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A NEW LOOK AT THE PRE-WAR HISTORY OF THE JAPAN ASSEMBLIES OF GOD

Masakazu Suzuki

1. Introduction

There are two books published on the history of the Japan Assemblies of God (JAG).[1] One was written in commemoration of the thirtieth year of the founding of the group and the other for the fiftieth year. Both books have a rather brief description on the pre-war history. The description of the second book is almost the same as the first book. Reading the books, I had a somewhat unfulfilled feeling because there is something ambiguous in them; it seemed as if something more than just details due to brevity were missing. In reaction, my research started, wishing to gain a bit more clarification of this history. But I was perplexed to find out other significant incidents which actually happened but which are completely excluded from the two history books published by the JAG.

The purpose of this article is to give a brief sketch of the Pentecostal missionaries in order to examine the JAG historiography and then to propose a framework for the pre-war JAG history which could be used as an aid in understanding our future examination of that history.

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[1] They are Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan Rekishi Hensan Iinkai, *Mitama ni Michibikarete: Soritsu 30 nenshi* [Guided by the Spirit: the 30 Years History since the Founding] (Tokyo: Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan, 1979) and Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan Kyodanshi Hensan Iinkai, *Mikotoba ni Tachi, Mitama ni Michibikarete* [Standing on the Word and Guided by the Spirit: The 50 Years History since the Founding] (Tokyo: Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan, 1999).

2. The Problem of the Historiography: Ambiguity and Incoherence

I have stated that I found the two historiographies now available ambiguous and incoherent due in large part to certain areas and people within the history which have been omitted and excluded. As one example of this exclusion, I will examine in detail the two books' handling of pre-war missionaries.

Tadashi Sakurai, a Japanese church historian, wrote *Kyohabetsu Nihon Kirisutokyoshi* [The Christian History of Japan according to Denominations] in 1933 and in his description of Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai, he writes that "in 1911 the Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai started its mission in Japan, before the founding of its mission organization. Mrs. Taylor, a British, started the police evangelization in Kanda."[2] Sakurai continues that Taylor was followed by Bernauer in 1912 and C. F. Juergensen and his family in 1913. Moreover, Sakurai writes that "this group had been calling themselves Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai but they changed their name to Nihon Seisho Kyokai in 1929."[3]

The description contained in *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* of 1927 on Nihon Seisho Kyokai supports Sakurai's claim that the first Pentecostal missionary directly associated with this church group was Taylor.[4]

However, any memory of Taylor and Bernauer have been completely forgotten among the JAG circle and only that of the third missionary, that is C. F. Juergensen, remains; the names of these first two missionary families are not even mentioned in the two published history

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[2] Tadashi Sakurai, *Kyohabetsu Nihon Kirisutokyoshi* [The Japan Christian Church History according to the Denominations] (Tokyo: Ryushokaku, 1933), p. 240.

[3] Sakurai, *Kyohabetsu Nihon Kirisutokyoshi*, p. 242.

[4] Nihon Kirisutokyo Renmei Nenkan Iin, ed., *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* [The Christian Yearbook] (1927) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 1994 reprint), p. 33. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* was published from different places before and after the war. Between 1916 and 1925, Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai Domei Nenkan Iin, ed., *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai Domei); for 1926 through 1941, Nihon Kirisutokyo Renmei Nenkan Iin, ed., *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyo Renmei); from 1948 on, Kirisuto Shinbunsha, ed., *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (Tokyo: Kirisuto Shinbunsha). I have used reprint version of *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1916-1941) (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 1994).

books. Now the JAG holds the position that its ministry started in Japan with the arrival of C. F. Juergensen and his family in 1913.[5]

The list of the pre-war JAG missionaries to Japan[6]

			Name		A	B	
1	×		Wm. T. Taylor	#	1905-	1911-1922	
	×		Mary Taylor	#	1905-	1911-1935	
2	×		Estella Bernauer			1912-1925	
3	×		Beatrice Bernauer		1913-	1919-1925	
4			C. F. Juergensen, Mr.			1913-1940	Deceased
			C. F. Juergensen, Mrs.			1913-1940	
5		○	Marie Juergensen		1913-	1919-1941	
6			Agnes Juergensen		1913-	1921-1941	
7	×		F. H. Gray, Mr. & Mrs.			1914-1919	
8			B. S. Moore, Mr. & Mrs.			1914-1922	
9	×	○	Leonard Coote	#	1907-	1918-1921	
10		○	Jessie Wengler			1919-1941	
11			J. W. Juergensen			1919-1938	Deceased
			Esther Juergensen			1919-1928	Deceased
12	×		Ruth Johnson			1919-1923	
13			Alexander Munroe, Mr. & Mrs.	#	1910?	1920-1927	
14			Mae Straub			1921-1932	Deceased
15	×		Nellie Barton,			1924-1927	
16			Anita Bruch Bender	*		1924-1934	
18	×		Harriet Dithridge		1910-	1924-1929	
19			Gordon Bender			1925-1934	
20	×		Mary Rumsey			1927-1930	
21		○	Florence Byers			1927-1941	
22		○	Nettie Grimes Juergensen	*		1927-1941	
23			Norman Barth, Mr. & Mrs.			1927-1941	
24		○	John Clement, Mr. & Mrs.	#		1933-1941	
25	×		Arthur Randall, Mr. & Mrs.	#	1929-	1935-1938	
26	×		H. E. Smith, Mr. & Mrs.	#	1925-	1935-1938	
28		○	Mary Smith	#	1925-	1935-1938	
29		○	David Daivies, Mr. & Mrs.	#		1937-1941	

×: Missionaries not listed in the JAG history books.

○: Missionaries who came back to Japan after the war.

#: Non-American missionaries.

*: Married to another missionary.

[5] From 1949, when the JAG was founded, the arrival of C. F. Juergensen was stated to be 1907. In 1988, it was finally corrected to the actual year, 1913, *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1988), p. 215.

[6] This list is made by Masakazu Suzuki, using the information mainly taken from *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1915-1941).

A: the year of arrival if it differs from the year of Assemblies of God (AG) affiliation
B: the years of AG affiliation

In addition to this discrepancy, the number of missionaries recorded in the JAG history books and in the accounts of *Japan Christian Yearbook* differs greatly. The JAG history books have the names of only sixteen pre-war missionaries and couples in the list of their missionaries.[7] However, I find the names of twenty-nine missionaries or missionary couples in the Assemblies of God mission in *Japan Christian Yearbook*.[8] (Seven of them, all of whom are recorded in the books, came back as Assemblies of God missionaries after the war.)

As we can see in the above chart, twelve missionaries are deleted from the history of the JAG. This discrepancy clearly indicates how much is missing in the JAG history books.

3. The Pentecostal Missionaries to Japan: Three Waves of the Pentecostal Missionaries

The first wave is the arrival of M. L. Ryan and his group, Apostolic Light or Apostolic Faith Movement, from Spokane, Washington in 1907. The second wave is the arrival of independent Pentecostal missionaries after 1910. The third wave is the arrival of the denominational missionaries starting in 1919.

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[7] *Mitama ni Michibikarete*, Appendix: The list of the Assemblies of God Missionaries in Japan. *Mikotoba ni Tachi*, *Mitama ni Michibikarete*, Appendix: The list of the Assemblies of God Missionaries in Japan.

