

Howard Outerbridge: A Canadian Educational Missionary in Occupied Japan 1947-1951

I cannot get away from the feeling that something has happened to our home church during the war. They were fed on stories of atrocity and hate so much that they have become spiritual isolationists, and really don't care very much what happens to the "damn Japs" or "Chinks" or anyone else outside Canada.

Howard Outerbridge, October 1949⁽¹⁾

Andrew Hamish Ion

Introduction

The above quotation expresses the frustration of a senior United Church of Canada educational missionary stationed at Kwansei Gakuin in Nishinomiya about the lack of support that the United Church of Canada was giving to its missions in Japan and China. Howard Wilkinson Outerbridge (1886-1976) thought "a good deal of the responsibility [for this spiritual isolationism] is on our ministers. They are not mission minded, and little is being done to make them so, and until they are, the Church won't be mission-minded."⁽²⁾ The reasons for the lack of support were more subtle than simply blaming the ministers, but it is evident that there was a definite reluctance on the part of the Canadian Church to support its Japan mission to the same level as it had done at the end of the 1930s. This was all the more annoying to a missionary

like Outerbridge who saw in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Japanese Protestant Church and its institutional plant, not only a great Christian opportunity but also the prospect of helping to restore Japan to be a peace-loving country with a democratic government.

During the Allied Occupation of Japan after the end of the Second World War in East Asia, the United Church of Canada mission in Japan had among its missionaries three outstanding figures: Ernest Bott (1892-1952), A. R. "Alf" Stone (1902-1954) and Howard Outerbridge.⁽³⁾ This short research article uses letters that Outerbridge wrote to the United Church of Canada overseas⁽⁴⁾ missions secretaries in Toronto between 1947 to 1950 to investigate two major areas that clearly interested him and so deserve attention: firstly, his hopes for the post-war development of Kwansai Gakuin University and its Christian influence; and secondly, his views on democracy in Japan and threat of communism in Japan and East Asia. In writing about democracy and communism, Outerbridge was expressing views that were also plainly held by many of his fellow Canadian missionaries in Japan and mirror the political anxieties felt during the Occupation. In analysing Outerbridge's letters, this research article stresses the importance of the Occupation period as an era of change in the history of the Canadian missionary movement in Japan. As well as indicating the richness of missionary correspondence, it is hoped that this research will also serve to underline the usefulness of a biographical approach to help illuminate themes and issues in missionary history.

Howard Outerbridge was born in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia in 1886 and graduated from Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick BA (1907), MA (1909), BD (1910). He was ordained in 1910 and was a member of the Halifax Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada. The same year, he married Edna Muriel Baker (1887-1965) from Napanee, Ontario who graduated from the Mount Allison Ladies College in 1909. It was in 1910 that the newly married Outerbridges went out to Japan. They would remain there except for the years 1940 to 1947 until 1956.⁽⁵⁾ While their first two years were spent in Tokyo and Hamamatsu, the Outerbridges arrived in Kobe in 1912. It was there at Kwansei Gakuin, which subsequently moved to Nishinomiya, that Outerbridge spent his missionary career. For many years, Edna Outerbridge taught at the Canadian Academy in Kobe.

The Methodist Episcopal South missionaries led by Walter Russell Lambuth (1854-1921) had begun educational work in Kobe as early as 1886. However, with the union of the two American Methodist Episcopal and the Canadian Methodist missions in 1907, the Canadian Methodist mission began to cooperate with its Methodist Episcopal South counterpart in the development of Kwansei Gakuin as a specialized higher educational institution made up of a theological department and a high school in keeping with the changes in educational regulations introduced in 1912. In 1929 the school moved from Kobe to a more commodious campus at Nishinomiya. In 1932 Kwansei Gakuin was granted university status on the grounds that it possessed three departments, theology, literature and higher commercial. During the inter-war years,

the leading Canadian missionary figure at Kwansei Gakuin was Cornelius John Lighthall Bates (1877-1963), a graduate of Queen's University in Kingston, who was the principal of the University from 1920 to 1940. When Outerbridge returned to Japan after the War in 1947, he inherited Bates's mantle as the key Canadian missionary figure at the university (firstly as daigaku-cho, Principal of the University Department),⁽⁶⁾ but it was under very different circumstances and clearly difficult conditions.

