education of Japanese catechists in the faith. The latter, in Archimandrite Nicholas’s opinion, were to assist the missionaries and to share the work on Christian enlightenment of Japan with them⁴⁹⁸.

Father Nicholas had already had the opportunity to evaluate the successfulness of the faith disseminating activity in Japan. Firstly, it was the preaching experience of Pavel Sawabe, the first Orthodox Japanese, who, taught by Father Nicholas, brought to Christ John Sakai, Jacob Urano and other Japanese, the future first catechists. Secondly, in winter in 1868 Hieromonk Nicholas first used catechists to preach in Hakodate: several Japanese trained by him held catechism meetings and visited the homes of those who wanted to learn about Christ⁴⁹⁹. Later they continued carrying out such activities in other populated areas when hieromonk Nicholas sent the first catechists away from Hakodate⁵⁰⁰ fearing for their lives.

In addition, any open Christian preaching was prohibited when the instruction was written. Therefore, in the draft instruction, Fr. Nicholas calls Japanese catechists, whom the missionaries had to first educate and instruct in the faith, the main hope for the Orthodox preaching expansion⁵⁰¹. Catechists could go deep into Japanese territory, look for new listeners there, and visit newly converted Christians teaching them the rudiments of the Christian faith⁵⁰².

⁴⁹⁶ *Lensen G.A.* Russian Push toward Japan. New York: Octagon Books, 1971. P. 406.

⁴⁹⁷ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Vice-Director of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Baron F.R. Osten-Sacken, dated October 31 / November 12, 1871 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 78.

⁴⁹⁸ Draft instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, dated 19 July 1870 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 129.

⁴⁹⁹ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk.* And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful... P. 252.

⁵⁰⁰ Letter from Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the acting Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod Yu.V. Tolstoy // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 120.

⁵⁰¹ Draft instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, dated 19 July, 1870 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 129.

⁵⁰² A History of Japanese Religion. P. 505.

Thus, the instructions laid down one of the main approaches of the Orthodox mission for the Christian enlightenment of Japan: spreading the sermon on the territory of the country with the help of Japanese themselves through their training and subsequent instruction in the faith.

Other Christian missions had Japanese catechists as well. But in no other mission this approach was the main one; foreign missionaries, whose numbers increased annually from the mid-1870s (in some years the number of them, for example among Protestants, reached 600–700 people) could act independently. As regards the Orthodox mission, it was supposed to have no more than 10 people, including deaconesses and church singing teachers, but the mission had never had a full staff over the entire period of its existence (see: Appendix 3). This approach developed by Fr. Nicholas enabled the mission to carry out the Christian enlightenment of Japan.

The instruction stipulated the need to educate the Japanese believers' children in the Christian spirit. For this purpose it was planned to open schools at each station (branch) of the mission after lifting the ban on open preaching. Both the missionaries themselves and local catechists had to teach in them. Such educational institutions were opened in Hakodate, where there were two schools — for boys and for girls. As for Tokyo where the main station of the mission moved in 1872, primary school was not opened there. On the basis of the Russian language school organized by Archimandrite Nicholas a Theological Seminary was created, which provided secondary education, and a catechetical school for training preachers. Almost at the same time, a Women School was founded.

According to the missionary's plan, catechists prepared by educational institutions would teach members of the Christian community they were sent to, separately children and adults. Children had to know the basic prayers and the Symbol of Faith. The adults, following Fr. Nicholas's subsequent suggestion, had to hold "friendly parties (or meetings)" — "simbokkwai" (modern reading: "simbokkai"). Diary entries by the

mission head made during his missionary journeys show that such work was carried out in most communities⁵⁰³.

To organize training at schools the Orthodox mission members had to translate the necessary books into the Japanese language themselves⁵⁰⁴. But first of all it was necessary to translate the Holy Scripture and liturgical books, since, according to the head of the mission, holding the church service in a language understandable to the Japanese was “a living need of the spirit for believers and at the same time the best sermon for unbelievers”⁵⁰⁵. Therefore, the instruction stipulated the duty of Christian educational institutions, including Russian ones, to train translators from Japanese believers for preparing the religious content to the publication and for assisting the missionaries in the translation of the Holy Scripture. In addition, the decision to hold the church service in the mission’s stations in the Japanese language led St. Nicholas to the idea to train reciters and singers at schools, which was later implemented through the clergy school creation.

The most capable Japanese young people, according to the missionary, were to go to Russia to continue their theological education and become clergymen, school teachers and preachers “equivalent” to the Russian members of the mission⁵⁰⁶. This approach to the organization of Japanese young people’s training developed by St. Nicholas shows that he believed from the very beginning that the Japanese Church needed to be nurtured on Japanese soil, by the Japanese themselves. This point of view distinguished the Orthodox mission, for example, from the Catholic one.

St. Nicholas drew the mission members’ attention to the fact that they represented not only the Christian religion for the Japanese, but also the European education. Therefore, the instructions specifically stipulated that the missionaries should “devote

⁵⁰³ See, for example: Diary entry from November 9/21, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 442.

⁵⁰⁴ Draft instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan dated 19 July 1870 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 130–131.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid. P. 132.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid. P. 131.

hours to maintaining and expanding their education”⁵⁰⁷ in order to be able to answer questions from different areas of knowledge.

The above approaches set out in the instruction for Russian Ecclesiastical Mission testify that St. Nicholas strongly emphasized the education considering it an important part of the missionary work and the activities aimed at Christian education of the country.

Hakodate's remoteness was an advantage in the early stages Fr. Nicholas's work, since the city was outside the close attention of the government which was still against Christian preachers. But this remoteness was at the same time an obstacle for spreading Orthodox teaching throughout the country. Therefore the missionary begins putting into practice the plan described in the instructions only after moving to Tokyo.

The educational institutions organizing activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and its head will be considered in more detail in the next chapter. Here general practical solutions of St. Nicholas, Equal-to-the-Apostles, will be given.

Almost all schools of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, according to the missionary, were supposed to have training the preachers from among the Japanese as their main goal. Two educational institutions, a Theological Seminary and a Catechetical School opened almost simultaneously differed both in the composition of the students and in the educational programs: the Seminary accepted young men under 18–20 years old, who studied (among other disciplines) general education subjects at this institution, whereas the Catechetical School students were adults who had life and educational experience behind them. The head of the mission intended to found a higher theological educational institution, namely academy, on the basis of the Catechetical School. The Japanese people could go to the academy after graduating seminaries. In other words, he planned to transfer the Russian Church's tradition of organizing the theological education to the educational system of Japan.

Educational institutions had been useful in the Christian enlightenment almost from their very foundation: senior students taught lessons in junior classes and preached after

⁵⁰⁷ Draft instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan dated 19 July 1870 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 132.

the end of the church service. Moreover, they went out to preach as a part of the educational process, some of them became active catechists without completing the course. These processes were facilitated by programs of educational institutions as well as the practice of holding student meetings for delivering oral speeches and discussions — “ensetsukwai” and friendly gatherings of students — “shimbokkai”. These practices gave the lecturer an opportunity to hone his skills of pronouncing the sermons and answering other students’ questions. As for the listeners, especially junior students, they learnt to argue and defend their positions from their seniors’ example.

Bishop Nicholas paid special attention to organization of similar friendly gatherings in all Japanese Orthodox communities, since he believed that their functioning contributed to expanding the “limits of preaching” and helped to cultivate the believers’ Christian feelings⁵⁰⁸.

According to the mission head, separate women's (“jotosimbokkai”, modern reading: “jotosimbokkai”) and men’s (“dantokwai”, modern reading: “dantokai”) friendly gatherings had to be organized in Japanese provincial churches. In some communities separate meetings for youth (“seinenkai”, modern reading: “seinenkai”) had to be held as well. At these meetings, which would be held at least once a month, the participants, having prepared under the guidance of a local priest or a catechist in advance, would ‘offer spiritual food to the society’⁵⁰⁹. They would tell stories from the lives of Saints, explain prayers, something from the Holy Scripture, the nearest holiday, etc. The Bishop believed that such stories and explanations would serve for “mutual edification and spiritual self-education”⁵¹⁰.

According to the Saint, women's religious education and upbringing was another important component of Japan’s successful Christian enlightenment. He compared women's participation in the life of the Church to the role of most subtle blood vessels through which blood from the Source, the Heart of the Church, namely Christ, reaches

⁵⁰⁸ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1888, dated March 9, 1889 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 162.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid. P. 163.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

every member of a single organism — our Church through the main arteries (men). If women do not participate in the movements of this organism, “the flow of blood through the finest the vessels will stop, the organs will be paralyzed and the entire body will stop functioning, <...> finally, it will come to the Church’s becoming motionless”⁵¹¹. Defining the role of women in the Church’s life in such a way, the Bishop saw the urgent need to cultivate strong faith in them. Having cultivated Christian feelings in themselves, women, according to the Saint, would also bring up their children in piety and help unbelieving Japanese women to find faith.

In the late 1870s St. Nicholas noted that one teacher at a Seminary is not enough for teaching to be organized as it should be⁵¹². He understood that it was hardly feasible to send a larger number of missionaries from Russia who would be engaged only in teaching activities. Therefore, as in the case of the catechists’ providing Christian sermons, when St. Nicholas began to rely on Japanese preachers, the head of the mission decided to send Seminary graduates to Russian theological academies for training. After graduating the academies they would, among other things, teach in Japanese Orthodox theological schools.

The head of the mission received the consent to send Japanese students to Russian religious educational institutions in 1871. In 1872 one of his students (probably Nicholas Ito⁵¹³) was sent to Russia but died upon the arrival. N.Yu. Sukhova’s research noted quite rightly that his prospects for studying in Russia were “quite uncertain”, since the Japanese had neither Russian language knowledge nor primary theological education⁵¹⁴. The knowledge given by the Russian language school was not enough for admission to Russian theological educational institutions. St. Nicholas recognized this attempt as

⁵¹¹ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 18. The Life of the Church is in Hands of Women Believers. Translated from Japanese: A.G. Fesyun.

⁵¹² Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore, dated August 3, 1879 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 336.

⁵¹³ Diary entry from May 10/22, 1882 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 451.

⁵¹⁴ *Sukhova N.Yu.* Orthodoxy in Japan and Russian Theological Academies (1880–1910) // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Teachers’ Works of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. Issue 4. M., 2014. P. 81.

unsuccessful and decided to send students for training only after having studied Russian language and acquired the theological knowledge under the seminar course.

In 1882, the first class of students graduated having completed the full course of study at Seminary. In the same year Alexander Matsui, a Seminary graduate, left for Russia to enroll in the St. Petersburg Theological Academy. But this attempt to send the student to Russia was also unsuccessful: Alexander Matsui fell ill and died in 1885 during his academy studies.

The first Japanese student having successfully completed theological educational institution in the Russian Empire was Simeon Mii who had graduated from the Tokyo Seminary in 1883. Arseny Iwasawa, a 6th-year Tokyo Seminary student came to Russia together with him to complete the seminary course and subsequently enroll in the theological academy. In the following year Panteleimon Sato arrived to Russia to study at the Kazan Theological Academy. In the following years, until the end of the 1890s, the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan sent the Tokyo Seminary graduates almost every year: at least fifteen students from the Seminary received higher theological education in St. Petersburg, Kyiv, Moscow and Kazan Theological Academies. Bishop Nicholas hoped that they would be able to replace the missionaries from Russia, become his assistants in missionary service and the mission's educational activities. However, to the deep regret for the mission head, most of those having Candidate in Theology left the church ministry for various reasons.

From the very first years of the theological schools' functioning in Tokyo, the number of students was constantly increasing: in 1872 St. Nicholas wrote to Russia that, unlike other countries, in Japan those willing to study Christianity "chase" a missionary themselves, "they rush in droves" to receive a Christian education⁵¹⁵.

But at the beginning of the 1890s the situation began to change: the number of the Seminary and catechetical school applicants gradually decreased, the level of their initial training fell, besides, many of them had serious health problems upon admission.

⁵¹⁵ Letter of Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to an unknown addressee from October 20 / November 1, 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 82.

According to some researchers, one of the reasons for the large number of the Japanese who wanted to learn about the Christian faith and receive education in missionary schools in the 1870s and 1880s was the Meiji reforms' changing the state of the samurai class⁵¹⁶. Many samurai clans who supported the shogun lost all their privileges and hopes, while Christianity gave them hope⁵¹⁷. Similar views were formulated by St. Nicholas: in 1899, discussing the students' enrollment to the catechetical school he concluded that the number of applicants was small due to the fact that new classes were defined and formed, and there were no more redundant people having previously filled the preachers' school⁵¹⁸.

The change in the number of students in theological schools was influenced by the political and social situation in Japan as well, which began to change in the mid-1880s: there was a gradual return to the values, which were unique for Japan and the source of which was the imperial family. The 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education "ordered to study well, be humble, respect the constitution, obey the laws and give one's life for the State if it is needed, thereby contributing to the prosperity of the imperial house, eternal as Heaven and Earth"⁵¹⁹. After some time the provisions of this Rescript turned into a religious dogma which strongly influenced all the areas of the Japanese society's political and cultural life. Japan's subsequent victory over China in the war of 1894–1895 further stimulated strengthening the Japanese's nationalistic views.

Along with this, we cannot help noting the successes of Japanese education reforms: universal primary education made Japan one of the first Asian states with a fully literate population; a formed system of the secondary education, which was previously available to few people, provided the opportunity for Japanese citizens to enroll in higher education institutions.

⁵¹⁶ See, for example: *Bertova A.D.* The Samurai and Christianity: on the Question of Social Affiliation of Japanese Christians in the Second Half of the XIX Century // *International Journal of Cultural Research*. St. Petersburg, 2018. No. 4(33). P. 132–146.

⁵¹⁷ *A History of Japanese Religion*. P. 518.

⁵¹⁸ Diary entry from June 23 / July 5, 1899 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 6. P. 727–728.

⁵¹⁹ *Meshcheryakov A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. P. 428.

These circumstances could not help influencing the private missionary schools. Secular schools opened throughout Japan provided an opportunity for Japanese young men to receive the education that had been previously provided by Christian educational institutions. The Japanese government's course on returning to traditions strengthened anti-Western sentiments, besides among young people. Contemporaries noted the significant increase in their antipathy towards educational institutions completely controlled by the foreign missionaries⁵²⁰. This situation was observed in educational institutions of all Christian denominations.

Bishop Nicholas complained that only the applicants who were for some reason unable to enroll in state secondary educational institutions came to enter Orthodox theological schools⁵²¹. A significant part of those who entered did not complete the course for various reasons and were forced to leave Seminary or schools.

The decrease in the number of pupils led to a shortage of catechists: there were not enough of them, and the mission often had to refuse to send preachers to those willing to hear about Christ. In this regard, missionaries needed to take steps to increase the number of applicants.

One of such methods, according to the Saint, could be to enroll the required number of students “directly from the pagan world”⁵²². It was planned the young people enrolled in this way would complete a two-year preparatory course and then begin Christian preaching or enter the Seminary. A year later Bishop Nicholas recognized this attempt as unsuccessful: only 28 people remained out of the 80 enrolled⁵²³.

⁵²⁰ See, for example: *The Problem of High-Class Education by Missionaries* // *Japan Weekly Mail*. October, 19. 1895. P. 414.

⁵²¹ Diary entry from September 1/13, 1895 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 5. P. 726; Diary entry from June 23 / July 5, 1899 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 6. P. 728.

⁵²² Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1890, dated March 28, 1891 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 2. P. 207.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*

The next measure proposed in Bishop Nicholas's report to the Holy Synod was "the Seminary functioning regulation"⁵²⁴. This proposal by the mission head was connected to his plans of transforming the educational institution⁵²⁵.

Some time before the Seminary had not had an annual graduation, which indirectly indicated the insufficient number of teachers (at that time the Saint himself was very busy with the Resurrection Cathedral construction in Tokyo) and the lack of space to accommodate all the students. According to Bishop Nicholas, it was the Seminary graduates who are, "brought up for this purpose since childhood and having a serious theological education <...> undoubtedly a more durable and reliable element"⁵²⁶ for the Christian preaching development: all their thoughts, feelings and actions are "unchangeably revolve <...> around one center, which is Christianity"⁵²⁷.

For the educational institution functioning improvement new buildings needed to be constructed first of all to accommodate students. The mission had funds for this purpose, including donations from future Russian Emperor Nicholas II. However, the construction of the new buildings was postponed for several years by the mission head's decision.

According to Bishop Nicholas, the main reason for this delay was the absence of a real teacher in theological schools who would become a "reliable educator who would put his soul into his work, a reasonable disciplinarian who would lead with a firm hand but not just go with the students' or any other frivolous crowd"⁵²⁸. This opinion of St.

⁵²⁴ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1890, dated March 28, 1891 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 207.

⁵²⁵ For more details on the plans for transforming the Seminary, see: *Kuzmina I.V.* On the Issue of Reorganization of the Tokyo Theological Seminary in the mid-1890s [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://uchkom.info/publikatsii/iv-kuzmina-k-voprosu-o-pereustroystve-tokiyskoy-duxhovnoy-seminarii-v-seredine-1890-kh-godov-20370/> (accessed: 27.12.23); *Ibid.* Election of the Head of the Tokyo Theological Seminary: Analysis of the Letter of John Kawamoto (Senuma) to St. Nicholas of Japan // *Ugreshsky Sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary.* 2023. No. 14. P. 122–129. P. 122–129.

⁵²⁶ Report to the Holy Synod on the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1890 Tokyo, dated March 28, 1891 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 207.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁸ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated April 15/27, 1894 // OR RNB. F. 631. D. 75. L. 7–7 rev.

Nicholas was justified: unpleasant events sometimes occurred in the Seminary and greatly influenced its activities. In 1892, when the mission head visited Christian communities in different parts of Japan, the Seminary was guided by priest Sergiy Glebov, one of the Russian missionaries. He had failed to establish proper relationships with students and considered it minor fault when analyzing the case of four seminarians' immoral behavior. As the result, nearly 30 seminarians left the institution, many of whom never returned⁵²⁹. The similar situation happened in the Catechetical School, when Daniil Konisi⁵³⁰ was the inspector in the men's educational institutions.

Towards the mid-1890s, the mission head's plan of the Seminary transformation acquired its final features. In his letter to John Kawamoto written in 1894 Bishop Nicholas shared the dreams about a new theological school with him. According to his ideas, the Tokyo Seminary was supposed to become an “educational institution that is in no way inferior in its program to gymnasiums, <...> but with the addition of spiritual subjects, religious sciences, and with the students' upbringing in a moral and religious spirit”⁵³¹. Here the Saint uses the word “gymnasium” to denote higher secondary schools for boys or advanced level of boys' high school (ko:to:chu: gakko). They began to appear throughout Japan as a result of the educational reforms implemented in 1886. The main task of such a Japanese school was to prepare the graduates for enrollment in higher education institutions, for example, the Imperial University of Tokyo. Since 1894 Japanese higher secondary schools were considered a separate form of school education. They were divided into two departments — higher, preparing for university admission, and lower, providing general knowledge in various scientific fields⁵³². The set of subjects studied in such educational institutions was, generally speaking, comparable to the Seminary program (except for theological studies). Perhaps St. Nicholas also considered the possibility of expanding the Seminary curriculum, making it more similar to the one

⁵²⁹ See: Diary entry from May 19/31, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. Pp. 267–268; Diary entry for June 4/16, 1892 // Ibid. P. 292.

⁵³⁰ See: Letter of Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma), dated November 17/29, 1894 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 253.

⁵³¹ Ibid. P. 252.

⁵³² *Prasol A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji era. P. 200.

at Japanese schools. Enrollment age and course duration in two educational institutions were also similar (6–7 years).

The head of the mission believed that a subject named “morality” included into the program of government higher secondary schools could not provide the younger generation with a solid foundation of moral upbringing. Such foundation, in his opinion, could be provided only through adding “religious sciences” to the program. Therefore, he assumed that, if he gave non-Christian children a chance for the Seminary admission, many parents would want to send their children to an educational institution that will bring them up “good and religious”⁵³³. It must be said that there were some cases in the history of the Tokyo Seminary when non-Christian parents sent their children to the Seminary “for behavior correction”⁵³⁴.

According to the Saint, the best person for the inspector position appointment was John Kawamoto, a student of the Kyiv Theological Academy. The Bishop wrote to him in one of the letters: “You seem to be the only person possessing these qualities of a teacher that are so important and necessary here”⁵³⁵. Describing his future activities, Bishop Nicholas drew Kawamoto's attention to the leading role that, in his opinion, the teacher should play in the process of theological school students' education, and to the importance of the teacher's calling, namely “to give good servants of the Church and many... good servants of the Motherland, ... who would be the cornerstone of the well-being of the... Motherland!”⁵³⁶.

In a reply letter announcing his agreement to take the inspector position, John Kawamoto agrees with his mentor's idea that pedagogical work is one of the most “pleasant services that a man can take upon himself if he wants to be a true man and a

⁵³³ Letter of Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma), dated November 17/29, 1894. // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 252.

⁵³⁴ See: Diary entry from August 18/30, 1898 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 570.

⁵³⁵ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma), dated November 17/29, 1894. // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 252.

⁵³⁶ Ibid. P. 254.

Christian”⁵³⁷. It should be noted, that, in spite of the initial difficulties facing Kawamoto upon returning to his homeland, he had been the head of the Theological Schools until 1916, i.e. for almost 20 years, and became the missionary’s indispensable assistant in the mission’s educational activities.

Bishop Nicholas’s Tokyo Seminary transformation project has not been implemented. There were many reasons, including those related to financial support of the mission. But the main reason was the situation in the Protestant University of Doshisha at that time. Although founded as a Christian higher education institution, it gradually turned into a fully secular university: according to information collected by the commission sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) for investigation, Christianity was taught on a voluntary basis, not being a compulsory subject; the educational institution taught the basics of other religious beliefs as well⁵³⁸.

According to St. Nicholas’ approach to Seminary education, it was a “theological institution for the Church servants’ education; no slightest concessions to any secular influence, no slightest imitation of someone else’s tone for inviting people to school”⁵³⁹. The goal of education in the mission’s schools was, according to the Bishop, to prepare the students for “purely religious service to the Church”. According to the Saint, it was their main and fundamental difference from, for example, Protestant⁵⁴⁰ educational institutions whose graduates mainly mastered professions in which “ideas” occupied an important place, almost never choosing “so-called Christian professions”⁵⁴¹.

Thus, the Saint clearly defines that the mission’s educational activity is definitely and unwaveringly confessional and has ecclesiastical character. This approach of Bishop Nicholas to the Christian education, in fact, corresponded to the basic provisions of the

⁵³⁷ Letter from I.A. Kawamoto to Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin), dated February 18/22, 1895 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit 75. L. 10 rev.

⁵³⁸ The Problem of High-Class Education by Missionaries // Japan Weekly Mail. October, 19. 1895. P. 415.

⁵³⁹ Diary entry from October 6/18, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 748.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ *Barton James L.* Educational Missions. P. 179.

theological education organization system in the Russian Empire, introduced by the Charter of Orthodox Theological Seminaries and Schools adopted on the 22nd of August 1884. This document contained ideas for strengthening the ecclesiastical nature of theological schools, “liturgical and spiritual life of students and teachers, their pastoral aspirations and participation in church education in general”⁵⁴².

Religious education, according to modern researchers, cannot be non-denominational, it is described as a view “from within the ‘ideological church fence’”⁵⁴³. From this point of view, education provided by educational institutions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan was purely religious. This direction of training led to the fact that those “striving for secular gains” had no intention to enter the Seminary and catechetical school, but at the same time, according to the Saint, there hardly were “ideal, sublime, selfless, how ... we wish this for filling our schools”⁵⁴⁴.

