

## CANADIAN MISSIONARIES IN KOREA AND JAPAN AND THE KOREAN WAR 1950 - 1951

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The fact that Koreans have so readily accepted the Gospel and made such good evangelistic workers, should encourage us to help make that land really Christian. A Christian Korea would be a wonderful force for Christ in the Orient. To appear to slacken in our efforts for them now after all they have suffered, and much of the destruction was at the hands of the UN forces, would be unworthy of our Church and little less than a betrayal of those who have suffered as we have never been called upon to suffer.

Florence Murray, 30 October 1950<sup>(1)</sup>

Florence Murray (1894-1975), the veteran United Church of Canada missionary medical doctor who worked at the Severance Hospital in Seoul and had been evacuated from there in June 1950, clearly saw the importance of Christianity in Korea and the need for the United Church of Canada to support Korean Christians caught in this terrible war. Murray was writing at a time when the United Nations forces had driven back the North Korean military from South Korea and had successfully taken over control of nearly all of North Korea. It seemed to her that the war was virtually over, and North

and South Korea would be reunified under United Nations auspices. This would open the way for the return of Canadian missionaries to their pre-1941 mission field in North Korea. Murray believed that the Canadian mission “should at the earliest opportunity reopen the work in the north where the Korean church has been cut off from world Christianity and the help of the mission for ten years,” and that the Canadians should open a minimum of two mission stations – Hamheung in southern Hamkyung province and at Chungjin in northern Hamkyung province. Hoiryung on the Manchurian border which had previously been a mission station was not thought to be suitable any more and Lungchingsun, which had been a major Canadian mission station was out of the question because it was in Manchuria.<sup>(2)</sup> It had been the hope of all Canadian missionaries since 1942, when Murray and the last remaining Canadian missionaries had left Hamheung to catch the exchange ship, the *Gripsholm* in Japan, that they would be allowed to return to their work in northern Korea once the Second World War had ended. This hope had persisted after 1946 when the first Canadian missionaries had returned to Seoul and a divided Korea. Living in Seoul surrounded by many Korean Christians who had fled from the North, Murray and other Canadian missionaries felt that they were in exile. The march north of the United Nations forces after the Inchon landings appeared to turn this hope into a reality. Unknown to Murray, however, the Chinese Peoples’ Liberation Army had already crossed the Yalu River on 19 October and were in the process of very swiftly forcing the United Nations forces to retreat out of North Korea and driving them back once again deep into the South. The fighting was far from over.

This paper investigates Canadian United Church missionaries in Korea and Japan and their responses to the challenges posed by the opening of the Korean War. It covers the period from the end of June 1950 when Canadian missionaries were evacuated from Seoul to Japan to the end of September 1951 when they returned once again to Korea. The Korean War was an unmitigated human tragedy for all Koreans. For the Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada, the War put an end to those hopes, which Canadian missionaries had held for almost ten years since the opening of the Pacific War in 1941, that they might be able to return to their former mission field in north-west Korea. Florence Murray was not the only missionary in October 1950 who thought the War meant the Christians in Hamheung were now safe to profess openly their Christian beliefs. Those Christians would pay a terrible price for that when the tide of war so abruptly changed with the withdrawal of United Nations forces from the North. The Korean War began suddenly, and led to a very rapid withdrawal of missionaries from the peninsula to Japan. In turn, this put great pressure on missionaries in Japan to help accommodate, clothe and feed the uprooted missionary families as well as to prepare for the possible threat to Japanese politics and society that might be caused if potentially millions of Korean refugees fled to Japan.

Before turning to the Korean War itself, it is important to be reminded how missionaries in Korea and Japan viewed the challenges in the region after the defeat of the Nationalists in China.

## The Challenge of Communism in Japan and the Precedent of Korea in the Expansion of Communism in East Asia

Howard Outerbridge, a long-serving United Church of Canada missionary at Kwansei Gakuin University, wrote in his annual report for 1950 that “Japan occupies a very important place in the international scene today, with West Germany it is perhaps one of the two most strategic spots in the world. Just as West Germany stands at Russia’s front door, Japan stands at her back. If Russia decides to begin an aggressive war, one or both of these two lands will be the first to be attacked. We can understand their reluctance to be rearmed, unless it becomes quite clear that the other democracies are willing and able to support them and there is a reasonable hope of victory. They do not wish to endure another defeat. The memory of the last defeat is still too vivid.”<sup>(3)</sup> Outerbridge thought “the road to the Communist Conquest of the West lies through the East”<sup>(4)</sup> It was important to Outerbridge that Japan was kept safe from communism.

He wrote, “At the moment the situation in Japan seems quite hopeful. The power of Communism is on the wane.”<sup>(5)</sup> He noted that there had been approximately three million votes for the communists in the elections of 1947, but this had declined to only one million three years later in the 1950 elections. He believed, “Communism has lost out both with the farming and industrial classes, who believe they are better off under present conditions than under the Kremlin. Among the student class alone is there any great enthusiasm for the Marxist doctrine. This is more or less true of other lands as well, I suppose, because the Marxian philosophy seems to have a magic charm for the

intellectual classes. It claims an answer for every problem, a method which seems applicable to all situations. It has an active, aggressive world-program, which has been, externally at least highly successful. Many Japanese feel that sooner or later Japan may go Communist, and it might be safer to be a Communist now, under a democratic government, than to run the risk of being known as an anti-Communist, should the reds gain control in the future. For the present however, the great majority of the Japanese people are satisfied and think of the possibility of Communist control with very deep fear.”<sup>(6)</sup> In the light of the important and generally positive role that the Japan Communist Party has played in politics and all levels of government since 1950, it would seem, in hindsight, that Outerbridge’s fears about Communism were not justified. However, in the interim the Korean War was fought, and the United Nations intervention prevented North Korea from uniting the Korean peninsula under Communist rule by force.

Even in China after the declaration of the People’s Republic in late 1949, there still seemed to be hope for the continuation of Christian work. In late September 1950, before the Chinese entry into the Korean War, Arthur G. Rinden, an American Board missionary, had visited Shanghai from Japan. On his return to Japan, Rinden had written a report in which he indicated that he had been impressed by the behaviour of the Peoples’ Liberation Army toward the local population in comparison with that of the Chinese Nationalist forces. Most importantly, he felt that Christian work in Shanghai would be able to continue after a period of adjustment.<sup>(7)</sup> China’s entry into the Korean War would put an end to any hope of that.