In late 1949 Outerbridge did not regret being the University Principal even though "a very large proportion of my time has been taken up with Committee and Administrative work and while this has cut down the amount of teaching, I have done. I believe that the time has not been entirely wasted. We have much to do yet to bring the school up to the standard we have set."⁽⁷⁾ In 1949 he had turned down his nomination for the Presidency of the Kwansei Gakuin because he was convinced "it must be the Japanese who are to take the leadership in the school, and we missionaries must take secondary positions."⁽⁸⁾ By 1950 Outerbridge noted "I am at present holding the Principalship of the Univ., the Presidency of the Board of Directors, and the Deanship of the Theol. School, in addition to being Acting President during Mr. Imada's [the Kwansei Gakuin President] absence and several other odd jobs."⁽⁹⁾ He wielded considerable influence at the school, but rather unwillingly, for he noted "I am now the oldest man in active service at the school, having been on the staff for 38 years. This and the fact that I have been in administrative work most of that time has put me in a rather unique position, from the Japanese point of view, with the

result that they turn to me as the one on whom offices and honours should be conferred. This has been embarrassing to me.”⁽¹⁰⁾ The problem, as he recognized in March 1950, was “there is at present no one else to act as liaison between the Japanese and the missionary members & mission boards.”⁽¹¹⁾ Until more missionaries were sent to the Kwansei Gakuin to join the permanent staff, Outerbridge felt that he could not leave. The longevity of his tenure at the university had made him almost irreplaceable.

Restoration and Rehabilitation of Kwansei Gakuin

The importance of Christian education was clearly enunciated by Outerbridge in 1951 when he wrote “if Japan is to be brought to Christ, the Church must be greatly strengthened by the winning of strong leaders into the Church. Christian Education is the most effective means of creating such leaders, who can form the shock troops through which eventually this great people will be brought into the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ.”⁽¹²⁾ Money, however, was needed to restore and rehabilitate Christian schools after the devastation of the War so that they would be able to start to produce the strong leaders that the Japanese Christian movement was seen to require. It was money from the United Church that was a major sticking point for Outerbridge and the Kwansei Gakuin.

All universities are short of money because the possibilities of research, institutional infrastructure and academic improvement are unlimited. They are constantly looking to stakeholders, alumni

and students for money to support them and their activities. During the inter-war years when Bates had been principal, the Canadian Methodists and its United Church of Canada successor had vigorously supported Kwansei Gakuin financially as well as with missionary teachers. It had not stinted in providing its expected share of support for the institution. This changed with the end of the war. With the return of peace came the plea from Kwansei Gakuin for funds to rebuild the University, which had been starved of money and students during the war years. As early as March 1946 Kanzaki Kiichi (1888-1959), the President of Kwansei Gakuin, was calling for funds to reopen the Theological School, expand its Natural Science Department to include university level Schools of Agriculture and of Medicine and an Institute of American Studies.⁽¹³⁾ In February 1947 the Mission Board in Toronto were not willing to provide Kwansei Gakuin with extra funds beyond its contribution to missionary teacher salaries except for a single injection of \$3000 which was the same amount that it was giving to West China Union University in Chengtu (Chengdu) and to Chefoo University in China.⁽¹⁴⁾ This was an issue which not only involved Outerbridge at Kwansei Gakuin but also Alf Stone, the treasurer of the United Church's Japan mission, and the well-being of the Japan mission as a whole. In October 1947 Stone saw the possibility of savings if Kwansei Gakuin and Dôshisha University in Kyoto cooperated in teaching at their theological schools.⁽¹⁵⁾ Stone felt that Kwansei Gakuin was not in a good position to get more money for its theological college.