[8] *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1915-1940). The Christian yearbook changes its names: *The Christian Movements in its Relation to the New Life in Japan* (Yokohama: Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Mission, 1903-1905); *The Christian Movement in Japan* (Tokyo: Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Missions, 1906-1914); *The Christian Movement in the Japan Empire* (Tokyo: Conference of Federated Missions, 1915-1920); *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, and Formosa* (Tokyo: Federation of Christian Missions, Japan, 1921-1926); *The Japan Mission Yearbook* (Tokyo: Federation of Christian Missions in Japan, 1927-1931); and *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (Tokyo: Christian Literature Society of Japan, 1932-). In this article I gave the title of *The Japan Christian Yearbook* to represent all of them, and of course include the correct year.

3.1 The First Wave (1907-1909): M. L. Ryan and His Group, the Apostolic Light or the Apostolic Faith Movement

M. L. Ryan directly brought the message of modern Pentecost from Azusa Street, Los Angeles via Oregon and Washington to Japan.[9] His group, composed of six families, called themselves the Apostolic Light or Apostolic Faith Movement in Japan.[10] They were not supported by any specific organization; rather, their own families were their only means of support.[11]

Due to the lack of available records, we cannot trace much of their ministry in Japan. They worked mainly in Yokohama and the Tokyo vicinity while they were in Japan, except for one couple, the Coylors, who went up to Sendai in the north.[12] According to *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1909, only the Ryans remained in Japan from the original Apostolic Light group.[13] Most of the other members either proceeded on to China or returned to America.[14] In *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1910, we find that they had one Japanese ordained minister and three Japanese

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[9] M. L. Ryan, "Brother Ryan Receives His Pentecost," *The Apostolic Faith* (November 1906), p. 3; M. L. Ryan, "Miracles in Salem," *The Apostolic Faith* (December 1906), p. 3; M. L. Ryan, "In Spokane, " *The Apostolic Faith* (February – March 1907), p. 3; M. L. Ryan, "Pentecost in Spokane, Wash.," *The Apostolic Faith (April 1907)*, p. 4. *The Apostolic Faith* (Los Angels, CA) is complied in *The Azusa Street Papers* (Foley, AL: Together in the Harvest Publications, 1997). See also no author, "Bound for the Orient," *The Apostolic Light* (August 28, 1907), p. 1; G. B. McGee, "Missions, Overseas (North American)," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), pp. 610-25 (612).

[10] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1908), pp. 447, 499.

[11] Cora Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters from Cora (1907-1913)*, comp. Homer Fritsch and Alice Fritsch (n.p.: the compilers, 1987), p. 5.

[12] Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (July 13, 1908 letter), p.32; Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (August 16, 1908 letter), p. 35.

[13] *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1909), p. 546. The Ryans are also absent from the Japanese field in *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1910), p. 570.

[14] Daniel Bays, "The Protestant Missionary Establishment and the Pentecostal Movement," in *Pentecostal Currents in American Protestantism*, eds. Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler, and Grant A. Wackered (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 50-67; Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters*, pp. 18-43.

lady evangelists. They also had one 100-member church.[15] However the Ryans also left Japan shortly after this time and we cannot really draw any direct connection between this group and the Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai which later evolved.

3.2 The Second Wave (1910-1918): Independent Lay Missionaries

Independent and lay missionaries came over to Japan, before the official formation of the Pentecostal organizations in their home countries. The Pentecostal denominations claimed to have the origin of their missions in Japan with these independent missionaries.

For example, the General Council of the Assemblies of God states that their first missionary is C. F. Juergensen who came to Japan in 1913.[16] The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada claims to have started their ministry in Japan in 1910, recognizing the work of Munroe who came to Japan in 1910 on business.[17]

Once in Japan, these missionaries united together to form the mission called the Assembly of God in Japan by at least 1915.[18] Mr. and William T. Taylor and his wife, Estella Bernauer, C. F. Juergensen, F. H. Gray were the members of this original mission.[19] B. S. Moore, L. W. Coote, Alexander Munroe also joined this group a short time later. (Of these missionaries, only Marie Juergensen—who was actually still a child in the beginning—and Leonard Coote continued their ministry after the war. But only Marie Juergensen was with the General Council.

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[15] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1910), pp. 527, 529.

[16] Raymond T. Brock, "Assemblies of God Foreign Missions Department," *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions: The Agencies*, ed. Burton L. Goddard (Camden, NJ: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1967), pp. 42-50 (49).

[17] J. W. Skinner, "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," *The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Missions: The Agencies*, pp. 526-27 (527); Gloria Grace Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Toronto: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958), p. 327. I have not been able to find any clear proof that the Munroes came to Japan in 1910 and worked as lay missionaries.

[18] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1915), p. 601. Note that it is the singular "Assembly" not the plural "Assemblies." This name did not change until 1935, when the name was changed to the "Assemblies of God" and, at the same time, the distinction of the country was added, such as the Assemblies of God-USA and the Assemblies of God-Canada.

[19] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1916), p. xcviii.

Leonard Coote had started a new group, the Japan Apostolic Church, long before. In addition, Mary Taylor came back to Japan to join the Japan Apostolic Church by 1950.)

There were other missionaries who had some contact with this Assembly of God mission, such as R. Atchison,[20] Yoshio Tanimoto,[21] Margaret Piper,[22] Herman Newmark,[23] Gussie Booth,[24] and Dorothy M.

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[20] Atchison's name is the first missionary to appear in both Robert Atchison, "Village Work in Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (March 1911), pp. 11-12 and Robert Atchison, "Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (July 18, 1914), p. 4. In that sense he was the first missionary in Japan who had contact with the Pentecostals in America. However, being mentioned in those magazines does not necessarily mean that he himself was a Pentecostal missionary. I am hesitant to conclude that he was a Pentecostal when I read the articles by him or about him. I cannot find any account in which he stresses the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. When he came to Japan, at first he was in the Kanto area and probably in 1910 he moved to Osaka. He called his ministry, the "Japan Interior Mission" or "Japan Independent Mission" and issued a missionary paper titled "The Lord's Vineyard in the Sunrise Kingdom." He visited villages and preached the gospel, distributing papers, tracts and testaments in Japan. See Robert Atchison, "Village Work in Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (July 1911), p. 15; Robert Atchison, "Mighty Call to Prayer (Japan Independent Mission)," *The Weekly Evangel* (September 16, 1916), p. 13; Robert Atchison, "Saved to Serve" [a prayer card with information on Japan Interior Mission on back] (Osaka: Robert Atchison, n.d.).

[21] He became a Christian and then was filled with the Holy Spirit. He decided to go back to Japan as a missionary. See Zella H. Reynolds and J. Roswell Flower, "The Power of Pentecost in Indianapolis," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (May 1910), pp. 22-23 (23). After a few years in Japan as an unsuccessful missionary, he decided to go back to America. See Yoshio Tanimoto, "Tanna, Akigun, Hiroshima, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (July 18, 1914), p. p. 4. His name is in the list of the missionaries of the Pentecostal Assembly of the world. James L. Tyson, *The Early Pentecostal Revival: History of Twentieth Century Pentecostals and the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World 1901-30*, (Hazelwood: World Aflame, 1992), p. 221.

