

# To Build a New Japan: Canadian Missionaries in Occupied Japan 1946-1948

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The end of the Pacific War saw Canadian missionaries return to Japan. The religious situation in Japan during the Occupation that confronted the returned missionaries was exceedingly complex as emperor centred *tennōsei* (天皇制, emperor system) was disestablished, wartime religious control mechanisms unravelled, and Japanese religions, including Christianity, struggled to rebuild and restore both their physical and spiritual presence amidst the shattered ruins of their defeated country.<sup>(1)</sup> This essay is about the attitudes and ideas of Canadian Protestant missionaries belonging to the United Church of Canada about Japan, its needs and its future during the early part of Occupation period. It focuses on George Ernest Bott (1892-1952)<sup>(2)</sup> and Alf Stone (1902-1954),<sup>(3)</sup> two United Church of Canada missionaries whose small town background was typical of many of the Canadian missionaries who came back to Japan during the Occupation. Bott also belonged to that generation of Anglophone Ontarians who had either served themselves, or had family members who had, in the Great War (1914-1918). The horrors of that war profoundly influenced Bott and his generation.

For Jimmy, as Bott was familiarly called, this translated itself into a deep compassion and sympathy for those less fortunate which was fulfilled through a life of Christian service in the foreign field. Bott had worked in Japan since the 1920s, spoke fluent Japanese and had been in charge of the extensive social work of the United Church of Canada in the east Tokyo slums centred on its two social welfare settlements near Ueno at Negishi and Nippori which are on the Yamanote railway line that circles central Tokyo.

Returning to Japan in April 1946,<sup>(4)</sup> Bott served as the director of the Church World Service (CWS) in Japan.<sup>(5)</sup> The CWS, based in New York, was the largest contributor to the Licensed Agencies for the Relief in Asia (known as LARA in English or “RARA” in Japanese).<sup>(6)</sup> LARA was the only non-governmental agency through which Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP) allowed relief supplies on a large scale to be sent to Japan.<sup>(7)</sup> The LARA Central Committee in Japan was chaired by Horiuchi Kensuke (堀内健介, 1886-1979)<sup>(8)</sup>, a career diplomat and former Japanese Ambassador to the United States, with Bott as the Central Committee’s Vice-Chairman. Together these two guided Committee members in their decisions as to which social welfare institutions should receive LARA goods. Relief supplies were distributed from the Japanese Ministry of Welfare without cost to the recipients through prefectural offices to organizations and individuals all over Japan. It is estimated that 14 million Japanese or some 15% of the population benefited from the relief supplies.<sup>(9)</sup> While it is in vogue to question the achievements of the Occupation and to highlight the seamy side of it,<sup>(10)</sup> the unstinting efforts of Bott and LARA serve to remind

that there was also a positive and generous element at work during it. Alf Stone returned to Japan in September 1946 and to Tokyo. There is a tinge of tragedy to Bott and Stone as they both died young, Bott of a heart attack, perhaps brought on by over-work in 1952, and Stone drowned in the so-called Tôya Maru Sônan Jikô (洞爺丸遭難事故, the Tôya Maru Shipwreck Incident) of 26 September 1954 when the Hakodate-Aomori ferry was overwhelmed in a typhoon with the loss of over thousand lives in what remains Japan's largest peacetime maritime disaster.

The sympathetic Canadian Protestant missionary efforts to help the Japanese continued and built on a distinguished history of missionary service that had begun some eighty years before in 1873.<sup>(11)</sup> As it grew and developed in the years prior to 1941 the Canadian missionary movement was the single most important vehicle of contact and mutual information about each other between Canadians and Japanese. That this was so underlined the significance of informal relations in Canada's international affairs in comparison to inter-governmental relations through the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>(12)</sup> Nevertheless, during the late 1930s, missionaries had difficulty in distinguishing between their genuine feelings of sympathy and affection for Japanese people and the motives of Japanese political and military leaders in their handling of the East Asian crisis and the war in China. In Canada, this difficulty, it might be called naiveté, led to an erosion of the missionary's position as respected interpreters of Japan to Canadians. In Japan, with the rise of *tenno*-centred militarism, missionaries also failed in the end to act as carriers of modern,

Western democratic values.

The Second World War in East Asia changed Canada's relations with Japan, and the role of the missionary movement after 1945 in Canadian relations became less prominent as a result of the development of many new skeins of contact, inter-governmental, greater economic and business ties, between Canada and Japan, that now carried on the process of transmitting modern, Western democratic values into Japan. The returning missionaries to Japan from Canada did not see what the Japanese had done to others in metropolitan East Asia and South East Asia but only the physical devastation to Tokyo and Japanese cities. They saw the starvation, hardships and acute sufferings of ordinary Japanese that had been brought on them by the remorseless bombing and ship sinking of the Allies. They were fully aware of the vindictive racism of the Canadian government and Canadians and of the appalling treatment of Japanese Canadians by the Canadian government during the War but were blind to any misdoings on the part of the Japanese. In a sense their view of the innocence of Japanese had not changed from that of the 1930s, perhaps also there was a feeling (and it needs to be stated even though it is difficult to find concrete evidence to support this supposition) that even if the Japanese had committed atrocities these could be condoned for they paled in comparison to atrocities committed against Japanese by the Allies in terms of the bombing of Japanese cities and treatment of ethnic Japanese civilians in concentration camps in North America.

The question of war responsibility and the role of the Japanese Christian leadership in it which became a major issue within the

Japanese Christian movement by the 1960s<sup>(13)</sup> was never mentioned by returning Canadian missionaries. The returning Canadian missionaries never wondered whether Japanese attitudes to war and its violence might differ from their own attitudes. Having lived in Canada since returning from Japan where they had been generally well-treated before being repatriated in the early years of the War, their views were moulded by their experiences in the First World War and untouched by any experience of suffering in the Second except for what they saw in its aftermath in Japan. The missionaries left a rich, placid and unharmed Canada in 1946 and all they saw when they arrived in Japan was destruction, hunger and suffering. They were filled with enormous guilt for what had been done to the Japanese and wished to make up for this. American military officials in the Occupation also felt guilt over the use of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and this would have a profound impact on their policies during the Occupation,<sup>(14)</sup> but they were still aware that the Japanese were not innocents because of Pearl Harbor and they had seen the damage wrought by the Japanese military in the Philippines, China and the Pacific islands.

Such a future was not evident to former missionaries as they contemplated during the Second World War Japan's future after its defeat.

