

**‘A Band of Evangelists, Native and “Foreign”’:
The Story of Japanese Initiatives in Indigenizing the Japan Evangelistic Band
1903-1940**

Anupama Esther Maxton

OCMS, Ph.D.

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ABSTRACT

Most research on indigenization in missions concentrates on missionary achievements of church planting and handing them over to nationals. This is a historical reconstruction of the indigenization of a mission organization, the Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB), from 1903 to 1940. I argue that in a period when missionaries led mission organizations in the mission field, the JEB was led by the Japanese. The indigenous nature of the JEB was a Japanese initiative. The Mission was also distinct because women, both foreign and Japanese, were an important workforce in the Mission. They actively contributed to all aspects of the JEB ministry and gave the Mission a holistic nature. Japanese male and female initiatives and female missionary influence on the JEB ministry are assessed by their participation in establishing the Mission, their leadership in administrative councils, their contribution to evangelism and church planting, and their influence in changing Mission policies.

The internal story of the Mission is reconstructed by reading the correspondence between the individuals and the councils in Japan and England, published and unpublished literature, and the archives of their ministry partners in the light of the Japanese socio-political environment of the period researched. Six internal voices add different dimensions to the story to reveal reasons for indigenous leadership and the effects of the growth in Japanese nationalism on the members and ministry of the Mission.

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Japan Evangelistic Band
1903-1940**

by

Anupama Esther Maxton

B.A. (University of Lucknow)

M.A. (Kanpur University)

M.Th. (Queen’s University of Belfast)

Director of Studies: Prof. David Killingray, Ph.D.

Second Supervisor: Dr. Ken Miyamoto, Ph.D.

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Oxford Centre for Mission Studies

DECLARATIONS

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted for any degree.

Signed  (Candidate)

Date *23 March 2017*

STATEMENT ONE

This thesis is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote.

Other sources are acknowledged by midnotes or footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed  (Candidate)

Date *23 March 2017*

STATEMENT TWO

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Date *23 March 2017*

Dedication

*This work is dedicated to my paternal great-grand mother Bachuli
and maternal grand-mother Esther.
I never met you but have been blessed by the stories of your faith and ministry.
And to my mother
Shail
my inspiration and my spiritual guide
I wish you were here to see me finish this research.*

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List of Abbreviations

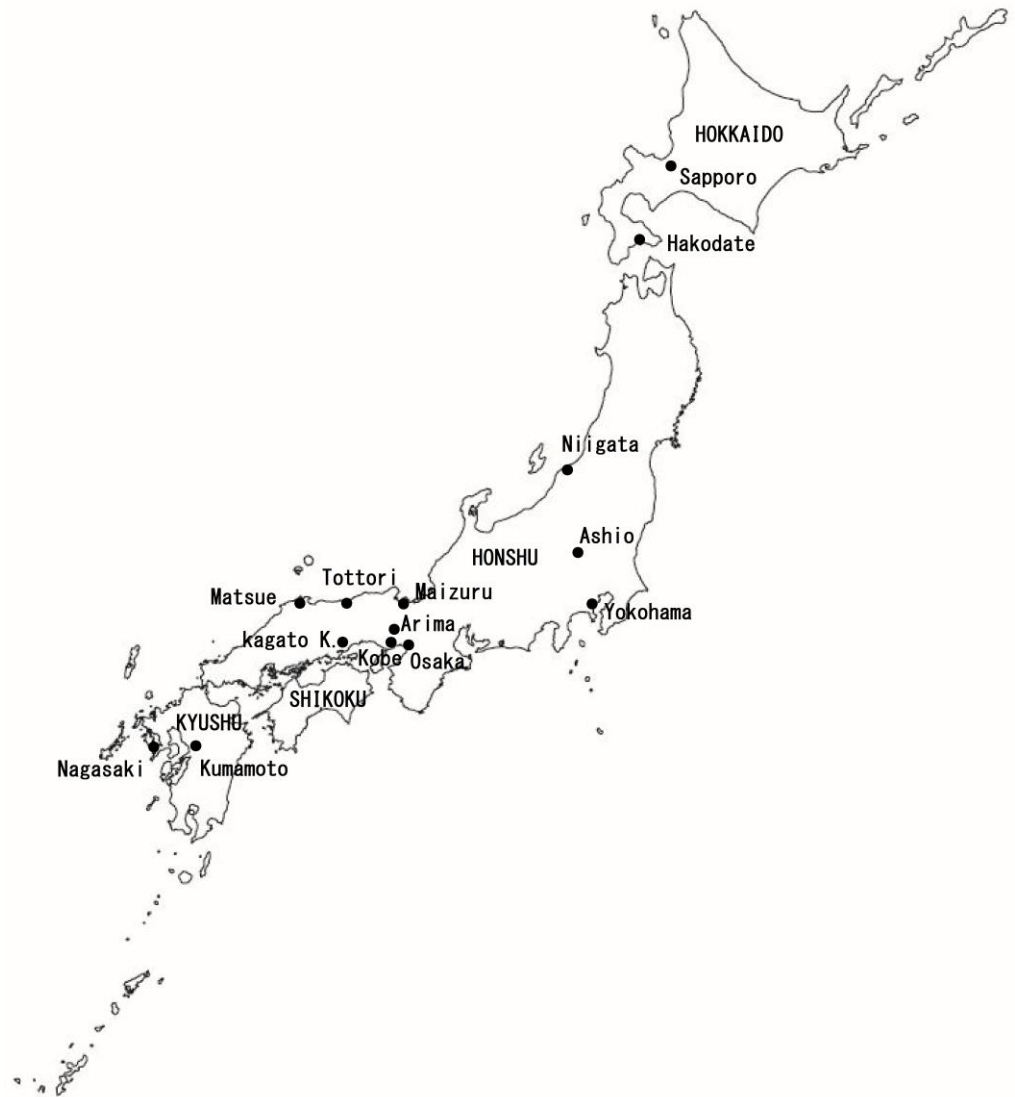
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission
CB	Council Business
CICCU	Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union
CIM	China Inland Mission
CJPM	Central Japan Pioneer Mission
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CPA	Christian Police Association
CPACM	Christian Police Association Council Minutes
FC	Field Council
FCC	Field Council Correspondence
FCM	Field Council Minutes
FD	Field Director
FK	Fukko Kyokai
FR	Field Report
GVMM	Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission
GVMCM	Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission Committee Meeting Minutes
HC	Home Council
HCC	Home Council Correspondence
HCM	Home Council Minutes
IS	Iesu Shodan
JEB	Japan Evangelistic Band
<i>JEB (italics)</i>	<i>Japan Evangelistic Band (magazine)</i>
JES	Japan Evangelization Society
LMS	London Missionary society
MB	Matsue Band
NSK	Nihon Seisho Kyokai
NSKK	Nippon Sei Ko Kai
NIKK	Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai
NIKKyo	Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyodan
NKK	Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (The United Church of Christ in Japan)
OICCU	Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union
OMS	Oriental Missionary Society
SB	Sunrise Band
SH	Sunrise Home
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union

List of Japanese Words in the Thesis

<i>Butsudan</i> 仏壇	Buddhist prayer altar
<i>Daimyo</i> 大名	feudal lord
<i>Fumie</i> 踏み絵	an icon of Mary and Jesus
<i>Geisha</i> 芸者	traditional female entertainers
<i>Hanko</i> 藩校	clan schools
<i>Hiragana</i> ひらがな	Japanese script
<i>Jiaikan</i> 慈愛館	house of mercy and love
<i>Kami</i> 神	god
<i>Kangaku</i> 漢学	study of Chinese thought
<i>Kashiko dokoro</i> 賢所	central shrine at the Japanese imperial palace dedicated to Amaterasu Omikami
<i>Kensetsusha Dōmei</i> 建設者同盟	League of National Construction
<i>Kinjouheika</i> 今上陛下	his majesty
<i>Kokka Shinto</i> 国家神道	State Shinto
<i>Kokutai</i> 国体	National Polity
<i>Kokutai no Hongi</i> 国体の本義	true meaning of National Polity
<i>Kyoha Shinto</i> 教派神道	Sect Shinto
<i>Kyoiku Chokugo</i> 教育勅語	Imperial Rescript on Education
<i>Kyodan</i> 教団	denomination
<i>Kyujo yohai</i> 宮城遥拝	emperor worship
<i>Kyokai</i> 教会	church
<i>Mukyokai Shugi</i> 無教会主義	Non-church ideology
<i>Nippon Seishin</i> 日本精神	Japanese spirit
<i>Okasan</i> お母さん	mother
<i>Pachinko</i> パチンコ	casino
<i>Rangaku</i> 蘭学	Dutch studies or Western learning
<i>Rinrigaku</i> 倫理学	ethics
<i>Sakoku</i> 鎖国	national isolation
<i>Samurai</i> 武士	warrior
<i>Shinjinkai</i> 新人会	New Man Society
<i>Shogun</i> 将軍	military dictator
<i>Sonnō jōi</i> 尊王攘夷	revere the emperor, expel the barbarian
<i>Tenno</i> 天皇	Japanese emperor
<i>Tennosei</i> 天皇制	emperor system
<i>Teraukejo</i> 寺請制度	a certificate from the temple to prove adherence to Buddhism
<i>Tokūbetsu Kōtō Keisatsu</i> 特別高等警察	Japanese Special Higher Police
<i>Yasakani no Magatama</i> 八尺瓊曲玉	sacred bean shaped jade
<i>Yogakko</i> 洋学校	School of Western Learning

Map of Japan

- Places mentioned in this thesis
Capital letters – names of major islands



Chapter One

Introduction

The Japan Evangelistic Band

In the summer of 1903, a group of British evangelicals led by Barclay Fowell Buxton (1860-1946)¹ met at Keswick in the Lake District to discuss and pray about starting an evangelistic ministry in Japan. A few hours of prayer and discussion resulted in the birth of the Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB), a mission organization that recognized Japanese in the Band as equal partners in ministry. In a period when mission organizations established in the West were led by missionaries in the mission field and all mission policy decisions were made by missionaries or foreign mission boards, the British founders of the JEB entrusted the Japanese with the responsibility to evangelize their own people. The Japanese in the JEB were members of the administrative council in Japan. They made administrative and policy decisions that were respected by the Council in Britain. The Japanese led evangelistic teams. They established churches independent of missionary support. Japanese participation in leadership of the mission gave the JEB a distinctly indigenous nature.

The JEB emerged from the Holiness teachings in the UK and is counted among 'Faith Missions'. Barclay Buxton was inspired by Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission (CIM) ministry in rural China. Similar to the CIM, he established the JEB as a band of itinerant evangelists to evangelize rural Japan.

In the period 1903-1940 researched in this thesis, 28 Prime Ministers and three Emperors, Meiji (1868-1912), Taisho (1912-1926) and Showa (1926-1989), steered the country through times of political and economic prosperity and recession. Throughout

¹ Buxton first went to Japan as a Church Missionary Society missionary in 1890. He returned to the UK in 1902. The following year he met with some friends at Keswick Convention and established a mission organization to evangelize Japan. See Chapter Three for Buxton's biography.

this period, Japan had a contentious relationship with the Western nations. Japanese historic scepticism of Christianity and Western imperialistic ambitions affected the Japanese government's attitudes towards North Americans and the Europeans and their religion – Christianity. Japanese enthusiasm to build Japan into a modern state raised many entrepreneurs and political leaders who expected equality with the West. As a result, Japanese Christians too took leadership roles in evangelizing their own country.

To examine whether the indigenization of the JEB was a missionary effort to train Japanese to evangelize their own country, or a Japanese desire to take leadership in the Mission as they were confident they knew the ecclesiastical needs of the country better than the foreigners, this research asks the question, *to what extent was the indigenous nature of the Japan Evangelistic Band a Japanese initiative?*

To help answer the above question, four important sub-questions are examined in this study. (1) *How did the organizational structure of the Mission enable the Japanese to take the initiative in making the JEB indigenous?* (2) *How did the Japanese in the Mission bring about change in the JEB?* (3) *How did the women in the JEB influence the policies and practices of the Mission?* (4) *How did the rise of Japanese nationalism affect the JEB?*

Scope

This work is analytical and elucidates the story of the JEB and its choices. The purpose of this research is not to praise or criticise the work of the Mission, but to examine the intent and extent of indigenous Christian participation and initiative to evangelize their own country at a time when this was not the norm in foreign mission organizations. This study also tries to understand Japanese Christians' struggles to prove their loyalty to their Emperor and country when the country was going through political and economic changes leading to widespread dissatisfaction among the

citizens. Where necessary, this research refers to works on the Japanese Church and political history but does not extensively interact with them.

The JEB was established in 1903 and continues to work in Japan to the present day. As a period of 112 years is too large to cover, this research has been limited to investigating the JEB ministry in Japan from 1903 to 1940, when the beginning of the Second World War brought a dramatic change to Japan and Christian missions in Japan. All foreign nationals, including the JEB missionaries, were ordered to leave the country in 1940. At the end of the war, former JEB Japanese workers took the initiative to re-establish the Mission and requested the missionaries to return.² The JEB British board and missionaries had to consider whether to end the JEB ministry in Japan or rise to the challenge and return to Japan after a war that had changed both the UK and Japan. The decision to re-establish the JEB work in Japan in 1947 required the Mission to develop new strategies. In 1999, the JEB went through another major change in Mission strategy as the ministry in Japan was handed over to the Mission's Japanese workers. The British Home Council handed over responsibility to a new council in England. The Mission changed its name to 'Japan Christian Link' and now works as a mission partner to the JEB in Japan.³ A different study, therefore, would be required to investigate the JEB Mission strategies that were consequently developed to address the changes in the socio-political, economic and religious environment of the country.

Methodology and sources

This research is historical in nature. The JEB history is studied in the socio-political environment of the early twentieth century. The approach taken in studying the story of the JEB is such that the narrative is not arranged in chronological order but to answer the questions raised above. The archives of the JEB and its mission partners are

² Eric Gosden, *Night Came to Japan* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1951).

³ *Japan News JCL*, January –April 2000.

the primary sources of evidence to investigate the questions of Japanese participation in the JEB ministry. The primary sources were read in the light of the secondary sources listed in the bibliography and together they enabled me to understand the religious and socio-political environment of Japan and the missionary home country, the UK. The primary sources, in particular, shed light on the reasons for occasional miscommunication between the Japanese and the foreign missionaries and the motivations behind the decisions made by both Japanese and foreign missionaries.

The comparison, analysis and discussions on the issues arising are made simultaneously in every chapter. The final chapter summarizes all the issues discussed and draws conclusions to answer the primary question asked in this thesis.

The JEB archives are stored at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. The Mission had two main decision making bodies, the Home Council in London and the Field Council in Kobe, Japan. The Council minutes of the two bodies are studied to determine the extent of Japanese participation in making Mission policies. They also inform of the changes in the policies and the effect of the changes on the Mission. The Missionary Committee Minutes record the discussions and decisions made about the future of the Mission between 1934 and 1940. The correspondence between the Home Council and the Field Council throw light on the relationship between the two councils, how decisions regarding the ministry were made, and which council had more power to steer the Mission's practice to respond to the changing needs to Japan. The two councils' correspondence with missionaries, Japanese staff members, and people outside the JEB, bring into focus issues in relationships with those in and outside the Mission. The Field Reports written by missionaries and Japanese evangelists inform as to the kinds of ministries and differences and similarities of ministries between the Japanese and foreigners. Published sources such as *The Japan Evangelistic Band* (magazine), prayer calendars, *Who's Who in the JEB* and biographies

of two founders, Barclay Buxton and Paget Wilkes (1871-1934)⁴, foreign missionaries James Cuthbertson, Irene Webster-Smith and Alice Hoare, and the Japanese evangelist, Kogo Shotaro, further inform as to the kinds of ministries foreign missionaries and Japanese evangelists participated in, and how their ministries changed due to socio-political changes in Japan and decisions made by the two JEB councils.⁵ The Mission's histories written by two foreign missionaries, Paget Wilkes and Eric Gosden, portray the foreigners' perspective of the JEB and Japan. The published sources were written to promote the JEB work in England and to raise finance, so it is acknowledged that they might present an idealized picture of the Mission and ministry in Japan. These works, when read in the light of Council Minutes and personal correspondence between the JEB secretary in London, the Field Director and the Japanese workers, paint a picture of confusion and distrust among the Japanese and missionaries from the mid-1930s. In reconstructing the story of the JEB, it is my purpose to look beyond official pronouncements and publicity and beyond sanitized reports into the actual day-to-day experience of the workers in the field.

This research relies heavily on the JEB archives stored at SOAS and on the JEB published material because the Mission's archives in Japan did not survive the bombings in the Second World War. The SOAS archives, however, contain copies of correspondence with the Japan office. The London office saved the letters they received from Japan along with a copy of their response to the Japan office. The office in Japan also sent copies of Field Council Minutes that were available to access. The Home Council Minutes often mention details and sometimes even copy letters, advice and opinions of the Japanese. Therefore, it was possible to reconstruct a version of the JEB

⁴ Wilkes met Buxton in 1897 when he joined his missionary team in Matsue, Japan. He took the initiative to establish the JEB to continue Buxton's work in Japan after Buxton had left the CMS. For Wilkes' biography, see Chapter Three.

⁵ B. Godfrey Buxton, *Reward of Faith in the Life of Barclay Fowell Buxton 1860-1946* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949); Mary W. Dunn-Pattison, *Ablaze for God: The Life Story of Paget Wilkes* (London: JEB, 1937); Eric Gosden, *Take Fire! James Cuthbertson of Japan* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1960); Russell T. Hitt, *Sensei: The Life Story of Irene Webster-Smith* (Nara: ICM Press, 1996); Shotaro Kogo, *Earthquake Evangelist: A Spiritual Odyssey* (London: JEB, 1977).

story from the views of the Japanese workers. While gleaning Japanese voices from the Home Council Minutes, I am aware that the British wrote them, therefore, because of cultural differences, there is a possibility of discrepancy between the actual Japanese opinions and their interpretation by the foreigners. However, when compared to the Field Council Minutes, Japanese opinions emerge as the Field Council, with its Japanese majority, discussed the same issues. Japanese opinions are also gleaned from letters sent by Japanese leaders and Field Council members advising the Home Council.

Before being annexed by the JEB in 1933, the Sunrise Band worked as a mission partner. The Sunrise Band's unpublished archives housed at SOAS, and in particular the Council Minutes, give an understanding of the relationship between the JEB and the Sunrise Band. The magazine *Sunrise* throws light on the kind of information conveyed to its members and groups of Christian children to raise funds to support ministry among children in Japan.

The JEB mission partner, the Christian Police Association (CPA), has its archives in Bedford that consist of Council Minutes from 1903 to 1941 describing the partnership between the two mission organizations and the reasons for the beginning and end of the financial support sent to the JEB and their expectations from the JEB. The CPA publication, *On and Off Duty*, gives information sent to the CPA supporters to raise funds for work in Japan through the JEB foreign missionaries and Japanese evangelists sponsored by the CPA.

Similar information is gleaned from another mission partner, the Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission (GVMM), in its archives stored in Kempton, Hertfordshire. The Council Minutes from 1920 to 1925 inform the reason GVMM approached the JEB to work as partners in Japan. The archives also show that the JEB and the GVMM stayed on good terms even though the Mission had decided to continue financial support to Amy Burnet, a former JEB missionary. The published annual reports from 1918 to 1925

and the 1931 GVMM magazine, *The Missionary Graphic*, describes the nature of JEB-GVMM partnership and the kind of ministry GVMM financially supported among Japanese miners.

Amy Burnet established the Central Japan Pioneer Mission (CJPM) with financial support from the GVMM. The CJPM archives in Tochigi, Japan, contain the Mission's magazines from when it was established in 1925 until 1940 when the JEB missionaries left Japan. The archives describe the ministry partnership in Japan between the CJPM and the JEB. The CJPM received personnel support from the JEB. Information on the work and life of the founder of the Mission, Amy Burnet, was also received through e-mails from Pastor Hiroshi Takagi of the Omama Church where the archives are stored.

E-mails to the author from Charles Thornton, grandson of Jessie Blackburn Thornton, an American who worked as a JEB missionary for a few years, help to understand Thornton's work in Japan and his relationship with the Mission due to differences of opinion.

Comparisons between the JEB, the CIM and contemporary Holiness groups in Japan, the Oriental Missionary Society, the Christian Missionary Alliance and the Pentecostal Church are discussed where applicable. E-mails from Don Shaeffer, team leader of the Japan Alliance Mission, and Suzuki Masakazu, lecturer for the Assembly of God Seminary Tokyo, facilitated in comparing the differences and similarities between the Alliance Mission, Pentecostal ministry and the JEB response to the nationalist government.

The JEB theological beliefs are understood by reading Barclay Buxton and Paget Wilkes' books on teachings of salvation and Holiness listed in the bibliography. Also consulted were articles written in the *Japan Evangelistic Band* and short booklets printed by the Mission. The missionary theological position on Emperor and shrine

worship is understood by reading missionary letters to the office in London and the Missionary Committee Minutes. The Japanese theological position can be interpreted and understood from the letters sent by the Japanese to the missionaries and the Home Council when some missionaries accused the Japanese of compromising their faith. The Field Council members who wrote the letters describing their theological stand on Emperor and shrine worship were bilingual. They wrote letters in English, therefore, there is less possibility of misunderstanding their thoughts.

The JEB was very diligent in giving credit to their Japanese workers in their quarterly magazine, the *Japan Evangelistic Band*. The Mission regularly printed photos and detailed reports of Japanese workers. Although the Bible Women's work was not given as much space in the magazine as that of their male counterparts, these are important sources to gauge the extent of Japanese female participation in church planting and Japanese men's contribution to leadership. I have compared the published sources with Field Reports, correspondence between the London and Kobe offices, and Field Council Minutes. The discussions on the issues raised by the Japanese staff members in the Home Council and letters portray a clearer and balanced picture of the Mission.

In 1935, the Japanese evangelists in the JEB left the Mission with their small churches to unite under the name of Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK, 日本イエスキリスト教会 Japan Church of Jesus Christ) independent of the JEB. In 1941, because of government regulations (discussed in Chapter Seven), most Protestant churches united to form Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (NKK, 日本キリスト教団 the United Church of Christ in Japan). In 1951, the NIKK reorganized itself and separated from the NKK. They changed their name to Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyodan (NIKKyo, 日本イエスキリスト教団). They changed the word *kyokai* (教会) which means church, to *kyodan* (教団) which means a community or a group, in other words, a denomination. Before the

Second World War, the NIKK was not diligent in keeping records of their work. The present NIKKyo was contacted several times but they have been unable to trace any letters or Council Minutes of the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai. The only historical record of the NIKKyo that sheds a little light on the JEB is the 50th anniversary book of the *kyodan*, which focuses on the work of the denomination since 1951. However, they do record that the JEB missionaries and evangelists established some churches before the Second World War.⁶ The story of the establishing of NIKK is, therefore, studied through the JEB Field Council Minutes and the correspondence between the Kobe and London offices.

The JEB was based on the ministry of a small group of foreign missionaries and Japanese evangelists under the leadership of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionary, Barclay Buxton, from 1890 to 1902 in Matsue. The CMS archives at St Andrew's University in Osaka, consisting of copies of official CMS archives housed at the University of Birmingham Library of the Japan Mission from 1869-1914 are a collection of individual letters and letter books, the correspondence between foreign missionaries and foreign Bishops in Japan and the CMS secretaries in England. The papers contain information on Buxton and his group, the Matsue Band's ministry. They also give details of Buxton's struggles with the CMS and the Nippon Sei Ko Kai (日本聖公会 the Anglican Church in Japan) because of his interdenominational ministry and his inclusion of women in the preaching ministry. Copies of *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, housed at the CMS Crowther Library in Oxford, are missionary reports that give details of missionary work under Buxton's leadership. The CMS archives help to understand west Japan in the late nineteenth century. They also give us a clearer picture of the results of Buxton's ministry that inspired the formation of the JEB.

⁶ Iwata, Fumiji ed., *Kyoudan Souritsu 50 Shunen Kinenshi* [50 year Celebration of the Denomination] (Hyogo: Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppan Kyoku, 2001).

A small archive collection at the All Nations Christian College in Ware gives information on the Buxton family, but unfortunately the personal diaries and letters of the founders have been impossible to trace. Neither of the families of Barclay Buxton or Paget Wilkes have any of their personal letters or diaries.⁷ The Mission published one of Wilkes' diaries *Missionary Joys in Japan: or, Leaves from my Journal*.⁸ The book was written to raise financial support for the Mission in the UK. It is a good source of information about Wilkes' experience of Japanese culture and his ministry, but it does not reveal the background story of Wilkes' work and travels. Wilkes' travels to different places in Japan are confirmed through his correspondence with the JEB secretary in London and the Field and Home Council Minutes.

Japanese reactions to the West and changes in the socio-political environment of the country are understood through books on Japanese political history and English language newspapers, the *Japan Times* and the *Japan Times and Mail*, at the National Diet Library in Kyoto. The JEB archives were read in the light of political, social and economic changes of the day to understand the rationale for the changes in the JEB Mission policies.

This research is qualitative and does not focus on numbers. It does not extensively record the number of converts to Christianity, the number of churches established by the Mission or the number of established churches the JEB worked with in Japan but mentions them where necessary.

The aim of this study is to analyse the work of the JEB in Japan, therefore, the Mission's work in the UK among children, sailors, and through the annual Holiness Convention in Swanwick, is not studied. The author appreciates the importance of financial support raised in the UK for ministry in Japan but the Mission's strategies of

⁷ In response to my e-mail, Christopher Buxton, grandson of Barclay Buxton, on 22 Oct. 2009 wrote he did not have any information on his grandfather he could pass on to me. In June 2010, I also contacted Michael Paget-Wilkes, grandson of Paget Wilkes. He too informed me he did not have any information about his grandfather.

⁸ Paget Wilkes, *Missionary Joys in Japan: or, Leaves from my Journal* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1913).

raising funds in the UK are not studied. One of the focuses of this study is on the use of finances raised in the UK for mission purposes in Japan.

Six internal voices help reconstruct the story of the JEB. The voices in this study are groups of people whose opinions, whether verbal or non-verbal, influenced the JEB mission policies. Different voices bring various dimensions to the issues discussed in this research. The first voice identified is of the Home Council that consisted of the British members who lived in England and Scotland, far away from the mission field and who were guided by Barclay Buxton in all their decisions. The second voice is of the Field Council that consisted of three Japanese and two missionaries. The Field Council was responsible for making administrative decisions in Japan. The third voice is of the missionaries who lived in Japan and had hands-on experience of the Mission's practice. Although they lived and worked in Japan, they too were foreigners who brought their own prejudices and experiences with them. The fourth voice identified is of the Japanese Christians who worked for the Mission as employees. They were co-workers of the missionaries and subordinates to the Field Council in Kobe, Japan, and the Home Council in London. The fifth voice is that of the supporters of the JEB. Since the Mission raised funds for the work in Japan, the leaders were mindful of the donors' opinions when making decisions on the Mission's policies. The sixth voice identified is the voice of the JEB Mission partners, mission organizations that financially supported the JEB. The fifth and the sixth voices are highly influential because the JEB Home Council was mindful of their opinion when making the Mission's policies as these people financed all the work in Japan.

Japanese voices in the JEB archives are gleaned from the Home and Field Council Minutes, correspondence between the two councils, letters to the council members from Japanese evangelists, and Field Reports. The Field Council had a Japanese majority, therefore, their decisions can be understood as a Japanese voice,

especially where certain suggestions and opinions are attributed to individuals by name. Japanese voices help to reconstruct the story of the JEB from a Japanese perspective as the Japanese Field Council members were bilingual and, therefore, could express themselves well in the letters to the Home Council and to the foreign missionaries in Japan. The Field Reports from male and female Japanese evangelists were sent to the Kobe office for translation and then sent to the London office for publication. It is possible that the Kobe office made changes in the language to raise funds in the UK. Unfortunately, the English translations cannot be verified with the Japanese reports, as the archives did not survive the Second World War. However, this problem is overcome by comparing the reports with the Field Council Minutes and the Field Director's letters to the Home Council. The incidents reported in the Field Reports were often discussed at meetings or were mentioned in the letters.

Japanese names in this study are written as in Japan with family name before the given name. The JEB followed the practice of addressing people with their family name with the suffix '*san*' (さん) to show respect and, therefore, in many cases, the given names of Japanese evangelists are not known. Since '*san*' is used to address men and women, sometimes it is difficult to know the gender of the evangelist. However, Field Reports and Prayer Calendars often had 'Bible woman' written before the family names, or pictures of the evangelists, which made it possible to know whether the evangelist was male or female.

Japanese words and Japanese church names are written in Roman letters as well as *kanji* (漢字), Chinese characters adopted in Japanese writing, when they appear for the first time in this research. However, when repeated in the same chapter or the subsequent chapters, they are not written in *kanji*.

Identity of the author

My interest in this research arose out of my life experiences and questions that emerged from my missionary experiences in Japan. Studying world mission history, I observed until the mid twentieth century most mission agencies were led by foreign missionaries in the mission field. However, in the late twentieth century, I grew up among Indian missionaries with my father, an Indian national, as head of a mission organization in India. Therefore, I was interested in researching the process of indigenization and the indigenous Christian participation in the indigenization of a mission organization.

My interest in studying Japanese Church history emerged from a certain incident that happened while I was working as a missionary in Japan and the three particular questions that arose when I observed the Japanese Church. The first question about Japanese Christians' understanding of the difference between Japanese customs and religious practices emerged when I watched an elderly Christian man, a member of Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan, clap hands and bow at a Shinto shrine. This was surprising to me, as growing up in a Christian home in India, we were always taught not to bow at places of religious worship. The second question was regarding the reason for the financial independence of the Japanese Church. Most Japanese churches average about 40 in membership yet all are self-governing and independent of financial support from the West. The third issue that led me on this journey of learning through Japanese history was the search for methods to evangelize Japan. Even though Christianity has been in Japan since the sixteenth century, the numbers of believers have stayed under one percent of the population. Through a study of Japanese church and mission history, I wanted to understand the reasons for the sluggish church growth and find out the methods of evangelism practised in Japan.

Although this study had been limited to a particular group evangelizing Japan, it has given me a better understanding of the struggles of Japanese Christians with their government and their resilience in the face of oppression. The research has also given me an understanding of the importance of indigenization, which I consider the main reason why the Japanese Church can function as a Three-Self church.

As an Indian scholar, I am aware of my limitations in the Japanese and English languages. I am able to speak and read Japanese but for a better understanding of Japanese culture and linguistic terms, I have solicited the help of my Japanese friends. They have read difficult Japanese texts for me and advised me on what Chinese characters to use in different situations. This research is about a British mission organization that worked in Japan with the Japanese. My Indian nationality has been an advantage to this study as I did not approach this research with any preconceived ideas and prejudices of a Western scholar. At the same time, I acknowledge my sixteen years of experience of living in Japan might have given me empathy with the Japanese. I also recognize that being a national of a former British imperial possession, I might view the British with prejudice.

Outline of the thesis

Having established the parameters of this research in this introductory chapter, in the next chapter I focus on the literature in Protestant mission studies. Chapter Two serves three purposes: (1) it explores the history and analyses the issues raised in this thesis; (2) it tries to understand how these issues relate to Japan mission studies, and (3) it investigates the place of the JEB in Japan mission studies.

Chapter Three is divided into two sections. The first section explores the social, political, economic, and Protestant mission history of Japan from 1868 to 1940. It serves as a background to understand the environment of the period as it helps

appreciate the reasons for certain decisions made by foreigners and Japanese in the JEB. The second part of the chapter investigates the lives and ministries of the JEB founders and their inspiration to establish a new mission organization. Also outlined are the ministry of the Mission and a bird's eye view of the work in Japan.

Chapter Four examines the organizational structure of the JEB to understand the place of Japanese Christians working in the Mission. The British missionary's and the Home Council's perceptions of the Japanese are studied to understand if they could accept the Japanese as equals. Also examined is how the Japanese took the leadership's and ministry's responsibilities to make the JEB indigenous.

Chapter Five focuses on the Japanese members in the Mission. It investigates whether Japanese men and women had the power and influence to change JEB Mission policies. It also brings to light the Field Council's boldness in making decisions contrary to the wishes of the Home Council because they thought they were addressing the ecclesiastical needs of the moment. Differences between the Home and Field Council's vision for the future of the JEB finally impelled some Japanese to leave the Mission and establish a church independent of missionaries.

Chapter Six explores the work and place of women in the Mission. It is observed that similar to contemporary mission practice, the women, especially the Japanese, were not offered positions of leadership. The foreign and Japanese men in the Field Council welcomed foreign females to the Council but the Japanese male council members, still bound to the patriarchal culture, could not accept a Japanese woman in a decision making body. Nevertheless, Japanese women became a major workforce in the church planting ministry. The female foreign missionary involvement in social work brought a holistic aspect to the JEB ministry. However, the lack of Japanese male leadership interest resulted in the work being closed when the foreign missionaries left the country because of a government edict.

Chapter Seven investigates three issues: (1) the effect of the Japanese government edict of Emperor and Shrine worship on relationships between Japanese and foreigners in the Mission; (2) how nationalism forced the Japanese to theologize and indigenize Christian worship; and (3) the consequences of the Japanese government edicts on the JEB ministry.

Finally, in Chapter Eight, I bring together all the issues discussed in all of the chapters to summarize and analyse whether and how the Japanese took the initiative to give the JEB an indigenous leadership while being financed by the British. In this chapter I also add my perceived contribution to knowledge and recommendations for further research.

The next chapter reviews the literature on the issues that are discussed in the whole thesis.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature in English on Christian mission in Japan. It also studies the Keswick Convention and the China Inland Mission (CIM) as the Japan Evangelistic Band ministry emerged out of the Keswick Convention and was highly influenced by the CIM. Literature on evangelism, church planting, and social work is reviewed as these issues emerge in the JEB ministry in Japan. Also reviewed in this chapter is Christian women's participation in their home churches and overseas missions, and Japanese women's contribution to evangelizing their own country. Finally, this chapter discusses attitudes and perceptions of Japanese and foreign missionaries that affected communication in Japan.

The JEB in mission history

Literature on Protestant missionary activity primarily records the work of Western missionaries and prominent mission organizations such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and London Missionary Society (LMS). Smaller mission organizations, especially those of the Holiness tradition, except the China Inland Mission, have largely been ignored. Literature on the Japan mission is not much different. The second volume of Otis Cary's books on Christianity in Japan focuses on Protestant mission.¹ He described in detail the political and ecclesiastical situation of Japan from 1853 until the book was published in 1909 and carefully avoided comments on the events to give the readers an understanding of Japanese society. Cary covered the missionary activities of most major mission organizations at work in Japan, however, he

¹ Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1909).

dedicated a large portion of his work to report the ministry of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM). Cary used English language magazines, missionary society reports, and Japanese and English newspapers as his source of information, which could be the reason for the lack of information on the works of Japanese Christians.

Since most mission history books are usually commissioned and published by established mission societies, the purpose of these books has been to inform the supporters of the impact their missionaries made on other cultures. Therefore, these books tend to focus on the work of Western missionaries. Alfreda Arnold recorded the presence of other mission organizations in Japan but focused her book on the missionary work of the ministry of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.² Alice Bacon's book describes the Japanese women's need for 'education' and informs how the Western education by missionary women transformed the lives of Japanese women.³ Books that were co-authored by Japanese Christians, such as Murao and Walton, published by the CMS, critique missionary work and assess the success of missionary methods.⁴

After the end of the Second World War, the focus of Protestant mission history literature remained on missionary activity in Japan. Winburn Thomas, a missionary in Japan in the 1930s, in *A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan*, portrays Japan mission history as American mission history. He gives a history of Western missionary efforts to evangelize Japan ignoring Japanese Christians who evangelized parts of the country foreigners were forbidden to enter.⁵ One exception was Richard Henry Drummond, who was also a missionary in Japan between the two World Wars. In his

² Alfreda Arnold, *Church Work in Japan* (London: Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1905).

³ Alice Mabel Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1902).

⁴ M. S. Murao and W. H. M. Walton, *Japan and Christ* (London: CMS, 1928).

⁵ Winburn T. Thomas, *Protestant Beginnings in Japan: The First Three Decades 1859-1889* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959).

book, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, Drummond surveyed Christianity in Japan from 1549 to 1971. Drummond laments that the division among missionary communities had made them individualistic and with a focus on their own particular work. He recognizes the Japanese Christians' contribution to evangelism and wrote short biographies of prominent Japanese Christians, such as Uchimura Kanzo and Toyohiko Kagawa. Drummond also documented the growth of indigenous churches but does not comment on the Japan Evangelistic Band or the churches that emerged out of the JEB ministry.⁶

Japanese Christian writers mostly wrote on issues in mission rather than documenting the works of Japanese Christians. The Christian historian, the literary critic and political commentator, Aizan Yamaji, assessed the socio-political environment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁷ His 38 brief essays cover Christianity and the intellectual development in Japan. He links the growth of Christianity in the early Meiji period to the conversion of many *samurai* from the losing side.⁸ In the mid-Meiji period, Aizan recognizes the new theology, which rejected the previous emphasis on revelation, the challenge of evolutionary theory undermining the church, and the growing attraction of socialism for Japanese Christians as the reasons for stagnation in church growth between 1890 and 1900. Furuya Yasuo's edited book, *A History of Japanese Theology*, examines the development of theology in the same period that led to syncretism in some cases.⁹ In a period when evangelical Christians, Japanese and foreigners were prioritizing preaching, Toyohiko Kagawa, in *Japan and Christ*, emphasized the importance of Christian involvement in social work.¹⁰

⁶ Richard Henry Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971).

⁷ Yamaji Aizan, translated by Graham Squires, *Essays on Modern Japanese Church: Christians in Meiji Japan* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

⁸ See Chapter Three.

⁹ Yasuo Furuya, ed., *A History of Japanese Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

¹⁰ Toyohiko Kagawa, translated by William Axling, *Christ and Japan* (New York: Friendship Press, 1934).

Recently, some Western scholars have started to include the Japanese perspective in mission studies. Mark R. Mullins, Professor at Sophia University in Tokyo, in *Christianity Made in Japan*, traces in detail the Japanese Christians' quest to express the apostolic faith in ways they thought indigenous.¹¹ He also analyses to what extent they were able to maintain the teachings of the missionaries who had converted them. Another book, *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, edited by Mullins, is a collection of papers written by Japanese and non-Japanese writers.¹² Although the title suggests the book focuses on all strands of Christianity, more than three-quarters of the book is dedicated to Protestant Christian missions. It gives a very detailed account of the impact Protestant Christianity had on Japanese society and politics. His most recent edited work, *Critical Readings on Christianity in Japan*, is a four volume collection of papers by Japanese and foreign writers.¹³ The four volumes trace Christian mission in Japan from the sixteenth century until after the Second World War. The writers contribute on issues such as nationalism and 'conversion', the effects of Christianity in women's social status, the Japanese understanding of sin and salvation, developments in politics and its effect on Christianity in the inter-war period, Japanese Christian missionary activity in Japanese colonies, and missionary activity in Japan. However, here too, there is no mention of the Japan Evangelistic Band.

Although the study of Japanese Protestant history has aroused great interest among academics, unfortunately it has often been limited to a bird's eye view. Detailed accounts of mission activities have been limited to denominations and mission organizations recording their own histories. Hamish Ion, Professor of History at the Royal Military College of Canada, is the author of four books of missionary work in Japan. In *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi, and Japan, 1859-73*, he writes

¹¹ Mark Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

¹² Mark Mullins ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 127.

¹³ Mark Mullins, *Critical Readings on Christianity in Japan* (Lieden: Brill, 2015).

about the Western influence on Japanese culture through missionaries working mainly as educators in Japan.¹⁴ He contends that they were not just propagators of Christianity but also agents of their culture and concludes that their impact on Japan was not religious but secular. In the first volume of *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931*, Ion does a comparative study of Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian and Salvation Army missionary work in Japan, Korea and Taiwan.¹⁵ In the second volume, he focuses on British Protestant missionary work by the same organizations in Japan and the Japanese colonies from 1865-1945.¹⁶ However, JEB is not included even though it was a British mission organization. In his fourth book, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: the Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in Japanese Empire, 1931-1945*, although Ion focuses on missionary work at the height of nationalism in Japan, he also records Japanese Christians' response to the government's demands of Emperor and Shrine worship.¹⁷ Paul Tsuchido Shew limited his research to the history of Pentecostal movement in Japan.¹⁸ He traces the beginning of the Pentecostal movement to Mary Taylor who came to Japan as a JEB missionary in 1907 but does not study any Pentecostal links with the JEB. Another research work on Pentecostal mission by Suzuki Masakazu, lecturer at Assemblies of God Seminary in Tokyo, studies the contribution of foreign missionaries and Japanese Christians in establishing the Pentecostal church in Japan. However, he

¹⁴ Hamish Ion, *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi, and Japan, 1853-73* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009).

¹⁵ Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993).

¹⁶ Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan 1865-1945* Vol. 2 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993).

¹⁷ Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999).

¹⁸ Paul Tsuchido Shew, 'The History of the Early Pentecostal Movement in Japan: The Roots and Development of the Pre-War Pentecostal Movement in Japan (1907-1945)', Ph.D. Fuller Theological Seminary School of Theology, 2003.

does not examine the church's response to the socio-political challenges of the time.¹⁹ John Jennings Merwin, a missionary with the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS), limited his doctoral thesis to the OMS Holiness Church.²⁰ Merwin traces the beginning of the Mission in 1901 and ends in 1983 when he finished his research. The study effectively documents the Japanese contribution to the OMS church and controversies that led to a split in the church in 1936. However, it does not study the Holiness Church or the Mission's relationship with other mission organizations.

I have been unable to trace any detailed academic work on the Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB). Two works briefly mention the JEB. Ian Randall, in a book published in 1998 on Wesleyan Holiness and British Overseas Missions in the early twentieth century, briefly traces the JEB beginnings and ministry strategies along with the beginnings of the Oriental Missionary Society and the Heart of Africa Mission.²¹ The other work is an unpublished Fuller Theological Seminary M.Th. thesis. The author, Timothy Tetsuro Yajima, also studied the work of the JEB when examining the beginnings of the Holiness Movement in Japan.²² This work helps to give an overall image of the JEB and its struggles. However, I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of the work as the author has based his dissertation on his personal knowledge of the JEB and published material. The JEB archives were not consulted.

Hiroo Kudo wrote a chapter on Barclay Buxton and the Matsue Band ministry in the 2003 Japanese book, *Dai Gokai Nihon Dendokaigi Protestantō Senkyō 150 nen Projecto, Nihon Kaikoku to Protestantō Senkyō 150 nen*, (5th Japan Evangelical Conference: 150 years of Evangelism Project and 150 years of Protestant Mission Since

¹⁹ Masakazu Suzuki, 'The Origins and the Development of the Japan Assemblies of God: The Foreign and Japanese Workers and Their Ministries (1907 to 1975)', Ph.D. Bangor University, 2012.

²⁰ John Jennings Merwin, 'The Oriental Missionary Society Holiness Church in Japan 1901-1983', D.Miss dissertation Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983.

²¹ Ian Randall, *Entire Devotion to God: Wesleyan Holiness and British Overseas Mission in the Early Twentieth Century* (Ilkeston: Moorley's, 1998).

²² Timothy Tetsuro Yajima, 'Holiness Movement in Japan, 1900-1939', Th.M. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, School of World Missions, 1987.

the Opening of Japan), celebrating 150 years of Protestant Christianity in Japan.²³ The chapter is limited to Buxton's work with CMS in Matsue between 1890 to 1902. He suggests that the JEB was a continuation of the ministry by Buxton's team, the Matsue Band. In 'Holiness, Pentecostal, and Charismatic Movements in Modern Japan', in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, the Japanese writer, Ikegami Yoshimasa, briefly mentions Barclay Buxton and his team, the Matsue Band, and suggests further study is required on Holiness Missions in Japan.²⁴ This research fills that gap as it researches JEB, one of the major proponents of Holiness teachings in the country before 1940. The Japanese writers, Kojima Isuke and Yasushi Yuki, wrote about Paget Wilkes and Takeda Shunzo, the principal characters in the JEB story and their relationships.²⁵ Miyakoda Tsunetaro wrote about the lives and work of Buxton and his ministry partners in *Buxton to Sono Deshitachi* (Buxton and his Disciples). This research addresses two gaps in Japanese mission history in the English language. Firstly, it records the contribution of Japanese Christians in evangelizing their own nation in a period when following Christian faith was considered disloyalty to the Japanese Emperor. Secondly, this research records the contribution of a small mission organization, the JEB that emerged from the Holiness Movement in Great Britain.

The Keswick Convention

In 1875, Canon T. D. Hartford-Battersby (1822-1883) and his Quaker friend, Robert Wilson, started the Keswick Convention in the town of Keswick to promote practical Holiness among Christians of all denominations. The Convention became a

²³ Hiroo Kudo, 'Nihon Protestant to Matsue Band' [Japan Protestant and the Matsue Band] , in *Dai Gokai Nihon Dendokaigi Protestant to Senkyou 150 nen Projecto, Nohon Kaikoku to Protestant to Senkyou 150 nen*, [5th Japan Evangelical conference: 150 years of Evangelism Project and 150 years of Protestant Mission Since the Opening of Japan] (Tokyo: Inochi No Kotoba, 2003).

²⁴ Yoshimasa Ikegami, 'Holiness, Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in Modern Japan', in Mark Mullins ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²⁵ Isuke Kojima, *Moyuru no Toge* [Burning Thorn] (Tokyo: Inochi no Kotoba, 1975), 4-11; Yasushi, Yuki, *Moyuru no Toge*, 20-25.

place for all like-minded evangelicals to forget their denominational differences for a week and unite under the motto 'One body in Christ.' The Convention promoted sanctified living and the unity of all believers.²⁶ Keswick teachings had three major emphases. The first was the full surrender to Christ for cleansing and consecration, which meant giving up all known sin and complete surrender of will to Christ. This process was called 'sanctification'. The second was Holiness, gaining the experience of being 'filled with the Spirit of God' and receiving the 'Baptism of the Spirit'. Faith was essential for consecration and 'Baptism of the Spirit'. David Bebbington points out that the 'idea of faith was given a broader application'.²⁷ The Keswick Convention did not appeal for money. They applied the 'faith principle' to trust God to provide for all that was required to carry on His work. According to Fiedler, Keswick's third emphasis was on the 'power of service'. The result of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit produced a Spirit-filled life that was in communion with God, which was evident through a prayerful life and 'a deep longing to help others in things material and eternal'. A strong emphasis on the 'eternal' gradually led to a vision of helping others in 'things material'.²⁸ However, from the late nineteenth century onwards more emphasis was laid on 'eternal', 'saving souls' and sanctified living became more important than helping the poor with 'things material' and temporary. As the number of people attending the Keswick Convention grew, the Keswick teaching 'shaped the pattern of evangelical piety'.²⁹ Barclay Buxton, under the guidance of his vicar, H. W. Webb-Peploe, a speaker at the Convention, was greatly influenced by the Keswick teachings.

Late nineteenth century Holiness teachings attracted many evangelicals from different denominations to meet for prayer and to listen to teachings on sanctification.

²⁶ Charles Price and Ian Randall, *Transforming Keswick: The Keswick Convention Past, Present and Future* (Carlisle: OM Publishing, 2000), 61-82.

²⁷ David Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2000), 213.

²⁸ Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum, 1994), 215.

²⁹ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1988), 151.

The Convention also hosted missionaries from various denominations and motivated many people who attended the meetings to dedicate themselves to mission. The Convention also inspired the birth of mission organizations, such as the Japan Evangelistic Band, which based their mission practice on the Keswick teaching of the unity of all believers. Thus, they were inter-denominational, co-operated in missions, and accepted missionaries from all evangelical denominations. They applied the ‘faith principle’ for financial support and did not solicit funds. They were also propagators of Holiness teachings. This research addresses the overseas ministry of the JEB that was inspired by the Holiness teaching at Keswick and the vision to reach ‘the ends of the earth’ with the gospel.

Evangelism and church planting

At the 1938 International Missionary Conference in Tambaram, India, most representatives of older and younger churches described evangelism as the presentation of the gospel through words and life so that the listener is convinced to follow Jesus.³⁰ Years later, in 1974, the Lausanne Covenant defined evangelism as ‘the proclamation of the historical, biblical Christ as Saviour and Lord with a view to persuading people to come to him personally and so be reconciled to God’.³¹ Evangelicals around the world, through time, and in all their diversity, have essentially agreed on evangelism as the proclamation of the gospel. At the Tambaram Conference, Indian pastors reported being engaged in evangelism in their areas and suggested preaching, teaching, use of literature, personal witness, and the use of drama as a method of evangelism.³² Ten years earlier, the Jerusalem Missionary Conference stressed the importance of passing

³⁰ *International Missionary Council at Tambaram, Madras, Dec. 12th to 29th, 1938* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 48.

³¹ ‘Grand Rapids Report on Evangelism and Social Responsibility: An Evangelical Commitment’, cited in Al Tizon, *Transformation after Lausanne: Radical Evangelical Mission in Global-Local Perspective* (Oxford: Regnum, 2008), 21.

³² *International Missionary Council at Tambaram*, 86-87.

on the zeal of evangelism to local pastors.³³ In ‘The Future in the Past: Eschatological Vision in British and American Protestant Missionary History’, Brian Stanley notes that since the mid eighteenth century, and with the beginning of the modern evangelical missionary movement, missionary zeal has been fuelled by the belief that the sovereign purpose of God was to reconcile humanity to Himself through submission to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. The church, through missionaries, was believed to be the agent to fulfil God’s purpose to honour Christ to the ends of the earth. The goal of the missionary movement thus became ‘of religious replacement: Christianity was destined by the sovereign divine purpose to supplant all other religious systems’.³⁴ Missionaries accepted Matthew 28:19-20 and Acts 1: 8 as Jesus’ command and their responsibility to be witnesses for Christ ‘to the ends of the earth’.³⁵ Therefore, they audaciously attempted to bring the gospel to the whole world. At the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson, insisted on the urgency of making the gospel available to the whole world. He claimed that the church had the responsibility to take the opportunity to preach the gospel before the door was shut.³⁶ He also stated that the non-Christian nations were ready to be moulded into any religion or ideology.³⁷ The Archbishop’s comment on non-Christians being ready to be

³³ Brian Stanley, ‘Twentieth-Century World Christianity: A Perspective from the History of Missions’, in Donald L. Lewis ed., *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 74.

³⁴ Brian Stanley, ‘The Future in the Past: Eschatological Vision in British and American Protestant Missionary History’, *Tyndale Bulletin* 51.1 (2000), 101-120.

³⁵ ‘Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. An surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age.’ Matthew 28:19-20. ‘But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.’ Acts 1:8 (NIV).

³⁶ The archbishops perceived doors for evangelism were open because many missionary sending countries were also imperialists. Since the colonial powers were predominantly ‘Christian countries’, missionaries expected permission to carry missionary activities. The colonial governments usually permitted evangelism in colonies, however, missionary presence was often not welcomed by local authorities to avoid sectarian and communal unrest as Christianity was seen as the colonialist religion. Also, often missionaries chose to support the oppressed rather than the government. In some cases, such as in north-east India, the government blamed missionaries for influencing the locals and changing the culture of the land by introducing Christianity and Western culture.

³⁷ Stanley, ‘Twentieth-Century World Christianity’, 53.

moulded into any religion reflects paternalism and shows the evangelical belief in the supremacy of Christianity and the missionary obligation to convert the world.

In *The Bible and the Flag*, Stanley states that the diary of David Brainerd (1718-1747), Scottish missionary to the Native Americans, was an inspiration to many late eighteenth century missionaries, such as John Wesley (1703-1791) and William Carey (1761-1834). Carey's *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*, in 1792, became significant in the formation of evangelical mission organizations.³⁸ It also inspired many to dedicate themselves to foreign mission. Christians felt obliged to proclaim the gospel to the 'heathen'. In the nineteenth century, a premillennial belief in the imminent return of Christ attracted many evangelical Anglicans and Baptists in Britain. Strong premillennialist convictions of Christ's return before the millennium inspired evangelical missionaries with enthusiasm to preach the gospel to the nations and lay emphasis on conversion.³⁹ Such convictions gave birth to 'Faith Missions' from the mid nineteenth century. Mission organizations, such as the China Inland Mission (discussed later), laid emphasis on trusting God to provide finances and the urgency to reach all humanity with the gospel. Since they believed there was limited time available before Christ's return, they laid emphasis on making the gospel available to people and rescuing as many individual souls as possible. The belief that a just social order and a biblical vision of renewed creation could only be realized through Christ's millennial rule inspired them to invest their time and resources in proclaiming the gospel to the whole world. The 'Faith Missions' invested their resources on evangelism rather than establishing institutions for training and education for those in ministry. This research observes that since the JEB was a 'Faith Mission', the foreigners in the Mission too prioritized evangelism. They

³⁸ Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 55-56.

³⁹ Stanley, 'Future in the Past', 104-105.

preferred to preach the gospel in the unreached parts of Japan. Although the Japanese in the Mission too were from the Holiness tradition, they had different priorities. They persuaded the foreigners in the Mission to establish a Bible school and took initiatives to establish churches against the will of the Home Council in Britain. Eventually, the Japanese established an indigenous denomination independent of the JEB and missionary support.

The denominational societies, on the other hand, made church planting a priority, emphasizing discipleship and the training of pastors and evangelists. Faith missions and denominational missions saw missionaries as evangelists and not as settled pastors.⁴⁰ In the late nineteenth century, some mission boards started emphasizing equipping churches to be self-sufficient. The concept of an indigenous church is discussed later in this chapter.

The words ‘church planting’, suggests Timothy Park in ‘Church Planting’, emerged from the Apostle Paul’s metaphor ‘I planted the seed, Apollos watered it, but God made it grow’ (1 Cor. 3:6). ‘Establishing a church’, therefore, became ‘a corporate work between human beings and God’ a work ‘both divine and human’. Planting and watering the seed is human effort but the growth of the plant depends on the Holy Spirit.⁴¹ Missionary perceptions of non-Christians informed their mission methods and church planting. Brian Stanley, in his edited volume of 2001, suggests that most Western Christians in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had a stereotypical view of non-Western peoples: they were ‘uncivilized’, ‘heathen’ idol worshippers, and destined for hell. However, along with the rest of humanity, by God’s grace and by missionary effort, they could be redeemed as Christians, an essential step along the path

⁴⁰ George B. Winton, ‘Self-Support of Native Churches’, in *Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York 1900* Vol. 2 (New York: American Tract Society, 1900), 290.

⁴¹ Timothy Park, ‘Church Planting’, in Jonathan Bonk ed., *Encyclopaedia of Missions and Missionaries* (London: Routledge, 2007), 79-80.

to becoming ‘civilized’.⁴² However, this soon was coupled with imperialistic attitudes, pride in superior scientific knowledge, and a belief that the divine purpose for Christianity was to supplant all other religions, so instead of planting churches, missionaries transplanted Western churches and culture to Asia, Africa, and South America. By the mid nineteenth century as resentment towards colonizing powers grew, Christians in the non-Western world tried to indigenize the gospel. Sometimes, in an effort to make Christianity indigenous, syncretism developed. Furuya Yasuo, in *A History of Japanese Theology*, discusses late nineteenth century Japanese Christian efforts to indigenize Christianity under government pressure that led to syncretism as some Japanese Christians were willing to accept the Japanese Emperor as a deity.⁴³

Mission organizations, such as the Church Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions under the leadership of their secretaries, questioned the effectiveness of missionary methods, especially educational institutions as a means of evangelism and conversion. They also recognized the importance of indigenous leadership in the church and tried to change missionary roles from leadership to supportive ones. This research observes that in the JEB, missionaries never took leadership positions in JEB churches. The Japanese established the churches and held leadership positions.

Indigenization – the Three-Self church

In the mid nineteenth century, the thought of the indigenization of the emerging church started evolving in missionary minds. A church was perceived as indigenous when without foreign missionary support it could be self-governing, self-propagating

⁴² Brian Stanley, ‘Christianity and Civilization in English Evangelical Mission Thought 1792-1857’ in Brian Stanley ed., *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 169; Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 65.

⁴³ Yasuo Furuya, *A History of Japanese Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

and self-financing. Wilbert Shenk, in looking at ‘The Origins and Evolution of the Three-Selfs in Relation to China’, argues that the beginning of the concept of indigenous churches under indigenous leadership, although usually credited to Henry Venn (1796-1873), leading secretary of the Church Missionary Society (1841-1872), and Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), senior secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1832-1866), is unknown. By 1805, William Carey (1761-1834) and his missionary associates in India had translated the scriptures into vernacular languages and issued a statement declaring the gospel could only be spread throughout the Indian subcontinent by the agency of Indian preachers. In 1818, they established a training institute to raise Indian leaders. Shenk also sees similar cases in the American *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* in 1817. The American missionaries too believed that funds and teachers would arise from the emerging church.⁴⁴ Anthony Norris Groves (1797-1853), a missionary in India and an acquaintance of Carey, had a different opinion than his contemporaries. He believed that Indian Christians could evangelize their country better than the foreigners, therefore, he advocated no institutional structures or support. Groves emphasized freedom for local Christians to organize themselves without missionary supervision because faith in Christ naturally inspired believers to develop their own ministries and abilities as described among the churches in the New Testament.⁴⁵

Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson independently of each other proposed that missionaries train the emerging church so that eventually it was independent of missionary leadership and financial support and became an agent for the propagation of the gospel. Warren Newberry, in ‘Contextualizing Indigenous Church Principles: an African Model’, explains that Anderson’s ‘main thesis was that missions existed for the

⁴⁴ Wilbert R. Shenk, ‘The Origins and Evolution of the Three-Selfs in Relation to China’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (Jan. 1990), 28-35.