[22] She was in Osaka, busy teaching English in order to support herself. She left her ministry in the hands of Henry Newmark, a Jewish Christian, under the direction of Mr. Taylor. She married to John Gaines. See B. S. Moore and wife, Margaret F. Piper, F. H. Gray and wife, and C. F. Juergensen, "The Conditions of the Pentecostal Work in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (October 13, 1917), p. 10; Miss M. F. Piper, "Miss M. F. Piper Writes," *The Weekly Evangel* (May 18, 1918), p. 11; no author, "Two Months' Report," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (March 1921), p. 11.

Mills.[25] Their names appear in the Pentecostal magazines. Moreover, Fred Able was a Pentecostal missionary who came to Japan in 1914, but was never affiliated with the group of the General Council; he had a Oneness doctrine.

In order to examine the reason why some missionaries were excluded from the present JAG list, I will give a brief sketch of the neglected missionaries.

3.2.1 Taylor

William and Mary Taylor were originally from Britain and came to Tokyo in 1905 with the Japan Evangelistic Band. [26] Around 1911, they landed in Nagasaki as the missionaries of the Pentecostal Missionary Union.[27] The Taylors started a ministry called "the Door of Hope" in

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[23] Piper, "Miss M. F. Piper Writes," p. 11. He is a Jewish man from England and became a Christian in Japan. He was in Kobe, with Thornton, Taylor and Coote, when he became a believer and filled with the Holy Spirit. L. W. Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan* (Nara: Japan Apostolic Mission, 1933), pp. 34, 40-41. He worked closely with these missionaries. Taylor, "Kobe, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (September 7, 1918), p. 3; Herman Newmark, "From Infidelity to Christianity Thro' Reading the Word: A Jew's Conversion and Call to Ministry," *The Latter Rain Evangel* 9May 1919), pp. 2-6. Later he worked for the ministry among Jewish people.

[24] "Two Months' Report," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (July 1923), p. 12; "Two Months' Report," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (September 1923), p. 12. The reports on her financial support are shown.

[25] "Distribution of Missionary Contributions," *Pentecostal Evangel* (April 29, 1922), p. 21. Her name is on the list of the missionaries to whom the support was sent.

[26] Mrs. W. J. Taylor, "The Open Door in the Sunrise Kingdom: Breaking the Shackles of the Enslaved," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (May 1921), pp. 4-6.

[27] Cora Fritsch, who is one of the members of Ryan's Apostolic Light, later went to China and became Mrs. Falkner. She helped the Taylor's ministry in Tokyo and acted as a baby-sitter for their two children, Hudson and Esther. Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (January 27, 1908 letter), p. 27. She witnessed about the Pentecostal faith to Mrs. Taylor. Miss Fritsch writes how Mrs. Taylor was "so earnestly seeking her Pentecost." Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (April, 27, 1908 letter), p. 28. Cora Fritsch tried to help Mrs. Taylor's burden, "so she will have more time to pray and tarry for Pentecost. I may in some way be able to make it easier for her to get Pentecost." Fritsch, *Correspondence Letters* (April, 27, 1908 letter), p. 28. Mrs. Taylor got physically weak and went back to England to recover her health and seek the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Mr. Taylor received

Kobe, which was a mission center for poor, fallen girls and for the outcast.[28] In addition to this work in Kobe, they also had a ministry in Okayama, training these girls for evangelistic work.[29]

Their Bible woman, Nikki, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit when she was baptized in water,[30] sometime before 1914.[31] She might be one of the first Japanese who had this experience.

The Taylors formed their own mission, also called "Door of Hope" in 1921. But in 1921 and 1922 Mrs. Taylor was in America and after coming back to Japan, they were mostly in the fellowship of the Assemblies of God missionaries until the late 1930s.

They had many people coming to help their ministry from England or America, such as Esther Keene, Nettie Barton, and Mae Straub. [32] It seems, however, that they were unconcerned about theological differences, as illustrated by their continued close relationship with Leonard Coote. During the war, Mrs. Taylor was in America and worked among the Japanese in relocation camps.[33] After the war, instead of joining the JAG, she decided to join the Japan Apostolic Church.[34]

3.2.2 Bernauer

Estella Bernauer was saved in 1898 and received a burden for the heathen, listening to a sermon by Anna Proser.[35] In 1910, Yoshio

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the Holy Spirit in Holland. W. J. Taylor, "The Open Door in the Sunrise Kingdom," pp. 4-6.

[28] The picture and the information of The Door of Hope is reported in *The Weekly Evangel* (April 14, 1917), p. 9; Wm. J. Taylor, "Missionary Notes," *The Weekly Evangel* (April 14, 1917), p. 20.

[29] Mildred Edwards, "Co-laborers with Him: A Glimpse of Pentecost in Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (May 3, 1919), pp. 8-9.

[30] W. J. Taylor, "Gleaning in the Harvest Fields of Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (May 26, 1917), pp. 2-3.

[31] B. S. Moore, "Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (January 9, 1915), p. 4.

[32] Nellie Barton, Esther Keene, Mae Straub are some of those who came to join the ministry of the Taylors. Miss Keene married Leonard Coote. Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan*, p. 83.

[33] Harriett Lewis Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan: An Autobiography* (Tokyo: author, n.d.), pp. 320, 329.

[34] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1950), p. 206.

[35] Estella Bernauer, "A Call to Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (April 1913), pp. 7-11.

Tanimoto came to the city where she was living at that time. After Bernauer witnessed him receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit, she felt that she was called to Japan.[36] She left for Japan, leaving her little daughter with her mother in America, and landed in Yokohama in April of 1912. Her mission home in Tokyo was called the Apostolic Mission.[37] Bernauer ministered to college students and poor people.[38] They often had financial problems.[39] Her daughter, Beatrice, who joined her mother later, helped as an interpreter when she grew up.[40]

Later Bernauer had a Japanese worker named Ichitaro Tanigawa.[41] He was baptized by the Holy Spirit in December 1914 and ordained in December 1915.[42] He was among the first people to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit in Japan. Moreover, he was one of the first Pentecostal Japanese ordained pastors.

Estella Bernauer's activities and her relationship with the Assembly of God are complicated. She seems to have left the group around 1919 but then reentered at least during 1924 and 1925. She also appears to be one of the missionaries of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World,[43] the Oneness group, although she denied belief in this theology in 1916.[44] Moreover, she and Beatrice seem to have been more or less independent during some years.

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[36] Bernauer, "A Call to Japan," pp. 7-11.

[37] B. S. Moore, "B. S. Moore in Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (August 1, 1914), p. 3.

[38] Beatrice Bernauer, "Teaches a Sunday School Class in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (June 12, 1915), p. 4.

[39] Estella A. Bernauer, "Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (August 21, 1915), p. 2; Estelle A. Bernauer, "Testing and Victory in Japan: The Lord Comes to the Rescue in Time of Need," *The Weekly Evangel* (June 17, 1916), p. 5.

[40] Beatrice Bernauer, "A Little Missionary in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (March 27, 1915), p. 4.

[41] Moore, "B. S. Moore in Japan," p. 3.

[42] Sister Bernauer, "Good News from Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (February 19, 1916), p. 12.

[43] Tyson, *The Early Pentecostal Revival*, p. 221. Tyson wrote that Bernauer was one of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World missionaries prior to 1918. The description says "Estella Bernauer, Tokyo, Japan, 1914."

[44] Estella Bernauer, "Line from Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (November 4, 1916), p. 13.