Bishop Nicholas's Seminary transformation plan included the admission of non-Christian young men to the Seminary studies, who “first of all must certainly become Christians”⁵⁴⁵. Upon graduating from the academic institutions the program of which, according to the mission head, would allow them to enter higher education institutions in Japan, the young men could choose not only church service. It should be noted that missionary schools of other Christian denominations did not strictly limit their graduates' subsequent profession choice. From this point of view, the approach to the Tokyo Seminary functioning organization would probably have become closer to the same approach of other missionary schools. But it would be a violation of the Theological School's “especially ecclesiastical purpose” categorically unacceptable for Bishop Nicholas.

⁵⁴² *Sukhova N.Yu.* Theological Schools and Theological Education in Russia (XVII — early XX century). M.; St. Petersburg, 2013. Electronic edition. Moscow, St. Petersburg, 2013. P. 64.

⁵⁴³ *Shmonin D.V.* Technology of Good: Essays on the Theology of Education. Moscow: Poznanie, 2018. P. 19–20.

⁵⁴⁴ Diary entry from June 23 / July 5, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 728.

⁵⁴⁵ Diary entry from October 6/18, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 748.

The head of the mission also decided that, if the Seminary were opened to everyone, then those who would choose secular rather than ecclesiastical paths would have a dangerous influence on others, either by their lousy actions or by “firing with the smokeless and noiseless powder of caresses, inducements and distractions”⁵⁴⁶. Therefore, in October 1895 Bishop Nicholas delays his Seminary transformation plan for the future times when “the wind changes in Japan, <...> and the pagans begin knocking at our door themselves”⁵⁴⁷. Thus, the direction of religious education at the Seminary and catechetical school, purely professional institutions, remained unchanged. This fact affected the number of students and, in some ways, limited the influence of the Orthodox on public and social life of Japan.

Based on the above, we can highlight the **following main approaches** of St. Nicholas of Japan, Equal-to-the-Apostles, to the organization of educational and enlightenment work as part of the missionary activity of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan: teaching the Russian language in educational institutions; translation of the Holy Scriptures and books of religious and moral content into Japanese; concentration of efforts on the organization of professional religious education for the training and education of Japanese catechists and future clergy; organization of “friendly gatherings” in provincial Orthodox communities for teaching and strengthening in the faith; development of women's Orthodox educational institutions.

Conclusions for Chapter 2

The Second Chapter conducted a theological analysis of St. Nicholas of Japan's, Equal-to-the-Apostles, views on the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's organizing the educational activities and his main practical solutions.

⁵⁴⁶ Diary entry from October 7/19, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 750.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

1. It was found out that the *process of the educator of Japan's pedagogical views formation has gone through four stages*, namely the initial period of childhood and education in Theological Seminary and academy (1836–1860); the beginning of pedagogical activities in Japan, improving skills and methods of education and upbringing which were expressed in the program of the mission's activities (1861–1870); implementation of plans for Christian education of the country (1871–1895); maturity and analysis stage (1895–1912). These time frames were determined basing on the important events in the Saint's biography: in 1860, upon completion of studies at the theological academy, he was sent to Japan; in 1870 the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan was established; in 1895 St. Nicholas handed down the guidance of Tokyo theological schools to John Kawamoto (Senuma); in 1912 St. Nicholas, ArchBishop of Japan, died.

The formation of the Saint's pedagogical views *was influenced by a number of the following factors*: 1) family, mentors in religious educational institutions, missionaries, teachers, statesmen and public figures, such as St. Innokenty (Veniaminov), St. Feofan the Recluse, S.A. Rachinsky, K.P. Pobedonostsev and others; 2) the living conditions and environment St. Nicholas lived in; 3) the era of the second half of the 19th century characterized by the almost simultaneous implementation of significant reforms in political and social life of two countries, namely Japan and Russia.

2. It was found that the missionary had formulated clear provisions, which formed the basis of the mission's educational activities and practical approaches to organizing its educational institutions. Based on the theological analysis of the views of St. Nicholas and comparing them with the views of the Holy Fathers, Orthodox educators and missionaries, it was concluded that the *pedagogical principles of the enlightener of Japan are in line with Patristic tradition and Russian Christian pedagogical thought*. For the Saint, the education of a young man is inseparable from his upbringing "in a moral and religious sense," i.e., first of all, it was necessary to form a Christian worldview and value orientations that would guide him in later life. During the theological analysis the entire corpus of his known written heritage was examined, including sermons published only in Japanese and unknown for the Russian scientific community.

To classify and structure the main provisions of his pedagogy it was decided to use the concept of the Orthodox pedagogy principles proposed by Archimandrite George (Shestun): it was chosen as the main because of its wide use. During the analysis the provisions were divided into two groups. The first one comprises *ontological principles*, i.e. those which determine the man's existence in Christ, such as *Christocentricity*, *ecclesiocentricity* and a *child's education according to their nature (nature conformity)*. The second one contains methodological principles: *pedocentricity*, *moral and pedagogical asceticism*. In addition to the highlighted principles of the Saint's pedagogy, it was established that the Bishop was widely adhered to another principle that can be attributed to methodological principles, namely, the *principle of self-study and mutual learning*.

The pedagogical views of the Saint became the basis for Fr. Nicholas's of the methods, in particular, used by the mission in its educational institutions. It was shown that the most important of them were: joint attendance at Divine services and participation in the Sacraments of the Church; the participation of both teachers and pupils in "friendly meetings"; careful observance by pupils of established rules and discipline and the control of teachers over this; the need to maintain warm relations between teachers and pupils, etc. For the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and its head educational activities were inextricably linked with the success of Orthodox preaching in the country.

3. *The key feature of St. Nicholas's approach* was his decision to spread the preach mainly through the Japanese people themselves having previously trained them in the mission's educational institutions. This approach was selected due to a number of reasons. The main reasons were the Orthodox missionaries' not having the opportunity for open Christian preaching in the early days of the mission, successful experience of Orthodox catechists' preaching activities, insufficient number of mission members, the mission's having the opportunity to train catechists in educational institutions. According to Fr. Nicholas, a catechist is an assistant to a foreign missionary who shares his work on Christian enlightenment.

St. Nicholas assumed that in the future the mission would have the opportunity to prepare catechists who would be able to replace missionaries from Russia. He associated

this opportunity with the development of the mission's educational institutions (primarily, Theological Seminary), preparation and publication of theological literature, directing talented students to Russian theological schools for further education.

The approach developed by St. Nicholas had a decisive influence on the formation and development of the Japanese Orthodox Church.

4. Based on the mutual learning principle, the Saint introduced innovative forms — “friendly meetings” — into the mission's educational practice. The joint study of the Christian faith was a method of Japanese believers' catechesis, at the same time supporting their desire to preach among their relatives and friends.

5. The main feature of the Orthodox mission's educational activities (differing from the similar work of non-Orthodox missions) was its strictly confessional character. Almost all the mission's educational institutions were aimed at preparing the Church servants. The course on the professional religious education organization taken by the Saint has limited influx of applicants to mission schools: many students did not complete their studies or did not attend church services afterwards. The Tokyo Seminary transformation project developed by the mission head in the early 1890s was aimed at changing this situation through admitting non-Christian Japanese who could choose “non-clerical” ministry after completing their studies. But this plan was not realized, besides due to the Bishop Nicholas's considering the decision to change the theological school's “specially-ecclesiastical” purpose unacceptable.

6. Organizing the Orthodox educational institutions' functioning, the missionary tried to use the Russian theological education system that was familiar to him: primary theological education — Theological Seminary — higher theological educational institution. For this purpose, for 5 years, from 1870 to 1875, almost all types of theological educational institutions were formed by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan: primary schools, theological school subsequently transformed into a Seminary with a translation department, a Women School and a Regency (Clergy) School.

The Third Chapter will be devoted to analyzing each missionary educational institution's activities and identifying its role in the Christian enlightenment of Japan.

CHAPTER 3. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY THE RUSSIAN ECCLESIASTICAL MISSION AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR CHRISTIAN PREACHING IN JAPAN

The previous Chapter examined St. Nicholas of Japan's, Equal-to-the-Apostles, pedagogical views and his approaches to the Christian education organization the work of all the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's schools was based on. It was found that the key characteristic feature of the mission's educational activities was their purely ecclesiastical character. The goal of all the mission's educational institutions was to prepare Church servants — catechists, priests, church translators, singers, i.e. missionary schools (in contrast, for example, to Protestant educational institutions) offered the Japanese to receive professional religious education. The idea of developing “special church” education was caused, first of all, by the mission head's decision to let the Japanese believers preach themselves. It also corresponded to his pedagogical views and the experience of teaching in Russian theological schools.

Analyzing the results of practical implementation of St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical views and approaches, it is necessary to consider the main stages of the mission's educational institution development and to highlight the main factors having influenced their functioning.

3.1 Organization of the educational process in the Tokyo Theological Seminary

The Orthodox Theological Seminary in Japan was founded in 1874 on the basis of the Russian language school opened by the mission head in 1872 after his moving from Hakodate to Tokyo.

Upon the missionary's arrival in Tokyo, more than 70 disciples gathered around him, “thirsty for Russian and at the same time religious education”⁵⁴⁸. Two types of

⁵⁴⁸ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to an unknown addressee, dated October 20 / November 1, 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 82.

Japanese young people came to the school opened by him: those who wanted to study only the Russian language in order to subsequently become translators and apply the gained knowledge for the development of their country, and those who were preparing to be baptized: the Russian language was necessary for them to continue serving the Church. Like in Hakodate Fr. Nicholas had to limit the admission of those wishing to study at school, since such an expense item was not foreseen at the time of the mission foundation in 1870, and almost all the costs on organizing the educational process were paid mainly from the missionary's own salary⁵⁴⁹ or from modest donations received from Russia.

One of the most acute problems faced by the mission head when setting up the Seminary was a lack of textbooks. Describing his school to Bishop Veniamin (Blagonravov) of Kamchatka in 1873, Fr. Nicholas wrote that Russian language textbook exists in only copy for almost 80 people divided into three classes, and the students have to “learn to read from old newspapers’ sheets”⁵⁵⁰. Some subjects (in addition to Russian, the missionary also taught History, Geography, Arithmetic, etc.) were taught without textbooks: Archimandrite Nicholas dictated lessons; his students wrote them down and then learnt. The situation improved somewhat with the purchase of lithographic machine bought for money allocated by the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The head of the mission also appealed for textbooks and publications necessary for the educational process in the Holy Synod, theological academies, large Russian libraries; some manuals was purchased in Japan. As noted in the previous paragraphs, the mission also translated and used Chinese publications published by the Beijing Ecclesiastical Mission in its educational activities. As a result, St. Nicholas's efforts let the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission create an extensive library, which became his heritage for future generations⁵⁵¹.

⁵⁴⁹ Report to the Holy Synod, dated 15 January 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 168.

⁵⁵⁰ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Bishop of Irkutsk and Nerchinsk Veniamin (Blagonravov) // Additions to the Irkutsk Eparchial Vedomosti. October 27, 1873. No. 43. P. 684.

⁵⁵¹ *Yoshimura John, Archpriest. 60 Years in Ecclesiastical Mission // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate.* No. 12, 1968. P. 22.

Another major problem was the lack of space for accommodating pupils and classes. Until 1875, when donations from Russia's funds and construction capital were used to construct a stone mission building where the students and teachers were accommodated, the studies had been organized in Fr. Nicholas's apartment. This is how he described his premises in one of his letters: "My dwelling is one room in the attic ... the height of the room is such that a person of my height can hardly stand up to your full height in it"⁵⁵². The missionary could accommodate no more than 20 people at a time in this room. Sitting on the floor and on the attic stairs steps, they wrote down the basic provisions of Christian faith.

Until 1874 the school organized by Archimandrite Nicholas, was almost the only in Tokyo where the Russian language was taught. Therefore, as he wrote to the Orthodox Missionary Society Council, it was "very populous and burdensome"⁵⁵³. At the beginning of 1874 the Japanese government founded a foreign language school where Russian began to be taught as well. The majority of the mission school students, who attended it only for studying the language, moved there. "Almost only the grain of the school remained — the missionary students, for whom, in fact, the school existed," —the head of the mission wrote in March 1874. It was from this moment that he began to call it a theological school in his letters, which was organized "exactly according to the model of our theological schools"⁵⁵⁴. A year later, in a report to the Holy Synod, the head of the mission described an educational institution "like our small Seminary where various sciences are taught in Russian"⁵⁵⁵.

During the construction of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission buildings in Tokyo, Fr. Nicholas planned them to accommodate 50 students studying in a theological seminary and a catechetical school, two missionaries, Japanese teachers and a home

⁵⁵² Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to an unknown addressee (1873) // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 83.

⁵⁵³ Petition to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society dated 15 March 1874 / RGIA. F. 799. Inv. 13. C. 114. L. 59 rev.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid. L. 59–59 rev.

⁵⁵⁵ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the benefactor, merchant O.P. Tyulyaev, dated February 11/23, 1875 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 100.

church⁵⁵⁶. Almost the whole sum (32 thousand rubles⁵⁵⁷) for the construction of the buildings was donated by pious Russian Christians, besides by Grand Duke Alexei Alexandrovich, Count E.V. Putyatin and some others. Judging by Archimandrite Nicholas's letters, they doubted in Russia that such a large sum was needed to construct the buildings. In a letter to one of the benefactors Archimandrite Nicholas explained the decision to build from stone with the need for a "solid product, durability, "designed for 200 years"⁵⁵⁸.

From the very beginning, the Seminary students were taught mainly in Russian, but Japanese teachers worked at schools as well⁵⁵⁹. In 1874, the Russian two new missionaries from Russia arrived to the Ecclesiastical Mission. One of them, Hieromonk Euthymius (Chetyrkin), immediately began teaching at the mission's educational institutions. Fr. Euthymius served in Japan in such a way until 1878, when priest Gabriel Chaev and subsequently Hieromonk Vladimir (Sokolovsky)⁵⁶⁰ were appointed to his place.

Archimandrite Nicholas reported to the Orthodox Missionary Society Council about the successes of the Seminary activities: an examination was held during the general Church Council, and the meeting found the students' successes "so satisfactory, that ... the requests for children's enrollment in the school did not end (of course, with the condition that they would serve the Church after their upbringing)"⁵⁶¹. Whereas there were 14 students at the theological school in 1873 when it was founded, in 1879 the number of students increased to 30 people (see: Appendix 4). Perhaps, if the theological school were funded sufficiently, it would have more students. But the lack of the constant support from

⁵⁵⁶ *Savchuk Roman, priest*. Saint Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: Life and Works. M.: Publishing House of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2022. P. 106.

⁵⁵⁷ *Prokhorenko F.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and Korea. Kharkov, 1907. P. 28.

⁵⁵⁸ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Count E.V. Putyatin, dated February 13/25, 1875 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 115.

⁵⁵⁹ Petition to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society, dated 15 March 1874 // RGIA. F. 799. Inv. 13. C. 114. L. 63 rev.

⁵⁶⁰ See: Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 288–289.

⁵⁶¹ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society, dated August 23, 1876 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 265.

Russia (the costs on the schools were paid from the missionaries' salaries and from the Orthodox Missionary Society donations) did not provide an opportunity to expand the educational institution. There was not even any admission to the Seminary for two years (1876–1877).

In 1879 Archimandrite Nicholas went to Russia to resolve the issues of financial support for the mission's activities in Japan, besides educational. Before the trip he wrote to the Synod that the Seminary was the most important school, since it was the only to be able to ensure the preaching success stability and the future prosperity of the Church, as well as to free Russia from the duty to send missionaries here⁵⁶². Therefore, the missionaries decided to find young people aged 14–16 to enter the Seminary, its educational program was developed, Japanese priests and catechists were informed about it. The official program's appearance and publication could testify that the educational activities of the mission have become organizationally complete.

According to the program, the age limit for admission was established: Christian boys aged between 14 and 16 could enter the first year and be educated at the mission's expense for the further service to the Church. The non-Christian children enrolled in the Seminary as well, but in this case their relatives had to pay for their education (the fee was about 2 yen per month, which was less than the tuition fees at Japanese high schools⁵⁶³). Sometimes such students subsequently converted to Christianity: for example, in the early 1880s Sergei Shoji, the son of the Seminary Chinese teacher, entered the Seminary being not a Christian. Later he was baptized and graduated from the St. Petersburg Theological Academy.

The program specified the documents a Seminary applicant had to provide. These could be requests from parents for their children's education to serve the Church, or applications of Orthodox community councils which would express the desire for the applicants to be educated for this goal. In case of a church community's inability to pay for education it had to submit a request for the applicant's admission at the mission's cost.

⁵⁶² See: Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 303.

⁵⁶³ *Lim S.C.* History of Education in Japan. P. 130.

The request had to be certified by a local priest or catechist⁵⁶⁴. Based on the report on the mission's activities for 1878 it can be concluded that about a half of the educational institution students were fully supported by the mission during this period, to be exact, 13 students out of 30 studying in three courses⁵⁶⁵.

The educational institution applicants had to have primary preparation, namely to be “sufficiently prepared in the subject of the Chinese language”⁵⁶⁶. An important point was the compulsory medical examination of the applicants, after which a part of them, sometimes even a half, were not allowed to attend classes. To maintain the normal physical condition of the seminarians, the Gymnastics (physical education) lessons were introduced into the course: Sergei Shoji described a large number of gymnastic equipment in the mission yard⁵⁶⁷. It should be noted that gymnastics lessons were also introduced in all the Japanese state schools⁵⁶⁸.

According to the program adopted in 1878, the Seminary studies lasted for 6 years. During the first four years the seminarians mainly studied general subjects: Russian, Chinese and Japanese languages (oral and written), mathematical disciplines (Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry), Geography, Physics and General History. Moreover, the students completed the following special disciplines during this time: Orthodox Confession (catechism), the Sacred History of the Old and New Testaments, the Church History. During the last two courses only the following special subjects were taught: Liturgics, Dogmatic, Moral, Pastoral and Accusatory Theology, Holy Scripture Interpretation, Canon law and Patrology. The composition of the disciplines taught in the Tokyo Seminary was slightly different from that in Russian theological seminaries: ancient and new foreign languages, except Russian, were not taught in Japanese schools (which created difficulties for the Seminary graduates sent to Russian theological academies), Apologetics and Pedagogy were not taught separately. But it is still possible to conclude,

⁵⁶⁴ Appeal of the Japanese Ecclesiastical Mission to the Russian Church // Missioner. No. 21, 1876. P. 167.

⁵⁶⁵ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 292–293.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid. P. 303.

⁵⁶⁷ *Shoji Sergiy*. How I Became a Christian. P. 20.

⁵⁶⁸ See more: *Shlyapkin I.A.* Public Education in Japan. P. 5, 9, 10.

that, generally speaking, the composition of the disciplines taught in the Theological Seminary in Tokyo corresponded to a Russian theological seminary program of the 1870's. The Theological School students were taught using the same handbooks as in Russia: the list of the textbooks ordered by the mission head included the most famous ones used in Russian seminaries at that time.

The financial situation became very difficult in mid-1879: the mission had accumulated a debt⁵⁶⁹. During the final exams of 1879 Archimandrite Nihilas received a letter from the volunteer mission employees in St. Petersburg with advice to close the schools⁵⁷⁰. Hieromonk Vladimir, who had already begun his work in Tokyo Theological schools, wrote to one of his addressees regarding the educational institution closure: “Things are very bad! We need the bare necessities. My Russian Seminary school which so wonderfully showed itself at the exam should be closed if they do not help. <...> God grant that this misfortune passes us by”⁵⁷¹.

Closing the schools was equivalent for Fr. Nicholas to closing the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan: “It will be enough to instruct the rector of the embassy church to observe for the remaining priests and the insignificant number of catechists”⁵⁷². New preachers and priests were needed for further preaching, who, in the Saint’s opinion, had to be prepared among the Japanese themselves, since sending a large number of missionaries, as, for example, the Protestants did, from Russia was impossible. Therefore, his request to the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg Isidore to allocate the funds for catechists’ and priests’ preparation and maintenance was also justified from an economic point of view: “...we set an example of the greatest economy”⁵⁷³. Considering the proposals of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission head for the missionary and educational activities development, the Russian government and the Orthodox Missionary Society

⁵⁶⁹ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore // RGIA. F. 796. Inv. 205. C. 490. L. 12.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid. L. 14 rev.

⁵⁷¹ *Gnevushev M.V.* His Eminence Vladimir, Bishop of Aleutia and Alaskan, and the State of the Russian Orthodox Church in America. Kyiv: printing house of S.V. Kulzhenko, 1890. P. 26.

⁵⁷² Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore / RGIA. F. 796. Inv. 205. C. 490. L. 17 rev.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

allocated a sum of money that covered the mission's basic expenses (except construction costs) until the 20th century beginning.

The 1880s were a period of rapid development for the Tokyo Theological Seminary. The number of students increased year after year: in 1886 107 people were studying there⁵⁷⁴, which is the maximum in the entire history of this educational institution. The Seminary was accommodated in the mission's stone buildings, where two large classrooms were allocated for the lessons. These rooms were equipped with school furniture and other necessary things. Since the early 1880s the mission's educational institutions owned a summer "dacha": hieromonk Vladimir (Sokolovsky) purchased a plot of land for donated and personal funds in the town of Tonosawa. Later the church and the building were constructed there, where the seminarians came for the summer holidays⁵⁷⁵. Another time, sick students could have been sent there to recover their health.

Summer holidays were not only about relaxation: the entire morning was devoted to classes, — "some of the young dacha residents were reading, others were busy writing assigned essays..."⁵⁷⁶. After lunch and in the evening the seminarians hotly discussed what they had read and had conversations, sometimes even heated debates about the fate of the Orthodox mission and its success among the pagans⁵⁷⁷. General meetings were held at which selected speakers reported on various topics, and then each of the audience could express their opinion on the discussed issue.

Such general meetings for delivering speeches and reports with subsequent discussions were one of the seminarians' favorite activities in their free time and were encouraged by the mission head and the educational institution teachers. Apart from the reports, at these meetings the seminarians sang Christian hymns and patriotic songs, drank tea with sweets, listened to speeches of teachers or of the Bishop himself (a little later a "magic lantern" (filmscope) was used during the meetings to show the images). These

⁵⁷⁴ Most Faithful Report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod on to the Department of Orthodox Confession for 1886. St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1888. P. 124.

⁵⁷⁵ *Nikiforova O.V.* Archbishop Vladimir (Sokolovsky). The Last Abbot of the Moscow Spaso-Andronikov Monastery. Moscow: Publishing House "Transition", 2014. P. 55–56.

⁵⁷⁶ *Shoji Sergiy.* How I Became a Christian. P. 28.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.* P. 29.

meetings contributed to the family structure of Seminary life and relationships that were noted by St. Nicholas's contemporaries. This cohesion and family atmosphere both between pupils and between students and teachers was mentioned by a Tokyo Seminary student Sergei Shoji: "...we became like one family, bound by a truly brotherly friendship... These relations were... close and warm: no barriers between the authorities and the students were felt"⁵⁷⁸. The Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod in his report for 1890 also mentioned the family atmosphere of the Seminary⁵⁷⁹.

By the mid-1880s, new subjects were introduced: Logic lessons were started, General History and Geography were taught separately from the History and Geography of Japan / China. Moreover, special disciplines began to be taught, such as Homiletics, General and Russian Church History were taught separately⁵⁸⁰. Bishop Nicholas regarded church singing as an important link in the educational process. A Japanese music history specialist N.F. Klobukova points out some difficulties that arose in the process of teaching the Japanese people church singing. They had to master not just the Western musical tradition foundations, it was necessary to explain them the modal system, introduce the five-line notation to them, teach the Japanese solfeggio and pure intonation⁵⁸¹. Thanks to the introduction of singing lessons in the Seminary, by the mid-1880's a Tokyo Seminary students' choir had been formed, in no way inferior in the art of singing to the singers and clergy choir of the Resurrection Cathedral⁵⁸².