Despite the parsimoniousness of the Canadian Church, in early

1948, there were reasons why Outerbridge was optimistic about the situation at Kwansei Gakuin for he told C.J.L. Bates that “we have been told that of the 13 schools which applied for the new University standing including Doshisha, Ritsumeikan, Kwansei Daigakkô etc., our standing was recognized to be the best, and we were given the smallest number of conditions to fulfil, in fact only those which we had already set ourselves to do.”⁽¹⁶⁾ They had 55 full time men on the University faculty and were planning to add several more in the near future. In October 1948 Outerbridge wrote to Gallagher in Toronto that “things going along very well – we are still a bit disorganized in the University after our change of system last April, but are on the road to recovery.”⁽¹⁷⁾ Yet, there were also difficulties including a movement among students seemingly organized by the Communists against the rise of University tuition fees which led Outerbridge to complain that “the pressure of finances is very heavy, and prices are still rising. Just why School Fees should not rise with them, it is hard to say!”⁽¹⁸⁾ Money to keep Kwansei Gakuin operating was always a worry.

Earlier in March 1948 Outerbridge had informed Arnup and Gallagher in Toronto that it would require Yen 12,000,000 (at Yen 200 = \$1) to restore Kwansei Gakuin to its former pre-War state of repair. This would require both the Canadian and American Missions to contribute for two years an appropriation of \$60,000 to cover the amount for rehabilitation alone. This would mean the school would have to rely on the Yen income from student fees to cover its maintenance expenses, but, unfortunately, their Yen income was not enough to do that. Therefore, an estimate of \$30,000 for

maintenance had also to be put forward.⁽¹⁹⁾ Outerbridge reminded those in Toronto that “you will remember that for many years, when the school was smaller than at present, and the financial situation in Japan much easier, we received a grant each year of \$50,000 from the two missions. At least a similar amount would be needed now to raise the school to its corresponding level.”⁽²⁰⁾ However, the United Church of Canada was no longer prepared to support the institution at the same level as it had done prior to 1941. Indeed, in 1949, the sixtieth anniversary of Kwansei Gakuin, Outerbridge requested \$75,000 from each mission over the next two or three years for the building program (to which a further Yen 30,000,000 raised in Japan would be added).⁽²¹⁾ Those in Toronto had a very different figure in mind for 1949, a regular grant of \$10,000 with perhaps a further \$5000 paid out from the Project Grant for that year only.⁽²²⁾ This was nowhere near the amount of money that Outerbridge and the Kwansei Gakuin leadership wanted.

It had also been a hope at Kwansei Gakuin, that they could open an Agricultural Department. While the Mission Board in Toronto was in favour of the development of an Agricultural Department to be affiliated with the International Christian University in Tokyo, it was uninterested in supporting one at Kwansei Gakuin. This, Outerbridge thought, was wrong for he believed there was opportunity for an Agricultural Department in the Kansai where there was only one Agricultural Department (at Kyoto University), while there were already eight in the Kantô.⁽²³⁾ It appeared those in Toronto were discouraging yet another expansion project at Kwansei Gakuin.

Outerbridge was sorely disillusioned by the lack of financial support from the United Church. In October 1949 he complained, "we had been promised that Japan would get a priority in our Overseas Mission work, and that a million or two would be raised to help in doing our share of world reconstruction. It seemed a long time to wait for a reconstruction program, - 4 years after the war finished. But we have been living in hope."⁽²⁴⁾ He wanted an explanation. In December 1949 Arnup in Toronto gave him one, which was by no means heartening.⁽²⁵⁾ According to Arnup, in 1946 the Overseas Mission Committee had asked for permission from the Canadian Church's General Council to launch a campaign for a million dollars for rehabilitation purposes in Japan and China. However, at the General Council, the Overseas Mission Committee had been outflanked by the Missionary and Maintenance Committee which suggested that the fund-raising campaign should be directed toward supporting special projects for rehabilitation to be paid out of increases in the Missionary and Maintenance Fund. This opened the way for the Home Missions Committee (which supervised missions in Canada including educational work among First Nations) to claim fifty percent of the so-called Project Fund. Further, in 1949 the Finance Committee decided to divide the growing Missionary and Maintenance Fund which had increased by \$365,000 in 1948 and to spend it mainly on bonuses and increased salaries for ministers. The Overseas Missions Committee was allowed only a paltry increase of \$5000. Simply put the Overseas Mission authorities had lost their ability both to campaign for funds on their own account, and to dictate how such funds raised for