⁴⁵ Robert Bernard Dann, ‘The Primitive Missiology of Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853): A Radical Influence on Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions’, Ph.D. University of Liverpool, 2006, 267.

spread of scriptural, self-propagating Christianity'. Concern for lost humanity, organizing the converts into churches, providing the churches with a competent national leadership and guiding them to independence from missionary support were the factors that enabled Anderson's thesis to be practised. Simultaneously, Venn had similar views and believed that independence gave the emerging church self-worth.⁴⁶ However, in his later years, observes Peter Williams, Venn became increasingly sceptical of the missionary ability or the will to trust the emerging church with leadership and, therefore, suggested establishing national churches with national leadership free of Europeans or missionaries.⁴⁷ In other words, he proposed a church divided by race. Rather than missionaries working under local national leadership, he proposed a separate church for foreigners.

John Nevius (1829-1893), an American Presbyterian missionary to China, observed missionary reluctance to relinquish leadership and that prolonged funding of the emerging church had made the churches dependent on foreign funds. He considered it paternalism and suggested the principles of self-reliance and independence in the emerging church should be implemented from the beginning.⁴⁸ Roland Allen (1868-1947), a missionary to China and Kenya, also advocated Nevius' plan. He questioned if the mission methods that were being practised were biblical and encouraged mission organizations and missionaries to examine their attitude towards indigenous leadership. In *The Place of "Faith" in Missionary Evangelism*, he questioned whether the reason for missionary leadership in medical and educational institutions and churches was because they did not trust in the power of the Holy Spirit to guide indigenous leaders.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Warren B. Newberry, 'Contextualizing Indigenous Church Principles: An African Model', *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 8:1 (2005), 95-115.

⁴⁷ C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Mission Strategy* (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

⁴⁸ John I. Nevius, *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches* (New York: Foreign Missions Library, 1899), 8.

⁴⁹ Roland Allen, *The Place of "Faith" in Missionary Evangelism* (London: World Dominion Press, 1930), 6-7.

In *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?*, Allen argues that conditions in the first century for preaching the gospel were no different from the present and he asks missionaries why, unlike Saint Paul, they are unable to establish churches and leave them to be governed by the nationals.⁵⁰ In *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*, Allen points out that missionary failure to hand over leadership to national churches was often due to a fear that this would result in a compromise of doctrinal and ethical standards.⁵¹

A modern and similar-minded assessment is by Esme Cleall, who argues that 'the missionary thinking was oriented around the concept of difference'. Since Westerners saw the 'natives' as 'heathens' and unlike themselves, they could not see them as equals.⁵² Such perceptions made it difficult for missionaries to see the nationals as peers even after their conversion. Since other cultures were 'heathen', Rufus Anderson proposed to separate ministerial candidates from their culture and place them under 'Christian' guidance for eight to twelve years⁵³ which of course meant instead of the missionary learning the local culture, the national leadership was forced to abandon their culture and adopt the missionary culture. Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), a missionary to China and founder of the China Inland Mission (CIM), however, rather than forcing Chinese Christians to adopt European culture, accepted Chinese culture. He wore Chinese clothes to identify with the people he served. He also encouraged all CIM missionaries to follow his example.

Even though the concept of the Three-Self church emerged in the early nineteenth century, a hundred years later, mission organizations had not been able to achieve their goal. Brian Stanley suggests two reasons why mission organizations had

⁵⁰ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids.: Eerdmans, 1962 [1912]).

⁵¹ Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (London: World Dominion Press, 1927).

⁵² Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire 1840-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 3.

⁵³ Shenk, 'The Origins and Evolution of the Three-Selfs in Relation to China', 28-35.

abandoned Henry Venn's and Rufus Anderson's practice of making indigenous churches independent. Firstly, the influence of Victorian racism had given missionaries a sense of cultural and moral superiority. Secondly, the 'institutional dynamics of missionary societies that had become large, sophisticated and partly self-absorbed institutions' rendering them unable to adapt to the changing socio-political situation in the mission field or to consider the locals capable of leadership.⁵⁴ Peter Williams, discussing the same problem, writes that the Church Missionary Society (CMS) 'was a mini empire and in truth no more disposed to grant real independence to its satellites than the Colonial Office'.⁵⁵ Mission organizations became so accustomed to mission practice in a certain way that giving up authority to indigenous leadership was not considered an option. By the mid nineteenth century, Christians in the emerging churches had started taking the initiative in evangelism and church leadership. In Japan, as discussed in the next chapter, young converts took the initiative to evangelize the country. By the early twentieth century, some churches, such as the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS),⁵⁶ Holiness Church, the Methodist Church and the Free Methodist Church had indigenous leadership. As nationalism rose in the country, so did Japanese Christians' desire to be free of foreign leadership and foreign influence on church worship. The 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference discussed the leadership and financial dependence of the emerging church and emphasized the importance of teaching the younger church to be independent. Bishop Yoichi (1848-1912), from the Methodist Church in Japan, requested those attending to recognize the cultures of the emerging churches. The Conference acknowledged that since the churches had been transplanted from Western countries, national cultures of the emerging church were not

⁵⁴ Stanley, 'Christianity and Civilization in English Evangelical Mission Thought', 72.

⁵⁵ Williams, *The Ideal of Self-Governing Church*, 262.

⁵⁶ The OMS was established by Charles Elmer Cowman (1868-1960) and his wife Lettie Burd (1870-1960). In 1901, the Cowmans moved to Tokyo to serve as missionaries and established the Oriental Missionary Society in partnership with a Japanese evangelist Nakada Juji.

encouraged to grow. Missionaries recognized the importance of giving national leaders space to form church organizations as distinct to their culture.⁵⁷

The desire for indigenous leadership, however, was limited to the emerging church. Although the propagation of the gospel was seen as an essential ministry of the church, the necessity of mission organizations was rarely questioned. Mission organizations were seen as auxiliary to the church and considered a missionary domain. Questions of national leadership in the mission organizations did not emerge. Venn, Anderson, Nevius and Allen advocated the institutional indigenization of churches. This research investigates the indigenous nature of the Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB), a mission organization. It studies whether the indigenous nature of the JEB was a result of an institutional effort or a Japanese initiative. Also studied is the attitude of the JEB leadership towards Japanese Christians in the Mission. Was their perception of the Japanese and the Japanese Christian, influenced by the late nineteenth century understanding of the non-Christian world?

Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission

Born in 1832, James Hudson Taylor was an unconventional missionary. He first went to China in 1854 to work with the Chinese Evangelization Society. He travelled in China extensively for seven years and realized the Christian presence in inland China was almost non-existent because missionaries preferred to stay in the treaty ports. Taylor established the China Inland Mission (CIM) in 1865 without financial support, trusting that God would provide the personnel and finances to reach inland China with the gospel. Informed by premillennial ideas, Taylor prioritized evangelism and placed missionaries in remote parts of China where the gospel had not reached. Taylor was ahead of his time, Valerie Griffiths notes, his unconventional methods brought him

⁵⁷ Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference 1910* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 115.

criticism from missionaries and the British officials in China.⁵⁸ Instead of persuading the Chinese to adopt European culture, as was the norm in missions at that time, Taylor adopted the Chinese way of life. He encouraged all missionaries to dress like the Chinese to identify with the people they ministered.⁵⁹ Taylor made the CIM inclusive and accepted missionaries from all Protestant denominations, the elite and the working class, and also single female missionaries. Although not often recognized, many Chinese evangelists worked with the CIM missionaries. Alwyn Austin recognizes the contribution of Chinese evangelists who pastored churches established by the CIM ministry.⁶⁰ Taylor also pioneered a new method of administration of mission organizations. His experience with the Chinese Evangelization Society had taught him that decisions made in the UK about ministry in the mission field without knowledge of local conditions did not benefit the Society or its work. Therefore, Taylor laid emphasis on leading the Mission from within China. As decisions for ministry were always taken in the Mission offices in England, the CIM board in England and some CIM missionaries struggled to adapt to Taylor's methods of administration. Joseph and Michele Cumming discuss Taylor's efforts to be culturally sensitive to the Chinese and the difficulties in making the supporters in England and some missionaries understand the importance of leading the CIM from China.⁶¹

Hudson Taylor's boldness in establishing a mission organization based on faith inspired others to establish 'faith mission' organizations that were interdenominational. They accepted missionaries from all evangelical churches and partnered with evangelical churches in the mission field. The nineteenth century Holiness Movement

⁵⁸ Valerie Griffiths, *Not Less Than Everything* (Oxford: Monarch Books with Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 2004), 77.

⁵⁹ Broomhall, Marshal, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (London: CIM, 1915).

⁶⁰ Alwyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).

⁶¹ Joseph and Michele Cumming, 'Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission', *International Journal of Frontier Missions* Vol. 18, No. 4 (Winter 2001).

further encouraged the growth of mission organizations formed on ‘faith-principles’. For example, R. G. Tiedemann records 13 mission organizations working as associates of the CIM in China in the early twentieth century, making their group ‘the largest Protestant missionary organization in the country, with foreign evangelists present in nearly every province and territory of the Manchu Qing Empire.’⁶² This research observes that the JEB too was inspired by the CIM. Similar to the CIM, the JEB was established to evangelize rural areas in Japan. However, unlike the CIM, the JEB was established to evangelize Japan in partnership with indigenous Christians. The Japanese in the JEB were given a majority in the Field Council in Japan. Such a position gave them authority to influence Mission policies.

Evangelism and social work

The eighteenth century spiritual awakening in Britain led to changes in the Christian understanding of faith and interaction with society. The transdenominational movement of evangelicalism, provided the moral context and spiritual motivation for social reform. David Bebbington’s definition of evangelicalism referred to as the ‘Bebbington Quadrilateral’ recognizes the four distinct qualities of evangelicalism: conversionism, the belief that lives need to be changed; activism, the expression of the gospel through effort; Biblicism, a particular regard for the scriptures; and crucicentrism, a stress on the atoning work of Christ on the cross.⁶³ The evangelical quest to change the self and ‘fashioning spiritual communities in which changed selves could grow in grace’ influenced the eighteenth and nineteenth century cultural and

⁶² R.G. Tiedemann, ‘Comity Agreements and Sheep Stealers: The Elusive Search for Christian Unity among Protestants in China’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 30, No.1 (Jan. 2012), 201-211.

⁶³ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 2-3.

social values in Britain and North America.⁶⁴ Social action became a partner to evangelism as words and deeds, proclamation and demonstration went together in Jesus' ministry.⁶⁵ Such an understanding of the gospel led men and women of faith to become proactive demonstrators of faith by bringing social change. They became God's instruments to help improve the living conditions of people in poor circumstances. Evangelicals advocated the abolition of the slave trade and slavery, improved working and living conditions, the reform of prisons, the provision of orphanages, and campaigned for better wages. Observing the enormous impact of evangelicals on social change in Britain, John Wolffe argues that the evangelicals were most successful when they joined politics and combined forces with non-evangelicals such as in the case of William Wilberforce.⁶⁶

Evangelicals manifested the same vision for social justice in overseas missions. Thomas Fowell Buxton, Member of Parliament from 1818 to 1937, theorized Christianity and commerce operating together would destroy the slave trade and 'civilize' Africa.⁶⁷ Through linking the Bible and plough, the social and religious transformation, missionaries provided Africans, Asians and South American countries with medical care, education, and trained leaders in church and society.⁶⁸ Andrew Porter points out three strands that have shaped British Protestant missionary enterprise: First, the 'high church', which he believes, 'associated Christianity with a vision of community, rooted in the family and institutionalized church'. It respected the indigenous customs and, therefore, was selective in what it brought from the West; second, premillennial theology laid 'emphasis on the individual experience of

⁶⁴ Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: the age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity-Press, 2004), 249.

⁶⁵ John Stott, *Evangelical Truth: A Personal Plea for Unity* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1999), 125-126.

⁶⁶ John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers, and Finney* (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 2006).

⁶⁷ Thomas Fowell Buxton, *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy* (London: J. Murry, 1840).

⁶⁸ J.B. Webster, 'The Bible and the Plough', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* Vol. 2, No.4 (December 1963), 418-434.

conversion and saving grace'; third "settled modernization" was based on an expectation in line with postmillennial theology, of the progressive diffusion of Christianity as part of the steadily growing encounter of extra-European societies with the West.'⁶⁹ Since this research focuses on the work of the Japan Evangelistic Band that adhered to premillennial theology and was inspired by the Keswick Convention, I will only discuss the changes in the Holiness strand of evangelicals in Britain, Porter's second strand of overseas mission.

In *Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in Victorian Era*, Kathleen Heasman, documenting evangelical contribution in transforming British society, observes that all evangelicals 'agreed upon salvation by faith and the infallibility and overriding importance of scripture'.⁷⁰ However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, another change in the evangelical understanding of the importance of evangelism and social gospel divided the evangelicals into two groups. Ian Randall in 'The Social Gospel: A Case Study', traces the origins of division among British evangelicals. One group advocated social gospel and another emphasized the salvation of the 'soul'.⁷¹ Evangelicals laid stress on philanthropy as a by-product of individual salvation, however, from 1890 onwards, the Congregationalist minister, R. W. Dale, and the Baptist minister, George Dawson, advocated a 'civic' or 'municipal' gospel that benefited society. Several evangelicals, who doubted individualistic voluntary philanthropy could bring massive social reform, joined them and called on the state to solve social problems such as housing. Churches got involved in social reform. Baptist minister, F. B. Meyer (1847-1919), combined evangelism with social programmes such

⁶⁹ Andrew Porter, 'History, History of Christianity, Religious History: some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise since the Late Eighteenth Century', *Church History* Vol. 71, No. 3 (Sept. 2002), 555-584.

⁷⁰ Kathleen Heasman *Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era* (London: G. Bless, 1962), 13.

⁷¹ Ian M. Randall 'The Social Gospel: A Case Study', in John Wolffe ed., *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal* (London: SPCK, 1995), 155-174.

as the rehabilitation of ex-prisoners and alcoholics, and the closure of brothels. Simultaneously, another group of evangelicals moved towards 'deeper life' spirituality. About 1500 people met in Oxford in 1874 and 8000 the following year at Brighton to form a new inter-denomination Holiness Movement that later took the form of the Keswick Convention. Division among the evangelicals occurred as Keswick propagated Wesleyan Holiness but ignored its social application. Some strongly believed the gospel was for society while others emphasized a personal relationship with God. The chasm between the two deepened when liberal Christians questioned the confrontational attitude of Christians towards other religions. Some liberals no longer regarded Christianity as the sole expression of religious truth and questioned the 'appropriateness of calling adherents of other religions to conversion to Christianity'. When advocates of the social gospel identified with liberal theological ideas, evangelicals lost confidence in social reform and its ability to make an impact on the lost world.⁷² In *Living Shadows of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism*, Timothy Weber suggests that the premillennial eschatological view that the present age belonged to Satan and the perfect kingdom would come on Christ's return made millennialists complacent towards social engagement.⁷³ Yet, early nineteenth century premillennialists, such as the social reformer Lord Shaftesbury (1801-1885) and his eschatological views, convinced them to actively participate in social reform.⁷⁴ However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, evangelical eschatology brought a shift in evangelical thinking. Preachers such as D. L. Moody (1837-1899) with his emphasis on the salvation of the soul over physical well-being, and on reaching every nation with the gospel to hasten the end,

⁷² Stanley, 'Future in the Past', 112.

⁷³ Timothy Weber, *Living Shadows of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

⁷⁴ Melvin Tinker, *Reversal or Betrayal? Evangelicals and Socio-political Involvement* (Stoke-on-Trent: The Evangelical Library Lecture, 1999), 19

influenced many, especially missionaries in 'Faith Missions'.⁷⁵ However, Brian Stanley notes there was no aversion to medical missions as it was seen as a means of winning someone to Christ.⁷⁶ The First World War added to the evangelical disengagement with social reform as they struggled to understand the brutal military violence that brought such destruction to human lives. Many people moved away from the church between the two World Wars resulting in a loss of finance. A lack of resources further restricted churches from engaging in social work. Gradually, as revivalism and evangelicalism adopted premillennialist ideas, the emphasis shifted from social engagement to verbal evangelism. Michael Goheen, in 'Mission in Evangelical Ecumenical Traditions', points out that the premillennialist stress on the future consummation of the Kingdom, coupled with a pessimistic view of the world and an understanding of sin and salvation as personal, affected the church's practice and understanding of mission.⁷⁷ Missionaries carried a similar attitude into the mission field. While the denominational church still continued to run the educational and medical institutions they had established in the nineteenth century, newer mission organizations, especially those that emerged from the British Holiness Movement, emphasized personal salvation and a relationship with God but were reluctant to participate in social reform. This research also addresses the JEB understanding and engagement with social work in Japan.

Prohibitions on the propagation and practice of Christianity in Japan in the mid-nineteenth century when Japan opened its doors to the world decided the nature of Protestant missions in the country. Later, in Chapter Three, I will discuss the

⁷⁵ Moody, an American evangelist born in Massachusetts, gave up his shoe business to devote his time to Christian ministry. From 1872 onwards, Moody made several trips to the UK and spoke at conventions. Ira D. Sankey (1840-1908) accompanied Moody on his missions and sang hymns. The pair travelled the UK and a significant number of people attended their conventions. In 1883, Moody spoke at the Cambridge University. In the eight-day mission, Moody challenged young men to re-dedicate their lives to Christ. Barclay Buxton, one of the founders of the JEB was one of the young men inspired to dedicate themselves to Christ and missions. See William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1900).

⁷⁶ Stanley, 'Future in the Past', 106.

⁷⁷ Michael Goheen in 'Mission in Evangelical Ecumenical Traditions' *Pro Rege* (Dec. 1992), 1-10.

missionaries who entered Japan as educators and social reformers. The first generation Japanese Christians, inspired by faith and missionaries, actively engaged in transforming the society. The 1873 removal of signboards prohibiting Christianity, and the 1890 Meiji constitution granting freedom to preach and practice any religion, and the lifting of restrictions on foreigners' movements in Japan brought a change in mission practice. Mission organizations were no longer limited to evangelizing through social work. The change in Japanese laws happened simultaneously as evangelicals of the Holiness stream in the West, inspired by Keswick, started considering 'saving souls' as a higher vocation than bringing social transformation. The Church Missionary Society accepted Barclay Buxton as a missionary to Japan. Buxton was a Keswick speaker. In Japan, he focused on rural evangelism and propagating Holiness teachings and came to be known as 'the father of the Sanctification movement in Japan'.⁷⁸ In this research I also examine the effects of the JEB's attitude towards social work on the ministry of female missionaries in the JEB.

Women in mission

The nineteenth century slowly brought a major change to women lives in the Western nations. Many women broke the cultural expectations to be submissive wives and daughters and demanded equality in jobs, politics, and the home. Politically inclined women demanded suffrage while women concerned with social reform involved themselves in social work and many Christian women made churches the centres of activity. The growth of evangelicalism gave women an opportunity to explore new avenues of ministry in the church. They collected clothes and sent them to the under-

⁷⁸ Yoshimasa Ikegami, 'Holiness, Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in Modern Japan', in Mark Mullins ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, 128.

privileged in poor countries, organized bazaars, and raised funds for foreign missions.⁷⁹ Lydia Huffman Hoyle notes that opportunities to invest in charitable causes did not ‘feed the fire of zeal’ for mission ‘that burned inside them’.⁸⁰ Not permitted to go for overseas mission in their own right, women accompanied their missionary husbands. Yet, they were not considered missionaries but as helpers to their husbands. Rufus Anderson, secretary of the American Board of commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), ‘viewed the role of women in mission as limited to modelling the Christian family’.⁸¹ He considered missionary wives’ presence in the mission field essential as they provided a home where their husbands could relax and the presence of a wife restrained the missionary from sexual immorality. Anderson recognized that women ‘endured “hardness” quite as well as their husbands and sometimes with more patience,’⁸² yet their primary duty was to take care of their husbands and children. Although not considered missionaries, the women ministered to women in African and Asian cultures where male missionaries could not freely communicate with women.

From the early nineteenth century, mission organizations started sending single female missionaries as they realized women free of domestic responsibilities could invest more time in ministry. Concerned about the safety of women in a foreign land, mission organizations sent women to places they did not consider dangerous. Until 1860 ABCFM appointed 80 percent of the single missionaries to North American Indian Mission.⁸³ Gradually mission organizations such as the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (1880), Baptist Missionary Society (1854), Society for the

⁷⁹ See David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1988).

⁸⁰ Lydia Huffman Hoyle, ‘Nineteenth-Century Single Women and Motivation for Mission’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vol. 20. No. 2 (April 1996), 58-64.

⁸¹ Eugene Heideman, ‘Women Missionaries in India: Opening Up the Restrictive Policies of Rufus Anderson’, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* Vo. 25, No. 4 (October 2001), 157-164.

⁸² Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the ABCFM* (Boston: ABCFM, 1861), 272.

⁸³ R. Pierce Beaver, *American Protestant Women in World Mission: History of the First Feminist Movement in North America* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), 71.

Propagation of the Gospel, Ladies Association for the Promotion of Female Education in India and other Heathen Countries (1866) sent single female missionaries to work among women. Gradually, women became a major workforce as they established educational institutions, medical ministries among women and took leadership in evangelism. Yet, the mission leadership stayed firmly in male hands. In her book about gender relations in the London Missionary Society and the China Inland Missions, the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, between 1865 and 1910, Rhonda Semple observed that even though female missionaries were able and intelligent and often out-performed their male counterparts, the leadership positions were always given to men.⁸⁴

Similar to most cultures, Japanese culture too considered the home as a women's place. The Tokugawa Shogunate held the Confucian worldview of women.⁸⁵ In the Meiji period, however, from the advice of David Murray (1830-1905), an American educator, the government announced equal opportunities for women. Christian educational institutions provided Japanese girls with education as well as changing Japanese attitudes towards women. In 1931, Soichi Saito, General Secretary of Tokyo YMCA, presented a study of the influence of Christianity upon Japanese culture at the Institute of Pacific Relations.⁸⁶ His paper acknowledged that contact with Christians had brought a change in Japanese attitudes towards women. Similarly, in 1957, Natori acknowledged Christian educational institutions for women contributed immensely to the change in the

⁸⁴ Rhona Anne Semple, *Missionary Women: Gendered Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003).

⁸⁵ Women in Japan were taught the Confucian idea of *sanju* (三従 three submissions/obedience) and *shitoku* (四徳 four virtues). A woman had to be submissive and obedient to her father before marriage, her husband after marriage and to her son if she was a widow. The first virtue for a woman was *futoku* (婦徳 morality) and she should be gentle, sincere and obedient. Second, *Fuyô* (婦 appearance), she should always wear clean clothes. Third *fugen* (婦言 speech) she should speak when spoken to and use polite language, and finally *fuko* (婦工 skilful), she should be good at sewing, spinning, cooking, playing musical instruments, tea ceremony, and flower arrangement etc.

⁸⁶ Soichi Saito, *A Study of the Influence of Christianity upon Japanese Culture: Prepared for the Fourth Bi-annual Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations to be held at Hang Chow from Oct. 21st -Nov. 4th, 1931* (Tokyo: Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931).

Japanese mind-set.⁸⁷ Iida suggested the changes in thinking made it much harder for graduates of Christian institutions to adapt to their contemporary culture as the society still held on to old morals and customs.⁸⁸ Contrary to Japanese culture, Christianity taught the equality of men and women. Even though such equality was not practised in Western church leadership, the Christian teaching encouraged Japanese Christian women to recognize self-worth and expect respect and equality from their husbands. Helen Ballhatchet, in her study, observes that the first generation Christian men treated their wives with the respect not often given to Japanese wives.⁸⁹

Similar to women in the West, Japanese Christian women became a major workforce in the church. Indigenous Christian women in ministry were called Bible women. Their knowledge of the local languages made their ministry essential for church growth as they were able to communicate better and visit homes that were off limits to foreigners. Thomas Winburn equates the Bible women to male evangelists. Similar to missionaries, they instructed at Sunday schools, prayer meetings, Bible studies and visited homes. Yet, since most Bible women accompanied female missionaries, they gained a reputation of being servants to missionaries.⁹⁰ A similar idea is affirmed by Ruth Tucker who believes the reason indigenous women's contribution to the propagation of the gospel and building the church was not recognized in the area of world evangelism was because Bible women's status was generally considered lowly.⁹¹ This research studies the influence of the female missionaries and the Bible women in

⁸⁷ Junichi Natori, *Historical Stories of Christianity in Japan* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1957), 191-3.

⁸⁸ Helen S. E. Parker, 'Women, Christianity and Internationalism in Early Twentieth Century Japan: Tsuda Ume, Caroline McDonald and Founding of Young Women's Christian Association in Japan' in Hiroko Tomita and Gordon Daniels, eds., *Japanese Women: Emerging from Subsistence, 1868-1945* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2005), 184.

⁸⁹ Helen Ballhatchet, 'Christianity and Gender Relationships in Japan: Case Studies of Marriage and Divorce in Early Meiji Protestant Circles', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* Vol. 34, No. 1 (2007), 177-201.

⁹⁰ Winburn T. Thomas, *Protestant Beginnings in Japan*, 107.

⁹¹ Ruth A. Tucker, 'The Role of Bible Women in World Evangelism', *Missiology; An International Review* Vol. 13, No. 2 (April 1985), 133-146.

changing the JEB Mission policies and their contribution to establishing an indigenous church.

Attitudes and perceptions that affected social interaction between British and Japanese Christians

Several issues affect communication between two cultures even when they hold similar theological beliefs. Missionaries struggled to let go of their presuppositions about non-Christians and political, religious and social experiences of peoples of the receiving cultures affected their perceptions of missionaries. In *The Bible and Flag*, Brian Stanley writes of four missionary assumptions which informed their interactions with the people they sought to reach. Firstly, the missionaries believed Satan ruled the culture they were penetrating, therefore, all aspects of these ‘heathen’ societies were evil. The depravity in these societies was evident in their religious practices such as idolatry and public morals. The missionary task was to ‘civilize’ these societies by replacing their evil culture with civilized British culture. This belief was based on the second assumption of the superiority of British culture because of Christianity. Often, missionary magazines described and illustrated Britain as primitive and barbarian before Christianity and the Protestant Reformation. Faith in Christ had made Britain great and, therefore, Britain was the archetype of the Christian nation, and God’s design was to create more Christian nations on the same pattern. Thirdly, even though the Enlightenment had reaffirmed the Biblical view that ‘all people share equally in the depravity of original sin’, missionaries believed centuries of adherence to Christian faith had enabled Britain to restrict our sinful nature. In the ‘heathen’ countries, Satan was given a free reign. Fourthly, missionaries believed that ‘civilizing’ the ‘heathen’ was possible. If God could transform Britain, He could also ‘civilize’ ‘heathen’ nations. Missionary success in Sierra Leone was the proof that Africans could learn British

culture and be educated in the English system. The first African bishop, Samuel Crowther (1801-1891), was seen as a success of British missionary achievement.⁹² Politics and industrialization was another reason for missionaries to consider the West superior to other cultures. Since missionary-sending countries had enhanced scientific knowledge and were colonizers, missionaries developed a paternalistic attitude towards the ‘heathen’ nations. Evangelical missionaries were not exempt from these assumptions. However, interaction with some sophisticated Asian cultures forced them to abandon their preconceived ideas. Writings of nineteenth century liberals and socialists, such as F. D. Maurice’s *The Religions of the World in their Relation to Christianity*, objecting to the Western perception of other religions as evil and other cultures as lower, challenged missionaries to search for the good in different cultures. Missionaries that were exposed to sophisticated Asian countries abandoned the vocabulary such as ‘heathen’ and ‘idolaters’ before their counterparts in Africa. The rise in ‘faith missions’ further helped change missionary perceptions as missionaries, such as Hudson Taylor and Barclay Buxton, who chose to dress like the locals.

Missionaries who entered Japan from the mid nineteenth century observed the process whereby sophisticated Japanese culture selectively accepted aspects of Western culture and then steadily transformed itself into a modern powerful state but without accepting Christianity. However, for some missionaries, the superiority of their own culture was difficult to abandon. Even though evangelical missionaries believed faith in Christ made everyone equal, their perception of ‘non-Christian nations’ remained the same. After Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese war of 1895, the American Presbyterian missionary, B. C. Howarth, in a letter to his mission board, wrote that Japanese military success did not hide the fact that Japan needed a revival because there was ‘deep-seated heathenism and moral rottenness of the people, from the throne

⁹² Stanley, *The Bible and Flag*, 157-162.

down'.⁹³ British perceptions of the Japanese seem a little different. In 1890, the CMS missionary, H. Maundrell, wrote that 'the missionary and his children in Japan associate with natives of higher rank and of greater delicacy of character than is possible as yet in India & China'.⁹⁴ Maundrell's statement speaks volumes about the difference in the nature of missions in Japan, India, and China. In Japan, missionaries had been able to penetrate the middle and upper classes but not the lower, whereas in China and India, missionaries mainly worked among the lower classes and struggled to connect with the upper classes. Missionary associations with the upper classes in Japan created the first generation of Japanese Christian leaders who had certain expectations from missionaries. The Japanese Methodist bishop, Honda Yoichi, in 1910, writing in *The Christian Movement in Japan: Eighth Annual Issue*, requested missionaries to mingle with all levels of society stating 'now that you have come to Japan, make it your greatest aim to cultivate the acquaintance of the Japanese.'⁹⁵ Honda's boldness to inform the missionaries of Japanese expectations signifies a change in missionary attitudes towards the Japanese in the twentieth century. Jon Thares Davidann, in 'The American YMCA in Meiji Japan,' points out that as early as 1890, thirty years after missionaries re-entered the country, Japanese Christian leaders were discussing whether or not it was time for the Japanese to take leadership in the church and for missionaries to leave.⁹⁶ As Japanese Christians took leadership roles in the church, a group also represented the Japanese church at 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference. The rise of Japanese nationalism and increasing government restrictions on foreigners in the 1930s

⁹³ Presbyterian Missions/ Roll 113/170, B.C. Haworth to Gillespie, 28 March 1895. Housed at Kwansai Gakuin University, Japan.

⁹⁴ CMS G1JO Reel 23/263 H. Maundrell to Fenn, 30 Dec. 1890. Housed at St. Andrew's University, Osaka, Japan.

⁹⁵ D. C. Green ed., *The Christian Movement in Japan: Eighth Annual Issue* (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1910), 81.

⁹⁶ Jon Thares Davidann, 'The American YMCA in Meiji Japan: God's Work Gone Awry', *Journal of World History* Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 1995), 107-125.

finally forced missionaries to hand over church leadership to the Japanese and to withdraw from the country before Japan entered the Second World War.

Japanese Christians' communications with missionaries were highly influenced by their own self-perceptions, the history of interaction with foreigners, and contemporary politics. Japanese pride at never having been colonized and their faith in the Emperor as their god (discussed in chapters three and seven) gave them a belief that they were different from the rest of the world. The Japanese race was unique, had no known similarities with any race, and had developed in isolation. This claim, so it was argued, was evident in Japanese culture, language, and physiology.⁹⁷ Although Japanese Christians had abandoned belief in the divinity of Emperor, respect for the Emperor often led to syncretism, which is discussed in Chapter Three. In ““Conic” Christianity and “Donut” Japan’,⁹⁸ Neil Fujita looks at how ‘Japanism’ or being a Japanese, hindered the Japanese from accepting the Christian faith. Robert Lee in *The Clash of Civilization: An Intrusive Gospel in Japanese Civilization*, claims that missionaries did not understand Japan as they communicated an individualistic gospel in a collective culture.⁹⁹ The missionary message of salvation of the individual soul to attain the Kingdom of God could not relate to Japanese group culture that ridiculed those different from their peers.

Cultural differences, in ways of communication affecting relationships between Japanese and missionaries, have also been studied. Fukui Nakai concludes that most

⁹⁷ Tsunoda Tadanobu, translated by Yoshinori Oiwa, *The Japanese Brain: Uniqueness and Universality* (Tokyo: Taishukan, 1985). Studies on *Nihonjinron* (uniqueness of Japanese) gained popularity after the end of the Second World War as the country searched for their identity after the Emperor declared he was a mortal. Scholars critical of *Nihonjinron* such as Befu, Yoshino and Dale see *sakoku* (national isolation) as the beginning of a socially homogeneous Japanese identity and the belief in Japanese culture as unique. See Harumi Befu, *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001); Kosaku Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry* (London: Routledge, 1992); Peter N. Dale, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (Oxford: Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies, 1986).

⁹⁸ Neil Fujita, ““Conic” Christianity and “Donut” Japan’, *Missiology: An International Review* Vol. 22, No. 1 (January 1994), 43-53.

⁹⁹ Robert Lee, *The Clash of Civilizations: An Intrusive Gospel in Japanese Civilization* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 1999).

Japanese communication is non-verbal. Silence and polite gestures are often used to communicate displeasure, whereas the Americans mostly communicate verbally.¹⁰⁰ Confucian influence is usually considered the major factor in Asian conflict resolution styles of obliging and avoiding. J. Onishi and R. E. Bliss, after comparing conflict resolution styles in Japan, Hong Kong, Thailand and Vietnam, concluded that the colonial past, social hierarchy and Asian views of masculinity are equally major contributors in Asian communication.¹⁰¹ Since Japan was never colonized and rapid modernization was pursued by the state in order for the country to be considered a major player in international politics, the Japanese expected equality with the Western powers. Christian leaders communicated with the Western missionaries as equals and thus expected to be treated as equals.

In this study, as I research the extent of Japanese initiatives in indigenization of the Japan Evangelistic Band, these issues in communication between the British missionaries and Japanese leaders are at play in the background.

Conclusion

The literature review reveals that research is required to study the overseas ministry of mission organizations that emerged from the British Holiness tradition. Japanese mission history in the English language has failed to recognize the contributions of Japanese male and female evangelists. Premillennial convictions influenced the evangelical belief of urgency to reach every human and nation with the gospel. It inspired overseas missions and motivated them, particularly those from 'Faith Mission' to prioritize evangelism over church organization and social work. The

¹⁰⁰ Nakai Fukui, 'The Role of Cultural Influences in Japanese Communication: A Literature Review on Social and Situational Factors and Japanese Indirectness', *Intercultural Communication Studies, Intercultural Communication Institute, Kanda University of International Studies* Vol. 14 (2002), 99-122.

¹⁰¹ J. Onishi and R. E. Bliss, 'In Research of Asian Ways of Management Conflict: A Comparative Study of Japan, Hong Kong, Thailand and Vietnam', *International Journal of Conflict Management* Vol. 17 (3), 203-225.

evangelical missionary understanding of the self and perceptions of the cultures and people they evangelized, local and international politics, and differences between indigenous and missionary cultures all affected the communication of the gospel.

This research fills the gap in the literature by investigating the overseas ministry of the Japan Evangelistic Band, a mission organization that emerged out of the British Holiness tradition. It contributes to studies of the indigenization of church and mission organizations. It also fills the gap on studies of indigenous initiatives in indigenization. By focusing on the ministry of male and female Japanese evangelists, this research recognizes the labour of indigenous Christians in evangelizing their own country.

The next chapter discusses the social, political and ecclesiastical history of Japan from 1868 to 1940 to help understand the Japanese society in the period preceding and the period studied in this research. Also examined are the lives of the JEB founders, Barclay Buxton and Paget Wilkes, and the overview of the JEB ministry from 1903 to 1940.

Chapter Three

Political, Social and Ecclesiastical History of Japan, 1868-1940, and the Ministry of the Japan Evangelistic Band

Introduction

This chapter looks at the historical background of Christianity in Japan and is divided into two parts. The first part summarizes the political, social and ecclesiastical situation of Japan from 1868, when Japan entered a new political system, to 1940, when the Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB) missionaries left Japan. The socio-political history of Japan will help the reader to understand the complicated situation of the country just before the JEB started work and during the JEB ministry in Japan. The government's attitude towards Christianity that was often informed by historical prejudice towards the faith and interaction with the Western governments, affected foreign mission work and constantly pressurized Japanese Christians to prove their loyalty to the government. The second part of this chapter describes the circumstances that led to the formation of the JEB, the lives of the founders and the ministry of the JEB.

Social, political and ecclesiastical history of Japan, 1868-1940

The new socio-political order 1868-1889

January 3rd 1868 marked a significant day in Japanese history. Japan entered a new era of modern politics as the *samurai*, mainly from the Southern domains (provinces) of Satsuma and Choshu, who were in favour of direct imperial rule, seized political power in the name of the Emperor. A new generation of political leaders

emerged who ushered Japan into a new era of modern political, economic and social reform. For almost three centuries, Tokugawa (1603-1867) *shoguns* (将軍 military dictator) had ruled the nation with an iron rod forbidding any Japanese to go abroad or foreigners to enter the country. However, in 1854, Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858) of the US navy successfully persuaded Tokugawa Iesada (1824-1858) to open eight ports to trade with foreigners.¹ This paved the way for the British, French and other Western nations to sign trade treaties with Japan. Between 1854 and 1867, the unsuspecting *shoguns*, who had very little experience of negotiating with Western nations, signed unequal treaties that levied a fixed tariff of five percent on all exports and much higher on imports. The extra-territoriality clause in the treaties gave them control of their own consuls and citizens within Japan and prevented the Japanese from imposing Japanese laws on foreigners, or prosecuting them in Japanese courts. Angered by the *shogun's* inability to stand up to foreigners, in January 1868, dissatisfied *samurai*, who supported direct imperial rule, declared the 15-year-old Emperor Meiji (Mutsuhito, 1853-1912)² as the head of the nation.³ Since the ancient Japanese Shinto religion claimed the Japanese Emperors to be descendants of the sun goddess, Amaterasu Omikami,⁴ Emperors were considered too sacred to be involved in the politics of

¹ Hakodate and Shimoda (1854), Kanagawa and Nagasaki (1859), Niigata (1860), Yokohama (1862), Kobe and Osaka (1863).

² Reigning Japanese emperors (*tenno* 天皇) are referred to as *Kinjouheika* (今上陛下 his majesty). They are named posthumously by the imperial court after the name of their era.

³ His father Emperor Komei (1831-1867) who had supported the *samurai* effort to restore imperial rule died of smallpox in 1867.

⁴ *Kojiki* (古事記 Japanese chronicles) state that the Japanese Emperor is a descendent of the sun goddess Amaterasu Omikami, and is a living god. Japanese Buddhism accepts him as an incarnation of *Amida* (Buddha). Japanese imperial successors are claimed to be an unbroken line of successive sons since the first Emperor Jimmu founded the imperial dynasty, however, some scholars doubt the claim even though the Emperor had several concubines to ensure that the royal lineage continued. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney states that the early Emperors were humans with the ability to communicate with deities. Their political power rested on their ability to ensure good crops through supernatural powers. As the Emperor became a guardian of rice, he gradually came to be considered a deity. From the fourteenth century onwards, the Emperor stopped ruling the nation directly. By the sixteenth century, the *shogun* held all political powers, as the Emperor was considered too sacred to get involved in the running of the state. From the mid-seventeenth century, the Emperor was considered so sacred that he was not permitted to leave his palace, eat noodles, (as he was the god of rice) or to receive medical treatment as no ordinary person could touch him. Since contact with people could desecrate the Emperor and the land, many Japanese believed

running the country. After almost five centuries of *shogun* rule, the advocates of imperial rule by claiming to return political power to the Emperor became his advisors. Within 24 hours of taking power, the young Emperor proclaimed a new order and formed a new government.⁵ The Meiji government (1868-1912), faced with the enormous task of bringing political, economic and social reform, took the oath to eradicate social class differences, unify the nation and create deliberative assemblies, and seek knowledge.⁶ Their first major task was to disarm the *samurai* to prevent those loyal to the *shogun* from leading a revolt. The government annexed 250 independent domains and created a modern army under central government control thus making the *samurai* redundant. By 1876, the Tokugawa caste system was abolished and *samurai* were given an interest-bearing bond which replaced their state stipend.

Since the sixteenth century, successive *shoguns* sought to secure the territorial integrity of Japan. *Sakoku* (鎖国 national isolation) prevented foreigners laying claims to Japanese land. Instead of following the Tokugawa policy of national isolation to secure national borders, the Meiji leaders chose to follow the Western model, especially British imperialism. A year after the Meiji restoration, Japan staked a claim on Ezo Island in the North and renamed it Hokkaido. The government offered Japanese citizens incentives to inhabit the vast empty lands of Hokkaido and gradually assimilated the indigenous Ainu culture into Japanese culture. The move consolidated the country's northern borders and prevented the Russian military's attempts to stake a

foreigners had desecrated the land by setting foot on Japanese soil and were angered that the *shogun* had permitted them to meet the Emperor. See William Elliot Griffis, *The Mikado: Institution and Person: A Study of the Internal Political Force of Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1915); Akira Imatani, 'The Strange Survival and its Modern Significance', in Ben-Ami Shillony, ed., *Japanese Monarchy Past and Present* (London: Sticerd, 2006); Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms Nationalism: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Donald Keen, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 134.

⁵ Griffis, *The Mikado: Institution and Person*., 124-5.

⁶ The Tokugawas divided the society according to Confucian social order as *samurai*, peasants, artisans, and outcasts. James F. Huffman, *Japan and Imperialism, 1853-1945* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2010), 12.

claim on the island. In the South, Japan asserted their claim over the Ryukyu Islands in 1872. In 1879, the annexation became official when the Ryukyu King, Sho Tai (1843-1901), was ordered to abdicate, escorted to Tokyo, and never permitted to return home. The Ryukyu Islands became the Okinawa prefecture.

Although the new government came into power opposing the presence of foreigners in the country with slogans such as *Sonnō jōi* (尊王攘夷 revere the Emperor, expel the barbarian), they sent students to the USA and Europe to acquire knowledge so they could contribute to making Japan a modern nation. Meanwhile, the government also employed a large number of foreigners to train and teach in Japan.⁷ They modelled the Japanese Imperial Navy on the British Royal Navy and employed British engineers to build lighthouses, harbours, railways and telegraph lines. The French assisted to develop the Japanese Imperial Army. The Americans helped reform the educational system. Japan took advantage of the West's eagerness to invest in the country and used foreigners to build new infrastructures and to develop the economy.⁸ These changes in Japanese attitudes towards foreigners did not necessarily indicate their acceptance. Almost three centuries of seclusion had fostered xenophobia in the nation and unequal commercial treaties with the West and their forceful imposition helped to confirm the 'barbarian' image of the foreigners. Yet, at the same time, Japanese leaders were in awe of Western science and aspired to build Japan to the same level and be treated equally. While modernizing the nation with the help of foreigners, the Japanese did not lose sight of their vision to be the dominant power in the East. They continuously made diplomatic efforts to amend the commercial treaties and demanded equality from the West.

⁷ Irwin Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 16

⁸ See H.J. Jones, *Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).

The modernization of Japan brought dramatic changes to society. Brick buildings, mailboxes, telegraph poles, and restaurants offering meat and beer became a common sight. Many men and women wore Western clothes. The *samurai* were forced to change their hairstyles and give up their arms. People gained the freedom to pursue the profession of their choice. Laws making primary education mandatory for children and government investment in secondary and higher education inspired many, especially the *samurai*, to choose new professions. They enrolled at educational institutions with the dream of using their education to build their nation. Unfortunately, for many, modernization equalled Westernization. In their enthusiasm to make Japan equal to the West in power and technology, some young people tried to disassociate themselves from their feudal past. Some learned young men of the new generation felt the older generation was a troublesome burden to the nation in a progressive age.⁹ Educated by Western teachers and in their enthusiasm to modernize the nation, they moved away from Japanese traditional culture. They felt they did not belong to the feudal past and yet they were Japanese, different from the Western nations. The destruction of the restrictive Tokugawa social system, based on aristocratic culture, removed many social restraints. The sudden freedom to choose one's own destiny by choosing one's own career and the opportunity to participate in the government's efforts to establish a modern state created a conflict of identity in the younger generation. Concerned with losing Japanese culture, the older generation searched for ways to return the youth to Confucian values that kept the society in harmony. The Meiji politicians believed individualism and independence of thought introduced by contact with the West were destroying Japan as a homogenous nation and a collective culture.

The Meiji government came to power objecting to the presence of foreigners yet in order to modernize the nation they permitted more foreigners into the country. The

⁹ Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 7-10.

rapid Westernization of Japan and increasing Christian missionary presence worried the government. Although restricted to the concessions, by 1872, while Christianity was prohibited, missionaries had managed to baptize 10 Japanese, establish a Japanese church and institutions for educational and social reform, and begun a translation of the Bible. Most elites and government officials had studies with the missionaries. Interest in the Christian faith and institutions increased after 1873 when under international pressure the government removed signboards prohibiting Christianity and stopped prosecuting Christians.¹⁰ By the end of the 1870s, the Meiji leadership realized they needed to curb Western and religious influence on people, particularly of Christianity, if they wanted to preserve Japanese culture. Traditionally, Japan was a homogeneous culture, however, contact with the West increasingly created an independent spirit among many Japanese. Christians with their transplanted churches were perceived as agents of Western influence and considered a threat to the unity of the country as they placed their first allegiance to Christ rather than to the Emperor.

The Meiji government searched for a unifying belief that all Japanese could hold in high esteem. Afraid that increasing Western influence might disassociate modern Japan from their ancient roots, the government searched for ways to unite the whole nation. The Tokugawa *shoguns* had used Buddhism to subdue Christians and to unite the nation.¹¹ In the Meiji period, Buddhism, which was divided into different sects, did not have the same position as before and could not give the nation a vision. In the early years of Meiji rule, Shinto was made the state religion, as the Emperor was perceived as

¹⁰ Richard Henry Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971); Charles W Iglehart, *The Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959), 159-165.

¹¹ In the early Seventeenth century, the Tokugawa *shoguns* proscribed Christianity. All missionaries were forced to leave the country. All citizens had to register at the local Buddhist temple. Those suspected of following Christianity had to go through a test on spitting and trampling *fumie* (踏み絵 Jesus and Mary icon) to receive *teraukejo* (寺請制度 a certificate from the temple) to prove they were Buddhists.

a living Shinto god. Yet, the government did not believe Shinto, which was also divided into different sects, could unite the nation under one vision.

In the early 1880s, the state bureaucrats, in consultation with scholars of ethics, worked towards finding a method to build a society of social unity and order. The scholars of ethics (倫理学 *rinrigaku*) argued that religion was ‘irrational and socially harmful’ as different religious beliefs divided society.¹² Their views on religion gave the bureaucrats a legitimate reason to suppress its growing power. In 1882, the government issued a directive that divided Shinto into two: Kyoha Shinto (教派神道 Sect Shinto) and Kokka Shinto (国家神道 State Shinto). The government declared that Kokka Shinto was not a religion but the culture of Japan and that tradition dictated that the Emperor was the divine head of the nation.¹³

In 1889 the government enacted a new constitution that declared freedom of religion. It was a calculated act by the government to improve its international image. Constitutional freedom of religion represented to the world the tolerant nature of Japan. It was also an attempt to gain equality with the Western nations so they would renew more favourable trade treaties. The constitutional freedom of religion portrayed the image of a modern nation, however, in reality, citizens had freedom to practise any religion as long as they placed Kokka Shinto above their religious beliefs.

A new beginning for Japanese missions, 1868-1889

As the Meiji government inspired all Japanese to contribute to building Japan into a technologically advanced nation, many *samurai*, who were made redundant because of the collapse of feudalism, searched for new professions. While most *samurai*

¹² Richard M. Reitan, *Making of a Moral Society: Ethics and State in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 57.

¹³ The difference between the two types of Shinto and its effect on the JEB is discussed in Chapter Seven.

from the winning side chose politics as their career, many on the losing side turned to education where they met missionary teachers.

The change of government in 1868 did not affect the ban on Christianity or the government's attitude towards Christians. Since this research is on Protestant missions, I will concentrate on the Protestant mission history of Japan. As Christianity was proscribed, Protestant missionaries entered Japan by taking teaching positions in the government schools. When asked to appoint teachers for new universities, they invariably recommended Christian teachers. Scholars argue whether missionaries taking government jobs acted deceptively. The Norwegian scholar, Lande, considers it an intrusion;¹⁴ whereas the Japanese scholar, Natori, thinks missionaries had the right to take the jobs as they were qualified, fitted the job description, and contributed to society.¹⁵ Nine missionary educators took teaching positions at the government's request between 1859 and 1876 and established reputable educational institutions.¹⁶ Despite being closely monitored by the government, missionaries were able to convert their language teachers and students by using the Bible as a textbook to teach English.¹⁷ In 1872, the American Dutch Reformed Church missionary, J. H. Ballagh, baptized the first nine Protestant Christians, but two later turned out to be Buddhist spies.¹⁸ Since foreigners were restricted to treaty ports, their groups of converts, referred to as 'Bands' in Protestant mission studies, were named after the three cities where missionaries

¹⁴ Aasulv Lande, *Meiji Protestantism in History and Historiography: A Comparative Study of Japanese and Western Interpretation of Early Protestantism in Japan* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989).

¹⁵ Juichi Natori, *Historical Stories of Christianity in Japan* (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1957).

¹⁶ Guido Fridolin Verbeck (1830-1898), a Dutch Reformed missionary, came to Nagasaki in 1859 to teach *Rangaku* (蘭学 Dutch Studies or Western Learning) at the local *Hanko* (藩校 clan school for *samurai*). Verbeck was also appointed as an advisor to the new Meiji government from 1869 to 1877. James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911), a missionary with the Presbyterian Church of America, reached Japan in 1859. He opened a school in Yokohama that later grew into a university and is now known as Meiji Gakuin. Captain Leroy Lansing Janes (1838-1909) was appointed to teach English at *Yogakko* (洋学校 the School of Western Learning or Dutch studies) in 1871. J. Liggins (1829-1912) and C. M. Williams (1829-1910) of the Episcopal Church of America, S.R. Brown (1810-1880), D.B. Simmons (1834-1889) and J.H. Ballagh (1832-1920) of the American Dutch Reformed Church. William S. Clark (1826-1886) came to Japan by the government's invitation to establish an agricultural school in Hokkaido.

¹⁷ Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan*, 15.

¹⁸ Helen Ballhatchet, 'The Modern Missionary Movement', in Mark R. Mullins, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 43.

worked. Christian students of the American Presbyterian missionary, James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911), and Dutch Reformed missionaries, Samuel Rollins Brown (1810-1880) and James H. Ballagh (1832-1920), were called the Yokohama Band.¹⁹ The Kumamoto Band consisted of students of Captain Janes who led 35 *Yogakko* students to sign a covenant expressing their commitment to spread the Christian message.²⁰ The third Band based in Sapporo, were students of William S. Clark (1826-1886), an American hired by the government to establish an agricultural college in Hokkaido. In eight short months, Clark converted six students who later converted their juniors.²¹

The first generation of Japanese Christian leaders were mostly former *samurai*. They too had the Meiji spirit of building the nation and pioneering change in the country. Aizan Yamaji (1864-1917), a former *samurai*, asserted the reason for their attraction to Christianity was in order to regain their social status.²² Scheiner argues that the first generation of Japanese Christians accepted Christianity because they wanted to reform their society.²³ While the government concentrated on political reform, Christians sought spiritual reform. Abe Iso (1865-1949), a socialist and parliamentarian, wrote: ‘we Christians believed that we must lead Japan to a second Restoration, a

¹⁹ Members of the Yokohama Band were the first Japanese Christians to be ordained. Uemura Masahisa (1857-1925) became a minister in the Presbyterian Church. Honda Yoichi (1848-1912) was ordained in the Methodist Church.

²⁰ Opposition from the government and parents forced the school to close down. In 1876, Janes’ students were moved to Doshisha School in Kyoto, established by Nijima Jo with the help for the Congregational Church in the United States. The Kumamoto Band made Kyoto the centre for development of the *Kumiai* (Congregational) Church. Ebina Danjo (1856-1937), Kozaki Hiromichi (1856-1938) and Yokoi Tokio (1857-1957) were the most famous Kumamoto Band members. All three men became ministers in the *Kumiai* Church. Yokoi also served as the President of Doshisha from 1897-1899.

²¹ The most famous members of the Sapporo Band were Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930), whose achievements are discussed later, and Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933), the technical advisor to the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan and one of the Under-Secretaries General of the League of Nations.

²² Aizan Yamaji, ‘Gendai Nihon Kyōkai Shiron’ in Tohoku Kitamura, *Yamaji Aizan Shu Gendai Nihon Bungaku Taikei 6* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1969), 223-71, cited in Aizan Yamaji, translated by Graham Squires, *Essays on the Modern Japanese Church: Christians in Meiji Japan* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 33.

²³ Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan*, 21.

Spiritual one'.²⁴ Their desire to contribute to building their nation led many to reform education and bring about social reform. A couple of prominent Japanese Christians, Nijima Jo (1843-1890) established Doshisha College in Kyoto 1875,²⁵ and Ishi Jyuji (1865-1914) established an orphanage in 1886.²⁶

The first group of Protestant missionaries, who gave priority to proselytizing over denominational affiliation, successfully instilled in their converts a passion for mission. Japanese Christians travelled to preach outside treaty ports where missionaries were prohibited. Inspired by the ecumenical spirit of their teachers, in 1872, nine Japanese Christians established the first Japanese Protestant Church *Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai* (日本キリスト教会 Church of Christ in Japan). From 1873, as the government relaxed immigration laws and stopped monitoring missionaries and encouraged by the new freedom, many Protestant denominations started their work in Japan. By the beginning of 1895, Alfreda Arnold recorded the presence of 34 mission organizations.²⁷ As various denominations established their educational institutions for men and women, many Japanese were exposed to the Christian faith. The number of churches increased but growth in denominational divisions ended ecumenism. Even the Japanese members of *Nihon Kirisuto Kyokai* could not reconcile their doctrinal differences.

²⁴ Iso Abe, *Shakai Shigisha to Naru Made* [Until I became a Socialist] (Tokyo: 1932), 94-5, cited in Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan*, 188.

²⁵ Born into a *samurai* family as Nijima, Shimeta, he stowed away to the US in 1864 in a period when Japanese were forbidden to travel. The ship's owner, Alpheus Hardy, helped Nijima to enter a new world of knowledge and faith. Nijima explained the goal of Doshisha was not just to impart knowledge, but to instil 'virtue', 'integrity', 'discipline' and 'compassion for others' which 'could only be achieved by Christian moral teaching. For more on Nijima's life and his vision for Japan see Kenneth Scott Latourette, *These Sought a Country* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 111-130; www.doshisha.ac.jp/en/information/history/policy.html accessed on 9 Oct. 2014.

²⁶ While a student at Okayama Medical School, Ishi was inspired by George Müller's visit. He built an agricultural school in a rural area in Miyagi prefecture and brought poor children from crowded cities to live there. Away from dirty slums, children gained health and received vocational training. By 1889, the orphanage cared for 55 children, and came to be regarded as one of the prominent institutions and a model for social care in modern Japan.

²⁷ Alfreda Arnold, *Church Work in Japan* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1905), 10.

The Meiji Constitution and political assertion, 1890-1912

The new Meiji Constitution declared equality for all citizens and freedom of religion. However, the right to the franchise was limited to males aged over 25 years who paid more than ¥16 yearly tax. A few months after granting the freedom of religion, in 1890, the government issued *Kyoiku Chokugo* (教育勅語 Imperial Rescript on Education, hereafter referred as *Chokugo*), an edict on the moral education of the country. It appealed to all citizens to observe filial piety, live in harmony and, if necessary, to sacrifice their lives for the imperial state. This was the wish and tradition of their imperial forefathers and, therefore, the duty of all subjects. The *Chokugo* was based on *kokutai* (国体 national polity) that asserted the Emperor was a living god. The Meiji government used *Chokugo* to unite the Japanese under a state-sponsored and Emperor-centred civil religion - State Shinto. This cleverly written document promoted the Emperor as the traditional head of the nation demanding obedience and submission to the Emperor in the name of Japanese culture and tradition. The *Chokugo* had two primary purposes: firstly, to promote nationalism by calling on all subjects to return to their cultural roots, i.e. Emperor worship, and secondly to remove Christian influence from education. In a document issued to all educational institutions, the students were instructed to recite the Rescript every day and bow to the imperial seal on the document and the Emperor's portrait.²⁸ The government argued that the moral essence of the document was 'a public one'. Obedience to the state and to the Emperor 'was presented as the highest secular obligation, one that transcended private ethics and religious belief'.²⁹ Schools were instructed to remove religious education from their curriculum

²⁸ See Yoshimitsu Khan, *Japanese Moral Education Past and Present* (London: Associated University Press, 1997), 45-78.