## I

During the war there was much discussion in Canadian missionary circles about the future of Japan and Korea after the

war. In a general sense, what is surprising in these discussions was the diffidence of missionaries toward Japan. This was seen in the refusal of United Church missionary officials, who had without reservation thrown their support behind Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) and the Nationalists in China, to identify themselves with the anti-Japanese Korean nationalist movement led by Synman Rhee (1875-1965) or even criticize Japanese actions in Korea because they feared the Japanese colonial authorities would not allow Canadian missionaries return to Korea after the war.<sup>(15)</sup> It did not occur to them, until a very late stage, that the Allied powers would end Japanese rule of Korea. Likewise, there was the greatest concern among former missionaries that on their return to Japan after its defeat they might be cold-shouldered by Japanese Christians.<sup>(16)</sup> All were united in wanting to reconcile Japanese Christians by restoring Christian fellowship and participating wholeheartedly in the reconstruction of Japan. Canadian missionaries clearly saw Japanese Christians and the Japanese people as victims rather than the aggressors in the war. In viewing Japanese in that way, Canadian missionaries can be charged with helping to delay the Japanese people coming to terms with their actions toward other Asian peoples as well as Europeans (something that the Japanese still struggle with to this day). However, in 1945, missionaries sincerely believed that Canadian Christians had to seek forgiveness from the Japanese for what had happened during the war. Bott wrote at the beginning of August 1945 to A. E. Armstrong, the Foreign Missions secretary of the United Church of Canada, "the matter which gives me the most serious concern as I think of post-

war relations with Japan is our treatment of Canadians of Japanese origin here in Canada.”<sup>(17)</sup>

Considerable thought was given to the political future of Japan after its defeat. In this, significant attention was given to the future role of the Emperor. In July 1945, Howard Outerbridge (1886-1976)<sup>(18)</sup>, who had taught for many years at Kwansei Gakuin University in Nishinomiya near Osaka, expressed an opinion that was representative of Canadian missionary views. Outerbridge felt that that the Allies would be very stupid if they did not find a “way of turning the Emperor with his great prestige and influence into an asset, instead of hanging him, when everyone knows that he has been the reluctant tool of the revisionists, and thus turning everyone in Japan – liberal and reactionary alike into our implacable foes.”<sup>(19)</sup> Modern scholarship might suggest that the Emperor was less of a reluctant tool than Outerbridge thought.<sup>(20)</sup> Nevertheless, he was perfectly right in seeing that the Emperor did and could, in the future, wield considerable influence. Looking back to the role of the Meiji Emperor (明治天皇, reigned 1868-1912) in giving the Japanese a Constitution in 1889, Outerbridge thought that the Showa Emperor (昭和天皇, reigned 1926-1989) could perform a similar service. It is useful to quote at length what Outerbridge considered that the Showa Emperor should do:

1. Declare that it is the military reactionaries who have brought the country to ruin; and that Japan’s future must be along the line of democratic and industrial development in a peaceful world, raising the standard of living by scientific

and commercial development in peaceful relationships with all nations.

2. Grant a revised constitution in which he declared that the will of the people through full representative government must hereafter be the final authority; and that the Emperor is the “organ of the state” the Minobe theory, recently declared to be heretical; that the ancient mythology must be recognized in this scientific age to be merely a beautiful myth, and must never again be used to bring the nation into war; that the “constitution must be revised as to make it impossible for the army and navy to seize control again. The control must be in the hands of the duly elected representatives of the people, etc. etc. etc.
3. Take responsibility for the ruin into which the nation has fallen, and abdicate; appointing Prince Chichibu, who has been opposed to the war, as his successor to lead the country into an era of peaceful development, without warlike ambitions.<sup>(21)</sup>

The execution of such a policy would have to be supervised by the allies, Outerbridge thought, but he advocated that a compromise, such as one quoted above, “which gave us all we wanted, and gave them as well as “way out” for the future, would be a good strategy.”<sup>(22)</sup> Outerbridge’s position reveals the extreme moderation of Canadian missionaries in regards to future changes to the political structure of Japan after its surrender. Yet, he did call for a profound change of attitude in order to bring about an end



to *tennosei* and to create a democratic state (along the lines of Minobe Tatsukichi's (美濃部達吉, 1873-1948) *minshu shugi* (民主主義, democracy)) that possessed a revised constitution, which would make it impossible for the military to seize power. Outerbridge had enough sensitivity and sophisticated knowledge of Japanese political thought to see that the democratic ideas of a Japanese intellectual, rather than the imposition from above of a solely Western view of democracy, should be utilized to help bring about this democratic transformation. The idea that the Emperor should resign in favour of his next eldest brother, Prince Chichibu was one that was seriously considered, at least, among the Emperor's brothers.<sup>(23)</sup> In hindsight, it is not so much what he got wrong that is intriguing about Outerbridge's views but how much he got right in terms of how Occupation authorities would use the Emperor.

During the war many of the Japan missionaries in Canada were also deeply concerned about the plight of Japanese Canadians. Among the most active was Percy Powles (1886-1959), the Canadian Anglican clergyman late of Takata, and his family who did much to help ease the difficulties of *nisei* relocated to Montreal. Constance Chappell (1891-1989), a teacher at the Tokyo Woman's Christian College, was another outspoken critic of the treatment of Japanese Canadians. Other former missionaries, like Howard Norman (b. 1905) (the older brother of Herbert Norman (1909-1957)<sup>(24)</sup> the diplomat) who became a civilian instructor at the Canadian Army Japanese Language School (S-20) in Vancouver, commanded by his missionary colleague, Arthur P. McKenzie (d. 1960), who rose to be a lieutenant-colonel in the Intelligence Corps,<sup>(25)</sup> helped Japanese Canadians as

much as they could.

In early 1943 Bott thought Japanese Canadians “are in very much the same situation as the Jewish minorities in Germany, minus of course, physical violence.”<sup>(26)</sup> While hindsight has shown that Bott’s rather glib comparison was not true, it does illustrate how morally corrupt he thought the Canadian government and people had become by treating their Japanese minority in the same fashion as their German enemies did their Jewish ones. Indeed, the realization that Japanese Canadians had been mistreated by their fellow Canadians coloured missionary attitudes towards Christians in metropolitan Japan and reinforced the prevalent missionary view that the Japanese Christian leadership was blameless of any wrong doing during the war.

Bott was deeply influenced both by the Canadian government’s decision to deport Japanese Canadians back to Japan after the war<sup>(27)</sup> and was appalled by the methods which the government employed to convince Japanese Canadians to agree to their removal to Japan. In early August 1945 he wrote that “the idea of sending Canadian born Japanese to the hell that Japan will be after the war is appalling and the fact that the Churches were not able, or not willing to prevent such action is tragic” and he added that “every Canadian Japanese who goes to Japan after the war will be a living demonstration of the fact that Canada is neither Christian nor democratic and that Canada’s signature on the United Nations Charter guaranteeing justice for minorities is a hollow mockery.”<sup>(28)</sup> Clearly for Bott and also for other Canadian missionaries feelings of shame for what had happened to Japanese Canadians were very

strong.

The treatment of Canadian Japanese was in the sharpest contrast to Bott's own treatment by the Japanese during the war. Indeed, Bott and his wife were never interned and were allowed to live quietly in their own home before being evacuated on the *Gripsholm* in 1942. While the reason for this unusual treatment was never fully explained, it was understood that Welfare Ministry officials protected the Botts in recognition of their work in the east Tokyo slums. Yet, those United Church missionaries, who were interned at the Canadian Academy in Kobe or Sumire internment camp in Tokyo, were well treated and repatriated to Canada before living conditions in Japan dramatically deteriorated.<sup>(29)</sup> In October 1945, writing to the daughter of an aged former United Church of Canada missionary, Mrs. Harper H. Coates (Agnes S. Wintemute 1864-1945) about the death of her mother in concentration camp in or near Shanghai, A. E. Armstrong, the Foreign Missions secretary, had believed that Mrs. Coates had died of advanced age and not mistreatment "because we have not yet heard that there was other than normal treatment of the internees in the concentration camps around Shanghai and in North China," and went on to say "we can assume I think that the Japanese would treat elderly people in a not unkind manner."<sup>(30)</sup> This was rather wishful thinking. Twelve French-Canadian Roman Catholic missionaries who were transported to Japan from Manchuria too late to be repatriated on the second *Gripsholm* civilian exchange voyage did suffer very considerable hardships at Kanagawa Prefecture Civil Internment Camp, no. 1.<sup>(31)</sup>

Aware of the possible animosity of those who had been mistreated by the Japanese toward their captors after their release, Bott had argued in early 1945 that “I am convinced that it will help greatly if there are some who know and admire the good qualities of the Japanese among the allied authorities who first go to Japan after the war.”<sup>(32)</sup> He was, indeed, such a person.

