

## Alf Stone and Occupied Japan 1946–1948 : Missionary Hopes and Christian Opportunities

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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.

A. R. 'Alf Stone, United Church of Canada missionary, 20 August 1946. <sup>(1)</sup>

The end of the Second World War in East Asia saw Canadian Christian missionaries return to Japan, Korea, China and Taiwan. During the Occupation of Japan, the religious situation which faced missionaries was exceptionally complex as emperor centred *tennosei* (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>(2)</sup> This essay focuses on Alfred Russell Stone (1902–1954), <sup>(3)</sup> a United Church of Canada missionary, who returned to Japan in September 1946 and helped to re-establish

Canadian missionary work and institutions to work in cooperation with the Nihon Kirisutokyôkan (日本キリスト教団, United Church of Christ in Japan, hereafter referred to as Kyôdan). Stone's views and hopes in regards to Christian challenges and opportunities help to shed further light on the missionary response to the task of rebuilding war-devastated Japan and its Christian movement after the War.

As space is limited, this study concentrates on the first two years following Stone's return to Japan during which time he served as the Secretary-Treasurer of the Japan Mission of the United Church of Canada. This meant that he was responsible for drafting the budget of the Japan Mission for approval by the Foreign Missions Board (also known as Overseas Missions Board) in Toronto as well as the supervision of the dispersal of funds once the budget was approved. He was the key Japan Mission figure responsible not only for keeping the Foreign Missions Board Secretary in Canada informed about the progress of the Mission, its missionaries and their needs but also for representing the Japan Mission in dealings between it and the Kyôdan as far as financial matters were concerned. In a nutshell, he was faced with the job of supervising the daily running and administrating the Japan Mission and its monies.

Stone was faced with complex challenges as the Japan Mission was confronted with the task of the rebuilding of congregations, churches and schools. He was a great supporter of the Kyôdan, and adamant that it became a truly united church free of its previous denominational ties. He was also very much

involved in promoting rural Christian work, where he saw very great opportunities for Christian leadership in rebuilding Japanese village life and helping to create a better life for rural folk. By 1947, however, the priorities of the United Church of Canada were shifting away from supporting foreign missions at the level that it had done prior to the beginning of the Second World War. The home Canadian Church's wholehearted commitment to Japan and to overseas mission work was seemingly no longer there. It was not prepared to answer pleas and calls from Japan to give extra money for much needed support in rebuilding, as the example of the Kwansei Gakuin in Nishinomiya dramatically illustrated. In a new missionary world environment top-heavy with American dominated interdenominational cooperative boards and organizations, the ability to get new projects in Japan funded was limited. This was deeply frustrating for Stone who could only see the opportunities for Christianity in rural Japan slip away. Indeed, these first years after Stone's return to Japan would appear, in hindsight, to be years of opportunities lost for the Japan Mission.

Stone was very attached to Japan and wanted desperately to get back to work there once the Second World War in the Pacific had come to an end. In investigating Stone at this most important stage of his career, there is also a tinge of tragedy because his life prematurely ended when he drowned in the so-called Tōya Maru Sōnan Jikō (洞爺丸遭難事故, the Tōya Maru Shipwreck Incident) on 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.

Before analyzing in depth his work in helping to rebuild the Japan Mission, his support for the Kyôdan, his hopes for rural work and the question of support for the Kwansei Gakuin, it is appropriate to begin by looking at his background and his return to Japan in 1946.

## Return to War-Torn Japan

Alf Stone was born in Highgate, Ontario and graduated from the Canadian Methodist affiliated Victoria University in the University of Toronto and took his theological training at Emmanuel University in the University of Toronto. Stone himself had been too young to serve in the Great War (1914–1918) but his close friend and fellow missionary in Japan, George Ernest Bott (1892–1952)<sup>(4)</sup> had. They belonged to a generation of Anglophone Ontarians who had either served themselves, or had family members who had in that War and the horrors of it profoundly influenced them. For Bott, and for Stone, 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. Stone came out to Japan in 1926 serving in Fukuyama, Hamamatsu, in Nagano Prefecture and at the Central Tabernacle in the Ginza, Tokyo.<sup>(5)</sup> From 1929 through the 1930s Stone had been much involved in rural evangelistic work and had been in charge of the Nagano Nômin Fukuin Gakkô (長野農民福音学校, Nagano Farmers Gospel School) part of the Farmers Gospel School Movement influenced by Sugiyama Motojirô (杉山元治郎, 1885–1964), the friend of

Kagawa Toyohiko (賀川豊彦1888-1960).<sup>(6)</sup> Stone's speciality was rural evangelistic work. After the war, rural work would remain an issue of top priority for him.

The Second World War (1939-1945) did not influence Stone and the other Canadian missionaries in the same way as the Great War had done. In part this was because the casualty lists for Canadian families were not as high in the Second as they had been in the Great War. More importantly Stone, Bott and the others who made up the first cohort of Canadian missionaries to return to Japan after the War had lived in neutral Japan prior to 1941, and returned to Canada before conditions in Japan became unbearable. They had lived for the remainder of the war unscathed in Canada.

Looking back in the summer of 1946, Stone would write about Japan to which he had returned from furlough in 1940 as an armed camp in the middle of "the unholy war against China. The Axis agreement with Germany and Italy was rapidly being forged. The pressure of the nationalistic militarists on the church in general and missionaries in particular was very strong and disagreeable. We hardly arrived on Japanese soil in August 1940, before the evacuation of missionaries began, and I was once more in Canada by March 1941, and have been on a pastoral charge for five years."<sup>(7)</sup> The atmosphere in Japan was clearly unpleasant for Canadian missionaries but there was no physical suffering. Stone and his fellow Canadian missionaries' first experience of the horrors of the Second World War was not what Japanese had done to Canadians, to the Allies and to those living in Japanese occupied areas in metropolitan East and South East Asia. It was the heavy-

handed policies of the Canadian government toward Japanese in Canada, which former missionaries including Stone had actively protested,<sup>(8)</sup> that Ernest Bott saw as the war was ending as the chief impediment to post-war Canadian-Japanese relations.

