

ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

Roman Catholicism and the History of Christianity in Modern Japan

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Received: 28 October 2024 | Revised: 9 May 2025 | Accepted: 2 July 2025

Keywords: Asia | Christianity | Eastern Asia | Japan | Japanese religious traditions | missionaries | religion | Roman religions | Shinto | state

ABSTRACT

This review article aims to provide an overview of the existing literature on Roman Catholicism in modern Japan post-1873, focussing on works that address its societal impact. It orients readers in the historical context of Roman Catholic mission and social contributions to modern Japan. The scholarship indicates the conservative beginnings of the French mission in Japan, and the uneven development of the Church, fuelled by the ‘conversion’ of low socio-economic groups of so-called ‘Hidden Christians’ in the south. As time went on there was a gradual expansion of Catholic educational institutions that were attended by those who had higher socio-economic means, or with elite status. Topics covered in this article include the Catholic missions, education, women’s contributions and recent demographic changes that impact Catholic identity. As a reflection of the author’s area of interest, special attention is paid to the case of the Urakami, or Nagasaki Catholics, and the 1945 atomic bombing.

1 | Introduction

Roman Catholicism has a longer history than Protestantism in Japan going back to the early period of missionisation in the 16th and 17th centuries, as missionaries accompanied the arrival of European traders from Spain and Portugal. This has heavily influenced the image of Christianity in Japan (Boxer 1951). The early period of Christianisation hit a roadblock with the expulsion of the majority of foreign missionaries by 1614. The background of anti-Christian discourse that followed has held major implications for modern Japanese ideas and concerns about the influence of Christianity (Paramore 2010). After most foreign priests were expelled, large numbers of ‘Hidden Christians’ or *kirishitan* engaged in clandestine Christian inspired religious practices in one way or another for at least 250 years underground, without contact to Rome (Kataoka 1967; Miyazaki 1996; Tao 2024). These groups are most often denoted by historians and anthropologists as either *sempuku kirishitan* (of the period of proscription) or *kakure kirishitan* (post-1873 when no longer persecuted; Whelan 1992; Miyazaki 1996; Turnbull 1998). A socially conservative Roman Catholicism in the late nineteenth century re-emerged,

largely on the basis of revival among the previously Hidden Christian communities. This traditional bent was associated with the French presence in Japan more widely, incorporating a Vatican push to cultivate a Japanese priestly generation, and the ‘heart’ of Japanese Catholicism, the Nagasaki Catholic population that included farmers and fisher-people as descendants of those who became Christian in the 16th and 17th centuries (Miller 2025). The missionaries’ concerns to win ‘back’ the ‘Hidden Christians’ whose ancestors were converts in earlier times meant they initially aimed to identify and eradicate ‘superstitions’ and material items they perceived to be idols. In this short review article, rather than the earlier period of Catholic missionisation that has been discussed widely, I focus on describing the literature about Roman Catholic movements from the time of the late nineteenth century arrival of the Paris Foreign Mission, or MEP (Société des Missions-Étrangères de Paris), to the twentieth century shift to multiple missionary orders in Japan and the expansion of the Catholic Church, to the modern day. The literature on the history of the Catholic Church in Japan is largely broken down trilaterally between French, Japanese and English.

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As noted, during the late nineteenth century, Catholicism in Japan was strongly associated with a socially conservative French presence in Japan (Doak 2008, 3; Nakai 2017, 105). It could be characterised by the French diplomatic support for the long-established Tokugawa Shogunate rather than movements from the Satsuma and Chōshū domains that in fact brought about the restoration of the Meiji Emperor (Ramos 2020; Sims 1998; Yamanashi 2010). Protestant mission, on the one hand, was associated with modernisation, and had a considerable impact through proselytisation to samurai-class intellectuals (Scheiner 2020). On the other hand, Roman Catholic mission during this period tended to be focused largely on ‘winning back’ many ‘Hidden Christian’ groups that had gone underground during a long Christian-ban period (Sakai 2013, 56–68). Perhaps because of this emphasis, the Protestant mission is often emphasised in historiography about Japanese Christianity while the Catholic mission is brushed over. Additionally, there is some tendency to consider Catholicism as a subversive and ‘foreign’ influence on people in low socio-economic communities (Doak 2008; Lehmann 1979; McClelland 2020).