It was against this background that Canadian missionaries began to think about their return to Japan.

## II

Throughout the war with Japan, the Foreign Missions Conference (FMC) in the United States and its various committees and sub-committees had met to make plans for their resumption of missionary activities in Japan after the war.<sup>(33)</sup> In late October 1945 a deputation of four American Churchmen from the FMC were sent out to Japan in order to begin the process of reconciliation between Japanese and North American Christians. They met with leading members of Nihon Kirisutokyōdan (日本基督教団) including Kozaki Michio (小崎道雄, 1888-1973) at the Reinanzaka Kyōkai and Tomita Mitsuru (富田満, 1883-1961) the Superintendent of the Kyōdan ([日本基督教] 教団統理), and were suitably impressed by their desire to help build a new Japan.<sup>(34)</sup> When he interviewed this visiting deputation, General Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964), the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, in Tokyo, urged them to send out missionaries (he suggested a thousand)<sup>(35)</sup> because Japan suffered from a “spiritual vacuum” which if it were not filled by Christianity would be filled

by Communism.<sup>(36)</sup> MacArthur saw Christianity as a bulwark against Communism, but he also believed “democracy could not exist without Christianity” because it was Christian principles coupled with the American experience that formed the “spiritual core [of democracy] that gave meaning to the formal institutions and political processes of a nation.” This view, like MacArthur himself, had its roots in 19<sup>th</sup> century American imperialism and resonated with President McKinley’s belief that Christianity was necessary for colonizing the Philippines and civilizing and uplifting its peoples. MacArthur was also convinced that “military conquest and control of Asian countries could succeed only if Christian values were an essential part of the effort ... Imposing Christianity on the Japanese people, in short, would justify American imperial control over them.” The visiting delegation returned home from Japan in late November 1945 convinced that a great opportunity existed to convert Japan to Christianity.

This view was further reinforced by the abolition of the intrusive Religious Bodies Law (宗教団体法) and its replacement by the Occupational Directive (no. 71, 宗教法人令) of December 28 1945 that changed the relationship of the government to religious organizations so that the government no longer authorized them but simply presumed their acceptance and registered each religious organization according to simple rules of procedure.<sup>(37)</sup> Religious freedom would be enshrined in the new Constitution that came into effect in May 1947.

Through 1945, one of the FMC’s committees, the Church Committee on Relief in Asia, headquartered in New York, and

responsible for co-ordinating North American Church relief efforts had been in contact with the Canadian Churches about relief activities in Japan after the end of the war.<sup>(38)</sup> As early as the end of February 1945 it had been decided to send out a party of five former missionaries to Japan at the first opportunity including Bott who was asked to be the representative in Japan of the Church Committee on Relief in Asia.<sup>(39)</sup> With the end of the war, the Church Committee decided in the fall of 1945 to go ahead with sending out the advance missionary team of six to Japan among whom was Bott. Such was the difficulty in obtaining permission from the military authorities to go to Japan (there were legitimate concerns that those going to Japan should not prove a burden on the food and accommodation supply) that, in fact, it was not until April 1946 that Paul Stephen Mayer (1884-1962), an American evangelical missionary (アメリカ福音教会宣教師)<sup>(40)</sup> and Bott arrived in Yokohama.<sup>(41)</sup>

Mayer and Bott were the first civilians and first missionaries, not affiliated with the Occupation, to return to Japan. Their closest association with the Occupation authorities was with the Civilian Information and Education Section, a sub-section of which dealt with relations with the Christian Church. Dr. Charles W. Iglehart (1883-1969)<sup>(42)</sup>, formerly a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was an adviser to this Section, as was Russell Durgin (1891-1956),<sup>(43)</sup> a former Y.M.C.A. secretary in Tokyo. One of the benefits that Bott accrued from his association with SCAP was his ability to call upon military transportation and, initially, to use Occupation forces accommodation. When he first arrived in Japan, Bott lived

in the residence of Prince Shimizu, the head of the Japanese Red Cross, which had been expropriated by the Occupation authorities for accommodation.<sup>(44)</sup>

This billet was close to the ruined Kudan Methodist Church. The day after his arrival in Tokyo, Bott walked over to where his pre-war home had been and found nothing except for a chimney standing and some of his neighbours busily planting vegetables in what had used to be his lawn. He wrote, “the whole area is completely destroyed. In fact apart from the centre of the city and an occasional oasis where a few buildings are standing the city is a sorry picture of ruin.”<sup>(45)</sup> He was deeply affected by the sheer extent of the destruction.<sup>(46)</sup> Bott also visited the headquarters of the Nihon Kirisutokyōdan where he was warmly received. However, he reported, “although they do not complain it is rather heartbreaking to hear the same story over and over again that homes have been destroyed and everything lost.”<sup>(47)</sup> The former Japanese Methodist Church, which the pre-war Canadian missionaries had served, had alone lost seventy-two churches and most of its congregations were widely scattered. The largest of the churches built by Canadian missionaries in Tokyo, the Central Tabernacle in Ginza<sup>(48)</sup> had survived but its parsonage was burned and the back of the building damaged in an air raid on the night of 10 March 1945.<sup>(49)</sup> A number of burnt out people occupied it and practically all of the Tabernacle’s leading members had either left the city or were too far away to come to services. In late April 1946 Bott reported about general conditions in Tokyo, “everyone tells the same story of the difficulty of getting enough to eat. Rations are inadequate

and black market prices for food to supplement are extremely high. One wonders how people manage and it is pretty clear many really do not get enough food to maintain their health and vitality.”<sup>(50)</sup> Bott felt that the Japanese people were physically, mentally and emotionally exhausted at a time when they needed extraordinary vitality to deal with the complicated and difficult problems they had to confront in order to reconstruct their country. Bott thought “that their spirit is very fine indeed but there are limits to what the human body and nervous system can endure.”<sup>(51)</sup>

The devastation caused by the bombing was, of course, not restricted to Tokyo. To quote just one example from many reports that reached the United Church of Canada in late 1945, Hana Fukuda, a teacher at the Yamanashi Eiwa Jo Gakuin in Kofu, wrote to Katherine Martha Greenbank (1891-1983),<sup>(52)</sup> the former United Church of Canada missionary headmistress of the school, “sad to say Kofu is all gone. There isn’t anything left except the northern part of the city (residential). The school entirely gone, only the red brick chimney is standing there.”<sup>(53)</sup> A little more than a year later, Alf Stone, after a visit to Kofu just before Christmas 1946, quoted a Kofu Christian telling him “we are getting a church built before our own homes, because we feel it is more important.”<sup>(54)</sup> Christians in Kofu faced the daunting challenge of rebuilding their school along with their city, and looked to the United Church of Canada and their missionaries to help. So did so many other damaged schools and churches that had been associated with Canadian missionaries prior to the opening of the War.