In early August 1945 Bott wrote to A. E. Armstrong, the United Church Foreign Missions Secretary, a damning indictment of Canadian policies toward Japanese residents in Canada in which he made it very clear that he thought the Japanese people were the victims in the War. Bott also believed that the Canadian treatment of Canadians of Japanese origins during it would be the most serious concern in Canada-Japan postwar relations.<sup>(9)</sup> There was clearly a feeling of enormous guilt for causing hardship and suffering to the Japanese in Canada as well to those in Japan, and missionaries returning to Japan saw their efforts as an attempt to atone for what the Allies had done. Bott and Stone had not seen the damage wrought by the Japanese military in the Philippines, China and the Pacific islands, which might have changed their attitude.

Nevertheless, Stone and other Canadian missionaries were eager to return to Japan as soon as the war was over. As early as February 1945 Stone reported to Armstrong that he had attended an interesting luncheon with other former missionaries in Toronto at which the talk had been about “the advisability of our going back under UNRA or the American occupation government or Red Cross, or whether we should wait until we could go back at the request of the Japanese church. I rather think the majority felt that perhaps some might do good work under some “official”

agency of the conquering powers, tho' it might hinder them from going a second time as missionaries.”<sup>(10)</sup> Stone himself felt that it was best to stay away from all government activities, and wait until there was an opportunity to go out in a capacity that would help the Japanese church to be strengthened. In early November 1945 Stone wrote to Armstrong that he would have to leave an aged frail mother-in-law and two sons who were ten and eight in the care of their mother if he was asked to go out to Japan. Despite that, he stated, “I want to go back to Japan more than I ever wanted to do anything in my life.”<sup>(11)</sup> In September 1945 an unnamed Methodist Chaplain<sup>(12)</sup> who had recently visited Japan wrote that “The military themselves have lost all standing and, except for a few die hards that are lurking in the background hoping to rescue remnants, they are definitely out. There is a popular feeling against the military who are being blamed for everything. Some are sincere and others are using them as scapegoats.”<sup>(13)</sup> It was also clear that ordinary people were impatient with their government and openly critical of some members of the government because they still remained in power. The Methodist Chaplain felt that “Education has gotten off to a flying start. The Japanese educators are anxiously coming forward to do all they can. They are the foremost liberals of the country and see their opportunity.”<sup>(14)</sup> Political change was in the air, and Japanese educators were seemingly in the forefront of this. The question was, however, whether there was a role for foreign missionaries in the new Japan. In December 1945 Russell L. Durgin (1891-1956),<sup>(15)</sup> a former YWCA missionary, now working in Japan as a member of staff of the United States

Political Advisor in Tokyo, wrote that there was a broad difference of opinion among Japanese Christian leaders about the advisability of foreign missionaries returning to Japan but added that the more thoughtful of the Japanese leaders were in favour of the return of a few carefully selected and experienced missionaries, and that they should come soon. It was felt by many of the Christian education leaders, according to Durgin, that it was through the schools and colleges young men and women from America could make their greatest contribution in helping the reconstruction of Japan.<sup>(16)</sup> Clearly, even though missionaries were eager to get back to Japan, the Japanese Christian leadership was more cautious and looked for practical help in educational work rather than anything else. This only underlined what the Methodist Chaplain had previously noted that Japanese educators were the foremost of liberals in Japan and saw the opportunities that the future held. It would, however, be another year before Stone actually got back to Japan. Bott was the first United Church of Canada missionary to return to Japan in April 1946.

In August 1946 when it was clear that he was returning to Japan, Stone wrote that he was returning to a very different Japan to the one that he had left in March 1941 for now General Douglas McArthur was the Supreme Allied Commander Pacific. Furthermore, the Japanese Army and Navy had been completely disarmed, the Emperor's divinity had been publicly renounced and the secret police had been abolished, He felt "the whole trend is toward freedom and democracy. The church no longer has to fight a rear-guard action against bigoted nationalism, as it carries forth



its witness, by word and deed. Furthermore, we also go back, not to the sixty sects and denominations of Protestantism, but to the United Protestant Church.”<sup>(17)</sup> The atmosphere in Japan as a result of its defeat and the imposition of General McArthur and the Allied Occupation was one of hope for the renewal of democracy and of new opportunity for Christianity. Stone wrote “this is a day of tremendous new opportunity and responsibility for Christianity in Japan. 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 today about Japan becoming a second Sweden — a peace-loving democracy — but it can become that only if it becomes Christian. And we feel the call to go back and do our small part in the task of making Jesus Christ King of Kings Lord of Lords in that nation.”<sup>(18)</sup> This feeling of optimism for the future of Japan and Christianity was clearly reinforced by the positive changes that had been taking place in Japan that Stone saw when he arrived back in Japan in October 1946.

Five days after he had landed in Yokohama, Stone wrote “We have not come to nearly as desolate looking Japan as did Ernest Bott in April. The sea of ashes and rubble has been turned into vegetable gardens and patches of weeds, with uprights of rusty iron and concrete showing through. Along side many of the through streets little shacks and a few more permanent buildings have sprung up; and stores are beginning to open again.”<sup>(19)</sup> Food is still scarce here, but there was more food than there had been in

either the spring or the summer. There were still long line-ups for rationed things, but clearly progress was being made in alleviating hardship.

When Bott came back in April 1946<sup>(20)</sup>, he served as the director of the Church World Service (CWS) in Japan.<sup>(21)</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>(22)</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>(23)</sup> At the end of June and early July 1946 Bott had served as an interpreter on a twelve-day trip to Hokkaidō and northern prefectures of Honshū with the welfare officials of Department of Welfare of SCAP. On the trip Japanese welfare officers and relief workers were interviewed and a number of social service agencies such as orphanages, houses for the aged, institutions for delinquents were visited with the aim of seeing where LARA relief supplies could best be given out. In Bott’s opinion the food shortage overshadowed all other problems.<sup>(24)</sup> In October 1946 as Bott was very busy with the LARA relief program, it fell to Stone to look after United Church of Canada Mission by acting as Mission Treasurer.<sup>(25)</sup>

## Back in Japan

As Secretary-Treasurer Stone was faced with two major tasks: the first was the restoration of the United Church of Canada

Japan Mission, its properties and school buildings so that its educational and social welfare activities could begin to function again; and, the second was to ensure the continued existence of the Kyōdan by supporting its Japanese leadership and their evangelism, theological and educational endeavours. This also meant helping the Kyōdan to revitalize and to rebuild those churches traditionally associated with the Japan Mission and the Japan Methodist Church.

