

Hoping to return to the North: E. J. O. Fraser and Canadian Missionaries in Occupied Korea 1946–1948

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At present the divided state of Korea makes it impossible for the work of the Mission there to be resumed. A few of your missionaries, however, have returned and are working in Seoul, the Capital, and hope some day to return to the North.

Rev. K. S. Kim MA, M.Th., D.D. Report on The Present Situation of the Christian Church in Korea, United Church of Canada, Board of Overseas Missions, Korea 1946

The expansive and optimistic spirit of Victorian Canada, which had brought it into the vanguard of the attempt to conquer the world for Christianity by the end of the 19th century gradually began to falter and to fade as the 20th century progressed. The years immediately following the end of the Pacific War augured the end of the long missionary age in Japan–Canada and Korea–Canada relations. With the return of Canadian missionaries to Japan and to Korea in 1946, a new era was dawning. In early studies dealing with the return of United Church of Canada missionaries to Occupied Japan,⁽¹⁾ it has been stressed their return was marked by feelings of remorse and guilt over the devastation and destruction caused by the

Allies during the bombing campaign in the last year of the War but also by hope for the future of Japan and the role of Christianity in its regeneration. This essay is focussed on E. J. O. Fraser, the Secretary-Treasurer of the United Church of Canada Mission in Korea, who was the first Canadian missionary to return to Korea in July 1946 after the end of the War. Fraser, together with William Scott (1886-1979), Dr. Florence Jessie Murray (1894-1975),⁽²⁾ and Beulah V. Bourns (1906-1990) had been the last Canadian Protestant missionaries to leave wartime Korea for they had remained under house arrest in Hamheung (Hamhung) until they were repatriated in June 1942. Scott was the second and Murray the third Canadian missionary to return to Korea after Fraser. They returned to a Korea very different from the one that they had left in 1942 and completely different from any Korea that they had imagined or hoped would exist to return to with the end of the War. On their trans Pacific journey to Korea, missionaries saw first the destruction and devastation that the War had wrought on Japan. Arriving in Korea, they found a peninsula free from the oppression of Japanese rule but divided along the 38th parallel. Canadians found themselves exiled in southern Korea from their former mission field in Manchuria and northeastern Korea. While hoping to return to the North, they had to make the best of the new situation while remaining hopeful for the future of Korea and the Korean Christian movement.

One of the consequences of the Second World War (1939-1945) was the shrinkage of the known world for those who lived in the West when an iron curtain descended down upon the borderlands surrounding the Soviet Empire in Europe and a bamboo curtain

cut off the borderlands surrounding it in Asia. By 1951 mainland China and much of the Korean peninsula as well as Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands had broken off the normal lines of communication and intercourse that had characterized their relations with the outside world before 1939. The United Church of Canada mission in West China, the Canadian Presbyterian mission in Hunan, the Canadian Anglican mission in north China were among the Christian missions that were closed with the advent of the Korean War. The United Church of Canadian Korea Mission in Manchuria with its centre in Lungchingstun⁽³⁾ (Longjing) and in the Hamkyung (Hamgyong) Provinces of northern Korea with mission centres stretching north from Wonsan through Hamheung (Hamhung), Sungjin (Ch'ongjin) and Hoiryung (Hoeryong) had been an integral part of Canadian missionary work in the pre-1945 Japanese colonial empire.⁽⁴⁾ With the occupation of Manchuria and northern Korea by the Soviet Red Army and the subsequent ascent to power of the Chinese Communist Party or the Korean Communist Party in those regions, all the major Canadian mission centres in those places came to an end. What the future had in store for Canadian missions in metropolitan China and northern Korea was not apparent to Canadian missionaries forced to leave colonial Korea or Japanese controlled Manchuria with the opening of the Pacific War.

WARTIME HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

Clearly, though, there was no thought that the peninsula would be divided and that Canadians would be unable to return to their

missions stations in the north. Nevertheless, the question of the future prospects of missionary work was shrouded with uncertainty. In 1942 Emma Palethorpe, a veteran United Church of Canada missionary in Korea, gave credit to the Korean Christian leadership noting that “let us not forget that the leaders are carrying unaccustomed responsibilities – and *that* at a time of extreme difficulty and danger. They are subject to insidious and subtle temptation such as we in free Canada have not yet had to face.”⁽⁵⁾ Above all, however, Palethorpe was impressed by the spirit and courage of the ordinary Korean Christian:

No one who has had fellowship with the humble, faithful Korean Christians, scattered through the mountain valleys of Korea and Manchuria can doubt that the Korean Church will survive the present wave of suppression and oppression. These Christians have come into vital, personal contact with the Living Christ and would die rather than deny Him. They carry in their hearts a treasure of which even a totalitarian government cannot deprive them. Surely, this makes the work of the past worth while and insures at least a remnant, for the future.⁽⁶⁾

Palethorpe was giving a stereotypical characterization of Korea Christians as people prepared to suffer and, if need be, to die to remain true to their faith. Even before the opening of the Pacific War, Korean Christians demonstrated their fierce loyalty to Christianity in the face of persecution by the Japanese army and colonial authorities over the shrine issue. The only certainty that Palethorpe saw in

Korea was that a remnant of Christianity would survive in spite of suppression and oppression.

By 1942, other missionaries were also thinking about the future in the mission field after the defeat of Japan. In late December 1942, O.R. Avison, a Canadian who had worked for many years for the American Presbyterian mission at the Severance Union Medical College in Seoul, wrote to A. E. Armstrong, the Foreign Missions Secretary of the United Church of Canada in Toronto, pressing the case of the Christian Friends of Korea, a political lobby group for the creation of an independent Korea. In particular, this lobby group championed the political cause of Syngman Rhee, the elderly Korean nationalist leader and a Christian, whom Avison had known for over forty years. Avison told Armstrong that he believed that, “if Korea is not rendered Independent, Japan may be just as cocky in regard to Korea as she is now and has been.”⁽⁷⁾

In the past, Armstrong had been very supportive of lobby groups such as the American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression, a pro-Chinese organization.⁽⁸⁾ Clearly, he was also personally sympathetic to both the Christian Friends of Korea and Korean independence. Armstrong believed that after the war Korea should be either granted independence or put under the supervision of the United Nations Association until the country had the capacity to administer its own affairs and to form a competent government.⁽⁹⁾ Although Armstrong was prescient in seeing a role for the United Nations in post war Korea, he still thought that there might be a different future for Korea. He thought that there was “at least a strong possibility that in the political bargaining that may

follow this war Korea might be left under the Japanese” and that under this circumstance “formal membership in a society whose objective is the political freedom of Korea might constitute a very real barrier to entrance into the country.”⁽¹⁰⁾

For this reason Armstrong refused to become a member of Avison’s organization. To become a member would be tantamount to giving the United Church of Canada’s blessing to the organization’s post war political objectives. Obviously, Armstrong thought that the Allies would not demand Japan’s unconditional surrender but that there would be negotiations following Japan’s defeat. Either, he underestimated the will of the Allies to achieve a complete victory or his view merely underlined the foolishness of Japan in fighting a war that became more hopeless every day. Indeed, even in early 1943, it is rather surprising that Armstrong thought that Japan would be allowed to retain such power in Korea that the Japanese would be able to prevent pro-independence missionaries from entering the peninsula. Yet, Florence Murray and other missionaries still echoed this concern in the closing months of the war.⁽¹¹⁾ Interestingly, Armstrong objected to membership in the Christian Friends of Korea not because it was so closely identified with Rhee, whose politics not everybody in Korea would have approved of, but for the sake of those missionaries who might want to return to Korea. Whereas Scott was prepared to join Avison’s organization, Armstrong believed United Church missionaries who hoped to return to Korea after the war should not join it. Undeterred, Avison continued to appeal to Armstrong for support.⁽¹²⁾ While Armstrong worried about the political implications of throwing the United Church of Canada’s

support behind Avison's organization, William Scott saw a darker side to the advocacy of Korean independence which was it brought to the fore, even among Korean Christians, their dislike of Japanese because of colonial rule. In April 1944, Scott wrote to Armstrong about an article by Henry Chung in *Free Korea* magazine which Scott thought "shows how the iron has been driven into the soul and produced a corrode of bitterness. One has to confess that this has too often been the resultant product of Japanese rule in Korea. Even Korean Christians have found it difficult to maintain a Christian attitude toward Japanese Christians."⁽¹³⁾