On Easter Monday 1946 Bott attended a service at Aoyama



Gakuin University where some seven hundred Japanese Christians came together. It allowed Bott to make some estimation about the spirit of the Japanese Christian movement and the possible return of missionaries to Japan. He noted that while the spirit and attitude of Japanese Christians and their pastors was excellent, “the church as an organisation is weaker than I had thought.”<sup>(55)</sup> Given the destruction of church property, the scattering of congregations as well as “the physical and nervous strain under which the people have been and still are living, the confused and inflated economic situation, uncertainty about the future and the difficulties involved in mere physical existence,”<sup>(56)</sup> he thought that this was not surprising. Conditions were appalling, and not helped by the fact that the breakdown of the transportation system meant getting anywhere took a great deal of time. The political dangers posed by the food shortages were vividly underlined by the so-called Food Mayday (食糧メーデー) demonstrations in front of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo on 19 May 1946.<sup>(57)</sup> In late July 1946, after travelling extensively in northern and central Honshū, Bott wrote that “the extent of the destruction and dislocation of churches and church members is beyond the imagination.... people who were burned out, are gradually coming back to try to rebuild their homes and their cities but it is a slow, painful and extremely expensive process.”<sup>(58)</sup> All Japanese, not only Christian ones, suffered.

Food rations were inadequate and irregular in delivery and had to be supplemented by buying on the black market or some other way. There were food queues and extremely high prices for even fruit like *natsu mikan*, (summer mandarin oranges) which used to

cost ten sen, now cost ten yen. His friends told him that prices had gone up between twenty to hundred times but salaries and wages had not kept up with inflation, and that people on pensions or fixed incomes were in desperate straits.<sup>(59)</sup> In part, prices were the result of a faulty distribution system but there was also simply a great scarcity of food and other necessities. Bott wondered how people managed. It was clear to him that lack of food was one of the most serious problems in connection with reconstruction because “people are physically and mentally and emotionally exhausted at a time when more than ordinary vitality is needed to cope with the extremely complicated and difficult problems with which they are confronted.”<sup>(60)</sup>

The housing and food supply crisis meant that it would be difficult for a large number of missionaries to return to Japan soon. This was further underlined when the Occupation authorities declared that they would not allow shipment of food direct to people who had no official connection with the occupation authorities.<sup>(61)</sup> Thus, the idea that missionaries might be able to return, if they had their own source of food, was scotched.

Even so, leading Japanese Christians appeared eager to have missionaries return. This was made clear by Tomita Mitsuru, the Superintendent of the Kyōdan during the War, who had been previously markedly hostile to missionaries prior to the end of the War, at a sukiyaki dinner at the Sanno Hotel which he gave for American Occupation officials and others including Bott.<sup>(62)</sup> It seems obscene given the food shortages in Japan that Tomita should be hosting a sumptuous meal for Bott and American guests. However,

he was intent on re-establishing good relations between the Japanese Christian movement and the North American Christian movement in the new postwar era, and, of course, securing his own leadership position. Tomita argued that Japan's failure in her treatment of Korea had brought about the violently hostile attitude of Koreans to Japanese, and that Japan's victories over China and Russia in 1895 and 1905 had proved calamitous for Japan but the Kyōdan leader felt "apparently the defeat has brought about a fundamental change of outlook which promises well for co-operation between the Churches of North America and the Church in Japan."<sup>(63)</sup> Tomita and Japanese Christian leaders were prepared to make a *volte-face* from their position in 1941, and now welcome full co-operation with Western missionaries. The emphasis was not to be on the past but on the future.

The future held that the Kyōdan should continue to exist, with Kozaki Michio replacing Tomita as its head at the first postwar general conference in June 1946.<sup>(64)</sup> The replacement of Tomita by Kozaki can be seen as indicating the desire of the Kyōdan to distance itself from its wartime structure and experiences. In June 1946, the All Japan Christian Conference held at Aoyama Gakuin in Tokyo was notable for the call for peace and its propaganda for the participation of the Christian movement in the building of a new Japan.<sup>(65)</sup> Indeed, the tolerant attitude of the Occupation authorities and the Japanese government toward Christian evangelistic efforts helped to provide the opportunity for a Christian boom between 1945 and 1948 during which the Christian movement identified itself with the building of a New Japan (新日本建設キリスト運動).<sup>(66)</sup>

At the same time Bott, Durgin, Iglehart and others were very conscious of the need for immediate financial help for the pastors of the Kyôdan for Bott wrote “there is scarcely a minister in all Japan who receives enough from his church to support his family. Many have other jobs in order to supplement their incomes and many are not getting enough to eat.”<sup>(67)</sup> They were asking for the Foreign Missions Conference in North America to provide \$100,000 in four monthly instalments of \$25,000 to meet this specific need of helping Christian pastors and their families. It would take some time, however, before that their hope to be able to help directly Christians came to fruition.

In late July 1946 Bott made a visit to Toyama, Kanazawa and Fukui and noted about the Japanese he met that “the people are desperately in need of some philosophy of life that can help them to put something vital in the place of their utter disillusionment regarding the old ways of life. The strain of the war years followed by the strain due to destruction and defeat makes it difficult for the church to cope with the situation.”<sup>(68)</sup> There was clearly an opportunity for Christianity if the Church could be quickly revitalized.

For United Church of Canada missionaries, it was the Kyôdan that they would support. In late October 1946, Alf Stone, newly arrived in Japan, wrote “we Canadians will not be a party to any schemes of reviving the Methodist group, and turning the Kyodan into nothing but a Federation of churches.”<sup>(69)</sup> Yet, as Stone pointed out at the beginning of 1947 the Church faced three great problems: the rebuilding of bombed out churches; the livelihood of its ministry,

and the lack of leadership. It was the lack of leadership, which he thought to be the most serious problem, and it is instructive to see what he saw, as a Canadian missionary, to be the main reasons for this. Stone wrote:

The moderator, Dr. Michio Kozaki is an outstanding Christian personality, and there are a few good organizers and administrators among the officers of the Church. However, the general picture, especially throughout the Presbyteries, is that of an appalling lack of leadership and initiative. This is partially because there is not enough money to support more than half the pre-war number of ministers; and the abler ones, who have been able to secure other employment (such as the U. S. Army interpreters), have done so to make a living for their families. The lack of leadership is also partly because of the physical, moral and spiritual wartime casualties, and partly because ministers and people are only gradually coming out of the daze produced by the events of the summer of 1945.<sup>(70)</sup>

While the reconstruction of the Christian Church in Japan remained an important task, Bott was also playing a leading role in LARA and in distributing relief food and clothing among the desperate in Tokyo and elsewhere in Japan. In a very practical way, his work expressed the deep and genuine concern of many Canadian Christians for the plight of the Japanese after the war, and their equally genuine hope for the economic reconstruction of Japan and the restoration of democracy.