In 1884 the disturbance arose in the Japanese Church when Bishop Nicholas proposed the Japanese Christian communities to gradually move to self-sufficiency⁵⁸³. The mission head's proposal was opposed by the first Japanese priest Pavel Sawabe and

⁵⁷⁸ *Shoji Sergiy*. How I Became a Christian. P. 34.

⁵⁷⁹ Most Faithful Report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod on to the Department of Orthodox Confession for 1890 and 1891. St. Petersburg: Synodal printing house, 1893. P. 212.

⁵⁸⁰ Certificate of Completion of Tokyo Seminary John Kawamoto (dated 1890) // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 201–202.

⁵⁸¹ *Klobukova N.F.* Western Musical Culture in Japan during the Period Meiji (1868–1912): Borrowing and Adaptation. Dissertation ... Candidate of Cultural Studies Degree: 24.00.01 / Klobukova Natalia Fedorovna. Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow, 2018. P. 206.

⁵⁸² Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore // RGIA. F. 796. Inv. 205. C. 490. L. 24 rev.

⁵⁸³ Diary entry from March 12/24, 1884 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 557.

some experienced catechists, which resulted into a heated discussion at the Council of 1884. Along with various disagreements regarding the distribution of preachers among Christian communities, the group of the “dissenters” came up with a proposal to abolish the Seminary and women's school and transfer the funds allocated to these institutions for catechists’ maintenance⁵⁸⁴. At the Council Bishop Nicholas spoke out ardently against these proposals of the rebellious group, appealing to the fact that funds from Russia are allocated specifically for the educational activity organization and redirecting them to other purposes would be illegal. He also pointed out that even if, for example, the Tokyo Seminary were closed, money allocated for its maintenance would have to be sent back to Russia⁵⁸⁵. The disturbance affected the activities of the young Japanese Church: part of the catechists and Christian communities left the Church; Fr. Pavel Sawabe did not take an active part in church affairs for almost 10 years.

The teaching staff of the Seminary in the early 1880s consisted of the mission head, Bishop Nicholas of Revel, Hieromonk Vladimir (Sokolovsky), singing teachers Deacons Dmitry Lvovsky and Dmitry Kryzhanovsky (the latter left the mission in 1883) and several Japanese teachers. Hieromonk Vladimir’s pedagogical activity deserves special attention: he was deliberately sent to Japan to organize the educational work. With the help of Japanese assistants, he gave 4–5 lessons a day and simultaneously served as the Seminary inspector⁵⁸⁶. Fr. Vladimir, like the head of the mission, considered teaching one of the “most important and fruitful means of the Orthodoxy dissemination”⁵⁸⁷. Throughout his activities at the Tokyo Seminary, Bishop Nicholas noted that the mission regards him as “a truly hard-working and talented professor, a teacher devoted to his work”⁵⁸⁸, that Hieromonk Vladimir “is a truly useful member of the Mission”, a tirelessly

⁵⁸⁴ For more details, see: *Nicholas (Ono), Hieromonk. Formation of the Japanese Orthodox Church under Archbishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) in the Period from 1876 to 1891: Review of Primary Sources from the Archives of the Japanese Orthodox Church. Dissertation ... Candidate of Theology Degree. Moscow, 2018. 281 p.*

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁶ *Gnevushev M.V. Op. cit. P. 22.*

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid. P. 25.*

⁵⁸⁸ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan for 1882, dated March 19, 1883 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 387.

caring inspector engaged in the pupils' moral development and one of the main teachers of the educational institution⁵⁸⁹.

After Fr. Vladimir had left for Russia in 1886, the Tokyo Seminary faced a shortage of teachers: if the lower grades could be taught by Tokyo Theological School graduates, then the senior classes, according to Bishop Nicholas, needed the teachers with higher theological education. There were only two such teachers in the mission at that time, namely the mission head himself who was busy with the construction of the Resurrection Cathedral, and Archimandrite Anatoly (Tikhay), who was a priest in the church at the Russian embassy at the time. The Seminary graduates sent to Russia to study in theological academies either have not returned yet or were just starting to gain pedagogic experience.

Sending Japanese youths to continue their education in Russia, Bishop Nicholas hoped that these students, who received their Candidate in Theology upon graduating from the academy, would be able to replace the much-needed missionaries with excellent knowledge and experience of living in the country where Orthodoxy is professed.

There are about 80 letters Japanese students have written in Russian to Sergei A. Rachinsky, a pillar of the 19th century public pedagogy⁵⁹⁰. Thanks to the warm relations between Rachinsky and Bishop Nicholas (see above) during their summer holidays Japanese students could visit the village of Tatevo where Sergei Alexandrovich organized an exemplary public school. Students of theological academies highly valued the opportunity to visit a renowned teacher who managed to “find the most sensitive strings and play the most charming youthful song on them, which, of course, will sound... throughout life and in many ways give a soft tone... to behavior”⁵⁹¹.

The letters by John Kawamoto (Senuma) are of particular interest to the topic of the present research. The correspondence between him and Rachinsky began in 1894 after

⁵⁸⁹ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore // RGIA. F. 796. Inv. 205. C. 490. L. 28.

⁵⁹⁰ For more details see: *Kuzmina I.V.* Letters from Japanese Students of Russian Theological Academies to S.A. Rachinsky as a Source of Information about the Activities of the Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan // Theological and Historical Collection. Kaluga, 2024. No. 2 (33). P. 273–287.

⁵⁹¹ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated April 30, 1886 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 35. L. 172 rev.

Bishop Nicholas had offered Kawamoto to occupy the Tokyo Seminary inspector position. This decision of the mission head was connected to his theological school transformation plan he could not begin to implement without a good teacher and educator. Although by the beginning of the 1890s many graduates of theological academies had already been teaching at the educational institution, and all of them took turns holding the inspector position for some time, Bishop Nicholas was dissatisfied with their work at this position and wrote the following: “we don’t have a real teacher... out of all those teaching here now, I do not see a single one who is gifted with the precious qualities of a teacher”⁵⁹². Pupils suffered because of this. As Kawamoto wrote to Rachinsky, none of the 8 teachers conducted serious educational work with them, and the “poor boys entered the Seminary only to become coarse from lack of “any moral education”; the educational institution’s reputation suffered as well⁵⁹³.

The theological academy graduates did not show their best sides themselves. Bishop Nicholas stated with deep grief, that the Japanese students “morally corrupted” in Russian academies. This opinion was supported by theological academy graduates themselves: for example, Kawamoto wrote to the mission head that the majority of students at Russian theological academies were ashamed to “be executive as regards the religion”⁵⁹⁴, sought to copy the university students who loved to rebel and drink. Kawamoto concluded that “among such comrades... adhering unswervingly to one’s original religiosity principle” was “a matter more than difficult”⁵⁹⁵.

This state of affairs made Bishop Nicholas stop sending Japanese young men to continue their education in Russia. His decision was also influenced by the fact that some of the theological academy graduates left teaching activities and moved away from church service at all after a short service in the Seminary. Therefore from 1892 until the early

⁵⁹² Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma), dated November 17/29, 1894 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 252.

⁵⁹³ Letter from I.A. Kawamoto to S.A. Rachinsky, dated November 13, 1896 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 90. L. 74 rev.

⁵⁹⁴ Diary entry from March 6/18, 1899 // Collection Works Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 666.

⁵⁹⁵ Letter from I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma) to Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin), dated February 18–22, 1895 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 75. L. 16 rev. – 17.

1910's, the mission did not officially send a single Tokyo Seminary graduate to study at Russian theological schools (two students — Gordiy Shiina and Mikhey Nakamura — left Japan to study in Russia without Bishop Nicholas's permission).

From the late 1880's and early 1890's, the number of people entering theological schools gradually declined, mainly due to changes of the Japanese government's attitude towards foreigners, especially after the Imperial Rescript on Education had been published in 1890, and to the development of the Japanese educational system. Many of those who entered theological schools at this time had insufficient level of education or poor health and therefore did not complete their studies. The average number of students in the Seminary amounted to about 50 people in the 1890s, which, in fact, corresponded to the number of students in the theological seminaries of other Christian denominations at that period. But since, in contrast to the Protestant and Catholic missions a large number of foreign missionaries worked in, the Orthodox mission in Japan relied on Japanese preachers, decline of the theological school enrollment rate led to a shortage of catechists.

The main objective of the Tokyo Seminary transformation plan was to attract an additional number of young people to the educational institution, besides those from non-Christian families, whose parents would be interested in their children's receiving a decent education. Since this idea of Bishop Nicholas was not realized, it is impossible to conclude if this project would have been successful if it had taken place. But it can be noted, that the period of the 1890s was generally unfavorable for the Christian education development, as the Japanese government took a course towards centralization and regulation of the educational institutions' functioning as well as rejection of the Westernization policy: a negative attitude towards foreigners and everything foreign was growing in the society. At the same time, under the influence of reforms by Mori Arinori, all forms of Japanese educational institutions developed. Government secondary school graduates had an advantage over private Christian educational institution graduates. All these facts had influenced the number of students in theological schools of all Christian denominations. Another important fact is Bishop Nicholas's seeing the Orthodox Seminary' purpose in preparing young people for subsequent Church service; the educational institution's character was purely ecclesiastical, confessional. In addition, the

Orthodox mission had very limited financial resources and few people: for almost the entire 1890s, there was only one foreign missionary, namely Bishop Nicholas himself. Therefore, it can be assumed that under these conditions the theological Seminary transformation plan would not have achieved its goal.

After graduating from the academy Kawamoto stayed in Russia for some time to obtain “pedagogical and didactic theoretical information and to become familiar with educational practice from the experiences of outstanding teachers”⁵⁹⁶. For instance, he visited S.A. Rachinsky and got acquainted with the organization of teaching at the school in Tatevo. Upon returning to Japan, he took up the inspector post, although not immediately. At first, there was tension in the relationship between him and Bishop Nicholas caused by Kawamoto having fallen under the influence of a pessimistic group of Japanese believers. As Bishop Nicholas mentioned in his diary, “they formed a party against me”⁵⁹⁷. But then Kawamoto changed his attitude towards the mission head’s activities, “stopped harboring distrust of the Bishop, which some people do, because ... began to pay more attention to the general benefit of the Church”⁵⁹⁸. Till the very death of the Saint Nicholas Kawamoto had been his close and devoted friend and fellow worker in the Christian enlightenment of the country.

In 1890–1891, Hieromonk Sergius (Stragorodsky), future Patriarch of the Russian Church, taught at the Seminary. But starting from the 1890s the Tokyo Seminary teaching staff almost completely consisted of Japanese teachers. In different years, Russian theological academy graduates taught at the theological school, such as Simeon Mii, Daniil Konisi, Kliment Nameda, Panteleimon Sato, Peter Ishigame, Arseniy Iwasawa, Emelyan Higuchi and others. Besides teaching, they were actively engaged in preparing the Orthodox mission publications, for example, “Seikyo: shimpo:” (“Orthodox Messenger”), “Seikyo: y:wa” (“Orthodox Conversation”), “Shinkai” (“Spiritual Sea”) as

⁵⁹⁶ Letter from I.A. Kawamoto to S.A. Rachinsky, dated June 21, 1895 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 81. L. 164 rev.

⁵⁹⁷ Diary entry from February 22 / March 6, 1897 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 268.

⁵⁹⁸ Letter from I.A. Kawamoto to S.A. Rachinsky, dated November 13, 1896 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 90. L. 80–80 rev.

well as translating theological, educational and fiction literature into Japanese (by 1900 the mission had published more than 80 original and translated works⁵⁹⁹). Japanese priests taught at the Seminary as well: for example, Father Pavel Sato and Father Roman Tiba; some educational institution graduates remained to teach in it after having completed their studies.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the number of students at Tokyo Seminary had slightly increased (the average number of Japanese seminarians during the period 1900–1912 amounted to 61 people; see Appendix 4). The Russian young men who went to Japan mainly to study the Japanese language for subsequent work as military translators enrolled in the theological school as well. The first two Russian students Andrei Romanovsky and Fyodor Legasov appeared at the Seminary even before the Russo-Japanese war. Between the end of the war and the early 1910s from 12 to 16 young Russians studied at the educational institution. Generally speaking, Bishop Nicholas was dissatisfied with their academic success and behavior: some Russian students were expelled from the educational institution not having completed the course. But those who were diligent in their studies and showed excellent results could freely communicate in Japanese, read books and periodicals in the language⁶⁰⁰.

The Russo-Japanese war made adjustments to the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's work and its educational institutions' functioning. Along with the patriotic sentiment strengthening the Seminary students and teachers showed truly Christian compassion for Russian prisoners of war. The Russian war prisoner Spiritual Consolation Society was founded, the backbone of which consisted of Tokyo Seminary teachers and graduates. Knowing Russian well, they attended Russian warrior camps with educational lectures, collected Japanese believers' donations, helped Bishop Nicholas in organizing the aid to prisoners. At the end of the war some Seminary teachers participating in the Society were awarded the prizes by the Holy Synod.

⁵⁹⁹ *Bogolyubov A.M.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan in the late 19th — early 20th centuries. Dissertation ... Candidate of Historical Sciences Degree: 07.00.03: / Bogolyubov Alexey Mikhailovich. St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Museum, 2004. P. 64.

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.* P. 82.

The post-war period was quite difficult for the mission: the sum assigned for its activities almost thirty years ago, became insufficient; unstable political and economic situation in Russia did not allow to increase the funding. At the Church Council it was decided to reduce the expenses on education (school) part of the mission's activities, besides to close the Catechetical School. From that moment Tokyo Seminary became the only Orthodox mission's educational institution training catechists for the Christian preaching.

By the beginning of the 1910s, the Seminary's curriculum had undergone changes: new subjects were added, namely Philosophy, the Four Gospels, the Apostle, and Comparative Theology; Worship was studied separately⁶⁰¹. Such changes were associated with change in the direction of the mission's activities: the Japanese Church had already been created, and "now the time had come to decorate and develop it"⁶⁰². The mission moved from active missionary work to systematic development and strengthening of what had been created by Bishop Nicholas in the previous fifty years.

This paragraph has analyzed the activities of the Tokyo Seminary.

1. It was revealed that the educational institution was created on the model of Russian theological schools: when founded, its curriculum included almost all disciplines taught in Russian seminaries, except foreign languages. The program of disciplines was adjusted several times due to the changes in Japanese society and activities foreign missionaries from other Christian missions conducted in the country. While at the very beginning the composition of the academic disciplines almost completely coincided with the Russian seminaries' curriculum, by the beginning of the 1890s, due to the change in the Japanese government's policy, the educational institution's program approached the Japanese high schools' curriculum, with the exception of special subjects. By the early 1910s another adjustment had taken place which coincided with the Seminary

⁶⁰¹ On the Admission of the Japanese Matthew Kageta to the Bethany Seminary // TSGAM (Central State Archives of Moscow). OKhD (Document Storage Department) until 1917. F. 427. Inv. 1. C. 4142. L. 2 rev.

⁶⁰² *Sergiy (Tikhomirov), Bishop of Japan*. In Memory of His Eminence Nicholas, Archbishop of Japan // Christian reading. St. Petersburg, 1913. Vol. 239. Part 1 // Christian reading. 1913. January. P. 48.

accreditation: it received the rights of a secondary educational institution⁶⁰³, which gave its graduates the same benefits as those who graduated from the state secondary schools.

2. It has been established that the Tokyo Seminary activities took place under insufficient funding conditions. In addition, before the Japanese having graduated from Russian theological academies returned to Japan, the shortage of teachers with higher education had influenced the Theological School functioning. Although some academics stopped their service in the Seminary quite quickly, they still consisted the backbone of the teaching staff: even twenty years after the last theological academy graduate had returned from Russia, the half of the teachers had Candidate in Theology⁶⁰⁴. It can be concluded that the mission head's decision to send Japanese young people to continue their education was the only correct option under the conditions of not having missionaries from Russia.

3. It was found that, in contrast to Protestant educational institutions, the Tokyo Seminary's educational activities had purely ecclesiastical and confessional character: the theological school prepared the servants for the Orthodox Church; its leadership, including the Japanese rector, John Senuma, did not change its organization significantly, following the example of the Doshisha College, under conditions of the Japanese government's seeking to limit the religious education's role in the educational system and to reduce the Christian educational institutions' influence on Japanese society. In an effort to preserve the theological school's confessional character Bishop Nicholas decided to refuse his Tokyo Seminary transformation plan.

Thus, the Tokyo Theological Seminary was an important link in all the educational activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, since the Seminary supposed to prepare priests and preachers for the nascent Japanese Church.

⁶⁰³ *Pavlovich N.A.* The St. Equal-to-the-Apostles Archbishop Nicholas of Japan: A Biography. Moscow, 2015. Moscow, 2015. P. 77.

⁶⁰⁴ See, for example: Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1908, dated January 26, 1909 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 450.

3.2. Women's educational institutions by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission

For St. Nicholas of Japan Christian education of girls and young women was one of the most important aspects of the Orthodox mission's educational activities. He believed that only a woman can bring the faith of Christ into a family and make it the basis of family life. Only in this case Christianity would "be firmly established" in Japan, before that it would be "limping"⁶⁰⁵.

The need to raise and educate Christian girls has led missionaries to the idea of opening girls' schools. A girls' school at the Hakodate branch of the mission was the first women's Orthodox educational institution in Japan. Opened in 1873, probably by Fr. Anatoly (Tikhay), it was organizationally completed in the summer of 1875, when Archimandrite Nicholas visited Hakodate⁶⁰⁶.

Since its very opening, there was great demand on the education at the school both among the Christian and non-Christian population of the city (in 1876 of the 31 female students almost half were from non-Christian families⁶⁰⁷). To conduct classes, accommodate teachers and students (some girls lived at school and were maintained at the mission's cost) a separate building was allocated which remained of the Russian consulate burnt down in 1865⁶⁰⁸.

The school curriculum was designed for two years. The first-year students were given basic knowledge (reading, writing, arithmetic); at the second year they studied the Law of God (in the mid-1870s the lessons were taught by Priest Pavel Sawabe's wife Maria), Japanese-Chinese language (writing, reading, dictation), Arithmetic, Geography and handicrafts. Almost all general education subjects were taught by teachers from the boys' school organized at the Hakodate mission camp; handicrafts (knitting and sewing)

⁶⁰⁵ Appeal of the Japanese Ecclesiastical Mission to the Russian Church // Missioner. 1876, No. 21. P. 166–167.

⁶⁰⁶ *Anatoly (Tikhay), Hieromonk*. News from Japan, Extracted from Letters of Fr. Hieromonk Anatoly from Hakodate, dated July 12/24, 1876 // Missioner. M., 1876. No. 44. P. 359.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 297.

were taught by a Russian woman — a merchant's wife Sofia Alekseeva (probably on a voluntary basis, since her name is not included into the list of school teachers supported by the mission⁶⁰⁹). An Orthodox Japanese woman, Anna Dooke (アンナ道家(安那)), was the school director.

Considering the composition of the subjects taught at the Hakodate girls' school, the first girls' Orthodox educational institution in Japan could be classified as a Japanese lower-level elementary school⁶¹⁰. At the same time, according to the Law on Universal Education adopted in 1872, the course of study in such educational institutions lasted for four years. Therefore, the probability that a girl could go on to further education (for example, to move on to the upper primary level) after graduating from the missionary school was small.

Until 1875, the opportunity for the Orthodox girls to receive Christian education and upbringing had been limited to one school in the north of the country. The growing Japanese Church needed new girls' schools. Therefore, Archimandrite Nicholas decided to found a Women School in Tokyo, although the mission had neither resources to organize it nor the necessary rooms to accommodate the students. In the first year after its opening ten girls were admitted to the new educational institution⁶¹¹.

Father Nicholas reported to the Holy Synod that the reason for the Women School creation was the need for trebles and altos for the church choir⁶¹². Perhaps for this reason after the new school opening its guidance was entrusted to the Orthodox mission's regent Yakov Dmitrievich Tikhay⁶¹³ (1840–1887), who, according to the mission head, conscientiously performed the duties assigned to him⁶¹⁴.

⁶⁰⁹ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 303.

⁶¹⁰ *Lim S.Ch.* Op. cit. P. 137.

⁶¹¹ Appeal of the Japanese Ecclesiastical Mission to the Russian Church // *Missioner*. 1876, No. 21. P. 166.

⁶¹² Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 293.

⁶¹³ *Anatoly (Tikhay), Hieromonk.* News from Japan // *Missioner*. 1876, No. 44. P. 359.

⁶¹⁴ Attitude to the Director of the Economic Administration of the Holy Synod A.G. Ilyinsky of October 6/18, 1879 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 340.

The mission head believed that women's Christian education should come from the women themselves⁶¹⁵. In the report written in 1878 Anna Kanno (アンナ菅野 (秀子), 1820[?] — 1899) was named the head of the Women School. She worked in this position until her death. But according to Archimandrite Nicholas, at first the new school needed female deaconesses⁶¹⁶ from Russia for the correct educational process organization. They were supposed, according to the missionary, to show a living example of the Orthodox woman life and teach young Japanese women “the duties of true Christians”⁶¹⁷. The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission’s call to serve in Japan as the Women School head was responded by two missionaries, namely Maria A. Cherkasova (1841[?] — 1918) and Countess Olga E. Putyatina (1848–1890). They served in Japan alternately between 1879 and 1887.

Each of the missionaries spent about three years in the mission; at present it is difficult to fully appreciate the impact of their activities on the Women School establishment in Tokyo. For example, Maria Alexandrovna taught the Law of God at this educational institution, showing particular zeal; particularly, she went out into the city to teach women Orthodox doctrine and to catechize them, since she had excellently studied Japanese during her service⁶¹⁸. Maria A. Cherkasova continued her pedagogical and missionary activities after leaving Japan: she founded the girl’s schools for the Imperial Orthodox Palestinian Society (IPPO) in Beirut and guided them for almost 30 years. Contemporaries described her as highly intelligent, especially religious and willing to fight for her ideals uncompromisingly. Her views on the relationship between students and teachers were close to those of St. Nicholas. They both believed that the teacher being a living example of faith and the Christian commandments fulfillment was important for

⁶¹⁵ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon No. 18. The Life of the Church is in Hands of Women Believers. Translated from Japanese: A.G. Fesyun.

⁶¹⁶ St. Nicholas of Japan, when suggesting the service of female deaconesses in Japan, probably based his idea on the experience of women's service in the Altai mission under the leadership of the famous 19th century missionary, Archimandrite Macarius (Glukharev).

⁶¹⁷ Appeal of the Japanese Ecclesiastical Mission to the Russian Church // *Missioner*. 1876, No. 21. P. 167.

⁶¹⁸ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore, dated January 22, 1882 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 1. P. 356.

children's upbringing: “For them [children — I.K.] the example, the teacher’s true, reasonable, ardent religiosity has much more effective influence than all the notations, instructions, and demands of formalities”⁶¹⁹.

In the late 1870s the Women School was housed in several old wooden buildings; the educational institution premises were in a satisfactory condition⁶²⁰, since at that time the mission did not have enough money to build new premises or rebuild the old ones⁶²¹. For the donations collected by Maria Alexandrovna⁶²², construction work was carried out in 1880, namely an extension was constructed, which resulted in a slight increase in the number of students, premises were repaired, and a “gymnasium” for the students was built⁶²³. These buildings burned down in a fire in December 1886, and at the expense of another Russian missionary Olga E. Putyatina a new building for the Women School was constructed.