Although Avison and others were lobbying for the future, very little hard information about what was happening to the Christian movement in Korea reached the missionary headquarters in Toronto. In March 1944, E. J. O. Fraser writing to Armstrong from Kensington, Prince Edward Island, noted that "the progress from day to day in the Pacific looks good for the future return to Korea, though it will be a long time and the poor Koreans there will doubtless suffer much in the process of having the war go by them or through them, I should probably say."⁽¹⁴⁾ Fraser added that he hoped "it will not mean too much of a smashing up of things in Korea itself, but if the war goes in that direction, through Korea, it will mean much suffering, I fear."⁽¹⁵⁾ Fraser, however, was hoping to return Korea in 1945 or 1946, which meant that he was optimistic that the war would end soon. Armstrong wrote back to Fraser that so far the American missionaries had not done much in regards to post war plans for missionary work in Korea. However, Armstrong made it clear that he advocated closer cooperation with American Presbyterians and

Methodists in the future not only in supporting institutions but also in other projects concerning Church and Evangelism.⁽¹⁶⁾ Closer cooperation with American missions, at the expense of trying to maintain distinctly Canadian institutions, would become the new approach adopted by the United Church of Canada in both Korea and Japan after the War.

By the spring of 1944, other missionaries were less optimistic about returning to Korea soon, Beulah V. Bourns wrote from Burns Lake, British Columbia, that it would take her two years before she was ready to go back to Korea, and mentioned that Florence Murray thought her return to Korea would be delayed so long that she was “thinking seriously of going to India to work on the Burma Road.”⁽¹⁷⁾ This idea also appealed to Bourns but she still looked forward to a time when she could return to Korea. She was confident that “our Canadian Koreans will all be ready to receive us for we have as close friends over there as we have in our country. We take for granted that our Canadian friends will receive us here and I think perhaps more so our Korean friends for they have proven that they are true no matter how great the sacrifice.”⁽¹⁸⁾ This proved to be correct. In sharp contrast to the Japanese Christian leadership of the Nihon Kirisutokyôdan who were extremely cautious about the return of missionaries to Japan,⁽¹⁹⁾ all church leaders in Korea were anxious that former missionaries return to the peninsula as soon as possible.⁽²⁰⁾

In April 1945, aware that victory was approaching, the Board of Overseas Missions of the United Church of Canada, holding its annual meeting at Emmanuel College in Toronto, hoped that the United Nations would speedily implement the promise of the Cairo

Conference that “in due course Korea shall be free and independent,” and that the shortest possible time would elapse between victory in the Pacific and the attainment of complete independence for Korea.⁽²¹⁾ The meeting also noted that “we know something of the humiliation which the Korean people have been compelled to endure through the last thirty-five years, and we rejoice with them in the prospect of a speedy end of the same.”⁽²²⁾ Despite the optimism that Korea would soon be independent, and the earlier concern that missionaries might have to return to a Korea under Japanese colonial rule had now proved unfounded, the Board of Overseas Missions in Toronto still had very little information about conditions within Korea and had been out of contact with Korean Christians since Fraser, Scott, Murray and Bourns had left Hamheung to be repatriated in June 1942.

News did begin to appear with the arrival of American troops in Seoul. In the middle of November 1945 Armstrong wrote to former Korea missionaries quoting a letter from Rev. Bruce W. Lowe, a US Army Chaplain now in Seoul that “there is an imperative now for missionaries with experience in this field” because of the need for a vast amount of reorganization as churches were without pastors, schools were closed, equipment and funds were scarce and Christian leaders handicapped by these and local conditions left by the Japanese.⁽²³⁾ Armstrong also pointed out that Lowe had written that while most of the Churches closed during the war had reopened, of the 500 pastors in the three northwestern provinces of Korea in 1941, there were now about 300 to 350. The seven Bible institutions in those three provinces had been closed in 1942 and their buildings

used by the Japanese Army. Ominously, there were disturbing reports about the actions of Russian troops in the Northern area.⁽²⁴⁾ Writing to Friends in America at the end of September 1945, Rev. Kwan Sik Kim, the moderator of the United Church of Korea, had reported that over 300 Churches had been closed and over 3000 Christians had been into prison by the Japanese. He stressed that the Church and Christians had resisted Japanese oppression and “those in prisons were all against the Shrine worship and such pastors as Ki Chul Cho, Pong Suk Choi, Sang Im Choi and others including 300 Christians were martyrs to their sense of faithfulness to our Lord, Jesus Christ.”⁽²⁵⁾ Kim thought that the more Korean Christians were oppressed, the firmer they stood against it. Kim wanted Christians in the United States and Canada to tell their governments the story of Korean Christians’ struggle. He also asked missionaries to come out to Korea as soon as possible for “such big places at Pyong Yang, Euijoo, Hamheung need your missionaries’ help very badly. We know that the Russians will not do so much violence as they do now and that the work of His Kingdom and Righteousness through their cooperation will be greatly extended.”⁽²⁶⁾ Missionaries were seen as protectors of ordinary Korean Christians.

Henry W. Lampe, a Chaplain with XXIV Corps who had been in Seoul only a week before he wrote to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, noted that Koreans in northern areas occupied by the Russian forces had been receiving rough treatment, and that “many pastors have come to ask if something could be done about that, but we have no control over the area. At the same time, much of the support previously given to

the Communist teaching has been discredited by the actions of the Russian soldiers.”⁽²⁷⁾ The American Army was simply powerless to influence what was going on in areas controlled by the Soviet Red Army. What they could do, however, was to underline what Kim Kwan Sik had earlier reported about Japanese actions against the Korean Christian movement which included the forced union of Protestant churches into a single United Church of Korea. Lampe also pointed out that the criticism of some of the Church leaders because they had cooperated with the Japanese could become a serious future problem for the Korean Church. Nevertheless, Korean Presbyterian leaders had agreed on the need to call a new General Assembly which would draw up a new Presbyterian Church constitution drawn up and elect new Christian leaders.⁽²⁸⁾ For all their suffering and difficulties, Korean Christians still seemed to appear resilient and hopeful for the future. Ha Young Youn and Kwong Clik Han noted in a letter to American Presbyterians at the beginning of October 1945 that “We Korean Christians are doing our best, and we need your help. It is our hope and prayer that God may grant us a sufficient grace that all the Orient may be Christianized at this time.”⁽²⁹⁾

More precise and also devastating news about the state of the United Church of Canada mission field in Manchuria and the two northern Hamkyung provinces of Korea reached Armstrong in Toronto in a letter written at the end of October 1945 by Chairin Moon (Moon Chae-rim), the pastor at the Central Church in Lungchingtsun (Longjing), who had been made the custodian of mission property in Lungchingtsun, which included the Eunjin Middle School⁽³⁰⁾ for boys, and mission schools for girls as well as missionary

residences within a large compound.⁽³¹⁾ Armstrong described Moon as “minister of a good congregation at Lungchingsun in East Manchuria. He studied in Toronto and is one of the best of the Korean Presbyterian Church.”⁽³²⁾ Moon was a person who was highly respected by Armstrong and Canadian missionaries. There had been little except to protest, however, that Moon could do to prevent the Japanese from taking over the schools, hospital and missionary housing. Protest did not stop the Japanese from building a Shintô Shrine on the hill above the missionary residences or turning those houses into barracks for the Japanese Army.