### III

In July 1946 after a twelve-day trip to Hokkaidō and the northern Honshū Prefectures with members of the Welfare Section of SCAP, Bott pointed out that “the problem that overshadows all others is the food shortage which is very serious and likely to become more so until the rice crop is harvested toward the end of October and November.”<sup>(71)</sup> He stressed that the LARA relief program was very much needed and despite being too small to make much difference to the overall situation in Japan, “it will help a great number of individuals and institutions and be very valuable as an expression of goodwill on the part of the people of North America.”<sup>(72)</sup>

LARA understood that it was the basic policy of the American Armed Forces, Pacific to allow into Japan relief supplies such as rice and other cereals, milk, sugar, dehydrated vegetables, fat, canned meals, medicines, soap and clothing.<sup>(73)</sup> These items the military authorities were prepared to transport into Japan on the basis of availability of cargo space and payment of a shipping fee. Initially, it was felt that transportation for 2000 tons per month from the United States would be needed. The distribution of relief supplies from the dockside was under the direction of the Japanese Welfare Ministry in consultation with LARA subject to approval by SCAP. A blue-ribbon committee, the Relief Consultation Committee, composed of representatives of the Japanese Welfare Ministry, private relief agencies, and persons familiar with the objectives of

the sending agencies as well as ex-officio representatives of SCAP was established by the Welfare Ministry to give it guidance in regards to the best use of these relief supplies.<sup>(74)</sup> Bott together with two American missionaries, Miss Esther Biddle Rhoads (1896-1979) and Father Michael J. McKillop of the Maryknoll Missioners joined the Committee.<sup>(75)</sup> Bott himself was very closely involved in the decision as to who received LARA aid. He reported in 1947 that he or one of the other two LARA representatives had visited every Prefecture and had met the leading social workers in each of them, and had had an opportunity to explain the spirit in which the supplies are sent and the agencies which have sent them.<sup>(76)</sup> The arrival of Alf Stone in Japan in late October 1946 had allowed Bott to concentrate all his attention on LARA and relief work while Stone, as Secretary-Treasurer of the United Church of Canada Japan Mission, devoted himself to the restoration of the churches and schools directly associated with United Church of Canada and the development of Canadian missionary work in co-operation with the Kyōdan.

The importance of LARA and its generation of goodwill were later underlined by Stone in February 1947 when he noted "LARA (of which Church World Service is the biggest contributor) is doing more to atone for the atomic bomb, and build up good-will in this country, than all the 'talk: that is exploded.'"<sup>(77)</sup> In other words, it was Stone's opinion that LARA's practical work was doing more to help repair the psychological damage of the atomic bombings than all the talk of Western commentators. A sense of wrongdoing in terms of the use of the atomic bomb against the Japanese and the

need for atonement was obviously a factor in Canadian missionary motives wanting to help the Japanese.

There was also a political element for Stone for he believed that “there can be no lasting democracy anywhere without a Christian foundation. No nation with a nationalistic background and with a long history of militarism can ever become a peacemaker until it becomes Christian through and through. We hear talk to-day about Japan becoming a second Sweden – a peace-loving democracy – but it can become that only if it becomes Christian.”<sup>(78)</sup> While this idea has been proven wrong, it was one that was certainly subscribed to by many Canadian missionaries of Stone’s generation. Arthur McKenzie also thought “the most elementary self-interest dictates that Japanese economy must be restored as quickly as possible. The Japanese are beginning to learn their bitter lesson. Some of them will begin to see that their only salvation is to reconstruct their society on western lines – essentially on Christian lines.”<sup>(79)</sup> As far as genuine conversion to Christianity, McKenzie held that this could only be fully achieved, if there was also conviction in its corollaries of respect for the truth and a deep responsibility for the wellbeing of others.<sup>(80)</sup> Although Bott did not reveal his own Christian views like Stone and McKenzie, it is quite evident that he was driven by a sense of responsibility for the wellbeing of Japanese. He did indicate, however, “the people are desperately in need of some philosophy of life that can help them to put something vital in the place of their utter disillusionment regarding the old ways of life. The strain of the war years followed by the strain due to destruction and defeat makes it difficult for the church to cope with the situation.”<sup>(81)</sup> It



was to help to ease the strain on Japanese caused by shortages of food and clothing that Bott and LARA were dedicated.

The first coup for LARA came not in transporting relief supplies from the United States but finding them already in Japan. In early August 1946 Bott reported that he had visited the Foreign Liquidation Commission in Yokohama and put in an order for “some 6,000 cakes of soap which had been sent out for the use of the PX but which are unsaleable because the wrappings are damaged, also several thousand cans of peanuts whose cans are badly dented.”<sup>(82)</sup> An American officer told them that they might also be able to purchase a small boatload of supplies in Okinawa for a reasonable price. This led to the purchase of close to half a million dollars worth of surplus American Navy canned food for which the share that the CWS paid was \$145,000. Of that amount, Bott was able to earmark \$30,000 worth of food to supplement the rations of Japanese Christian ministers and their families, whose lack of income prevented them from buying on the black market, and to provide food supplements for Christian schools and institutions.<sup>(83)</sup> As the United Church of Canada had made a contribution of \$25,000 toward buying this food, Bott felt further justified in directly helping the Christian community, which he and others had advocated, as has been noted earlier, in July 1946.

Relief supplies did make a difference. However, there was a constant need for food.<sup>(84)</sup> In early July 1947 Bott warned that the food situation in Japan was getting worse than it was the year before because the government had cut the regular daily ration from 1500 calories to 1100, and in spite of massive amounts of food

imported from the United States. The clothing situation was even more acute than that of food because clothes were wearing out “and there is no possibility of replacing them without spending fabulous amounts of money which the masses of people do not have. This situation will continue until the peace treaty is signed and foreign trade can begin to operate.”<sup>(85)</sup> Although he might believe that the peace treaty and foreign trade might be the panacea in terms of food shortages, Bott recommended that Churches in North America maintain contributions to LARA at \$400,000 and 2,000,000 lbs. of clothing for the next three years through 1950. Further, he urged the Churches to set aside a further \$200,000 a year through the end of 1951 for the support of Christian pastors and church workers. Already, by July 1947, the CWS alone had spent \$690,228.62 and shipped 2,298,221 lbs of clothing to Japan.<sup>(86)</sup> By the end of 1950, the United Church of Canada’s Board of Overseas Mission and Woman’s Missionary Society had, according to Sybil R. Courtice (1884-1980), a senior educational missionary, contributed some \$355,000 in grants for relief and reconstruction.<sup>(87)</sup> This was a significant amount of money. In February 1950 General MacArthur noted that LARA had contributed \$6,500,000 to the relief effort in Japan.<sup>(88)</sup>

Writing at the end of December 1947, Alf Stone wrote that while the food supply still remained inadequate in 1947, he had seen “no one fall on the street or faint on a station platform because of starvation. In 1946 such was a common sight.”<sup>(89)</sup> However, for the Christian movement there remained five major problems: the rebuilding of churches and Christian schools; the livelihood of the ministry; the setting up of the proposed new Christian university;

the development of a comprehensive rural programme for the church, and to carry on the second year of the three-year program of evangelism in the great “Japan for Christ” program.<sup>(90)</sup> While the rebuilding of churches and schools and the livelihood of the ministry remained the same problems that had existed the year before, the leadership issue had gone from the list. As to the proposed new Christian university, Stone felt that it “will probably provide a much needed Christian School of Graduate Studies, and coordinate the work of the present Universities on the undergraduate level.”<sup>(91)</sup> In hindsight, the creation of a new Christian university might well be seen not to have fully fulfilled this hope, and possibly damaged the existing Christian Universities by drawing funds away from them. The development of a comprehensive rural programme, which emphasised the organization of a Japan Christian Rural Fellowship and for the creation of a national Christian farm mission, was a reflection of the need to develop and restore Japanese agriculture and the Church to help in this. The “Japan for Christ” evangelistic effort had been push forward with great enthusiasm with Kagawa Toyohiko (賀川豊彦, 1888-1960)<sup>(92)</sup> as its most popular speaker and Stone could only wish that there were many more speakers of ability and conviction to preach to the masses.