In a report written after the beginning of the Korean War,

John C. Smith, Secretary for Korea for the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., stated what he thought was at stake in southern Korea. Smith felt that the Korean situation would lead to another second expansion of Communism in East Asia in Korea after the successful take-over of China, and that it was not unreasonable for missionaries to believe that a third or fourth areas in East Asia in which they had responsibility could fall under Communist control. It is clear that he had in mind Japan as one area, and probably the Philippines or possibly French-Indochina where there was already a colonial war being fought as the other. At the same time, Smith felt that the situation in Korea was different from what had just taken place in China. He wrote, "Korea is different to that in China. In China it was a combination of factors with the emphasis on social revolution within a nation, a revolution in which the Christian Church and missionaries were caught up, but they could anticipate making certain adjustments in planning for the future. The elements in Korea although they may be much the same have a different emphasis. In Korea the emphasis is on outside aggression. The attempt to overthrow the South Korean government by guerrilla warfare was unsuccessful; an attack from without was necessary. This attack was condemned by the UN and was resisted by UN forces, and this resistance has been labelled by Communist propaganda, rather successfully in Asia, as aggression on the part of the United States."<sup>(8)</sup>

While the Chinese Revolution was brought to a successful conclusion without overt outside interference, in Korea outside forces were interfering in the course of the Korean Revolution as a result of United Nations condemnation of North Korean aggression and the resistance of United Nations forces to its invasion of the South.

Smith argued that this put “the Christian Church and missionaries in Korea in a different position in relation to the possibility of Communist government in Korea than is now evident in China, for the Korea missionaries are enemy aliens, members of countries, which are resisting the Communist advance. More than that the World Council of Churches has condemned the aggression in Korea and has supported the UN action with an emphasis upon the centrality of police action.”<sup>(9)</sup> Even though the Korean War had begun, Smith clearly held out hope, like Rinden, that Christian missions might still be able to continue their work in China.

In Korea, if the North Koreans were victorious, the actions of United Nations and the World Council of Churches in condemning the aggression of North Korea meant that there was no possibility of Christian missionaries returning to work in a Communist Korea. In Smith’s view, “the only hope for peace in Korea is by the emergence of an authority that can resist aggressions. Alongside the precedent of China we have the precedent of Korea.” He felt that the precedent of Korea might well become the form that further expansions of communism took. This, in turn, should make American Christians more aware of their responsibilities to help their Christian brethren in Asia.<sup>(10)</sup> The intervention of China into the Korea War meant that any hope that missionaries might be able to continue their work in China disappeared.

However, Charles A. Sauer, the long-serving American Methodist missionary in Korea, believed that “the Korean War saved the lives of millions of Koreans and checked the Communist advance into Japan, the Philippines, not to say the United States itself.”<sup>(11)</sup> While

Sauer exaggerated the importance of the Korean War in stopping the advance of Communism in East Asia, it was clear after the opening of the Korean War the United States was willing to use its military to try to stem the advance of Communism elsewhere in East and South-East Asia. However, the Korean people on both sides paid an enormous price.

## War and the Evacuation of Missionaries from Seoul and Korea

Toward the end of May 1950 William Scott, who had prior to his furlough in Canada been one of the two United Church of Canada missionaries teaching at the Chosun Theological Seminary in Seoul, admitted to David H. Gallagher, the Secretary of the United Church of Canada's Board of Overseas Missions in Toronto that he was in trouble with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. This was over the issue of the Scriptures as the Word of God, and his opposition to changing the creed of the Church. This was a continuation of earlier problems at the Theological College caused by the clash of theological ideas between Presbyterians who believed in the literal truth of the Bible as the Word of God and others like Scott and many of those Korean Christians from the pre-1941 Canadian Mission field in northern Korea who held more liberal theological views.<sup>(12)</sup> While this was a serious matter, which would rear its head again during the War, it does show that the attention of Korean Presbyterians was not focussed on the threat of war but rather on matters that were of important to Christian belief. The war in Korea came suddenly.

Smith, the American Presbyterian Korea Secretary, wrote that



he had arrived in Seoul on 17 June 1950 on the same plane as Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, and had been impressed by the progress in government that had been made since his last visit to Korea in 1948. He felt that "there was increased morale among Christians and also Americans related to the Syngman Rhee government. There was material progress and progress in the realm of government; confidence had also been gained."<sup>(13)</sup> Smith also believed that "Dr. Rhee was not a dictator but perhaps an inefficient administrator of the government" but he did note "there was confidence and over-confidence in the military power of South Korea. They were certain in Seoul that the South Korean army was the strongest military force in Asia."<sup>(14)</sup> The first forty-eight hours of the war, however, quickly revealed that the South Korean Army was ill-equipped to withstand tank attacks. Further, the morale of its soldiers was badly damaged when American officers belonging to the Korean Advisory Group left for Japan on the evening of Monday, June 26. Even though they were ordered back in twenty-four hours, the damage had been done.

Yet, it was not only the American officers of the Korean Advisory Group who were so abruptly withdrawn from Korea. In the first hours of the war, the evacuation of missionaries from Seoul and other places took place. E. J. O. Fraser, the Secretary of the United Church of Canada Korea Mission, writing from Japan in early July 1950 stated "the U.S. Army did an excellent job of evacuating so many, over 2000, in such a short time, with no casualties on the way. One of the big planes, with about 60 persons, and some baggage, had trouble with one engine, and found it difficult to keep altitude, but they got in to the Japanese Air port safely. Those on the freighter, over 600

women and children, had poor accommodations, but they were fed and had bedding sent by the army, and all got safely to the port.”<sup>(15)</sup> Mrs. Fraser and Dr. Murray had been among 640 women and children who shipped out of Inchon on this commercial freighter, which had not completely unloaded its cargo of fertilizer, on morning of 26 June 1950.

Unfortunately, some missionaries were left behind. Fraser mentioned there were six American Methodist missionaries who were caught in Kaesung near the border with North Korea, and a further fifteen or so American Presbyterian missionaries in Busan who stayed as long as possible there. More importantly, though, Commissioner Herbert Lord, of the Salvation Army, who had spent the Pacific War as a civilian internee of the Japanese in Changi Gaol in Singapore, deliberately, against British Consular orders, decided to stay in Seoul. The Church of England missionaries belonging to the Korean Church Mission, Bishop A. Cecil Cooper, Father Charles Hunt, Rev. W. H. C. Fawcett, Rev. E. A. Chadwell and Sister Mary Clare were also captured in Seoul. Fraser wrote that “Bishop Cooper was away from home on a trip to some churches, and they could not find him. The others would not leave without his orders, so there they are.”<sup>(16)</sup> It had been Cooper’s belief that the British missionaries would be treated well in the same manner as British diplomatic figures (the Korean Anglican cathedral in Seoul was next to the British Embassy in central Seoul) but this proved to be wrong. Father Charles Hunt and Sister Mary Clare both died on the notorious Death March near the Yalu River in the winter of 1950. Bishop Cooper, Commissioner Lord and other missionaries, mainly Roman Catholic priests and nuns suffered great hardships until they were eventually released three years later with the armistice.