²⁹ Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 111.

and expected to take students to visit shrines to pay homage.³⁰ Twenty-two years after the Meiji oligarchs had used the Emperor to overthrow the Tokugawa government, they used him again as they attempted to unite the nation under one vision.

The spark of nationalism, ignited by the *Chokugo*, was fuelled by Japan's victory in the 1894-95 Sino-Japanese war. For three centuries, Japan had imported the Chinese script, culture, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Chinese medicine. Victory over China, their teacher, became a proof of the Emperor's divinity. The nation was on the way to greatness as they had restored political power to their divine Emperor. Learning from the West, Japan too forced China to sign a treaty that gave Japan extra-territorial rights and the strategic Liaodong peninsula on the Chinese mainland. Since the West was forced to recognize Japan as the new emerging power, the Japanese government thought the West finally saw Japan as their equal. In 1895, by a tripartite intervention, Russia, France and Germany persuaded Japan to give up her claim over the Liaodong peninsula and Port Arthur in exchange for a higher indemnity. Three years later, in 1895, when Russia leased the Peninsula from China for 25 years and set up a base in Port Arthur, Japan realized the Western powers were united and Japan could never be considered equal. Frustrated, they worked towards ending extra-territoriality, which came after much negotiation in 1899. Full autonomy over tariffs was achieved in 1911.³¹ Experiences of dealing with the Western powers made the Japanese not only wary of the unequal treatment but also taught Japan how to be imperialistic. The government took advantage of the victory over China to fan the flames of nationalism by promoting the Japanese victory as divinely ordained. In subsequent military successes over Russia, Japan gained control over the Southern part of Sakhalin Island

³⁰ See Daniel C. Green ed., *The Christian Movement in Its Relation to the New Life in Japan* (Yokohama: The Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Mission, 1903, 1909).

³¹ See Richard Jensen, Jon Davidann and Yone Yuki Sugita, eds., *Trans-Pacific Relations: America, Europe and Asia in the Twentieth Century* (London: Praeger, 2003); Janet Hunter, Shinya Sugiyama, *History of Anglo Japanese Relations, 1600-2000, Vol. 4: Economic and Business Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002).

(Karafuto) in 1905, and the formal annexation of Korea in 1910, which further strengthened the belief in the *Chokugo* teaching of Japanese divine ordination.

Christians under pressure to conform, 1890-1912

As nationalist sentiments increased in the country and Japan sought equality with Western nations, Japanese Christians too desired freedom from missionary leadership. In 1890, soon after the enactment of the *Chokugo*, inspired by the government's call to return to Japanese cultural roots, the Kumamoto Band member and Kumiai minister, Yokoi Tokio, speaking at the Tokyo YMCA, declared it was time Japanese Christians depended on their own customs to govern the church and propagate the gospel in Japan.³² The Meiji pioneering spirit gave Japanese Christians confidence that they were capable of taking leadership in ministry. Yet, many missionaries still stayed in leadership positions in the church and mission organizations. The government remained sceptical of all people from the West and their associates. Japanese Christians' proximity with missionaries from imperialistic nations made them untrustworthy.

The *Chokugo* was used to eliminate Christian influence from education and eventually society. Official refusal to give recognition to schools that failed to remove religious education from the curriculum resulted in a drop in the number of students at Christian schools. Some had to close but most Christian schools moved religious education outside school hours into another building near their schools.³³ Christian teachers at government schools had to bow to the *Chokugo* and the Emperor's photo. Those who did not comply were labelled unpatriotic. Japanese Christians had to decide whether bowing to the decreed objects equated to idol worship or just a bow of respect.

³² Jon Thares Davidann 'The American YMCA in Meiji Japan: God's Work Gone Awry', *Journal of World History* Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring, 1995), 107-125.

³³ Daniel C. Green, ed., *The Christian Movement in its Relation to the New Life in Japan*, (Yokohama: The Standing Committee of Co-operating Christian Mission, 1903).

In 1891, Uchimura Kanzo, a member of the Sapporo Band and a teacher at Tokyo Dai Ichi Koto Chu Gakko, came under harsh criticism and was forced to resign because he did not bow to the objects at his school assembly. The incident was reported in newspapers and became proof of Japanese Christians' irreverence of the Emperor and, therefore, they were untrustworthy. Inoue Tetsujiro, Professor of Philosophy in Tokyo Imperial University, declared Christianity incompatible with the *Chokugo*.³⁴ In other words, Christianity was not conducive to Japanese culture as it divided the nation by not accepting the Emperor as a higher deity than Christ. Japanese Christians tried to dispel criticism in two ways. Firstly, they supported the army by sending clothes and food and tending wounded soldiers during the Sino-Japan war (1894-1895), the Russo-Japan war (1904-1905) and the annexation of Korea (1910). Secondly, some Christian leaders tried to create a Japanese Christianity and churches that were not transplanted from the West.³⁵ However, in most cases that led to syncretism. Ebina Danjo tried to understand Christianity through the ethics of the father-son relationship, one of the basic moral precepts taught in Confucianism. In his later years, he equated Shinto to Judaism and advocated uniting Japanese ethics and Christianity to produce a Japanese form of Christianity.³⁶ Yokoi Tokio sought to harmonize Confucianism and Christianity to produce a distinctive form of Japanese Christianity, which recognized the Emperor as a deity. Michitomi Kanamori (1857-1945), a graduate of Doshisha, promoted a Christianity that incorporated Japanese culture and religious literature, and evangelism among non-Christians by making contact with the elements of truth present in their culture. Uchimura Kanzo established the Mukyokai (無教会 Non-Church Movement) that believed in the doctrine of salvation by faith alone but rejected the sacraments of

³⁴ Mullins ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, 38.

³⁵ Mark R. Mullins, 'Japanese Christianity', in Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson, eds., *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 119; Mark Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of an Indigenous Movement* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

³⁶ Ebina served as pastor of a Congregational Church. He also served as President of Japan Christian Mission (1891-1893) and President of Doshisha College (1920-1928).

baptism and the Eucharist as he did not consider them essential for salvation. Uchimura also rejected ordained clergy as he believed in the priesthood of all saints.³⁷ Mukyokai met at members' homes rather than owning property as Uchimura was against the institutionalization of Christianity.³⁸

Social and political pressure on Christians to conform to the demands of *Chokugo* affected church growth. By 1902, member denominations of the Co-operating Committee in Missions recorded a collective leakage of 65 percent.³⁹ The decline in church membership and the small number of converts in this period made Christian historians call 1890-1900 a period of 'retarded growth'.⁴⁰

Political turmoil and economic struggles, 1913-1940

The Japanese were quick learners. Renewed contact with the Western nations taught them how to be imperialists. Unlike their ancestors, who closed their borders in fear of colonization, from 1868 onwards, Japanese politicians sent their armed forces to colonize their neighbours and looked for foreign markets to revive the domestic economy. Government overspending on modernization of the infrastructure in the 1870s and migration to urban areas in search of employment badly affected the domestic economy. In compliance with its alliance treaty with Britain (1902), Japan extended a helping hand in the First World War and, in 1914 seized German Kiautschou Bay on the Chinese mainland and German island colonies in the Pacific. While the Western nations

³⁷ Peachey observes Uchimura's faith was not 'unique' interpretation of Biblical faith but was 'somewhere between Quakerism and Anabaptism. Like the Quakers, though not for the same reasons *Mukyokai Shugi* [無教会主義 Non-church ideology] rejects clergy, hierarchy, and sacraments. Like the Anabaptists *Mukyokai Shugi* is Bible-dependent rather than dependent on the "inner light." Paul Peachey, 'Mukyōkai-Shugi: A Modern Attempt to Complete the Reformation', *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* Vol. 35 (Jan. 1961), 71.

³⁸ For more information on Uchimura and *Mukyokai* see Yoichi Muto, *The Complete Works of Kanzo Uchimura*, (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1972).

³⁹ Green, ed., *The Christian Movement in its Relation to the New Life in Japan*, 1903, 61-5.

⁴⁰ Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1909).; Winburn T. Thomas, *Protestant Beginnings in Japan: The First Three Decades, 1859-1889* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959); Richard Henry Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan*; Charles W Iglehart, *The Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959).

were busy fighting in Europe and Western Asia in 1915, Japan forced China to sign a treaty – the Twenty-One Documents that strengthened Japan’s grip on East China. This increased the Western suspicion of Japan’s interest, which clashed with their imperialistic ambitions in East Asia.⁴¹ Japan, however, believed that their imperialistic actions and their support to the Allied Powers in the First World War, finally gave them equality with the Western nations. However, they were disillusioned by the peace treaties of 1919-20 when they were given a smaller than expected portion of confiscated German territory. Japanese resentment further grew when the Western nations refused to include a clause for racial equality in the 1919 Versailles Treaty. Three years later, at the Washington disarmament conference, Japan was asked to reduce her naval force much more than the USA, the British, French and Italians. The British ended their 1902 treaty claiming the Washington Agreement had made it redundant. The Japanese felt further humiliation in 1924 when the USA banned immigration from the Asia-Pacific region including Japan. As newspapers reported discrimination against Japanese, resentment grew in the country towards the West and their religion, Christianity. Reports of discrimination fuelled nationalism as propagated by the government.

In the 1920s, Japan was exposed to further Western influences that brought domestic political turmoil.⁴² While some intellectuals’ understanding of democracy developed, others were impressed with Marxist ideas after the Russian Revolution (1917). Groups such as *Shinjinkai* (新人会 New Man Society) at Tokyo University and *Kensetsusha Dōmei* (建設者同盟 League of National Construction) at Waseda University focused on reforming labour conditions in urban and rural industries. Some socialist naval officers advocated a socialist government under the Emperor. Inspired by

⁴¹ Richard Tames, *Japan in the Twentieth Century* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1981), 21

⁴² Takafusa Nakamura, translated by Edwin Whemmouth *A History of Showa Japan, 1926-1989* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1998), 1-6.

Kita Ikki (1883-1937), there were attempted coups d'état which managed to kill the Prime Minister in 1932 and several leading politicians and public officials in 1936.⁴³ As various groups rebelled, the government was concerned that Japanese Christians association with missionaries could turn them against Japan. In 1911, the government formed the Tokubetsu Kōtō Keisatsu (特別高等警察 Japanese Special Higher Police, hereafter referred to as Tokko), to keep a check over various groups.⁴⁴

In a rush to take advantage of disruption of global markets during the First World War, the Japanese neglected their domestic market which resulted in high inflation. In 1918, the rise in food prices led to nationwide riots and protests involving miners and the urban working classes who demanded better work conditions and pay.⁴⁵ When the world gained access to the European market, Japanese exporters felt the pinch as they suffered extensive losses. World economic contractions in the 1920s and 1930s that affected Asian and African economies led to severe falls in raw silk, Japan's major export.⁴⁶ The result was agrarian depression and rural indebtedness. Ann Waswo suggests that in the early 1930s most rural agricultural homes lost half their income while Sugihara estimates the loss as 58 percent.⁴⁷

Japan's growing population (c. 65 million in 1930s) and increasing reliance on imported food, depleting natural resources, and limited agricultural land, worsened the domestic economy. Similar to the Western nations, Japan looked for foreign lands to revive the domestic economy. Signs of improvement came after the 1931 Japanese

⁴³ Ben-Ami Shillony, 'The February 26 Affair: Politics of a Military Insurrection' in Stephen S. Large ed., *Showa Japan: Political Economic and Social History, 1926-1989*, Vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1998), 84.

⁴⁴ In the late 1930s the Tokko focused their attention on Christians. The Tokko's dealings with Christians are discussed in Chapter Seven.

⁴⁵ See Michael Lewis, *Rioters and Citizens: Mass Protest in Imperial Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁴⁶ Ian Brown ed., *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the Inter-war Depression* (London: Routledge, 1989), 2-3

⁴⁷ Ann Waswo, 'Japan's Rural Economy in Crisis' in Ian Brown ed., *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the Inter-war Depression*, 115-136. Kaoru Sugihara, 'Japan's Industrial recovery 1931-6' in Brown, *The Economies of Africa and Asia*, 152.

conquests in Northern China. The government relocated many Japanese to Manchuria to exploit their natural resources. The Western powers who had interests in China, resented Japan's aggression. In the 1930s, the Western nations raised taxes on raw materials exported to Japan hampering the textile industry's efforts to regain market lost by the Japanese silk industry. Britain also intervened with Japan's business negotiations with India.⁴⁸ In 1937, certain Western nations condemned the Japanese attack on China. To show their displeasure, the Western powers placed an embargo on exports to Japan of raw materials such as oil, rubber, and iron. In Japan, hostility towards the British and the Americans grew. By now many Japanese politicians perceived that the solution to their economic problems lay in controlling Asian natural resources, therefore, they were prepared to face Western criticism. In a period when European colonies in Asia were demanding freedom, Japan saw imperialism as the solution to their economic problems. Frustrated with the West and concerned about the domestic economy and criticism, Japanese politicians called for Japan to control the economy in 'the Indies' as here lay natural resources.⁴⁹ Still trying to be equal to the Western nations, on 27 September 1940, the government signed a pact for political co-operation with the Germans and the Italians. For years, Japan had been trying to enter into a partnership with the USA, Britain, and France but was always rejected. The Japanese felt the new 'Tripartite Pact' had finally elevated their country to an equal status with the Western nations.⁵⁰ The pact recognized Japan as the great power in the East. As the nation celebrated its military alliance and strength, the problems for Japanese Christians increased. Even though the Germans and Italians were predominantly Christians, Japanese Christians were seen as allies of the 'Christian' West that considered Japan inferior.

⁴⁸ Ann Waswo, 'Japan's Rural Economy in Crisis' in Ian Brown, ed., *The Economies of Africa and Asia in the Inter-war Depression*, 115-136.

⁴⁹ *Japan Times and Mail* (hereafter JTAM) YB-F2, 'Japan Must Control Resources of Indies, says Politician', 5 October 1940.

⁵⁰ JTAM YB-F2 'Japan Celebrates 3-Power Pact Signing', 15 October 1940.

The effects of politics on Christianity, 1913-1940

Although weary of the 'Christian' West, until the mid-1920s, the Japanese government relaxed pressure on Christians believing the British-Japan treaty and Japanese support of the Allied Forces in the First World War had finally secured equal recognition by the Imperial West. Expecting Christians to participate in the government's efforts to bring peace in the country, in 1912, Christians were invited to participate in talks with Buddhists and Shinto leaders. This was the first time that the government officially acknowledged Christianity as a religion legally practised in the country. It was also an invitation for Christians to accommodate the Shinto belief in the divinity of the Emperor. However, from the late 1920s, Emperor worship became a requirement for all Japanese. From 1930, the Tokko started monitoring Christians. They attended churches and studied Christian theology to attain knowledge how Christianity could accommodate to state sponsored Shinto. Most Protestant denominations added bows to the Emperor in religious meetings in response to the growing nationalistic atmosphere and to please the government. As nationalistic sentiments ran high in the 1930s, the presence of a shrine became a symbol of patriotism. Yuasa Hachiro (1890-1981), Doshisha principal, was forced to resign in 1934 because he misread the *Chokugo* and removed a shrine from the college campus. Not all Christians may have supported shrine worship, although by 1937, politics had affected relationships between the Japanese and foreign missionaries. While the British and the Americans condemned the Japanese invasion of China, some Japanese Christians supported their army's conquests. Some members of the Nippon Sei Ko Kai (NSKK) wanted the church to formally give thanks for the Japanese army's victory in China. Influenced by the rise in nationalism, the NSKK Japanese members also started demanding the appointment of

more Japanese bishops.⁵¹ In 1940, the Japanese government assisted the Japanese Christians to gain autonomy from missionaries by enacting a Religious Organization Law (ROL) that forced Japanese Christians to sever all ties with missionaries and churches abroad. Various Protestant denominations were also forced to forget their theological differences and unite as one church, Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (NKK, 日本基督教団 The United Church of Christ in Japan). Although the church was isolated from the worldwide church during the Second World War, the ROL made it possible for the Japanese church to be completely indigenous – self-governing, self-propagating and self-financing.

Formation of the Japan Evangelistic Band

Barclay Fowell Buxton (1860-1946)

Barclay Fowell Buxton was a grandson of a prominent businessman and philanthropist, Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1845), the Member of Parliament for Weymouth, who took the role of the principal opponent to slavery after William Wilberforce's retirement from the British House of Commons.⁵² Buxton studied at Cambridge (1879-1882) where he actively participated in the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU) and was among the young men from evangelical families known as the 'Cambridge Seven' who, upon graduation, went on overseas missions.⁵³ Buxton, however, decided to enter the ordained ministry after his graduate

⁵¹ Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan 1865-1945*, Vol. 2 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), 232-3.

⁵² See Oliver Barclay, *Thomas Fowell Buxton and the Liberation of Slaves* (York: William Sessions, 2001).

⁵³ At the CICCU he met the Studd brothers C.T. and George, J. E. Kynaston, Stanley Smith, Arnold Pelly, and John and Dundas Battersby (the family of the founders of Keswick Convention). C.T. Studd went as a missionary to China and later developed a vision for Africa. He founded the Heart of Africa Mission, which later became the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade (WEC). Barclay Buxton's son, Alfred, married Edith, C. T. Studd's daughter. George Studd worked as a missionary in a poor neighbourhood of Southern Los Angeles in the US. C.T. Studd, Montague Beauchamp, Stanley Smith, Arthur Polhill-

studies under the theologian, Brooke Westcott (1825-1901).⁵⁴ In 1883, he worked as a layman at St. Paul's, Onslow Square, London, with Prebendary H. W. Webb-Peploe (1837-1923).⁵⁵ Under Webb-Peploe, a leading evangelical and a regular speaker at the Keswick Convention, Buxton gained ministry experience and was greatly influenced by Holiness teaching. In the autumn of 1883, at a D. L. Moody convention, Buxton came to a new understanding that Christ was a gift of God and through receiving this gift a person is 'born again' and becomes a child of God.⁵⁶ It brought a change in his understanding of the Christian faith. He rediscovered Christ and experienced sanctification through his own preaching on Hebrews 10:19-22 at a mission hall.⁵⁷ The experience of the cleansing of the Holy Spirit led him to believe that receiving the Holy Spirit brought sanctification. Holiness could not be attained gradually as a Christian grew in faith, but by the baptism of the Holy Spirit and continuing to live a sanctified life.⁵⁸ The fellowship of the Holy Spirit brought joy and desire for prayer, which resulted in sin losing the power to dominate a Christian.⁵⁹ The signs of sanctified living, a compassionate heart, kindness, meekness, forbearance, and forgiveness were evident at home in relationships and within the community.⁶⁰ The Holy Spirit also gave a Christian compassion for non-Christians and a passion for preaching the gospel.⁶¹

Turner, Dixon Hoste, Cecil Polhill-Turner and William Cassels inspired by Moody went to China as missionaries with the China Inland Mission that was established by Hudson Taylor. See J.C. Pollock, *The Cambridge Seven* (Basingstoke: Marshalls, 1985); Alwyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).

⁵⁴ Brooke Westcott was a theologian and an educational reformer at Cambridge. In 1890, he was ordained as Bishop of Durham. Some of his well-known writings are the commentaries on the Gospel of John (1881), Epistle of John (1883) and Hebrews (1889).

⁵⁵ Godfrey Buxton, *The Reward of Faith in the Life of Barclay Fowell Buxton (1860-1946)* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949).

⁵⁶ Buxton, *The Reward of Faith*, 34-5.

⁵⁷ 'Therefore, brothers, since we have confidence to enter the Most Holy Place by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way opened for us through the curtain, that is his body, and since we have a high priest over the house of God, let us draw near to God with a sincere heart with full assurance of faith having our hearts sprinkled to cleanse us from a guilty conscience and having our bodies washed with pure water' (NIV).

⁵⁸ Barclay Buxton, *Christ's Way of Power* (London: Japan Evangelistic Band, n.d.), 13-18.

⁵⁹ Barclay Buxton, *Results of Receiving the Holy Ghost* (Hoddesdon: Japan Evangelistic Band, n.d.).

⁶⁰ Barclay Buxton, *The Christian Home: A Sermon* (London: JEB, 1932).

⁶¹ Barclay Buxton, *Sacrificial Service: A Study of the Song of Solomon* (London: JEB, 1965).

The Buxton family was closely associated with the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Thomas Buxton, Barclay Buxton's father, served as one of the vice presidents of the Society in 1886. He presented papers at CMS conferences and financially supported their missionaries.⁶² Therefore, when Barclay Buxton approached the CMS with a proposal to join the Society and take a multid denominational team of evangelists sponsored and financed by the Buxton family, the Society welcomed him enthusiastically. Even though the Society preferred to commission ordained Anglican ministers for overseas ministry, they permitted Buxton to take a team of unordained evangelists. The Buxton family influence helped Barclay Buxton to achieve his own vision for mission practice.⁶³

Barclay Buxton's work with the CMS, 1890-1902

Buxton's arrival in Japan coincided with the enactment of the Meiji constitution granting freedom of religion and travel. Therefore, the CMS was able to place him in Matsue, a city in West Japan, where earlier foreigners were not permitted to reside, giving him access to villages where the gospel had not reached.⁶⁴ However, the *Chokugo* made his work harder as often his team faced stiff opposition.⁶⁵ Although not a concession, an Anglican church led by a Japanese pastor had been established in

⁶² Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, its Men and its Work*, Vol. 1 (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 143; and Vol. 3 (1899), 622.

⁶³ 'Another new Missionary Band of special interest is about to go forth in connection with the society. The Rev. Barclay F. Buxton, son of Mr. T.F. Buxton, of Easney (who is one of our Vice-Presidents), and late curate of St. Paul's, Onslow Square (Mr. Webb-Peploe's), has offered to go to Japan with a small party of missionaries, undertaking both the direction and the entire charge himself. We will not apply to this proposal adjectives like "munificent" and "noble," for Mr. Buxton only desires to consecrate to the Lord what the Lord has given him, and he does no more in proportion than many a poor widow with her mite. But we do thank God for the example He has enabled His servant to set, and pray that others to whom ample means have been given may be led to follow it.' Church Missionary Society, *The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record*, Vol. 15, (London: CMS, 1890), 561; See also CMS G1JL4 Reel 13/380 B. Baring-Gould to Barclay Buxton, 1 Nov. 1901, copies of Birmingham papers at St. Andrew's University Osaka, Japan.

⁶⁴ Barclay Buxton, 23 Nov. 1892, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1892-1893*, 328.

⁶⁵ Yoshiyua Nakanishi, 31 Dec. 1890, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1890-1891*, 259.

Matsue in 1888 due to the efforts of three Japanese evangelists, Noda, Arato, and an unnamed theological student who organized meetings and taught the new converts.⁶⁶

Buxton developed his own mission methods different from those advocated by Venn and Anderson who suggested missionaries stay in charge until they were confident that the nationals were capable of leadership. Often a transfer of power took a considerable length of time before missionaries were convinced that their protégées were capable of making ministry decisions. In contrast, Buxton trained Japanese Christians and then immediately treated them as equal partners in ministry.⁶⁷ His methods were also different from Nevius, who although similar to Venn and Anderson, advocated institutional indigenization, proposed a missionary role to be supportive to nationals. Missionaries handed over administrative responsibilities to nationals but stayed in the church to help and give advice. Buxton's decision to consider the Japanese equal partners in ministry solved language difficulties for missionaries. The CMS six-month language training was not enough for missionaries to be able to preach in Japanese. Partnering missionaries with English-speaking Japanese evangelists enabled missionaries to preach through translation and the Japanese evangelists to be trained in ministry.

Inspired by Hudson Taylor's ministry in the remotest parts of China, Buxton gathered a team of missionaries and Japanese Christians who travelled the villages around Matsue. Mission historians recognize the pioneering work of his team, 'The Matsue Band', as equal to that of the Yokohama, Kumamoto, and Sapporo Bands.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Stock, *Japan and the Japan Mission of Church Missionary Society*, 1898, 166-7; See also A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, 1865-1945* Vol. 2 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), 47.

⁶⁷ Barclay Buxton, 27 Feb.1891, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1890-1891*, 670

⁶⁸ Yoshimasa Ikegami, 'Holiness, Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in Modern Japan', in Mullins ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, 128; Tsunetaro Miyakoda, *Buxton to Sono Deshitachi* [Buxton and his Disciples], (Tokyo: Inochi no Kotoba, 1968); Hiroo Kudo, 'Nihon Protestant to Matsue Band' [Japan Protestant and the Matsue Band], in Dai Gokai Nihon Dendokaigi Protestant Senkyou 150 nen Projecto, *Nohon Kaikoku to Protestant Kenkyou 150 nen*, [5th Japan Evangelical conference: 150 years

Some Japanese, Takeda Shunzo (1873-1950),⁶⁹ Horiuchi Bunichi (1875-1940),⁷⁰ Mitani Tanekichi (1868-1945),⁷¹ Sasao Tesusaburo (1868-1914),⁷² Mimaki Sekitaro (1870-1949),⁷³ Kawabe Teikichi (1864-1953)⁷⁴ and Nakada Juji (1870-1939),⁷⁵ were already Christians and men of faith when they joined Buxton's team. Their presence in the team enabled the missionaries to better understand the culture and how to develop more effective ministry. The men also had the Meiji pioneering spirit. In later years, some of these men joined the JEB while others established denominations and co-operated with the JEB in missions.

The Matsue Band ministry under Buxton's leadership had four main features that the JEB later adopted: rural evangelism, reaching the outcast, interdenominational ministry, and Holiness conventions. The team travelled for a week or fortnight to villages and islands near Matsue.⁷⁶ Extended trips to areas where people had never met any Christians gave the villagers an opportunity to observe the lives of team members,

of Evangelism Project and 150 years of Protestant Mission Since the Opening of Japan] (Tokyo: Inochi No Kotoba, 2003), 107.

⁶⁹ See Chapter Four for life and work of Takeda

⁷⁰ Horiuchi met Buxton while he was studying at Doshisha College in 1896. The following year he joined Buxton in Matsue and studied at his informal Bible school. After Buxton's return to the UK, Horiuchi worked with Kawabe to establish the Free Methodist Church. A few years after the JEB established their work, Horiuchi joined the mission full-time as one of the leaders.

⁷¹ Mitani was born in Kobe. He was baptized in 1884. He was the head of the music department in an orphanage in Okayama. Mitani went to study with Buxton in Matsue in 1897. He translated many hymns into Japanese. Later, he joined the JEB. See Masato Sakakibara and Sachiko Mitani, *Nihon de Saisho no Ongaku Dendosha Mitani Tanekichi: Tada Shinseiyō* [First Music Evangelist in Japan Mitani Tanekichi: Just Believe] (Tokyo: Inochi no Kotoba, 2001).

⁷² Sasao was baptized in the US in 1890. On his return to Japan, he worked with Kawabe in the Methodist church and joined Buxton's team. After Buxton's departure from Japan, Sasao became a holiness preacher. He worked with Nakada Juji and taught at the OMS Bible Training Institute in Tokyo. He volunteered with the JEB and often preached at holiness conventions.

⁷³ Mimaki was born in Oita prefecture in a doctor's family. He became a Christian after attending a Methodist Church in Chiba. Soon after he met Sasao and Mitani who introduced him to Buxton. Mimaki joined Buxton's team in 1896.

⁷⁴ Kawabe became a Christian in the USA. On his return to Japan, he worked with the Methodist Church. He joined the Matsue Band after meeting Buxton. Kawabe established the Free Methodist Church in Japan.

⁷⁵ Nakada was exposed to Christianity at the age of four when his father died and his mother turned to Methodist missionaries for support. He studied at the Moody Institute and became a Methodist evangelist in Japan. In 1898, he met Buxton and joined his team. In 1901, he started working with Lettie and Charles Cowman of the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS). Later he co-founded the Holiness Church with them and became the Church's first bishop.

⁷⁶ Barclay Buxton, 21 Nov. 1891, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1891-1892*, 159; Barclay Buxton, 23 Nov. 1892, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1892-1893*, 328.

to gain a clear understanding of Christian faith, and thus help to dispel almost three centuries of indoctrination against Christianity. Ministry in the villages of outcasts, who lived in abject poverty rejected by society,⁷⁷ helped Japanese Christians break free from their misconception of outcasts⁷⁸ and to practise the spirit of Galatians 3:28.⁷⁹ This understanding of God's care for all humans later led the Japanese in the JEB to take leadership when establishing churches in villages and among the poor. Although the CMS preferred to work with the Nippon Sei Ko Kai exclusively, Buxton co-operated in ministry with all evangelical churches and mission organizations as he did not want doctrinal differences to be an obstacle to preaching the gospel.⁸⁰ With the help of his Japanese team members, he organized Holiness conventions among Japanese and missionaries of all denominations.⁸¹ Buxton's initiative in propagating Holiness teachings in Japan and training Japanese leaders who established churches and denominations based on his teachings, earned him the name 'the father of the Sanctification Movement in Japan'.⁸²

In 1900, Buxton decided to return 'and labour in England, at least for a time' so his four sons could receive education at home.⁸³ His decision to leave Japan forced him to consider the future of the ministry of the missionaries and Japanese evangelists

⁷⁷ The Tokugawa *shogunate* divided Japanese society into four classes. Two groups not included in the system were the priests and the entertainers such as musicians, actors, and *geisha*, and the tanners and butchers. The priests and the entertainers held respectable position in the society. The tanners and butchers however, were considered outcasts and forced to live in assigned villages.

⁷⁸ 'The Eta are the lowest and the most despised class of the people; others will not mix with them, they are compelled to live separately. When we first proposed work among them, the Christians seemed to shrink from the thought, saying it was hopeless – their hearts were different from other people's, hard and bad; moreover, they said they could remember nothing, forgetting even their own names, and the number of their own children; and that it would be impossible to teach them of the true God and of His love. However, after a few months among them, they find that the Gospel has the wonderful power of reaching even the Eta heart, and that hearts are very much alike everywhere.' M. Sanders, 30 Jan. 1894, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1893-1894*, 241

⁷⁹ 'There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus'. Gal. 3:28 (NIV).

⁸⁰ Barclay Buxton, 5 Dec. 1901, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1900-1901*, 355; CMS. G1JO Reel 24/205 Barclay Buxton to Fenn, 13 June 1892.

⁸¹ Barclay Buxton, 3 Jan. 1900, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1899-1900*, 252.

⁸² Yoshimasa Ikegami, 'Holiness, Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements in Modern Japan,' in Mullins ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, 128.

⁸³ CMS. G1JO Reel 30 Buxton to I. Furness Smith 6 Feb. 1900.

without his financial support. Interestingly, instead of looking at Henry Venn's mission methods, Buxton observed John Nevius' work in China and encouraged the local churches in Japan to pay for their evangelists.⁸⁴ News of Buxton's departure broke the Matsue Band. Before Buxton's departure in early 1902, most Japanese leaders had left Matsue. Alpheus Paget Wilkes (1871-1934), an English missionary on Buxton's team, was convinced that Buxton's mission methods were the only way to evangelize Japan, therefore, the Matsue Band ministry must not stop.⁸⁵ As he was not a CMS missionary, he was not permitted to stay at the Matsue CMS mission station. The CMS preferred not to invite Wilkes to work with the society as they observed he was closer to the Methodists than to the Anglicans.⁸⁶ Although rejected, Wilkes' persistence to evangelize Japan using the Matsue Band model gave birth to the Japan Evangelistic Band.

Alpheus Paget Wilkes (1871-1934)

Born to Deryn Davies and Alpheus Wilkes, an ordained Anglican minister who gave up parish work to preach among fishermen and teach at Bible study groups, Wilkes committed his life to Christ in 1892.⁸⁷ Soon after, he met Frances Crossley, John Govan and Reader Harris who led him to an experience of sanctification. Passionate for others to have the same experience, Wilkes started preaching the message of Holiness and continued his preaching when he entered Lincoln College, Oxford (1892-1897).⁸⁸ At the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (OICCU) he met Willie Holland, Temple Gairdner, Joe Oldham and Douglas Wood, young men with a passion for mission who upon graduation became missionaries to various parts of the world.

⁸⁴ CMS G1JL4 Reel 30/210 Barclay Buxton to Fox, 18 May 1900; Barclay Buxton, Dec. 1900, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1900-1901*, 791.

⁸⁵ Paget Wilkes, *"Brimming Over" or Some Incidents in the Story of the JEB* (London: JEB, 1923), 19.

⁸⁶ CMS Letter Book G1JL3 Reel12/193 Awdry to Baring-Gould, 26 May 1898.

⁸⁷ Mary W. Dunn-Pattison, *Ablaze for God: The Life Story of Paget Wilkes* (London: JEB, 1937).

⁸⁸ JEB Box 43 File 1, Eric Gosden, 'Paget Wilkes', unpublished biography, 1970.

The CMS secretary, Henry Fox, recommended Wilkes to Thomas Buxton who was looking for a fellow missionary to assist his son in Matsue. Wilkes was overjoyed at the opportunity as he had read Buxton's books on Holiness and wanted to work with him.⁸⁹ In 1897, Wilkes graduated from the university, got married and sailed for Japan. In January 1898, reporting Wilkes' progress in Japan, Buxton wrote, 'he at once was burdened for many students attending the schools in Matsuye'(sic).⁹⁰ Wilkes became an assistant to Buxton. Even though he did not work for the CMS, he was in charge of the CMS Matsue base while Buxton was on furlough.⁹¹ Even though the CMS and the Anglican Church in Japan objected to Buxton's interdenominational missions, Wilkes believed Japan's need was for a 'band of evangelists, Japanese and "foreign"' who worked with all evangelical denominations to evangelize the unreached areas of Japan.⁹² Some Japanese in the Matsue Band supported Wilkes' vision, so in 1903 he returned to Japan from the UK after raising support to establish a mission organization.

The Japan Evangelistic Band, 1903-1940

At the 1903 Keswick Convention, Buxton and Wilkes met with two of their evangelical mission-minded friends, Lord Radstock and Darlow Sargent to seek advice on Wilkes' proposal to establish a mission organization to evangelize Japan. After prayer, the men concluded that it was not God's will for them to start work in Japan. However, the following day at a prayer meeting, Wilkes' friend, Annie Wood, was convinced it was God's will 'to form an evangelistic Band'.⁹³ Now the men agreed with

⁸⁹ Paget Wilkes, *"His Glorious Power": The Story of the JEB* (Portsmouth: JEB, 1933), 35.

⁹⁰ Barclay Buxton, 6 Jan. 1898, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1900-1901*, 166.

⁹¹ CMS G1JO Reel 28 Memorandum of an understanding between Archdeacon Warren and Mr. Paget Wilkes in reference to the oversight of the Matsuye District during the absences of the Rev. B.F. Buxton on furlough. 15 Nov. 1898; Barclay Buxton, 3 Jan. 1900 *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1899-1900*, 252.

⁹² Paget Wilkes, *"His Glorious Power"*, 36.

⁹³ Paget Wilkes, *"His Glorious Power"*, 43.

her and called the mission the 'One by One Band'. By the end of autumn of the same year, Wilkes, his wife, Gertrude, and a missionary, Estelle Edmead, arrived in Japan as the first missionaries of the newly formed Band.⁹⁴ In 1905, the name of the mission was changed to the 'Japan Evangelistic Band'.⁹⁵

The Mission's work in Japan was based on Buxton's Matsue Band ministry. They did not follow the traditional mission method of opening an educational institution, rather the Mission was a group of itinerant evangelists, Japanese and foreign missionaries, involved with rural and urban evangelism who held Holiness conventions for Christians at various Protestant denominational churches. The Mission did not establish a church but was interdenominational and, therefore, accepted missionaries of all the major denominations 'i.e. Church of England, Quakers, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist and Methodist', and worked in co-operation with them in Japan.⁹⁶

Teachings

The Mission taught:

The purpose is to preach Jesus Christ and Him Crucified (1Cor.11.2.) who saves His people from their sins (Matt. 1.21) and baptizeth with the Holy Ghost (Jno.1.33) [sic] and is to come again for His waiting and separated people (Phil.111.20-21) [sic]

We preach therefore (1) A new birth from above of the Holy Ghost, received through the forgiveness of sins on the ground of the Atonement by Faith (2) That the Bible is the inspired Word of God from cover to cover. (3) A full salvation and separation unto God and a true union with Him through faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To this end we emphasize heart-cleansing, the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and a life of continuous victory over sin through the indwelling of Christ in the hear (1 Jno.1.9.[sic] Acts. xv.8-9. Eph.111.17 [sic]. Jude 24). (4) The unity of all true believers in Christ. We seek therefore to promote a practical union by united fellowship, service and prayer.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Dunn-Pattison, *Ablaze for God*, 78.

⁹⁵ JEB Box 1 Home Council Minutes (hereafter HCM) July 26, 27 & 28, 1905. Archives stored at School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

⁹⁶ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM 25 July, 1910.

⁹⁷ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM 25 July, 1910.

Since Buxton and the JEB were products of the Holiness Movement, the mission laid emphasis on the personal Holiness of Christians. Personal salvation, ‘new birth’ through faith alone and experience of sanctification were essential for a Christian. The baptism of the Holy Spirit was taught as a second experience of cleansing (sanctification) of the soul.⁹⁸ The indwelling of the Holy Spirit led the Christian into a parent-child relationship with God.⁹⁹ The Keswick Convention motto ‘One body in Christ’ inspired the Mission to promote the unity of ‘all true believers’ that they saw as the Protestant church.

The JEB administrative structure

The Mission had two administrative councils. The council in England was known as the Home Council (HC). They raised funds for the Mission, sent missionaries to Japan and organized Swanwick and other Holiness conventions in the UK. The council in Japan consisting of three Japanese and two foreign missionaries, known as the Field Council (FC), which decided mission strategies in Japan, hired Japanese evangelists, and was in charge of the administration of the Bible School and the JEB work. The Field Director, in consultation with the Field Council, led the Mission in Japan. A missionary committee was responsible for looking after the welfare of all missionaries. All senior workers, Japanese or missionaries, had the freedom to choose their place of ministry. Both missionaries and Japanese-led evangelistic teams held tent meetings. In 1938, since the work had expanded to Kyushu Island in the South, the FC appointed district supervisors who visited the missionaries and Japanese evangelists in their regions.

⁹⁸ Godfrey Buxton, *The Reward of Faith*, 34-5.

⁹⁹ Paget Wilkes, *An Indwelling of Christ* (London: JEB, 1935); ‘An Indwelling of Christ’, *An Indwelling Saviour: Message given at the Annual Convention of the Japan Evangelistic Band at The Hayes, Swanwick, June 1929* (London: JEB, 1929), 25-31.

Finances and mission partners

The JEB finances were significantly different from those of the Matsue Band. The Buxton family did not sponsor work but as a 'faith mission' JEB 'solely looked to God'. Funds were raised through presenting the Mission's work in Japan at prayer meetings and conventions. In 1915, the Mission started an annual Holiness convention, an interdenominational gathering of evangelicals, at Swanwick in Derbyshire. Although similar to the Keswick Convention in teaching, the Swanwick Convention promoted JEB work in Japan, though not exclusively. Missionaries of other denominations were invited as guest speakers and permitted to raise funds for their work.¹⁰⁰ Much of JEB finance came from donations from prayer circles organized throughout the UK. Buxton, Wilkes, the JEB board members and missionaries on furlough spoke about the ministry in Japan in churches of various denominations in the UK to raise support for the Mission.

The JEB partnered with some mission organizations that wanted to support missions in Japan but did not wish to open offices there. The organizations provided funds to support a few missionaries and Japanese evangelists, while the JEB supplied the logistical support. The missionaries reported to both organizations. Three main partners who financially supported the JEB were the Sunrise Band, The Christian Police Association and the Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission.

¹⁰⁰ JEB Box 14 File 1-A Home Council Correspondence (hereafter HCC) Tetley to Wilkes 23 Aug. 1919; *The Japan Evangelistic Band* (magazine, hereafter *JEB*), Vol. 21, No. 5 (Sept-Oct. 1926), 54.

The Sunrise Band, 1906-1939

The JEB board members, Herbert and Annie Wood,¹⁰¹ founded a children's prayer circle, the Sunrise Band, in their living room in Liverpool, in 1906. The circles gradually expanded throughout the UK. By 1917, Annie Wood started printing the *Sunrise* magazine that told stories of children in Japan and testimonies of Japanese evangelists and converts. Although not officially connected to the JEB, the Band was established to support ministry in Japan. Even the name Sunrise suggests a Japanese connection, as Japan is known as 'the land of the rising sun'. Funds raised at the Sunrise Band meetings were sent to support JEB evangelists in Japan.¹⁰² From 1923 to 1940, the Band financially supported Irene Webster-Smith's orphanage, Sunrise Home.¹⁰³ From 1933, the Sunrise Band recognized the JEB as their parent organization and appointed JEB board members to the Sunrise Band board.¹⁰⁴ In 1939, after the death of Annie Wood, the Sunrise office moved to London with the JEB office and supplemented the shortfall in finances for Japan as the outbreak of the Second World War had considerably reduced the JEB income.¹⁰⁵

The Christian Police Association, 1906-1940

In 1883, Catherine Gurney (1848-1930) founded the Christian Police Association in Britain.¹⁰⁶ The CPA archives suggest in 1906 they had a ministry among

¹⁰¹ Rev. Herbert Wood worked in the slums of Liverpool. In 1882 he founded the 'Mission of Love'. He also participated in Scriptural Holiness meetings at the Keswick Convention. Annie Wood is discussed in Chapter Six.

¹⁰² JEB Box 29 File 6 Sunrise Band (henceforth SB) 'The Relationship of Sunrise to J.E.B. Sunrise Band archives are house at SOAS, University of London Library.

¹⁰³ See Chapter Six.

¹⁰⁴ JEB Box 29 File 6 SB Committee 7 Dec. 1933.

¹⁰⁵ JEB Box 29 File 1 SB Committee 16 Nov. 1938.

¹⁰⁶ A close association with policemen made Gurney aware of their needs. She opened a drop-in centre for police in London where policemen could find Christian fellowship. In 1890, Gurney founded the first seaside convalescent home in Brighton so policemen could get adequate rest and rehabilitation after sickness or injury. A year later, she established an orphanage for the children of deceased policemen. In 1897, Gurney opened a similar facility in Harrogate. Gurney encouraged the public to pray for the police and encouraged Christian policemen to do likewise for missions among the policemen in other countries.

the police in Tokyo but do not state how or when the work was started. The Mission also had an advisory council in Tokyo. The council minutes state there was an ‘increase in work’ in Japan. However, by 1906 they were dissatisfied with a lack of progress.¹⁰⁷ The council minutes do not give details of the problems in Japan but record that the ‘work in Japan was going through crisis’. Although discouraged, the CPA did not give up mission work in Japan. Gurney recommended the CPA become a mission partner with the JEB.¹⁰⁸ The JEB provided personnel and supervised the work in Japan, while the CPA provided the finances. Foreign missionaries and Japanese evangelists, supported by the CPA, sent copies of their work reports to both organizations. While the JEB printed the reports in their quarterly magazine, the CPA did the same in their magazine *On and Off Duty*. The two organizations co-operated for thirty-four years until 1940 when the JEB withdrew from Japan and communication with the CPA Japanese evangelists became difficult because of the Second World War.¹⁰⁹

The Glynn Vivian Miners’ Mission, 1914-1923

Now known as the International Miners’ Mission, the Glynn Vivian Miners’ Mission (GVMM) was established in 1906 by a wealthy Welsh miner, Richard Glynn Vivian (1835-1910). In 1908, the mission started work among miners in the copper mines of Ashio in Tochigi prefecture in Japan. The GVMM archives do not clarify how they started work in Japan. They only mention that in 1908 the mission was supporting an independent missionary named H. N. Wausey who returned to England in 1910.

See http://www.flinthouse.co.uk/images/documents/flinthouse_history.pdf; <http://www.cpauk.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Then-and-Now-125th-souvenir.pdf>; <http://www.thepolicetreatmentcentres.org/about/history> <http://talltalesfromthetrees.blogspot.co.uk/2012/03/catherine-gurney-obe-1848-1930-and-her.html> accessed on 25 May 2015.

¹⁰⁷ Christian Police Association Council Meeting (henceforth CPACM) 4 Feb. 1903. Archives stored at CPA office in Bedford.

¹⁰⁸ CPACM 29 Oct. 1906.

¹⁰⁹ CPACM 22 Jan. 1941.

Unable to find a replacement, the GVMM requested the JEB to supervise the work in 1914. Initially, the GVMM gave donations towards the work in Ashio.¹¹⁰ However, from the following year, the JEB made a similar partnership with them as with the CPA. The GVMM paid for the JEB missionary and a Bible woman working among the Ashio miners.¹¹¹ The GVMM–JEB partnership did not last as long as the CPA-JEB relationship. The JEB-GVMM dissolved when Amy Burnet (1878-1951), whom the JEB missionaries assigned to work among the miners, established her own work in 1923 and requested the GVMM to support her directly.¹¹²

The JEB ministry in Japan 1903-1940

From 1903 to 1905, Wilkes and Takeda mostly travelled around Tokyo speaking at evangelistic meetings to non-Christians and at Holiness conventions in various churches. In 1905, they moved to Kobe City in West Japan and opened a mission hall that became the Mission's centre of activity and the JEB headquarters in Japan.¹¹³

Initially, the Mission preached to those who frequented of entertainment district where the Mission Hall was situated, conducted street evangelism in Kobe City, and organized tent-missions in surrounding areas.¹¹⁴ From 1921, the Mission sent teams of Japanese evangelists and missionaries for a few days of ministry further West from Kobe to focus on places where the gospel had not reached.¹¹⁵ Aggressive evangelism in areas where there was no Christian presence was called the Forward Movement. The evangelistic teams spent a week to ten days preaching in a town and its surrounding

¹¹⁰ Glynn Vivian Miner Mission Committee Meeting Minutes (hereafter GVMMCM), 3 March 1919. Archives stored at International Miners' Mission office at Kempton, Herts.

¹¹¹ GVMMCM, 17 May 1920; Glynn Vivian *Miners' Mission Annual Report 1920*, 3; *Faith Made Manifest: Treasure of Darkness brought to light through the work of the Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission in 1922*, 9; *Preaching Peace: A Survey of the work and methods of the Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission to the end of year 1923*, 20.

¹¹² GVMMCM, 1 Jan. 1923; 5 June 1925; and 9 Oct. 1925.

¹¹³ Kobe is a large port city in West Japan.

¹¹⁴ *JEB* Vol. 15, No. 4 (Jan. 1921).

¹¹⁵ *JEB* Vol.15, No. 4 (Jan. 1921), 1.

villages. A few days of tent-meetings were arranged simultaneously. A Japanese evangelist was placed in the town after the team left. The evangelist then visited all the converts in the region to teach Bible studies. Since most places did not have churches, the evangelist organized the new converts into small groups so they could meet for fellowship.

As the work expanded and recognizing the need for more evangelists, the Mission started Bible training for men in 1907.¹¹⁶ Initially, the school was based in the Mission Hall but as the number of students increased a building was rented. In 1924, the JEB bought a building in Mikage, a suburb of Kobe.¹¹⁷ Soon after, the Bible School was merged with the Self-Help Bible School started by a former JEB missionary, J. B. Thornton.¹¹⁸ Again, the Mission felt the need for a larger building. In the autumn of 1929, the mission bought another property in Shioya, another suburb of Kobe.¹¹⁹ Here the Mission also held the JEB annual Shioya Holiness Convention.

The training for Bible women, the Japanese female evangelists, started more informally than the men's Bible School. In 1920, Dorothy Hoare, a JEB missionary, started training young Japanese girls so they could assist her ministry. Since the demand for her classes grew, in 1925, the JEB Field Council decided to make the training a part of the JEB ministry.¹²⁰ In 1929, the women's training was moved to Shioya Bible School.

Although the Mission Councils did not want the Mission to be involved with social work, they permitted some of the female missionaries to teach lessons on 'ethics'

¹¹⁶ JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, April 1908, 7; JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM 1, 2 March 1907.

¹¹⁷ *JEB* Vol. 20, No. 1 (April 1925), 4.

¹¹⁸ Thornton was born in St. Joseph, Missouri, USA. He went to India in 1904 with his wife and two children to serve as a Methodist Episcopal minister in Madras. In 1908 he moved to Kobe with his family to pastor Kobe Union Church until 1910. In 1913 he returned to Japan to work with JEB. From 1921-1924 he ran a Self-Help Bible School. He returned to the US in 1925. The following year, he accepted the position as a pastor of Hope Congregational Church in St. Louis, Missouri, where he ministered for 24 years. Thornton died in 1948.

¹¹⁹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 HCM, 23-26 June 1930.

¹²⁰ JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 HCM, 8 Dec. 1925.

at women's factories. Although called 'ethics' lessons, they were Bible classes. The Mission also permitted the missionaries, Dorothy Hoare and Irene Webster-Smith, to open their homes in Japan to underprivileged children. While Dorothy Hoare's work was limited to looking after a few children with behavioural problems at her home, Webster-Smith opened an orphanage for unwanted little girls of poverty-stricken parents who would otherwise have sold them to brothels. The orphanage, the Sunrise Home, had an ambiguous relationship with the Mission. Although established by a JEB missionary, the Home was not advertised as the JEB ministry, nor governed by the JEB Councils, except for a short few months in 1939, while the JEB mission partner, the Sunrise Band, financially supported the Sunrise Home. By 1940, the Sunrise Home housed 15 girls.¹²¹

The Forward Movement was considered a success as the Mission reached villages and towns where there were no churches. Although faced with opposition from those who considered themselves patriotic and perceived Christianity contrary to Japanese tradition and culture, the tent-missions were well attended and many people showed interest in learning more about the Christian faith. The JEB was established to continue the Matsue Band's work, however, neither Buxton, Wilkes, nor the Home Council considered that converts from the Forward Movement would need discipleship training. While Buxton worked with the CMS, the Nippon Sei Ko Kai took responsibility for discipling so that the Matsue Band members were free to travel and preach. Even though the Mission did not have any plans to establish churches, the Japanese evangelists felt responsible for the spiritual growth of the converts. They met with the converts to teach them scripture. Discipleship by Japanese evangelists resulted in the formation of groups of believers. Since most places did not have an established church, the evangelists gathered the converts and seekers of Christian faith on Sundays

¹²¹ Dorothy Hoare, Irene Webster-Smith and their ministries are discussed in Chapter Six.

for prayer and fellowship. The groups functioned as churches but without practising the sacraments. At the request of the evangelists who led these groups, the Field Council arranged for the ordination of evangelists so they could administer the Lord's Supper. They also permitted the groups to function as churches. Since the Mission claimed to be an interdenominational mission organization that was auxiliary to the church, the JEB Home Council did not often publish information on these churches in their magazine. However, if the churches were independent of JEB financial support, the Mission magazine published details about their formation. Many groups were handed over to established churches or became independent churches led by the JEB evangelists who left the Mission to become pastors. The exact number of churches formed as a result of the Forward Movement is unknown as the records kept in the Kobe Mission Hall and the Bible School did not survive the bombings in the Second World War. In 1934, Horiuchi Bunichi resigned from the JEB and established a Japanese church independent of the JEB or missionary financial or administrative support.¹²² Soon four churches established by the JEB evangelists joined Horiuchi's Nihon Seisho Kyokai (日本聖書教会 Japan Bible Church).¹²³ The following year, a group of eight churches merged with the new church.¹²⁴ The JEB too handed Horiuchi 18 churches that depended on the JEB for financial support.¹²⁵ This new group of 32 churches was named Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK, Japan Church of Jesus Christ). Since all the churches claimed the JEB as their parent and held similar theological beliefs, the merger was easy. All churches met annually at the JEB Bible School for the Shioya Holiness Convention.

The Mission, from the very beginning, had more Japanese evangelists than missionaries. In 1906, the *Japan Evangelistic Band Annual Report* records eight

¹²² JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 15 May 1934.

¹²³ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 19 July 1934.

¹²⁴ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 19 July 1934. JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC Proceedings of the Kobe Committee Meeting held in co-operation with Messers Horiuchi, and Sano of the Nihon Seisho Kyokwai and Mr. Sato of the Iesu Shodan, at the Kobe Mission Hall, 12 March 1935.

¹²⁵ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC Letter Issued to Japanese members of the JEB, 12 March 1935.

missionaries and fourteen Japanese evangelists working full-time with the Mission.¹²⁶ In 1925, the number of missionaries increased to 24 and the Japanese evangelists to 61. Ten years later, in 1935, Horiuchi and some evangelists left the JEB to pastor churches in the newly formed NIKK. Their departure reduced the number of Japanese evangelists to 38 while the number of missionaries remained the same. Even though a significant number of Japanese left to join the newly formed church, the number of Japanese in the mission was still higher than the number of missionaries. Apart from the 38 full-time JEB evangelists, the 1935 quarterly magazine lists 52 JEB evangelists working with the NIKK.¹²⁷ It is not known if they were paid by the JEB. In 1939, the Mission went through a dramatic change. As the political environment in Japan became nationalistic and anti-foreign feelings grew, and in anticipation of a new Religious Organization Law that could prohibit Japanese working in a foreign organization, the JEB missionaries requested all the Japanese evangelists to join the NIKK. The Mission also handed the NIKK the Bible School and the Kobe Mission Hall. In April 1940, the JEB became a mission organization of 18 missionaries working in Japan.¹²⁸ By the end of the year, the missionaries realized that the deteriorating political environment did not permit them to stay in the country. In January 1941, when all the missionaries left the country, the JEB effectively ceased to exist in Japan.

Conclusion

The period 1868 to 1940 in Japanese history is marked with rapid industrialization, the rise of Japan in world politics, and times of growth and recession in Japanese domestic economy. There was also a significant increase in nationalism in the country that eventually led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941. Japanese

¹²⁶ JEB Box 45 File 2 Annual Report (hereafter AR) *Japan Evangelistic Band: A Report of Missionary work in the Land of the Rising Sun*, 1906.

¹²⁷ *JEB* Vol. 30, No. 4 (July-Aug. 1935).

¹²⁸ See Chapter Seven.

international and domestic politics highly influenced the government's relationship with Christianity. The Japanese historic fear of being colonized by the Western nations and their constant struggle to be treated as equal by Western nations, created a hostile feeling towards missionaries and the Christian religion. Japanese Christians were seen as disciples of the missionaries and treated with suspicion as the government feared foreign influence had made them disloyal to Japan. While the government tried to remove foreign influence from education and the church, Japanese Christians took the initiative to evangelize their own country and contribute to the society by bringing social reform. Despite this they were unable to make their government believe they were loyal Japanese citizens.

The JEB was established to continue the work of the Matsue Band in rural Japan. The Mission was a small group of foreign missionary and Japanese evangelists who worked together to evangelize rural Japan in a constantly changing political environment. Although established in the UK, and financed by money from the UK, the Japanese in the Mission held leadership positions and established a Japanese church. The following chapter discusses the Japanese contribution in establishing the Mission in Japan and the Japanese participation in the JEB administrative councils.

Chapter Four

Japanese Participation in the JEB Organizational Structure

Introduction

Protestant missions in most of the nineteenth century had moved away from Venn and Anderson's vision of facilitating Three-Self churches. Towards the end of the century, however, missionaries, such as Nevius, were calling on all missionaries to hand over church leadership to the nationals. The Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910 further highlighted the need for national leadership and the importance of reflecting local culture in the emerging church. Such thoughts of indigenization were yet to be applied to mission organizations where missionaries expected to hold leadership positions. The JEB constitution was finalized the same year as the Edinburgh conference. There is no evidence in the archives suggesting whether JEB was represented at the Conference or if issues discussed at the Conference influenced those drafting the JEB constitution. As observed in the previous chapter, the JEB was formed in 1903, seven years before the Conference, and Japanese members always exceeded missionaries in numbers. The Japanese were also in charge of expanding the work of the Mission and took leadership in making administrative decisions. Even though the JEB was established in England and financial support was raised in England, the Japanese in the Mission influenced the work in Japan. To understand whether the JEB board in England enabled Japanese to take leadership, this chapter answers the question, *How did the organizational structure of the Mission enable Japanese to take the initiative in making the JEB indigenous?*

The question is answered by studying the place of the Japanese in the Mission's constitution, i.e. whether the British, who were raising financial support, shared

decision-making power with the Japanese, and were the missionaries, who grew up in a time when some evangelicals were questioning their attitude towards those living in countries where Christianity was not a majority, able to perceive Japanese Christians as equals? Also, how eager were the Japanese to assume leadership in the Mission? The inside story of the Japanese leadership in an organization financed by foreigners is reconstructed by studying the Home Council (HC) minutes, copies of the Field Council (FC) minutes sent to the London office, and letters between the London office and the Kobe, Japan office. Unfortunately, the archives in the JEB headquarters in Japan did not survive the bombing of the Second World War. Since the London office saved copies of Field Council minutes and letters from the FC and the Home Council's response, it is possible to reconstruct the story of leadership struggles. Four voices mentioned in Chapter One reconstruct the story of the place of Japanese in the JEB organizational structure. The first voice is that of the Home Council (HC) that consisted of British men and women who lived in the UK. The second voice is of the Field Council (FC), consisting of a Japanese majority. The third voice is of the missionaries who lived in Japan, and the last voice is of the JEB supporters and mission partners. Although they did not actively participate in the administration of the Mission, their influence through financial support gave them a voice as the HC was mindful of them when making mission policy decisions. All these voices bring to light the complexities of the time and how they interacted with each other to achieve their common goal of evangelizing Japan.