2 | The Revival of Roman Catholicism in the Late 19th Century

The French missionaries of the MEP initially landed in Ryukyu and then arrived on Japanese soil to interpret for the Consul-General of France in the signing of the Treaty of Commerce and Friendship between France and Japan on the 9 October 1858. Consequently, the priests set up posts in Yokohama and Hakodate (Cary 1909; Lehmann 1979; Van Hecken 1963). After the British consul had negotiated the development of a foreign settlement in Nagasaki, in 1863 French and Prussian merchants arrived in Dejima to join the Dutch (Earns 1995).¹ The missionary Louis Theodore Furet came to Nagasaki in early 1863 at the request of the enthusiastic Catholic new French consul, Leon Dury who assisted him in beginning the building of a new church in the Ōura area (Miyoshi 2021, I; Burke-Gaffney 2009, 35).²

Later MEP priests Bernard Petitjean and Joseph Laucaigne directed the eventual construction of a cathedral here in 1865, the so-called ‘French Temple’ as it became known around the local community, including among Hidden Christians located south of Nagasaki City proper (Ikeda 1972; Van Hecken 1963). Led by women in the local community (Petitjean 2015, 1865; Furusu 2019), a delegation of the Hidden Christians arrived here, and later others gave the priests a book, written from the oral record in 1822 or 1823, entitled *Tenchi no Hajimari no Koto* (The Beginning of Heaven and Earth).³ In this book, some stories were recognisably biblical, while others were considerably altered (Cary 1909; Petitjean 2015; Whelan 1996a, 1996b). The *Tenchi no Hajimari* text interspersed Japanese folk religion with fundamental aspects of the Christian narrative (Whelan 1996a). Mihoko Oka has described how the French missionaries surmised that groups of the *kirishitan* were descendants of those taught by Dominicans or Franciscans, rather than Jesuits, especially those who lived in Sotome and in the *Gotō* Islands (Oka 2020,

26). The liaison between the French missionaries and the Hidden Christians was no longer able to be ignored by the authorities after the Catholics of Urakami refused Buddhist funerals from 1867 onward and new persecutions occurred. These were first led by the shogunate and later by the Meiji government (Cary 1909; Laures 1954). Ramos’s monograph based on his doctoral studies describes this period in detail, and picks up the French sources, as well as the Japanese. Converts tried to obtain the right to practice their religion, but the repression that included arrests and torture hardened their position, argues Ramos (Ramos 2020). News of the persecutions of the Christians reached the foreign settlements, and many of the foreign settler groups protested. Eventually the persecutions eased, due in part to considerable diplomatic pressure after Iwakura Tomomi, influential leader of the Iwakura Mission travelling Europe and the United States (1871–1873) wrote ‘the embassy would end in failure if Japan persisted in keeping the Christians in exile’. Shortly afterward, the decision was made by the Meiji officials for the *kirishitan* to be set free (Van Hecken 1963).

3 | Development of the New Church

Following the release of the persecuted Christians in 1873, the Catholics began to practice their faith openly. By the year 1889 Christianity was made even more unambiguously allowable, after the inclusion of a clause of religious freedom in the Meiji Constitution (Ballhatchet 2003; Ozawa 1973; Suzue 1999).

The early Catholic mission was mainly focused on Nagasaki, the region with the majority of the Hidden Christians. By 1891, in this region lived 60%–70% of Japanese Catholics (Wakita 2018, 8). One of the first priorities of the MEP was to promote theological study among the Japanese young men (Miyoshi 2021, 22), and as early as 1866 the priests ran a ‘seminary’ for promising young men in the priests’ quarters of Ōura Cathedral in Nagasaki (Miyoshi 2021, 25; Sakai 2013, 86). However, this process was slow to come to fruition as the first Japanese priests were only ordained in 1881. They were three graduates of the Nagasaki Roman Catholic Seminary (Wakita 2018, 8). Very gradually the numbers increased. Wakita, in his book on the Paris Mission suggests that by 1917 22 Japanese priests had been ordained and in fact the main priests in the major churches were generally Japanese by this stage (Wakita 2018, 8).