When the Russian Red Army arrived, they looted all the school equipment and used the missionary houses as barracks. Much the same was reported for the mission properties in Hoiryung (Hoeryong) and Sungjin (Ch’ongjin), which remained intact but there was nothing left in them; at Hamheung (Hamhung) and Wonsan, Japanese Army officers sold some of the property. Moon wrote “the Christians in Kanto and Korea, especially in North Korea are waiting [for] your missionaries because they have some trouble from the R. Movement.”⁽³³⁾ In the past, Canadian missionaries had done their best to protect Korean Christians from the Japanese Army and communist partisans. Moon in Lungchingsun saw the role of Canadian missionaries as protectors of Korean Christians continuing. When they did eventually return to Korea, Fraser, Scott, Murray and other Canadian missionaries did their best before the Korean War intervened. What they did not appreciate fully until Fraser arrived in Seoul was the degree to which Chairin Moon and other Christians in Manchuria and northern Korea associated with the Canadian mission

had suffered at the hands of the Japanese and later the Russians.⁽³⁴⁾

As Armstrong in Toronto wrote in reply to Moon at the beginning of December 1945, he was thankful to hear that Moon had survived the war and glad to hear about the mission property from him but “unfortunately we will probably be prevented from having any of our missionaries return to our missions in Wonsan, Hamheung, Sungjin, Hoiryung and Lungchingtsun. We hope that before long the situation will change and that missionaries can as freely return to their work north of the 38th line as to the south of it.”⁽³⁵⁾ In other words, Armstrong did not hold out much hope at present that Canadian missionaries would be able to help those in the Canadian mission field in north Korea and Manchuria but he did believe that things would soon improve. He wrote “We hope that, with U.S. aid, there will soon be established a Korean Government under Kim Koo and Dr. Rhee. We trust that the Russians will agree, and that soon the whole of Korea will be independent and will be able to establish a good government with order and justice for all the people; and with the advice and cooperation of the United Nations.”⁽³⁶⁾ Even though a government in South Korea was established under Syngman Rhee (1875-1965) in 1948, there was no agreement concerning the establishment of a single government for the whole of Korea. What Armstrong did not tell Moon but told Fraser was that the United Church of Canada Missionary Society’s financial estimates were close to \$78,000 in excess of income from all sources and would have to be revised which meant that only three Canadian missionaries would be able to go to Korea. Fraser would be the first to go leaving William Scott, Murray and Ada Sandell remained as candidates to go out to

Korea after him if the budget permitted,⁽³⁷⁾ Clearly, the post-war Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada was going to be much smaller than its pre-war predecessor.

ACROSS THE PACIFIC TO JAPAN AND ON TO KOREA

During the fall of 1945, while Armstrong served as Chair of the Korea Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, ten Korea missionaries were chosen to be the first missionary party to go to Korea. All of them were Americans save for Fraser, the lone Canadian. Like Ernest Bott, his fellow United Church of Canada missionary, who was among the first party of missionaries to return to Japan, Fraser and the nine others had to wait until the United States authorities issued a permit in Washington before they could leave for Korea. It took a long time.

Indeed, it was not until 1 June 1946 that Fraser and his missionary party was able to get a ship from San Francisco bound for Chemulpo⁽³⁸⁾ (Incheon) with a stop in Yokohama on the way. While waiting in San Francisco, they were able to purchase and receive a considerable amount of relief supplies including a million units of vitamin pills, 500 bales of clothing, 75 bales of shoes, 500 packages of other supplies, and 31 packages of hospital supplies which they would take with them to Korea.⁽³⁹⁾ Fraser was in Yokohama on the fourth anniversary of his departure from Yokohama on 25 June 1942 on the *Asama Maru*, which took him, Scott, Murray and Bourns to Lourenço Marques (Maputo) to meet the *Gripsholm*. Unfortunately, Bott was away in Hokkaidô, when Fraser arrived in Yokohama, but he was

able to visit Tokyo. Fraser was appalled by the devastation that he saw on the electric train ride from Yokohama to Tokyo. He wrote “the whole factory district on the way up is smashed flat, and looks just as bad as pictures of Hiroshima. It shows how completely the Japanese system was destroyed. Tokyo Station was burnt out, but is in use, and repair work is going on. It looks very different to the time four years ago, when we had such a nice breakfast there, prior to going aboard the *Asama Maru*.”⁽⁴⁰⁾ His impression was very similar to those of Bott when he first arrived in Japan. It is of interest that he should make reference to pictures of Hiroshima, which obviously had been in Canadian newspapers because the Occupation authorities in Japan were loath to draw Japanese public attention to what had happened in Hiroshima.

Roscoe C. Coen, an American Presbyterian North missionary who was in the same party of missionaries going to Korea as Fraser, echoed Fraser’s impressions of Japan saying “we saw the terrible devastation of the war both in Yokohama and Tokyo and on both sides of the railroad for 20 or more miles between the two cities. The hungry-looking ill-clad people and the stark ruins of charred and twisted buildings were a depressing sight we shall never forget.”⁽⁴¹⁾

On his way out to Korea via Japan, William Scott had been a passenger on the same ship as Yuasa Hachirō (1890-1981), the former President of Dōshisha University, with whom he had been able to talk to about the new Japanese Constitution. Scott wrote that Yuasa felt “that Japanese leaders are quite honest and whole heartedly behind the new Constitution. He particularly stressed the fact that they had written a renunciation of war into their constitution – the first

country in the world to do so. He quoted the reply of the premier to the question, “what would Japan do if she were attacked by some foreign power?” as “we would appeal to the conscience of the world.”⁽⁴²⁾ This positive view of Japan was one that Scott also held despite the destruction caused by the war which the Canadian saw all around him while he waited in Tokyo before going on to Korea.

In late October 1946 Scott wrote that in Tokyo “even today you see destruction and desolation on every hand. The larger structures which are now occupied by the Military Government were evidently spared with that purpose in view. They are now busy hives of administration, and there are enough men and women in uniforms to give this down-town area the aspect of an American city. As you go into the Japanese business section you see temporary structures replacing what were large stores, and ruins everywhere still showing an ugly outline. Still further out, in the residential sections, there are great areas where garden plots now hide the blackened ruins, but are themselves hedged by corner stones or cement foundations of former residences. The former population of seven millions has been reduced to four millions.”⁽⁴³⁾ Yet despite the destruction that surrounded them, Scott took heart in the fact that life went on for the Japanese, albeit at slower pace. He noted “crowds throng the car stops and elevated railway stations at the rush hours. They are a defeated and subdued people, but they do not show any resentment they may feel. Their aspect is rather that of serious sober stoicism,” and Scott added, “the only laughter and gayety you see is that of Japanese girls who have found a way to the heart of some G. I. Fraternization is common and colour or race or language seem no barrier to “the way of a man and

a maid” . One wonders what the harvest will be. On the whole, one feels that the impact of the West upon Japan, through the soldiers of our democracies will not be wholly without benefit. There is no swaggering or insolence – something which must stand in marked contrast to what these people experienced with their own military.”⁽⁴⁴⁾ While Scott obviously saw the fraternization between American servicemen and Japanese women in a positive light, it remains a controversial issue in the history of Allied Occupation of Japan.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Yet, Scott was positive about the future of Japan. He thought “it is too soon yet to expect much from the Japanese themselves, But one sees with hope the fact that life goes on, much as before, and the little policeman at intersections still guiding traffic and Japanese pedestrians responding with that inherent respect for law and order that all Japanese possess. The Rising Sun has not set; it has only suffered an eclipse. It remains for the victorious powers to help her through the present dire distress till her sun once again shines forth, not with baneful ambition, but with beneficent aspiration to play a worthier part in establishing peace and prosperity in Asia and the world at large. And in this task, the Christian church has a place to fill, a part to play.”⁽⁴⁶⁾

Scott was only temporarily delayed in Tokyo, and soon was his way to Korea by train from Tokyo to Hakata where he boarded the ferry for Pusan. He wrote about his train journey along the coast of Honshu gave him “an understanding of the terrible price which Japan had to pay for her folly. Every large city showed ruins, and Hiroshima was a wilderness of desolation. But apart from the cities, the countryside was as pleasant as ever. It was harvest time and

the farmers were busy in their fields. The grain was already cut and the sheaves were hanging on wooden trusses to dry – the favourite Japanese method of stoking. Persimmons were ripening on the trees and oranges were still green. It has been a good year and the rice yield is heavy.”⁽⁴⁷⁾ Japan was recovering from the war.

RETURN TO THE PENINSULA

The fact that the war had not been over long was underlined when Fraser’s ship on its way to Korea had to go south of Kyushu because the Inland Sea was still not clear of mines. A month after leaving San Francisco, he reached Incheon on 1 July 1946, and the next day was driven by US Army officers to Seoul.