Shortly after he had arrived, Stone went with Sybil Courtice on a tour of the former Canadian field in Toyama, Fukui and Kanazawa and was pleased with the way in which the Kyōdan had held together outside of Tokyo.<sup>(26)</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 (山梨英和女学校院) in Kofu, wrote to Katherine Martha Greenbank (1891-1983),<sup>(27)</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>(28)</sup> The air raid of the night of 6 July 1945 in which 120 B29s had taken part destroyed 70 per cent of Kofu, and the Kofu Church, which had already been damaged in raids in June was completely burnt.<sup>(29)</sup> At that stage in the War only ten people were consistently attending Church services. After the Church was destroyed, services were continued in the home of one of the congregation. The defeat of Japan brought an

end to the destruction, and the chance to rebuild and revitalize the Church. On the first Sunday in September 1945 a joint service of Kyôdan congregations from the Kofu Church and its sister but also burnt-out, the Yamanashi Church, and other churches in the region was held in downtown Kofu.<sup>(30)</sup>

Just before Christmas 1946 Stone after a visit to Kofu quoted a Kofu Christian telling him “we are getting a church built before our own homes, because we feel it is more important.”<sup>(31)</sup> By the time of Stone’s visit the congregation were already beginning to hold services in a new Church building and were busily fund raising to complete it.<sup>(32)</sup> Christians in Kofu faced the daunting challenge of rebuilding their Church and 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. Christians in Kofu also wanted to rebuild the Yamanashi Eiwa Jo Gakkô for already by May 1946 they had asked that Katherine Greenbank return to Japan and resume teaching. Bott saw that “there is a wonderful opportunity for mission schools to be pioneers in the best methods of education and give a lead to other educational institutions and while the present boards and principals have done valiant work in trying to maintain the Christian character of the schools during the war period, they are in no sense pioneers. That is not to their discredit.”<sup>(33)</sup> What was needed in Kofu was the return of missionary teachers to be the pioneers in the best methods of education.

In April 1947 Stone reported that he had made a short visit

to Shizuoka and Hamamatsu. He found that 90% of the residences that had existed before the War had been rebuilt in Shizuoka City but Hamamatsu looked much more devastated. He said that he had spoken to urban and rural groups as well Prefectural officials and found the same story everywhere that “they crave leadership and light to take the place of totalitarianism and nationalistic education. They are feeling in the dark with the Old all gone, and I know that Christianity is the only New that can meet their needs.”<sup>(34)</sup> It was clearly a challenge to attempt to meet these needs.

Even though Stone had been able to do a fair bit of travelling in the first weeks after his return to Japan, travel was difficult because of shortages. In late December 1946 he noted that travel conditions had worsened because of a shortage of coal, and the number of trains was down to less than half the number in October and approximately a quarter of the pre-War number. Stone also stressed that heating fuel was a problem and “last Saturday I drove the jeep and trailer out 65 miles to the Chichibu Mountains in Saitama Ken, and got a little wood.”<sup>(35)</sup> While this does indicate continued hardships for ordinary people, it is clear that Stone had access to a jeep and trailer as well as gasoline from the Occupation authorities. He was not living in dire conditions like so many Japanese. By early 1947 Canadian missionaries were able to buy extra food from the British Commonwealth Occupation Forces Commissariat, which meant the problem of importation of food was lightened.<sup>(36)</sup> In March 1947 Stone was pondering the question of whether or not to bring out his wife and children to Japan.<sup>(37)</sup> One pressing issue for missionaries in Tokyo was

accommodation for them and their families. Stone himself was settled in mission housing on Toriizaka, Azabu, Tokyo adjacent to the campus of Tōyō Eiwa Jo Gakkō (東洋英和女学校), but there was always the need for better housing. Already by the summer of 1947 the American School in Tokyo was operating and was willing to take the Stone boys as students. Clearly, missionaries fared better than most Japanese.

In May 1946 Bott pointed out that the Japanese Methodist Church, which had been supported by the United Church of Canada prior to the formation of the Kyōdan in 1941 had 241 churches. Of these 55 together with their parsonages had been destroyed by bombing, 8 had been torn down to make fire breaks to prevent the spread of fires during air raids, 3 had been badly damaged, 4 had their parsonages burned, and in one case the church had been destroyed but the parsonage remained intact.<sup>(38)</sup> As well as the loss of churches and parsonages, there was the financial plight of the pastors. The Japanese government estimated that 100 yen a month per person was needed to maintain a reasonable livelihood but very few churches were able to pay their pastors anything near the government standard. Bott argued, “probably the most urgent need is to provide funds to make the salaries of pastors approach their needs. Many pastors have been compelled to take other work to supplement their incomes and others have left the ministry, temporarily at least. Of course the most capable men find it easiest to get outside jobs and there is a danger that only the least capable and inefficient will be left in charge of churches, and this at a time when the best possible leadership is

needed.”<sup>(39)</sup> In July Bott stressed that the problem of ministerial support was the most critical issue facing the Kyôdan and \$100,000 had been requested from the Foreign Missions Conference in the United States in four monthly instalments to help the pastors, some of whom had already sold all their disposable possessions and others were close to starvation.<sup>(40)</sup> However, it was perhaps not unexpected that money for the relief of pastors was slow to materialize. Bott, Stone and other missionaries had to do what the best they could to help Japanese pastors with such resources as they had available in Japan.

The question of the return of property and possessions that had belonged to the Japan Mission prior to December 7 1941 was also one that needed to be resolved. In February 1947 Stone sent Arnup a long list of Shadan (Zai Nippon Kanada Gôdô Kyôkai Senkyôshi Shadan, 在日本カナダ合同 教会宣教師社団) properties that he had requested to be returned through the offices of SCAP.<sup>(41)</sup> The total value of these properties on 7 December 1941 had been estimated at Yen 2,069,295.44 and the forced sales of the properties had only realized Yen 470,294.66. Some of the properties, which included land, residences and buildings of many types, had been destroyed during the war or sold to Japanese companies and individuals or transferred to schools by the government. Further, household effects and furniture especially pianos, dormitory equipment, desks and other things which had belonged to the Canadian Academy in Kobe and other schools supported by the Japan Mission were also claimed. In the light of the need to rebuild churches, to re-open schools and to find

accommodation for returning missionaries as well as find money to support pastors and schools, it was only to be expected that Stone and the Japan Mission would want its properties back.