3.2.3 Gray

F. H. Gray and his wife came to Yokohama in 1914 and after language study headed to Koga, Tochigi.[45] They worked among the women silk factory workers, starting a mission in this town.[46] While another missionary couple, the Moores, were on furlough in 1918, they took care of this missionary's mission in Yokohama. The Grays had a difficult time taking care of the two missions, their own mission in Koga and the Moores' in Yokohama.[47] Around that time, Leonard Coote came to Yokohama and was a great help to the Grays with the mission there.[48] In 1919, the following year, however, Mrs. Gray's illness obliged them to go back to America. This time they left their ministry at both missions in the hands of Coote.[49]

While in Japan, the Grays were part of the Assembly of God mission. However, Gray's name also appears in the 1919 and 1920 ministerial records of the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World.[50] Moreover, in 1937, he was back in Japan with Coote's Oneness group, the Japan Apostolic Mission.[51]

3.2.4 Coote

Leonard Coote was a businessman from England. He came to Japan in 1913 and worked for four years at a soap company. He became a born-again Christian and received the baptism of the Holy Spirit in 1917.[52] Coote had decided to go to Africa, but was forced to stay in Japan

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[45] Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Gray, "Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (October 23, 1915), p. 4.

[46] B. S. Moore and wife, Margaret F. Piper, F. H. Gray and wife, and C. F. Juergensen, "The Conditions of the Pentecostal Work in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (October 13, 1917), p. 10.

[47]Bro. and Sister Gray, "Yokohama, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (January 11, 1919), p. 10.

[48] Sister Gray's report is in "Towards the Interior," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (December 1918), pp. 13-14.

[49] L. A. Coote, "Yokohama, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (June 28, 1919), p. 11; "To the Regions Beyond," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (June 1919), pp. 14-15 (15).

[50] Tyson, *The Early Pentecostal Revival*, p. 305.

[51] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1937), p. 446.

[52] L. W. Coote, "Called to Be a Fisher of Men: The Testimony of an English Businessman in Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (July 1919), pp. 22-24.

because of W.W.I. He came to Yokohama and helped Gray as well as other Pentecostal missionaries in Tokyo, such as Bernauer and C. F. Juergensen.

The reports show that Coote was a dynamic preacher and had a strong anointing of the Holy Spirit.[53] He had several special meetings for Gray, Juergensen, and other Pentecostal missionaries. After those meetings we find a number of people received the baptism of the Holy Spirit.[54] Coote was the main vessel for the pouring of the baptism of the Holy Spirit among the Assemblies of God during this period of time.[55]

However, at some point, his theology began to change and he adopted an Oneness belief. After marrying Miss Keene, who had come to help the work of the Taylors in Kobe, Coote's Oneness theology had solidified, causing him to step out of the fellowship of Trinitarian missionaries by 1920.[56]

After this separation, in the early 1920s, Coote had a series of tent meetings in Yokohama. The ministry had a great impact but received

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[53] Coote, "Yokohama, Japan," p. 11.

[54] Reports of healing were received from the Pentecostal missionaries in Japan during their early stages of the work. However, the actual experience of the baptism of the Holy Spirit was rare. Before 1919 there were a number of converts and water baptisms, however, God used Coote in a special way for the pouring of the Holy Spirit. See J. H. Gray, "Yokohama, Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (March 8, 1919), p. 11; B. S. Moore and Wife, "Good News from Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (March 22, 1919), p.10; Leonard W. Coote, "A Good Report from Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (April 19, 1919), p. 10; Coote, "Yokohama, Japan," p. 11; B. S. Moore and Wife, "Signs Follow the Gospel in Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (July 26, 1919), pp. 8-9; Sister Marie Juergensen, "Missionary Notes," *The Christian Evangel* (September 6, 1919), p.10. S. H. F., "The Seventh General Council Meeting," *The Christian Evangel* (October 18, 1919), pp. 2-4 (2) reports, "During the past year there had a blessed Pentecostal revival in Japan." C. F. Juergensen and his family reported in 1919, that 80 people received the baptism of the Spirit. C. F. Juergensen and Family, "Pentecost in Japan," *Pentecostal Evangel* (April 3, 1920), p. 9.

[55] Gray reported from Yokohama saying, "Pentecost has begun to fall," and "God has used our dear Brother Coote in a very precious way, and we trust you will pray for him and for us." Nine were baptized in the Holy Spirit and three of them were their interpreters. Brother and Sister Gray, "Latter Rain in Japan," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (March 1919), p.14.

[56] Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan*, p. 83 states, "Correspondence had passed between us regarding doctrinal points surrounding Acts 2.4, and Acts 2.38."

scandalous treatment from the newspapers.[57] After the great earthquake of 1923 destroyed the city of Yokohama, he decided to move to Osaka, bringing his remaining flock. In 1929, he opened a Bible Training School in Ikoma, Nara and remained working there until the outbreak of the World War II. In 1929, he formed the Japan Apostolic Church mission. Having returned to the U.S. for the years during the war, he came back to Japan in 1950 and re-started the work in Ikoma.

3.3 The Third Wave (1919-1941): The Denominational Pentecostal Missionaries

The General Council missionaries such as J. W. Juergensen, Jessie Wengler, and Ruth Johnson arrived in 1919.

The first move of these newly arriving missionaries was to found the district of Japan of the General Council. This led to the forming of the Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai, a Pentecostal church holding a clear Trinitarian theology. After the forming of this denominational group, the Pentecostal mission shifted from being a loose fellowship of missionaries to a more narrowly defined denominational group.

3.3.1 Johnson

Ruth Johnson came to Japan sometime before 1919, and later she became a friend and roommate of Jessie Wengler, one of the General Council missionaries who came to Japan in 1919. Johnson and Wengler lived next to the Moore's.[58] Johnson was one of the original members who formed the district council of Japan. [59] She went back to USA with the Moores for a furlough in 1921, but on account of her planned marriage she failed to come back to Japan.[60]

3.3.2 Barton

Nellie Barton from Peckville, Pennsylvania was in Japan from 1924 to 1927. She helped the work of Straub. Straub was the General Council missionary who came to assist the work of the Taylors; the Taylors

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[57] Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan*, ch. 13 (pp. 109-122).

[58] Jessie Wengler, *Letters from Japan* (Pasadena, CA: author, 1951?), pp. 5, 9.

[59] She is included in the picture with the heading, "Pentecostal missionaries who recently formed the District Council of Japan," *Pentecostal Evangel* (November 13, 1920), p. 9.

[60] Wengler, *Letters from Japan*, pp. 13-14.

appointed her head of the Children's Home in Kobe. But due to poor health, Barton returned to America.[61]

3.3.3 Dithridge

Harriett Dithridge, originally a Baptist missionary, arrived in Japan in 1910. After having returned to the U.S., she became Pentecostal and in 1924 she came back to Japan as a General Council missionary. She started a Bible training school for Japanese women which was considered one of the General Council schools. However, over the issue of the founding of a co-ed Bible Training School, she was asked to close her school; feeling unable to close the school, she instead resigned from the Assemblies of God, became an independent missionary, and continued her ministry in Japan.[62] She stayed in Japan even after the breaking out of the war. After being sent to a relocation camp within Japan in 1942 and being held there for a year, she was sent back to America. For the remainder of the war she worked among the people in Japanese relocation camps in the western United States. She returned to Japan after the war.[63]

3.3.4 Rumsey

Mary Rumsey was in Japan from 1927 to 1930.[64] She was in Japan helping the ministry of Dithridge and learning Japanese, before going to Korea.[65] She started a pioneering work for the Pentecostal movement in Korea.[66]

3.3.5 Smith

H. E. Smith, his wife and daughter Marie from Australia were in the Pentecostal Bands of the World, Coote's group in Japan. They were

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[61] The letter of Mrs. Gordon Bender to Donnel McLean (June 29, 1978).