Fraser and the other members of this second party of missionaries⁽⁴⁸⁾ were dependent on the goodwill of the American occupation forces. At first Fraser and the others stayed at the Bizenya Hotel near the Bank of Chosen but soon moved to Yun Chi Dong, the American Presbyterian North compound, where a house was fixed up for Fraser and some of his colleagues to share. They still took their meals, however, at the US Army’s Officer Mess in the Capitol (the former Government-General Building), which cost 75 cents a day paid in US Army issued Korean Yen (all American currency had to be exchanged for Korean Yen within 72 hours of arrival in Korea in order to stop black marketeering by American servicemen). He also was given a PX card, which allowed him to purchase candy, soap, matches, cigarettes, letter paper that were payable using American travellers’ cheques.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This was extremely

helpful to Fraser because it was prohibitively expensive to buy food on the open market because of high inflation caused by the Japanese when they left Korea “for they paid out in hastily printed money in huge bonuses, in refunds on bonds, in life insurance payments, etc., and flooded the land with the easily made wealth. Consequently prices shot up, and now on an average they say that things cost just about 100 times what they did a few years ago.”⁽⁵⁰⁾ So long as Fraser and his missionary colleagues could rely on the US Army for their meals, then they could keep their living costs low.⁽⁵¹⁾

Fraser quickly learnt that “the church in Hamkyung provinces, and in Kando is having a very hard time and many Christians are coming here.”⁽⁵²⁾ Many hundreds of Christians, including many ministers, from the former Canadian mission field had come south of the 38th parallel in order to have greater freedom in their church life. Many of the ministers had been able to find a place of service in new or old churches in Seoul, while others had found useful positions elsewhere in the south.⁽⁵³⁾ Even so there was a great demand for relief supplies for these refugees.

A major problem was that the population of Seoul had doubled with the end of the war and that there were, according to Fraser, about a million and a quarter people now in a city of that had previously been of no great size. People were everywhere and the few foreign style houses that had been vacant were now filled to capacity with about a hundred people each. Most of these people were refugees, from Japan, from China, from Manchuria and from north Korea. He pointed out that well over a million Japanese had been repatriated but many more Koreans than that had returned to Korea,

and many had come with nothing. With the influx of people into the city, there had been a great lack of fuel last winter as coal could no longer be brought from north Korea, and the hills around Seoul had been denuded of their pine trees. Fraser felt that this coming winter there would be more stripping of the hillsides and he predicted that there would be a great deal of suffering in the city over winter.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Fraser feared that this suffering would be also included some of those who had been closely associated with the Canadian mission in the north.

Roscoe C. Coen, Fraser's American Presbyterian North colleague, thought that "as to the general appearance of the country and people, it is much better than I had expected - some effects of the war easily seen but not at all like Japan. People look fairly well fed and clothed, in spite of terrible inflation and high prices with severe scarcity of some goods, especially rice."⁽⁵⁵⁾ Coen stressed that "the worst thing for the Koreans is the division of their country with the Americans in the south with one set of ideas and methods and the Russians in the north with an opposing set of ideas and methods and little hope of union of the two parts or reconciliation of the two ways of life and government."⁽⁵⁶⁾ Coen thought that the Americans were making progress in stabilizing the government and economy in the south and that the future held opportunity for Korea even though the peninsula would remain occupied by foreigners for some time and remain divided. It can be assumed that Coen felt that Korea would remain divided as long as American and Russian forces occupied it, and it would not remain divided permanently.

Making life even more difficult in the North was the fact that

there had been no rain in the Hamkyung provinces but the Pyengsan provinces. In contrast, in the South there had been very heavy rains which washed away railway lines. Despite the rains, the highway was still open and the crops in the South still seemed good. The weather when Fraser arrived was “the usual sticky rainy season.”⁽⁵⁷⁾ A month later, in early August 1946, Fraser reported that the Military Government had taken action on public health matters in Seoul, pointing out “the Korean drug supply is restored, vaccines for cholera are being made and widely distributed. Cholera, more common than for many years, because of the large influx of refugees, is being controlled, and cases are lessening. Water purification is being put into practice, and the use of DDT by spraying from planes over the city, and by use in building, has almost eliminated the former plague of flies and mosquitoes. It is a wonderful thing to be in Korea in summer, and not to see flies and to hear mosquitoes.”⁽⁵⁸⁾

Other things had changed in Seoul for the better, one of the most noticeable was the replacement of Japanese police with Korean ones who wore a different uniform to the Japanese and carried batons rather than swords. There were also Korean women police on the streets. Another noticeable change was that Korea had reversed the Japanese way of driving to the left, and now Koreans were driving to the right on the roads. This, apparently, had been the practice in pre-colonial days and it suited the American made trucks and jeeps that were so common on all the roads.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Garbage, which had not been effectively cleared away during the last years of Japanese colonial rule, was no longer a problem and the streets were clean. The shops had stocks of Japanese supplies which the Japanese had left when

they returned to Japan “but factories as yet are not producing much, and there will [be] times ahead when supplies will lessen and economically the people will not be so well-off as many of them seem to be now.”⁽⁶⁰⁾

In late November 1946 Scott wrote about his first impressions of Korea and Seoul that he was:

keenly aware of the absence of Japanese and of the ubiquity, animation and cordiality of the Koreans. Before the war the Japanese were everywhere and dominating the Korean scene. Wherever you went you heard Japanese. Whatever of import was being done, Japanese were doing it. Japanese officials sat in the seats of authority. Japanese police patrolled the streets. Japanese business men and industrialists controlled and exploited the country’s resources. Meanwhile the Koreans went about with a sullen, dispirited and resentful mien. Today, that is entirely changed. I have not seen a single Japanese since I have arrived. You never hear Japanese spoken. Koreans are everywhere, in government offices, in schools and colleges, in commerce and industry, in the police force and even in the embryo Army and navy. The Korean language has come into its own, and to speak it is an open sesame to every Korean heart. There is a new buoyancy of spirit which we missed in former days, and a remarkable cordiality which is free from servility or swagger.⁽⁶¹⁾

The atmosphere in Seoul had changed for the better with the end of Japanese colonial rule. One of the reasons why Scott was positive about this change was that:

one can’t fail to note the prominence of Christians in official positions, and the

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encouragement given to religion in official circles. The church has been a training ground for leaders and the number of Christians in places of leadership far exceeds the proportion of Christians to the general population. You find them as provincial governors, as heads of government departments, as inspectors of schools, principals of high schools, colleges and universities, presidents of banks and directors of big industries. One is constantly challenged with the need to pray for these men and women that they may worthily represent Christ in their high responsibilities.⁽⁶²⁾

Much of the hope for the future of Korea for Scott lay in the ability of Korean Christians to influence politics, economics and society in the peninsula so to help create of a Korea that had Christian ideals at its core. He felt “in a time like this the Christian Church and Christian men and women have a great responsibility and a remarkable opportunity. They have a respect for law and order, a training in self-government, a sensitivity to social justice and an impelling sense of divine mission which the country needs today.”⁽⁶³⁾ The American Military Government was insuring religious freedom and encouraging a liberal democratic policy, which Scott approved of.

The chief problem, which Scott clearly understood, was “the division of the country into two zones. The Russians with their Korean communist set-up in the North, and the Americans with their Korean democratic set-up in the South.” Scott felt that the Russians had made a very bad impression when they had first arrived in Korea because of the lack of military discipline and their crude and oppressive measures. However, they had been able, in Scott’s opinion, to establish an orderly government, which brought a degree

of common well-being. Moreover, there was no refugee problem in the North and so the government could feed the country. Further, the Russians controlled the richest natural resources and largest industrial plants in the country, were, as a result, economically in a more favourable position than the South. Added to this, the Russians could use dictatorial methods to secure control and initiate reforms.”⁽⁶⁴⁾ In the South, the American Military Government’s task of initiating and encouraging a democratic form of government was, according to Scott, made all the more difficult by the presence of well over two million refugees from Japan and North Korea. Coupled with the refugee problem was the fact “the communists carry on an active campaign of misrepresentations and propaganda; that inflation whose limit is the sky has made life unbearable for city folk; that the farmers do not readily comply with grain collection policy; that a democratic regime can’t use police methods which might bring recalcitrants and mischief-makers in line; and last but not least the difficulty of securing unanimity among the many Korean parties which run from the extreme right to the extreme left.”⁽⁶⁵⁾

Much of Scott’s time when he arrived back in Seoul was taken up by visits from old Korean friends, many of whom came from the North as refugees from the Russian zone who had reached Seoul with nothing. Scott wrote, “meeting an old missionary friend is a tonic to them. They had much to tell about their own experiences during the war, and much to enquire about their Canadian missionary friends. It is a great privilege that has been granted us who have returned – thus to see what a rich thing the fellowship of the Christian church is. One might be pardoned if his eyes were moist

as so many of them said, “we knew that you would return, and we looked long for your coming.”⁽⁶⁶⁾ Both Scott and Fraser felt a great responsibility toward those, especially the Christian ministers and their families, who had formerly served in and now fled from the former Canadian mission field in the North, and they expended much energy and made great efforts to get relief parcels sent to destitute Korean Christians who were now refugees in the South from Canadian Christians. The Canadian missionaries identified with the Korean Christian leaders, ministers and Christians whom they had known in the past.