## Stone and the Kyôdan

To Stone, one of the ways to help the Protestant movement in Japan overcome its challenges was the development of a strong Kyôdan. In November 1946, Stone wrote that the Kyôdan had given him and the two other United Church of Canada missionaries who had arrived back in Japan with him, Sybil Courtice and Percy Price<sup>(42)</sup> “a formal and most cordial “welcome” this last week. Moderator Kozaki gave us the history of the Kyodan through the war and stated that the 4 problems facing the Kyodan (which he feels is going to stick together) are 1. Forming a creed. (2) Rebuilding 500 churches. 3. The livelihood of the ministers; and (4) the 3-year plan of evangelism. Kagawa has preached to over 1,000,000 people in the last 4 months.”<sup>(43)</sup> These problems were not quickly resolved. Indeed, the next year, in late December 1947 Stone pointed out that the Church was now facing five problems, three of them the same as the year before: the rebuilding of churches and Christian schools; the livelihood of ministers, and the continuation into its second year the three-year program of evangelism in the great “Japan for Christ” campaign. However, there were two new problems which were of a positive progressive nature: setting-up the “proposed Christian university which will provide a much needed Christian school of graduate studies, and coordinate the



work of the present Universities on the undergraduate level,” and also the development of a comprehensive rural programme for the church.<sup>(44)</sup>

These problems were perhaps made all the more acute for Stone because he was strongly in favour of Kyôdan. He had no desire to see it dismantled, and the previous Japan Methodist Church restored. Yet the challenges to the continued existence of the Kyôdan were a recurring issue in Stone’s correspondence. He was concerned about the weakness of the Christian leadership, something that was shared by Jesse Arnup, the Foreign Missions Secretary in Toronto.<sup>(45)</sup> In early May 1947 Stone noted that despite discussions last summer with Japanese Christian leaders, he still felt:

“there is a grave danger of the Kyodan (Church of Christ in Japan) breaking up into the former “blocks” and becoming a closely knit Federation of Churches. The Lutherans are on the way out, the Southern Baptists are not, the Japanese church founded by the southern Presbyterians have mostly gone into a “wee frees” independent fundamentalist group. The fundamentalist missionaries (Scandinavian alliance, southern Baptists, Nazarenes, etc) have formed an informal organization of their own. The Presbyterian Reformed Japanese — block #1- is wavering to-day, because of doctrinal differences with the Congregational group, and because a large number of them are afraid of the organization including missionaries as an integral part.”<sup>(46)</sup>

Happily for him, his anxiety over the possibility of the

Presbyterian Reformed block leaving the Kyôdan did not materialize.

Co-operating missions, including the Japan Mission, joined together in Japan to form the Council on Cooperation with a total of eight missionary representatives from the cooperating Boards, eight representatives from the Kyôdan, and eight representatives from the Christian educational institutions. The Council was presided over by the Moderator of the Kyôdan, and made decisions regarding policy, programmes of new work, budgets for new projects, and working budgets for missionaries and institutions. Stone understood that “missionaries are in Japan to strengthen and encourage the indigenous church, and help it reach out to the untouched areas and classes of people.”<sup>(47)</sup> This clearly placed the missionaries in the service of the Kyôdan and under its leadership.

To strengthen the Kyôdan and to help to prevent it from breaking up along prior denominational lines, Stone advocated the “mixing up” mission stations. He did so because he believed that “it was up to Mission Boards and missionaries to give the lead in cooperation, for the Japanese are psychologically clannish and traditionalists.”<sup>(48)</sup> He suggested that the Northern Presbyterians take over the Kanazawa Station where Percy Price, who died in Karuizawa in April 1947, had worked. Kanazawa was a mission station that had been associated for many decades with the Japan Mission. It was understood when the Canadians had more missionaries in Japan, then they would take over a station that had been traditionally served by the Northern Presbyterians.<sup>(49)</sup> Mixing up, however, also meant that the traditional identification

of Christian work in a particular region with the Canadian Church and Canada would be broken. This was not helpful in engendering support among Canadian Christians for the Japan Mission because identification and familiarity with specific churches, projects and regions was important to many of those who financial supported it.

Immediately, however, the Kyôdan faced very considerable difficulties in rebuilding especially during an ongoing period of chronic shortages, not the least in food. The desire to rebuild and to rejuvenate the church often over-reached the physical resources available to ensure success.

## Rural Opportunities

This was clear in Hokkaidô where the Kyôdan was deeply involved in a rural settlement scheme. In November 1946 Stone went to Hokkaidô and spent a week there on behalf of the Rural Commission of the Kyôdan to inspect the 20 square mile site of a proposed Christian rural community for repatriated Japanese farm families from Manchuria. Stone pointed out that Kagawa was the prime mover behind this Hokkaidô Christian village proposition which had “the idea of each family receiving from 45 to 50 acres of land, doing the heavier cultivation cooperatively with large American implements, and having a community – centred church with cooperative bakery, etc. The fly in the ointment is that the land is not so good – being peat land onto which an inch or 2 of our top-soil has to be hauled before it is arable. However, the Hokkaido gov’t are to put on the top-soil and do the surface

draining”<sup>(50)</sup> Conceptually, the idea of creating a Christian farming community was reasonable enough<sup>(51)</sup> but the fact that the land was not so good should be seen as an early indicator that it would likely fail in practice. In the short term, at least, the Christian settlers would also need food supplies themselves before their farms could become productive.

During the 1930s, Kagawa had been an advocate of establishing Christian rural communities in Manchuria (and these had not been especially successful in the period up to the Soviet invasion of 1945). Few of the Christian settlers who had gone to Manchuria had proper agricultural training and they had struggled in the harsh conditions there even before the Pacific War. This attempt in Hokkaidô can possibly be seen as an atoning effort by Kagawa and the Kyôdan to help those Christian settlers from Manchuria who had managed to make it back to Japan after losing everything in Manchuria. Yet without proper agricultural training and experience, it would seem doubtful from the outset that Christian settlers would be any more successful in the harsh Hokkaidô climate than those in Manchuria had been. Indeed, it is perhaps surprising that Kagawa should have given his backing to this new agricultural settlement effort after the failure of his earlier efforts in Manchuria.