While the Kyōdan might have problems and there were still widespread shortages of food, building materials and coal, Stone was optimistic about Japan’s future. He believed that the Japanese were moving quicker toward recovery than other war-torn countries in Asia and Europe, especially in rebuilding their cities, because of three main reasons: “first, the wise leadership of the

Occupation authorities; second, the resilient nature of the Japanese people themselves; and third, the cooperative simplicity of building in Japan.”<sup>(93)</sup> Stone also noted with some satisfaction that the free elections of the spring of 1947 had brought the Social Democratic party into power as part of a coalition government formed by Katayama Tetsu (片山哲, 1887-1978), a Christian. He did point out, though, that Katayama was not having an easy time and finding it “difficult to institute many of his middle-of-the-road policies of the Christian Democrats. The word “Democracy” has become very popular, and comes easily to the mouths of the people. However, there can be no permanent democracy until the Christian ideas and ideals underlying it are understood and accepted by the rank and file of the people.”<sup>(94)</sup> As it turned out, Katayama’s government found itself unable to solve Japan’s problems and he proved to be the last socialist Prime Minister of Japan for over forty years. However, liberal democracy survived in Japan even though the country did not become Christian.

#### IV

That Japan did recover from the war, and was able to remain democratic was a stirring testament to the resilience and determination of the Japanese people. Yet, the case of Ernest Bott and other Canadian missionaries like Alf Stone, Arthur McKenzie, Sybil Courtice and Howard Norman<sup>(95)</sup> showed that Canadians were also genuinely concerned that the Japanese should succeed. In hindsight, their idea that Japan needed to become Christian

before it could become truly democratic appears quaint as well as wrong. Yet, it was a view shared by others including General MacArthur. For all their faults, however, what stands out so vividly about the Canadian missionaries was their commitment to Japan and to the Japanese people. A commitment fired by their Christian faith but also deepened by their sense of shame and outrage at the treatment of Japanese Canadians by the Canadian government, and at the sheer scale of the destruction visited upon Japan itself and the suffering of ordinary Japanese as a result of the Pacific War. Without LARA and without Bott and others like him to help them during the first years of the Occupation, the Japanese road to recovery would have been much harder. What Bott and the Canadian missionary effort demonstrated was that a gentle and generous spirit was also at work during the Occupation. It is appropriate to remind those on both sides of the Pacific that for all its bad aspects, there was also much good in the Occupation.

#### Endnotes

- (1) For a useful study of Occupation religious policies toward Japanese religions, see William P. Woodard, *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945-1952 and Japanese Religions* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972). For a recent study on General Douglas MacArthur and Christianity in the Allied Occupation of Japan, see Ray A. Moore, *Soldier of God: MacArthur's Attempt to Christianize Japan* (Portland, Maine: Merwin Asia, 2011). For a short surveys of Canadian views on the Occupation, see Michael G. Fry, "Canada and the Occupation of Japan: The MacArthur-Norman Years," in Thomas W. Burkman, ed., *The Occupation of Japan:*

*The International Context* (Norfolk, Virginia: MacArthur Memorial Foundation, 1984), 129-149; Hamish Ion, "Canada and the Occupation of Japan," in Ian Nish, ed., *The British Commonwealth and the Allied Occupation of Japan 1945-1952: Personal Encounters and Government Assessments* (Leiden and Boston: Global Oriental, 2013), 77-96. For a standard Japanese language account of Occupation policies, see Takamae Eiji (高前栄治), *GHQ* [GHQ] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1983).

- (2) Bott was born in Blackwater, Ontario, Canada near Lindsay. His university studies at the University of Toronto were interrupted when he volunteered for military service in the Canadian Army during the First World War. He won the Military Cross in France. On his return home, he continued his studies and graduated in May 1921. Newly married, Bott came out as a missionary to Japan in August 1923 serving first in Yamanashi Prefecture but after the September 1923 earthquake he became involved in reconstruction work, and then the settlement movement in Tokyo serving at the Airindan (愛隣団), Kyōreikan and Aishikan (which later became the Kyōaikan (共愛館)) prior to beginning of the Pacific War in December 1941.
- (3) Alfred Russell Stone was born in Highgate, Ontario and graduated from Victoria University in the University of Toronto and took his theological training at Emmanuel University in the University of Toronto. He first came out to Japan in 1926 serving in Fukuyama, Hamamatsu, in Nagano Prefecture and at the Central Tabernacle Church in Tokyo. See Nihon Kirisutokyō Rekishi Daijiten Henshū Inkaï, *Nihon Kirisutokyō Rekishi Daijiten* [日本キリスト教歴史大事典, Dictionary of Japanese Christian History] (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1988), hereafter cited as *NKRD*, pp. 727-728.
- (4) As early as October 1945 the poly-denominational Canadian Overseas Missions Council Executive had agreed that Bott would be the Canadian representative on the first team of missionaries sent out to Japan, which was being organized by Japan Committee of American Council of Churches. See U[nited] C[hurch] [of] C[anada]: B[oard] [of]

F[oreign] M[issions] J[apan], Box 6, File 142, Armstrong to Bott, 16 October 1945.

- (5) The author wishes to thank Dr. John Howes of University of British Columbia for first drawing his attention to the importance of Bott's role in relief efforts in Japan. The CWS was a federation of North American Protestant Churches including the United Church of Canada.
- (6) See Thomas S. Rogers, "Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia: Esther B. Rhoads and Humanitarian Efforts in Postwar Japan, 1946-1952," *Quaker History*, vol. 83, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 18-33. See also Masako Iino, "Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia: Relief Materials and Nikkei Populations in the United States and Canada," Chapter 4 in Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Akemi Kikumura-Yano and James H. Hirabayashi, eds., *New Worlds, New Lives: Globalization and People of Japanese Descent in the Americas and from Latin America in Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2002), 59-75. See also Oku Sumako 奥須磨子, "RaRa busshi no hanashi haisen chokugo Nihonjin e no kyûen [ララ物資のはなし敗戦直後日本人への救援, Talk of LARA's Resources: Relief given to Japanese People in the Immediate Aftermath of Defeat] in *Wakô Daigaku Sôgô Bunka Kenkyûjo Nenpô [tôzainamboku, 和光大学総合文化研究所年報, 「東西南北」]* (*Wako 総合 University Composite Culture Research Institute Annual Report "All Directions"*, 2007, pp. 175-184. Thirteen American religious, social welfare, and labour organizations participated in LARA. These included the Lutheran World Relief, Mennonite Central Committee, the AFL and CIO, Brethern Service Committee, Unitarian Science Committee, Christian Science Service Committee, Girl Scouts of the United States, Salvation Army, the YMCA and the YWCA. The three major suppliers of relief supplies were the CWS, which contributed 55 to 60% of all LARA supplies; The American Friends Service Committee provided 25% of supplies, and the Catholic War Relief Service some 10%. See Iino, 64-65.
- (7) Iino notes that some 16,704 tons of relief supplies were sent to Japan by LARA from November 1946 to 1952 including 12,603 tons of food

and 2,928 tons of clothing. The total value of the aid was estimated at over 40 billion yen. See Iino, 61.