THE QUESTION OF MISSION PROPERTY AND RELIEF EFFORTS

One of Fraser’s tasks when he came back to Korea was to find out about Canadian Mission property. While it was clear from reports from Chairin Moon and others that there was little other than shells of buildings left in the north, it became apparent that the Japanese authorities when they took over Canadian properties had paid, at least, a token sum for them.⁽⁶⁷⁾ As it turned out the Canadians were lucky to get anything from their property in the north for in late April 1948 Fraser reported that he had heard from people recently from NE Korea that the Harris memorial house in Sunjin, which had been a missionary residence burnt down in the fall of 1947. The Scott house in Hamheung had been destroyed by the Russians who used it for fire wood, and the McRae House there had also burnt down recently.⁽⁶⁸⁾ By the spring of 1948 even if the Canadians could lay claim to their property in the north, virtually all the missionary

housing had been destroyed.

In 1946 Fraser was not going to touch any of the monies credited to the Canadian Mission in the Bank of Chosen in order not to jeopardize any claims on property and land sold (to have used these monies would be acquiescing to their sale which the Canadians were not prepared to do for these had been forced sales). However, Fraser was prepared to arrange a loan with the Mission's credit as collateral in order to have money to help provide relief funds for destitute Korean ministers from the former Canadian Mission field in the North.⁽⁶⁹⁾ The main United Church of Canada property in Seoul was the Martin missionary residence on which property the Japanese had built a second Japanese style home which the American Military Government appropriated for use as dependent housing for American military personnel. As ownership of the land and property was understood to be Canadian,⁽⁷⁰⁾ Fraser was willing to see it and the Martin missionary residence used in this way as the Americans might undertake the repairs on the Martin missionary residence which the Canadian Mission could ill afford.⁽⁷¹⁾

In late October 1946 Fraser asked for relief packages to be sent to Kim Kyung Jong and his family pointing out that Kim had been minister in charge of one of the large Hamheung Churches and that "he suffered greatly, largely because of his connection with us, and nearly died in prison in Hamheung. He has now got a church south of here, in North Kyung Sang Prov., but his children are here in Seoul."⁽⁷²⁾ There was a very strong sense of obligation to help those like Kim Kyung Jong of Hamheung or Moon Chairin from Lungchingtsun who had suffered so much during and after

the war and now were destitute refugees in the south. Clothing was particularly in short supply. It was only in late November 1947 that Fraser was able to report that the Canadian Mission was getting its fair share of relief supplies, which the Public Health and Welfare Bureau of the Military Government was receiving from the Church World Service and LARA and was turning over to the missionaries for distribution.⁽⁷³⁾ Prior to that Fraser was solely dependent on relief parcels sent from Canadian Christians. In his annual report for 1947, Fraser noted, “hardly a day passed without a visit from some one who had left the Russian-occupied Northeast and arrived in Seoul with no possessions and no means of livelihood. Whatever help the missionaries were able to render materially was made possible by the numerous contributions of relief parcels from societies and individuals in Canada. In addition to this the assurance was again and again given that the very presence of the missionaries was their main source of comfort and encouragement.”⁽⁷⁴⁾

The Christians from Hamheung, for their part, were pleased to see Fraser. In December 1946, he reported, “we continue to see many former friends, and this afternoon the former students and teachers of the Hamheung Boys’ Academy, or, at least about 30 of them, got together and invited us in. We had a fine talk for a couple of hours, and they presented us with a box of apples. That is worth about ¥700.00 or so.”⁽⁷⁵⁾ The gift of apples was all the more remarkable because it came from people who had very little. At the end of the year, Fraser noted that he and Scott “had many evidences of the love and friendship of the Korean people. Gifts of apples, eggs, cakes, and other articles, as well as numerous invitations to meals, made the past

few weeks busy days.”⁽⁷⁶⁾ Further, both Canadians were in constant demand as guest speakers at Korean church services. On Christmas night 1946, Fraser wrote “many of us were at the Underwood home to a fine Christmas dinner, where we had Korean deer meet, shot by Dick Underwood about fifty miles from home.”⁽⁷⁷⁾ Quite a contrast perhaps from what most Korean Christians were eating for their Christmas dinner.

Fraser held out the hope that the Canadians still might be able to return to their Mission field in the north. In late August 1946 William Scott in Toronto wrote an assessment of the political situation in the peninsula, which seemed astute and realistic.⁽⁷⁸⁾ While it would quickly prove to be wrong, Scott’s assessment can be taken to represent what the mission authorities in Toronto thought the future might hold for Korea in 1946. Scott believed that the Russians did not want to fight a war over Korea with either Republican China or the West but the Russian did want a buffer state, which would guarantee their security in East Asia. Scott thought that the Russians would hold out for the creation of a Communist state made up of the two Hamkyung provinces of Korea, and that part of Manchuria, which ran north to the Russian border from Park Tu San. He felt that the Russians would be willing to release the Pyengan provinces so as to make it possible for Korea to be united; but would hold onto them for bargaining purposes until the creation of the Communist state. Scott believed that if they achieved this scheme Russia would be able to keep the peace with China, be able to allow Korea to become united with the loss of the Hamkyung provinces and satisfy her own desires in the way of ice-free harbours on the East Coast. What was clear

from this was that Scott and the Mission authorities in Toronto held out little hope of Canadians ever returning to their former Mission field in the Hamkyung provinces and Manchuria. What Scott in August 1946 did not foresee was the collapse of Republican China in Manchuria and Northern China or fully appreciate the strength of the Korean Communist movement.

Missionaries were eager to visit the northern Korea and in the summer of 1946 had applied through the American military command for permission from the Soviet authorities to make such a visit. The Russians had refused. A new approach was being made at the end of 1946 by trying diplomatic channels through the American Secretary of State in Washington and through the British Foreign Office for British Commonwealth missions (which, of course, included the United Church of Canada). However, even if the Russians did grant permission this time, Fraser believed that it would not be before spring that any missionary representative could go north.⁽⁷⁹⁾ This would not come to be.

ADAPTING TO THE NEW CHRISTIAN REALITY

Ernest Bott and Alf Stone, the first United Church of Canada missionaries to return to Japan, saw the Nihon Kirisutokyôdan as the obvious and preferable Church organization for the Canadians to support and to help nurture. The first major post-war contact between the Mission authorities in Toronto and the Korean Church leadership was with K. S. Kim (Kim Kwan sik 金觀植), the Moderator of the United Church of Korea.⁽⁸⁰⁾ Armstrong in Toronto knew Kim

Kwan sik personally as he had served as a minister in the Canadian Mission field, and hoped that the United Church of Korea would hold together and become a real United Church.”⁽⁸¹⁾ This was much in keeping with Armstrong’s support for the Nihon Kirisutokyōdan in Japan but the conditions in Korea were different. It was also unfortunate for the Canadians that the Christian leader that they championed, Kim Kwan sik, died suddenly in 1949.⁽⁸²⁾