Canadian missionary attitudes toward Kagawa were, in general, very supportive. The appeal of Kagawa’s Kingdom of God Movement message in Canada and North America during the early 1930s, and his fame outside of Japan (apart from Japanese military figures, Kagawa was arguably the best-known Japanese in

the West before the advent of Yoko Ono) gave him great prestige among Western missionaries in Japan. However, his evangelistic methods had some critics including Arthur McKenzie (d. 1960) who wrote perceptively in September 1945 that “The tragedy of Christian missions in Japan and among a populace whose education was built up upon a colossal foundation of falsehood and evasions of the truth [is that] a genuine conversion experience could be achieved without any conviction of the corollaries [i.e. respect for truth, and a deep responsibility for the wellbeing of others]. That has always been Kagawa’s great defect and many a time I have listened to his great evangelistic orations with a sinking heart in consequence.”<sup>(52)</sup> This suggests that possibility of large numbers of Japanese converting to Christianity was not there, despite the large numbers that Kagawa was able to draw to his evangelistic meetings. A more cynical view would wonder in what practical way apart from uplifting spirits momentarily did Kagawa’s evangelistic meetings help meet the pressing challenges of feeding and clothing families that faced many ordinary Japanese in the immediate aftermath of the War.

Despite the obvious difficulties associated with the settlement project in Hokkaidô, Stone remained very much committed to developing Christian work in rural Japan. In a real sense, he felt that the future prospects of Christianity in Japan rested on the ability of the Christian movement to capitalize on the opportunities for Christian leadership in rural affairs that he saw existed as Japan was rebuilding and revitalizing its agriculture and rural communities. Stone did not mean that all farmers wanted

to become Christians, but he did argue that rural people were “longing for ‘something’ more substantial, and they are willing to give Christianity a hearing as that ‘something.’<sup>(53)</sup> In April 1947 John Reisner, a representative of [American] Agricultural Missions Foundation, was going to recommend to North American Churches that 300 rural missionaries be sent out to Japan over the next fifteen years, and that these missionaries be specialists in agriculture, home and family life, health and social welfare, religious education and rural worship, cooperative community building and practical skills.<sup>(54)</sup> The overall plan for rural development, which Reisner and Stone himself wrote for the Japanese Church was endorsed in principle by the Kyōdan, which agreed to form a Rural Church Department in the Kyōdan headquarters at the same level as their Educational, Young People’s and Social Work Departments. The initial features of the plan looked for the organization and staffing of the National Christian Rural Service and Training Centre, the publication of a Christian Rural Magazine and the establishment of a voluntary Christian Rural Fellowship organization. The aim was to build up self-sustaining churches and Christian community programs from the start. However, initially, there would be a cost to the supporting Missions, which would be \$12,200 for the Japan Mission for 1947.<sup>(55)</sup> A sum, which the Foreign Missions Board in Toronto, would balk at.

Stone’s conviction about the efficacy of rural work was reinforced by a trip in early May to visit the rural charge of Aimi-Takada not far from the city of Aizu-Wakamatsu (会津若松) in Fukushima Prefecture that had been developed by a Evangelical

and Reformed Church missionary in the middle of the 1930s, and had survived through the War through the efforts of Endô Sakae (遠藤栄, 1904–1979).<sup>(56)</sup> Endô had told Stone that he believed “now is the time for the Christian forces to make a big entry into rural communities which are wide open for the moment…if Christianity doesn’t take advantage of the rural opportunity NOW, it will lose from 50 to 100 years of potential progress and influence.”<sup>(57)</sup> Both missionaries and Japanese pastors could dream of very large schemes and could see the tantalizing prospect of rapid Christian growth if only they had the resources available. The reality for Christian workers in Japan less than two years after the end of the War was much more mundane because the resources were not there.

### Kwansei Gakuin Requests Support

The plea for the return of missionary teachers was echoed elsewhere. In late March 1946 Kanzaki Kiichi (神崎驥一, 1888–1959),<sup>(58)</sup> who had succeeded his Canadian missionary mentor, C. J. L. Bates (1877–1963) as President of Kwansei Gakuin University in Nishinomiya in 1941, requested the United Church of Canada and the Methodist Episcopal South Churches to send out six missionary teachers to the university as they had done before the War. Kanzaki stressed that, “we are fully aware of the fact that now is the golden opportunity of firmly establishing the Kingdom of God in Japan. So we are strongly conscious of the great responsibility the Kwansei Gakuin must bear in connection

with the ideal re-construction of Japan.”<sup>(59)</sup> With the support of the American and Canadian missions, Kanzaki wanted to reopen the Kwansei Gakuin’s Theology School, expand its Natural Science Department to include both university level Schools of Agricultural and Medicine and to open an Institute of American Studies. He underlined the fact that the Kwansei Gakuin was facing many problems “chiefly due to the confusing condition of the country after the war. Japan is really in a critical period. The fate of Japan will be decided how we come out of this critical situation. In this regard, I can say with conviction that the fate of future Japan is in the hands of Christianity.”<sup>(60)</sup> This was an admirable sentiment, and one, of course, that Canadian Christians would subscribe to. At Kwansei Gakuin every effort was being made to strengthen the Christian force in the university, Chapel services, which had been temporarily suspended, had been now revived, and Christian studies were being encouraged. Yet, at the same time, there was a need for Japanese hymn books.<sup>(61)</sup> Hope was there but not the means to fulfill it without a great deal of outside help. In February 1947 Jesse Arnup, the Foreign Missions Secretary in Toronto, had heard that the Kwansei Gakuin was going to request \$50,000 a year for maintenance. Arnup thought that the United Church of Canada should pay the same maintenance that it paid in support of the West China University and Cheeloo University in China; that is, \$3000 in addition to the contributions to the teaching staff. The Japan missionaries themselves had suggested a figure of \$10,000 a year for the Kwansei Gakuin, which assumingly included salaries.<sup>(62)</sup>