The JEB perception of Japanese

As discussed in Chapter Two, most European and American missionaries travelled to different parts of the world to preach and teach the gospel, as well as Western cultural ideas and practices, and in the process to help 'civilize' the world.

Missionary belief in the superiority of their own culture created a prejudiced mind-set even before they arrived in the mission field. It also blinded them to the possibility of using local cultural practices to make the gospel understood according to the Apostle Paul in Acts 17. In Chapters Two and Three, I discussed Japanese expectations to be treated as equals with the Western nations. Even though the country was rapidly Westernizing by adopting Western clothes and food, copying Western governments and armed forces, missionaries still held onto traditional prejudices. Their understanding of Japan as a 'heathen' nation coloured their perception of the non-Christian Japanese. Barclay Buxton, however, had a different attitude towards the Japanese. Growing up in the mid nineteenth century, in a time when attitudes towards non-Christian countries and religions were changing, Buxton developed a tolerant and respectful attitude towards the Japanese. The Keswick Convention further influenced his understanding of equality of all in Christ. He extended the Convention's equality of all believers from crossing denominational boundaries to overcoming cultural differences. While working with the CMS in Matsue, Buxton wrote to Loigram in the CMS that he considered all human hearts to be the same, irrespective of their cultural differences.¹ He treated the Japanese who had a basic knowledge of Christianity the same as the English and preached at meetings as he would in England.² In the Matsue Band, Buxton treated the Japanese as equal partners in ministry. The unity and equality of all believers were easy to maintain for 12 short years of the Matsue Band's existence as there was little administrative structure. Buxton was the sole leader of the Band and did not train any successor.

¹ CMS G1JO Reel 24/251 Barclay Buxton to Mr. Loigram, 10 Sept. 1891.

² Barclay Buxton, 27 Feb.1891, *Extracts from the Annual Letters from the Missionaries for the Year 1890-1891*, 670.

Paget Wilkes also believed in the equality of all believers and envisaged ‘a band of evangelists Japanese and “foreign” who worked together as equals.’³ Since the JEB was established to continue the work of the Matsue Band, JEB also adopted Buxton’s perception of the Japanese. The founders in the UK established the Mission to evangelize Japan with the Japanese as partners in ministry. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, employing national workers for ministry was standard practice in Protestant missions to avoid language and cultural barriers. Nevius argued that most mission organizations in China employed Chinese evangelists because they were more effective for evangelism in China.⁴ The church historian, Latourette, observed that even though the Chinese shared equal responsibility for preaching, they were considered ‘helpers’ and subordinates to missionaries.⁵ In Japan, however, from the late nineteenth century, while the Japanese church was still dependent on missionaries for leadership and finance, Japanese Christians had started demanding independence from missionaries.⁶ Although in the early twentieth century in Japan most mission organizations and churches were still under missionary leadership, in the JEB the Japanese worked in equal partnership with the missionaries. The Mission communicated this equality to their supporters by printing pictures of Japanese and missionaries with the words ‘Japanese and English all one in Christ’.⁷

³ Paget Wilkes, *“His Glorious Power”*: *The Story of the JEB* (Portsmouth: Japan Evangelistic Band, 1933), 36.

⁴ John N. Nevius, *Methods of Mission Work* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Printing Press, 1886), 4.

⁵ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929), 426.

⁶ See Chapter Two. Jon Thares Davidann, ‘The American YMCA in Meiji Japan: God’s Work Gone Awry’, *Journal of World History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring 1995), 107-125.

⁷ JEB Box 45 File 2 Annual Report (hereafter AR) *Japan Evangelistic Band: A Report of Missionary work in the Land of the Rising Sun*, 1905.



Illustration 1 Takeda and Wilkes

A photo of Takeda Shunzo (left) and Paget Wilkes (right) printed in the JEB first missionary report in 1905.⁸ Their names are written in English and Japanese. The photo illustrates that Wilkes and the JEB saw Takeda as an equal partner in establishing the JEB in Japan.



Illustration 2 Japanese and British workers

Another illustration of the JEB's understanding of their Japanese evangelists as equal partners in ministry. Japanese and British flags symbolize unity among people of the two nations. This photograph was published in the 1906 Annual Report.⁹

⁸ JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, 1905, 2.

⁹ JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, 1906, 11.

Even though the British in the Mission perceived Japanese as equals, they were people of their time, not completely free from past prejudices. The annual reports of 1906, 1908 and 1910 portray Japan as a ‘heathen’ country for some in the Mission.¹⁰ In the Second Annual Report Secretary W. H. R. Tredinnick wrote:

Although Japan is still a heathen nation, and on all sides one comes into contact with **dark, black heathenism**, still everywhere one finds that the fields are “**already white unto harvest.**” Go where one would in Japan, one found men and women who were enquiring for the Living God. (bold, original text).¹¹

The Mission used the evangelical vocabulary of the late nineteenth century using the imagery of the colour black to communicate the extent of sin in Japan and the colour white to show hope because people were interested in Christian faith. However, the quarterly magazine, *Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB)*, published from 1906, did not use the word ‘heathen’ for Japan or the Japanese, which indicates that the JEB was in a period of transition in recognizing equality of people from countries where Christianity was not a majority faith.

Since Buxton and Wilkes considered Japanese Christians equals, they were open to receive advice from the Japanese and work together to establish the Mission’s work in Japan. Takeda Shunzo was one such Japanese who was a friend and worked in equal partnership with Wilkes in Japan.

Takeda Shunzo

Takeda Shunzo was born in Wakayama prefecture in West Japan. While studying in Osaka, he became a Christian and was baptized at the Anglican Episcopal Kawaguchi Church in Osaka in 1889. Takeda studied at Doshisha College in 1895 where he met Buxton who had come to speak at the College. Impressed by Buxton’s teachings, Takeda joined the Matsue Band in 1897, the same year Paget Wilkes came to

¹⁰ JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, 1906, 1908, 1910.

¹¹ JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, 1906, 5.

Japan. Buxton sent Takeda to meet Wilkes at Sakai port in Tottori prefecture. Takeda and Wilkes became friends and ministry partners in the Matsue Band and later worked together to establish the JEB work in Japan.¹²

Japanese participation in establishing the mission

After the JEB was established in England, Wilkes returned to Japan in October 1903 accompanied by his wife, Gertrude, and son, Hamilton, and also Estelle Edmeads, a fellow missionary. Takeda Shunzo soon moved from Matsue to join Wilkes in Tokyo. Since Edmeads did not speak any Japanese, she enrolled at a language school in Tokyo soon after her arrival. I could not trace any mention of Gertrude Wilkes' work in Japan. It is possible she was perceived as a missionary wife whose primary responsibility was looking after their toddler son.

When Wilkes left England in the summer of 1903, he had few plans about the nature of JEB work. Since they had no specific plans, Takeda and Wilkes pursued various ministry opportunities available to them. They visited churches in and around Tokyo to volunteer their services. At the beginning of 1904, they moved to Yokohama to volunteer their services at Hephzibah Faith Mission (HFM), an 'undenominational' mission organization established in 1894 by an American missionary, F. L. Smelser.¹³ Takeda and Wilkes taught Sunday school, preached, and counselled at the HFM mission hall and distributed literature printed by the Mission. The two men liked working there because the HFM's motto 'Holiness unto the Lord' was similar to the Keswick tradition that promoted sanctified living.

In the summer of 1904, Takeda and Wilkes moved to the mountainous town of Karuizawa to work among recuperating wounded soldiers from the Russo-Japan war

¹² Takeda Shunzo, *Moyuru no Toge* [Burning Thorn] (Tokyo: Inochi no Kotoba, 1975).

¹³ *Proceedings of the General Conference of Protestant Missionaries in Japan: Held in Tokyo, October 24-31, 1900* (Tokyo: Methodist Publishing House, 1901), 924.

(1904-1905). The war presented Japanese Christians with an opportunity to show their patriotism. Eager to prove their loyalty to the government and the Emperor, Christians offered their services to help the wounded. They also sent parcels of food and warm clothes to the soldiers at the front. Influenced by the Holiness tradition of emphasis on the salvation of the soul, Takeda and Wilkes provided spiritual guidance for soldiers. They opened a reading room in Karuizawa. The lack of entertainment in a small town brought recovering soldiers to the reading room where Takeda and Wilkes counselled them. At the end of summer in 1904, the two men moved to Tokyo and started their preaching ministry. They travelled towards West Japan and held six days of meetings in cities and towns. Concentrating on the Western evangelical missionary desire to save 'souls', Wilkes preached messages explaining sin and salvation. In a letter to his sister, Mary Dunn-Pattison, that she later published, Wilkes explained how they presented the gospel that people without any knowledge of Christianity could understand:

Our plan, therefore, is to take and present one main truth in each address. For example, at Nagano, I wrote out John iii. 16 thus:

1. For *God*.
2. So *Loved* the world.
3. That He *Gave* His only begotten Son.
4. That whosoever *Believeth* on Him.
5. Should not *Perish*.
6. But have *Everlasting Life*.

The order in which I took them for the six nights was 1,2,5,3,6,4, keeping the subject of *sin* in the foreground in each address, and finding at close of each meeting that souls, convicted of sin and need, came into the enquiry room. Later, of course, further instruction was given.¹⁴

The message was so arranged that people could understand the Christian concept of sin and salvation. Wilkes believed six days of teaching was adequate for a person to believe in Christ. He preached with the evangelical mind-set of the time, discussed in Chapter Two, prioritizing reaching every person with the gospel rather than making sure the people understood what was being taught. Takeda, on the other hand, was concerned about the spiritual growth of the converts. He had a close knowledge of Japanese

¹⁴ Mary Dunn-Pattison, *Ablaze for God: The Life Story of Paget Wilkes* (London: JEB, 1937), 95.

traditional religions, Shinto and Buddhism, which were polytheistic, and knew that few Japanese would understand Christian monotheism or the ideas of sin and salvation. He understood it was difficult for the Japanese to grasp these concepts in six days without further teaching and access to a church or Christian fellowship. Therefore, he stayed in one place a few days longer to teach. Although both men had worked in the Matsue Band preaching the gospel in rural Japan, the two men laid emphasis on different aspects of ministry. While Wilkes preferred evangelizing the unreached areas, Takeda focused on discipleship. This difference in approach did not cause any disagreements, rather it provided a beginning for the JEB where the gospel was being preached and converts were disciplined.

In February 1905, Buxton visited Japan. Together with Takeda and Wilkes, he toured Japan preaching at various churches and holding Holiness conventions. Discussions between the three men during this time resulted in two changes that gave the Mission a new direction. Firstly, Buxton was inspired to facilitate the Home Council in England to meet regularly rather than once a year at the Keswick Convention. Secondly, Takeda and Wilkes moved to Kobe in West Japan. Here they established a Mission Hall that became the JEB headquarters in Japan. Recognizing Takeda's contribution to the mission, Wilkes wrote:

It would, be difficult, indeed, to put into words all that I owe to him in counsel, advice and patient forbearance with so poor and ignorant a pupil in Missionary Administration as I was. He was more than a colleague, he was indeed a brother beloved, a close personal friend, and helped to lay the foundations of all the work, giving himself wholeheartedly to the training of all our first Evangelists. I can never be thankful enough to God for all He did through His faithful servant, and for all Mr. Takeda was to me in those early days.¹⁵

Wilkes' statement clarifies the extent of Takeda's involvement in starting the work in Japan. Although Wilkes had worked in Japan before, Takeda's insight into mission practice and ministry laid the foundation of the JEB work in Japan. The Mission's printed literature recognizes Buxton as the founder of the Mission. Buxton's son,

¹⁵ Wilkes, "*His Glorious Power*", 27.

Godfrey, credits Wilkes for the existence of the Mission because the JEB was formed by his persistence and hard work in Japan. However, when we study Takeda's contribution, it leaves no doubt that he worked equally as hard as Wilkes. Each man complemented the other. Their talents and abilities compensated what the other lacked. Wilkes' emphasis on preaching and moving to another location facilitated reaching the unevangelized areas, while Takeda's emphasis on discipleship resulted in adequate teaching for the converts. In Chapter Five, it is evident that Takeda successfully persuaded the members of the HC to change their mind and establish a permanent Bible School, which led to training of evangelists and pastors who later established a Three-Self church. Takeda's considerable contribution in establishing the JEB raises the question: Who gave the mission its substance and form in Japan? Although he was not present at the Keswick prayer meeting where Wood, Wilkes and Buxton decided to establish the JEB, his contribution in establishing the Mission in Japan makes one ask if he could be considered as one of the founders of the Mission. From initial ministry evidence, one can conclude that JEB was started as 'a band of evangelists Japanese and "foreign"', in equal partnership.

Matsue Band members and Japanese Christians join the JEB

On 25 November 1905, Takeda and Wilkes opened a Mission Hall in Kobe, which served as the JEB headquarters in Japan.¹⁶ Establishing permanent work attracted more Matsue Band workers to the Mission. Mitani Tanekichi and Mimaki Sekitaro and their wives joined the Mission as full-time evangelists.¹⁷ Horiuchi Bunichi initially divided his time between the JEB and the Free Methodist Church and joined the Mission full-time after five years. Kawabe Teikichi, the founder of Free Methodist

¹⁶ The city of Kobe and the significance of the JEB move to the city are discussed in Chapter Five.

¹⁷ JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, 1906, 2, 37. See Appendix One for the JEB Constitution.

church in Japan, volunteered with the JEB. Another Matsue Band member, Sasao Tesusaburo, working in Tokyo with the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS), also volunteered to work with the JEB and often spoke at the Holiness conventions. Matsue Band members' work with the JEB is significant, as they did not require training in language and evangelism. They were Japanese and already established leaders who had worked with Buxton and Wilkes before. Within a year of establishing permanent work, the Mission employed eight more Japanese evangelists, three women and five men.¹⁸ In 1906, there were six missionaries and fourteen Japanese working in the Mission. Since the missionaries (except Wilkes) were mostly engaged in language learning and needed translators to do ministry, the Japanese led the preaching and teaching ministries. Thus the Japanese participated in laying the foundations of the JEB.

The place of Japanese in the JEB constitution

Encouraged by Takeda and Wilkes' work in Japan, Buxton returned to England in 1905 and reorganized the JEB board.¹⁹ Five years later, the board in England, referred to as the Home Council (HC), drafted the JEB constitution. It is significant to note that the Constitution was written five years after laying the Mission's foundations. The work in Japan had already been started by Takeda and Wilkes who made decisions regarding the work according to the needs of the moment. They had also employed twice as many Japanese as missionaries. The constitution was written the same year as the Edinburgh Missionary Conference emphasised the indigenization of overseas churches but the question of the indigenization of mission organizations overseas was not discussed. The JEB Home Council of two women and five men was progressive for the time. They did not consider indigenization but equal representation for foreign

¹⁸ JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, 1906, 2.

¹⁹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 Home Council Minutes (hereafter HCM) July 26, 27 & 28, 1905.

missionaries and Japanese in the Mission. Instead of following the traditional mission practice of keeping leadership in missionary hands, they gave the Japanese equal partnership rights in mission practice, stating, ‘Our foreign Missionaries are not sent out to govern the Church, but rather as workers together with our Japanese Brethren to whom God has given the same gift of the Spirit.’ The Home Council (HC) did not see missionaries as teachers or facilitators as suggested by the eighteenth and the nineteenth century mission theorists and observed in Chapter Two, but as equals. The missionaries were not expected to be leaders or to take supportive roles, but work together as they had the same measure ‘of the Spirit’. Roland Allen in his 1930 book *The Place of “Faith” in Missionary Evangelism* questioned whether missionaries were not able to hand over leadership because they did not trust the Holy Spirit to guide the national leaders.²⁰ Twenty years before Allen, the JEB had recognized the equality of all believers. Here it is significant to note that the JEB was not established by missionaries and indigenized later, but established to work in equal partnership with Japanese even when the HC knew all the work would be financed from the UK.

The constitution specified the uniqueness of the Field Council already at work in Japan; ‘An Administrative Council in Japan, consisting of three Japanese and two Foreign, directs all the work on the Field, in conference with the Home Council.’²¹ The Japanese were given positions of leadership in the Mission’s administrative structure, which, for that time, was revolutionary. The HC recognized that the Japanese were better suited to make ministry decisions in Japan as they knew their country better than the British who lived thousands of miles away in Britain, or the missionaries who came from a different culture. The Field Council, however, had to make decisions in consultation with the Home Council. The following questions arise: How confident

²⁰ Roland Allen, *The Place of “Faith” in Missionary Evangelism* (London: World Dominion Press, 1930), 6-7.

²¹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM 25 July 1910.

were the British of the Japanese ability to make decisions about the JEB ministry? How much freedom did the Japanese in the FC have to implement mission policies? Were the Japanese also able to have a voice in the decisions made by the Home Council?

Japanese voices in the Home Council

Wilkes and Takeda gave the Mission an enthusiastic start in Japan. In England, however, Barclay Buxton and his friends, Thomas Hogben and Herbert and Annie Wood, were slow in organizing the Mission and drafting the constitution. Although they met but once a year, they continually raised funds and personnel for the work in Japan. Annie Wood recruited James Cuthbertson as a missionary.²² Buxton found financial support from the Christian Police Association (CPA) for Cuthbertson, and for William and Mary Taylor, cousins of the Hudson Taylors, to go to Japan. The Home Council (HC) was finally able to match Takeda and Wilkes' enthusiasm in 1909, when they decided to meet quarterly for ministry planning rather than once a year at the Keswick Convention.²³ The following year they drafted the JEB constitution.

Although inspired by Hudson Taylor's preaching ministry in China, Buxton did not adopt the China Inland Mission's (CIM) form of government that was field-led. Even though the JEB was considered an extension of the Matsue Band, unlike the Matsue Band that was led from the field by Buxton, the founding members decided to establish a Home Council (HC). In 1905, Buxton invited a few more people to join the HC and called its first meeting. The first HC consisted of Barclay Buxton as Chairman, Hubert Verner, Francis Paynter, Thomas Hogben, Paget Wilkes, Herbert Wood, Annie Wood, Mrs. Braithwaite and W. H. R. Tredinnick. Although Wilkes and Braithwaite

²² James Cuthbertson (1882-1957) grew up in a Plymouth Brethren meeting in Manchester. He joined the JEB in 1906 supported by the Christian Police Association. He was assigned to work in Tokyo among the police. Later he was made in charge of organizing tent-missions. Cuthbertson was appointed the Field Director in 1925. He stepped down from his position in 1938.

²³ JEB Box 1, Vol. 1 HCM, 2 Sept. 1909.

lived in Japan, they were considered members of the HC. Out of the rest of the Council members, only Buxton had lived and worked in Japan. In later years, other council members visited Japan for short periods but Buxton was the only person who lived in Japan for periods of a few months at a time.

Initially, the Home Council (HC) expected to make all the decisions about work in Japan but as a courtesy they asked for the Field Council's (FC) opinion when drafting the Mission's constitution in 1910. Since Takeda was a member of the FC and had established a church to disciple the Mission's converts, the FC suggested deleting the clause the Mission 'does not establish a Church or Sect of its own'.²⁴ Even though the HC entrusted the FC to lead the ministry in Japan they rejected their request. There were two main reasons for their refusal. Firstly, the HC was concerned that establishing churches in Japan might damage the interdenominational image of the Mission. Establishing churches in Japan could be construed as an encouragement to Japanese Christians to break away from denominational churches. It portrayed double standards. The JEB could be perceived as promoting Christian unity in the UK but dividing the church in Japan. Secondly, the Mission depended on donations to continue work in Japan. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Christian Police Association and the Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission supported missionaries and Japanese evangelists. The JEB representatives visited churches of different denominations in Britain and spoke at Holiness conventions. Impressed with stories of Japan, people gave donations. Although the donors and mission partners do not physically voice their opinion, JEB Home Council (HC) was so mindful of their contribution that they had a voice in establishing the JEB mission policies. Even though the Field Council wanted to establish churches to disciple converts, the HC was still determined to retain their policy of not establishing churches. Giving up interdenominational ministry could mean losing

²⁴ JEB Box 1, Vol. 1 HCM, 25 July 1910.

financial support. Considering the long-term consequences of changing their policy, the HC refused the Field Council's request. Since the HC was very confident it was the right decision, the FC did not insist on making changes.

Even though the Home Council refused the Field Council's advice, they maintained a friendly and approachable relationship with the FC. Their openness gave the Japanese confidence to express grievances to the HC. In 1913, the FC raised concerns regarding the spiritual life of missionaries and the educational qualifications of two missionaries. The Home Council took exception to the Japanese thinking 'none of our missionaries possess spiritual leadership or power' and all missionaries needed to be highly educated.²⁵ Historically, Japan had received well-educated missionaries who had established government and private educational institutions. The Protestant Christians' association with education since entering Japan has been considered as one of the reasons why Christianity had an intellectual image and limited itself to the middle class. Most first generation Christians were converted in their schools. The first generation Japanese Protestant leaders were university graduates. Japanese ordained pastors were graduates of universities and seminaries. Japanese Christians, therefore, were used to expecting highly educated Christians, whether missionaries or Japanese. The Home Council functioned on Wilkes' vision of preaching to the uneducated and the functionally literate. The Mission neither had any educational institution nor provided medical care, therefore, they did not need highly educated missionaries. They expressed to the Japanese on the Field Council:

If anyone should speak contemptuously of J.E.B. workers, surely men with "Clean heart" should not have 'carnal considerations' on this point. The Lord said to men who were of humble birth and without college education "go ye into all the world" and "all the world" includes Japan and since the Bible is for all time, we must take it that the Lord still sends to Japan uneducated people, if they are indeed endued with power from on high. If any societies only want 'Ladies and Gentlemen' perhaps they might be in danger of refusing the Lord Himself as He was only a Carpenter. When the Bible distinctly says not many wise or mighty have been chosen of God, or many of 'high birth' but that he has chosen

²⁵ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 19 Dec. 1913.

the poor and the base ones; we feel that the band ought to be as ready to accept an ordinary worker, as a university man, provided he is a man of power.²⁶

Unlike most established mission organizations of the nineteenth century, the JEB did not expect their missionaries to be university graduates or ordained. The call for missions was for every Christian. Similar to the CIM, the JEB accepted missionaries from all walks of life. The Home Council was also confident of the spiritual level of their missionaries as they had all been trained at a JEB trusted Faith Mission Bible School in Edinburgh.²⁷ Strong objections from the HC at the Field Council's understanding of qualifications of a missionary forced the Japanese in the FC to rethink their opinions. The archives do not inform how the FC's opinion changed but states that both the councils agreed spiritual fervour was the most important qualification for a missionary. The minutes do not state why but the Field Council stated their wish 'to withdraw their previous (sic) expressed views.'²⁸ In the absence of the letter detailing the concerns of the Japanese in the FC, the question arises whether the foreigners and the Japanese in the Band had a clear understanding regarding the ministry of the Band. Another reason might be the Japanese traditional understanding of missionaries as highly qualified teachers which raised the FC's expectation of missionary 'qualifications' even when they were not expected to work at educational institutions.

The Home Council considered two criteria essential for a JEB missionary candidate. Firstly, they needed to be in agreement with the JEB doctrinal stand, secondly, the missionaries needed to have the ability to empathize and communicate

²⁶ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 19 Dec. 1913.

²⁷ Faith Mission (FM) was established by John George Govan (1861-1927) in 1886 in Edinburgh to evangelize rural Scotland and Ireland. Based on Keswick teachings, the Mission called their evangelists pilgrims. Faith Mission trusted God to provide for finances and did not solicit funds. The Mission had strict dress code and expected their female pilgrims to wear dresses and hats. The JEB sent their missionaries to train at the Faith Mission Bible School. Govan was also a member of the JEB Home Council in the UK from 1911 to 1927. Buxton, Wilkes and JEB evangelists often visited the FM and were invited to speak at FM Holiness Conventions. See I. R. Govan, *When the Fire Fell: The Outcome in the Life of John George Govan* (Belfast: Faith Mission, 1961); Walter B. Sloan, 'The Faith Mission: Its Beginnings' in J. B. McLean, ed., *Faith Triumphant: A Review of the Work of the Faith Mission* (Edinburgh: Faith Mission, 1936); <http://www.fmhc.ac/about/mission> ; <http://www.fmhc.ac/about/history> accessed on 26 May 2015.

²⁸ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 14 July 1914.

with the functionally literate among whom the mission worked. The Mission was not adverse to educated missionaries and had ‘constantly’ advertised for university graduates to be missionaries in Japan, yet ‘none had offered’. The HC too, concerned with a small number of university graduates volunteering for mission in Japan, discussed the issue of ‘work carried on, on what are called “Faith Lives” does not attract the best educated’ at the Faith Mission Conference. They concluded that mission organizations, such as the JEB, attracted ‘the most spiritual’.²⁹ Their conclusion raises the question whether the participants at the Conference considered the university graduates less spiritual. Buxton and Wilkes were both Oxbridge graduates. The ‘Cambridge Seven’ who volunteered to go to China with Hudson Taylor were all university graduates who came from elite families that could financially support them. Many of Wilkes’ friends from Oxford such as Willie Holland, Temple Gairdner, Joe Oldham and Douglas Wood, became missionaries to various parts of the world.³⁰ There were two possible reasons for very few graduates offering to work with the JEB. Firstly, the JEB was a small emerging mission organization. The Mission was still planning mission strategies and learning from experience. Established mission organizations, on the other hand, provided security to their missionaries as they were financially stable. They ordained their missionaries before they left for the mission field and provided assistance to rehabilitate missionaries on their return. Therefore, they appeared more attractive than a mission organization such as the JEB that was still trying to establish itself. Secondly, the JEB preached among the less educated and the poor without doing any social work, which university graduates may not have found appealing.

The Home Council was open to advice that benefited mission practice in Japan. In 1916, when Wilkes was visiting England, Takeda wrote to the JEB secretary in the London office and suggested that the Mission offer J.B. Thornton a salary. Thornton was

²⁹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 19 Dec. 1913.

³⁰ JEB Box 43 File 1, Eric Gosden, ‘Paget Wilkes’, unpublished biography, 1970.

an independent American missionary who volunteered at the JEB Bible School. He had informed the HC he would stop volunteering because God was calling him to work in China. Takeda believed Thornton's financial struggles were the reasons for his desire to move. As the Bible School needed a teacher, the HC followed his advice and Thornton was persuaded to stay.³¹

Through time, the relationship between the two councils changed as they assumed different administrative responsibilities. Initially, the Home Council made decisions about all the work in England and Japan, including the number of new appointments and the extension of work in Japan. However, after the HC's refusal to change their mission policy regarding establishing churches, the Field Council started making decisions for the work in Japan without consulting the English office. The HC was not very impressed with such practices and expressed their displeasure in 1911.³² Two years later, again the HC reminded the FC to observe the constitution rule that 'nothing shall be decided except by unanimous consent'.³³ Frustrated by the slow-paced mail and delay in work in Japan due to decisions at quarterly Home Council meetings, the Field Council reminded the Home Council that those living in Japan had a better understanding of the situation and people, and they should be trusted to make the right decisions.³⁴ The FC's firm response to the HC resulted in starting the practice of the HC asking the FC's opinion before making decisions about mission policies and work in Japan.³⁵ By the mid-1920s, the Home Council came to realize that the limitations of distance and their limited knowledge of Japanese situations hindered the smooth running of work in Japan. Similar to the China Inland Mission, the JEB started making ministry decisions in the mission field. Increasingly the FC took responsibility for work in Japan

³¹ JEB Box 14 File 1-B Home Council Correspondence (hereafter HCC), Tredinnick to Buxton, 16 Feb. 1916.

³² JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 31 July 1911.

³³ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 19 Dec. 1913.

³⁴ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 14 July 1914.

³⁵ JEB Box 1 Vol. 3 HCM, 10, 11, 12 June 1920.

while the HC's responsibilities were limited to raising funds, sending missionaries and giving the official seal of approval to the FC's decisions. As the HC stopped insisting on the strict adherence to the constitution, the Field Council gradually started making major mission policy decisions. In 1925, contrary to the constitution, the HC approved the FC's decision to permit Japanese workers to establish churches.³⁶ By 1940, the HC left executive responsibilities in Japan to workers in Japan, including the election of the Field Director and whether to close the work in Japan.³⁷

Japanese voices in the Field Council

The Field Council (FC), consisting of three Japanese and two foreigners, had executive authority to make decisions regarding work in Japan and the freedom to use finances.³⁸ Since the Japanese were a majority, they were in a position to exercise influence on Mission policies. In 1926, the FC expressed the need for equality and passed a resolution to change the number of FC members to eight, four foreigners and four Japanese. It is not known why the Council felt the need for equal representation when the Japanese were more numerous in the Mission than foreigners. Neither is it known whether the Japanese or the missionaries initiated the change in numbers. It is possible that both sides wanted equal representation as they saw the Mission as a partnership of Japanese and foreigners. In practice, however, the proportion was not changed and the Japanese always had a larger representation on the FC.³⁹ By 1934, there were three foreigners and five Japanese on the FC. All members were either elected or nominated by the sitting members. I was not able to find any document stating the term of the FC members. Lack of definite guidelines for the FC served as an advantage as the

³⁶ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 25 June 1925.

³⁷ JEB Box 1 Vol. 6 HCM, 21 Aug. 1940.

³⁸ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM, 25 July 1910.

³⁹ JEB Box 17 File 1 Field Council Minutes (henceforth FCM), 26 Jan. 1926.

Council was able to make decisions that were conducive for the facilitation of work that evangelists prioritized such as church planting.

The Field Council worked as a bridge between the workers and the Home Council. Since there were more Japanese on the Council, they better understood and represented the needs of Japanese evangelists in the rapidly changing economic and socio-political conditions in the country. They considered economic changes in Japan and, when necessary, requested an increase in salaries. Even with a Japanese majority, there was an influence from British culture in the workings of the Council where senior members were concerned. They continued the Home Council's practice of giving senior members the freedom to choose their mission field which was contrary to the Japanese culture that was highly influenced by the Confucian thought of social hierarchy which taught one not to question authority. The FC respected the wishes of senior workers whether foreign or Japanese. One such example was Tanaka, a senior worker, who refused to move to the town assigned to him. The FC bowed to his wishes and permitted him to stay in his chosen town. They decided not to discipline Tanaka as he was a good worker and they did not want to lose him to another mission organization.⁴⁰ Such considerations and the influence of foreigners show that political turmoil in the country had very little effect on the JEB leadership. Even though Japanese politics grew nationalistic and authoritarian, the FC became more democratized. Japanese leaders bowing to the wishes of junior staff members does not depict weakness as when need arose they did not hesitate to discipline workers. In 1929, the FC removed Hatae from the Band and suspended Maekawa 'for disciplinary purposes'. The Field Council minutes do not give the reasons for such actions. However, it indicates that the FC used its power depending on the situation and purpose.⁴¹ The FC was also firm in their decisions where Mission policies were concerned. Instead of obeying the rules set down

⁴⁰ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 8 & 13 May 1929.

⁴¹ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 8 & 13 May 1929.

by the Home Council, the FC guided the ministry in Japan according to the situation. The Home Council had to accept the Field Council's decisions to establish churches,⁴² not to do social work,⁴³ and to hand over all Mission assets to the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK).⁴⁴

Japanese leadership in evangelism

Since the beginning of the JEB work in Japan, the Japanese took the leadership in evangelism. Initially, teams of Japanese and missionaries on the Matsue Band pattern visited towns and villages around Kobe. They took leadership in organizing and preaching in open-air meetings. In 1921, the FC decided to extend their ministry trips to rural areas further away from Kobe as they thought they had distributed tracts and held tent-meetings in all the areas of Kobe City. Although the Mission was established to evangelize on the Matsue Band model of preaching and moving to the next location, Takeda added the ministry of discipleship to evangelism. At the end of ten days of open-air and tent-meetings for children and adults, one Japanese worker remained in the place for a month to teach Bible studies to new converts. However, Wilkes decided a month of counselling was sufficient for the spiritual growth of new converts. He reasoned if Paul could establish the Thessalonian church in three weeks, so could the JEB.⁴⁵ Roland Allen too used the same example to urge missionaries to hand over leadership responsibilities to nationals.⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that both Wilkes and Allen took the Thessalonian church as an example where Paul was forced to leave, rather than the Corinthian church where Paul stayed for eighteen months, or the Ephesian church where he stayed for three years. Wilkes' primary vision was to

⁴² See Chapter Five.

⁴³ See Chapter Six.

⁴⁴ See Chapter Seven.

⁴⁵ *Japan Evangelistic Band* [magazine] (hereafter *JEB*) Vol.15, No. 4 (Jan. 1921), 1.

⁴⁶ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962 [1912]).

evangelize Japan, therefore, he did not consider it essential to stay too long in one place. Takeda, on the other hand, was concerned with the lack of churches in rural areas, so he permitted the evangelists to disciple the converts until they could function as churches.

Japanese initiatives in leadership and ministry helped remove the foreign image of Christianity. Almost three hundred years of vilification of Christianity and interaction with Western governments had made the Japanese sceptical of the Christian faith and its adherents. Transplanted Protestant churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries further contributed to enhancing the ‘foreign’ image. The functionally literate Japanese felt alienated from the church because Christianity projected an intellectual image through Christian educational institutions.⁴⁷ The public perceived JEB Japanese workers, most of whom were not university graduates, as approachable. Enquirers and converts in the rural areas found it easier to approach Japanese workers as they shared a similar cultural background and avoided misunderstandings of language. On occasions, even after receiving counselling from missionaries, the enquirers returned the following day to speak to a Japanese worker. Initially, Cuthbertson was responsible for organizing tent-missions. However, by 1920 Japanese evangelists had taken over the role without any help from missionaries. After his return from service in the First World War, Cuthbertson reported that Horiuchi and four Japanese workers were running tent-missions at various places.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ For the Japanese view of Christianity as a foreign religion see Robert Lee, *The Clash of Civilizations: An Intrusive Gospel in Japanese Civilization* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 1999); Noriyoshi Tamaru and David Reid, *Religion in Japanese Culture: Where Living Traditions meet a Changing World* (Tokyo: Kondansha International, 1996); Neil Fujita, “‘Conic’ Christianity and ‘Donut’ Japan”, *Missiology: An International Review* Vol. 22, No.1 (January 1994), 43-53; Robert Lee, *Stranger in the Land*, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967); Mark R. Mullins, ‘Japanese Christianity’, in Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson, eds., *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 119; Mark Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movement* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

⁴⁸ *JEB* Vol. 15, No. 4 (Jan. 1921).

Japanese teachers at the Bible School

Takeda and Wilkes started training converts at the Mission Hall to help in evangelism. In the next chapter, I will discuss the beginning of the Bible School. Apart from Wilkes and Takeda, Horiuchi and Sasao taught part-time at the School. In 1912, the Home Council decided to appoint Jesse Blackburn Thornton⁴⁹ as a ‘Foreign Principal’, even though he did not speak Japanese and needed an interpreter to teach classes.⁵⁰ The archives do not state why the Mission felt the need for a ‘Foreign Principal’. It is interesting to note that none of the Japanese objected to Thornton’s appointment. Takeda’s advice to the HC to pay Thornton a salary proved to be right.⁵¹ When Thornton was financially secure, he did not move to China. However, three years later in 1919, Thornton left the Mission because he perceived that the JEB policy of financing their Bible School students was making the Japanese dependent on the Mission.

Thornton’s departure did not affect the running of the School. By 1924, the school had expanded and the Mission appointed Sawamura Goro (1887-1977) as the principal. Sawamura became a Christian through the ministry of General Booth of the Salvation Army. He joined the Mission in 1916 and studied at JEB Bible School.⁵² In 1922, the Mission sent him to study at Faith Mission Bible School in Edinburgh. On his return, Sawamura started teaching at the JEB Bible School. In 1925, the *JEB* (quarterly magazine) reported nine lecturers teaching at the Bible School: six Japanese and three missionaries. Wilkes and all Japanese lecturers taught Biblical subjects while the two missionaries taught English and music.⁵³ Sawamura remained the Principal of the Bible

⁴⁹ See Chapter Three, Footnote 118.

⁵⁰ *JEB* Vol. 8, No. 4 (Jan. 1914), 63.

⁵¹ JEB Box 14 File 1-B HCC, Tredinnick to Buxton, 17 Feb. 1916.

⁵² JEB Box 45 File 3 JEB Prayer Calendar, 1937, 24.

⁵³ *JEB* Vol. 19, No. 4 (Jan. 1925), 53-54.

School and pastor of Tarumi Church of the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyōdan (NIKKyo) near the Bible School until his death in 1977.⁵⁴

No missionary pastors

The Mission strictly followed the constitution's clause stating that the missionaries were not sent 'to govern the Church' but were workers together with the Japanese. As discussed in Chapter Two, missionaries considered evangelism as their primary responsibility. The JEB missionaries too believed God had entrusted them with the responsibility to reach each and every Japanese with the gospel, therefore, they did not want to engage in church planting and discipleship.⁵⁵ The Japanese evangelists, on the other hand, were concerned with spiritual growth of their converts since most new believers lived in rural areas where there was no Christian fellowship. The evangelists gathered converts in small groups that functioned as churches. The evangelists' initiative in establishing churches that were contrary to the JEB Home Council and missionary vision for the Mission gave these churches an indigenous leadership. Since the Mission did not officially establish churches, they did not appoint any pastors. Yet, the Field Council did not prohibit evangelists from establishing a church. They provided financial support to evangelists who functioned as pastors. Even though the Mission did not claim these churches as JEB churches, their decision to support the pastors until the congregation was organized and the church self-financing enabled the Japanese to establish indigenous churches. These churches are discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

⁵⁴ Church established by the JEB. Its formation is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

⁵⁵ JEB Box 14 File 2 Home Council Correspondence (hereafter HCC) Extracts from Deliberations of the Missionary Meeting Called for special purposes, and held at the Fuji Hotel, Kobe, 19 March 1938.

The position of the Field Director

The JEB organizational structure gave the Japanese an opportunity to take the initiative in leadership. Missionary deliberation over the appointment of a Japanese Field Director showed their perception of Japanese leadership and the weakness of the two councils to make decisions. A Field Director, who was also a member of the Field Council, led the work in Japan. According to Paget Wilkes' account, published in 1923, "*Brimming Over*" or *Some Incidents in the Story of the JEB* and "*His Glorious Power*": *The Story of the JEB*, published in 1933, the vision was to establish 'a Band of evangelists Japanese and "foreign"'. These words suggest equality between the Japanese and missionaries in the Band. Even though Wilkes and Takeda had closely worked together, the official position of the Field Director (FD) was given to Wilkes. There is no evidence of the Home Council ever considering Takeda for the position. In 1925, after disagreement on mission policies, Takeda and Amy Burnet left the Mission. Their disagreement with the Mission is discussed in detail in Chapter Five. Their departure resulted in major policy changes in the Mission. The Field Council permitted Japanese workers to establish churches. To give the Mission a new start, Wilkes stepped down from the position of the FD.⁵⁶ Although this was an opportune moment to give leadership to a Japanese, HC ignored Mimaki and Horiuchi who had worked in the Matsue Band and moved to Kobe to join JEB. Instead, they appointed James Cuthbertson.⁵⁷ There is no evidence of any Field Council member or evangelist objecting to Cuthbertson's appointment.

As discussed in Chapter Three, by 1934, the political environment in Japan had changed. Victory over Manchuria had bolstered nationalism and the exploitation of Manchuko's natural resources seemed to be the answer to Japanese domestic economic woes. From the early 1930s, the government also started pressurising Japanese

⁵⁶ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 22 May 1925.

⁵⁷ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 19 Sept. 1924.

Christians to show their loyalty by endorsing Japanese military conquests in China, worshipping at shrines and showing religious deference to the Emperor. The government also showed a distrust of foreigners and the Japanese who worked with them. Later in Chapter Seven, I will discuss in detail the effects such actions had on the relationship between the Japanese and missionaries in the JEB. Observing the political and social changes in Japan, the JEB Home Council was concerned to show the Japanese and the government that they were not in Japan to govern the Japanese in the Mission but to serve the country with them. When Cuthbertson expressed a desire to retire, unlike the previous practice, the HC did not appoint the next Field Director. Instead, Buxton wrote to Cuthbertson suggesting it was time for a Japanese FD. In response to Cuthbertson's letter expressing doubt about Japanese leadership abilities, Buxton wrote:

We have a Japanese who could fill the post in Sawamura. Would it not give confidence to Japanese Christians, and help them to feel that the Band work is really a Japanese work? And would it not shew the heathen that the Gospel is theirs and for them, and is not essentially English and Foreign?

We shall not get the Japanese leaders we shall need in the future unless we make them lead. It is best to do this while we are still then, [sic] and help them with advice. Japanese are fully capable of leading in all the Departments of the State. So surely Japanese can lead an aggressive gospel campaign. Is not Yamamuro a good leader for the Salvation Army?⁵⁸

Buxton's statement clarifies that he considered the Mission 'a Japanese work'. For this reason, the Home Council had accepted the Field Council's decision on policy changes. It is interesting to note that even though the HC expected to finance work in Japan, they considered JEB a Japanese initiative. Earlier they did not consider a Japanese as a Field Director, but by 1934 they were confident in Japanese leadership ability and cited the example of Yamamuro Gunpei (1872-1940) who had led the Salvation Army in Japan, since its inception in 1895. Buxton was also aware of the tense political situation in East Asia and thought a Japanese Field Director would give the Japanese government confidence that the JEB, although financed from Britain, was not anti-Japanese. Since

⁵⁸ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC Buxton to Cuthbertson, 8 Dec. 1934.

Buxton was the chairman of the Home Council, it can be assumed that it was expected that Cuthbertson would consult all the staff members in Japan. Instead of taking this proposition to the Field Council, Cuthbertson wrote to all missionaries asking for their opinion. Similar to Buxton, another senior missionary, A. I. Dyer, believed in Japanese leadership and thought it was time to hand over work to the Japanese. In response to Cuthbertson's letter, Dyer wrote:

I feel the time has fully arrived for some change to be made in administration of the work in Japan whereby the Japanese could be given a position of greater responsibility, and more unfettered powers of leadership in helping to carry forward the work.

I am confident that such an arrangement would be acceptable to every Japanese member of the Band.

It may not be inappropriate in this connection to quote what one of the Japanese members of the Field Council said to me on my return to the field in 1932. It was that they wanted the work of the Band so organized that if for any reason – such as war breaking out – necessitating the withdrawal from Japan of all our missionaries, the work could go on under their charge and supervision. This, I am sure, in view of the very critical political situation in Japan, is a reasonable and right desire on their part, and one which calls for sympathetic consideration.⁵⁹

Dyer's response suggests that, similar to Buxton, he had confidence in Japanese leadership. Dyer went to Japan in 1906. He was initially placed in Matsue to revive Buxton's work done during Matsue Band time. Later, he was moved to Himeji in Hyogo prefecture. By 1934, he had returned to the UK. Over 30 years of ministry, Dyer had observed political and social changes in Japan and, therefore, believed it was time the JEB elected a Japanese as a Field Director. Unlike Dyer, all missionaries, irrespective of the length of time they had lived in Japan, were apprehensive of Japanese leadership, as they believed Japanese would prioritize church organization over evangelism. They were of a unanimous opinion that the Japanese did not have a vision for evangelism because they wanted to establish churches. A young missionary, Tipton Williams, who worked at the Sunrise Home, wrote to Verner:

⁵⁹ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, n.d. Dyer's answer to Cuthbertson's question on the future government of the Band.

I would like to say that my own personal experience has taught me that very few Japanese workers (evangelists) are willing to concentrate on Evangelism. The spirit of working to “settle down” in a little parish is the great hindrance to pioneer work.⁶⁰

Williams’ statement indicates that missionaries were not concerned about preserving the fruit of their work. In the tense political situation of 1934 after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and growing hostility towards the West, evangelism was still the missionary priority. To be certain evangelism remained the Mission’s primary concern and the missionaries preferred a foreigner as a Field Director. On 12 December 1934, at a missionary meeting, all unanimously voted ‘that the time has not yet arrived for this. Also the opinion was very strongly against this as a principle.’⁶¹ The missionaries did not wish Cuthbertson to retire and requested him to continue to work as the Field Director. Even though the FD was leader of both the Japanese and the missionaries, they did not consider asking for the Japanese opinion. Missionary actions raise the important question of how the missionaries perceived the JEB. For Buxton, Wilkes and the Home Council, it was a mission organization for both the Japanese and foreigners, whereas missionary actions in the 1930s suggest they perceived the Mission to be British. Could finances be the reason for such an understanding? Since I could not find evidence of Japanese financial contributions to the Band, we can conclude that all the work in Japan was sponsored by British money. As all work was funded from Britain, the missionaries might have considered the Mission belonged more to them rather than to the Japanese.

Four years later, in 1938, Cuthbertson again expressed a desire to retire from his position of FD. Instead of talking to the Field Council or calling a meeting of all workers, he called a meeting of all missionaries in March 1938. Again all missionaries unanimously concluded ‘A Japanese Field Director will be a deathblow to the Band’. The missionaries met for discussion and decided:

⁶⁰ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Williams to Verner, 30 Jan. 1935.

⁶¹ JEB Box14 File 2 HCC, Missionary Deliberations at Sunrise Home, 12 Dec. 1934.

CONCERNING JAPANESE FIELD DIRECTOR. This was taken first. Ample time was given to this question, the Field director being careful to abstain from presenting his opinion until all had had the fullest possible opportunity of presenting theirs. Consensus of opinion.

- (a) The general principle of being ready to serve under a Japanese leader (if an acceptable person) was agreed by all.
- (b) The meeting was unanimously of the opinion that the time was not yet come for this drastic change. The same question was raised in 1934. Now is felt to be even less opportune than at that period.⁶²

The missionaries followed the constitution and stayed away from church leadership but they were not willing to give up leadership in the Mission organization. They were willing to submit to Japanese leadership if they considered the leader ‘acceptable’ but did not state the conditions for an ‘acceptable’ Japanese leadership. It is also interesting to note that as the government doubted Japanese Christians’ patriotism because of their affiliation with foreigners, the JEB missionaries distrusted them with leadership. They cited nine reasons for such a conclusion. Firstly, they were concerned Japanese Christians were compromising their faith ‘with idolatry in its modern form’. Here, they did not explain what they considered the ‘modern form’ of idolatry. It is possible it was a reference to the issues of Emperor worship (*kyujo yohai* 宮城遥拜) and shrine worship (*jinja sanpai* 神社参拜). These were the major issues debated by the Christians at that time. They are discussed in Chapter Seven in detail. While the missionaries acknowledged that there were few examples of outstanding Japanese Christians, they were concerned:

[There was no] guarantee that our own non-compromising position will be maintained in these and future days of intense ‘patriotism’ pressure. The position of Leadership having been once transferred, the missionary ability to direct the Band along ‘out and out’ lines; to act as a deterrent to any tendency to slip off the true path; to resist official pressure in the coming days of stress, will be lost for ever.⁶³

The above statement suggests the missionaries did not have confidence in Japanese leadership to be able to stand up for their faith against the government and social

⁶² JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Extracts from Deliberations of the Missionary Meeting Called for special purposes, and held at the Fuji Hotel, Kobe, 19 March 1938.

⁶³ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Extracts from Deliberations of the Missionary Meeting Called for special purposes, and held at the Fuji Hotel, Kobe, 19 March 1938.

pressure. Another basis for their argument to keep the position of the Field Director among the missionaries was that the split in the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS) Holiness Church was the result of the Japanese leadership. Nakada Juji, one of the founders of the OMS and the first bishop of the Holiness Church, started making changes to the Church's administrative structure from 1931. He asserted his authority by asking all the pastors to ask his permission for every change in their church even to the weekly church bulletin. Nakada felt the Second Coming of Christ was imminent and started laying emphasis on prayer. His second wife took control of the administration at the Bible Training Institute and was reported to have burnt books and insisted students spent time praying rather than studying. Worship at the Bible Training Institute and some churches became very charismatic. People prayed all night in loud voices and marched through the streets praying at the top of their voices. Nakada also started preaching that the Japanese were probably one of the lost tribes of Israel and would enter into the same blessing of the Promised Land as the Israelites with the restoration of their nation. For this reason, and believing Christ's imminent return, it was more important to intercede for the restoration of Israel than evangelize the non-Christians.⁶⁴ However, professors at the Bible Training Institute did not agree with Nakada's teaching. In 1933, expecting the tradition of the Japanese non-questioning loyalty from all his staff, Nakada demanded that the five professors endorse his teachings. The professors, however, in response, called a meeting of the Holiness Church officials and removed Nakada as their Bishop that resulted in a split in the Church. A small group that stayed with Nakada formed Kiyome Kyokai (きよめ教会 Holiness Church), while the larger group formed

⁶⁴ Shinobu Koide, *Horinesu no Mure Ryaku Shi* [Outline History of the Horinesu Mure] (Tokyo: Horinesu no Mure Publishing Dept., 1974), 46, cited in John Jennings Merwin, 'The Oriental Missionary Society Holiness Church in Japan 1901-1983', D.Miss dissertation Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983, 380.

the Nippon Sei Kyokai (日本聖教会 Japan Holiness Church).⁶⁵ The JEB missionaries reasoned that a foreigner's leadership prevented their Mission from being drawn into the controversy. They argued that had there been a Japanese FD during the Holiness Church controversy, the JEB would have split. Therefore, a strong Band of missionaries under foreign leadership was likely to prove a great help to all the Japanese members of the Band as persecution deepened.

The second reason the missionaries refused HC's request to elect a Japanese Field Director was because they did not consider any of the JEB Japanese leaders capable of leading the Mission. Sawamura Goro was the only person the Committee considered for the position. The missionaries appreciated Sawamura as 'intensely spiritual' and 'true to God' but not as a disciplinarian or physically strong and 'utterly unable to take on any additional responsibility'. They claimed his running of the School was evidence of a lack of qualities essential for the position. However, the archives do not suggest any administrative problems at the Bible School or in the Field Council where he was a member. Interestingly, the Japanese, not just in JEB but all Holiness churches, trusted Sawamura to lead them to join the Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (日本キリスト教団 United Church of Christ in Japan) as ordered by the government. Although not physically strong enough in missionary eyes, Sawamura survived the Second World War and worked with the JEB until his death in 1977.

The third reason they presented was that there was no 'successful example' of any mission organization handing over leadership to the Japanese. They observed four churches that had Japanese leadership. In the case of the Episcopal Church, they believed a Japanese leadership 'may' work but from conversations with a CMS missionary working under a Japanese pastor, they understood there was a decline in

⁶⁵ For more information see John Jennings Merwin, 'The Oriental Missionary Society Holiness Church in Japan 1901-1983', D.Miss dissertation Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983.

evangelism. The Congregational Church under Japanese leadership, they observed, had ‘declined’ into ‘modernism’ and since the Congregationalists in the USA were sending fewer missionaries, evangelistic work had slowed down. In the 1920s, Japanese Christians took over the leadership in churches, while some mission organizations started sending fewer missionaries, as they believed it was time missionaries trusted the Japanese with church responsibilities. Similar to JEB missionaries, an American Baptist missionary, William Axling, in 1927, claimed there was a decline in evangelism in Japan, which he believed was a result of some mission organizations’ decision to stop sending missionaries. He argued that although the Japanese church was capable of leading independent of missionaries, they needed missionaries not as leaders but as mission partners.⁶⁶ The third church that was an unsuccessful example of Japanese leadership was the Holiness Church that had split. They claimed JEB was saved from ‘havoc, distress heartbreak and shame’ portrayed daily in the newspapers because of missionary leadership. The fourth church, Kassui no Muré (活水の群れ the Flock of Living Water), was established by a JEB convert and former Bible School alumnus, Tsuge Fujito (1873-1927). Since Tsuge’s death, the JEB missionaries claimed, ‘bitterness, antipathy to other churches, self-centeredness and lack of growth’ had divided the church. These problems were attributed to a lack of missionary presence in the church. They further justified their decision by stating they were ‘curious’ to know why the China Inland Mission and similar bodies had not handed over leadership to nationals. They did not consider successful ministries such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance who had handed over churches to the Japanese and had withdrawn from the country in 1933. In looking for excuses to hold on to power, JEB missionaries could not appreciate the uniqueness of the Mission. In a period when mission

⁶⁶ William Axling, ‘The Unfinished Task in Japan’, *The International Review of Missions* Vol. 16, No. 6 (Jan. 1927), 14-23.

organizations perceived nationals as employees, the Home Council had given the Japanese equality and even though they did not have examples of other mission organizations to follow, the HC was willing to work under national leadership.

The fourth reason the JEB missionaries did not want a Japanese FD was because they believed that in places where evangelists worked without a missionary, the work was ‘neither so energetic, so widespread, or so effective’. Such observations by the missionaries, raises questions about the Mission’s criteria to accept new workers and training at the Bible School. As a Mission whose primary task was evangelism, why were they not able to teach their workers to be enthusiastic evangelists even when people were unresponsive to the gospel? The missionaries were certain a Japanese FD was not beneficial for the Mission because the Japanese had a tendency to concentrate on church organization rather than evangelism. Therefore, if the Mission’s leadership was handed over to the Japanese, the JEB ‘will be no exception. As we definitely expressed, a sentiment we all agreed with, “A Japanese Field Director will be the deathblow to the Band”.’ In their deliberations, the missionaries had discussed the failures of other societies and imagined they would all occur in the JEB if a Japanese were elected as a Field Director. The arguments presented clearly demonstrate that they did not trust the Japanese to have a passion for evangelism. In doing so, they were admitting the failure of the Mission to instil a vision of evangelism in their Bible School students and employees. Could the difference between Japanese and missionary vision for the JEB be a result of the majority Japanese teachers at the Bible School? The missionaries had critically assessed other churches and mission organizations but had failed to consider the rapidly changing political situation.

Fifthly, even with the changing political and social situation, the missionaries did not believe the JEB needed to make any changes to their policies and practices:

Is there anything wrong with our present methods, policy and personnel that such a suggestion is made? Has there ever been a time in the history of the Band when the work was more

widespread; more people reached; more souls saved; fewer problems and a happier spirit? Has God ceased to bless the Band because it was under wrong leadership (national or personal)? Is it wise to make such a radical change when God is adding His witness to the work as it is, by widening our vision, enlarging our scope, deepening our spirituality and bringing us into closer unity all the time?⁶⁷

On one hand, they said the Japanese evangelists were unenthusiastic, yet at the same time they argued the work was more widespread than previous years! They seemed to forget that Japanese were more in numbers, therefore, they were major contributors to evangelism. They reasoned the Band did not need to make changes because the Japanese had not asked for a change. Although living in Japan, the missionaries were unaware of the growing political unrest. For this reason, they did not have the foresight to plan the future of the mission in case there was a war and the missionaries were forced to leave. There is no evidence of Cuthbertson or Sawamura calling a meeting of all the Japanese yet, they expected Sawamura to know Japanese opinion and speak on behalf of all the Japanese in the Mission. Cuthbertson claimed Sawamura told him ‘all are satisfied with present arrangements’. He neither clarified whether everyone was satisfied with Cuthbertson’s leadership, nor whether the Japanese wanted a foreigner as a Field Director. It is also possible Sawamura was being polite by conveying that the Japanese had no complaints against him.

The sixth reason for refusing a Japanese FD was that the JEB was not a church but a mission organization in ‘a different category’ from church work. Such an argument proves that, in most missionary minds, mission organizations were missionary domains. Nationals were permitted to run their own churches but national leadership in mission organizations was not yet acceptable. They also questioned ‘Where is the scriptural evidence that God works along lines of nationalism? Is it not his continual practice that by “men of strange speech and another tongue” He speaks to the people?’ They used the word ‘nationalism’ to emphasize God does not prefer people of any particular nation to

⁶⁷ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Extracts from Deliberations of the Missionary Meeting Called for special purposes, and held at the Fuji Hotel, Kobe, 19 March 1938.

preach the gospel. The missionaries did not consider that in the first century, when the New Testament was written, mission organizations did not exist. Paul trained locals and trusted them with the responsibility to evangelize. Here we also notice that the missionaries were not contemplating the indigenization of the JEB, therefore, they did not consider working themselves out of their jobs as suggested by Roland Allen in *Missionary Methods: Saint Paul's or ours?* and *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which hinder it*.⁶⁸

The seventh reason presented was that the Japanese had a majority in the Field Council and had 'practical leadership'. The Japanese also had autonomy over the churches established by the Mission. Therefore, there was no need to burden the Japanese with more responsibility. This suggests that the missionaries felt the JEB organizational structure had given the Japanese enough power. Even though the Field Director could not make decisions without the Field Council's approval, by handing over the position to a Japanese, the foreigners were losing symbolic power.