While the pre-war Presbyterian Church of Korea, which the United Church of Canada Mission had supported, had been forced to reorganize as the Japanese Presbyterian Church of Korea in 1942, the United Church of Korea was organized as recently as July 1945 by the Japanese colonial government. By August 15 the parishes in the three north-western provinces that had been strongholds of the American Presbyterian mission had not been incorporated into the new union Church.⁽⁸³⁾ It was not surprising that Fraser reported in early July 1946 that the United Church of Korea was not a going concern, and that the Protestant movement was continuing its development along former denominational lines.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The interdenominational headquarters of the United Church of Korea, however, came to form the basis of a Korean National Christian Council. Kim Kwan sik was elected the chairman of the new National Christian Council and appointed as the Korean representative to the International Missionary Conference. There were divisions within the Presbyterian Church, however, which disturbed Fraser who wrote “a small group, led by some Korean men who have studied with Dr. Holdcroft, Mr. Hamilton etc., hold that all who in any way had anything to do with the shrine should be disciplined in some

way. They refuse to have anything to do with the Assembly, even though that body formally repudiated its former action regarding the shrine, and its Presbyteries, I understand, have done so also.”⁽⁸⁵⁾ In early August Fraser felt that the division over the Shrine question might not become a serious issue but it had possibilities of a serious nature. At the second meeting of Executive of the Presbyterian Church Assembly with Presbyterian missionaries, the matter was fully discussed and “those gathered to-day feel the Church should work for the revival of true spiritual Christian living and allow past weaknesses to be cleansed through confessions and cleansing of life of those concerned and not through formal disciplining.”⁽⁸⁶⁾ This did not put an end to criticism of the Presbyterian Church leaders for Fraser wrote in the middle of August that Church leaders and ministers who were active in the Church throughout the war were being accused of being pro-Japanese, while those who had dropped out of Church work for a time, on the other hand, were being accused of deserting the Church. Kim Kwan sik told him “everyone is criticized by someone. He is criticized, and so are others.”⁽⁸⁷⁾ Yet there were hopeful signs for the Churches were full and the Presbyterians were planning a major crusade for Christ through the coming fall and winter.

Both Fraser and Scott were in great demand as teachers both as teachers of conversational English and also as Bible study teachers in Korean language. At the invitation of its Board and later of the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church, the American Presbyterian North Mission and the Canadian Mission allowed their missionaries to teach in the Chosun Theological College

in Seoul, which in 1946 was the authorised theological college for the Korean Presbyterian Church. Both Fraser and Scott taught there. In late December 1947 Fraser wrote of the close attachment that he and Scott felt for the College stating that “the President, Dr. Seng Chang Kun, is from North Hamkyung, and a number of the staff are also from our section of Korea. We thus feel a closer bond to this College than formerly, and sense a desire to work towards a higher standard in the work of the College.”⁽⁸⁸⁾ Here again is seen the close identification of the Canadians with those Koreans who came from the Canadian Mission field in the North. In October 1947 Fraser had written of potential serious difficulties at the College, noting that there was a possibility of another theological seminary being formed by dissenting groups of Northern Presbyterians:

and seeming likely to develop into an opposition college, based on very conservative lines. Just whether the Southern Presbyterian Mission, and its section of the church here, will favour and support that college, rather than the one here, which is regarded as too liberal, is yet to be seen, but it is a possibility. There will be some problems ahead on this score, we fear. While the church is going on well, and all we have written is true, there are many things that hinder unity of effort on the part of the Christians of Korea, and new-found freedom expresses itself in other ways than that of unified effort, even among Christians. We deplore this, and do what we can to offset it, but of course we Canadians are looked upon as liberals, and the people from Hamkyung Provinces are considered as being of the same strip. We hope and pray for a more unified outlook in the future.⁽⁸⁹⁾

According to Scott writing in hindsight in October 1949, serious problems began to appear at the College in 1947 when there was “a great influx of theological students from Manchuria and North Korea who had been brought up in the very rigid fundamentalist position. They began to spread reports that the Chosun Seminary was teaching heresy, because it did not believe in the inerrancy of scripture. Rumbblings from the South came from a small clique of Koreans who were following the strong fundamentalist leading of the newly arrived ‘Bible Presbyterian’ missionaries.”⁽⁹⁰⁾ The chief target of the attack was Rev. Kim Chai Jun who Scott regarded as one of the most scholarly Korean pastors and a man whose theological position was thoroughly sound who would be regarded in Canada as a conservative. Happily, the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1947 exonerated Kim of the charge of heresy. However, this did not stop the Southern Presbyterian Mission fostering antagonism toward the Seminary, and the North Presbyterian Mission from withdrawing its missionaries from the College staff.

Scott wrote that then “Koreans from the North (Pyongyang district chiefly) began efforts to secure a following for their plan to establish a seminary which would carry on the tradition of the Pyongyang seminary. The Chosun Seminary was subjected to a campaign of mis-representation to which the Presbyterian mission North succumbed and which even some of its missionaries condoned. But they did not cherish the idea of their being two Seminaries in the Presbyterian Church and so they sought means whereby the Chosun Seminary would be taken over by the more fundamental group.”⁽⁹¹⁾ However, the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1948 was disrupted

by Chosun Theological Seminary students before the fundamentalist group could pass a resolution of the Assembly to give them control over the Seminary with the result that the fundamentalists decided to establish their own Seminary which they called the “Presbyterian Theological Seminary,” without the permission of the Assembly. At the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1949 a special committee was appointed to attempt a unification of the two Seminaries. Unfortunately, this proved impossible to bring this about. Scott made his position and that of the Canadian Mission very clear by stating, “we are staunch unionists, and desire nothing better than co-operation with the other missions and with all groups in the church. But we feel that we must protest against any actions, of missions or small Korean groups, which would prejudice the mission boards and threaten the existence and continued good work of a college which is doing such good service for the Master in Korea.”⁽⁹²⁾ Scott was sensitive to the fact that he and Fraser might be blamed for contributing to the split within the Presbyterian Church. In early October, Scott wrote to the American Presbyterian North Mission Secretary in New York that “unfortunately certain Koreans and certain missionaries have fostered the idea that the Chosun Seminary is a “Canadian” seminary. This has proved a most mischievous suggestion and has aggravated the situation considerably.”⁽⁹³⁾ However, as Fraser had pointed out the Canadians and Korean Christians from their mission field in the North were labelled as liberals, and so it was perhaps inevitable that they would be drawn into conflict with those of more conservative theological views.

The Chosun Theological College was not the only place that

Korean Christians wanted Canadian missionaries to teach. In August 1946 Dr. Helen Kim (1899–1970), the President of Ewha College, the Methodist Episcopal founded mission school for girls, which had just been granted university status, proposed to add a new College of Healing Arts to the University and to have Dr. Florence Murray as its Dean and only Western doctor. Kim also wanted to have a Nursing Department, which would have three Western nurses including Miss Ada Sandell (b. 1896) who would be in charge of nursing in the Hospital⁽⁹⁴⁾ now incorporated into Ewha. There was also a further possibility that a third Canadian female missionary could be employed as an evangelistic missionary in the student dormitories. Helen Kim planned to have three Colleges for Ewha University: Healing Arts, Fine Arts and Literary Arts. Kim was not looking for financial support from the United Church of Canada mission only missionary bodies. Moreover, Ewha was prepared to offer accommodation for the missionaries. Even though Fraser thought that it was making a large contribution to the staff of one institution for the small Canadian mission to provide two missionaries, he felt that “it would be more or less temporary, I should think, until the time may come when we may be able to get into our own provinces, and start some of our work over again. Further, there are in the University a good number of students from the north, including many from Hamkyung Provinces, so that our women would be contributing to the future work of our own section, by preparing those who would later be able to help in establishing work there, if and when we get back.”⁽⁹⁵⁾ Fraser still retained the forlorn hope that the Canadians might be able to return to northern Korea.

The offer of specific jobs for Murray and Sandell at Ewha Womans University was helpful to the United Church authorities because the American Military Government was loath to allow women missionaries into Korea. William Scott in Toronto thought that the invitation by Ewha would show the Americans that Murray and Sandell were bone fide missionaries and that would give them priority over military wives in being allowed into Korea.⁽⁹⁶⁾ In September 1946 Fraser wrote that Paul Choi, the President of Severance Union Medical Hospital, wanted Murray to come to that hospital either to take charge of a small tuberculosis sanatorium at Severance or to take up a post in the Hospital's Maternity Department as there was no woman doctor there.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Fraser himself thought that the job at the Maternity Department at Severance was the best one for Murray. As it was it would take some time for Murray and Sandell to obtain permission from the American authorities to Korea.⁽⁹⁸⁾ When Murray did eventually come out to Korea in July 1947, she did go to Ewha and served for a short uneasy time as associate dean of their new medical department.⁽⁹⁹⁾

In January 1947 Scott and Fraser were able for the first time to make plans for the future.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ They still envisaged a Canadian Mission operating in North Korea but they proposed that the Canadians should give up their mission stations in Hoiryung and Sungjin in favour of opening a new station in Kyung-sung, which would concentrate on rural and social welfare work as well as the training of Christian workers but would not have any schools or hospitals attached to it. They also proposed the Canadian mission station in Wonsan should be given up, but to maintain the mission

stations at Hamheung and Lungchingsun as major stations but giving over more control to the Koreans. These proposed changes were seen to allow the Canadian Mission to enhance its commitment to union work in Seoul. Kim Kwan sik, when in Toronto in May 1947 to receive his honorary doctorate, had also laid out these proposed changes to the Canadian mission field in the North.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ It was accepted that the Canadians would return to northern Korea and Manchuria when conditions allowed it.