In March 1947 Stone pointed out that the Methodist Episcopal South Mission had reviewed Kanzaki's request for support and decided to provide a subsidy for the Kwansai Gakuin for \$18,000 in 1947. This was far short of the \$50,000 (Kanzaki had wanted \$100,000 in total, half from the MES Mission and half from the Canadians), and also far less than the \$50,000–60,000 that the MES and United Church of Canada Missions were annually contributing to Kwansai Gakuin ten years before. Stone thought that the United Church should try to raise its contribution for 1947 to \$15,000.<sup>(63)</sup> He stressed the fact that the Japan Mission had a very long connection to the university, and that much money was needed just to repair its buildings, which had deteriorated badly during the War. In other words, if the Canadians were to maintain their connection to Kwansai Gakuin and the university revitalized, they would find more money to support it. Arnup made it very clear to American Methodist authorities in New York that "it would be quite out of the question for us to follow your or anyone else's lead in trying to provide \$50,000 for Kwansai Gakuin this year. By extraordinary efforts we might be able to raise \$15,000."<sup>(64)</sup> Despite being unable to provide all the funds that Kwansai Gakuin wanted, Stone was able to report in May that Kanzaki was hopefully that the University would open an Agriculture Department, and was still keen to have Canadian missionary teachers at the institution.<sup>(65)</sup>

The Canadian role in theological training, however, would be reduced because of the rationalization of resources as a result of supporting the Kyōdan. In October 1947, after a visit

to the Kansai, Stone suggested that it was not wise to have two theological colleges so close together at Kwansei Gakuin, which pre-War had been training pastors for the Japan Methodist Church, and at Dôshisha, which pre-1941 had been training clergymen for the Kumiai Kyôkai. Two foreign missionaries were teaching the same theological subjects at Kwansei Gakuin and Dôshisha, and one position could be done away with if the two institutions shared courses. Stone felt that it was especially wasteful to have separate institutions for the training of rural leaders. He thought that financial savings could be made through cooperation in theological training between Kwansei Gakuin and Dôshisha. He believed that if both institutions found themselves competing for funds that they would receive rather critical treatment from the Joint Council for Cooperation, one of the new interdenominational administrative boards. Stone found at Dôshisha "the atmosphere of liberal Congregationalism more to my liking than the Barthian Union Theological in Tokyo," and thought it not impossible for the Kwansei Gakuin and Dôshisha theological schools to get together.<sup>(66)</sup>

While the issue of support for the Kwansei Gakuin was clearly a difficult one for the Japan Mission, a separate question was the effort on the part of some of the American Mission Boards to do something specific for Japan by presenting Japan with a Christian International University. This came up at a meeting of the United Church of Canada Foreign Missions Board in Toronto in May 1947 where it was agreed to have the Executive Committee carefully study the university proposal and to do everything that

they could to preserve the current Canadian educational interests in Japan.<sup>(67)</sup> The chief stumbling block in the way of the proposed new Christian university, which Stone writing in September 1947 saw, was “the lack of an adequate leadership to carry it on without robbing present institutions of their badly needed leaders.”<sup>(68)</sup> This view was consistent with Stone’s opinion that the Japanese Church was weak in its leadership. The crisis in Japanese Christian leadership was one, which would not be solved soon as because “recent seminary graduates are mostly not of potential leadership timber. Trained through the war and defeat years, they are introspective, introvert, and extremely Barthian.”<sup>(69)</sup> Ultimately, it was Yuasa Hachirô (湯浅八郎, 1890–1981), the former President of Dôshisha University who became the first President of International Christian University in June 1949. For the United Church of Canada, the real problem lay in the fact that it did not have the funds to support the existing work in Japan, let alone new work like supporting the founding of a new university.

## Opportunities Lost

Stone had estimated that the Japan Mission required \$70,000 to operate effectively in 1947. The Foreign Mission Board in Toronto in its field appropriations for Japan for the year had a figure of \$42,000. To Stone it looked as if the Board was not including the rural work or the CWS in Japan apart from the personal contributions of Stone and Ernest Bott in terms of their salaries. Much more importantly, Stone noted that the Mission

Board Treasurer had pointed out the “futility [for the entire foreign missions operation of the United Church] of planning for more than \$700,000 a year over a five-year period.”<sup>(70)</sup> At a time when the income of the United Church of Canada in 1946 was the best financial year in the history of the United Church, the Church was limiting its spending on foreign missions. Stone stressed that while other Protestant missions as well as the Roman Catholics were making big plans to take advantage of the openness to Christianity in Japan in 1947, the United Church was limiting its foreign missions spending. He argued that 1947 was the time to increase spending and to begin a Rehabilitation Fund for Japan campaign in Canada to raise a million dollars (a campaign which the United Church had slated to start in 1949). Stone argued that the opportunities for Christian expansion that existed in 1947 could well be closed by reaction by 1949 and 1950. He underlined that “with inflation as it is in West China, a much expanded O.M.B. [Overseas Mission Board] appropriation would seem to be the only way that North China, Korea and Japan can get back their budgets that were necessarily absorbed by West China during the evacuation of the war.”<sup>(71)</sup> This was the first time that Stone had brought up the impact of inflation in West China and its impact on the Japan Mission. He was, of course, reacting to the overall budget for foreign missionary work and not just the budget appropriations for Japan.

Stone did raise the question, however, “whether our Japan mission can hope to have a future as a first class mission doing a first class job again, in view of the whole attitude of the church

as reflected in the Treasurer's report...here on the ground, with need and opportunity staring us in the face on every hand, we feel almost frustrated; and hope that you can send us a word of optimism that we could not read between the lines."<sup>(72)</sup> It boded ill for the future of the Japan Mission in Japan when both he and Bott were wondering out loud whether the United Church of Canada was really willing to support them in their work. Under the circumstances, it was not surprising that the Board of Overseas Missions decided in the summer of 1947 to send a deputation to Japan to study the situation there and to report back to the Board and the Home Church.<sup>(73)</sup> The support mechanisms in North America for missionary work in Japan were also becoming more complicated, Arnup wrote to Stone "the proposed Constitution of the Interdenominational Committee on Christian Work in Japan and the proposed Council on Cooperation in Japan was endorsed [by the United Church's Board of Overseas Missions]. As I remarked to the New York Committee our American friends have busied themselves with new organizations in relation to the administration of the Japan work until the plain man can hardly think his way through them all, much less operate them effectively."<sup>(74)</sup>