the Missionary and Maintenance Committee's Project Fund were spent. This came at a time when the Overseas Mission Board was running a deficit in its current account. To make up this deficit, the Overseas Mission Board was given permission to raid the Project Fund and use some of its capital funds to pay off current account expenses. Arnup asked Outerbridge, "do you wonder that we are not appointing a large number of missionaries to Japan? On account of this ironclad system in which we are bound we cannot get our case to the people in a way to get the benefit of their response direct."⁽²⁶⁾ Considerable sums were raised but very little of it reached rehabilitation projects in Japan or China. There was no million or two dollars available to be spent on reconstruction in Japan and China, that was a pipe dream.

Outerbridge had been misled into believing such a sum had been promised for work in Japan. In March 1950 he complained with some obvious justification that "I think that a great mistake has been made, especially by the US Boards in making large promises of help and encouraging the Japan Church and schools to ask for large amounts, when actually the money was not in sight. They have felt so secure in making their plans, and when the money did not come, or was delayed, our constituencies, especially the non-Christian groups connected with schools, have felt that the Christian people were not quite honest in their promises. There has been a most unfortunate reaction in I.C.U. circles at this point. There is a danger of the same sort of reaction at Kwansai Gakuin if our assistance from US & Canada is not forthcoming. I am very much worried in this regard."⁽²⁷⁾ He pointed out to Gallagher in

Toronto that the Southern Methodist Episcopal mission had sent to the Kwansei Gakuin double the amount of money that the United Church had given. Above that, the Southern Methodists had five full-time missionaries and one part-time missionary on the faculty, while the United Church could only manage to have four including himself.⁽²⁸⁾ Making financial promises that it could not keep, Outerbridge warned the United Church could have unfortunate consequences.

While Outerbridge was concentrated on improving the Kwansei Gakuin, the Mission Board in Toronto did express concern about “developing an institutional mission, that is spending so much of our personnel in college work and neglecting the evangelistic programme elsewhere. There certainly is a great opportunity to reach young people in the educational work, but we have so few full-time evangelistic missionaries at present that the programme seems unbalanced.”⁽²⁹⁾ This was a legitimate question, and Outerbridge’s response revealed the difficult relationship between the Kyodan leadership and the Canadian missionaries in Japan. He replied “the fact is we are in a very embarrassing position with the Kyodan, which seems to be lacking in vision or does not want too many missionaries in the work of the Church. Those attitudes on the part of some leaders is carried over from the former Presb. and Cong. churches. We didn’t have it in the Methodist Church. But while theoretically they welcome the help of missionaries, actually they have little place for them in their plans.”⁽³⁰⁾ The one place where missionaries were asked for was in schools where they have “a plan for the men who are sent, and give them large opportunity.”⁽³¹⁾

Outerbridge made it very evident the reason why there were so few evangelistic missionaries was not the fault of the missions for “we are not responsible for the situation. The Church is, and how far we ought to push the church to ask for me when they evidently are not anxious for them, I don’t know.”⁽³²⁾ The intimate connection that Canadian missionaries had with the pre-war Japan Methodist Church had been lost when it joined the union Kyodan whose leadership was dominated by those from the former Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches. There was apparently no chance that a balance between educational and evangelistic missionaries could be maintained.

Politics in Japan and the Threat of Communism

As well as his disappointment over lack of funds, Outerbridge was concerned during the Occupation with Japanese politics because of its possible repercussions on the Christian movement in Japan. In July 1945 when he was still in Canada and the Second World War in East Asia was drawing to a close, he had thought Japan had a bright political future, if the proposed Allied Occupation acted wisely. He argued the “Allies would be very stupid if they did not find a way of turning the Emperor with his great prestige and influence into an asset, instead of hanging him, when everyone knows that he has been the reluctant tool of the revisionists, and thus turning everyone in Japan – liberal and reactionary alike into our implacable foes.”⁽³³⁾ Looking back to the role of the Meiji Emperor in giving the Japanese a Constitution in 1889, he believed the Emperor could

perform a similar service after Japan's defeat by playing a key role both in denouncing the military reactionaries who had ruined Japan and in setting Japan "along the line of democratic and industrial development in a peaceful world" by granting a new Constitution which declared "the will of the people through full representative government must hereafter be the final authority."⁽³⁴⁾ It was up to the Allies to supervise the execution of such a policy. Outerbridge's position illustrates the extreme moderation of Canadian missionary views in regards to future changes to the political structure of Japan after its surrender.