Bishop Bernard Petitjean, who had completed the construction of the Ōura Cathedral, followed Prudence Girard as Vicar Apostolic⁴ of Japan and his proposal to establish two vicariates in Japan was accepted by the Holy See in 1876, dividing the country into the Vicariate of Northern Japan, including Hokkaido and Honshu on the east of Lake Biwa, and that of Southern Japan, including Honshu on the west of Lake Biwa, Shikoku and Kyushu regions (Van Hecken 1963, 22). This began a gradual decentralisation of the Church that would continue through to the second half of the 20th century. The two vicariates at this stage had an enormous disparity in numbers apart from the number of priests, due to the

conversion of the Hidden Christians in the southern areas. By the late 1870s, in the Southern Vicariate there were 17,200 Christians, 13 priests and 175 Japanese catechists and in the Northern Vicariate there were 1235 Christians, 14 priests and 34 catechists (Van Hecken, 23). The 1876 division was followed by many further alterations over the years. In 1888 the Apostolic Vicariate of Central Japan was added that included Shikoku and southern Honshu Islands, with the addition of a Tokyo Archdiocese in 1891, alongside the Diocese of Hakodate (Miyoshi 2021, maps appendix).

Notably, women religious, both Japanese and foreign, were integral to and influential in missionary work in Japan even in the late nineteenth century (Harrington 2008; McClelland 2024b). These orders initially focused on establishing orphanages and nursing in order to alleviate epidemics among the poor, especially but not only in Nagasaki (McClelland 2024b). Francisque Marnas (1859–1932) was memorably interpreted by Otis Cary (1851–1932) as writing, ‘The communities of nuns in the Nagasaki diocese are veritable nurseries of female catechists.’ (Cary 1909, 358; Marnas 1897). Harrington details some of the non-Japanese women’s orders that arrived following MEP priest and bishop, Bernard Petitjean’s request for Catholic sisters to come to Japan in 1872, including those of the *Soeurs de l’Enfant-Jésus de Paris*, the *Soeurs de l’Enfant-Jésus de Chauffailles* and the *Soeurs de Saint-Paul de Chartres* (Harrington 2001, 2008). Catholic sisters assisted the sick during epidemics and created orphanages for needy children in Tokyo, Yokohama, and other areas including the *jūjikai* (Holy Cross) order in Nagasaki (Laures 1954, 237; McClelland 2024a).

4 | Education and Catholicism

Initially, Catholic missionaries did not perceive broader education as a mission field to the extent that Protestant missionaries did and limited themselves in the main to creating seminaries at least until the beginning of the twentieth century (Nakai 2017, 103–4). Due to their fraught history of persecutions by the authorities, Catholics were wary of accusations of proselytisation. Activities of the missionaries in the 1870s and 1880s allowed a gradual increase in educational impacts. Until 1900, the majority of Catholic schooling in Japan was provided in elementary education settings (Seat 2003). Still, a small number of girls’ schools were opened from the mid to late 1870s by Catholic orders, such as the ‘Sisters of the Infant Jesus’ in 1875, ‘Congregation of the Infant Jesus of Chauffailles’ in Kobe in 1877 and ‘Sisters of the St Paul of Chartres’ in 1878 in Hakodate and in 1881 in Kanda, Tokyo (Otiende et al. 2014).