The Orthodox Women School performed several functions. Firstly, Japanese priests’ and catechists’ female relatives entered this educational institution to receive excellent education, even by Japanese standards, and Christian upbringing (in the report for 1878, 9 out of 25 Women School students were daughters or sisters of Japanese priests or preachers⁶²⁴). Secondly, catechists’ brides attended the school “for further religious education”, in order to subsequently become their husbands’ assistants in teaching women and children Christianity⁶²⁵. Visiting the Japanese Orthodox communities, Bishop Nicholas always noted that where a priest’s or a catechist’s wife has been trained at a Women School at the mission the preaching is better, the children know the basics of the

⁶¹⁹ *Fedotov P.V.* Beirut Schools of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society (1887–1914): Religious and Political Project of M.A. Cherkasova (Based on Materials from the Foreign Policy Archives of the Russian Empire) // *Russian Journal of Church History*. Vol. 3, No. 2 (2022). P. 57.

⁶²⁰ *Cherkasova M.* Notes of the Russian Orthodox missionary in Japan Maria Alexandrovna Cherkasova // *Missioner*. 1879, No. 44. P. 375.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.* P. 377.

⁶²² Income and expenditure report of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1880–1881 (dated April, 1882) // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 1. Pp. 369, 374.

⁶²³ *Ibid.* P. 380.

⁶²⁴ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 1. P. 294.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*

Orthodox faith better, there are more order and neatness⁶²⁶. Thirdly, the Women School students became the founders of Japanese Orthodox icon painting. Yamamuro Varvara (Masako) (ワルワラ山室(政子)) was sent to the Art School at the Tokyo College of Technology to study drawing⁶²⁷, where she met Yamashita Rin (イリナ山下 (りん; 1857–1939), who later converted to Orthodoxy with the name Irina, attended classes at the Women School and became the first Japanese icon painter. Fourthly, the mission head described a Japanese girl in the report of 1878 who, having got acquainted with the Orthodoxy, decided to leave the world and dedicate her life to God. Archimandrite Nicholas regarded this case as “the beginning of future female monasticism in Japan”⁶²⁸. This girl named Elizaveta Kodama (エリサヴェータ児玉 (菊子)) became a teacher, subsequently, after Anna Kanno’s death, the head of the women's school and served in this position until 1912.

The full course of study at the Women School lasted for five years. The following subjects were taught there: Law of God (depending on age a short Catechism, Orthodox Confession or Holy Scripture Interpretation and Sacred History of the Old and New Testaments could be taught); Arithmetic, Japanese and World Geography, Japanese and World History, Chinese-Japanese language, Chinese-Japanese calligraphy, sewing. New subjects were added to the curriculum over time, for example Physics, Chemistry and some other natural science disciplines. The teaching of theological subjects was significantly expanded: in the mid-1890s the Women School taught Moral Theology, Dogmatics and the Holy Scripture Interpretation. New subjects related to household management were introduced (home accounting and cooking) as well as needlework

⁶²⁶ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1892, dated February 25, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 247.

⁶²⁷ *Pobedinsky A.G., Uspensky M.V.* Icon “Resurrection of Christ”. Yamashita Rin and Nicholas Kasatkin // Yamashita Rin. The first Japanese icon painter. Album-catalogue [compiled by S.S. Rusnak, A.G. Filkin]. Vladivostok, 2016. Pp. 17, 18.

⁶²⁸ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 294.

(knitting and embroidery)⁶²⁹. Almost all the girls attended singing classes and sang in the church choir at the services in the Resurrection Cathedral. Particularly musically gifted students were also taught to play the piano; the lessons were conducted by the famous pianist and philosopher, Tokyo Imperial University teacher Raphael G. Koeber (1848–1923). By the 1890s the Women School curriculum included playing the koto (a Japanese musical instrument)⁶³⁰.

Comparing the curricula of the Women School at the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission and girls' state schools it can be concluded that the Orthodox educational institution in Tokyo provided its students with knowledge similar to that given in Japanese women's higher schools⁶³¹. The quality of the education the school in Tokyo provided to its students was highly valued by the Japanese: in 1879 the school had 29 students, whereas in the mid-1890s the number of students reached 86 people⁶³² (see Appendix 4). There could be more students, however many female applicants had to be denied admission to the school⁶³³ since the mission did not have the premises to accommodate a greater number of girls and financial resources allocated to the school were limited. A significant part of the pupils, namely clergymen's, catechists' relatives, and girls from families with difficult life situations were taught at the mission's cost; the other students had to pay for their education (in 1879, for example, the monthly fee was 2 yen 50 sen⁶³⁴, whereas in 1892 it accounted for about 4 yen⁶³⁵).

The teaching staff of the Women School was mainly made up of its former students: the school graduates often remained there as teachers after completing their studies. Some academic subjects were taught by theological Seminary teachers: for example, Priest

⁶²⁹ Diary entry from June 22 / July 4, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 726.

⁶³⁰ Ibid.

⁶³¹ Cf., for example: *Shlyapkin I.A.* Public Education in Japan. P. 10.

⁶³² Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1893, dated March 12, 1894 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 251.

⁶³³ Diary entry from February 16 / March 1, 1901 // Diaries of St. Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 413.

⁶³⁴ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 294.

⁶³⁵ Diary entry from October 2/14, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 369.

Pavel Sato taught The Law of God at the Women School, and Deacon Dmitry Lvovsky taught church singing there.

In his diaries Bishop Nicholas very often compared the level of education at the Women School and at the Theological Seminary, as he often attended exams and classes. Almost always the comparison was not in favor of the Seminary students. The head of the mission associated this difference mainly with the teaching staff of the Women School and with the activities of its director Anna Kanno. Bishop Nicholas noted that the order in the school she ran was not forced, but rather lively and natural: although strict discipline was established in the Women School, it did not burden the pupils, and the established rules were turned into “simple good manners”⁶³⁶. At school, as well as at the theological Seminary, good family relationships were established. The students treated their Anna-san as kind and affectionate mother: they trusted the school headmistress all the secrets and sorrows without any embarrassment. Bishop Nicholas compared Anna Kanno with a seagull fluttering over the nest with its chicks. Like a caring mother, she was involved in all the smallest problems of her disciples and educational institution: the Bishop wrote in a letter to S.A. Rachinsky that nothing escaped her gaze, “no single small fish went into the cauldron without her examining it”, “no single hole in a student’s dress without her noticing it first”⁶³⁷. The head of the mission highly valued Kanno's work as a school director; moreover, she enjoyed immense love and respect from her students.

After completing their studies, those graduates who did not stay to teach at the school returned to their homeland, where they mostly became teachers in local secular schools. Some of them continued their studies, for example, in medical schools. The mission head was pleased to note that almost all the Women School graduates became active members of parish communities. They participated in organizing women's friendly gatherings, which, according to Bishop Nicholas, would rekindle Orthodox women’s religious feelings and help them to study the basic provisions (dogmas) of the faith they had accepted. Graduates organized church choirs in parish communities and sang there

⁶³⁶ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) S.A. Rachinsky, dated April 15/27, 1894 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. hr. 75. L. 8.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

themselves; sometimes they went out to preach often outperforming the local catechists⁶³⁸.

But still, the main purpose of the Women School was educating and bringing up the wives for Japanese priests and catechists. According to the mission head, the school graduates were “the most lively and solid element of the church”⁶³⁹, becoming their husbands’ faithful assistants in their difficult work: “Christian women regarded them as excellent guides in learning and fulfilling Christian duties, children saw zealous mentors in them”⁶⁴⁰. According to Bishop Nicholas, it was the special benefit from Women School for Christian enlightenment of the country.

In 1892 the school teachers began publishing a magazine named “Uranisiki” (“Modesty”, literally: “decorated lining”, “hidden virtue”⁶⁴¹). The very title of the publication contained an important educational connotation: according to E.B. Sablina, “expensive brocade fabric <...> symbolized the soul of a person to whom it is necessary, first of all, to take care of the inner purity and conscience, thus disdaining ostentatious vanity”⁶⁴².

The main purpose of the publication was to satisfy the Japanese Christian women’s need for “a living and edifying, moral, religious and doctrinal material”⁶⁴³. The published articles were used, for example, to hold monthly women's friendly meetings organized in almost all Orthodox communities in the 1890s. Along with the Christian and religious content materials the journal published articles “general moral or practically instructive in nature”. For this reason the mission head considered it “an introduction or step to

⁶³⁸ Diary entry from June 29 / July 12, 1911 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan / Comp. K. Nakamura. SPb.: Hyperion, 2004. Vol. 5. 971 p. (hereinafter referred to as Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5). P. 778.

⁶³⁹ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1892, dated February 25, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 247.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ The title of the magazine is given in the translation of St. Nicholas of Japan.

⁶⁴² Sablina E.B. From the History of the Periodical Press of the Japanese Orthodox Church // Japan. Yearbook. 2012, No. 41. P. 418.

⁶⁴³ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod K.P. Pobedonostsev, dated March 18/30, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 245.

Christian edification”⁶⁴⁴. Fiction was also published, first of all, the works by Pushkin, Tolstoy, Gogol, Korolenko and Gorky translated into Japanese⁶⁴⁵. The magazine was published for about 15 years; its publication was stopped in 1907 due to the mission’s financial problems.

By the late 1890s the number of state primary schools had increased significantly, and in 1900 the school fees were abolished⁶⁴⁶. As a result the number of students in girls’ and boys’ missionary schools in Hakodate has declined steeply: in the mid-1880s the two schools had 240 students in total, whereas in 1897 only 54 people were studying in them. As a result, in 1898 primary schools in Hakodate were closed.

For a time, a school of sewing and the Law of God functioned together with the girls' school at the Hakodate mission department: it was first mentioned in 1895 in Bishop Nicholas’s diary entries⁶⁴⁷, but had been probably founded earlier. The educational institution admitted mainly girls and young people from non-Christian families: Christian teacher Anna Tanabe taught them sewing and knitting, and the local Priest Peter Yamagake “read them Christian lessons”⁶⁴⁸. During their studies some of the students were baptized. The school enjoyed respect and authority in Hakodate because “morality was observed”⁶⁴⁹ there. Therefore, even wealthy families sent their daughters to study there in order to protect them from public schools’ bad influence. In 1900 the school was closed, probably due to the change of priest.

Tokyo Women School couldn't accept all the applicants due to impossibility of placing them (there was even a queue of candidates to enter the school in Tokyo). It was necessary to expand the existing school, but a new building could not be constructed near

⁶⁴⁴ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod K.P. Pobedonostsev, dated March 18/30, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 245.

⁶⁴⁵ *Sablina E.B.* From the History of the Periodical Press of the Japanese Orthodox Church. P. 418.

⁶⁴⁶ *Shlyapkin I.A.* Public Education in Japan. P. 2.

⁶⁴⁷ Diary entry from September 30 / October 12, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 744.

⁶⁴⁸ Diary entry from June 6/18, 1898 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 522.

⁶⁴⁹ Diary entry from August 4/16, 1896 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 143.

the mission and it was impossible to open something new in another place. In 1895, a priest from Kyoto, Fr. Simeon Mii (シメオン三井 (道郎), 1858–1940) proposed to found a Women School in this city. He believed that it would be useful for strengthening Christianity in the region and developing of the Christian community there⁶⁵⁰. It was not done then; the issue was addressed again in 1901 after the site for the church construction had been purchased.

The head of the mission believed that the school would be in demand among Orthodox Christians of the Chugoku region and the islands of Kyushu and Shikoku and that Christian preaching in these regions would benefit from its functioning, especially the community development in Kyoto itself. It was planned to take some of the Tokyo Women School teachers and send them to Kyoto to organize the educational institution there. In the matter of appointing the head Bishop Nicholas showed special tact and respect for the decision of the school teaching staff: he considered it inconvenient to order Nadezhda Takahashi (he saw here as the head of the educational institution in Kyoto), besides because of being afraid to disrupt the educational process in Tokyo, and brought this issue up for collegial discussion⁶⁵¹.

The Kyoto Women School opened in early 1902. Although Bishop Nicholas assumed that at first the educational institution would have no more than ten students, their number reached 20 already in the opening year⁶⁵². Five teachers worked at the school. Like the one in Tokyo, this school was free for female relatives of Church servants. Along with children from Christian families, non-Christian girls were admitted to the school (sometimes such female students made up half of all the students) who studied the Christian faith and even sang in the church choir⁶⁵³.

⁶⁵⁰ Diary entry from June 24 / July 6, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 684.

⁶⁵¹ Diary entry from March 7/20, 1901 // Diaries of St. Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 419.

⁶⁵² Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1902, dated February 10, 1903 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 336.

⁶⁵³ Diary entry from January 30 / February 12, 1904 // Diaries of St. Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 18.

During the Russo-Japanese War, students from both Women Schools of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission showed themselves as true Christians: they actively helped Russian prisoners of war by collecting necessary things for them, besides closing and donations, visiting prisoners in camps, etc. After the end of the war the schools continued to fill with students in spite of the difficulties with funding: in 1911 two girls' educational institutions had 80 students in total⁶⁵⁴ (see Appendix 4).

The second paragraph examined the activities of women's educational institutions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, namely of a girls' elementary school and sewing school in Hakodate, as well as of two Women Schools in Tokyo and Kyoto.

1. It was clarified that the primary school at the Hakodate branch (station, or department) of the mission opened almost immediately after the ban on Christian preaching was lifted in 1873 was the first girls' Orthodox educational institution on the Japanese territory. Its example can be used to trace the historical path of a Christian missionary primary school in the second half of the 19th century: with primary education being underdeveloped in the early 1870s and until the mid-1880s the educational institution was in demand, the number of its students was constantly growing; after opening a large number of public schools and the abolition of education fees the number of students decreased every year, which led to the school's closure or transformation. The school teaching sewing and the Law of God was intended for girls and young women. Like the primary school it provided knowledge about the Christian doctrine foundations, thereby promoting Christian enlightenment of the Japanese population. In addition, the sewing school allowed the young women to learn a craft in order to use these skills for subsequent adult life organization and social status improvement. The school enjoyed well-deserved respect among the Japanese population.

2. Other educational institutions that had a significant impact on Christian enlightenment of Japan, were the women's schools organized by the mission in Tokyo at the end of 1875 and in Kyoto in 1902. Women School of the Russian Ecclesiastical

⁶⁵⁴ Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1911, dated January 30, 1912 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 487.

Mission in Tokyo became one of the first girls' missionary schools. It was shown that the school curriculum generally corresponded to that of girls' state higher schools (grammar schools). Along with general education subjects, the school offered detailed knowledge of The Holy Scripture, the Catechism, the Sacred History of the Old and New Testaments and other theological subjects.

It was clarified that the main purpose of the women's schools opened by the mission was educating wives for Japanese priests and catechists. That is, education in women's educational institutions of the mission also had an ecclesiastical purpose. Having received quality education and upbringing, graduates married the Church servants and assisted them in strengthening and developing Orthodox communities in Japan.

In addition, after completing their studies the Women schools students became the secular school teachers. For Bishop Nicholas serving as a teacher was closely connected with missionary work: talking to Christian teachers he almost always raised the issue of their preaching among the disciples. Therefore, the head of the mission was pleased to note that, setting an example of a Christian woman, showing the example of moral behavior and kind attitude towards students, the Women Schools graduates contribute to strengthening the Japanese' good attitude towards Christianity: "Everywhere they are desired and considered the best⁶⁵⁵.

3.3. Training Christian preachers in Catechetical and other schools

Along with the Theological Seminary and women's schools, the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission created several more educational institutions, the functioning of which brought tangible benefits to the Christian enlightenment of Japan.

First of all, we are talking about the Tokyo Catechetical School having prepared several hundred Orthodox catechists during its existence who preached Christianity in all corners of the country.

⁶⁵⁵ Diary entry from June 22 / July 4, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 726.

Although the Catechetical School in Tokyo was officially opened in 1873, Father Nicholas had been thinking about training Orthodox preachers even before this, — when he analyzed the prospects of Orthodox preaching in the country and developed missionary rules that contained provisions on permanent training Japanese catechists.

The first catechists were the first three Orthodox Japanese: Pavel Sawabe, John Sakai and Jacob Urano, who conducted catechism during Fr. Nicholas's trip to Russia. After the establishment of the mission Archimandrite Nicholas became concerned with training a large number of Orthodox preachers: eight people called from Sendai were instructed in the faith by the mission head himself⁶⁵⁶. These few people formed the backbone of the Catechetical School opened in Hakodate in 1871. After Archimandrite Nicholas had moved to Tokyo, this school continued to function under the guidance of Fr. Anatoly (Tikhay) who arrived in Japan in 1872. In 1874 the head of the mission reported to the Holy Synod on Hieromonk Anatoly's successes in training the Orthodox preachers: particularly, together with the Catechetical School disciples he prepared four books with lectures on the Church History and the Comparative Theology⁶⁵⁷.

After moving to Tokyo in 1872, Archimandrite Nicholas opened a school where he taught the Japanese Russian language and the foundations of the Christian faith. In 1873 the educational institution was transformed into a Catechetical School, or catechetical college. At first the lessons were taught in Japanese: Father Nicholas read excerpts from the Holy Scripture in Russian and then dictated them in Japanese. Later, the need for a deep Russian language study arose, which was met in Tokyo Theological Seminary.

The opened Catechetical School was located in the house where Archimandrite Nicholas lived. When the mission was established, no funds were allocated for the educational institution maintenance, since the missionary intended to train and support preachers at his own expense and for the remaining resources of the mission⁶⁵⁸. Therefore,

⁶⁵⁶ Report to the Holy Synod, dated May 10, 1871 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 145.

⁶⁵⁷ Petition to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society, dated 15 March 1874 / RGIA. F. 799. Inv. 13. C. 114. L. 56 ob. – 57.

⁶⁵⁸ Report to the Holy Synod, dated 15 January 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 159.

the number of the first Catechetical School students was small amounting to about twenty people⁶⁵⁹. But soon, due to the increased demand for the Orthodox preachers the number of disciples began to increase (by the end of 1874 it accounted for about 60 people⁶⁶⁰).

The term of study at the school lasted for one year when it just opened; the curriculum included the Dogmatic Theology and the Holy Scripture Interpretation. Having completed the course, the graduates became active preachers' disciples "for a greater test of their diligence and ability to catechism... and for practical training in the catechistic service"⁶⁶¹.

By 1878 the educational process in the Catechetical School acquired organizational completeness. It was determined that the educational institution could admit men aged between 18 and 60, "pious, with good mental abilities and a well-off domestic circumstance"⁶⁶².

Compared to the first years of the school's existence, the studies of Church History and the Sacred History of the Old and New Testaments were added to the curriculum. All the classes were taught in Japanese. In 1878 Archimandrite Nicholas was the only teacher at the school. Students having good voices attended singing classes as well. Student progress monitoring methods were defined: every day each student answered the assigned lesson orally or wrote an essay (the best works were subsequently published in the mission's periodicals). In addition to the educational classes, the students had catechetical practice: after six months of their training, they were sent to help the active catechists in the capital, sometimes subsequently taking their places.

Admission to the school took place twice a year — in January and September. The educational institution was attended by people from all over Japan, but Archimandrite Nicholas believed that it was necessary to prepare the catechists originating from the southern provinces for the Shikoku and Kyushu islands (due to some differences in

⁶⁵⁹ Petition to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society, dated March 15, 1874 / RGIA. F. 799. Inv. 13. C. 114. L. 59 – 59 rev.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid. L. 63 rev.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 285.

language spoken in the north and in the south of Japan). For this purpose it was decided to establish a Catechetical School in Osaka which was to be guided by Fr. Anatoly (Tikhay)⁶⁶³. This educational institution, for which Archimandrite Anatoly had bought a plot of land and buildings with donations from Russia, was founded in September 1882⁶⁶⁴. The Catechetical School in this city had existed until the spring of 1884, when its head was forced to return to Tokyo to serve in the church at the Russian embassy⁶⁶⁵.

All the Catechetical School students were educated and supported at the mission's expense. Until 1880, when the Holy Synod and the Orthodox Missionary Society determined the sum to be allocated for the maintenance of the mission, the school had functioned only thanks to donations from Russian philanthropists and at missionaries' own expenses. Archimandrite Nicholas wrote to the Synod: "The question: 'Who provides for the Mission with all its institutions?' can only be answered as 'God, in ways unknown to it!'"⁶⁶⁶. By the end of 1879 the situation with financial support of the mission's projects had become catastrophic: Archimandrite Nicholas reported to the Synod that he would be forced to close schools and colleges, dismiss catechists and submit a petition for dismissal if no additional funds from Russia were allocated⁶⁶⁷.

The head of the mission considered the Catechetical School one of the main "organs for handing down Christianity to millions"⁶⁶⁸. In his opinion, it had to eventually become a higher theological educational institution similar to a theological academy,

⁶⁶³ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 302.

⁶⁶⁴ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan for 1882, dated March 19, 1883// Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 387.

⁶⁶⁵ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1884, dated March 9, 1885 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 59–60.

⁶⁶⁶ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 314.

⁶⁶⁷ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna Innokenty, dated January 23, 1879 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 331; Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore, dated August 3, 1879 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 338.

⁶⁶⁸ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 321.

which would admit the Theological Seminary graduates willing to specialize in preaching⁶⁶⁹. He also assumed that in the future, the Catechetical School would educate Japanese clergymen. Therefore, Archimandrite Nicholas supposed increasing of the school study period from one year to two and expanding the list of disciplines taught in it to belong to the main tasks of the mission's educational activities.

In the early 1880s new subjects were introduced into the curriculum, such as the Canon Law, the Accusatory Theology, the Practical preaching (the students' exercise in explaining the doctrine in class and preaching practice in the city) and the Church Singing. Considering the Catechetical Schools' activities the most important for Christian enlightenment of Japan, Bishop Nicholas taught almost all theological subjects there. In 1884 the term of the school study was increased to two years⁶⁷⁰. Bishop Nicholas planned to subsequently increase this term to three years⁶⁷¹.

In addition to the Catechetical School on Surugadai mission's camp, in the mid-1880s (the first mention of students dates back to 1885⁶⁷²) a separate Catechetical School, a school for boys and a girls' school were opened at the Orthodox community of Kojimachi by the Hieromonk Pavel Niitsuma (ノパヴェル新妻 (敬治)). In addition, church singing was taught; choirs were formed. These educational institutions were popular: in January 1892, Bishop Nikolai wrote about 170 students, of whom 70 female students were studying in the girls' school⁶⁷³, which was comparable to the number of students at the mission itself on Surugadai. Graduates of the Kojimachi Catechetical School subsequently served as catechists both in their parish and were sent by the mission to

⁶⁶⁹ Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 321.

⁶⁷⁰ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1884, dated March 9, 1885 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 60.

⁶⁷¹ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Rear Admiral S.O. Makarov, dated May 30 / June 11, 1890 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 222.

⁶⁷² Diary entry from December 26, 1884 / January 7, 1885 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 583.

⁶⁷³ Diary entry from December 26, 1891 / January 7, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 246.

other places of preaching. In 1892, after the dismissal of Hieromonk Pavel Niitsuma, some of the students (mainly from the Catechetical School) were transferred to Surugadai.

From the mid-1880s, with the change in the Japanese government's attitude towards foreign influence, the number of the Catechetical School applicants steadily declined. In the 1870s the average number of students in an educational institution accounted for about 35–40 people, whereas in the early 1890s this number amounted to 15–20 people many of whom left the school not having completed the course (see Appendix 4). These facts led Bishop Nicholas to the idea of opening preparatory Catechetical Schools and admitting volunteers from among non-Christians there. Such schools were opened in Osaka (in 1892) and in Tokyo, in the Kojimachi parish, where it was led by Hieromonk Pavel Niitsuma (in 1890). Soon this project had to be abandoned, since no more than a third of the 80 people admitted remained after six months⁶⁷⁴.

In the early 1890s Bishop Nicholas was forced to admit that he the idea of a Catechetical School as the basis for training preachers was not implemented: the number of students and their educational level was declining, many students did not complete their studies (less than 10 people left in some classes⁶⁷⁵). In addition, the school graduates often left the catechist service without having even worked for a year. The head of the mission saw the reason in the fact that they could not be really imbued with the spirit of their service after two years of training, could not “stock up on the Christian spirit so much that they can live and breathe only with it”⁶⁷⁶. In this regard he assumed to pay special attention to the upbringing process in the Tokyo Theological Seminary and regulate its guidance in order to “form reliable, steadfast preachers and Church

⁶⁷⁴ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1892, dated February 25, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 239.