The eighth reason they gave clearly demonstrates the missionary concern over losing power. They wanted to hand-pick all the future leaders:

Suppose we concede this. The one to be appointed is well known. What about HIS successor? We must take the long view and not fixing our eyes on one man, consider the future men also. But the position being once conceded, we have compromised the future of the Band for ever.⁶⁹

They were concerned with the long-term future of the Band. They were not just concerned with the ability of the future foreign leaders but also with the leadership abilities of the future Japanese leaders! Although a 'faith mission', rather than trusting God to provide future leadership, the missionaries wanted to keep the position of FD in their hands so they had control over the Band.

Their ninth and final point concluded:

⁶⁸ Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: Saint Paul's or ours?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962 [1912]); *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (London: World Dominion Press, 1927).

⁶⁹ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Extracts from Deliberations of the Missionary Meeting Called for special purposes, and held at the Fuji Hotel, Kobe, 19 March 1938.

On the grounds of POLICY, (we are a peculiar society); PRINCIPLE, (these days of compromise in which it is and will be increasingly difficult for Japanese to resist official pressure); PRACTICE, (the present vision of the Band is to 80% of its extent held by the missionaries); PATTERNS, (the examples of other societies); PERSONNEL, (we have not the true leader yet); PERIOD, (the times do not call for it); PRESSURE, (no inward problems calling for it) we are UNANIMOUSLY OF THE OPINION THIS PROPOSAL NOT BE PROCEEDED WITH.⁷⁰ (capital letters, original text)

Their concluding statement acknowledges the JEB as a unique organization but also shows distrust in their Japanese colleagues' ability to stand firm in faith. The JEB was unique because they worked with Japanese Christians. Even though teams of Japanese evangelists went on preaching tours, missionaries perceived themselves as upholding the vision of the Band because similar to the writers of the JEB constitution they prioritized evangelism over church organization. All the above reasons also portray either a missionary inability or refusal to give up power, a lack of trust in God's sovereignty, and an unawareness of the hostile Japanese political situation of 1938. Although they claimed to be concerned about the long-term future of the band, they failed to consider it in relation to the Japanese and world politics. They failed to consider whether the Mission could survive amid growing nationalism if the leadership was in missionary hands.

The missionaries elected Maurice Garrard as the next Field Director (FD) who would work 'under a committee'. Cuthbertson explained to Verner, the JEB Secretary in London, that Garrard as FD would not have 'the liberty and authority'. Informing the Field Council's (FC) reactions he wrote, 'they too are willing for Garrard UNDER THE COMMITTEES, that is the Field Director under new arrangements'.⁷¹ Yet, there is no evidence of Garrard working under an advisory committee. Although the FC was 'willing' to accept his leadership not all the Japanese were pleased with the new appointment. Mimaki submitted his resignation. The archives do not state the reasons for his sudden resignation but from the circumstances we can deduce he was unhappy at

⁷⁰ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Extracts from Deliberations of the Missionary Meeting Called for special purposes, and held at the Fuji Hotel, Kobe, 19 March 1938.

⁷¹ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Cuthbertson to Verner, 23 March 1938.

being ignored. Mimaki was one of the most senior members of the Band. He had worked with Buxton in Matsue and joined the Mission as soon as a base was established in Kobe. This proves that the Japanese did have an opinion and although not asked, they were expecting the leadership to go to the next most senior person in the Mission. Mimaki's reaction also signifies that unlike the missionaries, the Japanese in the Mission considered themselves Mission partners with the foreign missionaries and expected equality. Cuthbertson's response to the situation shows insensitivity to the local culture. He knew Mimaki felt humiliated, yet instead of responding to Mimaki with empathy, he left it to the Japanese Field Council members to talk to him. He reasoned that as the Japanese 'had their own etiquettes about such things and so in order to avoid any feelings' it was better to leave it to 'them'.⁷² His reaction suggests even after living more than 30 years in Japan, he had not completely adapted to Japanese culture. As expected, Mimaki refused to withdraw his resignation. His departure was a shock to many senior members in the UK, especially Annie Wood, who had expected Mimaki to take over the leadership in Japan.⁷³ Godfrey Buxton, Barclay Buxton's son, who was a HC member, was very discouraged at the missionary decision. In a letter to Verner he wrote:

I am very disappointed they have not risen to accept Sawamura san. I am convinced that it is a fundamental mistake of the highest order. To say that you cannot make a man commander-in-chief because he is a man commanding a division is ridiculous, and with very strong anti-British feeling, it would have been a great thing to give this gesture at this time and it will be much more difficult to do it profitably when men of this generation have passed away. Of course if anyone British was going to do it, I would vote for Garrard, but I am sorry at the decision.⁷⁴

Godfrey Buxton was also dismayed that the missionaries had made decisions concerning the future of the Band without consulting the Japanese, which suggests that the Home Council perceived the Japanese as Mission partners. Buxton was concerned that such action by the missionaries could instigate the Japanese in the Mission to follow the government's lead and turn hostile to foreigners. Godfrey Buxton asked Verner whether

⁷² JEB Box 14 File 2, Cuthbertson to Verner, 23 March 1938.

⁷³ JEB Box 14 File 2 Annie Wood to Verner, 14 April 1938.

⁷⁴ JEB Box 14 File 2 Godfrey Buxton to Verner, 14 April 1938.

HC 'should lightly let the matter drop. It may be a very serious matter to work if anti-British feelings become strong.'⁷⁵ Even though it was suggested, the HC did not take any action. It is interesting to note that by 1938 the missionaries had the power to elect a FD without consulting the HC or the Japanese in the Mission. In 1916, while Barclay Buxton was visiting Japan, he realized some new missionaries needed fellowship in English as they were struggling in a new culture. When Buxton gave missionaries permission to occasionally meet for prayer in English and discuss their problems, he never imagined twenty-two years later this group would take over control of major policy decisions.⁷⁶ The HC did not react to the missionary decisions because the deteriorating world political concerns took priority over leadership issues. The missionary committee made further decisions about the future of the Band that are discussed in Chapter Seven.

Conclusion

Several factors in the JEB organizational structure contributed to enable the Japanese to take initiatives in making the JEB indigenous. Buxton and Wilkes' perception of Japanese as equal ministry partners laid the basis for the creation of an organizational structure in which the Japanese had freedom to express themselves as well as to take the initiative in moulding the ministry to address the contemporary spiritual needs of Japan. The lack of official organizational structure in the first seven years of the Mission created space for the Japanese to assume leadership roles. Although not officially assigned by the office in England, Takeda and Wilkes led the Mission in consultation with former Matsue Band members and gave shape and substance to the ministry in Japan.

⁷⁵ JEB Box 14 File 2 Godfrey Buxton to Verner, 26 March 1938.

⁷⁶ JEB Box 1 Vol. 3 HCM, 8 Feb. 1917.

Buxton and the Home Council's acknowledgement of the existing Japanese leadership by forming a Field Council with a Japanese majority was an exceptional decision in a time when the indigenization of mission organizations was not a consideration in overseas missions. Participation in laying the foundation of the Mission, and a majority decision making committee gave the Japanese a sense of belonging and a desire to take the initiative to start discipleship ministry even when it was not the agenda of the missionary or the Home Council.

The Home Council's faith in the Japanese leadership by trusting them with the use of finances and the Mission's future also facilitated to create an organization where nationals did not see themselves as subordinates to the missionaries. The Home Council's disagreement with the missionaries because of their support for a Japanese leadership portrays the Mission's hierarchical support for indigenous leadership at the expense of upsetting their own nationals. The next chapter discusses how the Japanese used their position in the Mission to influence and change Mission policies.

Chapter Five

Japanese Influences in Changing Mission Policies

Introduction

A Japanese majority in the Field Council and more Japanese evangelists than foreign missionaries gave the JEB a distinctly indigenous nature. This chapter observes the influences of Japanese evangelists on the JEB mission practice. The question addressed is: *How did the Japanese in the Mission bring about change in the JEB?* It is answered by studying the Japanese influence in changing the Mission from a group of itinerant evangelists to a Mission organization that trained male and female evangelists, and in changing mission policies of ordination, administration of the sacraments and church planting. The answer to the question is sought by investigating three primary internal voices in the Mission. The first voice is that of the Home Council (HC), a group of British men and women based in the UK, who had the responsibility to raise funds so the ministry in Japan could continue. The second voice is that of the Field Council, which consisted of a Japanese majority and was responsible for leading the ministry in Japan and responding to the spiritual needs of the country. The third voice that helps reconstruct this story is of the Japanese evangelists, who were not in administrative positions yet had the power to influence Mission policies. These voices are gleaned from the Home Council Minutes, the Field Council Minutes, correspondence between the two offices and the missionaries, Field Reports, the *JEB* magazine, and books written by missionaries and Japanese workers.

In 1905, Wilkes and Takeda rented a building on a busy street in Kobe City in west Japan and opened a Mission Hall. The move to Kobe significantly changed the nature of the JEB ministry in which Takeda played a prominent role. Preaching the

gospel to the people ignored by educational missions became the JEB's primary ministry and Takeda's initiative to disciple the converts enabled the Mission to establish a permanent work-base in Japan.

Kobe City and Kobe Mission Hall

Kobe City was the only port open to foreigners in west Japan by the 1854 treaty as a 'concession area'.¹ A large number of trading ships and foreigners soon turned the city into a business centre, the largest Christian presence in west Japan. A French Catholic priest performed the first Christian religious service in Kobe in 1868 and built a church in 1870. Many Protestant denominations opened schools, churches, and seminaries in the city, for example, in 1871, a group of foreigners, three Britons, two Americans, two Germans and a Dutch citizen established a church for foreigners. In 1903, the church adopted the name 'Kobe Union Church'.² The CMS missionaries, C. F. Warren and Henry Evington, built a chapel in Kobe in 1875. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), Daniel Crosby Greene, Eliza Talcott and Julia Dudley, established a church in 1875 and a girls' educational institution in 1894. The Methodist Episcopal father and son missionaries, James William Lambuth and Walter Russell Lambuth, arrived in Kobe from Alabama in 1886. James Lambuth died in Kobe in 1892. By 1910, when Walter Lambuth returned to Alabama, they had established Kwansei Gakuin, an academy to prepare Japanese men for the ministry, Seiwa Jo Gakuin, a school for women and the Palmore Institute, a night school for men and women.³ In 1892 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel established Kobe Girls' School that has developed into Kobe Shoin Women's University.

¹ A treaty port where foreigners could reside.

² <http://www.kobeunionchurch.com/who-we-are--history.html> accessed on 2 June 2015.

³ Peter Ennals, *Opening a Window to the West: The Foreign Concession at Kobe, Japan, 1868-1899* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 158-161.

By the early twentieth century, Kobe was a growing industrial city, attracting migrants in search of work from rural areas. Many poor farmers often sent their daughters to work in urban factories. The people who could not find work or who had low paying jobs often ended up in slums. In 1909, a JEB missionary reported that the population of Kobe was 385,000.⁴ In the same year, Toyohiko Kagawa⁵ was studying at Kobe Presbyterian Seminary. He lived in the slums of Shinkawa in Kobe City and reported that 11,000 people lived there in poverty with poor hygiene. Food was scarce which led to the decline in moral values as people did not hesitate to break the law to access basic necessities. Kagawa estimated that about 800 people in the slums were ex-convicts and about 150 women were prostitutes.⁶

The Kobe Mission Hall was situated in a street in the centre of an entertainment district. The 'Theatre Street' was half a mile long, consisting of theatres, movie halls, and cheap cafes. Pickpockets and beggars combed the street every night as masses of men filled the two adjacent streets to visit the prostitutes and *geisha* (芸者 female entertainers/prostitutes) living there.⁷ Most men walking past the Hall were people who lacked formal education. Every day, Japanese evangelists stood at the doors of the hall to preach. They also preached at open-air meetings at street corners and invited people to visit the Mission Hall. The sound of drums and hymns, different from traditional Japanese music, made the passers-by curious to see who was creating such unfamiliar music. Most people who returned to the Hall did so because they found the workers

⁴ Eric Gosden, *50 Years on Theatre Street* (London: JEB, 1968), 7.

⁵ Kagawa (1888-1960) was the son of a Japanese businessman and his concubine. He lost both his parents when he was very young and was disowned by his family after he became a Christian. Kagawa studied at Kobe Theological Seminary. For five years he lived in Kobe slums and worked as a missionary. Twice he was arrested for taking part in labour union activities. He opposed Japan's participation in the Second World War. After the end of the war, he worked as an advisor to the transitional government. See Robert Schildgen, *Toyohiko Kagawa: Apostle of Love and Social Justice* (Berkeley: Centenary Books, 1988).

⁶ Keith Beasley-Topliffe ed., *Living out Christ's Love: Selected Writings of Toyohiko Kagawa* (Nashville: Upper Room Books, 1998), 18-22.

⁷ Eric W. Gosden *Take Fire! : James Cuthbertson of Japan* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1951), 54.

friendly or the gospel touched their hearts.⁸ Many of the enquirers who wandered into the Hall were seeking to change their lives. They had experienced hardships and were attempting to escape their spiritual, financial, or emotional problems by visiting *pachinko* (パチンコ casinos) or *geisha* on the same street. Since the Hall was in the entertainment district, people found it easier to go through the doors. Wilkes reported that the first person to enter was a murderer. He did not name the person, neither did he write whether the man was ever sentenced for his crime but reported that after three visits to the Hall, this man believed Christ had forgiven his sins. The man's life was so transformed that he later became a Presbyterian minister.⁹



Illustration 3 Theatre Street 1929

⁸ JEB Box 45 File 2 Annual Report (hereafter AR), 1910, 52-58.

⁹ Paget Wilkes, *“His Glorious Power”*: The Story of JEB (Portsmouth: Japan Evangelistic Band, 1933), 55-56.



Illustration 4 Kobe Mission Hall

Evangelist Otsuka preaching at the Kobe Mission Hall door in 1929. People assembled at the door were later invited into the hall. The evangelists then sang hymns and taught Bible Studies.

Takeda's influence in establishing permanent work

As former members of the Matsue Band joined the JEB, evangelistic teams went out from the Mission Hall resulting in an increase in visitors and enquirers. Since Takeda, an ordained Free Methodist minister, was concerned with discipling the converts, he started a church in the Mission Hall. Expansion in the JEB ministry resulted in a further increase in the number of enquirers, which raised the need for counsellors. Takeda and Wilkes decided to train new converts from the Mission Hall as evangelists because it was easier for them to empathize with the enquirers as they shared similar backgrounds. They had experienced hardships in life and had overcome addictions to gambling and prostitution. Although they were not highly educated, their

life experiences gave them an understanding of problems faced by the people they counselled.¹⁰

In 1907, the Field Council (FC) started a programme to train seven Mission Hall converts to become evangelists to help in the ministry.¹¹ The Home Council (HC), however, had a different vision for the Mission. They had perceived the JEB as a continuation of the Matsue Band ministry, therefore, they expected the FC to do itinerant evangelistic work. Establishing a Bible school was not part of their vision, which raises the question: where did they expect to get evangelists to evangelize Japan? As observed in the previous chapter, Takeda and Wilkes enthusiastically increased mission work in Japan but the HC was slow to organize board meetings and work in the UK. The discrepancy in the pace of work in the two countries affected the work in Japan. As the HC was not able to raise enough funds they could not train evangelists for two years.¹²

Concerned for the future of the ministry, in 1910, the year the Home Council drafted the constitution, Takeda wrote to them advising it was time the Mission carefully thought about the future direction of its work. After observing the results of seven years of JEB ministry, he had strong reservations about JEB mission methods and suggested the HC consider the long-term effects of their ministry. Takeda was greatly concerned with the preservation of the Mission's work. He observed that a Bible School was essential to train leaders who could preserve the results of their labour. The HC summarized Takeda's letter in three points:

- 1) Considerable experience and all recent observation prove that the results of our mission are not properly conserved through lack of spiritual Japanese workers.
- 2) Spiritual workers are the great need in the Japanese Church. These cannot be expected from denominational seminaries. The JEB are being increasingly asked to supply this need.
- 3) The Bible School method is the best means of supplying this need.

¹⁰ Wilkes, "*His Glorious Power*", 82.

¹¹ JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, April 1908, 7; JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM 1, 2 March 1907.

¹² JEB Box 45 File 2 AR, 1909, 9; JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 Home Council Minutes (hereafter HCM), 1 Nov. 1909.

Takeda believed that the immediate need of the Japanese Church was in training spiritual leaders. He did not trust denominational seminaries to supply church leaders trained in the Holiness tradition. He also informed the HC that the JEB was being asked to train leaders but did not say who was asking for leaders trained by the Mission. The only other Bible School teaching the Holiness tradition was the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS) Bible Training Institute established in 1904. Tokyo is in the eastern part of Japan, therefore, a Bible School in the Holiness tradition in the west i.e. Kobe, was the immediate need. Takeda suggested that to run a successful Bible School ‘the following were absolutely necessary’:

- 1) A Mission Hall as heretofore.
- 2) A regular Church in which the converts are shepherded and in which the students can be trained to deal with Xtians, [sic] and the difficulties that arise in church life.
- 3) A really capable teacher in whom the students have confidence that he has the gift of teaching.
- 4) Greater care in selection of Candidates for the school.¹³

From the above we notice Takeda considered discipleship vital for the spiritual growth of Christians for whom church and guidance from spiritual leaders was essential. Even though the Home Council did not include Bible School ministry in the Constitution, they raised funds to train evangelists who came from impoverished backgrounds and had no financial support. They also arranged for J. B. Thornton to teach at the Bible School.¹⁴ As observed in Chapter Four, Thornton left the Mission in 1919. Sawamura was appointed principal in 1924 and Japanese teachers taught all theological subjects at the school.

¹³ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM, 4 Feb. 1910.

¹⁴ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 27 & 29 July 1912. See Chapter Three footnote 118.

The JEB Bible School

Persuaded by Takeda, from 1912 onwards, the Home Council raised funds to train evangelists in Japan. In the HC 1917 minutes, we observe the members recognizing the importance of training evangelists for the propagation of Holiness teachings.¹⁵ From 1921 onwards, they actively started raising funds to build a Bible School.¹⁶ Three years later, although the Mission did not have sufficient funds, except promises from a few donors, they asked Wilkes to make plans for the new Bible School building.¹⁷ Finally, in 1924, the Mission bought a building in Mikage, a suburb of Kobe City, which could accommodate forty students and teaching staff, and a lecture room.¹⁸

The Mission paid for their students and provided them with bedding, furniture, and electricity. The students were expected to pay for food although the Mission provided assistance to those who were poor. The graduates were not obligated to work with the Mission. Even though the Mission paid for their education, they gave their students freedom to choose their future ministry.¹⁹ The JEB accepted students of other denominations without an obligation of joining the Mission upon graduation. Since the Bible School archives did not survive the Second World War, the financial arrangements for the students of other denominations are not known. The Mission's policy to open their institution to other denominations resulted in the Bible School soon out-growing the Mikage building and, in 1929, the Mission bought land in Shioya, another suburb of Kobe City. Here they built a Bible School with multiple lecture rooms and adequate teaching and living facilities for all students and teaching staff members.²⁰ The Bible School also became a venue for the JEB annual Holiness Conventions.

¹⁵ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 13 Aug. 1917.

¹⁶ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 13 Oct. 1921.

¹⁷ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 23-26 June 1924.

¹⁸ *Japan Evangelistic Band* (magazine, hereafter *JEB*) Vol. 20, No. 1 (April 1925), 4.

¹⁹ *JEB* Vol. 19 No. 4 (Jan. 1925), 53-54.

²⁰ JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 HCM, 23-26 June 1930.

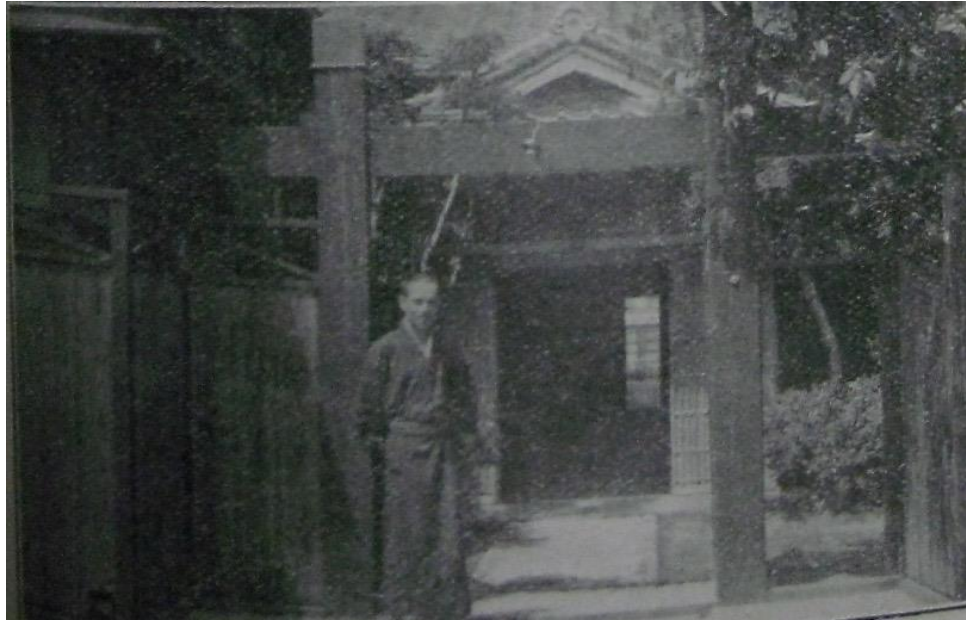


Illustration 5 Sawamura Goro

The Principal, Sawamura Goro, standing outside the JEB Bible School in Mikage in 1925



Illustration 6 JEB Bible School in Mikage 1925

South aspect of the Bible School



Illustration 7 JEB Bible School in Shioya

The Bible School in Shioya after the annual Holiness Convention in 1935

The Field council persuaded to start training for Bible women

The beginning of training for Bible women was an initiative from female missionaries. Although the Mission established a Bible school for men, training for women was not a priority. In 1917 Buxton visited Japan. On his return, he informed the Home Council:

The training school in Kobe; though a large number of students was not desirable, yet there was a great need of more offers of service from both men and women; a training home for the latter was also needed for the raising of Spirit filled women evangelists.²¹

Even though Buxton recognized the need for training female evangelists, neither the Home Council nor the Field Council made any plans to start the ministry. The archives do not suggest why the leadership did not consider the need for female leaders when half the people they were evangelizing were women. Inaction by the two councils also raises questions on Buxton's authority in the Mission. Perhaps, rather than imposing his vision for the JEB, Buxton preferred the two councils to give the Mission its direction.

²¹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 3 HCM, 18 Dec. 1917.

The female missionaries, similar to their male counterparts, needed help with language and a ministry partner. Therefore, they took the initiative to train Japanese Christian women who could assist them. Dorothy Hoare arrived in Japan in January 1920.²² While learning the language in Osaka, Hoare made friends with Fukuda, a girl from a Christian family who wanted to learn English. The language exchange led to Fukuda deciding to enter the Christian ministry. Hoare started training Fukuda through Bible studies and participation in evangelistic activities. Soon a few more young Christian women, eager to enter Christian ministry, joined Hoare's classes. The women were so keen to study that at the end of Hoare's language study, they moved with her from Osaka to Zoshigaya, a suburb of Tokyo, assigned to Hoare by the Field Council. Here the demand for Hoare's classes increased and more women joined.²³ In 1922, after observing the popularity of Hoare's classes and their benefit to the Mission when they received trained evangelists, the Field Council in Kobe and the Home Council in London passed a resolution to recognize Hoare's training of Bible women as part of the JEB ministry. The HC approved on the condition 'provided that Miss Hoare is herself assured that this is God's work for her.'²⁴ Even though the Mission approved of Hoare's work, official plans were never made for training the Bible women. The HC was raising funds for building a men's Bible School, yet they did not consider providing the same facilities for the women.

In the early twentieth century, Christian women in the West witnessed through volunteering at church and through overseas missions whereas Japanese Christian women were still struggling to find their place in a new Japanese Christian world.

²² Hoare was daughter of Bishop Joseph Charles Hoare, principal of St. Paul's College in Hong Kong. She was born in Hong Kong. Hoare returned to England after her father's accidental death by drowning in 1906. Hoare was distantly related to Buxton. She applied to work with JEB in 1917 but could not go to Japan until 1920 because of ill health. During the Second World War, she refused to return to the UK. In 1942, the Japanese government deported Hoare over a misunderstanding of her first name. A retired British missionary with the same first name applied to leave Japan. The government made a permit in Hoare's name. Hoare returned to Japan in December 1946. She died in Japan in 1950.

²³ Alice Hoare, *The Fire that Burned in the Life of Dorothy Hoare* (London: JEB, 1950), 8.

²⁴ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 29 June 1922.

According to the Confucian social hierarchy, they were inferior to men. Christianity gave them a new identity in Christ that was equal to men. However, similar to the Western church, Christian women still did not enjoy equality in the church. As the Japanese church was still developing, the women could not go on overseas missions but they wanted to contribute to the ministry of the church. It is not clear how many women wrote to the JEB Field Council requesting theological training, but an increase in the number of applications persuaded the Council to consider starting a training school for women. In 1925, more than two decades after establishing the JEB:

The Field council [sic] members testified to the continual applications received from women wanting to be trained as workers. The Field Council therefore decided to solicit definite prayer for a suitable Japanese matron. This is to be taken as indication of God's will that we organise a Bible Women's Training School.²⁵

The number of applications received for training for Bible women forced the Field Council to accept that it was a need they could no longer ignore. Even though the need was recognized, the FC needed persuasion by Japanese women to address the need for Japanese female leaders. Finally, in mid-1926, after receiving approval from the Council in Britain,²⁶ the Field Council appointed a committee of Adelaide Soal, Sawamura Goro, Horiuchi Bunichi and James Cuthbertson to oversee the training for Bible women.²⁷ Interesting to note here is that although the training was for women, only one woman was chosen to be on the committee. The three men, who were members of the FC, included Soal in their committee because she was given charge to train the Bible women.

Unlike the male Bible School students, the women were not provided with a building with teaching facilities. In 1926, the men's Bible School was running in a recently bought building in Mikage. The women, on the other hand, were asked to live and study at Irene Webster-Smith's Sunrise Home, which is studied in detail in Chapter Six. The

²⁵ JEB Box 17 File 1 Field Council Minutes (hereafter FCM), 6, 7 Oct. 1925.

²⁶ JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 HCM, 8 Dec. 1925.

²⁷ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM 5, 10 May 1926.

Home was in Maizuru near Kyoto City about 130 kilometres from Kobe. Soal and Smith were given additional responsibility for training the women apart from looking after the children's Home and evangelistic ministries. In June of 1926, seven women lived and received training at the Home.²⁸

Gradually, the Mission recognized the contribution that the Bible women made to the ministry and the importance of training them. In 1929, when the Mission constructed a new building in Shioya to accommodate Bible School students from Mikage and Kaibara Self-Help Bible School, they also moved the Bible Women's training to the same place. The men lived on Shioya campus but the women's living facilities were built in Tarumi, a few minutes' walk from the Bible School. In 1930, the Field Council reported thirteen men and six women studying at the Bible School.²⁹ The 1930 *Prayer Calendar* reporting work at the women's Bible School stated: 'Like the men students they have lectures and also practical training by going out day by day to conduct Sunday Schools in the surrounding villages.'³⁰ Finally, by 1930, the Japanese women had persuaded men in the Mission to recognize the importance of their ministry. When JEB was established, the Home Council made the policy of not establishing any permanent work. They wanted JEB to work as a team of itinerant evangelists. Whereas at Takeda's insistence the men in the Mission received training, the women were unfortunate not to find any male leader to insist on the importance of training for women. A large number of women applying for training at the Mission persuaded the FC to change their policy and treat female evangelists as equals to male evangelists.

²⁸ JEB Box 54 File 1 Field Report (hereafter FR) No. 21, 12 June 1926.

²⁹ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 17 Nov. 1930.

³⁰ JEB Box 46 File 2 *Daily Prayer Calendar with Photographs 1930*, 23.



Illustration 8 Bible Women

Bible women with Irene Webster-Smith and Adelaide Soal (inset) in 1928

Japanese persistence to change the JEB church planting policy

Wilkes' and Takeda's separate priorities on evangelism and discipleship had initially complemented each other as it enabled them to preach at a new place and provide spiritual guidance for the converts. However, as the ministry expanded, the need for an organized structure for discipleship grew. While the Home Council expected the Mission to maintain evangelistic zeal and preach in areas the gospel had not reached, the Japanese in the Mission wanted to organize the converts into churches as they did not want to leave the converts with no Christian fellowship. In 1910, the HC accepted Takeda's suggestion to establish a Bible School but refused to establish a church as they were afraid of losing financial support from their donors who came from various Protestant denominations. Since the HC was adamant, in 1910 Takeda suggested:

That some denominational leader disconnected with J.E.B. but in perfect sympathy with it should come to Japan and start a regular denominational church and that he (bro Takeda) should be its recognized pastor at the same time working with the Band.³¹

It is interesting to note that although Takeda had established a church at the Mission Hall he expected a foreigner to ‘come to Japan and start a denominational church’ rather than a Japanese national. He was not concerned with establishing any particular denominational church but a church where converts could be disciplined. If someone unrelated to the JEB established the church, then the Mission could work in partnership with them without compromising their policy of not establishing churches. Also interesting to note is that Takeda wanted to be the head of this church while working with the Mission. Such a position would have given him a position of authority to influence the JEB as a Field Council member as well as the church. As observed in Chapter Four, in 1910 the two councils were still learning to divide responsibility and work together. Since the Home Council was not keen about Takeda’s request, the Field Council did not insist and no decision was made regarding establishing a church.

In 1919, the Field Council decided to move their ministry outside Kobe. Following JEB policy to ‘open entirely new places’,³² the FC decided it was time JEB started a ‘Forward Movement’ that was ‘pushing into the thousands of small towns ranging from 3,000 to 15,000 inhabitants’.³³ The expansion of work increased the number of converts. Japanese evangelists and the Field Council grew more concerned about the spiritual growth of converts. The evangelists expected the FC to understand their vision. The FC, however, felt obligated to follow the Home Council’s decision as they depended on financial support from the UK. Concerned with the growing unhappiness among the Japanese workers, in 1920, Wilkes wrote to the Home Council in England:

I feel that it would be well to state [sic] that there is a great spirit of unrest and uneasiness in the Band as to our principles of work. The opinion of our leaders is that it is almost

³¹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM, 4 Feb. 1910.

³² JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM, 25 July 1910.

³³ JEB Box 14 File 1-B Home Council Correspondence (hereafter HCC), Wilkes to Tredinnick, 29 Aug. 1919.

impossible to push out in any forward movement along the lines of our present methods of working only with the Churches. Two or three of our younger workers who have recently received a baptism of the Holy Ghost are being much used of God, have refused a salary, partly on the ground that they may be freer in their work. This has put our leaders in somewhat of an invidious position, as it makes them appear not so bold [sic] in faith as some of these younger men. It would take very little for these men of real power to leave us; and I find that our leaders would not be altogether unwilling to let them go.

I am wondering if a modified form of our principle, may not be necessary which all foreign missionaries be obliged to adhere to our original principles while we allow our Japanese brethren more liberty, provide [sic] that no foreign money is given to the support of new churches. Should we not permit our Japanese workers to help in formation of little assemblies or churches, provided that they are self supporting basis?³⁴

Japanese evangelists were growing frustrated with Mission policies. Even though they were not members of the governing bodies they had the power to influence the Mission's policies. Their rejection of salaries and boldness to live trusting God for financial support was evidence of their strong spiritual faith; these responses placed pressure on the two councils as they were afraid these faithful men would leave the Mission. Wilkes felt such pressure from the Japanese that he suggested to have different policies for Japanese and foreigners. To keep the Japanese evangelists' faith in the JEB leadership, Wilkes suggested a middle ground that permitted the Japanese to establish churches and the HC to claim to their supporters in Britain that the Mission did not establish churches. Wilkes proposed forming another society, the Japan Evangelization Society (JES) that would organize the converts into churches. JEB Japanese Field Council members would be the new JES council members. He reasoned since they would be two separate societies, the JEB Field Council's presence on a JES committee would not compromise the JEB's claim of not establishing churches. After discussions in the HC, Buxton replied to Wilkes' suggestion:

We had our Council Meeting on October 1, and discussed your suggestions as to the Forward Movement. The Council feels deep sympathy with the desire to go out to the heathen towns and villages, but we do not want to promote the establishment of these little churches and then declare that we have nothing to do with them. If these Japanese gentlemen of themselves were prepared to promote these little churches we certainly would gladly work with them.

We have made certain suggestions. We do not want to turn down the scheme or oppose it, but we still think that we shall best fulfil the ministry which has been given to us by not starting churches, and as both Cowman's Mission, and also the New Japan Rescue Mission, with Mr

³⁴ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to the Home Council, 21 April 1920.

Thornton, are going forward in places where the work has not been done, is it not better that we should keep the lines in which God has signally blessed us.³⁵

Buxton was reluctant to establish the Japan Evangelization Society because even though under separate names, the JES would lead the JEB to be responsible for the churches. The Mission would then become similar to Cowman's Oriental Missionary Society, which had established the Holiness Church in 1917 and ceased to be an auxiliary of the Protestant churches. He preferred that the JEB follow Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission in working as itinerant evangelists. Thornton left JEB in 1919 because he too was concerned with the Mission's policy to leave their converts without any Christian fellowship. Buxton strongly believed the JEB should not deviate from its vision of itinerant evangelism. As he did not wish to impose his will on the Field Council, he suggested JEB leave rural evangelism to the OMS and other mission organizations. Since the HC did not want to abandon their founding principle as it could lead to difficulties in raising financial support, Buxton felt it was not right for the Mission to encourage new converts to form churches and then abandon them. Rather, he had an unrealistic expectation from the new converts who, with very little knowledge of the Christian faith and no experience of church organization, were left to organize themselves as a church. The Home Council thought:

[JES] was sure to be regarded on the Field as emanating from the J.E.B. and would be interpreted as departure from our foundation principle viz not to commence a new Church or sect. Had the Society been started quite independently of the J.E.B. it would have been easy for us to cooperate with them.

The Home Council clearly did not favour such an organization. Strong Japanese voices in favour of establishing church, however, persuaded the HC to accept the proposal with conditions in order to avoid discouragement and dissent. They requested the Field Council to establish the proposed Japan Evangelization Society (JES) but requested the Council members not to join the new society governing board and outlined the kind of co-operation that could be expected between the JEB and the JES:

³⁵ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Buxton to Wilkes, 5 Oct. 1920.

1. That the J.E.B. undertake as far as funds permit to conduct special missions of ten days or more in the inland unopened towns, bearing all expense involved.
2. That the Japan Evangelization Society be responsible for all subsequent financial obligations where the towns have been opened with their advice and consent. It being fully understood that the J.E.B. will not be responsible for any financial obligation, after the first initial expenditure involved in opening up the place except in so far as they agree to loan a worker to the new organization.
3. That the Council consent with the J.E.B. in the matter of providing suitable workers for the up building of the converts.³⁶

Although the Japanese had persuaded the Home Council to acknowledge the need to establish a church, the restrictions placed on co-operation between the two societies discouraged the Field Council from establishing the JES. There is no reference to JES in any of the archives searched. The HC's complacency towards an issue important to the Japanese led to some leaders leaving the Mission. The two most prominent people to leave were Takeda and Amy Burnet.

Consequences of Takeda's protest

As a co-founder of JEB work in Japan and a Field Council member, Takeda had a position of authority in the Mission. His influence enabled the JEB to establish a Bible School. He was also trying to bring about change in the Mission's church planting policy. Although discouraged, Takeda did not plan to leave the Mission. As seen above, Takeda wanted to be the head of the church established by a JEB associate while still working with the Mission. Events in the early 1920s, however, persuaded Takeda to consider his position in the Mission. Takeda was an ordained minister in the Free Methodist Church. Soon after the JEB moved to Kobe in 1905, Takeda established a church in the Kobe Mission Hall. Since the JEB did not establish a church, Takeda's church was considered a Free Methodist Church. In 1922, Wilkes reported to the Home Council that he anticipated a difficulty with Takeda and his church:

The almost certain difficulty that will arise when the Free Methodist Bishop comes out from America to organise a Conference in the first time, where, as always the rule with the Methodist Movement, all ministers are moved into another sphere after three years, and Mr.

³⁶ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 1 Oct. 1920.

Takeda who is an ordained minister in that Body will most surely be asked to move elsewhere, and as leader of our work in Kobe he will not do so, he will most likely have to break connection with the Methodist Body, in which case a difficulty will arise as up till now, at any rate nominally, our Mission Hall converts have been baptised into the Free Methodist Church, thus keeping to our rule that we do not start a church of our own.³⁷

The following year, as expected, the Free Methodist Church asked Takeda to move to another city. Since Takeda held a leadership position in the JEB, he refused and declared his church independent of the Free Methodist Church. As he was a senior leader, he expected the JEB to stand with him. Wilkes and the JEB, however, could not support Takeda's decision to separate his church from the Free Methodists. The JEB claimed to be an auxiliary to the existing churches in Japan. Their approval of Takeda and his church's separation from the Free Methodists could be understood as JEB's encouragement to their evangelists to break away from denominational churches, thus jeopardizing future co-operation in ministry with the Free Methodists and other denominations. On 17 Dec. 1923, the Field Council in Kobe discussed Takeda's situation. Present at the meeting were Horiuchi, Mimaki, Wilkes, Cuthbertson and Braithwaite. It is interesting to note that although according to the Mission's constitution the Japanese had to be in the majority, at this meeting foreigners were in the majority. Even though out-numbered, Horiuchi stated he preferred the Mission to 'shepherd its own converts'. He proposed Takeda should be appointed joint president of the Mission with Wilkes. Although the typed Field Council minutes say the proposal was agreed, Cuthbertson wrote a note in pen, 'Note No. 10 – On the other hand the general opinion is strongly against Horiuchi given suggestion – This idea is just what we wish to avoid.'³⁸ It is not known whether the 'general opinion' was of everyone in the Mission or of the Council members only. Since there are no archives in Japanese, we do not know the Japanese opinion on Takeda's stand against the Free Methodist Church and the JEB policy not to establish churches. Horiuchi's position suggests that there was some

³⁷ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 9 March 1922.

³⁸ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 17 Dec. 1923.

support for Takeda among the Japanese. If Cuthbertson was talking about the ‘general opinion’ in the FC, then it was definitely of foreigners. It is also interesting to note that the leaders were concerned that the Japanese staff wanted Takeda as the head of the Mission. The reason for Cuthbertson ‘to avoid’ Takeda leading the JEB was that Takeda’s elevation to this position would have changed the Mission’s commitment of JEB being an auxiliary of church, as he would have established JEB churches. Since foreigners were in the majority and their priority was evangelism, the Field Council upheld the Mission’s constitution not to establish churches.

Wilkes’ decision to support JEB rather than his friend and ministry partner created a rift in their friendship. Commenting on Wilkes’ and Takeda’s relationship, Takeda’s disciple, Yasushi Yuki, in 1975, wrote that both the men were heartbroken. No one knew the details of Takeda leaving the Mission because neither of them ever spoke about what occurred between them.³⁹ Wilkes never communicated his differences with Takeda to the Mission’s supporters. In the 1924 magazine, instead of informing the readers that Takeda had left, Wilkes reported that the church in the Mission Hall had moved out so a new church could be started in there. He appreciated that the church was financially secure and did not need JEB’s help. Wilkes also admired the church’s enthusiasm for mission, and informed they were planning to open two Mission Halls in Kobe City. To this he added:

The only regret that we have about it is that the Christians led by Takeda San as their pastor, have decided to break all connections with the Free Methodist body, with which they are affiliated, and start an independent church of their own. We saw no need whatever for this step, as the Free Methodist Church is a spiritual and devoted body of Christians. But there it is. We can only pray the Lord’s blessing upon her child, now come to man’s estate.⁴⁰

Nine years later, in the book on JEB history, Wilkes recognized Takeda’s contribution in laying the Mission’s foundations. Wilkes called Takeda ‘a brother beloved, a close personal friend’ and credited Takeda for ‘giving himself wholeheartedly’ for the JEB

³⁹ Yuki Yasushi, *Moyuru no Toge* [Burning Thorn] (Tokyo: Inochi no Kotoba, 1975), 28.

⁴⁰ *JEB* Vol. 19 No. 2 (July 1924).

ministry. After Takeda's departure, Wilkes tried to show Takeda he cared. As a gesture of friendship, he bought and gave Takeda the JEB rented house where Takeda resided.⁴¹ Takeda named his church Fukko Kyokai (復興教会 Revival Church). He also used Wilkes' books to train his pastors. After a few years, Fukko Kyokai and JEB started co-operating in missions, and Takeda was invited to speak at JEB conventions. Interestingly, even though the Mission did not approve of Takeda starting an independent church, they were not hesitant in asking him to ordain the JEB evangelists.⁴²

Amy Burnet's departure from the JEB

Marguerite Amy Burnet (1878 -1951) sailed for Japan in November 1917.⁴³ She spent her first two years learning the Japanese language. During this time, she heard two missionaries talk of the difficulties of working at Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission (GVMM) station in a mining town called Ashio in eastern Japan.⁴⁴ In the spring of 1919, while attending the JEB Annual Conference, Burnet felt a special calling to work among the miners in Ashio. To her surprise, on her last day at the Conference, the Mission leaders informed Burnet that she was to work in Ashio at the end of her language studies. Burnet took it as a sign of her calling to work among miners.

Ashio was a copper mining town in a valley surrounded by high mountains in Tochigi prefecture in eastern Japan. From the sixteenth century, silver and copper were Japan's main mineral exports. The opening of Japan had breathed new life into the Japanese mining industry but rapidly increasing pollution and depleting natural resources had created health problems and unemployment resulting in labour riots in

⁴¹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 HCM, 8 Dec. 1925; JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 HCM, 4 March 1926.

⁴² JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 6, 7, 12 May 1930.

⁴³ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 18 Dec. 1917.

⁴⁴ For JEB and Glynn Vivian Miner Mission partnership see Chapter Three.

Ashio in 1907. By the early 1920s, when Burnet came to Ashio, poverty and poor living conditions were forcing unemployed miners to migrate in search of other work.⁴⁵

As soon as JEB placed Burnet in Ashio, the Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission appointed her superintendent of the mission station.⁴⁶ Burnet's team in Ashio consisted of the male evangelists, Ota and Funaki, and a Bible woman whose name unfortunately I have not been able to find. GVMM reports published in 1920, 1922 and 1923 mention the male evangelists by name but not the Bible woman.⁴⁷ Even though Burnet was a female leader in a Japanese patriarchal society, being a foreigner, people treated her differently to Japanese women. Her spiritual maturity, leadership ability and concern for the miners earned her respect among those she led. Under Burnet's leadership, the team organized tent-meetings in and around Ashio. Initially they counselled miners and, gradually, as mining declined, extended their work to other sections of the community. Burnet's team also recognized the need to establish churches and ordained clergy to administer the sacraments. Similar to Japanese workers in JEB, Burnet strongly favoured the formation of a formal church. Contrary to the Mission's Home Council, she was confident that by establishing a church JEB would not offend any church or mission organization because the JEB work was concentrated in areas where no church or mission organization worked.⁴⁸

In late 1922, almost two years after moving to Ashio, Burnet returned to England to raise financial support to launch a new mission organization. She explained to the GVMM board members the need for establishing a church and requested the Glynn

⁴⁵ See Kazuo Nimura, *The Ashio Riots of 1907: A Social History of Mining in Japan* (London: Duke University Press, 1997); F. G. Notehelfer, 'Between Tradition and Modernity, Labor and Ashio Copper Mine', *Monumenta Nipponica* Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring 1984), 11-24; David Shillitoe, *God Moves in A Mysterious Way: A True Story of the International Miners' Mission, 1906-2010*, (Hitchin: International Miners' Mission, 2011).

⁴⁶ Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission Committee Meeting Minutes (hereafter GVMMCM), 17 May 1920.

⁴⁷ Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission Annual Report 1920, 3; *Faith Made Manifest: Treasure of Darkness brought to light through the work of the Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission in 1922*, 9; *Preaching Peace: A Survey of the work and methods of the Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission to the end of year 1923*, 20.

⁴⁸ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 16 May 1923.

Vivian Miners' Mission to send financial support directly to her rather than through the JEB.⁴⁹ After consultation with the JEB, the GVMM decided to support Burnet's work directly. However, they refused to take full financial responsibility for the expanding work and asked Burnet to raise finances herself.⁵⁰

In 1925, a year after returning to Japan from furlough, Burnet resigned from the JEB. She established a new mission organization named 'Central Japan Pioneer Mission' (CJPM).⁵¹ She gave the JEB staff the choice to join her. In 1926, Dorothy Parr from England joined the CJPM. In the new mission, Burnet gave her staff freedom to choose their own work field. She believed if God called people to work in certain areas, placing them in a different area hindered God's mission. Burnet established a denomination that is now known as Fukuin Dendo Kyodan (福音伝道教団 Gospel Evangelical Church). She gave her workers freedom to administer the sacraments. Any person in charge, whether ordained or lay, was authorized to perform wedding ceremonies and administer communion and baptisms. Even though the JEB did not agree with CJPM mission practice, they worked as mission partners. The JEB loaned CJPM Japanese evangelists.⁵² Later the JEB considered following the CJPM practice of establishing churches.⁵³

⁴⁹ GVMMCM, 1 Jan. 1923.

⁵⁰ GVMMCM, 5 June 1925.

⁵¹ GVMMCM, 9 Oct. 1925.

⁵² JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 5 June 1925; *The Central Japan Pioneer Mission*, Vol. 1 No. 1 (Oct. 1925) stored at Omama Church in Tochigi, Japan; A. Paget Wilkes, *Who's Who in the Japan Evangelistic Band*, (London: JEB, 1926), 29.

⁵³ By 1940, Central Japan Pioneer Mission and Fukuin Dendo Kyodan had established 28 churches. During the Second World War, as the Japanese government's hostility grew towards Christians and foreigners, the British government advised all their citizens to leave Japan. Burnet considered Japan as her home and refused to leave. Since all the Japanese around her respected Burnet, and the government perceived her as a non-threatening woman, they permitted her to stay in the country. However, she was placed under house arrest until the end of the war in 1945. Burnet died in Japan in 1951. (E-mails from Hiroshi Takagi, Pastor Omama Kyokai Nihon Dendo Kyodan, to the author: 15 Sept. 2012, 18 Sept. 2012, 19 Oct. 2012, 2 May 2013, 4 May 2013).

The Field Council's decision to permit church planting, 1925

Unable to prevent people from leaving, the Field Council finally realized a change in mission policy was essential for the survival of the Mission. They recognized any more procrastination on the subject would lead to losing more workers. When Takeda's position was discussed in the Field Council, the Japanese members were in a minority. A year after his departure, the Japanese were again in the majority. The Council, consisting of four foreigners and five Japanese, decided to permit Japanese workers to form churches. The Home Council, aware the changes were imperative, accepted the FC's decision without any arguments and amendments.⁵⁴ The Field Council met in Arima town, about fifteen miles from Kobe City and decided:

(1) We recognize two distinct calls in the Band.

- (a) To assist the Churches.
- (b) To evangelise the unreached areas.

(2) Caring of Converts.

(a) Groups of converts resulting from our own work in unevangelised areas must be our own responsibility and must be placed under the care of a Senior worker until such time as these same converts are able to be self-supporting, either as circuits or individual churches.

(b) When they become self-supporting, our supervision and responsibility automatically and completely ceases. Such churches then, of course, settle the question of affiliation with other churches, or otherwise for themselves.

(c) To avoid even the appearance of forming a J.E.B. church, we cannot allow groups of believers, whether isolated or in circuits, while still dependent on the J.E.B. for financial support, to form one common organization or have one common name. If the above groups join any denomination the workers may continue to be a member of the Band while acting as its Pastor of the church. In case it becomes an independent church he must become an associate of the Band.⁵⁵

The new policy was a compromise between the Home Council's unwavering resolve to stay auxiliary to the church and to address the practical need of spiritual care for converts where churches did not exist. A change in church planting policy gave the Japanese evangelists an opportunity to fulfil their vision of forming churches. The new rules finally recognized the Mission's responsibility towards its converts, who were acknowledged as the Mission's children, but with conditions. The churches were not permitted to share a name or be connected with each other. Such a policy left the JEB

⁵⁴ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 16 May 1923.

⁵⁵ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 22 May 1925.

churches isolated and longing to belong to some group or denomination. Eventually, they started pressuring the FC to allow them to be united as a group under the JEB name.

With the change in Mission policy, the Field Council decided to give the Mission a new start. Wilkes stepped down from the position of the Field Director in 1925⁵⁶ and was replaced by James Cuthbertson by the HC.⁵⁷ Cuthbertson gave the Mission a new direction. He concentrated on giving the Forward Movement a central role in the Mission's work. He placed evangelists in small towns to start Sunday schools for children and make contact with local people. Gradually, the evangelists expanded work to neighbouring villages. A few months later, a team from the Mission Hall went to that town to run a tent-mission. At the end of the week-long meetings, the team returned to Kobe. The evangelist stationed in that town gathered enquirers and new converts in a group to meet for prayer and teaching. This group of new converts eventually formed into a church. The newly formed churches were encouraged to reach their neighbouring villages with the gospel.

The Forward Movement was successful and soon several small churches were established. However, the Movement raised more questions than it answered. It became necessary for the Field Council to address the need for administering sacraments to the converts and to provide them with long-term pastors and pastoral support for the pastors. The Forward Movement was launched to evangelize villages, disciple converts, and form them into groups that would later turn into churches. As small churches emerged, the question of church leadership arose. Although a change in mission policy permitted the JEB evangelists to work as pastors as they were not ordained the Mission did not permit them to administer the sacraments. As the evangelists were determined to establish churches, they started demanding ordination from the Mission.

⁵⁶ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 22 May 1925.

⁵⁷ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 19 Sept. 1924.

Japanese influence in changing mission policy on ordination and the administration of the sacraments

The JEB taught a believer's baptism was essential for outward expression of internal transformation. However, the Mission did not make provision for their evangelists to be ordained. The JEB constitution stated, 'None of our workers administer the Sacraments unless they are ordained ministers of a recognized denomination'.⁵⁸ The first generation leaders, Takeda and Horiuchi, were ordained Free Methodist ministers. They baptized new converts and administered the sacraments at the church in the Kobe Mission Hall. As the number of converts grew the need to ordain evangelists became evident. The second-generation workers in the Mission were Mission Hall converts trained at JEB Bible School. Therefore, the Mission needed to provide ordination for their graduates. When changing the Mission's policy in 1925, the Field Council did not anticipate the need to make provision for the ordination of evangelists. The evangelists loaned to other denominations, such as the Free Methodists and the Methodists Episcopal, worked as assistants to pastors so their ordination was not essential. The FC's decision to permit the formation of churches affected evangelists in rural areas where there were no churches and the evangelists needed to administer the sacraments.

Constrained by mission rules, the evangelists, who essentially functioned as pastors, requested the Field Council in 1926 to make provision for their ordination.⁵⁹ The Mission divided the evangelists into senior and junior evangelists. The FC decided senior evangelists working with other denominations could receive ordination from their churches but the junior evangelists needed the Field Council's permission. The Council did not make any provision to ordain evangelists working in rural areas where there were no churches.⁶⁰ For evangelists who worked as pastors, the administration of sacraments

⁵⁸ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM, 25 July 1910.

⁵⁹ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 5 May 1926.

⁶⁰ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 6, 7 Oct. 1926.

was essential to teach converts the importance of the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.⁶¹ In 1927, unable to wait for the FC to organize ordination, some evangelists working with other denominations received ordination without the FC permission. Although upset, the Council members had no option but to accept the evangelists' decision as some, who were tired of waiting, left the Mission.⁶² The evangelists working with the Mission in the rural areas pressurized the Field Council to make provision for their ordination as there were no churches or ordained ministers near them.

Eventually, in 1930, persuaded by Japanese evangelists, the Field Council, requested Takeda to ordain JEB evangelists. It is interesting to note that Takeda left the Mission because he favoured establishing churches. For two decades, he unsuccessfully tried to persuade the JEB Home Council in Britain to understand the need to establish churches. Eventually, the Mission had to admit their mistake and requested Takeda's help. After 1935, the ordination of the Mission's workers was not an issue. Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (Japan Church of Jesus Christ), a denomination formed by former JEB Japanese leaders, ordained all the Mission staff members.⁶³

The Field Council's support to the JEB established churches

Within two years of the Arima meeting in 1925 prohibiting JEB churches to meet or to share a name, the Japanese on the Field Council were concerned about the spiritual growth of churches isolated from Christian fellowship. The Mission's rule forbidding the churches to unite as one body and the distance between the churches made them vulnerable in a time of growing hostility towards Christianity. In 1926 and 1929, the government unsuccessfully attempted to pass religious bills. The Wakatsuki cabinet, in

⁶¹ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 21 Nov. 1927.

⁶² JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 2, 5, 9 May 1927; 27 Jan. 1928.

⁶³ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 28 Sept. 1934.

1926, proposed establishing a Religious Systems Investigation Board which would enable the government to restrict church activities. Christians united to oppose the bills as it curbed the autonomy of the church.⁶⁴ Although the bills failed to pass, hostility towards Christians gradually increased. The JEB churches were small and not registered as religious bodies with the government, therefore, they did not have a legal status. Changes in the political environment brought doubts over the future of religious freedom. The Japanese in the Mission became increasingly concerned about the security, spiritual growth, and survival of small churches isolated in rural areas that did not have a legal status.

In 1927, the Field Council, consisting of three foreigners and five Japanese, met to discuss ‘problems arising out of the Forward Movement.’ The ‘problem’ referred to here was concerning the future of the churches. The FC discussed four options to accommodate the Home Council’s decision not to form churches, the missionary vision for evangelism and the Japanese desire for church organization. The first was for the JEB to become a denomination. It was immediately rejected because the Home Council in Britain and the missionaries in Japan wanted the JEB to stay a mission organization. A second option was to hand over all the churches established through the Forward Movement to the Holiness Church, established by the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS). This suggestion too was rejected because the Holiness Church had become charismatic and Nakada Juji, co-founder of the OMS, had started laying emphasis on the restoration of Israel as essential for the Second Coming of Christ. His eschatology was creating a rift in the Holiness Church. In hindsight, this was a wise decision because in 1936 the Holiness Church split into two, Kiyome Kyokai and Nihon Sei Kyokai. A third option, handing over churches to Takeda’s Fukko Kyokai, was not acceptable to all council members. The archives do not state the reasons for the reservations about

⁶⁴ A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan 1865-1945*, Vol. 2 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), 214.

working with Takeda. Perhaps it was too soon after his departure. Both parties needed time for wounds to heal. Eventually, all FC members agreed:

In order to meet difficulty of the organisation of churches connected with the Forward Movement work, we decide to request one of our own members to retire from the Band, and alone, or in conjunction with others, to take the responsibility of the Forward Movement churches. If however, satisfactory arrangements can be made to deal with the above problem, it may not be necessary for any member to assume this responsibility.⁶⁵

The Japanese were so concerned for the welfare of the JEB churches that they were willing to leave the Mission to give these small churches a stable leadership. They were hoping that eventually the Home Council would change their mind and assume responsibility for the churches.

In 1931, the Field Council met again to consult how to bring stability to the churches. This time the Council had three Japanese and the same number of foreigners. They decided:

1. The Field Council requested Mr Horiuchi to resign the pastorship of the Bible church in the Mission Hall, and accept the position of Field Pastor of groups in Kobe and neighbouring vicinity, the limits to be fixed later if necessary.
2. The Field Council decided that the Bible church in the Mission Hall must be organized as quickly as possible as an independent church outside the Hall. The details of this move to be left to the church officials and the Kobe Field Council Members.
3. In future the work at the Mission Hall will be limited to direct evangelistic work and the nurturing of the young Christians saved there. The groups thus formed being expected to move out and organize their own church within three years.⁶⁶

The Field Council again was trying to find a middle ground so they could strengthen the churches as well as honour the wishes of the Home Council and missionaries. Although the Japanese were in the majority on the FC and were responsible to make decisions for the work in Japan, there are possibly two reasons why they could not make JEB a denomination. Firstly, the work in Japan was financially dependent on the money raised in Britain by the Home Council members. Secondly, the missionaries in the Mission gave priority to evangelism over church organization. They wanted the Mission to stay auxiliary to the church. However, the FC in Kobe persuaded the HC to finance the

⁶⁵ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM 1, 2 Feb. 1927.

⁶⁶ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 2-11 May 1931.

churches until they were able to be independent. To encourage the churches to be self-supporting, the FC gave them a time schedule:

In connection with the various groups of Christians formed as the result of our Forward Movement work, the following decisions were made.