However, there was a gradual shift in orientation within French Catholic mission to Japan to support a stronger emphasis on education, as Marianist missionaries arrived. There were some early impacts on boys’ education through pre-existing educational institutions. Between 1887 and 1937 five Marianist missionaries taught at Tokyo Imperial University, four at a school in Nagasaki, four at the Army War College and three at First High School (Vernier 1933). Following on, Gyōsei (Morning Star) and Kaisei (Star of the Sea) were two schools for boys that were opened by the Marianists in 1888 and 1891 in Tokyo and

Nagasaki respectively (Nakai 2017).⁵ Uno details the work of the Marianists in establishing them (Uno 2015). At Gyōsei, based at Akashi Catholic Church in Tsukiji, the Marianists carefully separated evangelical and educational aims (Uno 2015, 155). Later, especially in the 20th Century, new Catholic institutions would provide a method of connecting to the elite and intellectual classes. Former students at Gyōsei by 1925 included high ranking officials, business people, scholars and even some prime ministers.

5 | Conservatism, Liberalism and Church Growth

The Paris Mission’s approach to acculturation in their encounter with Hidden Christians was initially staunchly conservative and they advised the people to destroy all items perceived to be associated with Buddhist and/or Shinto religious cultures, including ancestral tablets (Urakawa 1973). Over the 19th and 20th Centuries, the Catholic Church changed its stance on such matters several times. In 1890, when the first synod of the Catholic hierarchy in both Korea and Japan was held in Nagasaki during the Meiji era, the attendees agreed that as far as Buddhist funeral rites, and Shinto shrine visits ‘Nothing is to be condemned’ unless it contradicted religion or good behaviour (Minamiki 1985, 125). Thus, rites that were previously labelled superstitious were officially considered allowable (Minamiki 1985, 126; Allam 1990, 44–5).⁶ Shrine visits were nevertheless still frowned upon. By 1890, the number of Catholics had rapidly increased to 27,909 in Kyushu, and 9660 in Tokyo, with a total number of 44,505 believers in Japan (Ghanbarpour 2015, 2031).

6 | From the Exclusive French Mission to the Broader Catholic Church

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the number of Catholics in Japan continued to grow and was nearly double that of the number of Protestants at 58,261 to 31,631 (Doak 2008, 4). Yamanashi writes that in 1902 there were 25 priests in the Nagasaki diocese, four in the archdiocese of Tokyo, two in Osaka and one in Hakodate (Yamanashi 2011, 224). As the numbers indicate, though, foreign priests still dominated the Catholic hierarchy until at least World War II, while administrative regions proliferated up to and including 1972 (Miyoshi 2021, maps appendix). The first Japanese Bishop elected was Hayasuka Kyunosuke, in Nagasaki from 1927.

The visit of a papal emissary, United States Bishop, William Henry O’Connell to Japan in 1905, was one factor that led to a change in the Roman Catholic orientation to mission in Japan, alongside the arrival of new orders including Spanish Dominican missionaries in 1904 (Yamanashi 2011, 221). Japanese Catholics, including some from Nagasaki region were reported to be critical of the Paris Foreign Mission Society’s methods at the time. Furthermore, the MEP lacked in funds, and personnel, and therefore were unable to match the works of the Protestant missionary societies (Yamanashi 2011, 226). The MEP did not officially invite the Jesuits to re-enter Japan, but the Bishop of the Archdiocese of Tokyo suggested that the Jesuits’

participation would in fact be imperative for the development of the Church (Yamanashi, 229). The image of Catholicism altered from a solely French endeavour as from the 20th Century non-French Catholics and members of disparate orders began to arrive in Japan.

Following on, in 1913, Sophia University, (*Jōchi*) was formed by German Jesuit priests, who wished to avoid giving the impression that any religion would be taught and thus created a program of Ethics, or *rinri*, as an indirect way of teaching Catholic values (Nakai 2017). Sophia would be the only pre-war Catholic mens' university. As a result of the 'Yasukuni Shrine' incident of 1932, in which a few students refused to pay respects at the shrine (*sanpai*) when asked to do so by the military training official assigned to Sophia, the army declared the university unsupportive of *kokutai* (patriotic, or national spirit) (see Minamiki 1985, 294; Schatz 2012, 455). This was a major threat to the institution of *Jōchi* as a university, and to Catholicism more generally in Japan (Nakai 2017). Due to the hierarchy's response, it effectively resulted in a more accommodating Catholic church that acceded to State Shinto demands in Japan after 1932, as patriotism and *sanpai* at shrines were broadly affirmed as able to be complemented with Catholic faith (Nakai 2017). Schatz considers whether this stance by the Vatican as a turn to 'inculturation' presented a naïve view of Japanese nationalism and was therefore a 'problematic homage to Japanese imperialism' (2012, 478).⁷