[62] Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan*, pp. 212-13.

[63] Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan*, p. 213.

[64] She was in the picture of the Japan district meeting, G. R. Bender, "The Japan District Annual Conference," *Pentecostal Evangel* (December 8, 1928), p. 10.

[65] Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan*, p. 187. Dithridge claims Rumsey went to Korea in 1930.

[66] Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), p. 139. Synan writes she was in Korea in the spring of 1928. However, she was at the annual conference with the missionaries during the summer of 1928. The record of Dithridge stating Rumsey went to Korea in 1930 might be more accurate.

stationed in Kyoto from 1926 to 1927. However, they were classified as Assemblies of God, Australia from 1936-1938. Marie came back to Japan after the war in 1960. As a result, only Marie but not her parents is counted as one of the pre-war Assemblies of God missionaries in Japan.

3.3.6 Randall

Arthur E. Randall from Canada stayed at Ikoma where Coote's Bible training school was and he was with Coote's group, the Japan Apostolic Church, from 1924 to 1934. Even while he was staying at Ikoma, *Japan Christian Yearbook* classified him as a missionary of the Assemblies of God-Canada.[67] Minor details, such as his attendance at the wedding of John Clement show his association with other Assemblies of God missionaries. Nevertheless, his name does not appear in the book of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, and considering his association with Coote and the work in Ikoma, it is difficult to understand the reason why he was classified by *Japan Christian Yearbook* as one of the Assemblies of God-Canada missionaries.[68]

On the other hand, his participation in Coote's mission in Japan is not that unlike the activities of Marie Smith. That she would be counted as one of the General Council missionaries and that he would not seems inconsistent.

4. From the Loose Fellowship to Denominations

4.1 Loose Fellowship

We have seen that at least some of the early missionaries had united together to form the mission called the Assembly of God. We find some evidence of other contacts between missionaries. For example, in 1917 some Pentecostal missionaries came together for a meeting in Gotemba.[69] They were B. S. Moore and his wife (Yokohama), F. H. Gray and his wife (Tokyo), C. F. Juergensen (Tokyo), and Margaret Piper (Osaka).

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[67] "Japan Apostolic Mission:- Randall, Mr. A. E., & W., Ikoma P. O." *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1934), p. 359. "Assemblies of God-Canada: Randall, Mr. Arthur E. & W. Ikoma, Naraken." *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1935), p. 442.

[68] *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1934), p. 359 and (1935), p. 442.

[69] B. S. Moore and wife, Margaret F. Piper, F. H. Gray and wife, and C. F. Juergensen, "The Conditions of the Pentecostal Work in Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (October 13, 1917), pp. 10, 22, 36.

This was a loose fellowship of the Pentecostal missionaries but it is difficult to call it an attempt to form a group. During this early period the Pentecostal missionaries knew what other Pentecostal missionaries were in Japan generally, but they worked more or less independently. Moreover, even though they were all Pentecostals, their theological views varied greatly.[70]

4.2 Denominational Growth

This loose fellowship split into two main groups at the founding of the district council of Japan of the Assemblies of God in 1920.[71] These were twelve missionaries present in the district meeting: Alex Munroe and his wife, C. F. Juergensen and his wife, Agnes and Marie Juergensen, J. W. Juergensen and his wife, B. S. Moore and his wife, Jessie Wengler, and Ruth Johnson.[72] In the list of the Assembly of God missionaries in *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1919, Beatrice Bernauer, Estella Bernauer, Coote, Frank H. Gray and his wife, and William Taylor and his wife were now missing from this new group.[73] The seven new names were all third wave missionaries with a sure Trinitarian doctrine.[74]

This implies that with the arrival of the General Council missionaries and the founding of the Japan district, the loose Pentecostal missionary organization, which had existed up to this point, was broken up. Most of the members of the original group who did not join the district council of

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[70] Coote, *Twenty Years in Japan*, pp. 80-81. Coote states that their theological views were not the same and needed to be discussed. "I was asked once when starting special meetings what I believed. I was rather taken aback. I had been under the impression that all Spirit filled people believed alike, but soon found out that this was not so. Some believed in three distinct works of grace; others in but two, and again there were some who believed in just one. I was asked how many I believed in. Facing the question suddenly I had to reply, "I do not know."

[71] J. Roswell Flower, "Report of Missionary Treasurer for Year Ending Sept. 1, '20," *Pentecostal Evangel* (October 16, 1920), pp. 8-10 (8) notes, "Furthermore, district councils have been formed on several fields, such as India, Egypt, Japan and Liberia, and we find a greater spirit of co-operation developing among the missionaries."

[72] The picture of Pentecostal missionaries who recently formed the District Council of Japan appears in *Pentecostal Evangel* (November 13, 1920), p. 9.

[73] *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1919), p. xxxvi.

[74] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1921), p. ci.

Japan of the General Council of the Assemblies of God most likely disagreed with this new group over their sure Trinitarian doctrine.

5. New Issue

We know the New Issue was the point dividing the missionaries in Japan around 1920; this is a few years later than a similar conflict in America.[75] Here and there we find mention of this subject in the reports of the missionaries in Japan. Moore often sites his orthodox theology.[76] He even emphasizes his stance, writing that when he gave a baptism service, he did it "in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."[77] Estella Bernauer wrote to Pentecostal Assembly as following:

> Please allow me to thank you again for the precious papers, which are real blessing to my soul, and also to state right here that of all the new and strange doctrines being head forth I have not accepted any. The precious Word reads just the same to me as it did five years ago[78]

Choosing this Oneness doctrine, Coote joined the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, the Oneness group, in Japan in 1920.[79] Thus

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[75] Gary B. McGee, *This Gospel Shall Be Preached: A History and Theology of Assemblies of God Foreign Missions to 1959* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1986), p. 89.

[76] Brother B. S. Moore, "The Regions Beyond," *Pentecostal Evangel* (July 27, 1918), p. 10 declares, "We stand for a clean and holy gospel free from all strange issues, and we are not connected with the New Issue." In the same way, B. S. Moore and Wife, "Returning to Japan," *The Christian Evangel* (June 14, 1919), p. 10 states, "We hereby make a plain statement. We are not, and never were, connected with the so-called New Issue.

[77] B. S. Moore, "(no title)," *The Latter Rain Evangel* (September 1923), p. 18.

[78] Estella A. Bernauer, "A Line from Japan," *The Weekly Evangel* (November 4, 1916), p. 13.