1. FINANCIAL SUPPORT. By support we mean that of church and worker. The Band to fully support, if necessary, for the first year. During the second year, only two thirds support and during the third year, one third support. No support from the beginning of the fourth year. If the church cannot be selfsupporting, [sic] after three years' help, the worker will be withdrawn and the place recognized as a place to be visited from some other centre (Junkaichi).
2. RELATION OF ABOVE WORKERS TO THE BAND. If a worker accepts the call to become the pastor of any church which has become selfsupporting, [sic] he then becomes an associate Member.
3. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP
 - a. Associate Members consist only of pastors attached to selfsupporting [sic] churches, formed as the result of the J.E.B. Forward Movement.
 - b. So long as the worker continues in the above position, the Band will exercise no authority over him, maintaining only Spiritual relationship.

REASONS FOR THE ABOVE DECISIONS

- a. To put an end to perpetual carrying of the financial burdens of these small churches.
- b. Thus setting free money for the evangelization of the still unevangelized districts.
- c. And giving the workers a large measure of liberty in the work of the churches.⁶⁷

Contrary to the wishes of all foreigners, the Japanese in the Field Council decided to establish churches and finance them. Interestingly, the Home Council that was raising finances did not object to the decision. The FC successfully found a way to give the churches financial and personnel support so they could function as self-governing and self-propagating churches. The Japanese leaders in the Mission were so determined to make the churches independent that they concentrated most of their time on church organization.

The Japanese concern for church organization and the missionary priority on evangelism created a rift between the two. Although there were foreigners in the Field Council, they did not agree with the decisions. In a letter to London office secretary, Hubert Verner, and Field Director, Cuthbertson, raised doubts over FC's decision on church organization as it was diverting the Mission from evangelism in parts of the country where the gospel had not reached.⁶⁸ This letter confirms the strength of Japanese

⁶⁷ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 2-11 May 1931.

⁶⁸ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC Cuthbertson to Verner, 15 Dec. 1934.

voices in making decisions on the Mission's policies in the Field Council. It also shows that the Japanese and the missionaries had different priorities. While the missionaries preferred evangelism, the Japanese wanted to concentrate on discipling, church planting and church organization. Although foreigners were financing the Mission, the Japanese voice was so prominent that the foreigners had no option but to follow the Japanese lead.

Japanese initiative in establishing Three-Self churches

From the above stated rules made by the Field Council in 1931, it is evident that the FC took the initiative to form Three-Self churches as suggested by Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson. The distinctiveness of the JEB churches was that Japanese evangelists established most of them without the Mission's official consent. They were not dissuaded from leading these newly formed churches even though the Mission was reluctant to claim responsibility. Japanese initiatives in church planting and making the churches independent of missionary support proves Anthony Norris Groves' view that if indigenous Christians are left to their own devices they will organize themselves because faith naturally inspires believers to develop their own ministries and abilities.⁶⁹ From the beginning, the JEB evangelists took the initiative to organize churches, teach the converts to witness to their faith, and raised funds so that they were not dependent on the Mission for financial support. The evangelists took the initiative in teaching the small groups they had formed to be independent of the missionary and JEB spiritual and financial support. Barclay Buxton, in *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost: The essential preparation for all Christian work*,⁷⁰ wrote that evangelism was the result of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The JEB Bible School ingrained this teaching in their

⁶⁹ Robert Bernard Dann, 'The Primitive Missiology of Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853): A Radical Influence on Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions', Ph.D. University of Liverpool, 2006, 267.

⁷⁰ Barclay Buxton, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost: The essential preparation for all Christian work* (London: S. W. Partridge, 1891)

students and, as a result, the evangelists taught their converts the importance of witness. For them, Christian faith and preaching the gospel became synonymous. In 1926, the evangelists reported converts witnessing to their family and neighbours resulted in an expansion of churches.⁷¹ One year later, Roland Allen published *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* claiming that the first century church grew because early Christians ‘gossiped’ their faith.⁷² Unaware of the mission theories in the West, Japanese converts continued witnessing to their faith. They patiently prayed for their persecutors⁷³ and often saw their conversions.⁷⁴ Churches organized evangelistic trips on public holidays, when teams visited their neighbourhoods and nearby villages.⁷⁵ Church members took responsibility for the spiritual care of their converts, renting a room at weekends, and taking turns to lead Bible Studies for the new converts.⁷⁶

The evangelists also passed on teachings of Holiness and ascetic living to their converts. The churches organized daily prayer meetings⁷⁷ and, in some cases, they even went into the mountains to pray. Such behaviour prompted curiosity in neighbours, which led to starting a Bible Study class at the bottom of the mountain.⁷⁸ It was reported that converts willingly gave up their *butsudan* (仏壇 Buddhist prayer altar) and local gods. Giving up gambling, alcohol, and tobacco became synonymous with being a Christian.⁷⁹

In 1930, the Mission started training for lay people. Men and women, recommended by evangelists, visited the Mission Hall for a week to ten days of training in church leadership. Mission staff members and associate members taught seminars on

⁷¹ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 34, 4 Dec. 1926.

⁷² Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (London: World Dominion Press, 1927).

⁷³ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 25, 14 Aug. 1926.

⁷⁴ *JEB* Vol. 27 No. 3 (March-April 1932), 37.

⁷⁵ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 28, 30 Sept. 1926.

⁷⁶ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 34, 4 Dec. 1926; JEB Box 54 FR No. 59, 16 Nov. 1927.

⁷⁷ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 30, 30 Oct. 1926.

⁷⁸ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 53, 13 Aug. 1927.

⁷⁹ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 58, 30 Aug. 1926.

Holiness, methods of evangelism and organizing Holiness Conventions. Reports spoke of an enthusiasm to learn church leadership skills and a willingness to pay for training.⁸⁰

Self-support for rural churches was usually considered difficult to achieve because rural areas had economic disadvantages. Buxton had tried to make the church in Matsue self-supporting but had failed. Much earlier, Nevius had extensively written about his difficult experiences in trying to make the Chinese Church self-supporting.⁸¹ He believed that the Chinese pastors lacked a desire to be financially independent of the missionaries. He understood that it was difficult to raise support in a small Christian population but he also observed that complacency prevented them from advancing to independence. The Japanese situation, however, was different from China. The economic challenges of rural Japan with its small Christian population made self-support difficult yet the Japanese aspired for independent churches even before the Field Council made rules. As early as 1920, Wilkes reported evangelists refusing to take a salary from the Mission.⁸² In 1925, some evangelists working as pastors refused support and some asked for a reduced salary.⁸³ In 1926, female members of a church in Uchinomaki city on Kyushu Island constructed their church building within five years of being established.⁸⁴ In 1926, before the FC made rules for financial support, some churches asked the Mission to gradually reduce financial help because they wanted to be independent from the JEB.⁸⁵ By 1930, some churches became self-supporting. They paid for all church activities and their pastor. Under the new Mission rules, these churches were declared independent from the Mission. Evangelists who decided to stay with their respective churches resigned from the Mission. Some became associate members.⁸⁶ Japanese

⁸⁰ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 16-17 Oct. 1929.

⁸¹ John L. Nevius, *Methods of Mission Work* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Printing Press, 1886).

⁸² JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to Home Council, 21 April 1920.

⁸³ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, 10 March 1925; Shotaro Kogo, *Earthquake Evangelist: A Spiritual Odyssey* (London: JEB, 1977), 44.

⁸⁴ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 30, 30 Oct. 1926.

⁸⁵ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 29, 16 Oct. 1926.

⁸⁶ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 8-13 May 1928; 6, 7, 10, 12 May 1930.

enthusiasm to be financially independent may have been a result of a rise in nationalism in the country. Did the Japanese want to prove to the missionaries they were capable of running their own churches?

Formation of a denomination independent of the JEB

As stated earlier, in May 1931, the Field Council requested Horiuchi to leave the Bible Church he established in the Kobe Mission Hall and work as the Field Pastor for JEB. Horiuchi, however, chose to declare his church independent of the Mission. He moved the church out of the Mission Hall in July 1931 and became a JEB associate member.⁸⁷ Still concerned for the independent churches, towards the end of 1933, the Field Council requested Horiuchi and another associate member, Sano, of a self-supporting church in Kajiya, Hyogo prefecture, to register their churches with the government.⁸⁸ The legal status to function as a religious body protected the churches from political and social persecution because the Japanese constitution permitted freedom of religion. They were also concerned with Nakada's influence on the young churches. If left in isolation, they could follow Nakada who was a respected Holiness church leader and JEB friend. However, JEB thought, since the late 1920s, that he was mistaken in his interpretation of the Second Coming of Christ.⁸⁹ The Mission trusted Horiuchi and Sano, former JEB workers, to prevent their churches being involved in the Holiness Church controversy. Several churches established and led by Japanese united to form a denomination that was independent of the JEB.

⁸⁷ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 29 Sept. 1931.

⁸⁸ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 1 Dec. 1933.

⁸⁹ See Chapter Four page 118.

The Nihon Seisho Kyokai (Japan Bible Church)

Horiuchi established the Nihon Seisho Kyokai (日本聖書教会 NSK) in the Kobe Mission Hall after Takeda left the Mission in 1925. The NSK moved out of the Mission Hall in late 1933. By mid-1934, Horiuchi and Sano registered their churches under the name Nihon Seisho Kyokai.⁹⁰ Soon three more churches, Obama Church in Fukui prefecture, Koriyama Church in Nara prefecture, and Kameoka Church in Kyoto prefecture, joined Nihon Seisho Kyokai.⁹¹ The NSK became a group of five churches that were established by JEB evangelists and were financially independent of the Mission. The churches had Japanese leadership and were actively involved in evangelizing their neighbourhood. The NSK, therefore, was a self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church. Soon they were joined by another group of churches, the Iesu Shodan.

Iesu Shodan joins the Nihon Seisho Kyokai

The Iesu Shodan (イエス召団 Jesus Church, IS) was also an independent church established by a Japanese independent of any foreign support. In 1895, Japanese evangelists from Okayama city established a Congregational Church in Kagato village in Okayama prefecture in West Japan. By 1927, Kagato village was merged with neighbouring villages to form a town with the same name. Around 1918, Sato Kuninosuke (1894-1981), a graduate of the JEB Bible School, was appointed a minister at the Kagato Congregational Church. Sato was an enthusiastic evangelist. Soon after taking responsibility for the church, he started preaching the Holiness teaching, which resulted in spiritual as well as numerical growth. Sato maintained strong connections with JEB. He invited students and evangelists from the JEB to help evangelize

⁹⁰ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 15 May 1934.

⁹¹ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 19 July 1934.

neighbouring villages. Soon they established a few churches. Close connections with the JEB resulted in Sato and his churches becoming closer to the JEB and disconnected with their denomination. Eventually, in 1923, Sato declared his churches independent of the Congregational Church.⁹² Although a JEB member, Sato's separation, unlike Takeda's, did not create a discussion in the Mission. Sato's churches were far from the Kobe Mission Hall, which was the JEB Japan headquarters, and he did not wish his churches to be recognized as JEB churches. In 1925, he gave up his full membership with the Mission and became an associate member.⁹³ In 1929, Sato registered his churches with the government as Iesu Shodan. Since the JEB did not wish to give their name to any churches, they encouraged the JEB established churches near Kagato to join the Iesu Shodan.⁹⁴ By 1935, Iesu Shodan consisted of eight Three-Self churches. The formation of Nihon Seisho Kyokai inspired Sato to join the church as the JEB evangelists helped Sato to establish his churches.

Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai: a Japanese initiative

The union of five churches as Nihon Seisho Kyokai (NSK) under the leadership of Horiuchi inspired other Three-Self churches established by the JEB evangelists to unite. Sato of the Iesu Shodan (IS) was the first to merge his eight churches with the new NSK. Another independent church from Aohori town in Chiba prefecture joined the group.⁹⁵ In 1935, this union of five NSK, eight IS and one church from Aohori changed their names to Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK, Japan Church of Jesus Christ). Although united under one name, the churches were not dependent on each other for

⁹² Fumiji Iwata ed., *Kyoudan Souritsu 50 Shunen Kineushi* [50 year Celebration of the Denomination] (Hyogo: Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppan Kyoku, 2001), 152.

⁹³ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 6, 7 Oct. 1925.

⁹⁴ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 16, 17 Oct. 1929.

⁹⁵ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Proceedings of the Kobe Committee Meeting held in co-operation with Messers Horiuchi, and Sano of the Nihon Seisho Kyokwai and Mr. Sato of the Iesu Shodan, at the Kobe Mission Hall, 12 March 1935.

financial support. The NIKK was also independent of any administrative, financial or evangelistic support from any foreigner or foreign agency.

The formation of the NIKK gave the JEB Field Council the opportunity to give a name and recognition to the churches they had permitted their evangelists to establish. In 1935, the same year the NIKK registered with the government to gain recognition as a religious body, the Field Council approached Horiuchi to accept 18 churches that were financially dependent on the JEB. Since the union of 14 churches was new and could not financially support 18 churches, the JEB entered an agreement with the NIKK:

WORKERS

The workers in charge of the above mentioned places are from today attached to the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokwai, [sic] and will look to that Body of leadership and superintendence. Associate membership will discontinue.

FINANCE

The J.E.B. will continue to be responsible for the finance of the above groups as up till now, but instead of the payments being made direct from Kobe Office they will be made through the secretary of the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokwai[sic]. This arrangement will begin in April. The aim of the Church will be self-supporting but the Band will be behind the above groups until this objective is attained.

FELLOWSHIP

While the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokwai[sic] is a separate and self-governing organisation, over which the Band will exercise no control whatsoever, the warmest spiritual fellowship will continue between us, and the Band will continue to expect the Nihon Ieu Kirisuto Kyokwai[sic] workers at the J.E.B. Annual Meetings as before.⁹⁶

The agreement between the two parties recognized the NIKK governance independent of the JEB. Even financial support from the Mission did not give them the authority to exercise control over the NIKK administration. Cuthbertson, the Field Director, also informed all the JEB workers that the NIKK was ‘a separate self-governing organization, over which the Band will exercise no control’.⁹⁷ All evangelists who were working as pastors of the churches being transferred would work under the NIKK administration. All 18 churches enthusiastically supported the Field Council’s decision as finally they were being recognized as a part of an

⁹⁶ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Letter Issued to Japanese members of the JEB, 12 March 1935.

⁹⁷ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC ,Letter Issued to Japanese members of JEB, 12 March 1935.

official body.⁹⁸ Accepting 18 churches made the NIKK financially dependent on foreigners.

The JEB relationship with the NIKK

Since the JEB was a parent to all the churches in the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai, they were keen for them to function efficiently as one body. In April 1935, the Mission leaders invited the NIKK to the JEB Annual Meeting and facilitated the first NIKK Annual Meeting by handing NIKK a session to discuss church business. The Mission also promised to pay Horiuchi who resigned his position as a pastor to accelerate NIKK church organization.⁹⁹ On one hand, the Mission claimed to establish no churches, on the other hand, they financially supported the churches that were functioning as a denomination. The Mission started working with the NIKK extensively, though not exclusively.¹⁰⁰ They also gave the NIKK more churches formed through the Forward Movement.¹⁰¹

Although Cuthbertson had promised financial support for eighteen churches until they were financially stable, the Mission pressed the NIKK to be self-supporting. Every year they reduced the amount of aid. In 1936, the Mission gave an allowance of ¥600 per month. By 1939, it was reduced to ¥250 a month.¹⁰² Five years after its formation, NIKK was still an infant church struggling financially. The repercussions of the 1930s global depression that hit the Japanese economy,¹⁰³ the military expeditions in China, and poor church members forced the NIKK to be financially dependent on the JEB. In addition, in January 1940, in anticipation of the Religious Organization Law prohibiting

⁹⁸ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Cuthbertson to Verner, 15 March 1935.

⁹⁹ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 10 May 1935.

¹⁰⁰ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 21 Jan. 1938.

¹⁰¹ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 5 Dec. 1939.

¹⁰² JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 8 July 1937; 22 March 1938, 7 March 1939.

¹⁰³ See Takafusa Nakamura translated by Edwin Whemmouth, *A History of Showa Japan, 1926-1989* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1998).

the Japanese to work under foreign leadership, the JEB transferred all their Japanese workers to the NIKK.¹⁰⁴ Unable to raise enough funds, Sano, the NIKK secretary, requested the mission to increase the aid to ¥300 per month until April 1940, the end of JEB financial assistance to the NIKK.¹⁰⁵ Soon after, the Japanese government forced all Japanese Christians to sever all ties with missionaries. By mid-1940, the Japanese government isolated the Japanese church from the global church. Concerned at reprisals from the government, the NIKK refused financial aid and personnel support from the JEB. Thus, five years after its formation, the NIKK was once again a Three-Self church.

Conclusion

The Japanese in the JEB played a major role in giving direction to the ministry of the Mission and accomplished their vision to establish churches while financed by the Home Council in England. The late nineteenth century spirit of nation building and leadership that propelled Japan into international politics could also be seen in early twentieth century Japanese Christians in the JEB. The Japanese in the Mission, especially Takeda, Horiuchi and Mimaki, took initiatives to establish the work in Kobe. Their efforts received encouragement when the Home Council trusted them with the majority in the Field Council. Since the Japanese had laboured to lay the foundations of the Mission, they felt a sense of belonging to the JEB and responsibility towards their converts, which gave them confidence to make decisions contrary to the wishes of the Home Council that was raising funds in Britain to support their work in Japan. Takeda persuaded the Home Council to establish a Bible School. His leadership in discipleship training and influence in establishing the Bible School gave the JEB evangelists a firm foundation in theological education. The evangelists also learnt leadership qualities and gained a

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter Seven.

¹⁰⁵ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 7 March 1939.

vision for discipleship. Therefore, they were able to take the initiative in establishing independent churches without the permission of the Home Council and contrary to the Mission's constitution. The evangelists also took the initiative to make their churches independent of the JEB by asking the Mission to reduce financial aid and, in some cases, even refusing financial support. They taught the churches to be self-governing, self-propagating and self-financing.

The Japanese leadership in the Field Council, contrary to the wishes of the Home Council, gave Japanese evangelists the opportunity to fulfil their vision of establishing churches. They financially supported evangelists until they were able to raise finances in their church. The Field Council's decision to establish churches added the ministry of discipleship to the JEB's original vision of evangelism. The Field Council persuaded the Home Council to finance Bible Schools for men and women, and churches, both of which were not the original vision of those who established the Mission in England. Horiuchi's initiative in establishing a denomination independent of the JEB brought another change to the JEB ministry. It provided the Mission with the opportunity to hand over churches to the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai and take a supportive role rather than the leadership in church planting.

In this chapter, we observed that the Japanese influence in the JEB's mission policies added discipleship to Buxton's and Wilkes' vision of evangelism. Horiuchi's initiative in leaving the JEB to establish a church could have been his solution for the Home Council's desire for the JEB to be an auxiliary to church. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that the Japanese took the initiative to bring about major changes to the JEB's mission policies. Although there was disagreement between the foreigners and the Japanese regarding the JEB's mission policy of establishing churches, eventually it benefitted the Christian mission in Japan as the Japanese were able to establish a Three-

Self indigenous church. In the next chapter, I will discuss how women in the JEB influenced the Mission.

Chapter Six

The Influence and Contribution of the Women in the JEB

Introduction

Evangelical women in the early twentieth century became a major work force in the mission field. Although not given leadership positions in church and mission organizations, they immensely contributed to education, medical missions and to the uplift of women's causes in the mission field. This chapter investigates the question of *how women in the JEB influenced the policies and practices of the JEB*. The question is answered by studying the contribution of the female foreign missionaries and Japanese Bible women to establish the Mission, their position in the Home Council and the Field Council, their contribution to evangelism, and their influence in the Mission's attempt at social work.

The story of the women is constructed by gleaning information from historical books written by Wilkes, biographies of Irene Webster-Smith and Dorothy Hoare, Home Council Minutes, copies of the Field Council Minutes sent to the JEB headquarters in London, and letters between the London and Japan offices. Two external voices that contribute to this chapter are Nakada Juji, of the Oriental Missionary Society Holiness Church, and Annie Wood's acquaintance, George Dempsie. These two voices are consulted because they were in correspondence with the Mission regarding social work. Their interaction with the JEB leadership influenced the Mission's position on social work, which affected Irene Webster-Smith's work. The stories of the Bible women's contribution to the expansion of the Mission are reconstructed from Prayer Calendars, the *JEB* magazine, and Field Reports.

Annie E. Wood, the Mother of the JEB

Annie E. Wood lived with her husband, Herbert Wood, an Anglican minister, in Liverpool. We do not have information about her personal life but she was the reason for the JEB being established and the inspiration for ministry among children in the UK and Japan. At the 1903 Keswick Convention, Barclay Buxton, Lord Radstock and Darlow Sargent met with Paget Wilkes to discuss the formation of a Mission organization to evangelize Japan. After prayer and consultation, they concluded it was not God's will. The same evening, at a prayer meeting, Annie Wood, a friend of Wilkes, felt it was God's will to 'form an evangelistic Band'.¹ She persuaded Buxton, Lord Radstock, and her husband, Herbert Wood, to send missionaries to Japan. She found the first missionary, Estelle Edmeades, to accompany Wilkes. She also persuaded an elderly lady at the Keswick Convention to support Edmeades in Japan.² While Wilkes and Takeda worked to establish the ministry in Japan, Wood worked hard to raise support for them. For two years, before the Home Council (HC) took the initiative to establish the JEB work in the UK, Wood searched for workers for the mission. She met with James Cuthbertson and sent him as the first missionary to join Wilkes and Edmeades. She also invited W. H. R. Tredinnick and encouraged him to join the Mission as the first paid secretary. In 1906, Wood formed a circle of prayer for children in her living room in Liverpool and called it the 'Sunrise Band'. Children from Christian homes met for prayer in different parts of the UK. In 1920, the JEB missionary, Irene Webster-Smith, requested the Home Council to permit her to open an orphanage. Wood persuaded the HC to give Webster-Smith permission even though the Field Council was not in favour of the Mission being involved in social work. Wood raised support for Webster-Smith's work from the Sunrise Band prayer circles. (Webster-Smith's work is discussed in detail later in this chapter.) Wood's female friends organized these prayer

¹Paget Wilkes, *"His Glorious Power": The Story of the JEB* (Portsmouth: JEB, 1933), 43.

²Mary Dunn-Pattison, *Ablaze for God: The Life Story of Paget Wilkes* (London: JEB, 1937), 78.

circles. As the Sunrise Band grew, Wood appointed Hope Tourel and Winifred Voisin as General Secretaries and called the Sunrise Band a junior partner of the JEB.³ From 1911 onwards, the Sunrise Band printed the *Sunrise* magazine to promote the JEB ministry and financially support missionaries.⁴ Wood also worked as honorary secretary for the JEB prayer circles, served on the HC, and promoted the Mission's work by giving talks and writing the *Occasional Letter*.⁵ Her addresses at various conferences persuaded men and women to send donations for the work in Japan. Wood also visited Japan and wanted the Field Director in Japan to be Japanese. Wilkes recognized Wood's great contribution to fulfilling his dream of reaching the Japanese with the gospel by calling her the 'mother of the mission'.⁶ After Wilkes' death in 1934, the Mission gradually forgot the importance of Wood's work. In 1968, the JEB historian, Eric Gosden, saw Buxton and Wilkes as co-founders of the mission.⁷ Although not recognized as the founder of the Mission, Wood definitely contributed significantly in establishing the JEB and raising personnel and finances.



Illustration 9 Annie E. Wood

³ JEB Box 29 File 6 The Relationship of Sunrise to J.E.B; JEB Box 29 File 1 Sunrise Band Minutes (hereafter SBM), R. L. Harrod to Vosin, 29 Sept. 1939.

⁴ JEB Box 29 File 6 The Relationship of Sunrise to J.E.B.

⁵ JEB Box 49 *Occasional Letter*.

⁶ Wilkes, "*His Glorious Power*," 41.

⁷ Eric Gosden, *50 Years on Theatre Street* (London: JEB, 1968).

The influence of female missionaries in the JEB

Influenced by Hudson Taylor, Buxton followed the China Inland Mission policy of equal ministry opportunities for married and single female missionaries. From the Matsue Band days, Buxton gave women an equal opportunity to speak at public meetings. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, women in the UK still did not have leadership positions in the church. Even though women were going abroad as missionaries and leading social reform in the UK and in the mission field, most men in church were uncomfortable with women preachers as they believed the Bible taught teaching and preaching as male responsibilities. In 1891, Bishop Bickersteth of the Nippon Sei Ko Kai (NSKK,) objected to Buxton permitting 'women taking part in public services which men attended'.⁸ If a man was present, the bishop expected the man to preach. Buxton, however, treated men and women equally on his team. He gave women opportunity to speak at public meetings. Often male Japanese evangelists translated for the female missionaries. Buxton believed in the priesthood of all saints and the equality of all believers, including gender and race, as stated in 1 Peter 2:9 and Galatians 3:28.⁹ Certain of his belief, Buxton did not bow to the wishes of the CMS and the NSKK to prohibit women from preaching. Instead, he informed them that women in leadership did not offend the Japanese. Japan was different from other Asian nations. Japanese churches welcomed women's leadership. Bishop Bickersteth and the CMS were mistaken in asking him to change. He was not the person who needed to change, and it was time the missionaries abandoned their prejudice against women. He believed he was right and he would rather follow God than other Christians.¹⁰

⁸ CMS G1JO Reel 24/181 Bishop Bickersteth to Wigram, 1 May 1891. Archives housed at St. Andrew's University, Osaka, Japan.

⁹ 'But you are a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's special possession, that you may declare the praises of him who called you out of darkness into wonderful light'. 1 Peter 2:9; 'There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus'. Gal. 3:28 (NIV).

¹⁰ CMS G1JO/251 Barclay Buxton to Mr. Loigram, 10 Sept. 1891.

Buxton's acceptance of female leadership was practised in the JEB. The first missionary to accompany Wilkes to Japan with the newly formed Band was a woman. At least one female was nominated to the councils in Britain and Japan. Female missionaries worked in churches with Japanese male evangelists. They spoke at evangelistic meetings and led Bible studies.¹¹ They supervised the work of junior staff members, male and female, and trained Bible women. In 1977, Kogo Shotaro recalled that Dorothy Hoare¹² although not a pastor, led evangelistic meetings and taught and advised him.¹³ Hoare pioneered several churches that started with a children's ministry. She opened her home to children with behavioural problems. The change in children's attitudes led parents to church. Hoare also started training for Bible women.

Another female missionary, Amy Burnet, sponsored by Glynn Vivian Miners' Mission (GVMM), was assigned to work among miners. Her higher educational qualifications made the JEB home office secretary, Tredinnick, think she was better suited to work among educated businessmen but Burnet proved him wrong.¹⁴ In 1925, she left the JEB to establish the Central Japan Pioneer Mission and established many churches among miners.¹⁵ Her separation from the Mission forced the leader to consider permitting the Japanese to form churches. Irene Webster-Smith, as discussed later in this chapter, forced the Mission to consider addressing social concerns. She opened an orphanage for unwanted little girls. Her boldness to continue her work brought hope for many girls who would have otherwise been sold to brothels. Female missionaries in the JEB made an immense contribution to missions. They successfully preached and led children's ministries. Their evangelistic efforts enabled the Japanese evangelists to disciple the converts and establish churches.

¹¹ *Japan Evangelistic Band* (hereafter *JEB*) Vol. 20, No. 1 (April 1925); *JEB* Vol. 20, No. 3, (Oct. 1925), 45.

¹² See Chapter Five, footnote 22.

¹³ Shotaro Kogo, *Earthquake Evangelist: A Spiritual Odyssey* (London: JEB, 1977).

¹⁴ JEB Box 14 File 1-B Tredinnick to Wilkes, 16 Oct. 1919.

¹⁵ Burnet's work and relationship with JEB is discussed in Chapter Five.

Women's contribution to the Mission councils

The Mission's constitution required a specific number of Japanese on Field Council but there was no requirement for women on the councils. Annie Wood and Catherine Gurney mainly represented female voices on the Home Council. Occasionally, they invited other women to join the Council for short periods. On the FC, Mrs. Braithwaite was the lone female voice. The JEB 1930 *Prayer Calendar* informs that George Braithwaite and his wife were British missionaries working with the Japan Book and Tract Society.¹⁶ The JEB requested Mrs. Braithwaite to join the Field Council because of her experience of missions in Japan. After Braithwaite's return to England in 1932, for seven years no woman was appointed to the FC. In response to HC's suggestion to invite Japanese women of the FC, the Field Director, Cuthbertson, wrote:

The Japanese are all against it and as the bulk of the questions which interest them, concern policy and the work of the numerically superior Japanese members of the Band, they feel that a lady's presence is not necessary. The Home Council naturally looks at things from a Western standpoint. If the Home Council insists on such a step, I have no doubt the Japanese will agree but will not approve.¹⁷

The Japanese culture of male superiority dominated the Field Council. It is interesting to note that the Japanese men on the council accepted Braithwaite but were not willing to accept a Japanese woman in a decision-making position. Perhaps Braithwaite's status as a foreign missionary made Japanese men accept her in leadership. Japanese men's attitudes makes one wonder whether their acceptance of women preachers and leaders was an approval of Mission policies or compliance to Mission policies because their culture taught them to be respectful to their leaders. They were willing to share their platform with women but reluctant to be ruled by them, especially the Japanese! It is interesting to note that even though the foreigners in JEB tried to practise gender equality, they could not persuade their Japanese counterparts to overcome their cultural practices. The lack of Japanese archives and the limitations of this research do not

¹⁶ JEB Box 45 File 3 Prayer Calendar, 1930, 5.

¹⁷ JEB Box 14 File 2 Home Council Correspondence (hereafter HCC), Cuthbertson to Verner, 16 Feb. 1938.

permit me to further investigate whether the refusal to accept Japanese women in the FC was a result of cultural prejudice or their genuine concern about continuing the Japanese practice of giving priority to senior members for leadership positions.

Bible women: A major work force

The British industrial revolution brought prosperity to some and poverty to others. The most severely affected by the innovation of machines were the cottage industries, mainly spinning and weaving. As competition grew incomes fell forcing women and children who had traditionally contributed to their family income through spinning and weaving to leave home and work in the fields and factories.¹⁸ The introduction of modern machinery created an industrial proletariat. A large number of the rural population moved to urban areas in the hope of employment resulting in parts of large cities becoming overcrowded and an increase in the number of poor. Unemployment and the struggles of poverty separated many from the church. The church's image as a place for educated, 'respectable' people dressed in expensive clothes added to the disillusionment. The eighteenth century English preachers, John and Charles Wesley, were concerned for the salvation of the poor and promoted evangelism as well as education for children and adults. Inspired by the Methodists, the Anglicans, as well as other denominations, engaged in ministry among the poor in Britain.¹⁹ The church tried to win the poor back by visiting them. However, often they found doors shut in their faces as the poor believed the rich could not empathize with them. In an effort to relate to such people, the church employed poor Christian women to reach women in their own community because Christian women could raise children

¹⁸ Gladys Cuddelford, *Women and Society: From Victorian times to the Present Day* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1967).

¹⁹ Julio de Santa Ana, ed., *Separation Without Hope?: Essays on the Relation between the Church and the Poor During the Industrial Revolution and Western Expansion* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1978).

in the fear of God and persuade their husbands to return to the church. The women employed by the church were called 'Bible women' because they visited poor communities door-to-door, empathized with the women, and sold them Bibles in instalments. Missionaries gave the same name to indigenous Christian women in various countries that had similar responsibilities except selling Bibles.

The opening of Japan in 1854 changed the country. Christian educational institutions gave women the opportunity to change their lives through employment other than domestic work. The Christian teaching of equality of men and women gave women self-worth. Many Christian women applied to the JEB for training and employment as Bible women. The Mission employed some evangelists' wives and single women as Bible women. The Mission trained them and paired them with a female missionary.²⁰ The women were part of a team and, therefore, never given separate credit for their work. Official reports rarely mention Bible women by name. Prayer calendars usually grouped the women together.²¹ One exceptional Bible woman, H. Odaki, is the only Japanese lady who wrote ministry reports and has a specific mention in the prayer calendar. Her first name is unknown as the JEB preferred to follow the Japanese custom of addressing people by their family name. In conversations with the present senior JEB members and Nakajima Nobumitsu, the pastor and JEB history teacher at Kansai Bible School, I realized her contributions are still unknown to the Mission.²²

²⁰JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Tedinnick to Wilkes, 30 Jan. 1940.

²¹ JEB Box 45 File 3 Prayer Calendars, 1930, 1935.

²² Conversation with Rev. Nakajima on 20 March 2013.



Illustration 10 H. Odaki

Odaki was a survivor of the 1923 Tokyo earthquake that devastated the whole city and killed many people. It is unknown when and how she converted to the Christian faith or when she joined the Mission. From her reports, we deduce that by 1927 she was considered a senior member. Her reports also give a glimpse into her life and an understanding of the lives of Bible women. Odaki's work expanded beyond the ministry among women. She ministered to men and even to Buddhist and Shinto priests.²³ Before a tent-meeting, Odaki visited homes and invited adults to the meetings and children to Sunday school held before the tent-meetings. She continued to maintain contact with the enquirers after the tent-meeting team left. She visited the sick and comforted them. Odaki wrote how much joy the gospel brought to a man on his deathbed even when he was alone and rejected by his family because of tuberculosis. Odaki was so enthusiastic to share the gospel that she took advantage of heavy snowfall to visit homes as it made people housebound and easier to contact.²⁴ Other Bible women did similar work as Odaki. They maintained contact with the new enquirers and converts after the tent-mission team returned to their base. They taught Bible studies, Sunday school, led prayer meetings, and visited the sick.²⁵

²³ JEB Box 54 File 1 Field Report (hereafter FR) No. 46, H. Odaki, 24 May 1927.

²⁴ JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 169 H. Odaki, Nov. 1933.

²⁵ JEB Box 54 file 1 FR No. 178 Amy Thoren, Aug. 1934.

Although the Mission failed to record the achievements of individual Bible women, they tried to care for their welfare. The Field Council assigned Odaki extra money to cope with the severe winter. The Mission paid a salary to Tomita's widow after he died in the Tango earthquake.²⁶ Wilkes arranged financial support for Sasao Tetsusaburo's young widow after his death in 1914. They gave her employment among the police wives so she could support her children.²⁷ Buxton even sent personal gifts to Sasao's family for six years. In 1920, when Buxton could not afford to send her financial aid, he asked the Mission to make sure the family had sufficient funds.²⁸

In May 1940, when the JEB went through organizational change, all Bible women were transferred to Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK) along with their male counterparts.²⁹ Although transferred, there was no change in the women's ministry. Bible women continued to work with the JEB female missionaries. Since the women did not work under direct NIKK administration, NIKK considered their case different from the male staff members.³⁰ The NIKK-JEB partnership and financial agreement are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. Three months after the agreement, under pressure from the Japanese government, NIKK refused funds from the JEB. Unable to pay all the staff members, the NIKK leaders decided to terminate services of all Bible women except Odaki.³¹ Since the Bible women worked with female missionaries, they were detached from the NIKK even after they were transferred to the church. Therefore, the NIKK found it easier to terminate their jobs. Unable to pay for the training of evangelists, the NIKK also shut the women's Bible school. Since NIKK records did not survive the Second World War, it is not possible to know the reasons why the leaders chose to close

²⁶ JEB Box 17 File 1 Field Council Minute (hereafter FCM), 3, 5 & 9 May 1927.

²⁷ JEB Box 14 File 1-B HCC, Wilkes to Braithwaite, 24 May 1916.

²⁸ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Buxton to Wilkes, 20 Nov. 1920.

²⁹ JEB Box 15 File 3 Field Council Correspondence (hereafter FCC), Kuminosuke Sato to Garrard, 29 May 1940.

³⁰ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 19 March 1940.

³¹ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 25 Sept. 1940.

down all the women's ministries rather than reduce them to an equal number of male and female workers and students. The JEB was shocked by the decision and thought it was unfair to terminate the Bible women's work without notice. The JEB considered the welfare of Bible women their responsibility. The Mission paid all their former employees three months' salaries and tried to find employment for the students who could not graduate because their Bible school was shut down in mid-term.³²

The JEB Home Council and foreign missionary attitudes towards women in the ministry reflected the changed attitudes in British Christian society. The Mission, however, was unable to bring this cultural change to the Japanese in the Mission. The Japanese leaders in the Field Council considered Japanese women subordinates and, therefore, could not accept them as leaders and policy makers. The female missionaries, however, were invited to join the FC in 1940 after all the Japanese were transferred to the NIKK. Yet, there is no evidence of a senior female missionary being considered for the position of the Field Director. Similar to male missionaries, the female missionaries were instrumental in establishing churches, however, no foreigner was appointed to pastor a church because the constitution did not permit any foreigner to take an ecclesiastical position.³³ However, this privilege was not extended to the Japanese women because unlike the male evangelists the Bible women did not take the initiative to establish churches. They preferred to work under male leadership.

The JEB and social concerns

The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century overseas missions reflected the changes in evangelical thinking in the West. As emphasis on preaching the gospel grew, mission organizations became more concerned with 'saving souls' rather

³² JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 4 Nov. 1940.

³³ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 Home Council Minutes (hereafter HCM), 25 July 1910.

than transforming the living conditions of the people to whom they ministered. Initially, the CMS ministered through schools in Japan, however, in 1890, they sent Buxton to evangelize rural Japan. Even though the Buxton family had significantly contributed to social reform in England, Barclay Buxton did not participate in bringing social justice in Japan. Under Buxton's guidance, the Matsue Band³⁴ was only concerned with the transformation of souls. The Band members travelled to areas surrounding the city of Matsue to preach the gospel yet they were never involved in social work. Since the JEB was modelled on the Matsue Band, addressing social concerns was not a priority. It is interesting to note that the CIM inspired Buxton to engage in rural evangelism in Japan but did not motivate him to follow the CIM practice of social reform through schools and hospitals.³⁵ The JEB constitution, written in 1910, stated 'The Mission has no educational work'.³⁶ For the Home Council members, 'educational work' equated with social work because the Protestant missions in Japan were started with educational institutions. In 1928, the Field Council reaffirmed this stand by refusing to recognize social work by missionaries as the Missions' work because the 'constitution does not permit social work'.³⁷

In principle, the Mission separated preaching the gospel and addressing the physical needs of society as two distinct ministries. However, in practice, they were often persuaded to acknowledge that they were both forms of witness that could not be estranged from each other because they could not deny Christ's ministry was of preaching, healing, and feeding the people. As early as July 1911, less than a year after drafting the constitution of the Mission, Takeda allowed Kagawa to persuade him to

³⁴ See Chapter Three.

³⁵ For CIM social work see Marshal Broomhall, *The Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission* (London: CIM, 1915).

³⁶ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM, 25 July 1910.

³⁷ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 27 Jan. 1928.

feed beggars at a tent-meeting.³⁸ Even though the Mission did not engage in social work, female missionaries could not detach themselves from society. Dorothy Hoare invited children with behavioural problems and from poor families to live with her for a few years. Fukuda Yae, a Bible woman and her ministry partner, helped Hoare in her endeavours. Hoare's work was very small, taking in a few children at a time. She raised funds for them in Britain but children were never the Mission's responsibility. Irene Webster-Smith, however, forced the Mission to reconsider their position.

The impact of the Meiji Restoration on women's lives

The Meiji government's policy of rapid industrialization brought a major change in the lives of poor rural women. The better urban infrastructure attracted businessmen to establish factories in or near cities but it had an adverse effect on the lives of poor girls and women. Traditionally, poor women had contributed to the family income by spinning, weaving or farming at home. The emergence of factories had an adverse effect on the cottage industry resulting in the poor searching for employment outside the home. While the middle class adapted to social and economic changes by sending their daughters to school, the poor sent their daughters to work in factories to supplement their income. Since single girls were culturally obliged to obey their parents' wishes, their opinion was not sought and their income was sent directly to their parents as a major source of income. As the economy deteriorated after 1907, most poor parents took an advance on their daughters' income from factory owners before sending their illiterate daughters to work. Although the family got immediate financial help, such deals bound the girls to the factory owners until the debt was paid. Since most of the girls were illiterate and resided in dormitories attached to the factories, the managers and factory owners easily exploited them. They took advantage of very loose labour

³⁸ *JEB* Vol. 4, No. 1 (April 1911), 8.

laws and made the girls work long hours. The girls were strictly monitored and were not given enough rest. They lived in poor accommodation and were malnourished. By 1910, young girls became a major workforce and constituted 71 percent of the labour force in private factories.³⁹

In 1916, the government brought in legislation to regulate working hours in factories. The new law reduced women's working hours to 12 a day. Women were banned from working at night and factory employers were prohibited from hiring children below the age of 15. Although the laws could have made life a little easier for the women, they were only implemented 18 years later, which prolonged the women's suffering.⁴⁰ When the factories were forced to follow the legislation, instead of giving the girls freedom, the factory owners and managers debated about how to keep the girls occupied when they were not working or sleeping. Elyssa Faison, in her book on women's labour in Japan, argues that the factory owners and managers felt responsible for protecting the chastity of the girls, so they were stricter with them than with men working in factories.⁴¹ They were concerned that free time could tempt the girls to live immoral lives. To protect the girls from immorality and for the efficient use of their free time, managerial decisions were made to provide healthcare and education for the women. The JEB reported that some Christian factory owners and managers started Bible Studies and prayer meetings at their factories before labour laws came into effect. Investment in the spiritual lives of the girls resulted in efficient work and an increase in production. The positive results of prayer meetings encouraged some non-Christian

³⁹ Kiyoshi Inoue, *Nihon no Josei Shi* [A History of Japanese Women] (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1969), 212; Ushiyama Keiji, 'Nihon Shihon Shugi Kakuritsu-ki' [The Period of Establishment of Japanese Capitalism] in *Nihon Nogyo nshi: Shihonshugi no Tenkai to Nogyo Mondai* [History of Japanese Agriculture: Development of Capitalism and Agricultural problems], ed. Teruoka Shizo (Tokyo, 1981), 58-9 cited in Patricia E. Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 9.

⁴⁰ For more on factory girls see Galen M. Fisher, *Creative Forces in Japan* (London: CMS, 1923). See also Elyssa Faison, *Managing Women: Disciplining Labor in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

⁴¹ Faison, *Managing Women*, 27.

factory owners to start classes on moral education at their factories. As the doors to the factories opened, missionaries took advantage and offered their services as educators.

JEB women work among factory women

Taking advantage of open doors in factories, the Mission assigned female missionaries and Bible women to teach moral education. Contact with the girls made the missionaries aware of their plight. A report submitted to the Home Council by missionary Holland⁴² stated that missionaries had observed the lives of the girls carefully and were concerned for their well-being:

The superintendents had out but one wish for the girls, - that they should sleep all the time they were not at work, so that more could be got out of them; often forcing them to work 18 hours out of 24.

In consequence of this death rate was very high. Doctors said that even if the Osaka girls could survive 3 years of this work they could simply be invalids for life. Consumption swept off a great many. Some even seemed to put off their factory clothes – they had lived as slaves, & were often knocked out [sic] & brutally treated.

The deceptions practised on the girls with regard to their correspondence are almost inconceivable. Many could not read, so had their letters read to them, (presumably) & things were suppressed and altered at the will of the reader. For instance, a request would come for a girl to return home when her time had expired. It was read that the girl was to stay on earn a great deal of money, & not come home yet.

Even request of a dying parent to see her child once more, was translated as “all well at home.” Consequently when the girl did not return home, the door was shut in her face, as being a most undutiful daughter.

Guards were placed at railway stations, & landing stages, & any girls who tried to run away were caught and punished for the attempt.⁴³

In the report, Holland stated she had been working with the factory girls for ‘thirteen or fourteen years’. In her years of work, she had observed a change in conditions except for long working hours. However, she did not state how they were changed. It is surprising to note that this report still did not inspire anyone to question the Mission’s policy of not fighting for social justice. It is also interesting to note that the reports of factory work

⁴² I have not been able to ascertain her identity. She is not listed as a JEB missionary in any report or magazine. It is possible she was an acquaintance of Wilkes working as an independent missionary or with some other mission.

⁴³ JEB Box 29 File 7 Factory work in Japan – A Report by Miss Holland.

published in the JEB magazines never mentioned the living conditions of girls. This undated report was sent to the UK JEB office along with the instructions:

Mr Wilkes wishes me to ask you to be very careful that this does not get into print in any way, as it might put an end to work in factories throughout Japan. He thought you might like to use it on Deputation work; & possibly send it to Prayer Circles, with the caution on no account to allow any of it to be printed. It is on these conditions only that it is being sent home to England.⁴⁴ (underlined, original text)

Although concerned for the girls, the Mission's policy not to engage in any social work prevented them from intervening in the girls' working and living conditions. The JEB's primary aim was to transform the girls' spiritual condition, therefore, contact with the girls was essential. Any report of the JEB participation in propagating the conditions inside the factories could jeopardize the future work in the factories. To an extent, this strategy was successful. In her report on factory work, Rose Bazeley wrote about a Christian factory manager who asked her to hold weekly meetings at his factory. When the girls put their faith in Christ, the owner of the factory, who was not a Christian, became very hostile. However, a few months later, he became friendly. Although the man did not explain the reason for a change in his attitude, his wife testified:

Since the girls had become Christians everything was very different. Before they used to grumble, but now they sang as they worked, and not only so but they had been doing their work so much better that they are getting better prices for the silk. Beside doing much more each day, so that the girls were also earning more money. She finished up saying, "we are all so happy because they have become such good children."⁴⁵

The above account may be perceived as the JEB enabling the factory owner to exploit the girls but it may also be considered as a sign of God's work in the lives of factory girls. Their spiritual transformation had resulted in bringing change in their working conditions. It was perceived as evidence of the girls' testimonies of permanent change in their behaviour that resulted in transforming the factory owner. The girls' change in attitude towards work improved the factory owner's attitude towards the girls and his perception of Christianity. The factory owner's wife's reference to the girls in her

⁴⁴ Since the report mentions Wilkes, it certainly was written before 1934, the year Wilkes died. JEB Box 29 File 7 Factory work in Japan – A Report by Miss Holland.

⁴⁵ *JEB* Vol. 25, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1930), 8-9.

employment as ‘children’ affirms Faison’s view that the owners considered girls their responsibility. Unfortunately, the care of the factory owners towards their female workers was manifested in stricter rules and made the objects of care, the very people they oppressed. They perceived female workers as women and not labourers, a weaker sex that needed guidance. For this reason, the management forced the women to live under a strict discipline. Although the intention of some of the owners may have been good, the manifestation of their care resulted in difficult lives for their workers. The Mission’s policy of not doing social work and the fear of access denied to the girls, prevented the missionaries from getting involved in bringing social justice for these girls although the missionaries were able to help a few. A small number of factory girls left their work and joined the Mission. They received training to work as Bible women and some married evangelists in the Mission.



Illustration 11 Factory Girls

Factory Girls with JEB missionary Miss Cribb in 1913

Exploitation of women through legalized prostitution

By 1618, the Tokugawas had established their dynasty. They had successfully quashed all rebelling *daimyo* (大名 feudal lord) and Christians. The nation was closed from the outside world. Even people travelling in Japan needed permission from the local government office. Since the period was relatively quiet compared to before, the *samurai* needed to be occupied. In 1618, Shogun Hidetada Tokugawa (1579-1632) established Yoshiwara, the first official red light district, in Edo (now Tokyo), because he thought brothels maintained public order and reduced urban crime.⁴⁶ He reasoned that if travellers, often merchants and *samurai*, were occupied in entertainment districts, they would have less time and inclination to commit crime. The success of Yoshiwara inspired him to create similar establishments in Osaka and Kyoto. This concept was not just limited to Japan or to one generation. Two centuries later, the British government permitted prostitutes to frequent army barracks to keep their soldiers entertained. When soldiers were found infected with sexually transmitted diseases, instead of prohibiting prostitution, the Victorian politicians passed a series of Contagious Disease Acts from 1864. Doctors by law were authorised to subject women visiting barracks, or found in the vicinity, to venereal examinations, which the women found degrading and inhumane. In 1866, there were plans to extend the Act to the civilian population arguing (cf. similar as *shogun* Hidetada) that it would regulate prostitution and control public disorder on the streets. After much campaigning by women and human rights activists, the Contagious Disease Acts were repealed in 1886.⁴⁷ British women in prostitution

⁴⁶ See Kazuhiro Oharazeki, 'Anti-prostitution Campaigns in Japan and the American West, 1819-1920: A Transpacific Comparison', *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 82, No. 2 (May 2013), 175-214.

⁴⁷ See Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Mary Spongberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse* (London: Macmillan, 1997)

were fortunate to attain support from people who helped them attain rights over their bodies and their future but Japanese prostitutes had to wait much longer.

Hidetada's legalization of prostitution led to almost three centuries of degradation for poor women. Impoverished parents sold their daughters to brothels for monetary gain. The practice became so integral to Japanese culture that it survived the Meiji transformation. The Meiji politicians chose to abandon the feudal system and abolish the classes but they reorganized legal prostitution. The government redefined prostitution as a contract between a prostitute and a brothel owner. Licences were issued to women who desired to work in this profession. All the women in this business were required to register with the local police, pay monthly taxes, and undergo periodic health examinations. The new rules did not prohibit parents from selling their daughters. However, the daughters were free to leave the brothel after they had worked to repay the money given to the parents. Hane Misiko asserts that by the Meiji period, the selling of daughters by impoverished families had become acceptable. It was promoted as filial piety. Young girls were conditioned into thinking it was a daughter's duty to financially help the parents by becoming a prostitute.⁴⁸ They were forced to work until they had repaid their parents' debts. Those who wanted to leave found themselves trapped as the contract signed with the parents required the parents to immediately repay the loan. Those women who had repaid the loan by work were often trapped in the brothels because they did not know the law. The women who tried to escape were forced by the police to return as the brothel owners had papers stating the women were their property. The politicians justified prostitution by reasoning that industrialization brought many single men to cities. Brothels were necessary to keep the wives and daughters of 'refined families' safe from frustrated young men. Unsympathetic to the government's reasoning, the Salvation Army's Yamamuro Gunpie (1872-1940) ran a campaign

⁴⁸ Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan* (New York: Rowan & Littlefield, 1982), 210-213.

against legalized prostitution. He helped the women escape their captors and established many safe houses for them. Other Christian organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) also worked to rehabilitate former prostitutes. The selling of daughters and prostitution was finally made illegal in 1956.

The JEB attempt at helping prostitutes

Even though the mission did not do any social work, Wilkes' conscience did not permit him to ignore social needs. In 1915, he wrote to the Home Council (HC) asking permission to co-operate in missions with Christine Penrod's (1864-1922) Rescue Home in Tokyo.⁴⁹ Penrod, an American missionary with the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU),⁵⁰ arrived in Japan in 1892. She took responsibility of Jiaikan (慈愛館 house of mercy and love) from another American missionary, Mrs. McCauley. Jiaikan was under the supervision of a committee of fourteen women: seven foreigners and seven Japanese associated with the WCTU. Most women at the Jiaikan were sold into prostitution as young girls. When they left brothels, they had neither homes to return to, nor any skill to earn a living. The Home provided the women a shelter, and taught skills such as sewing and knitting so they could learn how to earn their livelihood.⁵¹ Penrod raised funds for the Home in the US and extended the work of the Home by adding a maternity house to the building. She also added a laundry business and grew tea and vegetables. Although not self-sustaining, the project generated income. The women working there were paid a small amount from the income. The rest of the money went towards their maintenance. Wilkes visited Penrod's Home and realized she was

⁴⁹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 28 May 1915.

⁵⁰ Elizabeth Putnum Gordon, *Women Torch Bearers: The Story of Women's Christian Temperance Union* (Evanston: National Women's Christian Temperance Union Publishing House, 1924), 71; D. C. Holtom ed., *The Christian Movement in Japan Korea and Formosa: A Year Book of Christian Work* Vol. 21 (Tokyo: Federation of Christian Missions Japan, 1923), 400.

⁵¹ JEB Vol. 7, No. 3 (Jan. 1913), 61.

struggling to run the place. Many of the residents also struggled to live disciplined lives and follow rules. Since most women were sold to the brothels when they were very young, they had no experience of labour. Initially, Wilkes asked the *JEB* magazine readers to volunteer their services at the Jaiakan but later he wrote to the Home Council and suggested the JEB could help by loaning missionaries to Penrod.⁵²



Illustration 12 Jiaikan Laundry 1915

Even the Home Council, that had made the Mission policy not to engage in social work, was not averse to being partners with Jiaikan. Immediately, they sent Alice Cole to help Penrod. In 1917, they assigned Irene Webster-Smith and Adelaide Soal to the Home. Even though Japanese and missionaries worked in teams when preaching, no Japanese was sent to work with Soal and Webster-Smith and even their appointment to Jiaikan was not discussed in Japan at the Field Council. The Mission informed their supporters of work at Jiaikan. The *JEB* (magazine) reported work among the prostitutes as ‘rescue work’ and the women ‘undisciplined’ and could not be expected to work for

⁵² *JEB* Vol. 9, No. 4 (Jan. 1915), 58-9; JEB Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 28 May 1915.

long hours.⁵³ The concept of ‘rescuing’ women they saw as ‘fallen’ appealed to JEB supporters. Although they could not help in person, they could help by giving donations. Many people sent money earmarked for ‘rescue ministry in Japan’. The Home Council in London passed the money to the Jiaikan in Tokyo. Thankful for the support extended by the JEB, Penrod became a member of the Mission. Even though she was a member of the JEB, the Mission did not annex her work. Instead, it was seen as a partnership where the JEB contribution was limited to help with personnel and finances that the Mission received earmarked for Jiaikan work.

Broken relationships and the end of a ministry, 1920-1923

Misunderstandings between Penrod and Wilkes brought an end to the JEB and Jiaikan relationship in 1920. Four years earlier, George Dempsie, an acquaintance of Annie Wood, was considering starting a ministry in Japan and requested the JEB Home Council in Britain to introduce him to churches in Japan. Concerned that Dempsie could jeopardise the JEB relationship with other denominations as he did not know Japanese customs, the Home Council refused to recommend him to other societies. However, they requested Buxton, who was visiting Japan at that time, to arrange some meetings for Dempsie among the JEB workers.⁵⁴ Soon the HC realised their concern was valid. Dempsie approached Christine Penrod and Nakada Juji to establish his own work without consulting with the JEB. The archives do not give details of what transpired between them but we do know that Penrod turned against the JEB and the Mission’s relationship with Nakada and Holiness Church was damaged. In a letter to the Home Council about Dempsie’s visit, Wilkes wrote, ‘I can only say that from the day he set foot in Japan, there has been little but heart burning, bitterness, strife, jealousy and

⁵³ *JEB* Vol. 7, No. 3 (Jan. 1913), 61; *JEB* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Jan. 1916), 76.

⁵⁴ *JEB* Box 1 Vol. 2 HCM, 11 Nov. 1916.

suspicion'.⁵⁵ Dempsie's efforts to start his own ministry in Japan broke Wilkes' relationships with Penrod and Nakada Juji of the Holiness Church. It is not known what transpired between Penrod and Dempsie but by November 1919, they had established a new mission organization, Japan Rescue Mission (JRM), with Nakada as their advisor. Penrod was appointed the Field Director. She resigned from the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the JEB. She refused JEB's offer to assist the new mission as they had assisted her with Jiaikan.

The whole incident resulted in discord between the JEB, Dempsie, Nakada and Christine Penrod. The Mission's London office accused Dempsie of raising funds for his new project by misrepresenting himself as JEB personnel to their supporters.⁵⁶ The Kobe office accused Dempsie of influencing Penrod and bringing discord in the JEB relationship in the Mission and with other organizations. Dempsie informed Wilkes that the reason for Penrod to refuse the JEB partnership was due to:

- (a) To Nakada San's influence
- (b) To her utter dissatisfaction with the J.E.B.

She had just shown him her reasons for separating from us, in which she accuses the Band of 'Worldliness', 'making class distinctions' and conforming with heathen customs in the matter of dress and ornament on the part of our Japanese workers. He added that when she drafted them for his perusal, the language used was so strong and outrageous, that he himself had to object and insist on their modification.⁵⁷

Dempsie blamed the JEB for Penrod's anger and even suggested that she was so outraged with the Mission that Dempsie had to urge her to 'modify' her language. What did Penrod mean by 'worldliness' and 'class distinction'? The JEB divided their missionaries and Japanese staff as junior and senior missionaries and evangelists. Although Penrod refused to explain herself, it seems she disapproved of senior staff members having the privilege of choosing their mission field and nature of work, and the junior staff members being guided and their work evaluated before being promoted as

⁵⁵ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to HC, 21 May 1921.

⁵⁶ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Interview between Barclay Buxton and Dempsie, 12 July 1920.

⁵⁷ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to HC, 21 May 1921.

senior workers. Wilkes explained that Penrod had ‘very extreme views...as to what constitutes a worldly style of dress’. She considered ‘powdering the face at weddings...an unpardonable crime’.⁵⁸ The JEB was a Holiness Mission and trained their missionaries at the Faith Mission Bible School in Edinburgh but did not follow the Faith Mission dress code of women always wearing dresses and a hat. They did not object to brides wearing make-up at their weddings. Similar to Hudson Taylor, Buxton, from the Matsue Band times, encouraged missionaries to adopt Japanese clothes as it contributed to breaking down cultural barriers. However, unlike the Chinese, the Japanese rapidly adopted Western clothes, therefore, the JEB missionaries did not feel they needed to wear Japanese clothes daily.