Women Religious continued to make central contributions to the Japanese mission and their educational contributions shifted to another gear in the early 20th Century. In Tokyo, Sisters of the Infant Jesus established the Futaba Girls School in 1909 as a derivative of an orphanage and boarding school originally started by French nuns in 1872 in Yokohama (Miyoshi 2021, ii–vi). The school started by the St Paul of Chartres sisters in Tokyo became Shirayuri Girls' High School in 1935, and Shirayuri Catholic University in 1965. Another new institution was established in 1910 by the Sacred Heart nuns who had arrived in Tokyo from Australia and became a prestigious school in the prewar era (Miyoshi, ii–vi). Violetta Ravagnoli describes the arrival of the American Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur to Japan in 1924 (Ravagnoli 2020; Williams 1982) after the French Sisters of the Infant Jesus were called back to France. They took over a Girls' school in Okayama previously run by the French sisters. The journey of these sisters to Japan from Massachusetts is described in their detailed letters and diaries (Kopenhagen 1963). During the war, in 1943 all non-native nuns were placed in detention as enemy aliens and many were deported. The Okayama school, known as Seishin (Pure Heart) was placed in the hands of three Japanese sisters and some administrators (Takagi 1993).

7 | Catholics, Communism and War

Broadly, the Catholic church supported the war-effort in Japan, where there were continuing suspicions from the broader community about those who were adherents to the 'enemy religion'. Miyoshi writes that from the late 1920s to the early 1930s, the Catholic Church in Japan was sympathetic and

thankful for the Japanese government's anti-communist activities (Miyoshi 2021, 130). Miller suggests that the preference of the clergy was to be seen as 'respectable', so they denounced leftist movements as disruptive for the nation, muting the Catholic political and social voice (2025, 1007). As the 1930s continued, the Church was aware of the continuing spread of communism overseas, and Miyoshi traces the justification of the Japanese aggressive war within China by Catholic newspapers over this period (132–135). This would lead to changes in church leadership as foreign missionaries were encouraged to relinquish their posts to Japanese Christians whose loyalty to the emperor was more highly trusted. Ion writes that all foreign missionaries were suspected of being spies (Ion 2003, 86). In 1934, foreign Roman Catholic missionaries on the Amami Oshima were expelled, and during the war, Franciscans missionaries were forced out of Okinawa, Kagoshima and Sakhalin Island as well (Miller 2025, 1011).

Later, the atomic bombing of Nagasaki by the United States Army on 9 August 1945 took a major toll on the Catholic Church, given its focus in the south, killing up to 8500 of 12,000 Roman Catholics in the district of Urakami, Nagasaki, almost immediately (McClelland 2019). This community may be traced back to the Hidden Christian period and the short period in the late 1500s when Nagasaki was a Jesuit city. The region of Urakami is dominated by a large population of Catholics, and its well-known cathedral, St Mary's (Figure 1), completed in 1925, was at the time the biggest in East Asia (Gasha 2024; McClelland 2023). By 1959, the community rebuilt the cathedral, albeit not without controversy as some city folk would have preferred to maintain the ruins as a memorial to the destructive power of the atomic bombing (Diehl 2011; Shijō 2015). Ironically due to the US Army's atomic bombing, the rebuilding of the cathedral was supported by some major fundraising in the United States in the 1950s, where Bishop Yamaguchi visited Catholic churches (McClelland 2023). The Japanese saying, '*Hiroshima no ikari, Nagasaki no inori*' (the anger of Hiroshima, the prayers of Nagasaki) suggests the anger of atomic bombing memory as recalled in Hiroshima, in opposition to the framing of Catholic memory in Nagasaki as 'prayer'. This proverb demonstrates a stereotype, but some Catholic peace activists and *hibakusha* (atomic survivors) who have contributed partially to such a framing include, Nagai Takashi, Kataoka Chizuko and Ozaki Tōmei (McClelland 2024a; Nagai 1984). Others such as Akizuki Tatsuichirō, Fukahori Jōji and Matsuo Sachiko contribute to an alternative Nagasaki tradition of protest (Nakao 2024; McClelland 2024a).