In Stone's opinion the creation of these new organizations meant that there were just too many channels to be gone through before a final decision could be reached and an individual missionary in the field could get consent or funds for a new project.<sup>(75)</sup> In late December 1947, Stone wrote to Henry Bovenkirk of the Interboard Committee on Christian Work in Japan that rural Japan

was waiting for leaders and leadership. This, Christians should be supplying but there was a desperate need to get leadership training programs under way now before the opportunities for Christian leadership are stymied by the inevitable reaction. Stone hoped that “the promises of ecclesiastical democracy may not delay us until either the reaction sets in or also other non-Christian programs have claimed the allegiance of the rural people. More than organizations, procedures, channels, etc., the task of rooting Christianity and the Church in the villages of Japan is still much more important.”<sup>(76)</sup>

A new world of international missions was emerging top-heavy with administrative boards in Japan and North America, but this did not mean that there would necessarily more money flowing to the actual mission fields overseas. Stone made it clear that he felt unless there was a strong Canadian representation on the new Committee on Japan that “our Canadian group and the Canadian Churches in the F. M. C. [Foreign Missions Council] are inclined to be forgotten in the thinking of a largely American group.”<sup>(77)</sup> This was always the danger for Canadian groups when they joined with larger American groups. It should be remembered that financial support from congregations at home for mission work overseas often depended on clear identification with the mission field and individual missionaries. Already in Japan, the United Church of Canada had moved from supporting the smaller and more identifiable Japan Methodist Church to the larger Kyôdan, and now its Japan and also its Canadian organization at home was seemingly becoming just another cog in a vast North American

foreign missions organization where American ideas dominated. The intimate identification between United Church members in Canada and Canadian work among Japanese in Japan, which characterized much of pre-war mission work was in danger of being lost. There was clearly a negative side to Church union, to supporting the Kyôdan instead of resuscitating the Japan Methodist Church, and that would seem to be reflected in the decline of United Church of Canada interest in supporting the Japan Mission at pre-war levels and a loss of Canadian influence on the development of Protestant movement. As it was, the United Church threw its wholehearted support behind the Kyôdan and had to be prepared the consequences.

However, at the end of 1947, Stone, looking back at the progress made during that year, saw positive change taking place in Japan. While rebuilding in Tokyo and Osaka was slower because of their distance from sources of building materials than in many other parts of Japan, he had been told by travellers from the Philippines, China and Europe that Japan was “coming back faster than the other war-ridden countries. This can be attributed to several factors: first, the wise leadership of the Occupation authorities; second, the resilient nature of the Japanese people themselves; and third, the comparative simplicity of building in Japan.”<sup>(78)</sup> In politics, Stone was pleased that a Christian, Katayama Tetsu (片山哲, 1887-1978), was Prime Minister (albeit as it turned out for a short time) for he believed that “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. Herein

lies a great challenge and opportunity for the Christian movement in Japan.”<sup>(79)</sup> Despite positive changes taking place in Japan and in the Kyôdan, Stone maintained that the rebuilding of churches and the provision of adequate Christian leadership could not be delayed or else the opportunities that currently existed in Japan would evaporate. Unfortunately, everything indicated that the United Church of Canada was not convinced that this was the case. It was not prepared to give Stone and its missionaries in Japan, which had risen in number from five to seventeen in the course of 1947, the funds that they required. In failing to do so, opportunities which Stone saw in rural work were lost and the possibilities for educational development, which Kanzaki saw in the Kwansei Gakuin stymied. Clearly, a new era in missionary history in Japan was beginning in which the United Church of Canada chose that its Japan Mission should have a smaller role than it had traditionally played in the pre-1941 years.

## Endnotes

- (1) U[nited] C[hurch] [of] C[anada] [Archives] : B[oard] F[oreign] M[issions] J[apan], Box 6, File 144, Stone to Bell, 20 August 1946.
- (2) 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 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).

- (3) Stone was normally referred to as Alf.
- (4) For Ernest Bott see, Andrew Hamish Ion. "To Build a New Japan: Canadian Missionaries in Occupied Japan 1946-1948," in Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyô Kenkyûjo Kiyô [明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要], vol. 47 (January 2015), 153-192.
- (5) See *Nihon Kirisutokyô Rekishi Daijiten Henshû Iinkai, Nihon Kirisutokyô Rekishi Daijiten* [日本キリスト教歴史大事典, Dictionary of Japanese Christian History] (Tokyo: Kyôbunkan, 1988), hereafter cited as NKRD, 727-728.
- (6) See Iinuma Jirô [飯沼二郎], *Nihon Nôson Dendôshi Kenkyû* [日本農村伝道史研究, Research into the History of Rural District Evangelism in Japan] (Tokyo: Nihon Kirisutokyôdan Shuppan Kyoku, 1988), 43.
- (7) United Church of Canada, Board of Foreign Missions Japan (hereafter cited as UCC BFMJ) : Box 6, File 143, Stone to Bell, 20 August 1946 enclosure "Why I Am Going Back to Japan."
- (8) See, for instance, UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, Armstrong to Bott, 16 May 1946.
- (9) UCC BFMJ: Box 6, File 142, Bott to Armstrong, 2 August 1945.
- (10) UCC BFMJ: Box 6, File 142, Stone to Armstrong, 6 February 1945.
- (11) UCC BFMJ: Box 6, File 142, Stone to Armstrong, 8 November 1945.

- (12) Although there is no concrete evidence as to who this person was, it probably was Dr. Charles Wheeler Iglehart (1883-1969) a former Methodist Episcopal missionary, who came out to Japan as a civilian advisor in the Civilian Information and Education Section of SCAP in Tokyo. For Iglehart, see NKRD, 10.
- (13) UCC BFMJ: Box 6, File 143, extracts from letters of Rev. Wm. C. Kerr, Tokyo, 15 October 1945 enclosure extract from a report from a Methodist chaplain recently in Japan early September 1945.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) Russell Luther Durgin had first come out to Japan in 1919 with the YWCA, and served in Japan through the inter-war period. He had returned to Japan with as a member of the Occupation in 1945. For Durgin, see NKRD, 832.
- (16) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 143. Russell L. Durgin's Report : Christian Churches in Japan and the War, December 18 1945.
- (17) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 143, Stone to Bell, 20 August 1946.
- (18) Ibid..
- (19) UCC BFMJ, Box 6, File 143, Stone to Arnup, 20 October 1946.
- (20) 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 UCC BFMJ, Box 6, File 142, Armstrong to Bott, 16 October 1945.
- (21) 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. For a detailed study of Bott's role in the first years of the Occupation see, Andrew Hamish Ion, "To Build A New Japan: Canadian Missionaries in Occupied Japan, 1946-1948," in Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyo

Kenkyûjo Kiyô [明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要, Annals of the Institute of Christian Studies Meiji Gakuin University], volume 47.