Penrod had set ideas of dress that she considered appropriate for Christians. Perplexed by her sudden change in behaviour, Wilkes guessed Penrod’s change in attitude towards the Mission and their workers was a result of tiredness and the ‘misrepresentation’ of JEB by her Japanese workers:

Her almost entire ignorance of the work of the Band and indeed of almost all its work except her own. Mr. Buxton, Mrs. Braithwaite, Mr. Dyer and Mr. Wilkinson, who are now at home know our workers intimately both in life and service in a way that Miss Penrod could never know them. They will I am sure bear me out when I say that there is no body of workers in this country who are more spiritual or wholehearted than those of the J.E.B. and there was never a time in the history of the Band when they were brighter or more determined to follow God than at this moment.⁵⁹

Wilkes explained that Penrod was unaware of the high moral standards required by the JEB. She was also not informed on the number of disciplinary actions taken in the JEB and the Oriental Missionary Society’s Holiness Church. While the JEB had only dismissed two workers for moral lapses, other mission organizers, including the OMS (to which Nakada belonged), had ‘grievous moral disasters’. He did not expand on the ‘moral disasters’ but insisted that the problem was not with the Mission but with Penrod who was of a ‘transparent character’ and easily influenced by others. Her continuous

⁵⁸ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to HC, 21 May 1921.

⁵⁹ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to HC, 21 May 1921.

hard labour at Jiaikan had exhausted her and had impaired her judgment. Wilkes was of the opinion that Penrod needed to return home as she was on the verge of a breakdown. Wilkes was not wrong in his assumption. Penrod died a year later on 3 Dec. 1922. Holtom reported that hard work at the Home made Penrod exhausted and anxious.⁶⁰ Wilkes' letter does not make it clear if he believed Nakada was manipulating her.⁶¹ Upset at being dragged into disagreements in the JEB, Nakada wrote a stern letter to Wilkes complaining:

You and your people seem to think that I have influenced her and was scheming to get her out of the Japan Evangelistic Band, but before the Lord I can say that I had nothing to do with her resignation. We merely talked about a board of Counsellors.

Since that time Mr. Dempsie proposed not to have any relation and I wondered why, but I learned afterwards through Mr. Dempsie's friend that you and your people have an idea that I would like the whole thing as a pope, and take the money and manage everything. This is a mistake, as I mentioned before, and I only promised to act as an advisory man. When Mr. Dempsie spoke to me about it I told him if he thought I wanted to be "pope" he was greatly mistaken for I want to be higher, "King" when Jesus comes, so Mr. Dempsie thoroughly understands my attitude but he has been misled.⁶²

Nakada's words indicate his anger at being misunderstood and his desperation to make Wilkes understand his innocence. Confusion and misunderstanding occurred because people were reporting each other's conversations, rather than meeting together to make decisions for the work of the new Japan Rescue Mission. Buxton, Wilkes and Nakada had been friends since 1900 when he worked in Matuso on Buxton's team. Even though Nakada had joined Charles and Lettie Cowman to form the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS) in 1901, they had continued their friendship and ministered together. Nakada was the head of the Holiness Church in Japan and a misunderstanding with Nakada had the potential to jeopardize the JEB's interdenominational ministry, which was one of the Mission's primary ministries.

Aggrieved and exhausted with misunderstandings, Wilkes suggested that the JEB withdraw their missionaries from Jiaikan and permitted Webster-Smith to start similar

⁶⁰ D. C. Holtom, ed., *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea & Formosa*, Vol. 21, 400-401.

⁶¹ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to HC, 21 May 1921.

⁶² JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Nakada to Wikes 1 June 1921.

work for the JEB.⁶³ Even though the JEB constitution did not permit social work, Wilkes' interest in continuing the 'rescue work' suggests his opinion towards social work had changed since he was exposed to the work at Jiaikan. Buxton agreed with Wilkes' proposal of withdrawing their missionaries as the whole incident left him antipathetic towards social work. Although sympathetic to the plight of women trapped in prostitution, the grief caused by this incident made Buxton doubt if the Mission should be involved in social work. He reminded Wilkes that social work 'doesn't seem to be exactly in a line with our original commission'.⁶⁴

Irene Webster-Smith and Annie Wood's initiative in opening an orphanage

The work experience at Jiaikan taught Webster-Smith it was difficult for former sex workers, set in their ways, to transform their lives without a spiritual conviction. Years of abuse had emotionally scarred them and they found it difficult to do physical labour or follow a work schedule. Often missionaries had to endure physical and emotional abuse from the brothel owners who arrived at Jiaikan with the police. The women were forced to leave the shelter because the men legally owned them. The missionaries were left frustrated and helpless. At the end of JEB's partnership with Penrod, Webster-Smith decided to open an orphanage for girls. She reasoned that if she could prevent the girls being sold to brothels she could educate them in faith and train them in a profession that could help them earn their livelihood. An orphanage also provided an option for poor parents to send their daughters instead of selling them to brothels.⁶⁵ Webster-Smith was familiar with the work of Amy Carmichael (1867-1951)

⁶³ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to HC, 21 May 1921.

⁶⁴ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Buxton to Wilkes, 29 June 1920.

⁶⁵ Russell T. Hitt, *Sensei: The Life Story of Irene Webster-Smith* (Nara: ICM Press, 1996), 74-7; I. R. Govan Stewart, *A Heart on Fire: Irene Webster-Smith of Japan* (London: JEB, 1972).

in south India.⁶⁶ Webster-Smith wanted to give Japanese girls a similar opportunity that Carmichael had given to south Indian girls.

The unpleasantness created between the JEB, Penrod and the Holiness Church because of the JEB involvement in social work persuaded the JEB leaders to revert to their original vision of 'saving souls'. As discussed in Chapter Two, evangelicals, mostly those propagating Holiness teachings, in the early twentieth century, considered the transformation of the soul a priority over changes in living conditions. The transformation of a lifestyle was seen as a result of inward change. Irene Webster-Smith wanted to transform the living conditions of little girls to bring an internal change in their lives. In 1920, she returned to the UK and talked to the Home Council members about the plight of very young girls being sold into prostitution and her vision to give them an opportunity for an internal change. She requested the HC to give her permission to open an orphanage for girls, so poor parents who could not afford to feed their children had an option to give their daughters away rather than sell them to brothels. The Council was sceptical about being involved in social work because of the unpleasant past experience and the Mission constitution stating they did not do social work. However, they could not ignore the need to help little girls in distress. After much consideration, the Home Council decided they 'could not start preventive work' but suggested Webster-Smith concentrate on evangelism and take two or three children 'who might be in dangerous circumstances, thus commencing a preventive Home which might grow into a larger work but not calling it by that name'.⁶⁷ It is interesting to observe that the Council members tried to find a middle ground so they could stay

⁶⁶ Amy Carmichael was the first missionary supported by the Keswick Convention. She was sent to Matsue, Japan, on Buxton's team. She had to return to Ireland because of ill health. Later Carmichael went to India as a missionary and opened an orphanage to save girls from being donated to temples as dancers and prostitutes. See Charles F. Harford ed., *Keswick Convention: Its Message, its Method and its Men* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1907), 138; Amy Wilson-Carmichael, *From Sunrise Land: Letters from Japan* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1895); Sam Wellman, *Heroes of Faith: Amy Carmichael* (Uhrichsville: Barbour, 1998).

⁶⁷ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Buxton to Wilkes, 12 Nov. 1920.

within the boundaries of the JEB constitution yet ease their conscience by permitting Webster-Smith to work on a small scale. Annie Wood, who was also a Council member, came to Webster-Smith's assistance. She convinced the HC that opening an orphanage was a good cause and suggested the Sunrise Band raise support for the orphanage in Japan. Persuaded by Wood and Webster-Smith, in March 1922, the HC decided to permit Webster-Smith to open her orphanage. They reasoned that the orphanage did not violate any of the Band's principles as they had already set a precedent by amending the constitution in buying property for the Bible School. Therefore, the Mission could also invest in a property for an orphanage. The unpleasant experience with Penrod had taught them independent work was easier, so it was better if Webster-Smith started new work.⁶⁸ Wood and Webster-Smith named the orphanage Sunrise Home (SH) after the Sunrise Band.⁶⁹

Back in Japan, the Field Council had a different opinion from the Home Council in London. They were 'unanimously opposed to the Band taking up such work'. There could be two reasons for the FC's refusal. Firstly, the Japanese in the FC grew up in a society where selling daughters was a cultural practice, therefore, they were more accepting of the practice than the foreigners. Secondly, the Japanese members of the FC were former members of the Matsue Band who were trained under Buxton to concentrate only on evangelism and, therefore, they could not perceive social work as a form of ministry to Christ. Determined to keep unity between the two councils, the HC changed their mind. In 1923, they instructed Webster-Smith, who had already started a Home, to either hand over her work to the Japan Rescue Mission or keep her work on a small scale.⁷⁰ Indecision in the HC is indicative of the moral conflict in their hearts. The Council members were not in conflict about hard working factory women but their

⁶⁸ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 9 March 1922.

⁶⁹ JEB Box 14 File 1-A HCC, Wilkes to HC Members, 21 May 1921; JEB Box 29 File 1 Sunrise Band (hereafter SB), R. L. Harrod to Vosin, 29 Sept. 1939.

⁷⁰ JEB Box 1 Vol. 4 HCM, 27 Feb. 1923.

conscience did not permit them to ignore the plight of innocent young girls sold into the flesh trade. They found a way to help them without opposing the wishes of the FC. This raises questions about the relationship between the Home Council and the Field Council. Why did the HC feel obligated to follow the FC's lead? As discussed in Chapter Four, from the early 1920s, the HC left ministry decisions in Japan to the FC. However, where the orphanage was concerned, they wanted Webster-Smith to start an orphanage without the Field Council's consent but keep it at a small scale. Such a decision by the Home Council left the Sunrise Home in a perpetual state of limbo. The orphanage, although run by a JEB missionary and supported by the Sunrise Band, was not considered the Mission's ministry and did not have a supervisory body.

Irene Webster-Smith and the Sunrise Home, 1922-1939

In 1922, Webster-Smith returned to Japan after her furlough and established the Sunrise Home with the help of Dr. Saki, a Christian doctor, who brought the first girl child to the Home. The child's mother had died of cancer in a hospital. Gradually, the number of girls increased. The Sunrise Home's records did not survive the Second World War, thus it is not possible to know the exact number of girls who lived in the Home. Pictures published in the Sunrise Band and the JEB magazine often show no less than 15 girls standing outside the Home. Webster-Smith educated the children at a local school and taught them music and Bible Studies at the Home.

Since the Home was considered Webster-Smith's small personal ministry, she was also required to fulfil her responsibility towards the JEB. She was responsible for the evangelistic ministry among children and adults. In 1933, the *JEB* magazine reported that through Webster-Smith's ministry 'quite a number have been saved and she has been able to assist in opening up neighbouring villages founding little groups of

believers here and there'.⁷¹ She also assisted Soal with training the Bible women. In fact, the Sunrise Home hosted the women's Bible School until a new building was built in 1930 near the men's Bible School.⁷² To cope with work, Webster-Smith employed a Japanese woman who the girls called *okaasan* (お母さん mother). The first Japanese Mission worker to assist Webster-Smith was assigned by the FC in 1932.

Until 1938, the JEB and the Sunrise Home had an ambiguous relationship. The Home Council and the Field Council could not decide if they wanted to recognize the Sunrise Home as a JEB ministry. In 1928 again, the FC refused to recognize the Home as such.⁷³ However, from 1924, the Mission's magazine started publishing photos and reports about the children.⁷⁴ The Sunrise Band magazine also published stories on the lives of girls living in the Sunrise Home.⁷⁵ Even though the FC refused to accept the orphanage as their ministry, in 1932, they assigned Arai, a graduate of their women's Bible School, to work at the Home.⁷⁶ Arai, however, had no influence over the work or future of the Home. She was not a member of the Field Council, nor held any positions of authority in the Mission. All leadership in the JEB was in male hands and no Japanese man was ever assigned to work at the Home. The Mission's lack of initiative to involve the Japanese in social work portrayed to the Japanese workers that social work was of female missionary interest and their responsibility. Eventually, in 1934, the Field Council recognized the Sunrise Home as 'an integral part of the JEB' under their administration.⁷⁷ The following year, the Home Council set their seal of approval on the FC's decision.⁷⁸ Yet, the Field Council did not get directly involved in the running of the Home. They never assigned any male Japanese staff member to the work. Only two

⁷¹Wilkes, "His Glorious Power", 124.

⁷²JEB Box 54 File 1 FR No. 21, 12 June 1926; JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 6 May 1930.

⁷³JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 27 Jan. 1928.

⁷⁴JEB Vol. 19, No. 1 (April 1924), 13-14; JEB Vol. 20, No. 1 (April 1925), 5; JEB Vol. 21, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1926), 10; JEB Vol. 27, No. 2 (March-April 1932), 28-29, 44.

⁷⁵Sunrise Vol. 3, No. 3 (Aug. 1935), 34-36; Sunrise Vol. 4, No. 5 (March 1939), 74.

⁷⁶JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 10 May 1932.

⁷⁷JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 3 May 1934.

⁷⁸JEB Box 1 File 5 HCM, 19 Aug. 1935.

missionaries, Tipton Williams, and his wife, worked at the Home. Webster-Smith invited Williams to work with her because he was not considered good at evangelistic work and struggled at relationships in the Mission.⁷⁹ Even after the Mission had recognized the SH as their ministry, they did not supervise the finances.⁸⁰ Field Director Cuthbertson had knowledge that Webster-Smith was using her personal funds to speed up completion of building the new Sunrise Home building but he did not object.⁸¹

The official status of the Sunrise Home had changed on paper in 1934 but not in practice. Webster-Smith's strong personality and Cuthbertson's dependence on her for advice on official matters made it difficult for JEB workers to raise any objections.⁸² Missionaries raised their concerns with Verner as he was the Home Secretary but he did not take any action.⁸³ Junior missionaries were concerned with Webster-Smith's lack of accountability in running the Home but could not ask her because of her senior position in the Mission. Eventually, in 1938, as the political environment was changing, the FC made an unsuccessful attempt to take control of the Home. The FC decided:

In the light of the fact that it is impossible for a single "foreigner" to adequately educate and train Japanese children according to Japanese ideas; also that the Government are contemplating a stricter control over all such philanthropic efforts with the intention to bring them under complete Japanese control (which could mean end of the "faith" principles as well as a limitation of the Christian foundation); further because of the necessity of guarding the reputation of the Home; it was felt desirable that while Miss [Webster-] Smith [sic] retains the position of "Encho" (head of the home), a Committee be appointed to cooperate with her in running of the Home, this Committee to embrace Japanese Members. The point was made clear that any such Committee must be approved by the Field council and would be entirely subject to the Field council.⁸⁴

The Field Council's attempt to take over the Sunrise Home administration was not because they wanted the ministry to be under the supervision of the Mission but rather they were concerned that the Japanese government would take control of the Home. By late 1930s the political environment of Japan was turning against foreigners. The

⁷⁹ JEB Box 14 File 2 HCC, Cuthbertson to Verner, 30 Sept. 1937.

⁸⁰ JEB Box 15 File 3 Field Correspondence (hereafter FC), Field Secretary Bee to Verner, 19 Jan 1939.

⁸¹ JEB Box 15 File 2 HCC, Cuthbertson to Verner, 12 Feb. 1938.

⁸² JEB Box 16 File 1 Council Business (hereafter CB), Jessie C. Gillespy to Verner, 9 June 1942.

⁸³ JEB Box 16 File 1 CB, Verner to HC, 29 July 1942.

⁸⁴ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 21 Jan. 1938.

government resented foreigners as leaders and administrators over their citizens. They did not think a foreigner was able to teach Japanese children Japanese traditions and culture. In the late 1930s, the government had started insisting on Emperor worship, which a foreigner and a Christian would not or could not teach Japanese children. The Japanese historical dislike of Christianity put all missionaries, Japanese Christians and their ministries, under the government's scrutiny. The FC was concerned a government take-over of the Sunrise Home would mean an end to Christian teaching for the residents. The Field Council, therefore, decided to form a committee of Japanese who would officially be the head of the work. Webster-Smith would still be in charge of the everyday running of the Home. It seems the inclusion of the Japanese in the Sunrise Home ministry was not to train the Japanese eventually to take responsibility of the Home but to present a front for the government, so the foreigners did not lose control. This conclusion can be derived from the behaviour of missionaries after 1938. They observed the rise in nationalism in the country and from the signs concluded that the Japanese government preferred organizations in Japan to be under Japanese leadership. The missionary wish to create a front for the government is discussed in Chapter Seven. It is also possible that FC was trying to kill two birds with one stone. In planning for the uncertain political environment of the time,⁸⁵ the FC tried to take over the administration of the Home without offending Webster-Smith. Since she was going on a furlough, the FC considered it good timing for a committee to take over. Webster-Smith suggested a committee of four women, two missionaries and two Japanese. The FC asked two male members of the FC, Jones and Sawamura, to join the committee. The JEB was established to work with the Japanese as equal partners in ministry but this was the first instance of a Japanese leader involved with social work by the Mission. The lack of Japanese leadership in the Sunrise Home resulted in the Japanese not developing an

⁸⁵ See Chapter Three.

interest in the work in the Home. When asked to make a decision about the Sunrise Home in the FC, Sawamura, Higuchi and Ojima, the Japanese members of the Council, left the responsibility to the missionary committee and promised to abide by whatever the missionaries decided.⁸⁶ Their response is indicative of the Japanese lack of interest in the Home's work. It is possible that Sawamura joined the committee because he expected it to be a superficial body existing on paper to protect the Home from being taken over by the government.

Webster-Smith initially expected the committee to act 'as a kind of prayer band for her aid'.⁸⁷ When she realized the FC wanted to take over the administration of the Home, she was not pleased. As she had laid foundations of the orphanage and had independently run it for 15 years along with doing evangelistic work for the Mission and training Bible women, she did not wish to hand over the orphanage to anyone. The ambiguous relationship between the Sunrise Home and the JEB, and the lack of enthusiasm in missionaries and the Japanese members of the Mission, gave room for Webster-Smith to regain independent control over the Home. In November 1938, Webster-Smith returned to England on furlough and requested the Home Council to return the Sunrise Home to the previous arrangement 'her being a J.E.B. member, but engaged in the special work of the Sunrise Home, for which work the J.E.B. will then have no further responsibility'.⁸⁸ The HC complied with Webster-Smith's request without any hesitation.⁸⁹ Respecting the Home Council's decision, the Field Council dissolved the committee while Webster-Smith was still in England.⁹⁰ Even though Webster-Smith was not in Japan, the Sunrise Home ran successfully with the help of

⁸⁶ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 26 June 1938.

⁸⁷ JEB Box 15 File 3 Field Correspondence (hereafter FC), Field Director Garrard to Verner, 28 Sept. 1938.

⁸⁸ JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 A Monthly Committee Meeting, 26 April 1939.

⁸⁹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 HCM, 16 May 1939.

⁹⁰ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 22 July 1939.

Adelaide Soal and Arai, the Bible woman assigned by the FC, and a lady the children called *okaasan*.



Illustration 13 The Sunrise Home children, 1925

The JEB departure from Japan and the fate of the Sunrise Home

Between November 1938 and July 1940,⁹¹ while Webster-Smith was on furlough in England, the world had completely changed. Britain was at war with Germany and Italy, and Japan had passed the Religious Organization Law that prohibited any foreigner from the leadership of any Japanese institution.⁹² The JEB had handed over their buildings and Japanese staff to the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK), who were now requesting the missionaries to leave the country. Since the Sunrise Home was not the Mission's responsibility, the JEB FC did not ask the NIKK to take over responsibility for the Home. As the Japanese were not involved with work at the Home, the NIKK did not offer to help as they were suddenly responsible to pay salaries to the

⁹¹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 5 HCM, 6 March 1940, JEB Box 16 File 1 CB, Webster-Smith to Verner, 10 March 1942.

⁹² The Religious Organization Law and its effects on JEB are discussed in Chapter Seven.

JEB Japanese evangelists. On her return to Japan, Webster-Smith was required to make decisions about the future of the Home and the children. After consultations with the new Field Director, Maurice Garrard,⁹³ and missionary friends from other denominations, Webster-Smith decided to close down the Home. All her missionary friends advised that if not closed, the government would take over as they would not permit a foreigner to raise Japanese children. They would erase all Christian influence from the Home, install a *butsudan* (Buddhist prayer shelf), and make the children visit shrines. Yamakawa, the matron of the Home, and Arai, the worker sent by the FC, suggested ‘the best disposal of the children’ was to find good homes for them.⁹⁴ In two months, Webster-Smith had to find homes for the girls as Garrard wanted all the missionaries to leave before the end of December 1940. Webster-Smith was able to find homes for all the children. Christian families took in younger girls and the older girls found jobs. After the war, Webster-Smith returned to Japan and looked for the girls. Some girls had died due to sickness but most had managed to survive the war.⁹⁵

Conclusion

Women significantly influenced the practices and policies of the JEB. The most noteworthy inspiration came from Annie E. Wood. Her conviction of God’s will to establish a mission organization to evangelize Japanese gave birth to the JEB. Her initiative in raising funds and personnel to work in Japan enabled the Mission to facilitate ministries among adults and children. Women, both foreign and Japanese, preached and taught as their male counterparts. Their commitment to preaching the gospel enabled the Japanese male evangelists to gather converts and establish churches. Female missionaries were also compassionate towards the vulnerable children and

⁹³ JEB Box 17 File 1 FCM, 4 Nov. 1940.

⁹⁴ JEB Box 16 File 1 CB, Webster-Smith to Verner, 10 March 1942.

⁹⁵ Hitt, *Sensei: The Life Story of Irene Webster-Smith*, 173-194.

women. They took the initiative to create a safe environment for them. Dorothy Hoare and Irene Webster-Smith were so committed to help the children that they raised support themselves. Webster-Smith forced the Mission to reconsider their participation in the transformation of children's lives by providing a home. In a time when evangelicals concentrated on addressing only the spiritual needs of the people they ministered, foreign women in the JEB brought a holistic aspect to the Mission. They addressed the spiritual as well as the physical needs of people they served.

The new Religious Organization Laws of the nationalistic Japanese government in the late 1930s had an adverse effect on the women's ministry. The NIKK had to close down all the women's ministries because of lack of funds. The new law prohibited them to accept finances from the JEB. Irene Webster-Smith had to close the Sunrise Home because she was concerned the government would take control of the Home. The next chapter addresses the effects of the Religious Organization Law on other JEB ministries and relationships within the Mission.

Chapter Seven

The Effects of Japanese Nationalism on the JEB, 1939-1940

Introduction

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Meiji government (1868-1912) focused attention on unifying Japan and giving the Japanese a single identity as children of the Emperor. From 1890, the government implemented nationalistic education for all educational institutions. Victories in wars with China, Russia and Korea, and perceived Western discrimination towards Japan, raised nationalistic feelings in Japan. From the mid-1930s until the end of the Second World War, anti-Christian voices became stronger. During this period, the government expected the church to actively support a more strident foreign policy and military campaigns, and to participate in *kyujo yohai* (宮城遥拝 Emperor worship) and *Jinja Sanpai* (神社参拝 worship at shrines). The Japanese government's directive to all citizens to follow Kokka Shinto (国家神道 State Shinto), regardless of religious affiliation, created a possibility of serious problems of syncretism for the Christian believers. Japanese Christians' efforts to accommodate the government edicts raised scepticism in missionary minds towards Japanese Christians' commitment to follow the traditional Christian faith handed down to them by missionaries. The government's instructions to Japanese Christians to sever ties with all foreigners in 1940 isolated Japanese Christians from the global church. However, it also created an opportunity for the Japanese Church finally to be free of missionary support and be truly indigenous. This chapter seeks to answer the question: *How did the rise in nationalism affect the JEB?* The question is answered by studying how the Japanese in the JEB navigated between the difficult task of proving their patriotism to the government and society, and convincing the missionaries that their faith was not

compromised. It also observes the results of missionary efforts to stay in Japan when the government was hostile to foreigners, and how the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK)¹ eventually took courage to ask missionaries to leave Japan and allow them once again to become indigenous.

The internal story of the effects of Japanese politics on the relationships in the Mission is derived from the Home and Field Council Minutes, Missionary Committee Minutes, the correspondence between the members of the Home Council in Britain and the members of the Field Council in Japan. The NIKK opinion of the missionaries is gleaned through letters. Also consulted is the voice of a Japanese Christian who was not connected with either the JEB or the NIKK as it indicates the predicament of how Christians responded to the situation.

The Japanese government directive to observe Kokka Shinto and its effects on the JEB

In 1882, the government passed an ordinance that divided Shinto into Kokka Shinto (国家神道 State Shinto) and Kyoha Shinto (教派神道 Sect Shinto). The Kokka Shinto consisted of mainly two elements, *kujo yohai* and *jinja sanpai*. Through a study of *Kojiki* (古事記 ancient records), the government claimed that the Emperor was divine by tradition. Therefore, Emperor worship was a Japanese tradition and not a religion. Kyoha Shinto consisted of fourteen religious groups that were not Buddhist but had a distinctive body of doctrine or practice that appeared to support Kokka Shinto.²

¹ NIKK was a group of churches established by JEB. Its formation is discussed in Chapter Five.

² Buddhism, since its arrival in Japan in sixth-century CE, mixed with the local Shinto religion. It took many different forms and was divided into various sects. The fourteen groups recognized as Shinto Sects were: Tenrikyo, Konkokyo, Kurozumikyō, Fusokyo (included Omotokyo), Izumokyo, Shinrokyo, Jikkokyo, Misogikyo, Shinshukyo, Shinto Shusha, Shinrikyo, Shinto Taiseikyo, Ontakekyo and Shinto Taikyo. After 1945, Japan regained religious freedom. Some of the Shinto Sects since the end of the Second World War have redefined themselves and distanced themselves from Shinto.

Since by tradition, the Emperor was god and all Japanese subjects his children, they were superior to other nations especially their Chinese and Korean neighbours. Bowing to the Emperor and the imperial palace and worship at shrines connected to the Emperor and his ancestors was not, therefore, a religion but promoted as the tradition of Japan. All Japanese, regardless of their religious convictions, were required to follow this tradition.

As observed in Chapter Three, from 1930 onwards, the Tokubetsu Koto Keisatsu (Japanese Special Higher Police, hereafter referred to as Tokko) turned their attention towards Christians. The Tokko was created in 1911 specifically to investigate and control political groups and ideologies that the government considered a threat to public order. The deteriorating political relations between the West and Japan raised concerns in the Japanese government about the loyalty of Japanese Christians. Their hesitation to bow to *Kyoiku Chokugo* (教育勅語 Imperial Rescript on Education) and observe Kokka Shinto became a proof of Japanese Christians' allegiance to the Western 'Christian' governments. Fear of the government and Tokko forced most Japanese Christians to start the practice of bowing towards the imperial palace at the start of all events, including Sunday worship. This gesture enabled the Japanese Christians to pacify the government to a certain extent but created trouble in the JEB.

As the government increased pressure on all Japanese nationals to bow to the Emperor as a sign of patriotism, the Japanese in the JEB added bows towards the imperial palace at every gathering. Japanese gestures to accommodate the government's demands became a great concern for all JEB missionaries. In 1938, Field Director Cuthbertson called a meeting of all the JEB missionaries to discuss his retirement and the Home Council's (HC) wish to elect a Japanese Field Director (FD). All the missionaries did not agree with the HC as they were concerned a Japanese FD would not be able to oppose the nationalistic government's demands that would force the JEB

to compromise the Christian faith. They elected Maurice Garrard because they believed a foreigner in a leadership position could guide Japanese in the Mission to follow the Christian faith in the Holiness tradition.³ The missionaries also asked the Japanese not to follow the government's directive to observe Kokka Shinto. The missionary accusation of a compromised faith was met by the Japanese claims that the missionaries had not understood Japanese culture and were creating trouble for them with the government.

Japanese and missionary differences of opinion on *kyujo yohai* (Emperor worship)

In 1937, when Japan formally declared war with China, the pressure increased on Japanese Christians to conform. As the nation rallied behind the soldiers dying in China, citizens in Japan showed their patriotism by showing allegiance to the Emperor. Bowing towards the imperial palace at every gathering became a norm. Japanese Christians could no longer avoid the watchful eyes of the police and their neighbours and, therefore, were forced to incorporate *kyujo yohai* into their daily lives. All Japanese Christians had studied the *Chokugo* in school but until the beginning of the 1937 war with China they did not feel the necessity to include *kyujo yohai* in church or religious gatherings. As the pressure to include Emperor worship grew, the Japanese chose to ignore the underlying meaning behind the bows. In order to avoid persecution, they accommodated bows to the Emperor by differentiating between bows of respect and those of worship. It can also be seen as a Japanese effort to indigenize Christian worship rather than follow the missionary customs. The missionaries, however, regarded bows towards the imperial palace as compromising faith. Frustrated at the growing change in

³ JEB Box 14 File 2 Home council Correspondence (hereafter HCC), Extracts from Deliberations of the Missionary Meeting Called for special purposes, and held at the Fuji Hotel, Kobe, 19 March 1938.

Japan and the JEB, Maurice Garrard, the Field Director, complained to the Home Council (HC). In two letters in 1939 he wrote:

I see too that some of our missionaries know more about the intricacies of shrine bowing its derivation and meaning etc: etc: than do our Japanese brethren, in its historical and legal aspect as they are reading it up from the best books.

They say also that the Japanese way of showing respect is quite different from foreigners' way of showing respect, and this is true Japanese respect and not religion or worship. To further emphasise this they have made a difference in the bow, i.e. the bow of worship is done with clapping of hands and bow of respect done without hand clapping.⁴

'Kujo Yohai' [sic] is a long deep bow from the waist towards the Imperial Palace....
..all the heathen consider worship; however, nowadays since the war started, many Christian leaders say its [sic] not worship but patriotism.⁵

Garrard's explanation of the practice indicates that by 1939 Japanese Christians had accommodated themselves to the political environment. The difference in the Japanese and missionary understanding of bows can be understood as the result of different cultures. Similar to the Japanese, the British missionaries were accustomed to displaying flags, singing the national anthem at church, and bowing to royalty in Britain. However, they perceived bowing to the British monarch as fundamentally different from bowing to the Japanese Emperor. The British bowed to their monarch as a mark of respect and deference when he or she was physically present in the room, whereas the Japanese bowed to their Emperor in his absence, and faced the palace in Tokyo. In the British tradition, the monarch was crowned and anointed as part of the ritual of the Coronation. Monarchs were not divine but since Henry VIII they were also the head of the Church of England.⁶ In the Japanese tradition, however, the Emperor was a deity who was worshipped as a living Shinto god. *Kashiko Dokoro* (賢所), the shrine at the imperial palace in Tokyo, housed *Yasakani no Magatama* (八尺瓊曲玉

⁴ JEB Box 15 File 3 Field Council Correspondence (hereafter FCC), Garrard to Verner, 24 Feb. 1939.

⁵ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 5 April 1939.

⁶ The Bill of Rights (1689) and the Act of Settlement (1701) had limited powers of British monarchs and their succession needed the parliament's agreement. However, in early twentieth century some British citizens continued to argue the English/British monarchs ruled by divine right and 'by the grace of God'. Yet, the British monarch was not considered divine.

sacred bean shaped jade), one of the three most sacred relics of Shinto.⁷ Therefore, every time the Japanese bowed to the Emperor or towards the imperial palace, they were bowing to a Shinto deity and a relic. It seems fifty years of mandatory nationalistic teachings in the country resulted in producing Christians who tried to accommodate State Shinto. Christian leaders, such as Ebina Danjo,⁸ Yokoi Tokio⁹ and Kanamori Michitomo,¹⁰ developed a theological rhetoric to legitimize Emperor worship.¹¹ The Nippon Sei Ko Kai (the Anglican Church in Japan) was already praying for the Emperor since 1879, which Ion believes ‘helped to make Japanese Anglicans susceptible to the demands of *tennosei*’ (天皇制 Emperor system).¹² The Japanese affiliated to the JEB, on the other hand, accommodated the state’s demand for Emperor worship by differentiating between bows of worship and respect.

By 1939, all gatherings in the JEB had incorporated bows to the Emperor. Since Japanese leaders in the Mission approved of the practice, the missionaries and even the Field Director were unable to stop the Japanese from bowing. In an attempt to exercise control over changes in the Mission, the missionaries refused to attend any meetings

⁷ The other two relics *Kusanagi no Tsurugi* (草薙の剣 sword) and *Yata no Kagami* (八咫鏡 mirror) are at Atsuta shrine in Nagoya and Ise Shrine in Ise City.

⁸ Ebina (1856-1937) was a student of American missionary Leroy Lansing Janes (1838-1909). He was one of the 40 students who, on January 30, 1876, climbed Mt. Hakone to pledge their loyalty to Christ. Ebina served as a pastor of a Congregational church. He also served as president of Japan Christian Mission (1891-1893) and president of Doshisha College (1920-1928). Ebina understood Christianity through ethics of the father-son relationship, one of the five basic moral precepts taught in Confucianism. In his later years he equated Shinto to Judaism and advocated uniting Japanese ethics and Christianity to produce Japan-like Christianity.

⁹ Yokoi was a student of missionary teacher Leroy Lansing Janes (1838-1909) in Kumamoto. He became a Congregational minister and a prominent Christian leader. He insisted on harmonizing Confucianism and Christianity to produce Japanese Christianity. Yokoi advocated ‘Japanizing’ Christianity by recognizing the Japanese Emperor as a deity. Yokoi later resigned his position and left the Congregational church.

¹⁰ Kanamori (1857-1945) was a graduate of Doshisha. He was greatly influenced by the ‘New Theology’ that denied trinity and Christology, and advocated evangelism among non-Christians by making contact with the elements of truth present in their culture. He promoted Japan-like Christianity that incorporated Japanese culture and religious literature.

¹¹ For further reading Yasuo Furuya, *A History of Japanese Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997); Aki Yamaguchi, ‘Religious Universalism in Modern Japan: Unitarians as Mediators between Intellectuals and the West’, *Japanese Journal for Religious Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2005), 305-318.

¹² Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 84.

where bows towards the imperial palace were observed. Sawamura Goro, Field Council member and Bible School Principal, in a letter tried to explain:

‘Kujo Yohai’ [sic] is just only an expression of reverence towards the Emperor. It is our National custom from long ago. And we have been doing it from our childhood at any public gatherings so we can feel it more natural. Only the Christian Churches did not in their services as they literally imitated the Western customs as well as its spirit. But now the Nation asks the churches too, to share the national custom. I think this is reasonable.

When we do it, someone announces ‘Saikeirei’ towards the Emperor’s place. ‘Saikeirei’ means respectful salutation and not religious worship. I know that there are some who want to deify the Emperor and make it a religion. But now the general understanding is not so. The department of Education clearly pronounces it. But there is no reason to refuse it. If it violates our faith principle of course we will decidedly refuse it. But there is no standing stage by which we can fight against in it. If we do not they will think that we do not honour our Emperor. You may be free from this duty but we are not. And we can do it with a clear conscience.¹³

Sawamura’s statement clearly defined three things. Firstly, the *Chokugo* had achieved its purpose of indoctrination that bowing to the Emperor, who was seen to be a deity by Japanese tradition, was not a religious act. Even Sawamura, who was the Principal of the Bible School and wrote books and articles on Holiness, could bow to the Emperor and the imperial palace where a religious relic was kept, ‘with a clear conscience’. Secondly, although the Japanese Christians saw *kyujo yohai* as Japanese tradition, they were not free to choose not to observe it. Thirdly, the political situation in the country forced the Japanese Christians to indigenize Christian worship. Until the political pressure grew, the Japanese churches were content to follow the Western church. Further research of the JEB worship practices is required to determine whether the Japanese in the Mission were able to indigenize the worship without compromising their faith. Some important questions that arise out of Sawamura’s statement that need further research (but the limitations of this research do not permit me to investigate) are: to what extent did the Japanese in the JEB understand the religious significance of the relics at the imperial palace? Did they comply with the government’s demand because they did not believe bowing had religious significance? Did they choose to accept the

¹³ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, ‘An Explanation by Mr. Goro Sawamura’, n.d.

government's claim because they were too afraid to defy the government? It is possible that the Japanese Christians chose not to investigate the significance of traditions handed down to them because they knew if they accepted the reasons behind the bows, their conscience would not allow them to continue the practice.

Even though Sawamura stated confidently that the bows towards the imperial palace were of respect and not of worship, in a letter to the Home Council explaining the Japanese reason for bows, he had to reluctantly acknowledge:

In Kashiko Dokoro there may be some religious element from scholars' point of view, but no ordinary people think so. They never think they are doing religious action, but purely an expression of respect.¹⁴

Undoubtedly, Sawamura was aware of the religious significance of bowing towards the imperial palace. Even the Chinese characters of *kyujo yohai* mean worshipping the Shinto shrine at the Imperial Castle from a distance.¹⁵ All Japanese Christians chose to ignore the meaning behind the words and chose to bow so they could avoid persecution. By ignoring the religious meaning behind their actions, Christians convinced themselves they had indigenized their faith. Ignoring the obvious was an old concept for the Japanese. In the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), Catholics avoided persecution by drawing crosses behind Buddha statues. Although outwardly they seemed to be complying with the government's demand, in their minds they were bowing to the cross. Similar to their ancestors, twentieth century Christians ignored the object of worship. However, unlike them, the twentieth century Christians denied they were bowing to an object of Shinto worship.

¹⁴ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, 'An Explanation by Mr. Goro Sawamura', 20 March 1939.

¹⁵ 宮 (Shinto shrine constellations) 城 (castle) 遥 (distant, far off) 拝 (worship, adore, pray to).

Discussions over jinja sanpai (worship at a shrine)

Worship at a shrine was another bone of contention between the foreign missionaries and the Japanese. As nationalistic sentiments increased in the country, so did distrust between the Japanese and the missionaries. The Japanese felt the missionaries did not understand Japanese traditions and the predicament faced by the Japanese Christians. The missionaries, on the other hand, thought the Japanese were abandoning their faith because they heard rumours of shrine visits. Concerned at reports of JEB workers visiting shrines, Garrard wrote to the London office:

Some of our J.E.B. evangelists (Japanese) are known to have bowed before Shinto since the war began, also when soldiers are called to the colours, they march to a Shinto shrine and register their names there and bow and the priest gives some ceremonial blessing on them this is not forced on all though public opinion is strongly in favour of it.

Our Kobe Mission Hall Christians were all taken down to the local government Shinto shrine by Otsuka san when his son was called to the army and they farewelled him off, his son did not like doing it but his father said it was alright and they went.¹⁶

The statement above shows that Garrard was aware of the close connection between the government and shrines. Soldiers were required to go to a shrine even to register their names, yet Garrard did not expect a JEB evangelist to visit a shrine to send his son off to war. Japanese actions confirmed to the missionaries that the Japanese in the mission had succumbed to social pressures and compromised their faith. Garrard does not explain his source of information. A fortnight after writing to the London office, Garrard wrote another letter after talking to Japanese leaders and realized how conflicted Japanese were towards shrine visits:

Our leaders Sawamura, Higuchi, Ojima do not condone this, though they have been to the Shrine when a soldier friend has gone to it prior to entraining, though Mr. Higuchi said he stood outside, as did the others I believe, though one wishes they had not gone at all, especially being leaders.¹⁷

It is interesting to note that without investigating, the missionaries believed their Japanese colleagues had bowed at a shrine, which shows the political environment of

¹⁶ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 12 Feb. 1939.

¹⁷ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 24 Feb. 1939.

distrust that had affected relationships in the Mission. It seems the missionaries expected the Japanese in the JEB to succumb to political and social pressure. A conversation with Japanese leaders revealed that they had not bowed at the shrine. They were diplomatically trying to navigate a path that would not compromise their faith and simultaneously satisfy the authorities, as well as their non-Christian friends. For missionaries, however, this still seemed a compromise.

Since the missionaries could not relate to the government or the social pressure under which Japanese Christians were trying to navigate their daily lives, Sawamura in a letter to Garrard explained the consequences if the JEB openly opposed the *kyujo yohai* and *jinja sanpai*:

Now this is settled as public ceremony of this nation. And in every school, office, factory, company, they must do it in the morning. If anyone refuses it he must leave his position and none of our children can attend any school. If I openly say that we refuse it, then our Bible School must be dismissed at once. If J.E.B openly say that we refuse it our work must be stopped.

If they demand us a religious worship of course it is time for us to stand against it. That is the last line which we cannot yield. But I don't think that we have come to the last line, and stop work.

As an individual we can choose our own method of expression of respect, but in public we are obliged to follow the appointed form.

Anyhow, our people's feeling towards our Emperor is quite different from other countries. We love and respect our Emperor very strongly. Japanese people very willingly lay their life down for him at any time. However people are quarrelling with each other, by a work of the Emperor it is stopped at once. It is recognised the special characteristic of this nation. And the nation wants to keep this strong point by all means. So if there is any theory or religion which touches this point they decidedly fight against it. I think that we need to go deep down into the bottom of the people's heart to catch them.

If a Christian man is killed in the war all sorts of outsiders attend our funeral ceremony in our church and show their sympathy. So when they were killed we have to attend their service and show our sympathy. If not they will think our Christianity is a very rude religion. I am thinking of St Paul's attitude (1 Cor 9.19-22).

If they demand of us to pray or worship at a Shrine or Palace, we can never do that of course. We will reject any religious action. It is our duty to teach the people the difference between respect and worship.

This is the real situation of present day. If our conversation the other day is publicly known I think the J.E.B will not be allowed to work in the country.

But we have a great hope of our future. It will not be very difficult to make them understand if we also understand what they really mean. I am expecting a great revival. We want to bear with them patiently. We must save her by all means.¹⁸

The letter indicates that the missionaries did not appreciate the problems Japanese Christians were facing. Neither did they understand the repercussions of opposing

¹⁸ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, 'An Explanation by Mr. Goro Sawamura', 20 March 1939.

government directives. The reprimand would be the closure of the JEB ministries and a social boycott. Sawamura informed the foreigners that most Japanese liked their Emperor, therefore, they did not mind obeying his decree. Another reason for the Japanese obedience to their government that Sawamura did not write about in his letter was that any perceived disrespect to the Emperor was considered treason and could land people in prison. He also tried to explain that just as non-Christians showed empathy when a Christian soldier died, it was a Christian duty to show empathy at a non-Christian soldier's death. Therefore, visits to shrines were not to worship there but to empathize with their neighbours and friends. Since Britain had roots in Christian culture, the missionaries could not understand the Japanese multi-faith society. Small gestures of attending a non-Christian funeral, or standing outside a shrine to show solidarity with friends appeared to them as acts of compromising faith. The Japanese in the JEB, however, followed the Apostle Paul's method of indigenizing in 1 Corinthians 9:19-22¹⁹ by empathizing with their neighbours. Sawamura's letter also clearly indicates the tricky path Japanese Christians were treading. They did not want to offend the authorities or non-Christians. One day, they hoped to make the government understand that although the Christians did not follow the same beliefs, they were patriotic. Even though they had accommodated bows to the Emperor out of respect, they were not ready to bow at shrines. The JEB evangelists were not alone in their determination to oppose the government if forced to bow at shrines. Nakada Juji, in *Friends of Holiness* (January 1930), published by the Holiness Church, wrote he would not bow at a shrine

¹⁹ 'Though I am free and belong to no man, I make myself a slave to everyone, to win as many as possible. To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law (though I myself am not under the law), so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law (though I am not free from God's law but am under Christ's law), so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I might save some.' 1 Corinthians 9:19-22.

and was prepared to face persecution. Ten years later, Nakada had died but many from his church were imprisoned for their faith.²⁰

Sawamura's response to Tokko a clarification for missionaries to understand the Japanese in the JEB

In March 1938, the Tokko office in Osaka sent a questionnaire to some Christian organizations and individuals in the Kansai area²¹ asking them to provide Christian views on the relationship between Christ and the Emperor, practices of ancestor worship and shrine worship.²² One questionnaire came to the JEB that Sawamura, as the JEB representative, answered. Sawamura's answers were facilitated to quell, to a certain extent, the growing distrust in the JEB towards the Japanese commitment to follow Holiness teachings. Garrard sent a copy of Sawamura's answers to London to inform the Home Council about the Japanese faith and practice.

The questions sent by Tokko proved that the government still believed that Christianity was not compatible with Japanese culture. The questionnaire was so designed that the Christian leaders had to clearly state whether Christ was a higher deity than the Emperor. I have been unable to trace answers to these questions by other Christians. Japanese Christians, especially in the Holiness and Pentecostal churches, did not make any statement regarding their faith and kept a low profile, as they did not want to attract the government's attention. The Oriental Missionary Society (OMS) head office was in Tokyo, therefore, they did not receive the questionnaire because it was sent to Christian institutions in the Kansai area. John J. Merwin, historian of the OMS,

²⁰ Mark R. Mullins, 'Ideology and Utopia in Wartime Japan: An Essay on the Subversiveness of Christian Eschatology', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2/3 (June.-Sept., 1994), 216-280.

²¹ Kansai is south-central region on Honshu Island. It includes Mie, Nara, Wakayama, Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo and Shiga prefectures.

²² A. Hamish Ion, 'The Cross Under an Imperial Sun: Imperialism, Nationalism, and Japanese Christianity, 1895-1945', in Mark Mullins ed., *Handbook on Christianity in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69-100.

records Nakada Juji saying, ‘no matter what happens we will never bow at a Shinto shrine’.²³ The Church and Missionary Alliance (CMA) withdrew from Japan in 1936, therefore, they do not have documents after that date. In addition, the CMA has not researched the history of their work in Japan.²⁴ Suzuki Masakazu, a Pentecostal minister and Professor at a Pentecostal Seminary in Tokyo, informed me that the Pentecostals kept silent on these issues so they could continue to minister.²⁵ Therefore, I am not certain of the official stand of these organizations. The JEB office in Kobe translated Sawamura’s response to Tokko and sent a copy to the London office. Here I will discuss briefly a few questions answered by Sawamura on behalf of the JEB as these responses give us a window into the lives of Christian leaders who could not clearly state to the government that they did not consider the Emperor a deity.²⁶ A copy of Sawamura’s response to the 13 questions is attached in Appendix Two. Tokko’s first question was regarding the JEB understanding of the God of Christianity. Sawamura responded, ‘He is the Creator and Head of the universe, the spiritual God of omniscience, omnipotence and omnipresence, the Eternal God whom we worship as Father’. Sawamura explained that the Christian God as a Creator was not bound by human constraints. Since the Japanese believed in the Emperor as one of the gods whose function was to protect rice, Tokko could not take offence as in their minds these were two separate gods. In response to the question on the ‘relationship between the Christian God and our Emperor’ Sawamura answered, ‘I regard the Emperor as the member of a dynasty which has ruled our country from the immemorial by the will of the God of the Universe’. Hamish Ion’s book on Canadian missionary work in Japan

²³ John Jennings Merwin, ‘The Oriental Missionary Society Holiness Church in Japan 1901-1983’, D.Miss dissertation Fuller Theological Seminary, 1983, 266.

²⁴ Don Schaeffer, Team Leader, Japan Alliance Mission, to the author 17 Sept. 2009.

²⁵ Masakazu Suzuki to the author, 6 May 2015.

²⁶ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Some Answers to “The Thirteen Questions” in Japan, June 6, 1938.

states the response of ‘a Mr. Hori, teacher at the Kwansei Gakuin’²⁷ to Tokko. Hori too was very careful with his responses as they represented the beliefs of his fellow Christian teachers. In response to questions on the relationship of Christ and *tenno* (天皇 Japanese Emperor), Hori, like Sawamura, placed the Emperor among his ancestors. While Sawamura was short and cryptic in his response, Ion records Hori’s long clever response by using the government’s official document ‘*Kokutai no Hongi*’ (国体の本義 true meaning of National Polity) to prove that the Emperor was an invisible ‘*kami*’ (神 god) who was entirely different from ‘*Kami*’ (神 God) with the meaning of the Absolute God, the All-wise and Almighty God. He further stated that the imperial ancestors were revealed in *tenno*, his descendants, and he was ‘the source of the growth and development of the land, and is supremely high and respectable personality’. Sawamura also gave a short response to the question on the ‘interpretation of the “800 myriads”’, saying they were different from ‘the Head God of the universe’. However, he did not specify whom he considered ‘the Head God’. Hori, on the other hand, was more detailed without claiming not to worship the 800 gods of Japan and focused on the Japanese responsibility to respect them:

In our country the souls of our Imperial Ancestors and the ‘Mikoto’ who took part in the great work of establishing the country, as well as those who were meritorious throughout the generations in contributing to the progress and development of the Imperial Destiny, are from ancient times held in reverence as “Kami,” and so I think we, the Japanese, must revere them with a great spirit of reverence, as our ancestors. Also in our language “Kami” means anything *above*, everything invisible, everything mysterious or worthy of respect and admiration. We must therefore always have respect for those “Kami” which are objects of such reverence and admiration.²⁸

While Sawamura tried to be vague, Hori, in his careful responses to Tokko, had placed himself in the middle where he neither denied nor accepted the Emperor, his ancestors and *kami* as divine or human. However, such a stand placed him in a position where he could not refuse to visit State Shinto shrines as they claimed to be non-religious.

²⁷ See Chapter Five.

²⁸ Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 137-139.

In response to the question on the relationship between the Bible and the *Chokugo* (Imperial Rescript of Education), Sawamura did not consider there was any inconsistency as *Chokugo* promoted justice. Hori further explained:

The *Chokugo* reveals the great will of Tenno and must be reverently obeyed by us, his subjects. The Bible is the revelation of the will of our Heavenly Father, relating to the salvation of our souls.

Regarding the relation between Christianity and the *Nippon Seishin* (日本精神 Japanese spirit), both men had similar views that Christianity did not contradict the Japanese spirit of self-sacrifice and loyalty. While Hori stated ‘the beauty of Japanese spirit ‘could be increased by Christianity’, Sawamura said the Japanese spirit could be attained by Christian faith.²⁹

The questionnaire also enquired why Christianity regarded Shinto and Buddhism as idolatrous and superstitious. Sawamura, instead of answering the question, stated the reasons why Shinto and Buddhism did not satisfy a Christian’s ‘religious desire’. Hori, on the other hand, informed Tokko that Christianity did not regard State Shinto and Buddhism as ‘superstitious and idol-worship’.

In the last question, which was left open to express any other view, Sawamura explained the difference that faith in Christ had brought to his life. In all his answers, Sawamura tried to show to Tokko that Christians were not against the Japanese government. Christian faith was different but it certainly did not disrespect Japan or any religion. His carefully worded response indicates he was aware that any mistake in his answer could result in the closure of the JEB.

The questionnaire was Tokko’s attempt to find reasons to prove Christians were unpatriotic because they did not worship the Emperor and Japanese *kami*. However, careful responses from Christians did not give the police reason to incriminate anyone and no arrests were made. The questionnaire affirmed to Japanese Christians that they

²⁹ Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 137-139.

were under the eyes of Tokko. Sawamura's response to the questionnaire proved to the foreigners in the JEB that the Japanese in the Mission did not accept Shinto gods as deities. However, the missionaries were still sceptical of Japanese bowing towards the imperial palace because Sawamura had not clearly stated he did not accept the Emperor as god.

Missionary concerns over syncretism were not ill founded. As noted earlier in this chapter and Chapter Three, some Christians had accepted the Emperor as a deity.³⁰ Many Christians supported the Japanese colonization of Korea and victory over China. Some thought Japan was divinely ordained to govern other countries, so the Japanese could evangelize their colonies. The Nippon Sei Ko Kai wanted their leaders to thank the Japanese army for victory in China in 1937.³¹ Even though Japan had joined forces with Germany and Italy and the government was growing hostile towards the British, there is no evidence of political hostility between the Japanese and missionaries in the JEB. Missionaries were concerned with the Japanese Christian acceptance of bows to the Emperor could lead to shrine worship. Although the Japanese in the Mission did not understand the missionary concern at that moment, a year after the JEB missionaries had left the country, on 11 January 1942, representatives of the government sanctioned Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan's (日本キリスト教団 The United Church of Christ in Japan) visited Ise Jingu (shrine dedicated to the imperial ancestor sun goddess Amaterasu Omikami). The leaders of the church prayed there and reported the foundation of the new united Protestant church.³²

Since the missionaries were worried, the JEB was not making a clear stand for their faith, in 1939, the Home Council wrote a memorandum outlining the JEB work in

³⁰ Yasuo Furuya, *A History of Japanese Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

³¹ Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan 1865-1945*, Vol. 2 (Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), 232-3.

³² Mullins, 'Ideology and Utopia in Wartime Japan', 216-280.

Japan and asked the Field Council to submit it to the government. While acknowledging the difference in the cultures of the missionaries and Japanese, the memorandum stated:

With regard to the modern method of expressing loyalty and patriotism to the Emperor and the country, visiting the Shrines and Kyujo Yohai, they understand the Japanese Government have officially declared that such acts contain within them no element of worship or prayer.

It must however be admitted that such method of demonstrating patriotism are considered by many as being acts of religious worship, owing to their close affiliation with Shintoism, and so the question as to whether such acts are compatible with the worship of the One True God, should be left to the individual member.

Whilst recognizing and wishing all its members to render that deep respect and loyalty to the Imperial Majesty and national heroes which are the duty of all citizens, all the members know that they ought obediently to follow God's command "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve", and ever regard the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

The Home Council of the Japan Evangelistic Band, therefore feel it is outside their sphere to dictate to their Japanese Christian members their duty in this matter being assured they will render rightful homage to the Emperor and worship to God.³³

The memorandum was written to assure the Japanese government that the foreigners in the Mission respected the Japanese Emperor and heroes, and did not impose their opinions on their Japanese colleagues. However, it also implied that the Japanese Emperor was not the 'One True God' and they expected the Japanese in the Mission to know the difference between paying 'homage to the Emperor and worship to God'. Such a document, if submitted to the government, could have been used to accuse the Japanese in the JEB of being unpatriotic to choose their faith over worshipping the Emperor. The Japanese leaders wanted to avoid the attention from Tokko by not making any statements accepting or denying the divinity of the Emperor. The missionaries, however, believed the JEB needed to make their position clear. Afraid that such a letter would attract undue attention, the Japanese leaders persuaded the missionaries not to present it to the government. The Japanese in the JEB wanted to avoid conflict with the state by keeping a low profile. They were convinced that if the Mission volunteered

³³ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Japan Evangelistic Band Memorandum. n.d.

information to the government, the Tokko would constantly monitor all the JEB activities.³⁴

The Home Council's trust in the Japanese

The Japanese reluctance to oppose the government, incorporation of bows of respect to the Emperor at all the JEB events, and visits to shrines to empathize with their non-Christian friends worried the missionaries. As observed in Chapter Four, as the political situation became more fragile in 1938, the missionaries elected Maurice Garrard. He diligently wrote to the Home Council (HC) in London explaining the situation in Japan and missionary concerns. Upset with the Japanese in the Mission, he requested the HC to send a directive to all the JEB members, foreign or Japanese, to abstain from *kyujo yohai and jinja sanpai*. The Home Council was far removed from the tense situation in Japan. They could see the difference of opinion in the Mission in Japan more objectively. They understood the missionary position and the Japanese difficulties in navigating a path of obliging the government and society without compromising their faith. The Home Council's stand on *kyujo yohai* and shrine worship had a calming effect on the missionaries. The Home Council informed the missionaries:

We consider that attendance at shrines, which may embrace bowing to the illustrious dead: Yohai which according to the statements of some, includes bowing to the shrine in the Imperial Palace, although done as an act of patriotism only, may be a snare for the unwary and untaught. Any form of ancestor worship is idolatry.

We believe that our Japanese brothers Messrs. Sawamura, Ojima and Higuchi of the Field Council, and we trust all others in the Band, feel as we do about this. Re [sic] visiting Shinto shrines, the Home Council would most lovingly and urgently remind every member of the Band to consider long and prayerfully I. Corinthians 8, especially verses 7 and 9-13, remembering not only Paul's example here, but also the Holy Spirit's exhortation to "abstain from all appearance of evil".

We none of us believe that our Japanese members are any less loyal to God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, than we are, but for the sake of the weaker brothers and sisters we press this point.³⁵

³⁴ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Sawamura Goro, Ojima Iisuke & Higuchi K to Home Council, 19 Sept. 1939.

³⁵ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Buxton & Verner to Field Council, 20 June 1939.