[79] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1921), p. v. After leaving the Assembly of God mission, Coote changed his mission affiliation to the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World. Coote's group changed its name in 1926 to Pentecostal Band, and in 1927 they joined the Pentecostal Bands of the World. In 1929, he started the Japan Apostolic Mission, and in 1939 the name was changed to Japan Apostolic church. *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1921-1939). There are two streams of the Oneness group in Japan. Fred Abel led one and Leonard Coote led the other. Fred Abel, who came to Yokohama in 1914, was one of the first Pentecostal missionaries to Japan. He moved to Fukaya, Saitama in 1916 and came to Tokyo

the two major Pentecostal denominational groups, which have existed since then, had been formed. In 1927 there were ten missionaries on the list of Assembly of God.[80] *Japan Christian Yearbook* of 1927 has a list of eight missionaries for the Pentecostal Bands of the World in Japan.[81] We thus find two strong rivaling missionary forces.

On the whole, the old friendships were cut and the General Council Missionaries did not keep fellowship with the Oneness group after 1920, though there were some exceptions. The Taylors remained in the Assembly of God, although they continued their close relationship with Coote. Mary Taylor suggested to Dithridge to have Coote for some special meetings.[82] The words of Dithridge reveal the situation of the Pentecostal missionaries in 1924. She writes:

> At that time I did not know there were various groups of Pentecostal people believing on certain points differently. However, if a person was Pentecostal, he was all right in my eyes. So that fall when I returned to Hachioji I sent for Brother Coote to come to hold a series of special meetings in our little place.

In this way, Dithridge, even while she was Assembly of God, also kept her friendship with Coote. After she became independent in 1929, she appears in Coote's group here and there. Moreover, Mary Taylor joined the Japan Apostolic Church rather than General Council after the war.

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in 1921. He was in the Pentecostal Bands of the World in 1917, but he did not have many partners until the group of the missionaries who were with Coote joined him in 1927. But instead of remaining with this group, he became affiliated with the Missionary Bands of the World from 1928 until at least 1938. Among the Oneness missionaries, Coote was among those who came back after the war in 1950 to reestablish Japan Apostolic Church, Nihon Pentekosute Kyodan in Ikoma.

[80] Nellie Barton, Gordon Bender and his wife, Harriet Dithridge, Agnes Juergensen, Marie Juergensen, J. W. Juergensen and his wife, Alex Munroe and his wife, Mae Straub, and Jessie Wengler: *Japan Christian Yearbook* (1927), p. 447.

[81] Leonard Coote and his wife, Robert Fleming and his wife, Miss Emma Fuselier, Miss Mona Jackson, Miss Vera Jackson, Mr. Theodore Johnson, Herbert Smith and his wife, Miss Marie Smith. *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1927), p. 455.

[82] Dithridge, *Fifty Years in Japan*, p. 137.

A few other missionaries blurred the clear distinctions that had formed between the two groups. For example, Emma Gale, who came to Japan from England, was in the Pentecostal Bands with Coote from 1926 to 1927.[83] But for most of her stay in Japan she was an independent missionary. However, she was so close to the Assemblies of God that she has been treated as a part of Assemblies of God in the JAG historiography. Other examples include H. E. Smith from Australia and Arthur Randall from Canada, both of whom had been with Coote previously, but who were later considered Assemblies of God missionaries from their respective countries.

6. Who Was Deleted from the History and Why?

At the beginning of this article, I showed that twelve missionaries were deleted or omitted from the list of the missionaries of the Assemblies of God in Japan. None of them had come back to Japan as General Council missionaries after the war. I think there are four reasons for their omission.

6.1 Because They Had a Different Theological View.

Coote, Gray, and Estella and Beatrice Bernauer adopted the Oneness doctrine.

6.2 Because They Were Not Close to the People Who Formed Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo.

The Taylors, who had their ministry at the Door of Hope in Kobe, were physically distant from these people and did not maintain close relationships with them. On the other hand, they were both physically close to as well as on good terms with Coote. And, significantly, although they maintained a long AG affiliation before the war, after the war, Mary Taylor decided to join Coote's group.

6.3 Because They Did Not Stay Long Enough to Be Remembered.

Harriett Dithridge, Ruth Johnson, Nettie Barton and Mary Rumsey were Assemblies of God missionaries for only a few years.

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[83] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1926), p. 484; (1927), p. 393.

6.4 Because They Were Not the General Council Missionaries.

These are Arthur Randall of Canada and H. E. Smith of Australia. They did not come back after the war. Their terms as Assemblies of God missionaries were also very short.

7. The Organization and Structure of the Japanese Church

Having recognized the deletion of certain missionaries from the historical record, I would next like to propose a framework for the pre-war JAG history which could be used as an aid in understanding our future examination of that history.

I suggest that the organization and structure of the Japan Assemblies of God churches went through seven stages of development, with six shifts separating these stages. And three out of six of these shifts were points of conflict or at least of division between the leaders of the group.

As we have seen in our examination of the missionaries, before the forming of the district of Japan of the Assemblies of God in 1920, the Pentecostal fellowship in Japan was a loose one. After the formation of the District of Japan, the Pentekosute Kyokai began to emerge, organized on the specific Trinitarian theology. This is when the first stage began.

7.1 The First Stage (1920?-1929): Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai (Japan Pentecostal Church)[84]

We do not know when the Pentecostal missionaries started to use this name. Each missionary was more or less independent. In the beginning, C. F. Juergensen put up two signs for his church. They were "Full Gospel Chapel" and "Assembly of God Kirisuto Kyokai."[85] By 1920 his church had another sign saying "Pentecostal Church."[86]

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[84] In 1929 Leonard Coote, formerly a partner of the Assemblies of God, started his new work in the Kansai area, founding another Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai with his Japan Apostolic Mission.

[85] Marie Juergensen, *Foundation Stones: Carl F. Juergensen*, Heroes of the Conquest Series, No. 11 (Springfield, MO: Foreign Mission Department of Assemblies of God, n.d.), pp. 5, 21.

[86] Marie Juergensen, *Foundation Stones*, p. 10.

The church organization of Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai was totally under the mission government, the Assembly of God, and there were no native workers in the church government.[87]

They had five major confessional creeds: believing the Bible as the word of God; Believing in regeneration; believing in sanctification; believing in the inner filling of the Holy Spirit; and believing in the Lord's Second Coming. Moreover the Trinitarian theology was the basis of their creed.[88]

The initial year of the Nihon Pentekosute Kyokai was 1911, when the Taylors arrived in Japan.[89] But the mission body of Assembly of God took the view that its initial year was 1908, which may perhaps have some connection with the arrival of the first Pentecostal missionaries. [90]

7.2 The Second Stage (1929-1937): The Organizing Nihon Seisho Kyokai (Japan Bible Church)

In 1929, a new church government was formed with the missionaries still taking the leadership but with much more involvement by the native workers.[91] The newly formed Nihon Seisho Kyokai is the Japanese Church of the district of Japan of the General Council. The initial year of the mission organization was changed from 1908 to 1914,

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[87] *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1927), p. 33.

[88] *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1927), p. 33.

[89] Sakurai, *Kyohabetsu Nihon Kirisutokyoshi*, p. 240.

[90] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1920), table 1, "Statistics of Christian Work in Japan for the Year 1919." It is not quite clear why this organization chose 1908. M. L. Ryan and his group came to Japan in 1907 and this is the arrival of the modern Pentecostal movement in Japan. 1908 might be understood as the year that the Ryans were working in Japan. Therefore, by taking 1908 as the original year, this organization might be claiming the authenticity of their inheritance of the original Pentecostal Movement in Japan.