Despite the destruction of Catholic Nagasaki, after the war ended a remarkable expansion of the Church occurred. The above-mentioned departure of many foreign missionaries due to the war contributed to consequent developments in self-determination within Japanese Catholic institutions. Ravagnoli writes that the Seishin School of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart in Tokyo was another institution placed in the hands of Japanese sisters during the war that consequently flourished (Ravagnoli 2020, 22). By 1962, there were 3633 Catholic Japanese nuns, 1069 foreign missionaries, alongside 1674 novices working in orphanages, education, homes for the elderly, pharmacies and hospitals. There were more than double the number of congregations of Catholic sisters in Japan compared to orders of Catholic priests (Ravagnoli 2020, 23).



FIGURE 1 | Photograph of St Mary's Cathedral ruins, Urakami, Courtesy of the National Library, Australia, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.cat-vn155831>, Iwanami Shoten and 岩波書店. Nagasaki/henshū Iwanami Shoten Henshūbu; shashin Iwanami Eiga Seisakujo Iwanami Shoten Tōkyō 1951 (public domain).

The expansion was followed later by a levelling off. Mullins points to a doubling in the Catholic Church between 1948 and 1958 from 111,209 to 227,063, but the numbers took four more decades to double once again (Mullins 2011). Inculturation and accommodation to cultural issues were again liberalised, in particular regarding care of and respect for the dead. The Church is therefore today once again more accommodating than in the earlier stages. As time went on, a gradual decline in numbers in Catholic institutions including enrolments in Sunday schools, Baptisms and average Mass attendance is evident, from 1995 to 2005 (Mullins 2011).

Out of the literature that discusses aspects of Roman Catholicism in modern Japan, it is salutary to mention the well-known Catholic novelist Endō Shūsaku, who passed away in 1996, and whose work is still read widely by the Japanese public as well as the Catholic population.⁸ Apart from Endō, the work of Hisako Omori focuses on how identity for modern Catholic adherents is transliterated into the Tokyo megalopolis (Omori 2021). Omori writes about gender and identity within an increasingly privatised modern Roman Catholic faith, especially focused on women (Omori 2014). Mira Sonntag also writes about Christian feminism in Japan, mentioning Catholic participation in feminism, although not in detail, focussing more closely on Protestant participation in feminist movements from the Meiji era onward (Sonntag 2015).

Modern Japanese Catholicism has more recently been boosted by the arrival of new participants from overseas (de Oliveira 2017; Lemay 2018), a phenomena that is haunted by the

problematic way that immigration is regarded more generally in Japan. In some dioceses the percentage of foreign participants has been estimated by the Catholic Commission of Japan for Migrants, Refugees and People on the Move to be as large as 81%, with others ranging from 12% to 69%. Kyoto, for example, has an estimated 69% foreign background participants in the diocese according to the 2005 numbers cited by de Oliveira (2017, 275), although the Catholic Hierarchy contests these figures. The Catholic Church has had increased numbers due to the presence of many foreign workers in Japan, including short and long-term workers, especially from countries such as the Philippines, and south American nations. de Oliveira (2017) writes of two classes of Catholics in churches, according to whether they are registered according to the Japanese system or are perceived only as visitors. He refers to the tendency to exclude 'foreign' or immigrant Catholics by which he says, 'Japanese believers feel the presence of foreigners as a threat rather than as co-religionists'. In a similar vein, among Filipino Catholic adherents, Alec Lemay interrogates their experiences upon entering Japanese society, suggesting like de Oliveira that multiculturalism as a societal trend is not accommodating for religious practices, leading to the loss of the Filipino-Japanese second generation from Catholicism over time (Lemay 2018).