- (8) Horiuchi had been Japanese Ambassador in Washington 1938 to 1940. See Sanseidō Henshūjo hen, *Konsaisu Jinmae Jiten: Nihon Hen* [コンサイス人名事典：日本編, *Concise Biographical Dictionary: Japan Compilation*] (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1980 edition), 1011. See also UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Birkel, 12 July 1946.
- (9) Iino, 63. LARA relief supplies were delivered for the first time to infants, school-age children and welfare institutions such as sanitariums and nursing homes. The areas in which supplies were distributed were Tokyo, Kanagawa, Aichi, Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki prefectures. By May 1948 LARA goods were being distributed throughout Japan in national hospitals, sanitariums and nursing schools. The importance of LARA is also stressed in YMCA Shigakkai Henshū Inkaï, *Shinhen Nihon YMCA Shi* [新編日本YMCA史, *History of the Japan YMCA New Edition*] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokuyō Seinenkai Dōmei, 2003), 77, 122 note 1.
- (10) See, for instance, Tanaka, Yuki. *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), and John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999). See also Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012); Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press Paperback, 2010).
- (11) For the Canadian missionary movement in Japan before 1945, see A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: Volume I: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990); A. 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); G. R. P. and W. H. H. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan, 1873-1973*. 2 vols., (Toronto: Division of World Out-Reach, United Church of Canada, 1981). For Canadian Methodist women missionaries in China and Japan, see Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992). The most famous YWCA worker in pre-war Japan is the subject of an outstanding biography by the late Margaret Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself: Caroline Macdonald of Japan* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995). For a useful collection of articles on Japanese Christianity, see Mark R. Mullins, *Handbook of Christianity in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). For an important Japanese language account of Canadian Methodist work in pre-1937 Japan, see Kuranaga Takashi (倉長嵩), *Kanada Mesojisuto dendô gaishi* (加奈陀メソジスト日本伝道概史, An Outline History of the Canadian Methodist Mission) (Tokyo: Kanada Godô Kyôkai Senkyôshika, 1937). An important source of information about the work of Canadian missionaries in Japan can be garnered from the histories of churches that Canadian missionaries helped to found. See, for instance, two histories of significant churches founded by Canadian Methodist missionaries in Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyôdan Hongô Chûo Kyôkai Hyaku Kinen Shuppan Iinkai, *Shinri wa jiyû o tokusaseru: Hongô Chûo Kyôkai hyakunenshi* (真理は自由を得させる: 本郷中央教会百年史 The Truth benefits Freedom: A Centennial History of the Hongô Central Tabernacle) (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyôdan Hongô Chûo Kyôkai Hyaku Kinen Shuppan Iinkai, 1990); Ôhama Tetsuya (大濱徹也), *Toriizaka Kyôkai hyakunenshi* (鳥居坂教会百年史, The Centennial History of the Toriizaka Church) (Tokyo: Toriizaka Kyôkai Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, 1987). For a general history of Christianity in Japan, see Gonoï Takashi (五野井隆史) *Nihon Kirisutokyôshi* (日本キリスト教史, A History of Christianity in Japan) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kôbunkan, 1990).

- (12) For general surveys of Canadian-Japanese relations, see John Schultz

and Miwa Kimitada, eds., *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991); Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy, eds., *Contradictory Impulses: Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), see particularly 255-259 for a useful selection of suggested English language readings on Canadian-Japanese relations.

- (13) See Morioka Iwao and Kasahara Yoshimitsu, *Kirisutokyô no Sensô Sekinin: Nihon no Senmae, Senchu, Sengô* (キリスト教の戦争責任: 日本  
の戦前, 戦中, 戦後, *The War Responsibility of Christianity: Japan Before,  
During and After the War*) (Tokyo: Kyôbunkan, 1974), especially 94-98  
for the immediate post-war attitude of returning missionaries.
- (14) Grant K. Goodman, "MacArthurian Japan: Remembered and Revised,"  
in Ian Nish, ed., *The British Commonwealth and the Allied Occupation  
of Japan, 1945-1952: Personal Encounters and Government Assessments*  
(Leiden: Global Oriental, 2013), 31-41, 41.
- (15) Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 319.
- (16) *Ibid.*, 321-322.
- (17) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Bott to Armstrong, 2 August 1945.
- (18) Outerbridge who had first come out to Japan in 1910 and served there  
with some interruptions until 1940. He came back to Japan in April  
1947 and remained there until 1956. See *NKRD*, p. 17.
- (19) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Outerbridge to Armstrong, 4 July 1945.
- (20) A useful short study concerning Allied Occupation attitudes toward  
the Emperor, see Sebastian Swann, "Democratization and the Evasion  
of War Responsibility: the Allied Occupation of Japan and the Emperor,"  
in *Reflections on the Allied Occupation of Japan* (London: STICERD,  
October 1999). For a critical study of the Japanese Emperor, see  
Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York:  
HarperCollins Publishers, 2000).
- (21) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Outerbridge to Armstrong, 4 July 1945.
- (22) *Ibid.*
- (23) Bix, 605.

- (24) For a brief biographical sketch of Herbert Norman, see *NKRD*, 1093.
- (25) For a brief summation of McKenzie's military career in the Second World War see UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 147, McKenzie to Arnup, 18 June 1946.
- (26) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 132, Bott to Arnup, 4 May 1943. Concern about the treatment of Japanese Canadians is a recurrent theme in Bott's correspondence with Arnup, see, for instance: File 141: Bott to Arnup, 14 November 1944.
- (27) For a useful study of the Canadian government policies toward Japanese Canadians, see Patricia E. Roy, *The Triumph of Citizenship: The Japanese and Chinese in Canada, 1941-67* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), especially Chapter 3, 112-147.
- (28) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Bott to Armstrong, 5 August 1945. See also Box 5, File 144, Armstrong to Bott, 16 May 1946 in which the Armstrong informed Bott that the Board of Overseas Mission was protesting formally the expulsion of Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry. For a brief survey of Japanese remigration and immigration to Canada after the War, see Patricia E. Roy, "Reopening the Door: Japanese Remigration and Immigration, 1945-68, in Donaghy and Roy, *Contradictory Impulses*, 158-175, especially 158-165.
- (29) Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 312-313.
- (30) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Armstrong to Maltby, 15 October 1945. Conditions in concentration camps for Western civilian internees in and around Shanghai were, in general, exceptionally poor. In reality, Mrs. Coates had not died in Shanghai at all but had spent the War in Japan and had died under difficult circumstances in Tokyo. For a recent account of a Canadian missionary nurse interned in north China during the war, see Sonya Grypma, *China Interrupted: Japanese Internment and the Reshaping of a Canadian Missionary Community* (Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012).
- (31) A. Hamish Ion, 'Much Ado About Too Few': Aspects of the Treatment of Canadian and Commonwealth POWs and Civilian Internees in

Metropolitan Japan 1941-1945," *Defence Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3 (September 2006), 292-317, 301. H. C. Angst, a member of the International Committee of the Red Cross, visited this camp in late January 1944. For Angst's report, see Gaiko Shiryōkan [Record Office of Foreign Ministry] located in Azabudai, Tokyo, Japan. A700-9-11-1-9 vol. 1, report of H. C. Angst on Kanagawa Prefecture Civil Internment Camp no. 1, visited 31 January 1944 enclosed in I. Maybarray to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 10 August 1944.