⁶⁷⁵ See, for example: Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1894, dated March 9, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 263; Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1897, dated March 2, 1898 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 295.

⁶⁷⁶ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1892, dated February 25, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 238.

servants”⁶⁷⁷. First of all, Bishop Nicholas decided to introduce the annual admission to the Seminary, as a result of which the need for Catechetical Schools had to disappear by itself.

After the end of the Russo-Japanese War, the situation with the funding of Russian Spiritual Mission activities became more complicated. The sum that was allocated in 1880 was no longer enough; revolutionary unrest in Russia made the allocation of additional funds for the mission impossible. Under these circumstances at the Japanese Church Council in 1907 it was decided to reduce its expenses. In addition, an opinion was expressed at the Council that the two-year period of the school study does not provide the preparation sufficient for future catechetical service, “with the current widespread distribution of secondary and higher education in Japan”⁶⁷⁸. As a result, the Catechetical School in Tokyo was closed in 1908⁶⁷⁹.

From the very beginning of its activity the head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan was concerned with providing good singing for the church services. The mission instructions specifically stipulated that it had to have a cleric, who could visit missionary departments (camps) to arrange proper singing during the church services⁶⁸⁰. With the development of the Japanese Church and increase in the number of Orthodox communities a need arose to train the clergy and singers from among Japanese believers. Therefore in 1874 Archimandrite Nicholas decided to search for several young people with good voices and morals for sending them to study church singing in Tokyo⁶⁸¹.

In the same year, Hieromonk Anatoly’s brother Yakov Dmitrievich Tikhay, who had previously passed the exam for the title of Russian Imperial Singing Chapel regent,

⁶⁷⁷ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1892, dated February 25, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 239.

⁶⁷⁸ Petition to the Holy Synod, dated February 1, 1907 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 408.

⁶⁷⁹ Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1908, dated January 26, 1909 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 451.

⁶⁸⁰ Draft Instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan dated 19 July 1870 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 127, 132.

⁶⁸¹ Petition to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society, dated March 15, 1874 // RGIA. F. 799. Inv. 13. C. 114. L. 57, 57 rev.

became a mission member⁶⁸². He significantly influenced the development of choral music: his name is associated with the organization of a special Clergy School at the mission. In 1878 five people were trained there. Bishop Nicholas paid special attention to the preparation of clergy and choristers: during his visit to Russia in 1879–1880 two church singing teachers were invited to Japan — a deacon Dmitry Kryzhanovsky, who taught two-part singing at the school, and Dmitry Lvovsky.

Based on the mission head's reports and dispatches to the Holy Synod it can be concluded that the Clergy School existed for about twenty years and enjoyed a good reputation: in the late 1880s the number of its students reached twenty people⁶⁸³. Along with church choral singing and church reading, the Dogmatic Theology, the Sacred History of the Old and New Testaments and the Liturgists were included in the curriculum. During their studies at the Clergy School, students also got the practical skills: they participated in church services in the Resurrection Cathedral, forming a separate clergy choir, helped the capital priests in performing services, etc. The term of the school study accounted for one year⁶⁸⁴.

After graduating from the Clergy School they were sent to provincial Orthodox communities: according to the mission head's plan, every Japanese priest had to have a cleric under his command, who would help him in performing the church service. In addition, they were imposed to teach believers in each Christian community church singing⁶⁸⁵, for this purpose Ya. Tikhay and Deacon Dmitry Lvovsky developed the collections of one-voice Church hymns⁶⁸⁶.

⁶⁸² Petition to the Holy Synod, dated March 15, 1874 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 258.

⁶⁸³ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1888, dated March 9, 1889 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 160.

⁶⁸⁴ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan for 1882, dated March 19, 1883 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 388.

⁶⁸⁵ Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1884, dated March 9, 1885 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 60.

⁶⁸⁶ *Klobukova N.F.* Western Musical Culture in Japan during the Meiji Period (1868–1912). P. 206.

During his visit to provincial communities, Bishop Nicholas noted the choral singing coherence and the correct order of the church service where a cleric was present⁶⁸⁷. Thus, Bishop Nicholas saw a significant benefit of the Clergy School in strengthening the new children of the Orthodox Church in their Christian faith.

Another important area of the mission's educational activity was training the translators of the liturgical, theological and moral texts and textbooks for theological schools from Russian into Japanese. According to the instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Missions in Japan it was assumed that young people sent to study at Russian theological seminaries and academies, will serve the Church as such translators upon returning to Japan⁶⁸⁸. But Protestant missionaries' active translating the Holy Scriptures and religious books forced the head of the mission to begin training the translation specialists already in the early 1870s.

A separate Translation School was founded in 1873; the following year, about ten people were studying there⁶⁸⁹. After some time this school was united with the theological Seminary: in 1876 an appeal of the mission to the Russian Church contained the number of students in the translation department of the theological school. It accounted for 8 people⁶⁹⁰. The main task of the students and graduates of this department was translating Russian publications into Japanese. Already in 1878 Archimandrite Nicholas reported to Metropolitan Innokenty (Veniaminov) of Moscow about the translation department students' successes: they translated several editions, including textbooks for the Catechetical School and Theological Seminary, and prepared them for publishing. Along with the students of this department, the Seminary students were involved in translation activities⁶⁹¹. Subsequently the translation and publishing department of Ayaisha (愛愛社

⁶⁸⁷ See, for example: Diary entry from July 22 / August 3, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. P. 345

⁶⁸⁸ Draft Instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, dated 19 July 1870 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 131.

⁶⁸⁹ Petition to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society, dated March 15, 1874 / RGIA. F. 799. Inv. 13. C. 114. L. 59.

⁶⁹⁰ See: Appeal of the Japanese Ecclesiastical Mission to the Russian Church. P. 166.

⁶⁹¹ Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna Innokenty, dated March 12, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 273; Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Ibid. P. 296.

、あいあいしや) consisting of the translator training department graduates was established, its permanent leader was Savva Horie (サワ堀江 (復)).

According to St. Nicholas, the translation of the church service and the Holy Scriptures had to become the work of a separate missionary from Russia. Firstly, the translation of these texts was of utmost importance for the correct establishment of the Orthodox Church in Japan; secondly, translators from the Japanese did not know the Church Slavonic language. The head of the mission assumed that they could be engaged in translating into Japanese the theological school textbooks, religious books for Japanese believers to read, “scientific-religious” works for clergy and catechists. Such translations could be accepted for publishing only after verification and editorial corrections by a missionary translator. Diary entries by Bishop Nicholas testify to the significant work he carried out checking the prepared translations: he often rejected them suggesting the translator to correct the mistakes and inaccuracies⁶⁹² or even refused to publish a translation.

The work of the translators trained by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission was very beneficial for the matter of Christian education. Since 1882, the mission translated and published approximately 10 book titles annually. These were the Holy Scripture interpretations by various authors, textbooks on the Dogmatic, Moral, Accusatory and Comparative Theology, Lives of the Saints, edifying books for the Orthodox believers to read, and etc. A little later, the separate brochures began to appear, explaining some Christian holiday or offering an accessible translation of the Lives of the Saints.

The translators took an active part in the preparation and editing materials for the mission's periodicals. The mission's publications were sent to Orthodox communities, catechists and believers at their request, were distributed in Japan by special book peddlers. The materials published in them were used by Japanese believers to better understand the Orthodox doctrine, to help them to enroot in the Christian faith.

⁶⁹² See, for example: Diary entry from December 16/28, 1896 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 216.

Several other educational projects by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission are not directly related to the Christian enlightenment of Japan. But still, they influenced it, as they connected Orthodox Japan with Orthodox Russia.

First of all, we are talking about the mission's organizing help for Russians prisoners of war. As a result of the failures of the Russo-Japanese War, about 70 thousand Russian army soldiers were captured in Japan⁶⁹³. Russian Ecclesiastical Mission began to support them almost immediately: Japanese believers, besides the students from the mission's educational institutions collected donations, visited the prisoners in their places of residence; the clergy spiritually fed the prisoners.

The Russian army soldiers mostly came from the peasant class; most of them were illiterate. Bishop Nicholas suggested the literate officers and non-commissioned officers to teach the illiterate. For the educational process organization alphabet books, grammar textbooks, copybooks and writing materials were sent from the mission to the prisoners' of war camps⁶⁹⁴. Also the mission head advised the Japanese priests serving for the prisoners of war to motivate the illiterate to study reading and writing, and the literate to teach them. Bishop Nicholas was excited and pleased by the students' successes: he asked the officers responsible for the studies to write to him even about the slightest achievements of the students and report promptly on the need for textbooks and writing instruments⁶⁹⁵.

Being short on textbooks for teaching reading and writing, the mission appealed through Russian periodicals to philanthropists with a request to send the necessary books

⁶⁹³ The exact number of prisoners of war has not been determined. For more details, see: *Zhukova L.V.* *Everyday Life in Japanese Military Captivity: Russian Soldiers and Officers in Japan in 1904–1905* // *Obozrevatel*. No. 1 (240). 2010. P. 106–119.

⁶⁹⁴ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergius Suzuki, dated September 30 / October 13, 1904 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 3. P. 338–339; Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergius Suzuki, dated October 13/26, 1904 // *Ibid*. P. 344; Letter to Priest Sergius Suzuki, October 17/30, 1904 // *Ibid*. P. 345.

⁶⁹⁵ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergius Suzuki, dated November 13/26, 1904 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 3. P. 352; Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergius Suzuki, dated June 9/22, 1905 // *Ibid*. P. 412–413.

to Japan⁶⁹⁶. But since the period of waiting for the donated textbooks from Russia was large, Bishop Nicholas accepted the decision to print 10 thousand copies of alphabet books in Japan (18 thousand were printed⁶⁹⁷) for distribution to the illiterate. The simplest version of the primer was chosen for printing which was supplemented with 25 Krylov's fables for reading practice⁶⁹⁸. Teaching prisoners of war made it possible to fill the void (lack of any activity, boredom and idleness), which was the worst punishment for many prisoners. Thanks to the in Japan mission's organizing the educational process in the camps many hundreds of Russian prisoners of war got primary education. Visits to prisoners of war by Japanese priests and ordinary believers gave them the opportunity to become more deeply acquainted with Orthodox traditions: many of them noted the high spiritual uplift of the soldiers during divine services and when they received church sacraments.

As a result of the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Empire lost its rights to the southern part of the Sakhalin Island. After Japan's taking over this part of the island, about 200 Russian citizens⁶⁹⁹ remained in the territory, besides children and teenagers. Since they did not know Japanese, they did not attend the educational institutions Japan had opened for its citizens resettled to Sakhalin. This became known to Bishop Sergius of Kyoto (Tikhomirov, 1871–1945) and one of the famous priests and missionaries Fr. John Vostorgov (1864–1918). The head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission supported the initiative of his assistant and Father John, writing the petition to the Holy Synod on the preparation and sending a priest, a teachers and a psalm-reader to South Sakhalin, who could organize the education of the Russian children remaining there, along with

⁶⁹⁶ See, for example: Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Editorial Board of the Newspaper "Novoe Vremya", dated March 31 / April 13, 1905 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 385–386.

⁶⁹⁷ List of donations received by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission to Japan for the needs of Russian prisoners of war in 1905 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 509.

⁶⁹⁸ Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Archbishop of the Aleutians and North America Tikhon (Bellavin), dated 2/15 May 1905 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. P. 398.

⁶⁹⁹ Materials for the History of the Japanese mission // Pravoslavny blagovestnik. M., 1915. No. 2. P. 238.

conducting church services⁷⁰⁰. The Synod approved this petition, and in 1911 priest Nickolas Kuzmin (1880–1937) arrived to South Sakhalin who served there until the end of 1915⁷⁰¹.

Conclusions for Chapter 3

So, the third chapter considered the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's educational institutions.

1. Their work was based on the mission head's views on Christian education as one of the parts of missionary service. In one of the first official documents of the mission in Japan, namely the instructions, 5 paragraphs are dedicated to organizing the education of the Orthodox Church's new children. The missionary intended to establish almost all forms of Orthodox Christian education in Japan, from primary (elementary) and Sunday schools to higher theological educational institutions. St. Nicholas, Equal to the Apostles, attempted to introduce into Japan the system of Russian theological education that was familiar to him, which was largely due to the need to focus on the training of Church ministers. Not all of his educational projects were implemented, but the schools which were founded had a significant influence on the Orthodox preaching in Japan.

2. The main feature that distinguished the Seminary from theological schools of other Christian denominations was its purely ecclesiastical character. It was assumed that the school's students would serve the Church after having completed their education. It somewhat limited the number of people wishing to study there, leading to a shortage of Orthodox preachers. But at the same time the confessional character of the education made it possible to avoid the "dilution" of the Christian spirit of the mission's school.

⁷⁰⁰ Materials for the History of the Japanese mission // *Pravoslavny blagovestnik*. M., 1915. No. 2. P. 239–240.

⁷⁰¹ For more details on his service on Sakhalin, see: *Kuzmina I.V.* Member of Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan, Priest Nikolai Kuzmin's Vital Events // *Ugreshsky sbornik*. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program Students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. 2021. No. 11. P. 159–168.

3. The lack of financial support and the absence of the required number of missionaries were factors that hindered the expansion of its educational activities. However, this process was also influenced by macro-factors related to the changes taking place in Japanese society. This was most evident from the late 1880s, when the Japanese authorities began to abandon the policy of Westernization. The situation was aggravated by the education laws adopted in the 1890s, which resulted in the strengthening of nationalistic and imperialistic tendencies in Japanese society. At the beginning of the 20th century, atheistic and materialistic views also became widespread among young Japanese. This situation led to a decrease in the number of students in the mission's educational institutions; many students did not complete their studies, which affected the number of active catechists and slowed down the development of Orthodox preaching.

4. Activities of the Tokyo Theological Seminary were so important for Christian education that Bishop Nicholas equated closing an educational institution to the termination of the entire Orthodox mission's activities in Japan. It became the center where future pastors and catechists of the Japanese Church were trained and educated.

Schools for girls and women opened by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Tokyo became one of the first girls' Christian educational institutions that provided students with a modern secondary education. The main purpose of the Women Schools was to educate wives for the Japanese priests and catechists. Deep and comprehensive theological subject teaching contributed to the fact that the Women Schools graduates subsequently became active members of parish communities, helping female parishioners to strengthen their knowledge of Christian doctrine. For Japanese believers the graduates were living examples of high moral standards of Christian women's life⁷⁰².

The Catechetical School was one of the first educational institutions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission. St. Nicholas of Japan regarded it as the basis for training the Japanese Orthodox catechists and for some time even intended to transform it into a higher religious educational institution, specializing in the training of highly educated

⁷⁰² Diary entry for June 22 / July 4, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 727.

preachers. For during its existence, the mission's Catechetical Schools graduated several hundred catechists who spread Orthodoxy throughout the territory of Japan.

Other educational institutions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission solved more applied, but no less important tasks for the Christian enlightenment of the country. The Clergy School specialized in training church singers and regent who visited Orthodox communities to organize a choir. Since Japan was a fairly highly-literate country, it was necessary for enrooting the Orthodox believers into the Christian faith to translate spiritual books for reading from Russian into Japanese and publish them. This was the main task of the Translation School formed by the mission.

Therefore, it can be said that the activities of all mission's educational institutions were aimed at prepared priests and clergy for the Japanese Church. Theological Schools fully fulfilled its main purpose: almost all Japanese priests and most of the catechists were its graduates.

CONCLUSION

The results of the present dissertation research have shown that the Christian missions operating in Japan during the Meiji era saw the purpose of their educational activities not only in the educational institutions' organization. They considered this activity an integral part of the Christian enlightenment of the country, in which "Divine and human forces cooperate"⁷⁰³.

In the course of this dissertation research, a conclusion was drawn about the mutual influence of the Meiji government's policy in the field of education and the Christian missions' educational activities.

Educational reform was an important part of the transformations during the Meiji era, which affected all the aspects of the country's political and public life. The first wave of educational reforms began in 1868 and lasted until the end of the 1870s. It was focused on the introduction of Western models into Japanese education organization. A significant role in the development of this reform's main provisions was played by Christian missionaries who consulted the Government of Japan, participated in the educational process organization at the created schools and universities, taught in them, often introducing their students to the basics of Christian doctrine and its ethical principles. Due to the fact that liberal educational reforms were mainly aimed at borrowing Western achievements in the field of education and as a result of the lifting of the ban on Christianity in 1873 the Christian faith spread rapidly. Its spread was also facilitated by the fact that the schools opened by missionaries offered the Japanese a "Western education", which significantly increased their social status and promoted social mobility. Developing Japanese educational institutions began to compete with mission schools for the most capable students, so over time, foreign missions increased the level of education provided in them, opened colleges and universities on their basis.

Since the mid-1880s, a gradual departure from the Westernization policy began, which significantly influenced the activities of foreign missions. The Constitution of 1889

⁷⁰³ *Barton James L. Educational Missions. P. 1.*

and especially the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 defined a new state ideology aimed at strengthening imperialist and nationalist tendencies in Japanese society, leading to a significant decline in missionary educational institutions: their number was decreasing, the number of applicants to them was decreasing as well, many educational institutions were forced to change curricula in order to obtain state accreditation, etc. This was true for all Christian denominations' missions.

The analysis of the Catholic and Protestant missions' educational activities conducted in the present dissertation study let us conclude that each mission approached the fulfilling of its work part in its own way.

The first Christian educational institutions in Japan were opened in the 16th and 17th centuries by the Catholic Church missionaries during the initial attempt to evangelize the country. During the Meiji era the Catholic mission focused its efforts on the lower and middle less educated strata of Japanese society, organizing charitable institutions and educational institutions mainly in rural areas. This orientation determined the creation of elementary schools providing basic education as the primary task for the Catholic missionaries. Secondary educational institutions had to be founded after that. Unlike Protestant missionaries, the Catholic mission began developing higher education only in the early 1910s. The study revealed that the educational work of the Catholic mission, was less active compared to the Protestants. It was found that the educational activities of the Catholic mission, unlike the Protestants, were not the main focus of its missionary work in Japan.

Mission through education, through the creation of an extensive network of educational institutions, through the training of specialists in the field of ideas and meanings that would influence the process of forming value orientations, was the fundamental approach of Protestant missionaries. They have focused their efforts on working with the higher and more educated part of the Japanese society, largely due to the fact that the Western civilization achievements the Japanese aspired to were associated with English-speaking countries. In order to comprehend the "Western disciplines" and study technical innovations, the knowledge of English was necessary, and this circumstance stimulated the upper class representatives' demand for education

in Protestant educational institutions. The of Protestant church missions were pioneers in the creation of higher Christian educational institutions, organized on the model of universal Western universities, where along with academic faculties the theological ones functioned. Since it was important for Protestant missionaries that the people of Japan could read the Bible in their native language, they made significant efforts to translate the Holy Scripture, prepare and distribute religious publications, Christian brochures and newspapers.

The present dissertation research revealed that before 1873 the main ways convey the gospel truths to the people of Japan were distribution of publications by Christian authors, teaching foreign languages, translating of the Holy Scripture and assistance in sending Japanese students to study in Europe and America. These methods of “indirect” missionary work helped to remove the wary attitude of the Japanese towards foreigners and ensure the subsequent widespread dissemination of Christian preaching at the initial stage (in the 1860s and 1880s). One of the reports at the missionary Protestant conference in 1878 stated that there were no sermons worthy of mention during this period since all the missionaries were engaged in teaching, “The Kingdom of Christ entered Japan through schools”⁷⁰⁴. This statement is also true for the Orthodox mission: most of its first catechists were trained in a kind of Catechetical School organized by Fr. Nicholas at the Russian language school.

The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, unlike the non-Orthodox ones, has never had a large number of foreign missionaries and sufficient financial resources. This was due to the significant influence of the mission head’s pedagogical views on its educational activities’ organization. The present dissertation research identified four stages of the formation of St. Nicholas’s views, coinciding with the main milestones of his biography: 1836–1860s — the period of study in theological educational institutions, obtaining theoretical knowledge; in the following period (1861–1870), practical experience was accumulated and he formed a plan for organizing the educational

⁷⁰⁴ Report of the General Conference on Foreign Missions, held at Mildmay, Oct., 1878. Paper by Rev. Dr. Ferris, on “Missions in Japan”. Cit.: *Stock Eugene*. Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society. P. 92.

activities at the Orthodox mission in Japan; the period of its active implementation was 1871–1895; the stage of analysis and gradual departure from active pedagogical activity (1895–1912).

Based on the analysis of the missionary's written heritage, it was concluded that his views on religious education and on the organization of the mission's educational institutions have evolved over time under the influence of several factors. Here is one the main of them: the influence of mentors, teachers in theological educational institutions, Russian state and public figures (the role of St. Theophan the Recluse, St. Innokenty (Veniaminov), of the Smolensk Seminary inspector Hieromonk Victorin (Lyubimov), Chief Prosecutor K.P. Pobedonostsev, S.A. Rachinsky et al. in this process was determined). It should be noted that the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan operated during the period of expansion and activation of the missionary service of the Russian Orthodox Church. The experience of other Ecclesiastical Missions, the practical developments of Orthodox missionaries, undoubtedly influenced the activities of the mission and the views of its head. In addition, the study noted the influence of the Japanese government's actions in the field of education, social and political transformations that took place in Japanese society during the Meiji reforms. Moreover, the development of his pedagogical views was influenced by the missionary experience of teaching in schools organized by him, the activities of Christian preachers of other denomination in this area, etc.

Despite the fact that St. Nicholas of Japan did not leave a separate work in the field of pedagogy and the theological education organization, his pedagogical views were reflected in his written legacy, for instance, diary entries, official and private letters, sermons. During the present dissertation research, the entire corpus of the missionary's currently known writings was analyzed; new materials were discovered, researched and published (for example, his letters to S.A. Rachinsky), which made it possible to highlight the main provisions of his pedagogy.

Based on the theological analysis of St. Nicholas of Japan's pedagogical provisions, patristic works and views of famous figures in the Orthodox pedagogy of the 19th century, it was concluded that the missionary's views lie in line with the patristic

tradition and Russian Christian education traditions. The classification of principles proposed by Archimandrite George (Shestun) and most widely used in Christian Orthodox pedagogy was applied to systematize St. Nicholas' pedagogical views. The missionary's views were divided into two groups: those defining the man's existence in Christ — christocentricity, ecclesiocentricity and nature conformity, and methodological — pedocentricity, moral and pedagogical asceticism.

Another principle was highlighted, which was not specified separately in the concept of Fr. George (Shestun) and which can be attributed to methodological ones — the principle of self-learning and mutual learning. The latter provision underlies a practical solution — the creation of “friendly meetings” in provincial churches: members of the community gathered monthly to study the Holy Scripture and the dogmas of the Christian faith together. Similar meetings, but mainly in the form of a dispute, were held in the educational institutions of the mission.

The organization of “friendly meetings” in parishes and theological educational institutions for joint study and mutual learning is an extremely interesting solution that could be used in the modern practice of missionary and catechetical activities of our Church.

Already at the initial stage of the Christian preaching spread in Japan one of the key features of St. Nicholas of Japan's, Equal-to-the-Apostles, approach was identified, namely preaching (to further develop the Orthodox Church in Japan) mainly with the help of the Japanese themselves, having previously trained them. A number of factors influenced the formation of this practical approach. First of all, this is the lack of opportunity for the foreign missionaries to openly preach in Japan themselves until 1873. A successful example of the first Orthodox Japanese's preaching activity led St. Nicholas to the idea of using this approach in the future, which was implemented first in the missionary rules he developed, and then in the instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan.