[91] "A new constitution was adopted and a Co-operative Conference formed in which our Japanese brethren and workers are to have a part. This we believe to be an important step for better things for the work in Japan." See G. R. Bender, "The Japan District Annual Conference," *Pentecostal Evangel* (December 8, 1928), p. 10. Both missionaries and native workers met at the district meetings in 1929. See Jessie Wengler, "Japan District Council," *Pentecostal Evangel* (July 13, 1929), p. 10.

which is the year the General Council of the Assemblies of God was founded in America.[92]

The name, Nihon Seisho Kyokai, existed until the group joined the Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (The United Church of Christ in Japan) due to the demand of the wartime government in 1941. However this Nihon Seisho Kyokai was not a stable organization and it went through several shifts in a short period of time.

7.3 The Third Stage (1937-1940): The Re-organization of Nihon Seisho Kyokai and the Split of Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai (Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church)

In 1937, Nihon Seisho Kyokai was re-organized. This re-organization aimed to create a stronger organization uniting the General Council missionaries and their churches with other Pentecostal Christians. This move was discussed in August 1937.[93] However, this move brought one quite unexpected result to the General Council group, that is, the split of the Takinogawa group of churches and the emergence of Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai.

Reading the information given in *The Japan Christian Yearbook*, although Nihon Seisho Kyokai did split, the mission body does not seem to have divided.[94]

Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai came out of the group of churches called Nihon Seisho Kyokai. It was led by C. F. and Marie Juergensen and Kiyoma Yumiyama at the end of 1937. Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai declared that it had begun in 1925, started by the C. F. Juergensens with the cooperation of Kiyoma Yumiyama.[95] This is the year the Takinogawa property had been purchased. Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai kept its

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[92] *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1930), p. 385.

[93] *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1939), p. 80.

[94] *The Japan Christian Yearbook* (1937), p. 399; (1941), p. 358. There is only one Assemblies of God and the missionaries who were working with both church groups remained on the same list even after the Japanese church split.

[95] *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1940), p. 75. If they wanted to claim their authenticity as the General Council missionary, they could have taken 1913, the arrival of C. F. Juergensen, as their initial year. But claiming 1925 as their first year, they stressed the cooperation of the Juergensens and Kiyoma Yumiyama. In this division, J. W. Juergensen was with the side of Barth and Murai, not with his father and sisters.

independence until the time they joined the United Church of Christ in Japan in 1941.

Most of the other people from the former Nihon Seisho Kyokai remained with it after it was re-organized under their new leaders, Norman Barth and Jun Murai.[96] This newly founded Nihon Seisho Kyokai was different from the previous organization by nature. Until now, this group was the Japanese church of the General Council. However, after reorganizing, the new group was the union of the different (Trinitarian) Pentecostal Christians. The group changed their origin from 1914 to 1937, stressing the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Tokyo Nihon Seisho Kyokai, at Nishi Sugamo on July 23, 1933. In fact, this outpouring was one of the main causes behind this new organization.[97]

7.4 The Fourth Stage (1940-1941): The Indigenous Nihon Seisho Kyokai

In 1940, Nihon Seisho Kyokai declared their intention to cut their relationship with the foreign mission and it became an independent organization, installing Jun Murai as their bishop.[98] The wartime tension forced the missionaries to leave Japan and return home. Therefore, the church's cutting their tie to the foreign missionaries is perhaps understandable. The installation of Murai as the bishop, however, was a big leap. At this moment, Nihon Seisho Kyokai became Murai's church.

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[96] Murai was a son of a Methodist minister, and he worked with Thornton at the Self-Help Bible Training School. He came to the Pentecostal circle in about 1921 through a connection with Mary Taylor. See Jun Murai ("Timothy"), "The Same Yesterday and Today and Forever: A Testimony from Japan," *Pentecostal Evangel* (May 14, 1921), p. 9.

[97] *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1939), p. 80. Until this split, within Nihon Seisho Kyokai, Takinogawa had been the center. But for the new Nihon Seisho Kyokai, Murai's Nishi Sugamo church became the center of the group. The church at the Nishi Sugamo even changed its name to Tokyo church. Here we can see evidence of a power struggle between Nishi Sugamo and Takinogawa, two churches which were not far away in distance. It seems no missionaries witnessed the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on July 23, 1933; this absence helped the Japanese church to claim their indigenous status.

[98] *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1950), p. 247 for the description of Iesu no Mitama Kyokai; Also *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1941), p. 111.

7.5 The Fifth Stage (1941): Departure of Murai from Nihon Seisho Kyokai

Starting in 1941, the Religious Group Law was enforced by the Japanese government, and the Christian churches were directed to unite and become one church: the United Church of Christ in Japan. Nihon Seisho Kyokai also was preparing to join this united church. But before doing so, another big shift occurred. That is the departure of Murai and his followers from the remainder of Nihon Seisho Kyokai.

The leading ministers from Nihon Seisho Kyokai were touring in Taiwan in 1941, where they had contact with the True Jesus Church of Taiwan which held the Oneness doctrine. Among these Japanese leaders, Murai and one other accepted this doctrine.[99]

Jun Murai formed a new church or changed the name of his church, depending on one's point of view.[100] His Iesu no Mitama Kyokai (Spirit of Jesus Church) kept Murai as the bishop. And they continued to claim that the origin of the group was the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Nishi Sugamo church in 1933. This group did not join the United Church of Christ in Japan and remained independent during the war.[101]

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[99] *Mikotoba ni Tachi, Mitama ni Michibikarete*, p. 61; Hajime Kawasaki, *Kitakazeyo Okore: Jinsei 50 nen no Kaiko* [Let the North Wind Blow: Recollections of 50 Years of My Life] (Tokyo: Shukyohojin Megumi Fukuin Kirisuto Kyokai, 1992), p. 82.

[100] Right after the war Murai claimed that Nihon Seisho Kyokai changed its name to Iesu no Mitama Kyodan in 1940. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1948), pp. 189, 261. They continued to claim their authenticity as heir of Nihon Seisho Kyokai up to 1952, even after the founding of Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1952), p. 276. Later on, they came to claim that their group was founded on November 17, 1941, when they received the name of "Iesu no Mitama" through revelation. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1954), p. 187; Junko Ikemoto, "Iesu no Mitama Kyokai Kyodan" [(Church of) the Spirit of Jesus Church], in *Nihon Kirisutokyo Rekishi Jiten* [The Historical Dictionary of the Japanese Christianity], Nihon Kirisutokyo Rekishijiten Hensan Iinkai (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1988), p. 89.

[101] From the descriptions of Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan and Iesu no Mitama Kyokai, it is easy to sense the rivalry between the two groups and their consciousness of each other. But as time past, this rivalry became a thing of the past. Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, trans. R. A. Wilson (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1977), p. 6 states, "During the war the mission churches of the Assemblies of God, the Iesu-no Mitama Kyokai separated from their American

The flock of Nihon Seisho Kyokai which left, or did not follow Murai were scattered until the time of its joining the United Church of Christ in Japan.[102]

7.6 The Sixth Stage (1941-1949): Joining Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (The United Church of Christ in Japan)

Both the remaining flock of Nihon Seisho Kyokai and Yumiyama's Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai individually joined the tenth department of Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (the United Church of Christ in Japan) in June 1941.[103] During the war, the churches of Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai and Nihon Seisho Kyokai remained in the United Church of Christ in Japan.