Learning that Fraser, Murray and the three other female Canadian missionaries in Seoul had been safely evacuated to Japan, Gallagher in Toronto wrote to Fraser that the present plan was to have the Korea missionaries stay in Japan over the summer to see if the situation in Korea clarified and then to decide on future policy. In contrast the WMS had decided that Florence Murray who was nearing her furlough should return to Canada.<sup>(17)</sup> At the end of July 1950, Alf Stone, the United Church of Canada Japan mission secretary, wrote to Mrs. Taylor, the United Church of Canada Women's Missionary Society secretary in Toronto and to Gallagher to say that Murray was on her way back to Canada, and the three other WMS missionaries were at Karuizawa or at Lake Nojiri. Stone said that Dr. and Mrs. Fraser were staying with him, and "are keeping house for the summer and acting as watchmen and caretakers. He [Fraser] is also keeping an eye on the last stages of the building of the Bott house and the repairs on the Denenchofu houses. I would have had still less holiday if they were not here, though their arrival along with another 200 from Korea rather upset the July program in our IBC office, But we have long since learned that things are never "normal" out here, and 'If it isn't one thing its another.' We are thankful that our Korea folks are all safe, and that we can enjoy the fellowship with them here."<sup>(18)</sup> Stone, Ernest Bott and the other Canadian Japan missionaries were able to welcome and happy to make use of their refugee colleagues from Korea.

Smith, the American Presbyterian Korea Secretary, also reported the safe arrival in Japan of most of the two hundred foreign missionaries who were in Korea when war broke out in Korea. Smith noted that the majority had decided to stay on in Japan where

they had been very warmly welcomed by Japan missionaries and particularly by the Japanese Christians. He indicated that some of the Korean missionaries were now working within the Japanese Church where “there are tasks related to certain schools in teaching and other activities of church work in Japan that can be done by those who do not understand the language. There is a second group related to the Korean Christian Church in Japan. There are more than 600,000 Koreans in Japan, 17 churches and other preaching places, and six or seven pastors. The Moderator of the Korean Church went to Korea early in June and asked that ten Korean ministers come to Japan. They feel that they were sent missionaries instead. Many of our missionaries are finding very satisfying jobs in relation to the Korean population in Japan, which is a minority group that has largely been forgotten.”<sup>(19)</sup> A third group of missionaries were taking Korean language training in Karuizawa in preparation for their return to Korea.

While missionaries were quickly accounted for, there remained many unanswered questions about the plight of Korean Christians. Smith wrote that there was no question the Church in Korea would survive regardless of the result of the conflict and pointed out “both Catholic and Protestants –some 600,000 out of a population of 30,000,000 went through persecution under the Japanese regime. Five years of Communist government in North Korea has resulted in a portion of the leadership fleeing to South Korea; nevertheless, there are reports that churches are continuing. There is much to be criticized in the Korean Church. At the point of adapting itself to a progressive economic program, it lacks much; at the point of sincere devotion and evangelistic zeal, no church is stronger. Leadership has been scattered.

We estimated that perhaps two-thirds of the pastors in North Korea had come south of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel. There is no estimate as yet as to how many of the leaders have left their homes and come south within the lines of the United Nations forces; I would guess that at least one-half of the ministers are there." Smith thought that there were between 300 and 400 pastors in Taegu along with their families, and the same number in Busan. Among the Christian refugees were George Paik of Yonsei University, Pastor Han, and Helen Kim. A refugee center for pastors had been established at Ulsan half way down the coast.

Smith believed that those Christian refugees in Busan were made up of those who had already fled from the North. Reports from Taegu indicate that a large number of refugees there had already been living in the South since the Second World War and had now decided to move within the UN lines. He understood that two-thirds of the presbytery of Chunjin had been in Taegu, and were now in Ulsan.<sup>(20)</sup> While fighting was still going on, refugees were constantly coming from areas caught between the lines of the UN forces and the North Korean forces. Missionaries and Korean pastors were helping as much as possible but conditions were quite bad for these refugees. There was a great need for relief supplies. Smith envisioned that when the UN moves northward again, there would be the same problem of rehabilitation and housing that had occurred in 1945 after the evacuation of the Japanese troops.<sup>(21)</sup>

At the end of September 1950, Edward Adams, another American Presbyterian missionary, reported that he and his colleague John Underwood had gone on a trip to a hotly contested area some forty-five miles north of Taegu where "the process of returning refugees

has already started. The big camp south of Taegu has already released about 100,000 of the total 300,000. These are finding their own way back.”<sup>(22)</sup> All Korea missionaries now in Japan were eager to return to Korea as soon as possible to help in the relief efforts. The possibility of missionaries being appointed as civilian chaplains to the South Korean soldiers and civilians was held out, and Rev. William Shaw who was later killed and Father George M. Carroll of the Catholic mission has been appointed civilian chaplains to Korean soldiers and civilians.

## Return to Seoul

The opportunity for Canadian missionaries to begin to return to Korea came in November with the recapture of Seoul following the Inchon Landing. Even before the Canadians returned, news had reached Toronto that Korean Christian leaders had been arrested before UN forces had secured Seoul, and that the city was heavily damaged. At the beginning of October, Helen Kim, the President of Ewha University, wrote “this is my second morning in Seoul. Our government flew in and had formal return ceremony with General Macarthur on the 29<sup>th</sup> of September.”<sup>(23)</sup> Kim also revealed sobering news, “three people were taken from Ewha University and arrested during the Communist occupation and were executed after the Inchon Landing. YWCA worker Mrs. Yeasoon Choi Kim [was] also taken. About forty pastors were taken about a month ago and not returned.”<sup>(24)</sup> Seoul itself was badly damaged for Kim reported, “the city was as a whole badly hit and burnt out in areas. Youngsan Seoul Station, Chong No, Whangkeum-Chung, West Gate, Mappo, Destruction of almost all

public buildings in above districts except City Hall.”<sup>(25)</sup> On October 3, Y. S. Lee wrote that Severance Hospital in Seoul had been badly damaged but the library and books were untouched. Lee said, “The whole situation is pretty dark. How long the war is to last, nobody can tell but as far as the city of Seoul is concerned, we will be safe unless world war breaks out again.”<sup>(26)</sup> Unfortunately, Lee was sadly mistaken that those in Seoul were now safe with the return of the South Korean government and the UN forces.

Horace G. Underwood, who had worked at Yonsei University in Seoul, had been on General MacArthur’s flagship during the Inchon Landing also reported grim news from newly liberated Seoul. Writing at two days after Kim on 3 October, Underwood stated, “just before the Americans arrived many prominent Korean pastors and Leaders were rounded up and carried off north.”<sup>(27)</sup> It turned out that upwards of thirty of those people who had attended a Christian meeting on 23 July had been executed including Dr. Namkung, secretary of the National Christian Council, Pastor Kim, Bishop of the Methodist Church, Rev. Kim Yung-Ju, pastor of the large, historic West Gate Presbyterian Church, and Pastor Choi, former Superintendent and outstanding leader of the Holiness Church.<sup>(28)</sup> About conditions in Seoul, Underwood wrote “there is no water, light or transportation for a city of about 1, 300,000 people. Streetcar rails were torn up to make street barricades. It is said there are only about five streetcars left that can be repaired. Inchun, Yongdong, Suwon, Taejon, and many other towns are in ruins.”<sup>(29)</sup>