The lack of missionaries from Russia and poor funding (especially in the first 10 years of the mission's activity) did not allow the Orthodox mission to conduct extensive educational activities, for example, to open a large number of schools, to develop higher

religious education as Protestant missionaries did. The main task of the mission in the field of education was, according to its head, training of the Church servants — priests, catechists, translators, singers — who would then spread the preach, teach and mentor new children of the Orthodox Church. As a result, the Japanese Orthodox Church was formed and exists to the present day. Therefore, it can be concluded that this approach can be applied in modern missionary practice, especially under the conditions of limited financial and human resources.

During the present dissertation research it was concluded that the educational activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission had a strictly confessional (ecclesiastical) orientation.

This approach of the mission head follows from the main task he set for the educational institutions, namely to train the Church servants. This led to both positive results (the Christian character of the mission's schools and colleges was not “blurred”, unlike, for example, some Protestant ones) and some negative consequences (in particular, this situation limited the influx of the most capable Japanese young people into the mission's educational institutions). In the mid-1890s, faced with the problem of reducing the number of applicants to the Tokyo Seminary, the main theological school of the mission, St. Nicholas developed a plan of its transformation into an analogue of the Japanese higher secondary school (but with the retention of all theological disciplines in the curriculum), assuming that “non-church” specialists would also be trained here. But since, in his opinion, this could have a negative impact on the students who were going to serve the Church in the future, the head of the mission was forced to abandon the implementation of the developed plan.

In organizing educational activities, St. Nicholas tried to introduce the Russian theological education system in Japan that was familiar to him: primary religious education — Theological Seminary — higher theological educational institution. During the first five years, from 1870 to 1875, he opened almost all types of religious educational institutions at the mission (with the exception of higher education). Through the efforts of the head of the mission and his co-workers in Japan, an orderly and well-thought-out system of Orthodox theological education was created, which made it possible to

successfully educate clergy and church ministers, catechists for Christian preaching in the country.

In addition to introducing the Russian theological school organizational structure into the activities of mission's educational institutions and organizing a similar educational process, the head of the mission used its methodological materials. The analysis of the Tokyo Seminary curriculum conducted in this study allowed us to conclude that the curricula of Russian seminaries had a significant impact on it (in the first fifteen years of the mission's existence they coincided with just a few exceptions,). The program of the Women's School largely coincided with the program of the Russian diocesan women's college.

Based on the analysis of the activities of educational institutions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, it was found that they were created to solve certain practical problems.

For teaching primary church education, boys' and girls' schools were opened in Hakodate, which existed until 1899, when they were closed due to the wide spread of primary education in Japan. St. Nicholas intended to open similar schools at other mission's departments, but an analysis of the mission's reports for the entire period showed that it has not happened. The head of the mission also assumed that the primary educational institutions would provide applicants for other theological schools of the mission. In spite of the fact that the number of primary school graduates who then continued their studies at the Seminary is small, it can still be stated that the primary schools where education was in demand had an impact on the Christian enlightenment of the Hakodate residents.

It is necessary to note the special role of Sunday and evening schools for girls and boys in Christian education, which had to be started by catechists in accordance with the catechetical rules St Nicholas had drawn up for them. The mission activity reports do not contain the number of such schools, since they are not included in the list of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's educational institutions. The diary entries by the mission head confirm the existence of Sunday schools in the largest Japanese Orthodox communities. The activities of such schools were funded from the catechists' salaries and local

donations. The schools at the Orthodox community in Kojimachi should be mentioned separately. Thanks to the efforts of the priests serving there, particularly Hieromonk Pavel Niitsuma, a separate Catechetical School, a boys' school and a girls' school were founded in the late 1880s. Many of those who studied at these schools later served as catechists and became active parishioners, participating in the affairs of their parish communities.

The present research concluded that the Tokyo Theological Seminary was the main educational institution that trained catechists and future clergy for the Japanese Church. Originally formed in 1874 as a theological school, by the early 1890s the Seminary had become an educational institution that trained the most educated preachers who could replace absent members of the mission or teach in its educational institutions (to achieve this goal, the most successful students of the Seminary were sent to Russia to study at theological academies). A translation department was established at the Seminary, whose graduates were engaged in translating and publishing moral and religious books, the importance of distributing them among the Japanese was great. The Seminary provided its students with professional religious education: almost all of its graduates went out to preach in one way or another, became catechists; most priests of the Japanese Church graduated from this theological school as well.

The next educational institution, which, according to St. Nicholas's plan, was to play a significant role in the Christian enlightenment of Japan, was a Catechetical School. In the first 15–20 years of its existence, the head of the mission paid even more attention to it than to the seminaries, since he believed that the adults who entered it already had life experience and chose to study there consciously, with the further goal of serving as a catechist. In the 1880s, St. Nicholas even proposed to open a higher educational institution on its basis. By the early 1890s made it clear that the idea of the mission head about the Catechetical School as the main preacher training educational institution would not find its embodiment. The change in the Meiji government policy, the growing hostility towards foreigners in the Japanese society, particularly to the Christians, led to a further decrease in the number of applicants to this educational institution. In 1908, due to a shortage of money, the Catechetical School was closed.

Orthodox Women's Schools played a special role in the Christian enlightenment of Japan, which became one of the first private Christian educational institutions for girls in this country. Their main task was to bring up wives for Japanese priests and catechists. The female students received high-quality Christian education and upbringing, similar in level to that provided by higher Japanese women's schools, and then assisted their husbands in strengthening and developing Orthodox communities. Some of the girls found themselves in teaching: they stayed at a women's college or taught in public schools; some girls, when returning home, actively participated in the life of their Christian community. The women's educational institution at the mission published a journal of moral content, which was in high demand in the Japanese society.

The creation of the Japanese Orthodox Church, which exists to the present day, is the main result of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission's educational activities in Japan during the Meiji era. Unlike other Christian missions, the mission did not have significant financial resources and the necessary number of missionaries. Without sufficient experience in organizing professional religious education outside Russia, the mission founded all the educational institutions necessary for the Christian preaching dissemination. Almost all the priests and catechists of the Japanese Church were trained in the mission's theological schools, preached and served the Christian enlightenment of Japan. This allowed St. Nicholas to state that the Japanese Orthodox Church was created primarily thanks to the works of Japanese preachers, priests and believers, and "the main driving force in this matter was to be the mercy of God, His great grace"⁷⁰⁵.

⁷⁰⁵ *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Speech on the 30th Anniversary of the Ministry in Japan // Additions to the Church Gazette. 1891. No. 40. P. 1392.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

OR RNB — Manuscripts Department of the Russian National Library

OKhD until 1917 — Document Storage Department until 1917

PMO — Orthodox Missionary Society

RGADA — Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts

RGIA — Russian State Historical Archive

RDM — Russian Ecclesiastical Mission

SPbDA — Saint Petersburg Theological Academy

TSGAM — Central State Archives of Moscow

ABCFM — American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

MEP — Missions Etrangères de Paris (Paris Foreign Mission Society)

WSCF — World Student Christian Federation

YMCA — Young Men's Christian Association

REFERENCES

I. Sources

1. Sources in Russian

1. A Brief Essay on the Spread of Christianity. Translation from Japanese Hieromonk Nickolas (Kasatkin) // RGIA (Russian State Historical Archive). F. 796. Inv. 205. C. 490. L. 3, 7.
2. *Anatoly (Tikhay), Hieromonk*. News from Japan, extracted from letters of Fr. hieromonk Anatoly from Hakodate dated July 12/24, 1876 // *Missioner*. – M., 1876. № 44. – P. 357–365.
3. *Anatoly (Tikhay), Hieromonk*. Letter from a missionary from Hakodate (in Japan) and Japanese Christians to His Grace Benjamin, Bishop of Irkutsk and Nerchinsk // *Additions to the Irkutsk Eparchial Vedomosti*. – Irkutsk, 1875. № 8. – P. 77–82.
4. Appeal of the Japanese Ecclesiastical Mission to the Russian Church // *Missioner*. – M., 1876. № 21. – P. 166–170.
5. Attitude to the Director of the Economic Administration of the Holy Synod A.G. Ilyinsky of October 6/18, 1879 // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 1: Official correspondence (1860–1883)*. 2nd ed. revised and enlarged. M: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2022. – 498 p. (hereinafter referred to as *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1*). – P. 340.
6. Certificate of Completion of Tokyo Seminary John Kawamoto (dated 1890) // *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 2: Official correspondence (1884–1912)*. – M.: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2018. – 584 p. (hereinafter referred to as *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2*). – P. 201–202.
7. *Cherkasova M.A.* Notes of a Russian Orthodox missionary in Japan Maria Alexandrovna Cherkasova // *Missioner*. – M., 1879. № 44. – P. 375–378.

8. Diary entry from December 20, 1871 / January 1, 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 4: Diaries (1870–1888). – Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2020. – 780 p. (hereinafter referred to as Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4). – P. 35.
9. Diary entry from December 20, 1876 / January 1, 1877 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 36.
10. Diary entry from February 17/29, 1880 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 138.
11. Diary entry from February 23 / March 6, 1880 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 145.
12. Diary entry from June 3/15, 1880 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 256.
13. Diary entry from June 29 / July 11, 1880 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 277.
14. Diary entry from May 10/22, 1882 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 451.
15. Diary entry from March 12/24, 1884 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 557.
16. Diary entry from April 9/21, 1884 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. P. 562.
17. Diary entry from December 26 / January 7, 1885 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 583.
18. Diary entry from May 11/23, 1888 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 621.
19. Diary entry from January 2/14, 1889 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 5: Diaries (1889–1895). – Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2021. – 932 p. (hereinafter referred to as the Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5). – P. 22.

20. Diary entry from August 23 / September 4, 1889 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 66.
21. Diary entry from September 24 / October 6, 1889 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 74.
22. Diary entry from October 5/17, 1889 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 100, 102.
23. Diary entry from December 26, 1891 / January 7, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 246.
24. Diary entry from May 19/31, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 267–268.
25. Diary entry from June 4/16, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 292.
26. Diary entry from July 22 / August 3, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 345.
27. Diary entry from October 2/14, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 369.
28. Diary entry from October 4/16, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 373.
29. Diary entry from October 30 / November 11, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 419–420.
30. Diary entry from November 9/21, 1892 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 442.
31. Diary entry from April 16/28, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 509.
32. Diary entry from May 30 / June 11, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 591.
33. Diary entry from June 24 / July 6, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 684.
34. Diary entry from September 1/13, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 726.

35. Diary entry from September 30 / October 12, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 744.
36. Diary entry from October 6/18, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 748.
37. Diary entry from October 7/19, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 750.
38. Diary entry from April 26 / May 8, 1896 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 6: Diaries (1896–1899). – Moscow: Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2023. – 936 p. (hereinafter referred to as the Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6). – P. 89.
39. Diary entry from August 4/16, 1896 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 143.
40. Diary entry from December 16/28, 1896 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 216.
41. Diary entry from February 3/15, 1897 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 255.
42. Diary entry from February 22 / March 6, 1897 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 268.
43. Diary entry from June 20 / July 2, 1897 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 338.
44. Diary entry from August 21 / September 2, 1897 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 374.
45. Diary entry from October 11/23, 1897 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 399.
46. Diary entry from January 2/14, 1898 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 452.
47. Diary entry from June 6/18, 1898 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 522.
48. Diary entry from August 18/30, 1898 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 570.

49. Diary entry from March 6/18, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 666.
50. Diary entry from April 5/17, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. P. 687.
51. Diary entry from June 22 / July 4, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 726, 727.
52. Diary entry from June 23 / July 5, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 727–728.
53. Diary entry from December 9/21, 1899 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 6. – P. 813.
54. Diary entry from December 21, 1899 / January 2, 1900 // Diaries of St. Nicholas of Japan / Comp. K. Nakamura. – St. Petersburg: Hyperion, 2004. Vol. 4. – 988 p. (hereinafter referred to as Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4). – P. 190.
55. Diary entry from September 11/24, 1900 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 323.
56. Diary entry from December 13/26, 1900 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 379.
57. Diary entry from January 31 / February 13, 1901 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 409.
58. Diary entry from February 16 / March 1, 1901 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 413.
59. Diary entry from March 7/20, 1901 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 419.
60. Diary entry from July 28 / August 10, 1901 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 497.
61. Diary entry from September 5/18, 1901 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 521.
62. Diary entry from June 20 / July 3, 1902 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 4. – P. 649.

63. Diary entry from January 30 / February 12, 1904 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan / Comp. K. Nakamura. SPb.: Hyperion, 2004. Vol. 5. 971 p. (hereinafter referred to as Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5). – P. 18.

64. Diary entry from June 29 / July 12, 1911 // Diaries of Saint Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 5. – P. 778.

65. Draft instructions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, dated 19 July 1870 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 127–136.

66. Extract from the Most Faithful Report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod K. Pobedonostsev for the Department of Spiritual Affairs of the Orthodox Confessions for 1882–1884. – St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1884. – 127 p.

67. Income and expenditure report of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1880–1881. (dated April, 1882) // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 369, 374, 380.

68. Jubilee Greeting of the Theological Academy on its Centenary, 17 December 1909. Cit. by: *Malyarov S.* Our Graduate, Apostle of Japan, Saint Nickolas [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://spbda.ru/publications/nash-vypusknik-apostol-yaponii-svyatoy-Nickolas> (date of access: 05/05/2024).

69. Letter-report of Hieromonk Nickolas (Kasatkin) to the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod A.P. Akhmatov, dated August 21, 1863 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 74.

70. Letter from Arseniy Iwasawa to S.A. Rachinsky, dated August 23, 1885 // OR RNB (Manuscript Department of the Russian National Library). F. 631. Unit. 33. L. 90.

71. Letter from Arseniy Iwasawa to S.A. Rachinsky, dated August 13, 1888 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 44. L. 18 – 18 rev.

72. Letter from Arseniy Iwasawa to S.A. Rachinsky, dated December 6, 1888 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 44. L. 259.

73. Letter from ArchBishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Editor-in-chief from the Magazine “Svetoch i Dnevnik Pisatelya” A.V. Kruglov, dated May 12/25, 1910 //

Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: In 10 volumes. Volume 3: Letters (1860–1911). – M.: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2019. – 756 p. (hereinafter referred to as Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan Vol. 3). – P. 608, 609.

74. Letter from ArchBishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Bishop of Vologda and of Totma Nikon (Rozhdestvensky) // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 594.

75. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the benefactor, merchant A.M. Polezhaev, dated May 10/22, 1871 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas od Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 72.

76. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to a benefactor, a merchant O.P. Tyulyaev, dated February 11/23, 1875 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas od Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 100, 101.

77. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society, dated August 23, 1876 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 265.

78. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Vice-Director of Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Baron F.R. Osten-Saken, dated October 31 / November 12, 1871 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 75, 78.

79. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Vice-Director of Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Baron F.R. Osten-Saken, dated July 15/27, 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 81.

80. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Count E.V. Putyatin, dated February 13/25, 1875 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 115.

81. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Bishop of Irkutsk and Nerchinsk Veniamin (Blagonravov) // Additions to the Irkutsk Eparchial Vedomosti. October 27, 1873, № 43. – P. 669–686.

82. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna Innokenty, dated March 12, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 273.

83. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna Innokenty, dated January 23, 1879 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 331.

84. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore, dated August 3, 1879 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 336, 338.

85. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore // RGIA. F. 796. Inv. 205. C. 490. L. 12, 17 rev., 28.

86. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to an unknown addressee from October 20 / November 1, 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 82.

87. Letter from Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin) to an unknown addressee (1873) // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 83–84.

88. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the ArchBishop of the Aleutians and North America Tikhon (Bellavin), dated 2/15 May 1905 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 398.

89. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Editorial Board of the Newspaper “Novoe Vremya”, dated March 31 / April 13, 1905 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 385–386.

90. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma), dated November 17/29, 1894 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 252–254, 261–262.

91. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Princess A.N. Golitsyna, dated March 30 / April 11, 1888 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 169, 171.

92. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Rear Admiral S.O. Makarov, dated May 30 / June 11, 1890 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 222.

93. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore, dated January 22, 1882 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 356.

94. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod K.P. Pobedonostsev, dated March 18/30, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 245.

95. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated August 16, 1884 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit 28. L. 80, L. 81 rev., 82.

96. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated April 30, 1886 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 35. L. 172 rev.

97. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated November 3, 1889 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit 49. L. 193.

98. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to S.A. Rachinsky, dated April 15/27, 1894 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit 75. L. 7 – 7 rev.

99. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergiy Suzuki, dated September 30 / October 13, 1904 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 338–339.

100. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergiy Suzuki, dated October 13/26, 1904 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 344.

101. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergiy Suzuki, dated October 17/30, 1904 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 345.

102. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergiy Suzuki, dated November 13/26, 1904 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 352.

103. Letter from Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) to Priest Sergiy Suzuki, dated June 9/22, 1905 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 412–413.
104. Letter from I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma) to Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin), dated February 18–22, 1895 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit 75. L. 10 rev.
105. Letter from I.A. Kawamoto to S.A. Rachinsky, dated June 21, 1895 // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit. 81. L. 164 rev.
106. Letter from I.A. Kawamoto (Senuma) to S.A. Rachinsky // OR RNB. F. 631. Unit 90. L. 77 rev.
107. Letter from Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Former Consul in Hakodate to I.A. Goshkevich, dated September 11/23, 1865 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 45.
108. Letter from Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Former Consul in Hakodate to I.A. Goshkevich, dated May 2/14, 1866 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 51.
109. Letter from Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Acting Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod Yu.V. Tolstoy // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 120.
110. Letter of Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) to the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod Isidore, September 14/26, 1864 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 35.
111. List of donations received by the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission to Japan for the needs of Russian prisoners of war in 1905 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 3. – P. 509.
112. Memories of the Right Reverend Nicholas, Missionary to Japan (from Diaries of Archimandrite Andronicus) // Pravoslavny Sobesednik. Kazan, 1900. October. – P. 427–437.
113. Most Faithful Report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod K. Pobedonostsev for the Department of Orthodox Confession for 1884. St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1886. – 372 p.

114. Most Faithful Report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod on to the Department of Orthodox Confession for 1886. St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1888. – 129 p.

115. Most Faithful Report of the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod on to the Department of Orthodox Confession for 1890 and 1891. – St. Petersburg: Synodal printing house, 1893. – 235 p.

116. *Nickolas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. “Prepare your soul for temptation”. Word St. Nicholas of Japan at the Council of the Japanese Church in July 1887 (translated from Japanese) [Electronic resource] // URL: <http://www.sam.hiho.ne.jp/podvorie/general/stnick/ru/ugotovi.htm> (date of access: 20.05.2024).

117. *Nickolas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Speech at the Closing of the Council of Japan Orthodox Church in 1900 / News from Japan // *Pravoslavny blagovestnik*. – M., 1901. № 3. – P. 116–121.

118. *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Speech on the 30th Anniversary of the Ministry in Japan // *Additions to the Church Gazette*. 1891. № 40. – P. 1392.

119. *Nickolas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Word Said (in Japanese) at the Liturgy in Day of the Consecration of the Temple in Keoto, April 27, 1903 // *Pravoslavny blagovestnik*. – M., 1903. № 14. – P. 246–252.

120. *Nickolas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk*. And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful... Letters Russian from Hakodate // *Christian reading*. – St. Petersburg, 1869. № 2. – P. 239–258.

121. *Nickolas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk*. Seoguns and Mikado // *Russian Vestnik*. – M., 1869. № 11. P. 207–227; № 12. – P. 416–460.

122. *Nickolas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk*. Japan from the Point of View of the Christian Mission // *Russian Vestnik*. – Moscow, 1869. № 9. – P. 219–264.

123. On the Admission of the Japanese Matthew Kageta to the Bethany Seminary // TSGAM (Central State Archives of Moscow). OKhD until 1917 (Document Storage Department until 1917). F. 427. Inv. 1. C. 4142. L. 2 rev.

124. On the Modern External Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church / Journal № 80 of the meeting of the Holy Synod dated 16.07.2013 [Electronic resource] // <http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3102956> (date of access: 20.05.2024).

125. Petition to the Holy Synod, dated March 15, 1874 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 257, 258.

126. Petition to the Holy Synod, dated February 1, 1907 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 408.

127. Petition to the Council of the Orthodox Missionary Society, dated 15 March 1874 / RGIA. F. 799. Inv. 13. C. 114. L. 56 ob. – 57 ob., 59 – 59 ob., 63 ob.

128. Petition to the Chief Prosecutor of the Holy Synod (dated 1880) // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 351, 352.

129. Petition to the Economic Administration of the Holy Synod (dated 1877) // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 268.

130. Report to the Holy Synod, dated May 10, 1871 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 143, 145.

131. Report to the Holy Synod, dated January 15, 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 153, 159.

132. Report to the Holy Synod, dated December 18, 1878 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 278, 285, 288–289, 292–294, 296–297, 302–303, 314, 321.

133. Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1897, dated March 2, 1898 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 295, 299.

134. Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1899, dated February 1, 1900 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 300, 302, 307.

135. Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1902, dated February 10, 1903 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 336, 337.

136. Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1906, dated February 1, 1907 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 396.

137. Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1908, dated January 26, 1909 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 450, 451.

138. Report to the Holy Synod with a report on the state of affairs in Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1911, dated January 30, 1912 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 487, 488.

139. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1871, dated January 15, 1872 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 159, 168.

140. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan for 1882, dated March 19, 1883 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. – P. 387–388.

141. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1884, dated March 9, 1885 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 59–60.

142. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1886, dated March 12, 1887 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 131.

143. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1888, dated March 9, 1889 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 160, 162–163.

144. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1890, dated March 28, 1891 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 206, 207.

145. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1892, dated February 25, 1893 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 235, 238–239, 243, 247.

146. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1893, dated March 12, 1894 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 251, 252.

147. Report to the Holy Synod with an account of the state of affairs in the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission for 1894, dated March 9, 1895 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 262, 263.

148. Review of Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin) on the book by M.I. Venyukov “Essays on Japan” // RGADA (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts). F. 1385. Inv. 1. C. 925. L. 1–18.

149. Materials for the History of the Japanese Mission // Pravoslavny blagovestnik. – M., 1915. № 2. – P. 238, 239–240.

150. The Position of the Rector of the Church of the Russian Imperial Embassy and together with a Member of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan, dated February 12, 1890 // Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. – P. 171, 172.

151. *Vladimir (Sokolovsky), Hieromonk*. Letter of Hieromonk Vladimir // Missionary. – M., 1879. № 9. – P. 72.

152. *Vladimir (Sokolovsky), Hieromonk*. From a Letter of a Japanese Missionary // Missionary. – M., 1879. № 31. – P. 263.

153. *Vladimir (Sokolovsky), Hieromonk*. From Japan // Missionary. – M., 1879. № 48. – P. 410.

2. Sources in foreign languages

154. *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon № 3. Sermon on the Feast of the Descent of the Holy Spirit // Works from the Legacy of St. Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [published] by the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisuto sei-kyokai kyodan fushukyochy). – Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese: A.G. Fesyun.

155. *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon № 6. Inheritance of Faith // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). – Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

156. *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon № 7. We must be Obedient Churches // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of Japan Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). – Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

157. *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon № 8. Let us Discover a New Life (parting Words to Teachers and Students of Male and Female Theological Schools during Great Lent) // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of Japan Orthodox Christian Church ((日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). – Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

158. *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon № 9. You are the Light of the World // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). – Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

159. *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon № 11. On Communion (on Saturday First Week of Great Lent, March 14, 1908) // Works from the Legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). – Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

160. *Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop*. Sermon № 18. The Life of the Church is in Hands of Women Believers // Works from the legacy of Saint Nicholas (聖ニコライ事跡伝 / Sei-Nikorai jisekiden) [publishing house] of the Episcopal Administration of the Japanese Orthodox Christian Church (日本ハリストス正教会教団府主教庁 / Nihon Harisutosu seike kai kedan fusukete). – Tokyo, 1998. Translated from Japanese by A.G. Fesyun.