7.7 The Seventh Stage (1949-): The Founding of the Assenburiizu of Goddo Kyodan (The Japan Assemblies of God)

After the war, the leaders of the former Nihon Seisho Kyokai desired to leave the United Church of Christ in Japan and establish a new Pentecostal church, which would unite the members of the two former groups, Nihon Seisho Kyokai and Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai.[104] As a result, Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan (the Japan Assemblies of God) was founded on March 15, 1949 with the help of the General Council missionaries, uniting the Pentecostal Christians. There were originally 19 ministers from 17 church groups.[105] There were

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mother church and now exist *alongside* the renewed missionary activity of the Americans, the Nihon Assemburizu Kyodan."

[102] The view of Iesu no Mitama Kyokai is that the people who did not follow them joined the United Church of Christ in Japan independently. However, at least some of them joined the United Church of Christ in Japan as Nihon Seisho Kyokai. See Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan Senkyo Kenkyujo Kyodanshiryo Henshushitsu, ed., *Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan no Seiritsu Katei: 1930-1941* [The Process of Forming the United Church of Christ in Japan: 1930-1941] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan Senkyo Kenkyujo, 1997), p. 387. Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), p. 97 takes the position that Murai was the one who "decided to take leave of his congregation."

[103] *Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan no Seiritsu Katei*, p. 315.

[104] *Mikotoba ni Tachi*, *Mitama ni Michibikarete*, p. 77

[105] Among the original seventeen churches or groups, six are in Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan and others were either independent or newly formed. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1950), p. 153. Before the war the two churches founded by the Assemblies of

approximately 800 members in all.[106] The JAG adopted as its initial year the arrival of C. F. Juergensen.

8. Three Knots: Major Points of Conflict or Division

Let me suggest three major knots, which are blurred over in the historiography without explanation, causing blank spots or points of ambiguity in the JAG history.

8.1 The First Knot (around 1920)

The first knot is the division of the missionaries on the basis of their theological beliefs. Due to the founding of the Japan District of the General Council in 1920, the loose Pentecostal missionary fellowship was divided and non-Trinitarian Pentecostals left the group.

8.2 The Second Knot (1937)

The second knot is the split of Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai from Nihon Seisho Kyokai. This division is mentioned only briefly, almost in passing, in the JAG second historiography, and not at all in the first. As a result, a distorted picture has resulted and the recorded activities of the two groups become ambiguous, blurred and difficult to understand. The reason for and results of this split remain topics for further study.

8.3 The Third Knot (1940-1941)

Taking place within the new Nihon Seisho Kyokai, this knot has two folds. One is after the cutting of the relationship between the foreign mission and the Japanese group in 1940, Murai was installed as bishop; the other is the departure of Murai and his followers from Nihon Seisho Kyokai in 1941. Within the JAG historiographies, nothing is mentioned about the Japanese group's relationship with the missionaries, nor of Murai's primary position as bishop. Moreover, while Murai's departure due to theological differences is mentioned, what happened to the church group after this departure is not mentioned.

God of the Great Britain were classified as independent churches. *Kirisutokyo Nenkan* (1941), p. 159.

[106] *Mikotoba ni Tachi: Mitama ni Michibikarete*, pp. 85, 483.

9. Why Did Some of History Get Lost in the Retelling?

Only a handful of the Japanese leaders survived by the time of founding of the JAG in 1949. From the pre-war missionaries, Marie Juergensen, Jessie Wengler, Florence Byers, John Clement and his wife were present at the foundation of the new JAG.[107] Among them, Marie Juergensen was the first one to come to Japan in 1913. Therefore, Marie Juergensen had the main role of telling the history of the group.

The history writers of the two official JAG history books tried to organize the information given by Marie Juergensen.[108] Therefore it was very natural that the pre-war history of the JAG centers on the ministry of C. F. Juergensen, and ignores the works of some other missionaries. The present pre-war history of the JAG is mainly the history of the people who founded Nihon Assenburiizu obu Goddo Kyodan after the war.

Presently the JAG has 208 churches and 9626 members.[109] But when it started afresh in 1949, it consisted of 13 churches, composed mainly of former Nihon Seisho Kyokai (Japan Bible Church) and Takinogawa Seirei Kyokai (Takinogawa Holy Spirit Church),[110] with a few independent and a few newly founded churches. In order to examine the pre-war history of the JAG, we need to trace all lines of the heritage and find the work of the missionaries as well as native workers who have been omitted along the course of the recording of the JAG history. In order to do so, we need to have a broader view looking at the whole picture of the Pentecostal movement in Japan.

There is an underlying attitude of the history teller to delete from their history or at least minimize the role of any missionary, native worker, or member of the church who later left the fellowship. This resulted in the complete disappearance of some people from the historiography, (e.g., Taylor). In other cases, a person's role was only minimally dealt with, leaving a distorted impression of their significance within the church history, (e.g., Murai). These things happened even in cases where those people were the key figures of the group. This is one of the main reasons for the blank spots in the JAG historiography. The

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[107] *Mikotoba ni Tachi*, *Mitama ni Michibikarete*, p. 84.

[108] Shuichi Hosoi, one of the first graduates of the Bible training school in Tokyo, was the main historian of the pre-war history.

[109] *Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan, Sokai Gian of 2000* [The Proposal to the Annual Meeting of 2000] (Tokyo: Nihon Assenbuliizu obu Goddo Kyodan, 2000), p. 17.

[110] *Mikotoba ni Tachi: Mikotoba ni Michibikarete*, p. 85.

blank spots do not seem to be mainly caused by simple sloppiness of the historian's memory.

This is the fundamental problem of the existing accounts of JAG history. The history tellers and the JAG history books failed to give the whole picture and either did not mention or did not explain in enough detail about points of conflict or division.

10. Conclusion

In this article, I tried to examine the pre-war history of JAG, filling in some of the holes, and pointing out other still ambiguous areas of division or controversy. Due to the lack of information preserved in Japan as well as to the unreliability of some of the information which is available, this task was by no means a simple one. Nevertheless, I looked specifically at the missionaries who were omitted from the JAG history. I did not, however, explore the native workers who were forgotten. For the pre-war missionaries, it was important to have interpreters, native workers and Bible women. With the omission of the missionaries, the native workers who worked with them also got lost from the JAG history. There were many shifts and divisions, and their recording is often ambiguous if not deleted all together from the JAG historiographies. Many of the ambiguities and deletions are still untouched areas and remain topics calling for further study.

Heretofore, the historiographies of JAG have centered around the ministry of C. F. Juergensen and his group. But if we stress too much the service of this one missionary group—no matter how faithful, dedicated and fruitful his ministry may have been—we miss so much of the history and end up painting a very blurry and fragmented picture. One way of correcting this problem might be first to trace the history of the different missions and churches started by each of the missionaries and their native workers and then examine how these ministries related and inter-related. If such a task were indeed possible, and if it were successfully carried out, we would then retrieve the complete, clear historical picture.

As long as the blank and blurry spots exist, our understanding of the JAG history will remain incomplete. As a start, I hope this study has begun to shed some light on areas of the history which have until now remained hidden in darkness. May it be but the first step leading us to the truth about our whole past. For I cannot doubt that this knowledge of the truth about our history will ultimately lead us to a firmer understanding of the identity of the JAG. And I am equally convicted that gaining such

an understanding is necessary to guide us as we continue to build God's church in this century.