- (32) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Bott to Armstrong, 5 August 1945.
- (33) See Moore, *Soldier of God*, 24-27.
- (34) Nihon Kirisutokyōdan Hensan Inkaikai hen, *Nihon Kirisutokyōdanshi* (日本キリスト教団史, *A History of the Nihon Kirisutokyōdan*) (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyōdan Shuppanbu, 1967), 182-183.
- (35) Takamae, *GHQ*, 192.
- (36) Unless otherwise indicated the information this paragraph is taken from Moore, 40-41, 54, 139.
- (37) Richard H. Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1971), 273. See also, *Nihon Kirisutokyōdanshi*, 185-186. At the local congregation level, the positive impact of abolition of the Religious Bodies Law can be seen in the Reinanzaka Kyōkai, see Reinanzaka Kyōkai Hyakunenshi Hensan Inkaikai hen, *Reinanzaka Kyōkai Hyakunenshi* (霊南坂教会百年史, *The Centennial History of the Reinanzaka Church*) (Tokyo: Reinanzaka Kyōkai, 1979), 450.
- (38) Bott had been asked to serve on the Sub-Committee on Relief and Rehabilitation in New York in February 1945. See UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Bott to Armstrong, 1 February 1945.
- (39) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Bott to Armstrong, 11 March 1945.
- (40) For a short biographical sketch of Mayer, see *NKRD*, 1397.
- (41) Bott's responsibility was to organize relief from the overseas churches; Mayer was to serve as a liaison with SCAP to organize for the return of missionaries. In June 1946 remaining four missionaries arrived:

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Alice Cary of the American Board to renew contacts with Japanese Christian women and their work; Henry G. Bovenkerk of the American Presbyterians to coordinate relations with the Nihon Kirisutokyōdan and evangelistic work; John B. Cobb, an American Methodist, who had the same responsibilities as Bovenkerk but in Central and Western Japan, and Karl D. Krieste of the American Reformed Church, who was responsible for liaison with Christian schools. See *Nihon Kirisutokyōdanshi*, 201-202.

- (42) For a short biographical sketch of Iglehart, see *NKRD*, 10.
- (43) Among other things, Durgin would play an influential role in helping the Japan YMCA re-establish international connections, and involved in helping to found the International Christian University, see *Shinhen Nihon YMCA Shi*, 82, 86; see also *NKRD*, 832.
- (44) Some thirty military and civilian personnel of the Army of Occupation lived in Shimizu's residence. Mayer and Bott were billeted, fed and given the use of cars for transportation on exactly the same basis as if the Occupation authorities employed them. It would have been difficult for Bott to have done his work without these facilities. See UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Taylor, 24 April 1946. The importance of having motor equipment for the distribution of LARA goods because of the very disorganized and inadequate transportation system was stressed by Bott in August 1946, see UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Birkel, 1 August 1946.
- (45) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Bell, 22 April 1946.
- (46) The devastation of Japan and the chronic food shortages are vividly described in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, especially 33-120.
- (47) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Bell, 22 April 1946.
- (48) As a result of the union of Protestant denominations in Japan with the formation of the Nippon [Nihon] Kirisutokyōdan in June 1941, the name of the church was changed to the Hongō Chuō Kyōkai in January 1942; see *Hongō Chuō Kyōkai Hyakunenshi*, 83.
- (49) *Ibid.*, 90-91.

- (50) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Taylor, 24 April 1946.
- (51) Ibid..
- (52) For a short biographical sketch of Katherine Greenback, see *NKRD*, 467.
- (53) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 143, Ruth H. Taylor to Japan Friends, extracts from letters to Miss Katherine Greenbank, 1945. Many of the Yamanashi Eiwa school buildings had been destroyed in the devastating air raid on Kofu on the night of July 6-7 1945. See Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Shi Hensan Iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin Hachijûnenshi (山梨英和学院は八十年史, Eighty Year History of the Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin)* (Kofu: Yamanashi Eiwa Gakuin, 1969), 293.
- (54) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 145, Stone to Arnup, 8 December 1946.
- (55) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Bell, 22 April 1946.
- (56) Ibid.
- (57) Takemae, *GHQ*, 155.
- (58) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Courtice and Armstrong, 22 July 1946.
- (59) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Bell, 22 April 1946.
- (60) Ibid.
- (61) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Taylor, 24 April 1946.
- (62) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Mrs. Bott, 25 April 1946. The food for the party Bott thought cost several hundreds of yen.
- (63) Ibid.
- (64) Dohi Akio, *Kozaki Michio no Kôdô to Sono Rikai (小崎道雄の行動とその理解, The Ideas of Kozaki Michio and Their Understanding)* (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyôdan Reinanzaka Kyôkai, 1972), 43.
- (65) Morioka and Kasahara, 94, see also Dohi, *Kozaki*, 42.
- (66) Dohi, *Kozaki*, 44.
- (67) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Armstrong, 17 July 1946.
- (68) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Armstrong, 22 July 1946.
- (69) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 145, Stone to Arnup, 20 October 1946.
- (70) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 153, A. R. Stone: Japan Faces A New Year

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- (1947).
- (71) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Birkel, 7 July 1946.
- (72) Ibid.
- (73) For the basic policy for LARA, see UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, American Council of Voluntary Agencies: Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia, Memorandum dated 8 July 1946.
- (74) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Birkel, 7 July 1946; Bott to Birkel, 12 July 1946.
- (75) For short biographical sketch of Rhoads and Felsecke, see *NKRD*, 1526. At a latter stage another Catholic Father Henry Joseph Felsecker (1905-?) would also play a prominent part in the Committee.
- (76) UCC: BFMJ, Box 5, File 157, Bott to Arnup 8 July 1947.
- (77) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 15 February 1947.
- (78) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Stone to Bell, 20 August 1946.
- (79) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 147, McKenzie to Arnup, 16 September 1946.
- (80) Ibid.
- (81) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Courtice and Armstrong, 22 July 1946.
- (82) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Birkel, 5 August 1946.
- (83) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6. File 144, Bott to Arnup, 10 October 1946.
- (84) In May 1946 people in Tokyo had a daily intake of 1352 Kilocalories which was far below the recommended intake of 2000 Kilocalories. See Iokibe Makoto, *Nihon no Kindai 6: Sensô Senryô Kôwa 1941-1955 [Modern Japan 6: War, Occupation, Peace 1941-1955]* (Tokyo: Chuokoron Shinsha, 2001), 291.
- (85) UCC: BFMJ, Box 5, File 157, Bott to Arnup 8 July 1947.
- (86) Ibid.
- (87) Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan, 1873-1973*, vol. 2, 438. For Sybil Courtice, see *NKRD*, 526.
- (88) Ibid., 440.
- (89) UCC: BFMJ, Box 5, File 157, Stone to Bovenkirk, 22 December 1947.
- (90) UCC: BFMJ, Box 6, File 153, A. R. Stone: A Year of Reconstruction in

Japan.

(91) Ibid.

(92) For a brief biographical sketch of Kagawa, see *NKRD*, 284-285.

(93) UCC: BFMJ, Box 5, File 157, Stone to Bovenkirk, 22 December 1947.

(94) Ibid.

(95) Between 1946 and 1950, some twenty-four pre-war United Church missionaries returned to Japan. See Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan*, vol. 2, 430. Takamae Eiji says that 2500 missionaries of all denominations entered Japan from the end of the war to 1949; see Takamae, *GHQ*, 193.