161. *Gordon, M.L.* An American Missionary in Japan. – Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1893. – 276 p.

162. *Hardy, Arthur Sherburne*. Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima. – Boston; New York: Houghton, Mifflin and company, 1891. – 350 p.

163. Hiroshima Kindergarten. – Board of Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 1908. – 12 p.

164. *Warren, Charles M.* Some Results of Christian Work in Japan // The Journal of Race Development. 1912. Vol. 3. – P. 95–108.

II. Literature

1. Literature in Russian

1.1. Monographs

165. *Alexy (Vinogradov), Hieromonk*. History of the Bible in the East, with an Overview of the Method and Conditions Favorable and Unfavorable to its Translation and Dissemination by the Christian Church among Different Peoples. Vol. 1. Chinese State, Korea, Japan, Burma, Annam, Siam, etc. Issue 1–2. – St. Petersburg: type. Panteleev brothers, 1889–1895. – 1194 p.

166. *Arkhangelov, S.A.* Our Foreign Missions: An Essay on Russians Ecclesiastical Missions. – St. Petersburg, 1899. – 208 p.

167. *Bertova, A.D.* Christians in Japan: Experience of Historical-Religious Analysis. – St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2017. – 319 p.
168. *Besstremyannaya, G.E.* Christianity and the Bible in Japan: A Historical Essay and Linguistic Analysis. – Moscow: Department for External Church Relations, Moscow Patriarchate, 2006. – 318 p.
169. *Besstremyannaya, G.E.* The Japanese Orthodox Church. History and Modernity. – Sergiev Posad: Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, 2006. – 320 p.
170. *Cantacuzene, M.R.* Public Education in Japan. – St. Petersburg: type. V.S. Balasheva, 1879. – 45 p.
171. *Clement of Alexandria.* Pedagog. – Moscow: Educational and informational ecumenical center of Paul the Apostle, 1996. – 290 p.
172. *Demkov, M.I.* Brief History of Pedagogy: for Educational Institutions and Seminaries, Pedagogical Classes of Women's Gymnasiums and Institutes, Pedagogical Courses at city Schools and for adv. teachers. – M.: Type. T-va I.D. Sytina, 1917. – 238 p.
173. *George (Shestun), Archimandrite.* Orthodox Pedagogy [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://azbyka.ru/deti/pravoslavnaya-pedagogika-protevgenij-shestun> (date accessed: 23.04.2024).
174. *Gnevushev, M.V.* His Eminence Vladimir, Bishop of Aleutia and Alaskan, and the State of the Russian Orthodox Church in America. – Kyiv: printing house of S.V. Kulzhenko, 1890. – 125 p.
175. *Grishelyova, L.D.* Formation of Japanese National Culture, end of the 16th — beginning of the 20th century. – Moscow: Nauka, 1986. – 288 p.
176. *Grishelyova, L.D., Chegodar, N.I.* Japanese Culture of the New Age. The Meiji Era. – Moscow: Eastern Literature, 1998. – 237 p.
177. *Efimov, A.V.* Revolution and Meiji Reforms in Japan: Transcript lectures, reading May 21, 1940. – M., 1940. – 18 p.
178. Essays on Japan / (Comp. V.I. T-skaya). – St. Petersburg: type. St. Petersburg joint-stock company “Slovo”, 1904. – 111 p.

179. *Innokenty (Veniaminov), Metropolitan*. Instructions to a Priest, Appointed to Convert non-believers and Guide those Converted to Christian Faith, Compiled in God by the Late Right Reverend Metropolitan of Moscow Innokenty before his Taking of the Bishop's Cathedra of Kamchatka. – M.: L.F. Snegirev Printing House, 1881. – 24 p.

180. *Innokenty (Veniaminov), Metropolitan*. Note on the Education of Children // Works of Innokenty, Metropolitan of Moscow / Coll. by Ivan Barsukov. Book 1. 1886. – P. 290–302.

181. *Ivanova, G.D.* Russians in Japan in the 19th — early 20th centuries: Several Portraits. – M., 1993. – 168 p.

182. *John of Kronstadt, Saint*. To Teachers and Students: from the Works Saint Righteous John of Kronstadt: Excerpts from Diary Notebooks for 1856–1866. – Moscow: Otchiy Dom, 2014. – 205 p.

183. *Katansky, A.L.* Memories of an Old Professor. From 1847 to 1913 year. – Nizhny Novgorod, 2010. – 430 p.

184. *Khavkina, L.B.* Public Education in Japan. – Moscow: Editorial Board of the Journal “Bulletin of Education”, 1904. – 57 p.

185. *Kitagawa, Joseph Mizio*. Religion in Japanese History. – St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2005. – 586 p.

186. *Klyucharev, A.S.* His Eminence Theophan the Recluse and his Pastoral Activity // Pravoslavny Sobesednik. 1904, September. – P. 633–664.

187. *Konrad, N.I.* Modern Primary School in Japan: Extract from “Journal of the Ministry of Public Education”. – St. Petersburg: Senate Printing House, 1913. – 156 p.

188. *Konrad, N.I.* Japan. People and State: Historical Essay. – Pg.: Science and School, 1923. – 168 p.

189. *Lim, S.C.* History of the Japanese Educational System: Late 19th — first half of 20th century. – Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2000. – 364 p.

190. *Lukin, A.P., Puzyanova, O.V.* “And in Japan the Harvest is Plentiful...” Evolution the Worldview of St. Nicholas of Japan and Intercivilizational Interaction

between Russia, Japan and the West. – Moscow: Ves Mir Publishing House, 2021. – 368 p.

191. *Makarov, O.S.* Orthodoxy in Japan. – St. Petersburg: Synodal type, 1889. – 28 p.

192. *Meshcheryakov, A.N.* Emperor Meiji and his Japan. 3rd ed., rev. – M.: Linguistics, 2023. – 640 p.

193. *Nedachin, S.V.* The Orthodox Church in Japan. – St. Petersburg: Kolokol Printing House, 1910. – 59 p.

194. *Nikiforova, O.V.* ArchBishop Vladimir (Sokolovsky). The Last Abbot of the Moscow Spaso-Andronikov Monastery. – Moscow: Publishing House “Transition”, 2014. – 399 p.

195. *Nurutdinov, A.R.* The Main Trends in Education in Japan in late 19th — 20th centuries: Formation, Development and Reform of the System Aesthetic Education. – Kazan: KNRTU Publishing House, 2016. – 194 p.

196. On the Spread of the Orthodox Christian Faith in Japan by Russian Religious Preachers. – Moscow: Society for Distribution of Useful Books, 1874. – 26 p.

197. *Ornatsky, F.* Russian Orthodox Mission and Orthodox Church in Japan. – St. Petersburg, 1889. – 24 p.

198. *Pavlovich N.A.* The St. Equal-to-the-Apostles ArchBishop Nicholas of Japan: A Biography. – Moscow, 2015. – 144 p.

199. *Platonova A.* Apostle of Japan. Essay on the Life of ArchBishop Nicholas of Japan. – Pg., 1916. – 96 p.

200. *Popov, K.M.* Japan: Essays on the Development of National Culture and Geographical Thought. – Moscow: Mysl, 1964. – 639 p.

201. *Pozdneev, D.M.* ArchBishop Nicholas of Japan: (Memoirs and Characteristic). – SPb.: Synod. type., 1912. – 54 p.

202. *Pozdneev, D.M.* Japan: A Geographical and Statistical Essay. – Tokyo: type. Tokyo Insatsu Kabushiki Kaisha, 1906. – 154 p.

203. *Pozdneev, D.M.* Japan: General Overview of the Country: lectures, read for 1st year students practical. Oriental Academy at the Society of Oriental Studies in 1911. – St. Petersburg: Publishing House of the 1st course, 1911. – 191 p.
204. *Prasol, A.F.* The Forming of Japanese Education (VIII–XIX centuries). – Vladivostok: Dalnauka, 2001. – 391 p.
205. *Prasol, A.F.* Japanese Education in the Meiji Era (1868–1912). – Vladivostok: Dalnauka, 2002. – 358 p.
206. *Prokhorenko, F.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and Korea. – Kharkov, 1907. – 101 p.
207. *Rachinsky S.A.* Notes on Rural Schools. – St. Petersburg: Synodal type, 1883. – 123 p.
208. *Rachinsky S.A.* Absit Omen: (Concerning the Transformation of the secondary school). – St. Petersburg: Publishing House of P.A. Kapnist, 1901. – 17 p.
209. *Redkov, N.N.* Historical and Statistical Description of Churches and Parishes Smolensk Diocese: Issue 1. Belsky district. – Smolensk: type. P.A. Silin, 1915. – 399 p.
210. *Rimsky, S.V.* The Russian Church in the Era of Great Reforms (Church Reforms in Russia in the 1860s — 1870s). – Moscow, 1999. – 567 p.
211. *Sablina, E.B.* 150 years of Orthodoxy in Japan. History of Japanese Orthodox Church and its Founder Saint Nicholas. – Moscow: AIRO-XXI; St. Petersburg: “Dmitry Bulanin”, 2006. – 525 p.
212. *Savchuk, R.A.* Problems of Relations between the Church and Society at the Border XIX–XX centuries in the Understanding of St. Nicholas of Japan. – Moscow: Ruscience, 2020. – 134 p.
213. *Savchuk Roman, priest.* Saint Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: Life and Works. – M.: Publishing House of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2022. – 304 p.
214. *Sergius (Stragorodsky), Archimandrite.* In the Far East: Letters Japanese Missionary. – Moscow: Sretensky Monastery Publishing House, 2013. – 384 p.
215. *Siebold, A. von.* The Era of Great Reforms in Japan (Der Eintritt Japans in das europäische Völkerrecht). – St. Petersburg, 1905. – 84 p.

216. *Simeon the New Theologian, Rev.* Words translated into Russian Bishop Theophan. Edition 2. Issue 1. – Moscow, 1892. – 593 p.
217. *Shlyapkin, I.A.* Public Education in Japan. – St. Petersburg: Senate printing house, 1906. – 44 p.
218. *Shmonin, D.V.* Technology of Good: Essays on the Theology of Education. – Moscow: Poznanie, 2018. – 224 p.
219. *Shoji, Sergiy.* How I Became a Christian: The Story of Sergei Shoji. – St. Petersburg: Synodal Printing House, 1892. – 49 p.
220. *Shreider, D.I.* Japan and the Japanese: Travel Essays on Modern Japan. – St. Petersburg: A.F. Devrien, 1895. – 658 p.
221. *Sorokoletov, G.N.* Materials on Primary Education in Japan. Part One. A Brief Historical Outline of the Development of Primary Education in Japan. – Vladivostok, 1915. – 24 p.
222. *Spalvin, E.G.* Review of the Political Structure of Japan in the Past and Present: (From a course of lectures, read at the Oriental Institute). Issues 1–2. – Vladivostok: Oriental in-t, 1911. – 130 p.
223. *Speransky, I.P.* Essay on the History of the Smolensk Theological Seminary and the Schools under its Jurisdiction from the Time of the Founding of the Seminary until its Transformation Charter of 1867. (1728–1868). – Smolensk: Type. E.P. Poznyakova, 1892. – 532 p.
224. *Sukhanova, N.A.* Blossoming Branch of Sakura. History of the Orthodox Churches in Japan. – Moscow: Publishing House of the Church of the Holy Martyr Tatiana, 2003. – 96 p.
225. *Sukhova, N.Yu.* Theological Schools and Theological Education in Russia (XVII — early XX century). – M.; St. Petersburg, 2013. – 81 p.
226. *Theophan the Recluse (Govorov), Saint.* Outline of the Christian Moral Teachings. 2nd ed. – M.: Pravilo very, 2010. – 686 p.
227. *Theophan, Bishop.* Letters on Spiritual Life. 3rd Athonite ed. Panteleimon Monastery. – M., 1897. – 275 p.

228. *Theophan, Bishop*. The Path to Salvation: (A Brief Essay on Asceticism): Concluding AP. to Letters on Christian Life. 2nd ed. Issue 1. – St. Petersburg, 1869. – 112 p.
229. *Tikhomirov, L.A.* Christian Tasks of Russia and the Far East. – M., 1900. – 47 p.
230. *Tsyplin Vladislav, Archpriest*. History of the Russian Orthodox Church. Synodal Period. Modern Period. – Moscow: Publishing house of the Educational Committee of the Russian Orthodox Church, 2004. – 839 p.
231. *Veniaminov, I.G.* Religion and Christianity in Japan. – St. Petersburg, 1905. – 61 p.
232. *Venyukov, M.I.* Essays on Japan. – St. Petersburg: type. Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1869. – 444 p.
233. *Verisotskaya, E.V.* Westernization, National Idea and Realities Japanese Policy in the Meiji Era. – Vladivostok: Oriental University Press, 2005. – 333 p.
234. *Victorin (Lyubimov), Archimandrite*. A True Friend of a Spiritual Youth: Practical Instructions for Students of Theological Schools / [Comp.] Archim. Victorin, Inspectors of St. Petersburg Theological Academy. – St. Petersburg: print. Koroleva and Co., 1858. – 263 p.
235. Works of Innokenty, Metropolitan of Moscow. Book III / Coll. I. Barsukov. – M., 1888. – 494 p.
236. *Yoshida, Kaoru*. Upbringing and Education in Japan / K. Yoshida and T. Kaigo. – [Tokyo]: South Manchurian Railway Joint Stock Company. – 113 p.
237. *Zhukov, E.* History of Japan: A Brief Essay. – M.: Sotsekgiz, 1939. – 220 p.

1.2. Collections

238. *Bogolyubov, A.M.* Russian Press about the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan (Meiji period, 1867–1912) // From the History of Religious, Cultural and Political Relations between Russia and Japan in the 19th–20th centuries. – St. Petersburg, 1998. – P. 69–82.

239. *Fedorova, T.V.* Foundation of the Russian Orthodox Mission of Theological Schools in Japan in the second half of the 19th — early 20th centuries // History and Archeology: Proceedings of the IV International Scientific Conference (St. Petersburg, July 2017). – SPb.: Svoe izdatelstvo, 2017. – P. 45–48.

240. Japan: The Experience of Modernization / Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Ed. Molodyakova E.V., Markaryan S.B. M.: AIRO-XXI, 2011. – 283 p.

241. *Karpuk, D.A.* St. Petersburg Theological Academy during the Period Teachings of St. Nicholas of Japan // Spiritual Heritage of the Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan: On the Centenary of his death. Collection of Scientific Works Conferences / Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary; Institute of Asian and African Countries at Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov. – Moscow: OOO “Publishing House PENATES”, 2012. – P. 129–145.

242. *Kobets, V.N.* Fukuzawa Yukichi: Worldview and Activities // From History of Social Thought in Japan. XVII–XIX centuries. – Moscow, 1990. – P. 130–159.

243. *Konrad, N.I.* Public Education in Japan // Japan: Collection articles / Edited by E. Zhukov, A. Rosen. – Moscow, 1934. – P. 196–203.

244. *Markaryan, S.B., Molodyakova, E.V.* Meiji Model of Development // Reflections on Japanese History. – Moscow, 1996.

245. *Mazurik, V.P.* Pedagogy of St. Nicholas of Japan and S.A. Rachinsky and the Age of Enlightenment in Japan // Christianity and Traditional Values of South and East Asia: History and Modernity. – Moscow, 2021. – P. 34–42.

246. *Meshcheryakov, A.N.* External Factor in the History of Japan // Asia — Dialogue Civilizations. – St. Petersburg: Hyperion, 1996. – P. 17–56.

247. *Meshcheryakov, A.N.* Transformations of the Meiji Era: State and Bodily Dimension // Japan in the Era of Great Transformations. – Moscow: AIRO-XXI, 2020. – P. 77–112.

248. *Tukish, V.A.* Educational Activities of Saint Innokenty (Veniaminov), Metropolitan of Moscow // Development of the Personality. – Moscow: Federal State

Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education “Moscow State Pedagogical University”, 2007. – P. 193–201.

249. *Vasilyeva, E.B.* Christianity in Japan during the Meiji Era and the Problems of Cultural Identification by Japanese // Christianity in the Far East. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference. Part 1. – Vladivostok: FESU, 2000. – P. 103–107.

250. *Verisotskaya, E.V.* Society and Educational Reforms in Japan on the Initial Stage of Modernization (1870–1880s) // Oriental Institute Journal. Special issue: Japan: [Collection of Articles] / Ch. ed. Morgun Z.F. – Vladivostok, 1998. – P. 115–128.

1.3. Articles

251. *Bertova, A.D.* Some Aspects of the Influence of Christianity on the Formation of New Educational Principles in Japan at the end of the XIX — beginning of the XX century // *Asiatica: Works on the Philosophy and Cultures of the East.* – St. Petersburg, 2015. № 9. – P. 143–149.

252. *Bertova, A.D.* Distinctive Features of Religious Practices and Traditions of the “Hidden Christians” in Japan // *Vestnik of St. Petersburg University. Series 9: Philology, Orientalism, Journalism.* – St. Petersburg, 2008. Issue 3. Vol. 1. – P. 95–99.

253. *Bertova, A.D.* Development of the Concept of the “Kingdom of God” in Philosophical Thoughts of Ebin Danjo // *Voprosy filosofii.* – Moscow, 2018. № 3. – P. 187–196.

254. *Bertova, A.D.* The Samurai and Christianity: on the Question of Social Affiliation of Japanese Christians in the Second Half of the XIX Century // *International Journal of Cultural Research.* – St. Petersburg, 2018. № 4(33). – P. 132–146.

255. *Cherevkov, V.D.* From the Modern History of Japan, 1854–1894 // *Bulletin Europe.* – St. Petersburg, 1894. № 11. – P. 227–272.

256. *Divnogortseva, S.Yu.* K.D. Ushinsky and Orthodox Pedagogical Culture of Russia of the XIX century // *St. Tikhon's University Review. Series IV: Pedagogy. Psychology.* – M., 2014. Issue 2. – P. 102–110.

257. *Galakhov I., Archpriest.* His Eminence Nicholas, ArchBishop Japanese. February 3, 1912 // Tomsk eparchial vedomosti. – Tomsk, 1912. № 6. P. 340–348; № 7–8. – P. 394–402.

258. *George (Tertyshnikov), Archimandrite.* The Missionary Feat of St. Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas in Japan // Alpha and Omega. – Moscow, 1998. № 3(17). – P. 181–199.

259. *Georgy (Tertyshnikov), Archimandrite.* The Light of the Russian Land. Life and the Activities of Saint Theophan the Recluse // Theological Works. – Moscow, 1990. № 30. – P. 152–175.

260. *Golovacheva, L.R.* Functioning of the English Language in Japan // Oriental Institute Journal. – Vladivostok, 2004. № 8. – P. 121–129.

261. *Fedotov P.V.* Beirut Schools of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society (1887–1914): Religious and Political Project of M.A. Cherkasova (Based on Materials from the Foreign Policy Archives of the Russian Empire) // Russian Journal of Church History. Vol. 3, № 2 (2022).

262. From the History of the Consulate in Hakodate // Embassy of Russia in Japan. [Electronic resource] // URL: https://tokyo.mid.ru/ru/iz_istorii_posolstva/g_khakodate/ (date accessed: 01.06.2024).

263. *Ivanova, G.D.* Life and Work of St. Nicholas of Japan // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 2. – St. Petersburg State University, 1996. – P. 10–19.

264. *Ivanova, G.D.* Translators of Russian Literature are Students of Orthodox Theological Seminary in Tokyo // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 2. – St. Petersburg State University, 1996. – P. 59–64.

265. *Ikuta Michiko.* Russian Images of Japan in the Edo Period // Oriental Institute Journal. – Vladivostok, 2006. № 13. – P. 107–127.

266. *John (Rubin), Abbot.* In Commemoration of 150th Anniversary of Baptism of First Japanese Converts by St. Nicholas of Japan // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. Issue 9. – Moscow: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2018. – P. 34–47.

267. *John (Rubin), Abbot*. Letters of St. Nicholas of Japan Equal-to-the-apostles as Source of History of the Japanese Orthodox Church // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. Issue 10. – M.: Publishing department of Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Theological Seminary, 2019. – P. 43–57.

268. *John (Rubin), Abbot*. Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan and Eastern Orthodox Churches // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. Issue 7. – Moscow: OOO Izdatelstvo PENATY I KNIGA, 2017. – P. 76–88.

269. *Kazem-Bek, A.* Apostle of Japan, ArchBishop Nicholas (Kasatkin). (100th Anniversary of Orthodoxy in Japan) // Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate. 1960. № 7. – P. 43–58.

270. *Kedrov, N.* ArchBishop Nicholas of Japan in Letters to Archpriest N.V. Blagorazumov // Russian Archive. – M., 1912. № 3. – P. 379–402.

271. *Klobukova N.F.* Confucian Moral and Educational Function of Music: from the History of Japanese School Education // The Journal of Society for Music of Theory. 2022. № 2 (38). – P. 30–41.

272. *Kuzmina, I.V.* Election of the Head of the Tokyo Theological Seminary: Analysis of the Letter of John Kawamoto (Senuma) to St. Nicholas of Japan // Ugreshsky Sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. 2023. № 14. – P. 122–129.

273. *Kuzmina, I.V.* Letters from Japanese Students of Russian Theological Academies to S.A. Rachinsky as a Source of Information about the Activities of the Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan // Theological and historical collection. – Kaluga, 2024. № 2 (33). – P. 273–287.

274. *Kuzmina, I.V.* Member of Russian Spiritual Mission in Japan, Priest Nikolai Kuzmin's Vital Events // Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Works of the Teachers and Master's Program Students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary. 2021. № 11. – P. 159–168.

275. *Kuzmina, I.V.* On the Issue of Reorganization of the Tokyo Theological Seminary in the mid-1890s [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://uchkom.info/publikatsii/iv-kuzmina-k-voprosu-o-pereustroytve-tokiyskoy-spiritual-Seminary-in-the-series-1890-kh-godov-20370/> (date of accessed: 27.12.2023).

276. *Kuzmina, I.V.* Pedagogical Views on the School Education of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan in Comparison with the Views of St. Theophan the Recluse // Theological Collection of the Tambov Theological Seminary. 2024. № 3 (28). – P. 174–188.

277. *Kuzmina, I.V.* The Role of Humanitarian Assistance to the Orthodox Missions in the late 19th — early 20th Centuries Based on the Example of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan // Herald of the Historical Society of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy: scientific Journal. – SPb.: Publishing House of St. Petersburg State University, 2020. № 2(5): Special issue. The History of the Orthodox Mission in the Far East. – P. 170–185.

278. *Kuzmina, I.V.* “Collection of Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan” as a Source on the History of Orthodoxy in the Far East // Herald of the Historical Society of St. Petersburg Theological Academy. 2021. № 2 (7). – P. 124–133.

279. *Kuzmina, I.V., Pantuev, P.A.* “Hurry Up and Do Your Life’s Work in Russia!”: Letters of St. Nicholas of Japan to Sergei Alexandrovich Rachinsky // Christian reading. – St. Petersburg, 2024. Issue 3. – P. 198–221.

280. *Logachev, K.I.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission and its Relationships with other Christian Missionaries // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 2. – St. Petersburg State University, 1996. – P. 40–48.

281. *Logachev, K.I.* The Contribution of St. Nicholas, ArchBishop of Japan, to Domestic Theory of Translation of the Holy Scripture // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 3. – SPbSU, 2001. – P. 147–152.

282. *Masako, Tatsumi.* Activities of Joseph Goshkevich in Hakodate // Journal of International Law and International Relations. – Minsk, 2014. № 3. – P. 69–72.