We are with you all in your stand, but also see the unscripturalness of trying to force the Japanese or to fail to trust them.³⁶

Similar to the missionaries, the Home Council did not approve of bowing to the Emperor or at shrines. However, they did not tell the Japanese to stop bowing. Instead, the HC suggested that everyone consider the Biblical passage 1 Corinthians 8 where the Apostle Paul talks of participation in religious practices that might offend a person of weak faith. The HC also stated they trusted the Japanese leaders would not compromise their faith. Why did the Home Council display more trust in Japanese Christians than the missionaries? The HC members did not have a close relationship with the Japanese as the missionaries, neither had most members experience of mission practice in Japan. Yet, they chose to trust the Japanese to make the right decisions. One reason could be because that by 1939 the HC had become accustomed to the Field Council making decisions for work in Japan. Since they believed God had given the Japanese ‘the same gift of the Spirit’, it was easier to trust in the guidance of the Holy Spirit.³⁷ For this reason, they had supported the appointment of a Japanese Field Director. Another reason could be because the HC was confident that the Japanese leaders were firmly rooted in their faith. They trusted the Bible School teaching was sufficient for the Japanese to know when to make a stand for their faith. The HC’s trust in the Japanese is also indicative of a change in British Christians’ attitude, especially those of the Holiness tradition, towards indigenous Christians. They trusted the Holy Spirit had equipped Japanese Christians with gifts of leadership and discernment.

The Japanese in the Mission were encouraged by the Home Council’s trust in Japanese leaders. In a letter to the Home Council, Field Council members, Sawamura, Higuchi and Ojima, wrote:

We appreciate too your decision on these religious problems in our country to us individually, for our own decision and obedience of our conscience.³⁸

³⁶ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Verner to Garrard, 23 May 1939.

³⁷ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 HCM, 25 July 1910.

³⁸ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Sawamura, Higuchi and Ojima to Home Council, 19 Sept. 1939.

Letters from the Home Council encouraged the Japanese and pacified the missionaries. The HC decision not to impose any rules on the Japanese worked as a bridge between the missionaries and the Japanese. The missionaries were forced to trust that if the situation arose, the Japanese would make the right decision. However, the seeds of distrust between the foreigners and Japanese were already sown. The deteriorating political situation, the Japanese fear of the government, and the missionary concern Japanese were compromising their faith brought divisions in the JEB ministry vision. As the fear of war increased, the Japanese concentrated on church organization and tried to survive by keeping a low profile so not to be targeted by the government. The missionaries, on the other hand, became concerned with evangelism and sought ways to stay in Japan.

Anticipation of the Religious Organization Law and changes in the JEB, 1940

In anticipation of the much-awaited Religious Organization Law (ROL) that was expected to make all Japanese Christians free of foreign leadership, in March 1939, the Field Council in Japan met to discuss its effect on the JEB. The Council realized that since the Mission was not registered with the government in Japan but in the UK, the Japanese government might order the Mission to close down. If permitted to continue work, Sawamura pointed out that the government would not approve of any organization that had their Head Office in the UK to work in Japan even if they claimed to have a governing body in Japan. Furthermore, they would not approve of foreigners on the Field Council or a foreigner as a Field Director. To continue the JEB ministry, Sawamura advised the Mission to follow Amy Burnet's system:

Registering the Mission with Japanese Field Director, Japanese Council, and the missionaries registered in the body of the Mission, as helpers.

As discussed in Chapter Five, Amy Burnet had left the JEB because she believed Japanese converts needed discipleship, therefore, the JEB needed to plant churches, especially in rural areas where there were no churches. After Burnet's departure, the JEB permitted their evangelists to plant churches. In the 14 years since Burnet had left the Mission, she had observed the political environment and developed the ministry of Central Japan Pioneer Mission under Japanese leadership. Missionaries took supportive roles under Japanese leadership. Sawamura now suggested that the JEB adopt a similar system and pass all Mission leadership roles to the Japanese. Since 1934, the JEB Home Council had advocated a Japanese Field Director (FD). The missionaries, however, were convinced that a Japanese FD would sacrifice evangelism in new places in favour of church organization and compromise faith by succumbing to the government pressure by observing *kyujo yohai* and *jinja sanpai*. Instead of following Sawamura's advice, Garrard chose to wait for the official release of the Religious Organizational Law (ROL). Hopeful to keep Mission leadership in missionary hands, he wrote to the London office secretary, Verner, 'of course, our brother is mistaken, the bill is not yet passed so we cannot say for absolute certainty yet all the detail'.³⁹ However, by December 1939, he was certain that the ROL that was to be enacted in 1940 would forbid foreign leadership in Christian institutions. Instead of calling a Field Council meeting, Garrard called a missionary meeting.⁴⁰ Even though it was Mission practice to make all decisions in Japan at the Field Council, it was the third time foreigners excluded the Japanese from a meeting called to discuss the future of the Band. Twice previously the missionaries has met to discuss the future of the Mission and to elect Garrard as the new Field Director. At the third such meeting, the missionaries decided to register the JEB with the Japanese government as an organization of foreigners, instead of working under Japanese administration. Since they knew the foreigners

³⁹ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 5 March 1939.

⁴⁰ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Minutes of Missionary Committee, 29 Dec. 1939.

would not be permitted to own Japanese property or employ Japanese, they decided to hand over all the JEB work and Japanese personnel to the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK). They reasoned if they could show the government that the JEB was an organization of foreigners that did not employ Japanese, they might be able to stay in the country. There is no evidence of the Japanese objecting to the Missionary Committee decision or demanding the Japanese leadership in the JEB.

The Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK) accepted the missionary proposal. In January 1940, the Field Council and Kinosuke Sato,⁴¹ the NIKK representative, agreed that all the JEB Japanese members would join the Church. Even though transferring all the Japanese personnel was a missionary committee decision, it was carried through by the Field Council.⁴² Accepting the JEB personnel made the Church further dependant on the Mission for financial support. In 1935 the church had accepted 18 churches from the Mission and were still receiving funds until those churches could be self-financing. To help the NIKK pay for all new personnel, the Mission promised to finance their members and gradually reduce the financial aid in three years. The missionaries promised to work in close co-operation with the NIKK while they continued their previous work. Since foreigners would not be permitted to own any property in the country, all JEB assets, the Bible School, the Mission Hall and the Rest House, were transferred to the NIKK. Both parties perceived two benefits of these arrangements. Firstly, the transfer of property to the NIKK might make the church eligible to qualify to register as a Protestant denomination with the government. Secondly, such structural changes to the JEB might permit the missionaries to stay in Japan in an increasingly hostile political environment without losing their influence over the NIKK. Financial aid to the NIKK gave the missionaries the power to voice their opinion, and a promise to work in co-operation with the NIKK did not oblige them to work under Japanese

⁴¹ Sato (1894-1981), a JEB convert, was instrumental in forming the NIKK. Details are in Chapter Five.

⁴² See Appendix Three 'A Special Field Council Meeting' agreement between the JEB and the NIKK.

leadership. Also, without the Japanese, the missionaries would be free to concentrate on evangelism rather than be involved in church planting. Cuthbertson, former Field Director, who had returned to the UK in 1938, put the missionaries' thoughts into words:

All we need now is a legal banner under which to work. Let the Japanese be legally responsible, and let us continue, as far as is possible, to be financially responsible. If the Japanese are officially the leaders of the work, the missionary committee can function – and if I know the Japanese official mind, the government will not interfere so long as things go smoothly. The great thing is 'face' – the actual work can well be done as now, except that Japanese workers will be responsible to the Japanese leaders.⁴³ (underline, original)

Cuthbertson's statement shows, similar to other missionaries from the West, as observed in Chapter Two, that the JEB missionaries also had a passion for evangelism. It also indicates that he expected close co-operation between the JEB and the NIKK. Even though the NIKK was an independent church, the missionaries expected to use the Church as a façade to comply with legal requirements. Financial assistance and transfer of assets had ensured a close co-operation between the two and the JEB influence on NIKK administration.

When the Religious Organization Law (ROL) was finally released, all the JEB and NIKK plans were thwarted. The ROL made evident that Japan had entered into a new era of strict government control. Officials no longer ignored minute details. In order to maintain an international image of religious tolerance and the acceptance of foreigners, the government had cleverly aimed the ROL to restrict Japanese Christians, not missionaries. They permitted the JEB to register as a *Kessha* (結社 association)⁴⁴ consisting of foreign members under foreign leadership.⁴⁵ Japanese Christians, however, were advised to sever ties with all foreigners and discontinue all foreign financial help. In addition, the new law added more conditions to register churches as religious bodies. Churches could only register as a denomination if they had more than 5000 members,

⁴³ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Cuthbertson to Verner, 6 June 1940.

⁴⁴ See Appendix Four.

⁴⁵ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 8 July 1940.

50 churches, no foreigners in leadership, and received no foreign financial aid. Most Protestant churches fell short of this requirement.⁴⁶ In addition, the Japanese Christians were pressurized politically and socially to show patriotism by disassociating with foreigners, and by Emperor and shrine worship. The ROL was designed so that the government had the power to disband any religious institution. Any church found short of the government's expectations lost their legal permission to exist.

The ROL resulted in bringing two major changes in the JEB. Firstly, in an attempt to keep missionaries in Japan, the Mission abandoned its founding principle to work with the Japanese.⁴⁷ Secondly, it gave the JEB affiliated Japanese Christians the boldness to demand autonomy. The Nihon Iesu Kirusuto Kyokai (NIKK) accepted the Mission's properties on condition that they permitted missionaries to work there. However, a few months later, in early September 1940, they refused financial help from the Mission and requested the missionaries to stop teaching at the Bible School and not to attend meetings at the Mission Hall.⁴⁸ NIKK's request for the missionaries to maintain a distance from them could have been prompted by two incidents. The first incident that sent shock waves among all Christians was the arrest of four members of the Salvation Army, three Japanese and one missionary, at the end of July 1940, on suspicion of spying. Although they were released, their arrest served as a warning to all Christians as the Salvation Army was forced to sever ties with the British Salvation Army. The second incident was the arrest of Toyohiko Kagawa on 25 August 1940.⁴⁹ Kagawa was a famous figure in Japan as well abroad. He was a social reformer and had worked with the government to rehabilitate people after the devastating 1923 Tokyo earthquake, yet the military police did not hesitate to arrest him. The NIKK reasoned

⁴⁶ Since most Protestant churches were small, they did not qualify to register. In June 1941, 33 Protestant denominations united to form the *Nihon Kirusuto Kyodan*.

⁴⁷ The formation of the JEB and its principles are discussed in Chapter Three.

⁴⁸ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 9 Sept. 1940.

⁴⁹ Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 260-1.

that the government had instructed all citizens to disassociate themselves from foreigners, therefore, an active missionary presence could jeopardize the future of their ministry. Also any Japanese could be imprisoned if found associating with foreigners. Garrard called NIKK's decision to withdraw from the previous commitment and desire for autonomy 'The New Attitude'.⁵⁰

Missionary reaction to Japanese desire to be independent

Displeased with the NIKK, Garrard complained that the Japanese desire for autonomy was a reaction to the government regulations. To maintain good relations with the missionaries, Sawamura explained to Garrard:

it was wrong to say that 'The New Attitude' came entirely from the government, as Churches had talked about desirability of doing without 'foreign' support and 'foreign' missionaries for many years, and the Govt: knew of this and asked them all to do it now.⁵¹

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the spirit of freedom and self-reliance existed in Japanese Christians from the beginning of Christian mission activity in Japan. While politicians brought political reform and modernized the country, the Japanese Christians took the initiative to evangelize Japan and change the society through social reform. As early as 1890, Yokoi was calling for the Japanese Christians to take leadership in churches and be free of missionary control. The Japanese evangelists in the JEB too had the same independent spirit. They took the initiative to gain financial independence from the Mission. Instead of demanding a Japanese Field Director, they moved away from the JEB to establish churches independent of the Mission. Sawamura tried to explain to Garrard that the desire for independence was not new. It had long existed among the Japanese Christians. The government had just facilitated independence for

⁵⁰ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 25 Sept. 1940.

⁵¹ JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Garrard to Verner, 25 Sept. 1940.

the Japanese church. The ROL gave the Japanese the courage to inform the missionaries it was time they left the Japanese Christians to evangelize their own country.

Rather than appreciating the Japanese effort to be independent, the missionaries felt offended as they were now left to their own devices without any Japanese personnel support or property. Legally, foreigners were not permitted to own property and the NIKK refused to work with them. Displeased, the foreigners were not needed anymore as Garrard expressed to Verner:

It seems very heartless, in their evening meeting the leaders remarked on the absence of 'foreigner', and what freedom they had got now from 'foreigner's' religion, and on this they tried to work up a special joy in their new freedom!

Garrard's statement clearly shows the Japanese joy and missionary disappointment at the effects of Japanese politics on the work of the Mission. The Japanese were content with their interpretation of bows to the Emperor. They believed the absence of missionaries gave the Japanese the freedom to practise the Christian faith as they received it from Christ rather than follow the rules handed to them by the missionaries. Even Garrard could see the Japanese were free and happy, although he thought their joy was not real. It is also surprising to note that with the deteriorating political situation and hostility towards foreigners the missionaries had not anticipated such an outcome. It seems the missionaries expected the Japanese to choose persecution rather than seek autonomy and ask missionaries to return home.

Unable to persuade the Japanese to work together, Garrard decided the JEB missionaries should leave the country. In a letter to the Home Council, Verner gave three reasons for evacuation. First, the missionary presence became dangerous for the Japanese. Sawamura had informed Garrard if they insisted on staying in contact with the foreigners, the government would not do anything to the foreigners but persecute the Japanese. Therefore, the Japanese preferred the foreigners to leave. Second, the authorities did not permit the Japanese to work with foreigners. A hostile environment

towards foreigners resulted in no one attending any meetings, therefore, the missionary presence in Japan was made redundant. Finally, the JEB office in Britain could not send money to Japan because of the war situation at home, and the Japanese government refused to permit any financial transaction to or from Japan.⁵² Faced with situations beyond their control, the mission officially withdrew from Japan. All the JEB missionaries left Japan by December 1940. Since the missionaries had transferred all the JEB Japanese members, properties and ministries to the NIKK, with the departure of all missionaries, the Japan Evangelistic Band effectively ceased to exist in Japan. The NIKK was finally truly indigenous as they were free from missionary financial, personnel or governance support. In 1941, the NIKK consisting of 3,099 members joined the government sanctioned Protestant Church the Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan.⁵³

Conclusion

The nationalistic environment of Japan had four major effects on the JEB. Firstly, the Japanese in the Mission were forced to contextualize and theologize the Christian faith. The government requirement to bow to the Emperor at every gathering forced the Japanese to add bows to church worship thus indigenizing worship. To accommodate the bows to Christian faith and worship, Japanese had to theologize by differentiating between bows of respect and bows of worship. Secondly, the government demands from the Japanese to follow Kokka Shinto affected relationships within the Mission. Bows to the Emperor and rumours of the Japanese visiting shrines created distrust in missionary minds, and suspicion that the Japanese were compromising their faith. Thirdly, the missionary decision to transfer all the JEB Japanese to the NIKK so missionaries could stay in Japan, facilitated the closure of the Mission on the missionary

⁵² JEB Box 15 File 3 FCC, Verner to Home Council, 9 Dec. 1940.

⁵³ Hans Martin Krämer, 'Beyond the Dark Valley: Reinterpreting Christian Reactions to the 1939 Religious Organizations Law', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2011), 181-211.

departure. Finally, the Japanese government's nationalist policies facilitated NIKK to be an independent indigenous church. Although financially unstable, the government directive to sever all ties with foreigners forced the missionaries to stop imposing their will on the NIKK and forced the church to be self-financing.

Interaction between the Home Council, the missionaries and the Japanese shows the extent of Japanese influence on the Mission. Even though the Field Director was a foreigner, he did not have much influence over the practices in the Mission. The Japanese had decided they wanted to comply with the government's wishes and bow to the Emperor. Officially the Field Director had the highest position in JEB Japan but he could not persuade the Japanese to change their minds. The Home Council's trust in Japanese leadership is indicative that by mid twentieth century British Holiness mission organizations had become open to indigenous leadership.

In the next chapter I will bring together all the issues discussed in this thesis to answer the main question raised in the first chapter.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

Throughout Protestant mission history, missionaries and mission theorists such as Henry Venn, Rufus Anderson, John Nevius, and Roland Allen have advocated missionaries working themselves out of a job by preparing indigenous Christians to take leadership in the church. The church was seen as a place where indigenous people could and would take responsibility to lead and finance the work. Mission organizations such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the London Missionary Society (LMS), the China Inland Mission (CIM) and the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS), until 1940, were still led by foreigners. Even though they employed indigenous evangelists, mission leadership was always in foreign hands. Most studies of indigenization have been limited to the missionaries' and mission organizations' efforts to include indigenous participation in making local churches self-governing, self-propagating and self-financing. This research studies the indigenization of the Japan Evangelistic Band (JEB), a mission organization, similar to the CIM in faith and ministry. Like the CIM, the JEB was led from the field, but was a much smaller mission. The JEB Field Council in Japan made executive decisions for daily operations and for the future of the ministry of the Mission. The Japanese members were always more in number and proactively involved in evangelism and administration. Japanese participation in leadership positions in the Mission gave it a uniquely indigenous nature. The main question answered in this thesis is *To what extent was the indigenous nature of the Japan Evangelistic Band a Japanese initiative?* The question is answered by studying the organizational structure of the Mission, the Japanese influence in bringing change to the

Mission policies, and women's influence on the Mission. Also discussed are the consequences of Japanese nationalism on the JEB ministry.

The JEB was established because Paget Wilkes wanted to continue the ministry of the Matsue Band which was led by Barclay Buxton when he was a CMS missionary from 1890 to 1902. Wilkes' vision was to form a 'Band of Evangelists, Japanese and "foreign," filled with the Spirit ... to be used by the whole Church and help by aggressive evangelism and the propagation of Scriptural Holiness'.¹ The eventual indigenization of the Mission was never the aim but an equal ministry partnership with the Japanese to evangelize the country and propagate Holiness teachings. Equality with indigenous workers in mission organization in the early twentieth century was a new concept. Even the OMS, that was established in Japan by Charles and Lettie Cowman with Nakada Juji by 1917 had separated the Mission from the church and gave church leadership to Nakada. However, in the JEB history researched in this thesis (1903-1940), we observe the Japanese advising the foreigners in Japan and in the UK and leading the work in Japan.

The Japanese took the initiative in bringing structural form to the Mission. As demonstrated in Chapter Five, Takeda Shunzo advised the Home Council in Britain to establish a Bible School to train evangelists for effective future ministry and establish churches for the preservation of the work done by evangelists. The work of the JEB was established because the Matsue Band evangelists, Takeda Shunzo, Horiuchi Bunichi, Mimaki Sekitaro and Mitani Tanekichi, had joined the JEB and Saso Tesusaburo and Kawabe Teikichi were volunteering their time while continuing their own ministries. Takeda had the foresight for raising evangelists who could continue the work they had started. The Home Council followed Takeda's advice and established a Bible School. Takeda also took the initiative to establish a church at the Kobe Mission Hall. The

¹ Paget Wilkes, *"His Glorious Power": The Story of the JEB* (Portsmouth: JEB, 1933), 36.

Church provided spiritual counselling for converts and practical training for those in training at the Bible School.

The Japanese evangelists took the initiative to organize evangelistic trips outside Kobe without any missionary support. They travelled into rural areas for extended periods of time for tract distribution and tent-missions. In 1920, Cuthbertson reported that the Japanese had assumed leadership of tent-mission work.² Similar to the Matsue Band, the JEB evangelists were preaching the gospel in rural Japan. However, unlike them, they did not have the support of the Nippon Sei Ko Kai (NSKK) that took responsibility for the spiritual growth of the converts. In urban areas where churches existed, the JEB handed over their converts to Protestant evangelical churches. In the rural areas, where churches did not exist, the Japanese evangelists organized their converts into groups and taught them the scriptures. The Mission was established with the missionary vision to evangelize Japan. Buxton, Wilkes, and the Home Council did not wish to establish churches as they wanted the JEB to be an auxiliary and support for the existing church rather than to establish new ones. The Mission claimed to be interdenominational and, therefore, was financed by donations from mission-minded evangelicals in Britain from various denominations. The Home Council believed establishing churches in Japan was contrary to the JEB principles and would result in losing financial support in Britain and interdenominational ministry in Japan. If the Mission established churches in Japan the denominational churches, they believed, would be reluctant to work with them. The Japanese evangelists, however, were so concerned for the spiritual growth of their converts that they chose to defy the Home Council's wishes and the Mission's constitution. By 1920, they were so confident that they were right that some even refused a salary as it bound them to the Mission's rules. It is interesting to note that they preferred to stay rather than leave the Mission, which

² *Japan Evangelistic Band* [magazine] (hereafter *JEB*) Vol. 15, No. 4 (Jan. 1921).

indicates that the evangelists agreed with the JEB Holiness teachings, evangelistic methods and administration, except the policy not to establish churches. Takeda's departure in 1924 because of JEB's refusal to establish churches and support his separation from the Free Methodist, inspired the Field Council to make decisions contrary to the Home Council's wishes as they were concerned that the inaction of the Field Council would result in losing more evangelists.

Even though the Field Council (FC) contained two foreigners, a Japanese majority gave the Japanese the power to assert authority over decisions regarding the ministry. From 1924 onwards they made decisions contrary to the wishes of the missionaries and the Home Council (HC). They changed the Mission's priority from evangelism to church organization. The FC gave the evangelists permission to establish churches. To accommodate the HC vision for evangelism and interdenominational ministry, the FC instructed the churches not to claim JEB as their parent, share a name or be connected to each other. The churches therefore, were named after the town or village they existed. Yet the FC paid the evangelists who worked as pastors, and financed the churches for three years so they could raise funds to be financially independent of the Mission. Since most churches were established where there were no denominational churches, they were isolated from Christian fellowship. Since these churches were not claimed as JEB churches, the Home Council did object to the Field Council decision and continued to raise funds in Britain and followed the FC rules for financial support for the churches. Japanese influence over the Mission was such that, in 1938, the missionaries refused to elect a Japanese Field Director (FD). They were concerned the Japanese majority in the Field Council gave the Japanese power to mould the JEB ministry to Japanese wishes. Even though the FD was a foreigner, by the late 1930s, the Mission's priority had changed from evangelism to church organization. The

missionaries considered bowing to the Emperor as compromising faith but the FD was unable to stop the Japanese from including bows to the Emperor at all JEB events.

The Japanese evangelists took the initiative to establish churches and make them self-supporting. Even before the Field Council created a schedule for the financial independence of their churches, the Japanese evangelists taught their churches to be self-propagating, self-governing and self-financing. Church members went on preaching tours. As demonstrated in Chapter Five, some churches even raised funds and built church buildings within five years of being established. Their financial independence from the Mission was often initiated by the Japanese as evangelists worked as pastors and even requested the Field Council to reduce their allowances.

The Japanese also took the initiative to establish a denomination independent of foreign missionaries. In the early 1930s, as the nationalistic environment in the country made the government strict towards those not adhering to the government decrees, the Field Council became concerned for the protection and spiritual growth of these independent churches. Worried that isolation from fellowship could influence the churches to follow Nakada's eschatology (discussed in Chapter Four), the Field Council asked Horiuchi to leave the church he had planted in the Kobe Mission Hall and become a JEB pastor and a counsellor to all the churches. Instead of following the Field Council's instructions, Horiuchi resigned from the JEB and moved his church out of the Mission Hall. Together with other independent churches, he established Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK). The new church under Horiuchi, Sano and Sato's leadership provided spiritual guidance to young churches. Their registration with the government as a religious body provided these small rural churches with a legal status which protected them under the Meiji Constitution to preach and practise their faith.

Japanese administrative staff and faculty ran the JEB Bible School. The Japanese taught all theological subjects. Sawamura, the Principal of the Bible School,

had independent charge and was also a member of the Field Council. After Takeda left the Mission, Sawamura became the JEB representative to the government. He answered the Tokko questions regarding JEB theological beliefs and Emperor worship. Sawamura also advised the foreign missionaries about Japanese customs and beliefs and requested them to leave the country as their presence was dangerous for the security of the Japanese associated with the Mission.

Japanese women were as enthusiastic about evangelism as the men. Their constant requests for training persuaded the Field Council, consisting of four men and one woman (foreigner), to start training Bible women. The women worked as hard as the male evangelists, organizing Sunday schools, visiting homes and teaching. Even though never given positions of leadership in the Mission, the women became a strong workforce in establishing churches as demonstrated by Odaki, who is discussed in Chapter Six.

Several factors contributed to facilitate the Japanese in JEB to take the initiative in participating in leadership in the Mission and church planting. First, the socio-political environment of the country since the mid nineteenth century had encouraged the Japanese to take the initiative in leadership and pride in independence. As Japan had never been colonized, the Japanese expected equal treatment from foreigners. Since the beginning of Protestant missions in Japan, Japanese Christians took leadership in evangelizing their own country and in bringing social reform. The Meiji spirit of nation building and leadership inspired the Japanese Christians regarding spiritual reform. The JEB took the initiative in evangelizing Japan and to steer the Mission in a direction they thought could respond to the spiritual needs of the country. Cultural politeness and financial dependence on foreigners might have prevented Japanese to express their desire for independence from the missionaries but the Religious Organization Law in 1940 gave them the courage to voice their opinions and request the foreigners to leave.

Second, the lack of organizational structure in the first seven years of ministry in Japan and fewer foreign missionaries than Japanese evangelists created a space for the Japanese to assume leadership. Wilkes returned to Japan in 1903 with one missionary, Estelle Edmeads, who was immediately enrolled in a language school on her arrival. As the Council in England gave Wilkes no instructions, Takeda and Wilkes planned the work in Japan. Three missionaries, Cuthbertson and the Taylors, arrived in Japan in 1905 and 1906 respectively but were stationed in Tokyo as Christian Police Association missionaries. While the Home Council in England was still organizing the structure of the Mission, the Japanese from the Matsue Band were busy evangelizing on the streets of Kobe and speaking at Holiness Conventions at churches of various denominations. The Japanese participation in laying the foundations of the Mission in Japan gave them a sense of belonging and a desire to preserve the ministry they had laboured to establish. This sense of responsibility to preserve the result of their preaching ministry encouraged the Japanese to persuade the Home Council to change their Mission policies.

Third, the Japanese and missionaries had equal positions in the Mission. Even though the Field Director was the head in Japan, he had to work in agreement with the Field Council that consisted of a Japanese majority. The JEB was a product of the Holiness movement in Britain. As discussed in Chapter Three, Buxton was inspired by the Keswick Convention motto of 'One Body in Christ'. He believed that faith in Christ transcended all denominational differences. Buxton did not limit this thought to Christians in Britain but extended it to Japanese Christians. His family history of involvement in social justice enabled him to treat Japanese Christians as equals. Even though Buxton was from an elite family, he preferred to eliminate a hierarchical structure in the Matsue Band (1890-1902). His treatment of Japanese Christians on his team as equals in ministry created a Japanese leadership. When the JEB was

established, Japanese leaders, trained by Buxton in the Holiness tradition, became leaders in the newly formed Mission organization.

The fourth, significant factor that makes the JEB story different and facilitated the Japanese to take leadership in the Mission was that the JEB constitution stipulated there would always be more Japanese on the Field Council than foreigners. Mission organizations in various parts of the world employed nationals to assist in the propagation of the gospel after that they tried to make the church leadership indigenous. However, in Japan, the Japanese leadership in Protestant missions was not unique. From the beginning of Protestant missions in Japan, the Japanese took the initiative to evangelize their country and bring social reform. The difference in missions in Japan was that the Japanese were appointed to leadership positions in Christian organizations, established by foreigners, and involved in social work such as Yamamuro Gunpei (1872-1940) who led the Salvation Army from its inception in 1895 and Tsuda Umeko (1864-1929) who became chairperson of the YWCA in 1905.³ Mission organizations that were involved in evangelistic work, on the other hand, did not invite the Japanese to leadership positions. The Church Missionary Society employed several Japanese evangelists. In Chapter Three, I discussed that as early as 1888, the CMS sent Japanese evangelists to towns and villages where foreigners were not permitted. In fact, Japanese evangelists established the church in Matsue, where Buxton was sent to work by CMS. Similarly, the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) started work in Japan and formally organized the work in 1893 during the visit of the founder, Albert Benjamin Simpson (1843-1919).⁴ By 1931, most CMA Japanese evangelists were working as pastors. The CMA was considering withdrawing from Japan as Japanese pastors had

³ See Norimichi Ebizawa, *Japanese Witness for Christ* (London: United Society for Christian Literature, 1957).

⁴ G. P. Pardington, *Twenty-Five Years, 1889-1914: A Popular Sketch of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* (New York: Christian Alliance, 1914), 123-5.

taken leadership in all CMA churches.⁵ The CMA officially withdrew their mission office from Japan in 1936.⁶ Since the mission never researched or published their Japan mission history, it is difficult to know the role the Japanese played in the administration of the mission. In response to my question on Japanese participation in the administration of the CMA, Don Schaeffer, team leader of the Japan Christian Missionary Alliance, responded, ‘the Alliance has kept the mission and church separate so I am not sure that there was much in the way of the indigenization of the mission organization/structure’.⁷ Since most missionaries perceived the mission organizations as a missionary domain, they did not consider giving mission organization leadership to nationals. Church leadership, however, was often given to the nationals. In Japan, the Anglican Church had established Nippon Sei Ko Kai and most pastors were Japanese, however, until 1940, there were more foreign Bishops than Japanese. The Oriental Missionary Society was not different from other mission organizations. Charles and Lettie Cowman established the mission in partnership with Nakada Juji in 1901. However, by 1917, the mission had separated the church under Japanese leadership. Nakada left the mission to become the first Bishop of the newly formed Holiness Church. The OMS established an indigenous church but OMS remained under the missionary leadership of the Cowmans and E. A. Kilbourne. In the JEB, however, the Japanese had the majority which gave them power to change Mission policies. Initially, Buxton and Wilkes had anticipated JEB to function similarly to the China Inland Mission (CIM) as team of itinerant evangelists. However, the Japanese participation in establishing the JEB, and a majority in the Field Council gave the Japanese a voice in the decision-making bodies of the Mission and a power to influence Mission policies.

⁵ Alfred C. Snead, *Missionary Atlas: A Manual of the Foreign Work of the Christian and Missionary Alliance* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Christian Publications, 1936), 107.

⁶ Two missionaries, Mabel Francis and her sister, Anne Divendorf stayed in Japan through the Second World War. Don Schaeffer, Team Leader, Japan Alliance Mission, to the author, 17 Sept. 2009.

⁷ Don Schaeffer to the author, 1 May 2015.

Assertive Japanese Field Council members forced the Home Council to acknowledge that the Field Council was in a better position to understand the situation in Japan and make decisions for the ministry. The extent of the Japanese control over the Mission was such that when asked to elect a Japanese Field Director, the missionaries were reluctant and the Field Director, Cuthbertson, said the Japanese 'had more power' than the missionaries.

Finally, the Home Council's reluctance to establish churches forced the Japanese to respond to the needs of the moment. Evangelicals in the West had a vision to reach every person with the gospel. The JEB Home Council and the foreign missionaries, therefore, wanted to preach the gospel in new areas of Japan and not be preoccupied with church organization. They expected the established church to disciple the converts. The Japanese evangelists, however, could not ignore that the converts needed spiritual guidance. They believed a few days of evangelistic tent-missions in rural areas where the church did not exist was insufficient provision for catering for spiritual guidance. Concern for their spiritual growth inspired the evangelists to take the initiative to establish churches without the consent of their leaders. The Japanese in the Field Council too responded to the need for ministry in Japan by permitting the evangelists to form churches and provide financial aid until the churches were able to support their pastors. Horiuchi's initiative to establish the Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai can be considered his response to address the needs of the moment. Takeda's response was to separate his own church from the Mission, whereas Horiuchi left the Mission to provide an umbrella of spiritual and political protection for small independent churches.

Complete indigenization as promoted by Venn and Anderson consisted of self-propagation, self-governance, and self-finance. While the Japanese in the JEB took the initiative for leadership in evangelism and governance of the Mission, there is no evidence of the Japanese ever raising finances in Japan. It was a given that all work and

personnel would be financed from the UK. Japanese evangelists, male and female, participated in speaking at Holiness conventions in the UK to raise funds but we do not find evidence of funds raised at Holiness meetings in Japan. The Japanese financial dependence could have been the reason for the Japanese evangelists never asking for a Japanese Field Director, or objecting to foreigners electing a Field Director without consulting them. The Japanese, however, took the initiative to establish churches independent of foreign support. The Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Koykai (NIKK) was a union of Three-Self churches. They became dependent on the JEB when in 1935 the union of 14 churches accepted 18 churches financially dependent on the Mission, and all JEB Japanese staff members in 1940. However, when expected by the government to be financially independent, to the JEB disappointment, the NIKK refused all financial support from the Mission to finally become indigenous.

The women in JEB took leadership roles in prayer meetings, Bible Studies and established churches. However, their position in the Mission was not much different from that of their contemporaries in other mission organizations. Unlike the Matsue Band, the JEB did not face opposition and criticism for giving women leadership yet preaching in large gatherings such as tent-missions was always assigned to male members. Similar to Semple's observation of leadership in the London Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland and the China Inland Mission, JEB leadership always stayed in male hands even if the women were more capable.⁸ The women, both the missionaries and the Japanese, had leadership capabilities but the leadership positions were offered to men. Even when suggested by the Home Council, the Japanese members on the Field Council did not think it was necessary to include Japanese women on the Council. Interestingly, they accepted Braithwaite, a foreigner, in the Field Council but not a Japanese woman. Their refusal to

⁸ Rhonda Anne Semple, *Missionary Women: Gendered Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003).

accept a woman on the Council suggests that even though the Japanese Christian men believed in the equality of gender because the Christian faith taught them so, they struggled to overcome their cultural prejudice in a patriarchal society. The foreign missionaries, on the other hand, were more accepting of female leaders in the twentieth century. After the Japanese were transferred to the NIKK in 1940, the two male missionaries left on the Field Council invited three women to join them.

Female missionaries brought the holistic vision to the JEB ministry. Although they came from the same Holiness background that considered ministry of the transformation of the 'soul' a higher calling, they actively participated in social transformation. The JEB was a product of the British Holiness Movement that was concerned with 'saving souls'. Buxton was born in a family famous for leading the anti-slavery movement but he was not involved in social work in the UK or in Matsue while he worked with the CMS. Buxton grew up in late nineteenth century Britain when evangelicals were increasingly giving priority to preaching the gospel over social work. Buxton, the 'father of the Holiness movement in Japan', brought to Japan the Keswick teaching of Christian unity, sanctified living, and a commitment to missions but did not get involved in social work. The Japanese leadership did not have the vision for engagement in social work because the Field Council members Takeda, Horiuchi and Mimaki were trained by Buxton. Since the JEB was established to continue the work of the Matsue Band, the Mission did not wish to be involved in social work, especially after the unpleasant experience with Penrod and Dempsie. Annie Wood persuaded the Home Council to give Webster-Smith permission to start an orphanage for girls and raised finances for her, but she could not persuade the Field Council to change their minds. The Field Council's attitude towards social work is indicative that Japanese Christians of the Holiness tradition inherited the Western evangelicals' fading interest in a social gospel from Buxton. Indifference towards social work was not limited to the

JEB. The CMA from the United States sent missionaries to Japan in 1891. Significantly, two women, Helen Kinney and Emma Barns, started CMA work by opening an orphanage. Similar to mission organizations of the time, the CMA did not develop their social work ministry but concentrated on church planting and established a Bible School. In their 1936 *Missionary Atlas*, the Mission reported establishing 32 churches and one Bible School but did not report on social work.⁹ Since CMA did not write a history of their work in Japan, it is not known how or why the mission decided not to develop their ministry among the orphans. From its inception, the mission chose not to get involved in social work. The OMS too did not engage in social work. The JEB was different from their contemporary Holiness mission organizations because they could not decide if they wanted to be involved in social work. Their policy of permitting senior missionaries to choose their own field of work was the reason for the Mission's dilemma. As an organization, they preferred not to get involved in social work but they could not force their missionaries not to do what they were 'called' to do. The Home Council's neglect in persuading the Field Council to involve the Japanese in social work meant that the Japanese in the JEB were not interested in social work. Irene Webster-Smith had to close the Sunrise Home because she could not find any Japanese willing to take responsibility for the Home. Japan entered the Second World War a year after JEB missionaries left Japan in late 1940. The worsening political situation in Japan was an indication for the Japanese of hard times ahead, therefore they hesitated to commit to a responsibility for young girls. Webster-Smith's biographer, Russell Hitt, reported that the Japanese refused to continue the Sunrise Home ministry because they could not look after the children without financial aid from Britain.¹⁰ I could not find any documents relating to such a response from the Japanese, therefore, it is difficult to determine the accuracy of the statement. However, by mid-1940, the Japanese government had

⁹ Alfred C. Snead, *Missionary Atlas*, 104-5.

¹⁰ Russell T. Hitt, *Sensei: The Life Story of Irene Webster-Smith* (Nara: ICM Press, 1996).

prohibited any foreign funds entering the country so it is probable that a lack of finances was the reason Webster-Smith had to shut down the Sunrise Home. Webster-Smith gave concern of a government take-over and placing a *butsudan* in the Home as reason for shutting down the Sunrise Home. All the Japanese churches had the same concern but they chose not to close their institutions. Perhaps Webster-Smith felt a government take-over of an orphanage was more probable than of a church because the government would not permit a foreigner to look after Japanese children. Unlike Dorothy Hoare and Amy Burnet, Webster-Smith did not try to stay in Japan but preferred to close the Sunrise Home and find Christian homes for the younger girls and employment for the older ones.

The Japanese government's insistence to include Emperor worship/veneration in Christian religious practices pushed the Japanese Christians to develop their own Christian theology and make Christianity indigenous. While Danjo Ebina tried to indigenize Christianity by equating Shinto to Judaism, and Yokoi Tokio called for Christians to recognize the Emperor as a deity, Japanese Christians in the JEB tried not to include any Shinto element in Christian worship or faith. They differentiated between bows of worship and bows of respect even though the bows were performed facing the imperial palace. Their practice created scepticism in the JEB missionary minds about the Japanese commitment to Holiness teachings but pacified the Japanese government. The Religious Organizational Law (ROL) of 1940 instructed Japanese Christians to sever all ties with foreigners. Although strict, the ROL eventually benefitted the Japanese church. It forced the JEB to transfer all assets to the NIKK. Even though the NIKK did not have enough funds the Church had to refuse all financial help from the JEB and learn to be self-sufficient, thus finally making the Church truly indigenous. The ROL separated the Japanese church from the global church but facilitated unity among Protestant churches in Japan. All churches were forced to unite under one church,

the Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan (the United Church of Christ in Japan). Forced unification was difficult and controversial as the churches had theological differences and some did not agree with the leadership's compliances with the government's demand of adherence to the *Chokugo*. Nevertheless, unity gave most churches protection from government hostility during the Second World War and the church learnt to grow spiritually and in numbers without missionary personnel and financial support.

Thus we observe that Japanese took the initiative to make the JEB ministry indigenous. Japanese participated in laying the foundations of the work in Japan. They took the initiative to advise the Home Council about establishing a Bible School and raise future leaders. They steered the JEB work so that the Mission was able to provide discipleship to their converts, and established a Three-Self denomination that provided spiritual care and guidance to all members in a hostile domestic political environment during the Second World War.

Contribution to knowledge

This research firstly contributes to the study of indigenization in Protestant mission. Most mission histories record missionary efforts in the indigenization of churches. Foreign missionaries usually led mission organizations until the end of the Second World War. They employed male and female indigenous Christians to assist in evangelism. This research records Japanese participation in establishing the Japan Evangelistic Band, a mission organization, their leadership in administration, and the Japanese initiative in establishing an indigenous church.

Secondly, it contributes to the study of overseas missions arising out of the Holiness movement in Britain. It brings to light that missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had changed their attitude towards their converts. They were willing to share leadership with indigenous Christians. Not all missionaries in the

JEB were accommodating to power-sharing by nationals yet it was desired and initiated by the Home Council which suggests changes in attitudes towards indigenous Christians in British mission organizations.

Thirdly, this research also contributes to the study of the beginning of the Holiness teaching in Japan by Barclay Buxton in 1890. Buxton preached in rural and urban areas and trained his converts and other Christians who attended his informal Bible School in Matsue. He also preached the gospel to foreigners and missionaries. He started Holiness Conventions among the Japanese and missionaries. Buxton's teachings were propagated by his students who worked with the Holiness Church established by the OMS, in the Methodist Church, the Free Methodist Church, and the Pentecostal Church. The JEB was the main proponent of Buxton's teachings in west Japan.

Finally, this study brings to the forefront the work of indigenous Christians in evangelizing their own nation. Studies on the contribution of national workers are scarce because few records are extant. As nationals did not participate in the administration of mission organizations, they did not feel the need of keeping records of their work. However, the work of indigenous evangelists can be gleaned from missionary letters, reports and council minutes, as in this research. In the letters, reports, and Home and Field Council minutes, I have searched for the Japanese voices and brought to the surface their hopes and their frustrations. This research especially gives voice to the work of the silent Bible women and the Japanese who skilfully navigated between missionaries, the Home Council, and the oppressive Japanese government to establish a church that was independent of missionary scaffolding.

Recommendations for further research

The one positive outcome of Japanese nationalism was that the Japanese Church became independent of the Church in the West. The Japanese Church had to learn to

develop a theology that could accommodate Japanese culture and the government's demands without compromising Christian faith. The Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai (NIKK) too was bowing to the Emperor. Further research needs to determine the kind of church that the NIKK developed during the Second World War, when the persecution of Christians increased. How did the NIKK respond to the government's increased demand for shrine worship? Was the NIKK able to practise the faith taught by the JEB?

After the end of the Second World War, NIKK workers, who were former JEB evangelists, pitched a tent on the rubble of the Kobe Mission Hall to prevent squatters taking over the building. Everyday they preached the gospel from the dilapidated building. They requested the missionaries to return. The JEB London office deliberated whether the Mission should restart work before returning in 1947. Extensive JEB archives stored at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, would reveal the Mission's post Second World War position on Japanese leadership in the Mission. Such a study would also reveal why it took the JEB more than fifty years to finally hand over the Mission's administration to the Japanese in the year 2000 and finally make the JEB a Three-Self mission organization.

Appendices

Appendix One

The Japan Evangelistic Band Constitution, 1910¹

THE JAPAN EVANGELISTIC BAND arising out of the work accomplished through the Rev. Barclay F. Buxton its chairman, during his 12 years of labour in that land, took its present shape in 1903.

AIM. It has for its purpose the preaching of the Gospel of full salvation in unopened places, assisting all Evangelical churches, holding special missions to the unconverted, and Holiness Conventions. The desire in working thus is to bind together all the Lord's people irrespective of denominational ties, seeking to throw all responsibility of church Government on to the churches themselves, and so help forward in practical manner the building up of the One True Spiritual Invisible Church, the Body of Christ.

PRINCIPLES. Our first Principle is Faith in God – Faith that He will send forth the right labourers and that He will provide for all the needs of those thus sent out, and also for the general maintenance of the work, and further that He will guide us to where to go, and as to the means to be used in different places for the extension of His Kingdom.

Secondly our foreign Missionaries are not sent out to govern the Church, but rather as workers together with our Japanese Brethren to whom God has given the same gift of the Spirit.

SUPPORT. The Mission does not solicit subscriptions nor personally appeal for money, nor is there a private revenue behind the Mission, nor are there wealthy brethren responsible for its support.

We look solely to God. The needs are made a constant subject of prayer. The members of the Council are informed of the financial outlook each month so as to intelligently bear this matter before God in prayer. Donation and subscriptions received from friends are acknowledged in the Quarterly Magazine every quarter. The accounts are audited yearly by a firm of Chartered Accountants.

TEACHING. The Mission is interdenominational, and the Band at work in Japan includes members of all the leading denominations i.e. Church of England, Quakers, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist and Methodists. Their purpose is to preach Jesus Christ and Him Crucified (1Cor.11.2.) who saves His people from their sins (Matt. 1.21) and baptizeth with the Holy Ghost (Jno.1.33) [sic] and is to come again for His waiting and separated people (Phil.111.20-21)

We preach therefore (1) A new birth from above of the Holy Ghost, received through the forgiveness of sins on the ground of the Atonement by Faith (2) That the Bible is the inspired Word of God from cover to cover. (3) A full salvation and separation unto God and a true union with Him through faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To this end we emphasize heart-cleansing, the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and a life of

¹ JEB Box 1 Vol. 1 Home Council Minutes 25 July, 1910.

continuous victory over sin through the indwelling of Christ in the heart (1 Jno.1.9.[sic] Acts. xv.8-9. Eph.1.11.17 [sic]. Jude 24). (4) The unity of all true believers in Christ. We seek therefore to promote a practical union by united fellowship, service and prayer.

METHODS. (A) In England. First believing that there can be no true and prayerful interest in God's Kingdom abroad without a deep spiritual life and experience at home, and secondly recognizing that the four watchwords of the Saviour, "Look ye" "Pray ye" "Give ye" and "Go ye" need repeated emphasis, and thirdly seeking to lay the needs of Japan upon the hearts of God's people for prayer. Meetings are arranged and conducted (1) for the deepening of spiritual life (2) Drawing-room and public Meetings for the purpose of telling the needs, difficulties and victories on the field (3) Prayer Unions or Circles are formed throughout United Kingdom for intercession and prayer. All work is controlled and supervised by an Executive Council in England.

(B). In Japan. An Administrative Council in Japan, consisting of three Japanese and two Foreign, directs all the work on the Field, in conference with the Home Council. It must be understood that our work is not the establishment of permanent Mission Stations. None of our workers administer the Sacraments unless they are ordained ministers of a recognized denomination.

The Mission has no Educational work, and being Interdenominational does not establish a Church or Sect of its own.

The methods of operation are therefore as follows :-

(1). We hold Missions and Conventions in new or already opened places always in connection with some existing Evangelical Body. Workers generally go forth two by two.

(2). We open up entirely new places by locating workers both Japanese and Foreign for a period generally not exceeding one year – having previously made arrangements with some Spiritual Churches to continue the work and take over the Converts.

(3). We place workers both Japanese and Foreign at the disposal of other societies or local Churches to work with them and open up new centres.

(4). We visit Schools for special Missions, conduct open-air [sic], tent meeting campaigns at Exhibitions and idol festivities, and reach isolated and unreached parts with gospel literature. Prospective plans are the establishment of a moveable Bible Study School for Pastors Catechists etc. for two months in the year and the development of our publishing department for the circulation of Holiness literature as well as the present issue of evangelistic writings.

Appendix Two

Some Answers to the 'thirteen questions' in Japan (6 June 1938)¹

1. What is the God of Christianity?

S. He is the Creator and Head of the universe, the spiritual God of omniscience, omnipotence and omnipresence, the Eternal God whom we worship as Father.

2. What is your interpretation of the "800 myriads" of our country?

S. The meaning of "Kami" of "800 syriads [sic] of gods" seems to be a term of respect; so I think they are the gods of a different meaning from the Head God of the universe.

3. What is the relation between the Christian God and our Emperor?

S. I regard the Emperor as the member of a dynasty which has ruled our country from the immemorial by the will of the God of the Universe.

4. What is the relation between your God and the kings of foreign lands, such as England.

S. The kings of foreign countries on many occasions are put up by men, and so while the imperial lines change the countries continue to exist; God permitting this in His providence. It is the hand of Almighty God which controls human history.

5. What is the relationship between the Imperial rescript and the Bible?

S. We are convinced that there is no inconsistency between the Bible, the Book of the Revelation of God, and the teachings of imperial rescripts which are according to justice and the common teaching of men.

6. What is the difference between education as regarded in the Imperial Rescript on Education and education according to Christian principles?

S. There should be no difference between these as a basis of education as long as there is no inconsistency between the Bible and the imperial rescript.

7. What is your idea about ancestor worship (shrine worship)?

S. We think of our ancestors with respect, affection and gratitude, just as we do our parents and grandparents.

8. What is your idea concerning the divine spirits of the imperial ancestors?

S. We think of them with respect, reverence and gratitude as we do with regard to our Emperor.

9. What is the climax or goal of faith (supreme limit of faith)?

S. We do not fully understand the meaning of this question. But to attain to a real faith there is much suffering within and experiences. And because this point is reached after much searching and contemplation, it is hard to be moved or forced to leave the faith by others. If the time comes when they are forced to depart from the faith, they cannot deceive themselves before God by pretending not to have thrown away the faith, and it is natural that they should think it better to be put to death following their conscience than to live a life of falsehood. Does faith have an absolute point according to this meaning? When ones faith is superstition it is dangerous to hold it. But when Christian faith is pure it pierces through the conscience, reason and feelings and it is

¹ JEB Box 15 File 3 Field Council Correspondence.

thus sound and appropriate. Thus we think there is no danger which is to be feared with such a faith.

10. What is your conception concerning the freedom of faith (religion)?

S. Our nation has the freedom of faith (religion) as declared in the constitution.

11. What is the relation between Christianity and the spirit of Japan?

S. The spirit of Japan is based upon loyalty and self-sacrifice for ones country. I believe that the substance of this is given in the Imperial Rescript on Education and in the one to soldiers. For the practice of these ideals spiritual ability is required. The characteristic of Christianity is not merely that of Creed but the obtaining of the spiritual life of God through faith. By gaining this and being born again by this spiritual power, souls are changed and mortal ability is perfected and one can practice what is contained in Imperial Rescripts and commands. This is what each Christian who has the grace of regeneration experiences. In this sense I believe that one of the greatest forces to attain the display of the spirit of Japan is Christian faith.

12. Why does Christianity regard Japanese Shintoism and Buddhism as idolatrous superstition?

S. I do not like to have other religions expelled, nor do I use such words with regard to them. But Buddhism is a sect of self-reliance and is thus sufficient, having no true object of Faith. As for the sect believing in salvation through the power of Amida, it does not suffice owing the historical uncertainty regarding the being of Amida; even though we sympathise with the faith attitude of Honen and Shiran. In Japan (State Shintoism and not that of the sects), having its essence in respect and adoration for ancestors, issues from one's sincere feeling and does not seem to be superstition. But if we regard it as a religion, there is no found substance enough to satisfy our religious desire. That is why I am a believer in Christianity and not chosen either of these (Shinto and Buddhism).

13. The last question was left open for one to express any other views.

S. gave his motives in becoming a Christian. He states how he found no relief from the obscurity and sense of insecurity in life; no solution for the problem of the meaning of life and of suffering; no deliverance from sin and was unable to obey his conscience; no light upon the problem of death and the future life. But when he accepted Christianity he for the first time came in contact with real spiritual power, obtained the grace of regeneration, and came to partake of new joy and hope; was liberated from the power of sin and was given the power to do right. This fact of spiritual regeneration and the acquisition of spiritual power became the centre of his desire to undertake Christian evangelism. The heart of the Bible and Christian truth is to give man this spiritual life. When this life and power works in every nation and person, it purifies and perfects the personality of each one, yet without destroying it as is the case of electricity in certain substances.

Appendix Three

A Special Field Council Meeting¹

Convened on 18 Jan. 1940. Mr Sato and Mr Sano of the N.I.K.K. were present.
Mr Sawamura, Higuchi, Ojima, Jones, Garrard (Chairman)

Purpose to discuss and decide upon the "NEW PROPOSAL" for the J.E.B. and N.I.K.K. work under the new registration law.

The following 9 points were unanimously agreed to, it being clearly stated that these 9 points were only a proposal and could only be carried out when Home council agreement was received.

THE NEW PROPOSAL

1. The Japan Evangelistic Band propose to hand over and give all their property, comprising land and buildings, Shioya (Bible School, Rest House) and Shinkaichi Kobe (Kobe Mission Hall), to Nihon Iesu Kirisuto Kyokai.
2. That all the work and all the Japanese Workers of the J.E.B. be asked to join the N.I.K.K.
3. That all the JEB missionaries together form a Kessha and keep the name of J.E.B. and do not become a denomination. They will be still an Evangelistic Agency, perhaps be a Kessha of the N.I.K.K.
4. That a financial agreement be made between the J.E.B. and the N.I.K.K. the total amount of which to be arrived at by mutual agreement considering the number of J.E.B. workers who join the N.I.K.K. That the total amount of this be reduced by 1/3 of itself, each year for three years, the end of the third year being the end of the arrangement.
5. The J.E.B. ask the N.I.K.K. to use the Bible School for training evangelists for all denominations.
6. The J.E.B. ask the N.I.K.K. to use the Kobe Mission Hall as an evangelistic centre.
7. Perhaps it may be good for the J.E.B. to keep the Kobe Mission Hall at present and hand it over to the N.I.K.K. later.
8. The missionaries ask the N.I.K.K. for close cooperation and fellowship in the work. Missionaries helping the N.I.K.K. and the N.I.K.K. Workers helping the J.E.B. missionaries.

The J.E.B. missionaries ask the N.I.K.K. to recognise that the purpose and calling of the J.E.B. has not changed, that the missionaries love Japan and purpose to continue as an evangelistic agency for all kinds of evangelistic and Holiness work, for which cause they ask for warm cooperation.

¹ JEB Box 15 File 3 Field Council Correspondence.

Appendix Four

Details for the report for registration of a 'Religious Association'¹

We the Japan Evangelistic Band, which is organised as a 'Religious Association', hereby present information relative to registration under the "Religious Bodies Act".

Date: April 11th 1940

Nationality: British

Address: 1) 55, Gower Street, London, W.C.1, England
2) 180, Minatogawa Cho 9 Chome, Minato ku, Kobe

Representative: Maurice H. Garrard, (Field Director)
7, Shiomidai Cho 4 Chome, Suma Ku, Kobe

1) Name: Japan Evangelistic Band (Nihon Dendo Tai)
2) Address: 180, Minatogawa Cho 7 Chome, Minato Ku, Kobe
3) Teaching, Ceremonies & Description of Work :

a) Teachings: see attached Statement of Faith

b) Ceremonies: We believe and teach the following Ceremonies, but we do not, as Missionaries, conduct these in Japan, leaving this side of work to a fully recognized Japanese worker:-

- i) Baptism;
- ii) The Lord's supper (Holy Communion)
- iii) Weddings;
- iv) Funerals

c) Description of Work: The Japan Evangelistic Band is an Interdenominational Evangelistic Agency, with the purpose of seeking the unity of all true believers in Christ. We seek, therefore, to promote a practical union by fellowship, service and prayer. To this end we do not form a separate denomination, but seek to help all Christian Denominations and Churches by loaning Workers to such Groups, where invited, and also by conducting Meetings as follows:-

- i) Sunday Morning Worship;
- ii) Evangelistic Meetings;
- iii) Open Air Meetings;
- iv) Prayer Meetings;
- v) Children's Meetings;
- vi) Women's Meetings;
- vii) House Meetings;
- viii) Bible Classes;
- ix) Enquirers Preparation Meetings;
- x) Training of Young Workers;
- xi) Tent Meetings;
- xii) Village Hall Meetings;
- xiii) Wide Spread Tract Distribution;
- xiv) House-to-House Visiting;
- xv) Convention Meetings, both for Japanese and Foreigners
- xvi) Christmas and Easter Special Meetings

4) Object of Worship: We have no visible Object of Worship, but we worship The One True and Living God Who is Invisible.

¹ JEB Box 15 File 1-C Field Council Correspondence.

5) How the Association is Organised:

a) The Home Council in England has the sole right of determining all matters relative to the Constitution and Policy of the Japan Evangelistic Band.

b) The Home Council shall appoint such officials as the Home Council deems necessary.

c) The work in Japan is managed by a Field committee. This Field Committee consists of:-

i) Field Director;

ii) Field Secretary;

iii) Four other elected Members

This Committee meets at least four times annually, and is responsible for the conduct of Missions in Japan.

6) Management of Property & Financial Affairs:

a) The only property possessed by the Japan Evangelistic Band is in Karuizawa, Nagano ken, for the Residence of Missionaries during the summer. The Field Committee is responsible for the upkeep of the Buildings. The final disposal of the Property rests with the Home council in England.

b) Missionaries are supported by Funds coming from abroad.

7) Qualification and Manner of Election of Teachers and Representatives:

The responsibility for both these matters rests entirely with the Home council in England.

B) MISSIONARIES IN THE JAPAN EVANGELISTIC BAND IN JAPAN:

Mr. Maurice H. Garrard

Mrs. Gene Garrard

Mr. Tudor J. Jones

Mrs. Lily Jones

Mr. Arthur M. Collins

Mrs. Florence Collins

Mr. Tipton Williams

Mrs. Helena Williams

Mr. Eric W. Gosden

Mrs. Mary Gosden

Mr. William Bee

Mrs. Barbara M. Bee

Miss Jessie C. Gillespy

Miss Adelaide A. Soal

Miss Dorothy Hoare

Miss B. Rose Bazeley

Miss Amy Thoren

ON FURLOUGH:

Miss Irene W. Smith

Miss Olive F. Woodworth

Miss Florence Cuthbertson

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- Box 17 Missionary Subcommittee Minutes 1938-1940
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- Box 29 File 7 Factory work in Japan
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