- (22) 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.
- (23) 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.

- (24) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, Bott to Birkel, 7 July 1946.
- (25) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, 20 October 1946.
- (26) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, Stone to Arnup, 20 October 1946.
- (27) For a short biographical sketch of Katherine Greenback, see NKRD, 467.
- (28) 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.
- (29) Kôfu Kyôkai Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai, Nihon Kirisutokyôdan Kôfu Kyôkai hyakunenshi, 日本基督教団甲府教会百年史, Centennial History of the Nihon Kirisutokyôdan Kofu Church) (Kofu: Nihon Kirisutokyôdan Kofu Kyôkai, 1979), 126.
- (30) Ibid., 128.
- (31) UCC : BFMJ, Box 6, File 145, Stone to Arnup, 8 December 1946.
- (32) Kofu Kyôkai hyakunenshi, 131, 169.
- (33) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, Bott to Armstrong, Mrs. Taylor, 3 May 1946.
- (34) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 8 April 1947.
- (35) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, Stone to Armstrong, 24 December 1946.
- (36) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 22 March 1947.
- (37) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 17 March 1947. In fact it was decided in July 1947 that Mrs. Stone and his sons should come out to Japan that summer. See UCC BFMJ: Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 1 July 1947.
- (38) UCC : BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Armstrong, Mrs. Taylor, 3 May 1946.
- (39) Ibid.

- (40) UCC : BFMJ, Box 6, File 144, Bott to Armstrong, 12 July 1946.
- (41) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 15 February 1947.
- (42) Sybil R. Courtice (1884-1980) first came out to Japan in 1910 and had been Principal of the Tôyô Eiwa Jo Gakkô [東洋英和女学校] in Tokyo during the early 1930s, and the Japan Mission Secretary of the Women's Missionary Society. She had been interned in the Sumire Prison in Tokyo before being repatriated in 1943. See NKRD, 526. Percy G. Price (d. April 1947) had been associated with social work at the Airidan [愛隣団] in Tokyo. See NKRD, あいりんだん [Airidan], 16. In late March 1947 Price was diagnosed with a heart condition, and died of a stroke in early April 1947. He was buried in Karuizawa. See UCC BFMJ: Box 6, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 8 April 1947. In early October 1946 Bott said that he was looking forward to the arrival of four United Church of Canada missionaries and ten other missionaries on board the Marine Falcon, which was soon to arrive in Yokohama. UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, 10 October 1946.
- (43) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, Stone to Arnup, 16 November 1946.
- (44) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 157, Stone to Bovenkirk, 22 December 1947.
- (45) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Arnup to Stone, 20 March 1947. This was in contrast to American friends who,, according to Arnup, "are idealizing the situation there."
- (46) UCC BFMJ : Box 7 File 153, Stone to Arnup, 10 May 1947.
- (47) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, A Year of Reconstruction in Japan .
- (48) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Gallagher, 24 September 1947.
- (49) Ibid.
- (50) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 144, Stone to Armstrong, 2 December 1946 .
- (51) Although it was a much smaller endeavour than the Hokkaidô project, Paul Frederick Rusch (1897-1972), the American Episcopal Church lay missionary and long-time teacher at Rikkyô University (立教学院大学) was successful in helping to foster Japanese Anglican efforts to improve agriculture in the mountainous Kiyosato (清里)

region of Yamanashi prefecture associated with Kiyosato Educational Experiment Project [KEEP, キープ協会]. See NKRD, 365, Elizabeth Anne Hemphill, *The Road to KEEP : The Story of Paul Rusch in Japan* (New York and Tokyo : Walker/Weatherhill, 1970 edition).

- (52) UCC BFMJ : Box 6, File 146, McKenzie to Armstrong, 16 September 1945.
- (53) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, A Year of Reconstruction.
- (54) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 18 April 1947.
- (55) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 25 April 1947.
- (56) See NKRDJ, 201 for Endô.
- (57)
- (58) See NKRDJ, 345 for Kanzaki and 1261 for Bates respectively.
- (59) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 152, Kanzaki to Bates, 24 March 1946.
- (60) Ibid..
- (61) In April 1947 Stone underlined the desperate need in Japan for Japanese language Bibles, and wanted the Bible Society to return to Japan. He pointing out that “trying to work at Kingdom building in Japan without the aid of the Bible Society would be like trying to cook in a kitchen without a stove.” UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 18 April 1947.
- (62) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Arnup to Stone, 4 February 1947.
- (63) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 17 March 1947.
- (64) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Arnup to Cartwright, 27 March 1947.  
As far as teachers were concerned, Howard Outerbridge was on his way out to Japan to teach at Kwansei Gakuin but Arnup hoped to have Arthur Pearson McKenzie (d. 1960) and Howard Norman teaching there soon.
- (65) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 1 May 1947.
- (66) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 10 October 1947. In his reply to Stone, Arnup agreed with Stone’s view on the two theological colleges. He further made it clear that Kwansei Gakuin was not in a

good position to get any extra money for their theological college.

- (67) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Arnup to Stone, 9 May 1947.
- (68) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 24 September 1947.
- (69) Ibid.
- (70) UCC BFMJ, Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 21 May 1947.
- (71) Ibid.
- (72) Ibid.
- (73) UCC : BFMJ, Box 7, File 153, Arnup to Stone, 25 June 1947.
- (74) Ibid.
- (75) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Gallagher, 5 July 1947.
- (76) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, Stone to Bovenkirk, 27 December 1947.
- (77) UCC: BFMJ, Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 30 June 1947.
- (78) UCC BFMJ : Box 7, File 153, A. S. Stone A Year of Reconstruction  
in Japan.
- (79) Ibid.