283. *Mechnikov, L.I.* Meiji. The Era of Enlightenment in Japan // Delo. – St. Petersburg, 1876. № 10. – P. 133–170.

284. *Meshcheryakov, A.N.* The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi as a Reputation Resource // *Otechestvennyye zapiski*. – Moscow, 2014. № 1(58). – P. 251–261.
285. *Meshcheryakov, A.N.* Meiji Era Reforms: The Human Dimension // *Yearbook Japan*. – Moscow, 2018. Vol. 47. – P. 350–366.
286. *Meshcheryakov, A.N.* Japan during the Meiji Period (1868–1905): from the Beginning Reforms before the Russo-Japanese War // *History of Japan*. – Moscow: Aspect-Press, 2018. – P. 286–367.
287. *Minakov, M., Ushakova, I.* This is not Chatter, but Action and True Feeling: In Memory of Teacher Sergei Rachinsky [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://pravoslavie.ru/65902.html> (date of access: 10.05.2024).
288. *Molodyakov, V.E.* Meiji Isin — a Conservative Revolution // *Problems of the Far East*. – Moscow, 1993. № 6. – P. 112–117.
289. *Molodyakov, V.E.* “School of National Sciences” and the Formation Japanese Idea // *Vostok*. – Moscow, 1994. № 3. – P. 45–53.
290. *Naganawa, Mitsuo.* The Japanese Orthodox Church in the Meiji Period (1868–1912) // *Vostok*. – Moscow, 1993. № 6. – P. 18–26.
291. *Nelyubin, P.G.* Western Education in Traditional Japan: Lessons of Jesuits // *Oriental Institute Journal*. – Vladivostok, 2021. № 3. – P. 61–73.
292. *Pavel (Ivanovsky), Archimandrite.* In Memory of His Eminence Nicholas, ArchBishop of Japan // *Pravoslavny blagovestnik*. – Moscow, 1912. № 10. – P. 429–439.
293. *Pobedinsky, A.G., Uspensky, M.V.* Icon “Resurrection of Christ”. Yamashita Rin and Nicholas Kasatkin // *Yamashita Rin. The First Japanese Icon Painter. Album-catalogue* [compiled by S.S. Rusnak, A.G. Filkin]. – Vladivostok, 2016. – P. 17–18.
294. *S. [Sergius (Stragorodsky), Hieromonk].* Christian Preaching in China and Japan // *Russian Bulletin*. – M., 1892. № 12. – P. 7–31.
295. *Sablina E.B.* From the History of the Periodical Press of the Japanese Orthodox Church // *Japan. Yearbook*. 2012, № 41. – P. 413–422.
296. *Savchuk Roman, Priest.* Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas on Japan Love for Students and Firmness in the Teacher [Electronic resource] // URL:

<https://www.orthedu.ru/obraz/16782-ravnoapostolnyy-Nickolas-yaponskiy-o-lyubvi-k-uchenikam-i-tverdosti-v-vospitatele.html> (date of access: 11.10.2023).

297. *Savchuk Roman, Priest*. Pedagogical Ideas of the Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://pravoslavie.ru/77311.html> (date accessed: 10.11.2023).

298. *Savchuk Roman, Priest*. Pedagogical Notes of Nicholas of Japan [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://dialog-nn.rf/deyatelnost/publikatsii-i-intervyu/1084-pedagogicheskie-zameki-Nickolasa-yaponskogo-statya-2> (date accessed: 10.11.2023).

299. *Sergius (Tikhomirov), Bishop*. In Memory of His Eminence Nicholas, ArchBishop of Japan // Christian reading. – St. Petersburg, 1913. Vol. 239. Part 1. – P. 3–76.

300. *Seryshev I.N., Archpriest*. Fundamentals of the Japanese System of Public Education // Bulletin of Asia. – Harbin, 1925. № 51–52. – P. 117–178.

301. *Shatalov, O.V.* The Initial Stage of the Activities of the Russian Ecclesiastical Missions in Japan: 1870–1875. An Attempt at Historical Reconstruction Based on Archival Materials // Orthodoxy in the Far East. Issue 2. – St. Petersburg State University, 1996. – P. 31–39.

302. *Shcheglov Nikolay, Priest*. Hakodate Holy Resurrection of Our Lord Church and its First Father Superior Archpriest Vasily Makhov // Ugreshsky Sbornik. Collected Works of Teachers and Master's Program Students of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological seminaries. Issue 6. – M.: LLC "Publishing House PENATY and BOOK", 2017. – P. 148–156.

303. *Shcherbina A.A.* Nickolas Kasatkin — One of the First Russian Japanologists // Peoples of Asia and Africa. – Moscow, 1977. № 4. – P. 154–163.

304. *Shevchenko Daniil, deacon*. St. Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas the Japanese — a Fellow Countryman, a Contemporary and a like-minded Person of the Outstanding Pedagogue-enlightener of the XIX century S.A. Rachinsky: the Similarity of Pedagogical Views // Ryazan Theological Bulletin. 2018. № 2(18). – P. 82–89.

305. *Sinyavsky P., Archpriest.* Materials for Biography of His Eminence ArchBishop Nicholas, Head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan // *Strannik*. – St. Petersburg, 1910. № 10. – P. 402–410.

306. *Slobodchikov, V.I.* In Search of the Grounds for Christian Psychology. Part One // *News of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University*. 2016. № 1(105). P. 84–95.

307. *Sukhova, N.Yu.* On the Pedagogic Training of Graduates of Higher Theological Academic Centers within the Context of Reforms of the 18th to the 20th centuries // *St. Tikhon's University Review. Series IV: Pedagogy. Psychology*. – Moscow, 2007. Issue 3 (6). – P. 70–91.

308. *Sukhova, N.Yu.* Orthodox Education in Japan through the Eyes of Graduate of the Kazan Theological Academy Mikhey Nakamura // *Pravoslavny sobesednik*. – Kazan, 2023. № 2(32). – P. 19–30.

309. *Sukhova, N.Yu.* Orthodoxy in Japan and Russian Theological Academies (1880–1910) // *Ugreshsky sbornik. Collected Teachers' Works of the Nikolo-Ugreshskaya Orthodox Theological Seminary*. Issue 4. – M., 2014. – P. 78–97.

310. *Tyshchuk, A.* Japanese Autonomous Orthodox Church // *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*. 1970. № 11. P. 42–47; № 12. – P. 43–51.

311. *Vishnevsky E., Priest.* My Memories of ArchBishop Nicholas of Japan, Who Reposed in God // *News of the Kazan Diocese*. 1912. № 18. Dep. unofficial. – P. 579–584.

312. *Yoshimura John, Archpriest.* 60 years in Ecclesiastical Mission // *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*. 1968. № 12. – P. 21–26.

313. *Yusha, A.S.* Who is More Persistent (from the Work of His Eminence Nicholas — ArchBishop of Japan) / *In the East*. – Tokyo: Publishing House Taishiudoo Bookstore, 1935. – P. 76–80.

314. *Zenina, L.V.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission and Russian Orthodox Church in Japan under the Leadership of Saint Nicholas, Apostle of Japan (1836–1912) // *Problems of History, Philology, Culture*. Issue 9. – Magnitogorsk, 2001. – P. 275–282.

315. *Zenina, L.V.* Japanese Scientists about the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan // *Orthodoxy in the Far East*. Issue 2. – St. Petersburg State University, 1996. – P. 21–30.

316. *Zhukova L.V.* Everyday Life in Japanese Military Captivity: Russian Soldiers and Officers in Japan in 1904–1905 // *Obozrevatel*. № 1 (240). 2010. – P. 106–119.

1.4. Reference literature

317. *Khokhlov, A.N.* Isaiah (Polikin) [Electronic resource] // URL: <https://www.pravenc.ru/text/674840.html> (date of access: 01.05.2024).

318. *World History. Volume 5. The World in the Nineteenth Century: towards the Industrial Civilization* / Edited by A.O. Chubaryan; responsible editor of the volume V.S. Mirzekhanov. – Moscow: Nauka, 2014. – 940 p.

1.5. Dissertations, abstracts

319. *Bogolyubov, A.M.* Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan in the late 19th — early 20th centuries. Dissertation ... Candidate of Historical Sciences Degree: 07.00.03: / Bogolyubov Alexey Mikhailovich. – St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Museum, 2004. – 131 p.

320. *Klobukova, N.F.* Western Musical Culture in Japan during the Period Meiji (1868–1912): Borrowing and Adaptation. Dissertation ... Candidate of Cultural Studies Degree: 24.00.01 / Klobukova Natalia Fedorovna. – Moscow: Russian State University for the Humanities, 2018. – 487 p.

321. *Nanivskaya, V.T.* The System of “Moral Education” in the Japanese School: Dissertation ... Candidate of Historical Sciences Degree: 07.00.03. Moscow, 1983. 271 p.

322. *Nickolas (Ono), Hieromonk.* Formation of the Japanese Orthodox Church under ArchBishop Nicholas (Kasatkin) in the Period from 1876 to 1891: Review of Primary Sources from the Archives of the Japanese Orthodox Church. Dissertation ... Candidate of Theology Degree. – Moscow, 2018. – 281 p.

323. *Smirnova, I.Yu.* Confessional Factor of Russian Policy in the Middle East and North Pacific Regions in the Middle of the XIX Century: 1840–1860s [Text] : diss... Doctor of Historical Sciences: 07.00.02 / Smirnova Irina Yurievna. – Moscow, 2017. – 530 p.

2. Literature in foreign languages

2.1. Monographs

324. *Abé, Takao.* The Jesuit Mission to New France: A New Interpretation in the Light of the Earlier Jesuit Experience in Japan. Studies in the History of Christian Tradition / Takao Abe; vol. 151. – Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011. – 234 p.

325. *Barton, James L.* Educational Missions / J.L. Barton. – New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1913. – 271 p.

326. *Barton, James L.* Human Progress through Missions / J.L. Barton. – New York: Fleming H. Revel, 1912. – 96 p.

327. *Beasley, W.* The Japanese experience: A Short History of Japan / W. Beasley. – L., 2000. – 299 p.

328. *Beasley, W.G. & Auslin, Michael R.* The Meiji Restoration / W. Beasley, M.R. Auslin. – Stanford University Press, 2018. – 536 p.

329. *Boxer, Charles Ralph.* The Christian Century in Japan 1549–1650 / Ch.R. Boxer. – Berkely; Los Angeles: University of California press, 1967. – 535 p.

330. *Brownell, Clarence Ludlow.* The Heart of Japan / C.L. Brownell. – New York: McClure; Philips & Co, 1904. – 364 p.

331. *Burton, Margaret E.* The Education of Women in Japan / M.E. Burton. – New York; Chicago [etc.]: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1914. – 272 p.

332. *Cary, Otis.* A History of Christianity in Japan / Cary Otis. – New York: F. H. Revell, 1909. – 372 p.

333. *Cary, Otis.* Japan and its Regeneration / Cary Otis. – New York: Laymen's missionary movement, 1899. – 137 p.

334. *Cullen, L.M.* A History of Japan, 1582–1941 / L.M. Cullen. – Cambridge University Press, 2003. – 357 p.
335. *Drummond, Richard Henry.* A History of Christianity in Japan / R.H. Drummond. – Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1971. – 397 p.
336. *Dore R.P.* Education in Tokugawa Japan. – London and New York: Routledge, 2010. – 346 p.
337. *Elison, George.* Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan / G. Elison. – Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973. – 542 p.
338. *Gordon, A.* A Modern History of Japan: from Tokugawa Times to the Present / A. Gordon. – New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. – 400 p.
339. *Gordon, M. L.* Thirty Eventful Years: The Story of the American Board's Mission in Japan, 1869–1899 / M.L. Gordon. – Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1901. – 119 p.
340. *Griffis, William Elliot.* A Maker of the New Orient. Samuel Robbins Brown: Pioneer Educator in China, America, and Japan. The Story of his Life and Work / W.E. Griffis. – New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1902. – 332 p.
341. *Hamish, Ion A.* American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi and Japan, 1859–73 / I.A. Hamish. – Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2009. – 410 p.
342. *Hecken, Joseph Leonard van.* The Catholic Church in Japan since 1859 / J.L. van Hecken. – Tokyo: Herder Agency, 1963. – 317 p.
343. *Jansen, Marius B.* The Making of Modern Japan / M.B. Jansen. – First Harvard University Press paperback edition, 2002. – 936 p.
344. *Lensen, G.A.* Report from Hokkaido: The Remains of Russian Culture in Northern Japan / G.A. Lensen. – Hakodate, 1954. – 216 p.
345. *Lensen, G.A.* Russian Push Toward Japan / G.A. Lensen. – New York: Octagon Books, 1971. – 553 p.
346. *Maki, John M.* A Yankee in Hokkaido: The Life of William Smith Clark / J.M. Maki. – Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2002. – 306 p.
347. *Moran, J. F.* The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan / J.F. Moran. – London; New York: Routledge, 1993. – 238 p.

348. *Mott, John R.* Strategic Points in the World's Conquest: The Universities and Colleges as Related to the Progress of Christianity / J.R. Mott. – L.: Nisbet, 1897. – 218 p.
349. *Mullins, Mark R.* Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements / M.R. Mullins. – Honolulu, 1998. – 288 p.
350. *Mullins, Mark R.* Handbook of Christianity in Japan / M.R. Mullins. – Leiden: Brill, 2003. – 423 p.
351. *Passin, H.* Society and Education in Japan / H. Passin. – New York: Teachers College; Columbia University, 1965. – 347 p.
352. *Peery, Rufus Benton.* Lutherans in Japan / R.B. Peery. – Newberry, S.C.: Lutheran Publication Board, 1900. – 192 p.
353. *Peery, Rufus Benton.* The Gist of Japan; the Islands; their People and Missions / R.B. Peery. – Edinburgh; London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, [1906?]. – 324 p.
354. *Scheiner, Irwin.* Christian Converts and Social Protests in Meiji Japan / I. Scheiner. – University of Michigan, 2002. – 280 p.
355. *Stock, Eugene.* Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society / E. Stock. – L.: Selly, Jackson, & Halliday, 1887. – 276 p.
356. *Van Remortel M. and Chang Peter, eds.* Saint Nikolai Kasatkin and the Orthodox Mission in Japan: A Collection of Writings by an International Group of Scholars about St. Nikolai, his Disciples, and the Mission / M. van Remortel, P. Chang. – Point Reyes Station, California: Divine Ascent Press, Monastery of St. John of Shanghai and San Francisco, 2003. – 203 p.

2.2. Collections

357. A History of Japanese Religion / Ed. by Kazuo Kasahara. – Tokyo: Kosei Publishing Co., 2001. – 648 p.
358. Education in Japan: A Source Book / Ed. Edward R. Beauchamp, Richard Rubinger. – New York; London, 1989. – 316 p.
359. *Gerald Grace, Joseph, S. J. O'Keefe.* International Handbook of Catholics Education. – Dordrecht: Springer Science & Business Media, 2007. – 906 p.

360. *William Jeynes, David W. Robinson*. International Handbook of Protestants Education. – Dordrecht: Springer Science & Business Media, 2012. – 714 p.

2.3. Articles

361. *Ballhatchet, Helen J*. The Modern Missionary Movement in Japan: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox // Handbook of Christianity in Japan / ed. by Mark Mullins. – Leiden; Boston, 2003. – P. 35–68.

362. *Burton-Lewis, Harry*. Christian Mission and Higher Education in Japan // Perspectives on Christianity in Korea and Japan / ed. by Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young. – Lewiston; New York, 1995. – P. 175–187.

363. *Dore, R.P. A*. Japan // Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey. – Princeton University Press, 1964. Ch. 5. – P. 176–204.

364. *Lehmann, Jean-Pierre*. French Catholic Missionaries in Japan in the Bakumatsu and Early Meiji Periods // Religions and Missionaries around Pacific, 1500–1900 / ed. by Tanya Storch (The Pacific World: Lands, Peoples and History of the Pacific, 1500–1900. Vol. 17). – L.: Routledge, 2006. – P. 377–400.

365. *Platt, Brian*. Japanese Childhood, Modern Childhood: The Nation-State, the School, and 19th century Globalization / B. Platt // Journal of Social History. – George Mason University Press. Vol. 38, № 4, 2005. – P. 965–985.

366. *Stevenson, William R*. Christian Universities in Japan / W.R. Stevenson // Jun A., Collins C.S. (eds.). Higher Education and Belief Systems in the Asia Pacific Region, Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Issues, Concerns and Prospects 49. – Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd., 2019. – P. 51–60.

367. The Problem of High-Class Education by Missionaries // Japan Weekly Mail. October, 19. 1895. – P. 414–415.

368. *Wisbey, Herbert A., Jr*. Biography of Jinrikisha Inventor / Book Review Jonathan Goble of Japan Marine, Missionary, Maverick by F. Calvin Parker / A.H. Wisbey // The Crooked Lake Review. Issue № 28. July, 1990. [Electronic resource] URL:

https://www.crookedlakereview.com/articles/1_33/28july1990/28wisbey2.html (date accessed: 12.01.2024).

369. *Yamasaki, Yoko*. The Impact of Western Progressive Educational Ideas in Japan: 1868–1940 // *History of Education*. Vol. 39. № 5. – P. 575–588.

2.4. Dissertations, abstracts

370. *Hommes, James Mitchell*. Verbeck of Japan: Guido F. Verbeck as Pioneer Missionary, Oyatoi Gaikokujin and “Foreign Hero”. Doc. Diss. / J.M. Hommes. – Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 2014. – 497 p.

APPENDIX 1. Changes in the number of protestants missionaries and educational institutions

Changes in the number of protestants missionaries and educational institutions⁷⁰⁶

Year	Number of protestants missionaries	Number of missionary departments	Number of educational institutions
1882	about 200–300	No information	70 (9 boy's schools, 15 girl's schools, 39 co-educational schools and 7 Theological seminaries)
1891	527	97	About 80. On the Theological seminaries (faculties) — 349 students
1896	680	130	
1906	more 700	No information	80 (11 Theological schools, 2 University, 50 girl's schools, college 1, 16 boy's schools). Total number of pupils: about 4000.

⁷⁰⁶ The table is compiled according to: Protestant Missionary Work in Japan for the Year 1891. Cit.: *Gordon M.L.* An American Missionary in Japan. P. 268–269; *Stock Eugene.* Japan and the Japan Mission of the Church Missionary Society. P. 91; *Mullins Mark R.* Christianity Made in Japan. P. 17; Report of the Committee on a Christian College for Japan. June 21, 1875. Cit.: *Gordon M.L.* An American Missionary in Japan. P. 261; *Peery Rufus Benton.* The Gist of Japan. P. 180, 184–185, 186, 187; Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 283, and etc.

APPENDIX 2. Changes in the number of Catholic educational institutionsChanges in the number of Catholic educational institutions⁷⁰⁷

Year	Number of educational institutions	Missionary societies
1873	7 primary schools (215 pupils), Theological Seminary in Tokyo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MEP (Missions Étrangères de Paris, Paris Foreign Missions Society), from 1859. • Sisters of the Infant Jesus (L’Institut des Soeurs de l’Enfant Jesus), from 1872.
1880	67 primary schools (3159 pupils), 3 Theological seminaries (Tokyo, Nagasaki, Osaka)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sisters of the Child Jesus (Soeurs de l’Enfant-Jésus de Chauffailles), from 1877. • Sisters of Saint Paul of Chartres (Soeurs de Saint-Paul de Chartres), from 1878.
1887	93 primary schools (4718 pupils), high men school, 2 Theological seminaries (about 40–60 students). In 1896 number of missionaries Catholic Church — 205	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Congregation des Soeurs, Amantes de la Croix, 1870s. • Marist Brothers of the Schools (Fratres Maristae a Scholis), from 1887. • The Society of Jesus (Societas Jesu), from 1908.
1909	26 primary schools (5 522 pupils), high women and men school, 1 Theological Seminary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, from 1910. • Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit, from 1908.

⁷⁰⁷ The table is compiled according to: *Lehmann Jean-Pierre*. French Catholic Missionaries in Japan in the Bakumatsu and Early Meiji Periods. P. 53, 64; *A History of Japanese Religion*. P. 500, 504; *Hecken Joseph Leonard van*. The Catholic Church in Japan since 1859. P. 158–161, 232–236; *Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan*. Vol. 2. P. 283, and etc.

APPENDIX 3. Members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan (1870–1912)Members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan (1870–1912)⁷⁰⁸

Period	Number of members of the mission	Members of the mission
1860s		The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan was founded in April 1870. Before: 1 missionary — Hieromonk Nicholas (Kasatkin)
1870s	2–4	Archimandrite Nicholas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk Anatoly (Tikhay, 1872–1890), Hieromonk Evfimiy (Chetyrkin, 1874–1878), Hieromonk Moses (Kostylev, 1874–1876), Priest Grigory Vorontsov (1871), Ya.D. Tikhay
1880s	5–8	Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin), <i>Archimandrite Anatoly (Tikhay)</i> ⁷⁰⁹ , Hieromonk Vladimir (Sokolovsky, 1879–1886), Deacon Dimitry Kryzhanovsky (1882), Dimitry Lvovsky, M.A. Cherkasova (until 1883), O.E. Putyatina (until 1886), Priest Georgy Chaev (1880–1883), Hieromonk Gideon (Pokrovsky, 1885), Hieromonk Georgy (Chudnovsky, 1885–1887), Ya.D. Tikhay, Hierodeacon Mitrofan (? , 1885)
1890s	1–3	Bishop Nicholas (Kasatkin), Hieromonk (then Archimandrite) Sergius (Stragorodsky, 1890–1893, 1898–1899), Hieromonk Arseniy (Timofeev, 1890–

⁷⁰⁸ The table was compiled based on an analysis of reports and other official documents of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan for 1871–1911. See: Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 143, 153, 257, 278, 352; Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. P. 59, 172, 206, 207, 235, 243, 252, 262, 295, 299, 300, 302, 337, 451.

⁷⁰⁹ The members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission who also carried out their service in the church of the Diplomatic mission of the Russian Empire are highlighted in italics. Priest Pyotr Bulgakov is not included in the table, since he is not mentioned in the reports as a member of the mission.

		1893), Hieromonk Andronik (Nikolsky, 1897), <i>Priest Sergiy Glebov, Deacon Dimitry Lvovsky</i>
1900s	1–2	Bishop (ArchBishop) Nicholas (Kasatkin), Hegumen Veniamin (Galuzeev, 1901–1903), Bishop Andronik (Nikolsky, 1907), <i>Priest Sergiy Glebov (until 1906), Deacon Dimitry Lvovsky</i>
1910s	2	ArchBishop Nicholas (Kasatkin), Bishop Sergius (Tikhomirov, since 1908), <i>Deacon Dimitry Lvovsky, Priest Nikolai Kuzmin (1910–1915)</i>

APPENDIX 4. Changes in the number of educational institutions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and students

Changes in the number of educational institutions of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan and students⁷¹⁰

Year	Seminary	Catechetical school	Women schools	Primary schools	Other	Total
1873	1 (14)	1 (20)	-	2 (43)	1 (10)	5 (87)
1886	1 (107)	1 (33)	1 (32)	2 (163)	1 (10)	6 (303)
1891	1 (65)	1 (53)	1 (80)	4 (273)	1 (19)	8 (490)
1899	1 (64)	1 (10)	1 (74)	0	1 (30)	4 (178)
1906	1 (73)	1 (18)	2 (99)	0	0	4 (190)
1911	1 (94)	0	2 (80)	0	0	3 (174)
Average number of students	70–75 students	20–25 students	75–80 students	100–160 students	15–20 students	

⁷¹⁰ In the table, the first figure is the number of educational institutions, in brackets is the number of students in them. The table was compiled based on an analysis of the reports of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Japan for 1871–1911. See: Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 1. P. 250, 258; Collection Works of Equal-to-the-Apostles Nicholas of Japan. Vol. 2. C. 131, 234, 307, 396, 487.