While the return to the North remained a hope to be fulfilled sometime in the future, a deputation from the United Church of Canada, which visited the United Church mission fields in Asia in 1948, stressed the importance of union work for the Canadian Mission in South Korea. One of the deputation members, J. Y. Ferguson, stressed, "I believe we are well advised in this new geographical area in Korea to enter fields of endeavour promoted by the Korean Church, rather than start new ventures of our own."⁽¹⁰²⁾ The Canadian Mission in South Korea was not going to build up a mission comparable in size to its former mission in North. In October 1947 Fraser reported that the Australian Presbyterian mission in southern Korea had approached him and the Canadian mission to help them in their work there.⁽¹⁰³⁾ Fraser was opposed to this because there was too much important union work to be done in Seoul.

CONCLUSIONS

By 1948 it was clear that the Canadian Mission in Korea would devote all its energies to union work in Seoul helping to develop and

to strengthen Chosun Theological College, Ewa Womans University, Severance Union Medical Hospital, and Chosun Christian College (now Yonsei University). As well as teaching Fraser was much involved with the Korean Christian Literature Society, and Scott with the Korean Bible Society. By the end of 1948 both Fraser and Scott, together with their wives who had newly arrived in Korea, were living in the renovated Martin missionary residence in Seoul. Dr. Murray and three other Canadian women missionaries were living in accommodation provided by Ewha Womans University. They were strong supporters of the Korean National Council of Churches. The problem with union work was that it did not provide the close identification for Canadian Christians at home with the activities of Canadian missionaries overseas, especially when Canadians were junior partners in the union work as was the case with the American-founded union colleges, universities, and hospitals in Seoul.

Nevertheless, the Canadian missionaries were busy. Scott wrote of 1948 that “The year brought ample scope for missionary service and included a full schedule of teaching in the theological seminary and the Chosen Christian College, pastoral oversight of the Foreign Community Church, co-operation in the program of the North Korea Christian Fellowship, work on Christian literature and Bible Society committees, frequent preaching engagements and constant interviews with “refugees” from the North.”⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ As Ruth Compton Brouwer noted about Murray, “she shared nostalgic memories with former hospital workers and others she had known in Hamhung and a sense of exile from the place that had been her home, as well as theirs, for some twenty years.”⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In a sense, the

Canadian Mission was living off the successes of the Korean ministers and Korean Christians from their former mission field who were energetically promoting the Christian movement in South Korea. Both Fraser and Scott were going to reach retirement age after forty years of service in 1954, and furloughs (now understood to be every five and a half years) would mean that they would leave Korea at least a year before they retired. However, as of 1948, the United Church of Canada had no plans to reinforce or to replace them with new missionaries. The hopes of returning to the North, which Canadian missionaries during the war years had looked forward to had not materialized. The United Church of Canada commitment to Korea was seemingly faltering.

At the end of 1947 Fraser might lament the fact that Communist activities and opposition had forced all the ministers and many of the leaders of the Christian Church to leave Manchuria, so that practically no Christian work remains active in the part of Manchuria where our missionaries formerly served” and that conditions in northeast Korea were little better.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Fraser believed that there was hope for Christianity in South Korea especially in the light of election of the Syngman Rhee government and with twenty percent of the legislative assembly members being Christian.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ For all the difficulties at the Chosun Theological Seminary, the Christian movement in South Korea was active and growing stronger. What Canadian missionaries did not foresee was the cataclysm of the Korean War, which would all too soon put in jeopardy everything that they held dear in both North and South Korea.

Endnotes

- (1) Andrew Hamish Ion, "Alf Stone and Occupied Japan 1946-1948: Missionary Hopes and Christian Opportunities," in 明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要 (Meiji Gakuin Kirisutokyô Kenkyûjo, *Kiyo*), volume 48, February 2016, pp. 379-417; "To Build a New Japan: Canadian Missionaries in Occupied Japan 1946-1948," in 明治学院大学キリスト教研究所紀要 (Meiji Gakuin Kirisutokyô Kenkyûjo, *Kiyo*), volume 47, January 2015, pp. 153-192.
- (2) For a study of Florence Murray, see Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modern Women Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902-1969* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).
- (3) For the purposes of clarity the transliteration of Chinese and Korean names as used by Canadian missionaries in the 1940s will be used in this essay.
- (4) For the early history of the Canadian Presbyterian/ United Church of Canada Mission in Korea, see A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 1990); *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfried Laurier University Press, 1999).
- (5) United Church of Canada Board of Foreign Missions [hereafter cited as UCC BFM] General 1942, Box 16, File 322, Conference on "Mission Policy as Affected by the War," 2 April 1942. "The Future of the Korean Church," conference paper by Emma Palethorpe.
- (6) Ibid..
- (7) UCC BFM General 1942, Box 16 File 333, Avison to Armstrong, 29

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December 1942.

- (8) See UCC BFM General 1939, Box 12 File 253, Price to Friends and Supporters, 15 September 1939; Armstrong to Price, 6 December 1939.
- (9) UCC BFM General 1942, Box 16, File 333, Armstrong to Avison, 7 January 1943.
- (10) Ibid..
- (11) UCC Women' s Missionary Society [hereafter cited as WMS] Dominion Board, Overseas Missions, Korea 1945, Box 4 File 70, Correspondence re Postwar Work in Korea.
- (12) See, for instance, UCC BFM General 1942, Box 16 File 333, Avison to Armstrong, 22 March 1943.
- (13) UCC BFM Korea, Box 5 (microfilm) File 134, Scott to Armstrong, 4 April 1944.
- (14) UCC BFM Korea, Box 5 (microfilm) File 134, Fraser to Armstrong, 2 March 1944.
- (15) Ibid..
- (16) UCC BFM Korea, Box 5 (microfilm) File 134, Armstrong to Fraser, 20 March 1944.
- (17) UCC BFM Korea, Box 5 (microfilm) File 134, Bourns to Armstrong, 26 April 1944.
- (18) Ibid..
- (19) See, UCC BFM Japan, Box 6 File 143, "Christian Churches in Japan and the War," by Russell L. Durgin, five-page typescript.
- (20) UCC Women' s Missionary Society, Dominion Board, Overseas Missions Korea 1945, Box 4 File 70: Lampe to Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States, 22 September 1945.
- (21) UCC Board of Overseas Missions [hereafter cited as BOM] 1945, unedited

minutes of the annual meeting of the Board of Overseas Missions, held in Emmanuel College, Toronto, 24-27 April 1945. The Board of Foreign Missions changed its name to the Board of Overseas Missions in 1944.

- (22) Ibid..
- (23) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Armstrong to Korea missionaries, 14 November 1945.
- (24) Ibid..
- (25) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Kim to Friends in America, 28 September 1945. The Japanese direct and indirect oppression of the Korean Church, the forced reorganization of the Presbyterian Church as the Japanese Presbyterian Church of Korea and the amalgamation of the Protestants with the organization of the United Church of Korea by the Japanese authorities in July 1945 was further detailed in Ha Young Youn and Kwong Clik Han to Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1 October 1945.
- (26) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Kim to Friends in America, 28 September 1945.
- (27) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Henry W. Lampe, Chaplain Section XXIV Corps to Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States, 22 September 1945.
- (28) Ibid..
- (29) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Ha Young Youn and Kwong Clik Han to BFM of Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1 October 1945.
- (30) Among whose most famous graduates was Yun Dong-ju (1917-1945), the poet who died in prison in Japan in early 1945.
- (31) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Chairin Moon to Armstrong, 25 October 1945.
- (32) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Armstrong to Cross, 24 November 1945.
- (33) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Chairin Moon to Armstrong, 25 October 1945.