Writing in February 1951 David Chung,<sup>(30)</sup> who had been teaching at the Chosun Theological College since his return to Korea

from Canada in late 1949, described what had happened to the Canadian associated church in Seoul whose congregation had asked him to serve as their pastor. Chung wrote, “there was a small group of Christians who had formed a spiritual colony among the Christians. The members of the group came from the North and South Provinces (Hamkyung), which was the Canadian Mission field for nearly half a century. They needed a pastor for their group, I led their worships and conducted their services. We had a nice little church in the central part of the city of Seoul. When the city burnt to the ground we, too, lost our church building. When the city had been recaptured by the UN Forces,, we gathered on the ashes on the site and had our worships. When the staff Chaplain of the US Marine Corp. came to visit us he could not help but shed his tears when he preached. We started to rebuild the church, then. When the Chinese Reds pushed down we were formed to evacuate from our church site and the city. And we are scattered all over the in the southern part of the peninsula, now.”<sup>(31)</sup>

In late October, Fraser received a letter from Shin Sung Kook who was overjoyed to hear from Harold Voelkel (1898-1984), who had first come out to Korea in 1928, and was serving as a chaplain attached to the 10<sup>th</sup> US Army Corps,<sup>(32)</sup> who told him that Fraser and his wife were safe. When Fraser had left Seoul on 27<sup>th</sup> June, he had asked Shin to turn off the water in the Canadian Mission House, which he had done. His own circumstances prevented him from returning to Fraser’s home until after the recapture of Seoul by the United Nations forces but he knew what had taken place during the North Korean occupation. Shin reported that he had left the Canadian Mission houses as Fraser had left them, locked up and left in the care of Mrs. Chang



Kapsun (Fraser's cook). He added, "on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June the Communist Army came, and leftists came with guns, took the house over, took off the jeeps and car and truck, and carried away all the things in the houses. All books, tables, chairs, etc., everything was taken. Thieves finished by stealing a few things left. Then, from July 20<sup>th</sup>, a People's organization took it over, and used your house as an office. Later on the Communist Army used it as a dormitory. Thus on Sept. 26, 27, the U.N. Army came in and drove out the Communists, and on Sept. 28<sup>th</sup> for the first time in three months I came back to the houses."<sup>(33)</sup>

Shin's own experiences as a Korean Christian associated with Canadian missionaries during the North Korean occupation underlined the danger that some Korean Christians were under. Shin wrote, "From the day you left Seoul I was not able to come to the house, but hid in the ceiling of a friend's house from June 28<sup>th</sup> at daybreak. (at 6.30 a.m. on June 28<sup>th</sup> the Communist Army, with tanks ahead, came into Seoul, and captured and shot at first officials, ministers, students and those in positions of responsibility.) On July 18<sup>th</sup> I went to Sam Kak San, north of Seoul, and hid in a deep cave in the rocks, and for the next forty days, though I was captured several times, and threatened with death, I escaped, and finally came back to Seoul secretly and hid under the floor of our house for the next twenty-five days. On Sept. 26<sup>th</sup>, the U.N. Army came into Seoul, and the Communists fled. So I was saved, and came out. Thus for 90 days I hid and fled and knew no peace of mind; they took all the food and clothing and wood from my family, so that we half-starved, and could not get medicine for the baby when it got sick. During that time my older sister was killed by a shot. But yet, I have got back my strength, and am thinking of the

future and working as I can. Though we have no food, no clothing no fuel, still our minds are at peace, and we take courage.”<sup>(34)</sup> While Shin’s experiences were particularly harrowing, many Christians and ordinary Koreans experienced difficulties and dangers during the North Korean occupation.

David Chung described in early 1951 what had happened at the Chosun Theological College when Seoul was first captured by the North Koreans reporting that, “there is entirely no hope for the Seminary can function again within few years. The President has been “taken away” by the Reds when they came into Seoul last summer. The Seminary buildings, including the library, have been destroyed and deserted. Almost all of the students gone to the front line when draft came.”<sup>(35)</sup> Even so, Chung added that the theological controversy which had dogged William Scott and Fraser at the Theological Seminary still continued to rage despite the fact that Chung was now a refugee in Busan. Chung wrote, “still the unfortunate theological arguments are prevailing in this narrow area which has been spared by the destruction. Even though I don’t like, personally, to be involved into any such arguments, I am still counted as a “liberal” by the strong fundamentalists just because I was on the staff of the seminary which they accused unjustly.”<sup>(36)</sup>

It was to a much damaged Seoul that Beulah Bourns, the Canadian missionary nurse who had worked at Severance Hospital since 1947, returned in early November to work in conjunction with Severance to help orphans. A few days after her arrival Bourns wrote that the servants were making her living accommodations habitable.<sup>(37)</sup> A week later Bourns revealed what had happened to her home during

the North Korean occupation of the city. She reported like Shin that the Canadian Mission Home had been occupied by the North Koreans but added some more details by pointing out, "The head man of the Reds stayed in our house and our servants stayed on and cooked for them. They demanded foreign food. The ladies admired our nice curtains and other things, but they used our best pillows to put under them while riding in our jeep. They worked all night and slept and lay around all day. They filled our garage full of stuff and then would take it off at night. In the end they threw gasoline all over the place and set fire to it."

<sup>(38)</sup> It can only be said that Bourns was fortunate that the whole house had not been burnt down. In any case, Bourns' situation was nothing compared to that of the orphans who she worked to help for many of them were in a desperate condition. Unfortunately, by December, advancing North Korean forces were again threatening Seoul.

In early December Bourns reported that she had packed a small bag in case that she had to be evacuated by air, and had buried in the garden her small possessions. She hoped, however, that she would be able to pack all her things in the truck and head for Busan. She wrote, "we are going through the same experiences as we did on that Sunday, June 25<sup>th</sup>, again. Every one feels terribly. Fear has gripped everyone. If this passes we will meet again and decide about work. Hamheung is off for the present. We are digging at night to bury our small possessions. We may take the truck to Pusan."<sup>(39)</sup> Bourns had more bad news to report beginning with "Now of the three men who went to Hamheung – only Cho Hyang Mok actually got there, and he was sent by the Government as an educator. This contact has been cut off now,. The other two men mentioned are all right. Also I am

sorry to report that Chang Kapsoon, Fraser's woman [Chang Kapsun, Fraser's cook], was a communist. She made away with everything she could from the house and her husband appeared and declared himself a red. They were captured but none of the things could be found."<sup>(40)</sup>

<sup>)</sup> Bourns had been in Seoul barely a month, and now was preparing to make again another hasty exit. She was doing this well-aware of what happened to Korean Christians the first time that Seoul had been occupied by the North Koreans and also knowing that some of those who had the closest contact with missionaries like Chang Kapsun and her husband, Fraser's former servants, were communists.

As Bourns was leaving Seoul, all the makings of a great tragedy were being played out at Hamheung. Even though Bourns, Murray, Fraser and Scott had worked in Seoul since returning to Korea in 1946, the traditional Canadian missionary field was in North Korea, and Hamheung had been a major mission centre for Canadian work. The missionaries held great affection for Hamheung and its Christians, and saw in the capture of Hamheung from the North Koreans the tantalizing opportunity to reopen their work there.