8 | Conclusion

Understanding Roman Catholicism's path in modern Japan as distinct from Protestantism demonstrates the association of Catholicism broadly with colonial and politically conservative

roots going back to the French presence here in the late nineteenth century. After the French mission's early clandestine proselytisation among Hidden Christian communities a roughly six year-long period of persecutions lasted until 1873. The significant growth of Catholicism in the 1870s onward is largely associated with the Catholic revival among residents of numerous low-socio-economic villages in Nagasaki, or on islands located nearby in the Kyushu region. As time went on, the Roman Catholic Church developed, indigenised and decentralised across the archipelago, although the number of Japanese background priests was relatively low even up to the 1920s or 1930s. By the early 20th Century, influences of the Catholic educational institutions increased and non-French Catholic missionaries arrived from Germany, and other locations, leading to new growth of Catholic communities in more urbanised, or elite communities. Then, during World War II, the church indigenised further as foreign priests were forced out due to suspicions about their loyalties. The devastation of the Urakami Catholic community in 1945 by an atomic bombing shocked the Japanese church, but was followed by revival in the 1950s and 60s. Throughout the modern period, women have been proportionally major contributors to Catholic social activities and to proselytisation since open Catholicism has been practised from 1873 to the modern day. These include both Japanese and non-Japanese women religious. More recently, in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, while there is certainly a gradual reduction in numbers of Catholic adherents, a large proportion of their numbers in urban regions are made up of short and longer-term migrants from other largely Catholic nations including the Philippines, Brazil and Paraguay.

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the work of the reviewers that has assisted me greatly in developing the final article. Additionally, my thanks to the editors and sub-editors of the journal for their comments and assistance. I am continually grateful for my inspiring colleagues at the University of New England, Anaiwan Country, and for their ongoing encouragement. Open access publishing facilitated by University of New England, as part of the Wiley - University of New England agreement via the Council of Australian University Librarians.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

The author has nothing to report.

Peer Review

The peer review history for this article is available at <https://www.webofscience.com/api/gateway/wos/peer-review/10.1111/rec3.70024>.

Endnotes

¹ Earns does not give a citation for this account.

² Furet initially similarly stayed in Dejima, but after a few days joined Mr Dury in the Daitokuji temple (Van Hecken 1963, 14).

³ Yuri Sugimoto (Izaberina) is reported in community narratives to be the woman who first announced the presence of the Hidden Christians

to Petitjean, and her younger sister, Teru (Kurara) with her persuaded other villagers to go to visit the French Temple (Furusu 2019).

⁴ Title of a missionary priest where a diocese has not yet been established.

⁵ As well as Meisei (Bright Star) School in Osaka in 1898 and much later, Kosei (Brilliant Star) in Sapporo that was originally a 'Commercial School' (Otiende et al. 2014, 87–94).

⁶ While the 1890 synod made these changes, it is likely that there were still commonly derogatory attitudes towards local religious rituals. By this, I do not mean that visits to shrines were tolerated. In fact, in a catechism published 6 years later, it was written: 'Worshipping at temples, offering incense and flowers [to the dead], contributing to shrines and temples, and the like are regarded as sins of *mōshin* (delusion; Minamiki 1985, 127). Shrine visits were not acceptable to most Catholics until after the Yasukuni Incident (discussed below) of 1932.

⁷ See also Mullins in his discussion of the postwar Catholic discourse about the Yasukuni Shrine, that was ambivalent in light of the Vatican decision following the 1932 incident (Mullins 2010).

⁸ There is not the space in this review to include all the works of Endō. While many in his work depict historical fiction referring to Catholic history including the Hidden Christian experiences, some like *kazan* (Volcano; 1960) or *Obaka-san* (Wonderful Fool; 1960) are set in the postwar period.

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