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- (34) Chairin Moon had been arrested by the Japanese military police along with Rev. Lee Kwan Chan in July 1945 and taken to Sungjin where they were held for twenty days in an underground cement room with only rotten mats, and Moon got dysentery. The two ministers were among those Koreans who were to be 'liquidated' on 18th August for the Japanese authorities evidently thought they were very important. Fortunately, before they they were executed the war ended and they were released. On November 10th 1945 Moon was arrested by the Korean Communists and kept in prison for two and a half months. The Communists called him "the representative of the Churches in Kando, and a spy of the United Nations, and greatly suspected him. They examined him seven times, but since they feared a rising of the Christians on the advice of a Communist graduate of Eun Jin Academy [the Canadian Mission School for Boys], they released him. While they had him his ears and his feet froze, and he knows that he was condemned to die." On 24th January 1946 he was set free, and until 22nd February he rested at home. On 22nd February he was arrested by the Russians and imprisoned by them for two months and fourteen days. When the Russians were leaving Manchuria, they intended to take him along with others as captives but for some reason they let him alone go free. See enclosure: Experiences of Rev. Chairin Moon of Lungchingtsun in UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 20 July 1946. Soon after his release by the Russians, Moon's wife and family decided that he and they must escape from Manchuria to south Korea. Moon was not the only minister to be put in prison, Fraser also pointed out that Rev. Choo Chai wun, who had been Mr. Knechtel's associate minister, had been brought from Sungjin to prison in Hamheung where he had been held for 14 months. See UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 25 July 1946.

- (35) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Armstrong to Chairin Moon, 5 December 1945.
- (36) Ibid..
- (37) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Armstrong to Fraser, 6 April 1946.
- (38) Fraser used a traditional name for Incheon widely used by missionaries prior to 1941.
- (39) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Folks, 21 May 1945.
- (40) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 25 June 1945.
- (41) UCC BOM Korea 1946, File Re Permission of Military Authorities for return of missionaries to Korea, Coen to Cross, 5 July 1946.
- (42) UCC BOM Korea 1946. File Rev. William Scott, D.D., Scott to Armstrong, 10 October 1946.
- (43) UCC BOM Korea 1946. Scott to Armstrong, 21 October 1946.
- (44) Ibid..
- (45) See Sarah Kovner, *Occupying Power: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).
- (46) Ibid..
- (47) UCC BOM Korea 1946. Scott to Armstrong, 19 November 1946.
- (48) Henry D. Appenzeller, Horace H. Underwood, John D. Bigger, W. C. Kerr, Dexter Lutz, Mrs. F. E. C. Williams and F. E. C. Williams were members of the first group of missionaries to arrive in Korea. See UCC BOM Korea 1946, File Re Permission of Military Authorities for return of missionaries to Korea, Cross to Friends, 7 March 1946. They were all in Korea by April of that year. Sergeant Richard Underwood, son of Horace H. Underwood, and Gordon Avison, son of O. R. Avison, a Canadian who had worked for the American Presbyterians North, were among missionary children with the American military in Korea.
- (49) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 4 July 1946.

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- (50) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Friends, 10 August 1946.
- (51) Happily for the Canadians, they were able to rely on American Army for their food supplies until June 1949. See.
- (52) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 4 July 1946.
- (53) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Friends, 10 August 1946.
- (54) Ibid..
- (55) UCC BOM Korea 1946, File Re Permission of Military Authorities for return of missionaries to Korea, Coen to Cross, 5 July 1946.
- (56) Ibid..
- (57) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 12 July 1946
- (58) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Friends, 10 August 1946.
- (59) Ibid..
- (60) Ibid..
- (61) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Scott to Armstrong, 19 November 1946.
- (62) Ibid..
- (63) Ibid..
- (64) Ibid..
- (65) Ibid..
- (66) Ibid..
- (67) The Bank of Chosen in Seoul held ¥17,000 from the sale of some Mission property and personal items owned by Fraser, Scott, Murray and Bourns that had been sold by the Japanese in Hamheung and Wonsan (in the case of Fraser). This had been sold below 1942 market value but still represented about 2/3 of market value. UCCBOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 7 August 1946. Earlier, Fraser had reported that there was a sum of ¥311,000 held in the Bank of Chosen to the credit of the Canadian Mission for the sale of land and buildings in the north. Land was sold in Seoul, Wonsan,

Hamheung and Sungjin, and that the buildings sold were the Hospital buildings in Hamheung and all the buildings in Wonsan. See UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 2 August 1946.

(68) Ibid..

(69) Ibid..

(70) Later it was adjudicated that the Japanese style home did not belong to the Canadian Mission and it as well as a third of the Martin missionary residence land on which it stood passed into the hands of the South Korean Government.

(71) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 24 August 1946.

(72) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 21 October 1946.

(73) UCC BOM Korea 1947, Fraser to Armstrong, 29 November 1947.

(74) UCC BOM Korea 1947, Annual Report for 1947 Fraser, 15 December 1947.

(75) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 14 December 1946.

(76) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 27 December 1946.

(77) Ibid.. Scott had also been at this Christmas dinner, see UCC BOM Korea 1946, Scott to Armstrong, 27 December 1946.

(78) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Scott to Fraser, 24 August 1946.

(79) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 14 Decembrer 1946.

(80) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Kim to Friends in America, 28 September 1945.

(81) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Armstrong to Fraser, 24 July 1946.

(82) In 1947 Kim was sent as the Korean delegate to the International Missionary Council Executive Meeting, which was held in Toronto, and received at the urging of Canadian missionaries an honorary Doctorate of Divinity from Emmanuel University in Toronto.

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- (83) UCC BOM Korea 1945, Ha Young Youn and Kwong Clik Han to BFM Presbyterian Church of the United States 1 October 1945.
- (84) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 12 July 1946.
- (85) Ibid..
- (86) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 7 August 1946.
- (87) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Friends, 10 August 1946.
- (88) UCC BOM Korea 1947, Fraser to Armstrong, 15 December 1947.
- (89) UCC BOM Korea 1947, Fraser to Armstrong, 10 October 1947.
- (90) UCC BOM Korea 1949, Box 6 File 157: Dr. Gallagher. Rev. Wm. Scott, enclosures re Chosen Theological Seminary, Scott to Gallagher, 10 October 1949.
- (91) Ibid..
- (92) Ibid..
- (93) UCC BOM Korea 1949, Box 6 File 157: Dr. Gallagher. Rev. Wm. Scott, enclosures re Chosen Theological Seminary, Scott to Smith, Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 7 October 1949.
- (94) This was the former East Gate Hospital, a Methodist Episcopal institution.
- (95) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 4 August 1946.
- (96) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Scott to Fraser, 24 August 1946. Fraser wrote later that there would be work available for Dr. Murray and Miss Sandell at the Severance Union Medical College and Hospital but as there was no specific job offer from that institution, they would have to make a place for themselves in it. See UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Armstrong, 2 September 1946.
- (97) UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to Taylor (WMS), 18 September 1946.
- (98) It was only in November 1946 that permission was received for Murray and Sandell to come out to Korea. UCC BOM Korea 1946, Fraser to

Armstrong, 9 November 1946.

- (99) Brouwer, *Modern Women Modernizing Men*, p. 88. Murray would remain on staff at Ewha until 1950, by that time she was also working in the Pediatrics Department at Severance. Leaving Korea in June 1950, she would return to Severance in 1952.
- (100) UCC BOM Korea 1947. Scott and Fraser to Friends [Armstrong and Taylor] 4 January 1947.
- (101) UCC BOM Korea 1946. Rev. K. S. Kim MA, M.Th., D.D. *The Present Situation of the Christian Church in Korea*
- (102) UCC BOM Korea 1948. Box 6 File 1534. Report of Deputation in Korea 1948, Report of J.Y. Ferguson.
- (103) UCC BOM Korea 1947. Fraser to Armstrong, November 29 1947.

- (104) UCC BOM Korea 1948. William Scott Annual Report 1948.
- (105) Brouwer, p. 86.
- (106) UCC BOM Korea 1947. E. J. O. Fraser Annual Report 1947, 15 December 1947.
- (107) UCC BOM Korea 1948. E. J. O. Fraser Annual Report 1948.