## The Liberation of Hamheung

No Canadian missionary was with the United Nations forces when they occupied Hamheung but Harold Voelkel, the American Presbyterian missionary who was serving as a chaplain with the 10<sup>th</sup> Army Corps, was posted there and kept Fraser and the Canadians informed of what transpired there. Voelkel wrote on 11 November 1950, two days after he had flown into Hamheung, a detailed report

for Fraser about what unfolded in Hamheung after the Canadians had left in 1942 and the reception that he received from Korean Christians. Even though he had been in Hamheung only two days, he already had met with Korean Christian leaders at the temporary YMCA, and been taken to see the Canadian Mission compound, the boy's middle school which the Canadians had run, and Central Church. The boy's school was still standing but it had been stripped off all its furniture and fixtures and many of its windows were broken. An American Army unit now occupied it. All the mission residences but one in the Canadian Mission compound had been recently deliberately destroyed to prevent their use by the United Nations forces.

What had been the single missionary woman's residence, a large brick house, "had been used as the headquarters for the Red Counter Intelligence Corps and a number of political prisoners were held in the basement. These poor victims were soaked with oil and then the building set afire. Equally cruel was the firing of the hospital. To keep it from use by the Americans it was fired while occupied by patients who were unable to escape and even today a body of one of the victims was visible. The residence in back of the hospital, as well as Dr. Scott's and a smaller house on the lower level near the Scotts are burned to the ground."<sup>(41)</sup> The Bible School remained virtually intact, the girls' middle school and the primary school were still standing but without some of their windows and doors and all of their equipment was gone. The one missionary residence, which was still standing, was described by Voelkel as a "two-storey monstrosity of a brick residence, Virginia porch and a Korean roof."<sup>(42)</sup> In leaving Hamheung the North Korean forces were quite prepared to destroy and to commit openly

atrocities in order to terrify the population and to deprive the incoming UN forces of anything of use.

It was much the same with the large Christian churches, the East Church was in a district, which suffered the worst bombing before the United Nations captured the town. While the East Church had not been directly hit, the concussion waves from bomb blasts had irreparably damaged and weakened its walls and roof. The same was true of the Central Church for three bombs close by in a totally residential district leaving three large craters and the blasts damaged the walls and flying rock took off part of the roof.<sup>(43)</sup> The physical destruction of the Canadian Mission compound and the Korean Christian churches were symbolic of the struggle and hardships that Korean Christians had gone through since the Canadians had left Hamheung in 1942, and especially during the past five years of Communist rule since 1945.

Voelkel had met with Korean Christians and had learnt from them what they had endured. The number of churches and meeting places had declined dramatically from 183 in 1941 to 80 in April 1950. He wrote "Presbytery met once a year and from the time of the Red occupancy when it was demanded that Stalin's and Kim Ill Sung's pictures decorate the meeting, because the Presbytery refused to display the pictures in a church the meetings were required to be held in the basement. Some of the churches were closed by demand of the police, some buildings were taken over as schools by the Commies or as meeting places for their organizations."<sup>(44)</sup> As it was after 1946 Communist Party officials chose the members of Presbytery. There were losses in the number of pastors attached to the Hamheung Presbytery from 45 in 1941 to 40 in 1945 to only 23 in 1950. Under

Communist rule women made up 80% of those who attended church and men only 20%. After the liberation of Hamheung men's attendance had reached 40% of the congregations.

It was not only Church-goers who were under attack. So were children who attended Sunday School for they were frequently dismissed from the public school or beaten by the teachers, and Christmas pageants cancelled. However, Voelkel noted, "despite all this opposition the Sunday Schools were maintained in many churches although the attendance fell way off. Choi Sung Chal estimated that the average would be about a fifth of the former number were attending at the time the Reds left."<sup>(45)</sup> As well as facing harassment and persecution, many Korean Christians had been outright killed.

These included some Koreans, many of whom were Christian, who had been brought to Hamheung from Manchuria by Russian advisors to serve as interpreters. The majority of those who were killed by the authorities were Christians who had demonstrated against the Communist government. Voelkel reported, "So far as they knew the martyrs were Kwun Oui Pong (the students of the Yung Sand School in an Anti-Red demonstration demanded him as governor of the province), Kim Jin Soo, Kim Yung Pum. An Pong Jin, Chaw Han Sook, Chaw Hee Ryum. The latter was shot October 10<sup>th</sup> [1946] in prison after being held four months. He was head of the pro-Red Christian League (Yun Maeng Khei), which all the local pastors joined in order to survive. In Pyeng Yang the joining of this league has assumed the same offensiveness as bowing before a Shinto Shrine. I think the attitude is mistaken but I am merely mentioning it here as a news item. The signers agreed in essence to obey the Reds, which in effect is not

very different from agreeing to obey the government.”<sup>(46)</sup> Those who chose not to join the League could face death, this was true of the local German Catholic priest, who had suffered during the Pacific War just as much as the Koreans did, and nun and a doctor. The nun was drowned in the local prison, and the priest was carried off. The fact that they were foreigners did not spare them. Much less prominent Christian figures also died, Miss Rose’s language teacher, the Biblewoman Kim Kyung Soon, was drowned in prison, and two helpers, Um Hung Joo and Kim Yung Jun were also killed. Voelkel wrote, “from 1946 on only one Bible class, Sa Kyung Whei, was permitted and the Bible Institute got going in ’46 but after two weeks was dissolved.”<sup>(47)</sup>

Russian was taught in all the high schools and English discontinued. The pastors were sure many of the young people in town spoke good Russian. This was a result in part of the estimated 4000 Russians who were stationed in Hamheung between 1945 and 1948. Most of them were military personnel but there were also approximately 100 Russian political advisors and their families in residing there. Voelkel noted that these Russian civilians “fraternized with the Koreans, entertained back and forth and held dancing classes for the young people to introduce Russian steps.”<sup>(48)</sup> Similarly, it led to more young people being able to speak Russian. At the same time, every year 200 middle school graduates drawn from the poorest families (Christians or children from prosperous families were barred) were sent to Russia for training. Examinations were held at the county and provincial levels, and the winners were sent for three months training in Leninism at P’yongyang and then sent to Moscow. The length of the stay there varied with the course, whether it was politics, medicine,



agriculture or something else. Apparently, however, students who had shown themselves adept at spying received special consideration.

Yet this fraternization could not alter the fact that Christians suffered. After 1945 there were many anti-Communist demonstrations staged in the middle schools and colleges with Christians often in leadership roles. Voelkel reported, "a Christian group in the Yung Saeng School succeeded in staging an anti-Red parade, March 13, 1946. Three of the leaders were shot. Just before May Day, 1949, an elder's son led a revolt in the College of Economics. He received a 15 year sentence and was killed with other prisoners when the Reds left the city."<sup>(49)</sup> While this in itself was an indication of the brutality of the North Korean regime when faced with opposition, much worse was to follow. Voelkel wrote, "when it became apparent that the city would fall, during a few days prior to Oct. 21 when the U.N. forces entered Ham Hung, 8900 prisoners were killed. They were taken out by the truckload, shot and dumped in big plots. Uprisings were held not only in schools but also in factories and there was considerable sabotage. In one factory 800 workers were involved, and many were killed."<sup>(50)</sup>

<sup>)</sup> These killings reveal both the savagery of the North Korean regime but also the bitterness and depth of feeling that this internecine war between the two parts of Korea generated.

Despite the terrible hardships that the Koreans in Hamheung had obviously gone through, Voelkel said "What a joyous fellowship we have had already. They have of themselves organized groups to oversee the buildings, to guard them during and after the American occupancy. They want you back. They will provide native houses for you to live in and make available all native food items that you could

use. Evangelists, doctors, nurses, teachers are desperately needed...I asked the Koreans what they wanted from you and they replied in unison, "We want Missionaries,"<sup>(51)</sup> The news that the Christians in Hamheung had managed to survive the last ten years and were eager for the return of Canadian missionaries could only hearten Murray and those of her colleagues who had been waiting for ten years to get back to their work in northern Korea. What happened next was tragic.

### Fleeing from Hamheung

On 11 December 1950 Harold Voelkel wrote from Hamheung that the United Nations forces were leaving the city, and the Koreans, especially the Christians were crushed. Korean Christians understood that they would be special targets for the Chinese Communists when they captured Hamheung, and were frantic to get away.<sup>(52)</sup> On visiting the YMCA where a group of pastors, elders and deacons always gathered, Voelkel reported, "Today when I arrived they pressed in on me, each one asking for help, some permission or letter to get on an American boat, some guarantee that they wouldn't be left here. The desperation is terrible and I wish there were something I could do. Pilots reported great streams of refugees leaving Wonsan and Navy men tell of Korean boats loaded with people escaping from Iwon, the port to the north. It has been bitter cold here, and the thought of whole families leaving and starting on a trek that will take days without the assurance of any place to live is dreadful. With Wonsan to the south in the hands of the Reds and the enemy hurrying from the north and west and the sea to the east, the people are trapped and there is real

reason for their fear. My, what fear will do...I have never been in a situation like this before and it leaves me weak, and I'm afraid useless, There seems to be nothing that I can do for them!"<sup>(53)</sup> At first there did not appear to be any hope for the Christians in Hamheung. When the decision to evacuate Hamheung became known, practically everyone in the city decided to leave as well. Most decided to make their way to Hung Nam, the port, about ten to twelve miles from Hamheung. The sheer volume of people going to Hung Nam clogged the road, and, in order to allow their troops, tanks and heavy equipment to get to Hung Nam to evacuate, the American military stationed military police along the whole length of the road and turned back Korean refugees including Christian ones.

Luckily, however, aware that Christians would be in particular danger, the American military decided to put on a special train from Hamheung to Hung Nam for 3000 selected refugees of whom 1000 would be Christians. It was left to Voelkel to help organize the Christian contingent, and to get them to the train station by 2000 hours. Voelkel told Christians to go to the East or Central Churches and from those places proceed to the Railway Station. He also took the time to go to a small Holiness Church where he found, "the whole group on their knees in prayer with their Bibles open before them. They had no way of escape and had decided 'to pray and then die,' to gather together and wait in God's presence for the Reds to fall on them."<sup>(54)</sup> Voelkel came like Moses to save them and to lead them out of Egypt (in this case, Hamheung). Similarly, Voelkel was able to save a further 30 Christians who had been caught in a security dragnet and put in prison by the American military police. Altogether, he was successful in getting 1000

Christians through the curfew to the Railway Station at the correct time. Unfortunately, the Korean in charge of selecting the other 2000 who would be on the train publicly announced that a special train would take people to Hung Nam, and more than 10,000 came to the Station to try to get on it. The result was chaos. With the assistance of the American military police, eventually the Christians were able to get onto the train and taken the railway station at Sun Huh Dong, a small fishing village where they had to wait four days in the freezing cold without shelter before finally evacuated aboard American LSTs. In all, five American LSTs (each with a normal capacity to carry 700 American Marines) were able to bring out 39,000 Korean refugees.<sup>(55)</sup> By that time, Voelkel who had left Hung Nam (before he knew whether the train carrying 1000 Christians and ultimately a further 2600 other Koreans had reached the coast) aboard the *Victory Hunter*, carrying upwards of 1500 American military personnel, was already in Pusan. The refugees from Hamheung and Hung Nam were put into refugee centres on Kojedo (now Geojedo), an island about 40 kilometres southeast of Busan. It was reported that between 50,000 and 60,000 refugees from Hamkyung provinces were quartered on Kojedo.<sup>(56)</sup>

Refugees from other places were quartered in different places, those from Inchon, for instance, were placed on Cheju Island. On New Year's Day 1951 Voelkel reported from Busan that 12,000 refugees a day were streaming into Busan, and some 2,000,000 were ultimately expected to come into Busan where there already were 600,000 refugees. Those who had walked out of Seoul when the North Koreans recaptured it had reached Suwon.<sup>(57)</sup> Toward the end of

January 1951, Fraser noted that it was “quite comforting to know that both at Washington and at Ottawa the authorities are working on the problem of rescue of Koreans, especially saving the Christian leaders in mind. But, considering the great numbers of refugees brought from Hungnam and elsewhere, I should think and fervently hope that the UN would think of evacuation, in case of need, not of a mere 5,000 or 10,000, but in terms of 100,000’s.”<sup>(58)</sup> Fraser thought, however, that the longer that the refugees could stay in Korea, the better it was for making long-term plans for dealing with the refugee problem. Fraser was also happy that relief funds from Canada were being sent out to Korea. What is clear from Voelkel is that many Christians from Hamheung were able to reach safety in South Korea. Further, during their withdrawal from Hamheung, the American Army had made a special effort to save as many as possible because they realized that the Christians would be a particular target for retribution if the North Koreans captured them.

## The Issue of Korean Refugees in Japan

In the middle of January 1951 Alf Stone in Tokyo reported that he had had a long talk with Arthur Menzies, the head of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Japan,<sup>(59)</sup> about the Korean refugee problem which the Korean Liaison Mission in Japan thought might be in excess of half a million people including local and national government officials, army, police and intelligentsia.<sup>(60)</sup> Menzies thought both Canada and Australia would be asked to give asylum to many of them. Stone wanted to make sure that Menzies would do all he could to make

sure that Korean clergy and their dependents would be in categories rated for evacuation, including David Chung and a group of some hundred and fifty who were refugees from the North-West. Menzies was reassuring but told Stone to make sure that Chung and the others registered with the UN officials in Busan who were directly in charge of evacuations. Both Stone and Menzies agreed that if there were some Korean pastors who could be absorbed into the Korean Church in Japan that this would be better for them than to go into refugee camps. Again, Menzies suggested that if the United Church of Canada could arrange to give some of the younger pastors post-graduate scholarships in Canada then that would also be better than having them stay in refugee camps for weeks or years. While he thought that the US Army or UN Relief might pay for the expenses of evacuation from Korea, Menzies also felt that the United Church of Canada should have funds available in Japan ready to be used for the evacuation of Koreans or for temporary asylum if needed. Menzies stressed, “the Japanese government and people are going to take a dim view of half a million more people being dumped into their already over-crowded country for a very long spell of time; and asylum here is not a permanent solution. The more that can be absorbed in Japan and Canada on a non-refugee basis the better.”<sup>(61)</sup>

In May 1951 Stone wrote about the dismissal of General MacArthur from command of UN troops in Korea in Japan. He stated, “I have not mentioned the excitement over General MacArthur’s recall and replacement etc. out here...I saw the procession to the airport, and MacLeod saw the plane leave the airport and reports a very touching atmosphere. The Japanese people felt that had lost a trusted friend

who had conducted an occupation much more liberal and kind than they could have dreamed of. Some thinking Japanese realise, aside from the merits and demerits of the General's argument with the President, that the issue of the final control of the civilian administration over the military is fundamental. They contrast it with their pre-war government where a speech by a leading General determined the ensuing policy of the civilian government which dare not cross the military."<sup>(62)</sup> For Japan, the dismissal of MacArthur meant the end of an important era, but also showed the Japanese public that civilian rule in the post-1945 world held sway over the generals.

## Higher Education in Japan

While the issue of Korea, the Korean War and refugees loomed large, there were other important issues that loomed large for Canadian missionaries in Japan. In his annual report for 1950, Howard Outerbridge at the Kwansei Gakuin mentioned the shortage of money, personnel and support for the work in Japan. He wrote "those of us who have been in Japan during the past few years have felt a very real sense of frustration and perhaps of impatience as we realized the greatness of the task we were facing, and the inadequacy of the resources both of men and funds which were available, I hope the Board will be very patient when such feelings are shown, because if we didn't have them we would not be of much value in Japan. We have never had a greater opportunity, and a sense of inadequacy and need both in material and spiritual things is both natural and necessary."<sup>(63)</sup> The new year 1951, however, augured a change because there seven

new young people about to be sent to Japan or to language school, and provision made for the budget next for a further four people to be sent to Japan. In other words, the United Church was now prepared to increase its support, at least, in terms of new missionaries.

Like Outerbridge, Stone had earlier expressed dissatisfaction with the support given to the Canadian Mission in Japan. As long ago as February 1949 Stone had complained that the cost of belonging to the Inter-Board Commission (IBC) which was dominated by American Mission Boards and American interests was too high and tended to depersonalize the relation of Canadian missionaries to their own United Church of Canada Mission Board. Further, Stone argued that the attitude of the New York IBC toward missionaries in the field was not conducive for good feeling and cooperation. Stone believed that “our own UCC Board and the Japan Mission Council always used to go on a policy of trusting each other; but the IBC attitude seems to be the Missionary on the field is always wrong and doesn’t know anything about conditions. They give us the impression that they suspect our motives every time we ask for a grant for any project. Missionaries will not stay on the field unless they feel that the Home Boards or IBC trust their integrity and judgement as the people-on-the-spot.”<sup>(64)</sup>

This feeling of dissatisfaction with the way that missionary decision-making had moved out of the hands of the missionary in the field can be seen in Stone’s scepticism about the starting of the new Christian University in Japan. In April 1951 Stone wrote about the difficulties that were being encountered about this ongoing project to create a new Christian University. Stone felt that the US Missionary Boards would have to spend a lot of money in order to get the new



Christian University started. He estimated that \$3,000,000 would be needed now, and very likely more would be needed in a year or two in order to keep the new University going. The problem for Stone was that such a large amount of money would result within a year or two in the budget of the Canadian Mission and those of other American missions being cut in order to pay for the new university, which would leave the Canadian Mission without enough money to support existing educational work and even church and evangelistic work.

Stone felt that unless money for the new Christian University could be found outside, then a face-saving way to stop the project should be found. He believed that "it would be better to lose face now than have one project break all our other work up."<sup>(65)</sup> The loss of face would be with the general non-Christian public, especially those who had raised a fairly substantial amount of money locally for the new Christian university. However, Stone noted "the church here (and most of us missionaries) has not been consulted about the University, and has been on the "outside" right through; and so it will not worry much if the project fizzles out. The other Christian universities like Kwansai Gakuin are worried, not without reason, over its starting with any danger of dependence on the Boards which now assist them."<sup>(66)</sup> Although the International Christian University was started and became a success, the other Christian universities like the Kwansai Gakuin and Meiji Gakuin could well have benefitted from the extra money that it took to build and develop ICU. That is a matter of conjecture. However, it was clear from what Stone wrote that some missionaries had reservations about building a new University, and were upset that they had not been fully consulted about its possible budgetary impact of their

own field of work. In the case of Stone, this was his concern with the development of rural evangelistic work. Stone would have preferred that the Canadian Mission was responsible only to the UCC Board and free to develop its own Canadian work without having to defer to the American dominated IBC.

## Into The Future

In the middle of August 1951 Fraser was in Vancouver at start of his journey back to Korea.<sup>(67)</sup> A month later, Fraser was in Tokyo staying with Ernest Bott and his wife, and waiting to go on to Korea.<sup>(68)</sup> Fraser and Scott arrived back in Pusan on 28 September 1951, where already through the intercession of Beulah Bourns who had been working since her departure from Seoul in Busan, Murray and Sandells had been allowed to return to Korea. At the end of October 1951, Fraser reported that Scott, Ohm and himself were back at work in Seoul.<sup>(69)</sup>

Even though Seoul had been recaptured and missionaries were once again at work there, the War and the fighting was still going on. Nevertheless, theological debate among Presbyterians in Korea was already raising once again its head. In early November 1951 Scott wrote, "We feel that a definite effort is being made by certain missionary groups to use (or misuse) their influence to bind the Korean church to the ultra-conservative and fundamentalist position and to shut her off from participation in the wider fellowship and better biblical scholarship of the ecumenical church...We feel that the issue is still outstanding and that the General Assembly will have to give due consideration to

the protest of the more liberal group.”<sup>(70)</sup> The Canadian missionaries were content to financially support and to co-operate with the Chosun Theological Seminary, but were less eager unless their theological concerns were addressed by the General Assembly to appoint some of their members to the Seminary’s regular staff.<sup>(71)</sup> The seeds for a future schism among Korean Presbyterians were clearly evident.

In a sense the theological debate that Scott and David Chung found themselves involved in, and the question of new Christian university in Japan, which Stone was concerned about, represented an attempt to return to normality during very abnormal times. The Korean War brought an end to the Canadian hope to return to their traditional mission field in the Hamkyung provinces of north-western Korea. The War shattered Canadian dreams and hopes not only for their own Mission but also for the Korean Christian constituency in the North that had waited ten years for their return. The War also physically destroyed many of churches, hospitals, institutions and residences that Canadian missionaries had helped to build and develop in Korea. Some Canadian missionaries like Howard Outerbridge at the Kwansei Gakuin saw the dangers of communism to Japan, and others, like the American Presbyterian John C. Smith, saw UN resistance to the invasion of the South by the North as making a stand against a type of Communist aggression which might threatened other countries in Asia.

Ultimately, however, as the example of the Christians in Seoul and in Hamheung shows, the Korean War was about individuals, their struggle to survive and overcome adversity. Both missionaries in Korea and in Japan were united in trying to help those displaced by

the War: both missionaries who arrived in Japan from Korea and also the hundreds of thousands of Korean refugees, especially the Korean pastors, elders and ordinary Korean Christians for whom Canadian missionaries chose to devote their lives in Christian service. In a time of carnage and horror, Canadian missionaries exhibited a Christian humanity for those who suffered and in doing so gave hope for a better future once peace returned. As Florence Murray suggested to have slackened their efforts to help Koreans after all they had suffered would have been unworthy of the United Church of Canada and little less than a betrayal of those who have suffered as we have never been called upon to suffer.

#### Endnotes

- (1) United Church of Canada Archives, Board of Overseas Missions (hereafter cited as UCCA BOM) Korea 1950, Box 6 File 160, Murray to Gallagher, 30 October 1940.
- (2) Ibid..
- (3) UCC BOM Japan 1950 Box 7 File 193, H.W. Outerbridge Annual Report 1950.
- (4) Ibid..
- (5) Ibid..
- (6) Ibid..
- (7) UCC BOM Japan Box 7 File 183, Arthur G. Rinden to Friends, 29 September 1950.
- (8) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, John C. Smith report on Korea.
- (9) Ibid..
- (10) Ibid..

- (11) Charles August Sauer, *When the Wolves Came: The Passing of a Pacifist in Korea* (Seoul: printed at Yonsei University, 1973), 101.
- (12) UCC BOM Korea 1950, Box 6, File 160, Scott to Gallagher, 20 May 1950.
- (13) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, John C. Smith report on Korea.
- (14) Ibid..
- (15) UCC BOM Korea 1950 Box 6 File 159, Fraser to Friends, 4 July 1950.
- (16) Ibid..
- (17) UCC BOM Korea 1950 Box 6 File 159, Gallagher to Fraser, 5 July 1950.
- (18) UCC BOM Japan 1950 Box 7 File 183 July-December, Stone to Taylor and Gallagher, 30 July 1950.
- (19) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, John C. Smith report on Korea.
- (20) Ibid..
- (21) Ibid..
- (22) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Adams to Vaught, CWS. Pusan, September 27 1950. This report has been received from the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the USA.
- (23) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, copy of letter from Helen Kim dated 1 October 1950 received in Toronto on 13 October 1950.
- (24) Ibid..
- (25) Ibid..
- (26) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Lee to Fletcher, 3 October 1950.
- (27) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Underwood to Friends, 9 October 1950. This was posted from Tokyo.
- (28) Ibid., The number of men involved varies with the telling, but all agree that at least 30 have disappeared. See, for instance, Voelkal to Brethern, October 5 1950.
- (29) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Underwood to Friends, 9 October

1950.

- (30) When Chung was ordained in 1940, he was at twenty-four the youngest pastor in the Canadian Mission field in northern Korea and Manchuria. During the Pacific War, Chung was able to attend Dôshisha University in Kyoto, and after the War studied at the University of Toronto.
- (31) UCC BOM Japan 1951, Bix 7, File 193A, Chung to Stone, 19 February 1951.
- (32) Voelkel would later make his name as a chaplain to POWs, and is the author of the book, Harold Voelkel, *Behind Barbed Wire in Korea* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1953).
- (33) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Shin Sung Kook to Fraser, 27 October 1950.
- (34) Ibid..
- (35) UCC BOM Japan 1951, Box 7, File 193A, Chung to Stone, 19 February 1951.
- (36) Ibid..
- (37) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Bourns to Dearest Family, 11 November 1950.
- (38) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Bourns to Dearest Family, 11 November 1950.
- (39) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Bourns to Fraser, 6 December 1950.
- (40) Ibid..
- (41) UCC BOM Korea 1950. Box 6, File 161, Voelkel to Fraser, Scott, Murray and Daniels, dated Hamheung, November 15 1950.
- (42) Ibid..
- (43) Ibid..

- (44) Ibid..
- (45) Ibid..
- (46) Ibid..
- (47) Ibid..
- (48) Ibid..
- (49) Ibid..
- (50) Ibid..
- (51) Ibid..
- (52) UCC BOM Korea 1950, Box 6, File 161, Voelkel to Everybody, 11 December 1950.
- (53) Ibid..
- (54) UCC BOM Korea 1950, Box 6, File 161, Voelkel to Everybody, 17 December 1950.
- (55) UCC BOM Korea 1950, Box 6, File 161, Voelkel to Everybody, 25 December 1950.
- (56) UCC BOM Korea 1950, Box 6, File 161, Kim Choon Pai to Fraser, 4 January 1951.
- (57) UCC BOM Korea 1950, Box 6, File 161, Voelkel to Everybody, 1 January 1951.
- (58) UCC BOM Korea 1950, Box 6, File 161, Fraser to Gallagher, 19 January 1951.
- (59) Arthur Menzies was the son of James Menzies, a long-time Canadian Presbyterian missionary in China and a graduate of the United Church of Canada mission school, the Canadian Academy in Kobe before going to Victoria College, University of Toronto and entering the Department of External Affairs. He together with E. Herbert Norman, the son of the long-time United Church of Canada missionary in Nagano, Dan Norman,

were the only Canadian diplomats recruited because of their East Asian knowledge. Menzies had a long and distinguished career and in the 1970s became Canada's Ambassador to China, and later Canada's first Minister for Disarmament.

- (60) UCC BOM Japan Box 7 File 193 A 1951, Stone to Friends, 15 January 1951.
- (61) Ibid..
- (62) UCC BOM Japan Box 7 File 193, Stone to Gallagher, 5 May 1951.
- (63) UCC BOM Japan Box 7 File 193 1950, Annual Report of H. W. Outerbridge 1951.
- (64) UCC BOM Japan 1949, Box 7, File 173, Stone to Gallagher, 28 February 1949.
- (65) UCC BOM Japan Box 7 File 193, Stone to Gallagher, 7 April 1951.
- (66) Ibid..
- (67) UCC BOM Korea 1951 Box 6, File 165, Fraser to Gallagher, 14 August 1951.
- (68) UCC BOM Korea 1951, Box 6, File 165, Fraser to Gallagher, 15 September 1951.
- (69) UCC BOM Korea 1951, Box 6, File 165, Fraser to Gallagher, 20 October 1951.
- (70) UCC BOM Korea 1951, Box 6, File 165, Scott to Gallagher, 10 November 1951.