Four years later, Outerbridge was much more sanguine about the political situation. At the start of January 1949, he stressed "the new democratic freedom also has its difficulties. Freedom of the Press and freedom of speech are not impressive when they are limited to statements 'not critical' of an occupying army which is imposing the freedom upon you. Our explanations sound strangely like those the Communists give to support their acts of tyranny, even though the parallel may cease at that point. It certainly is difficult to establish democracy by military methods, even if the Angel Gabriel were the General in Charge."⁽³⁵⁾ A new general election was being called but Outerbridge noted sarcastically, "in Japan today it is scarcely possible for any man to be elected who is not both a braggart and a crook. The leaders of the past have almost all been purged, and many new leaders who have appeared the past two or three years have already been indicted for bribery and political corruption, in connection with recent government scandals. Well-known and trusted leaders are few."⁽³⁶⁾ Like the

Church in Japan, which he often complained was short of strong leadership, he saw few good leaders among Japanese politicians.

Outerbridge wrote in his annual report for 1950, "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," but Outerbridge added the warning, "the road to the Communist Conquest of the West lies through the East."⁽³⁷⁾ It was important to him that Japan was kept safe from communism. He contended, "at the moment the situation in Japan seems quite hopeful. The power of Communism is on the wane."⁽³⁸⁾ He noted 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 that Communism had lost support with both the farming and industrial classes because those classes felt that they were better off under current conditions than under the Kremlin, but "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.”⁽³⁹⁾ 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, Outerbridge’s fears about Communism were not justified. However, it has to be remembered that Outerbridge was writing at a time when China was in revolution and Korea on the verge of war.

In October 1949 Outerbridge observed “two or three months ago we had a flood of missionaries arrive here from the Communist held territory [in China], all of them with horror stories of what had happened. Some declared that anyone who remained in China was a fool, and would be held hostage when the Commies went in. All Americans have been ordered out, etc. etc.”⁽⁴⁰⁾ Outerbridge did add that he had heard, from his daughter-in-law Margaret within the past week, more encouraging news about Communist Chinese attitudes, and learnt that some Canadian missionaries felt that it was their duty to remain. He considered “they were absolutely right in doing so, and believed things would straighten out to allow them to do so.”⁽⁴¹⁾ This was personally a touchy subject for Outerbridge because he had been accused by Arnup of trying to dissuade his son Ralph Edward Outerbridge (1911-1990) and daughter-in-law

Margaret Elizabeth Kergin Outerbridge (born Arnup, 1909-1984) who were medical missionaries from going out to China in the summer of 1949. In December 1949 Arnup wrote to Outerbridge that he felt very sorry for those missionaries with families who had to decide whether or not to stay in China or return home. Arnup noted "I have never in the slightest way reproached their decision to leave the field. I have busied myself getting houses and work for those who have returned. All the same I think the time has come for a nucleus of workers to make up their minds to see it through and I am greatly gratified that Ralph and Margaret are among the number."⁽⁴²⁾ It was not long, however, before the opening of the Korean War in 1950 brought to an end of any hope of Canadian missionaries had of remaining at work in China.⁽⁴³⁾

In November 1950 Outerbridge commented "We, in Japan, have been almost untouched by the conflict in Korea, though many of the occupation personnel, living near us have been sent over to the war zone, leaving their wives and children here. It is a time of very great tenseness and strain for them."⁽⁴⁴⁾ This statement reflected the fact that Outerbridge at the Kwansei Gakuin was living in an island of tranquility and did not have to deal with the influx of missionary and other Western refugees who came to Japan to escape the fighting in the Korean peninsula. What he chose to see was that "conditions in Japan are rapidly coming back to pre-war normal. I have every confidence that they will soon be far better than before the war, unless another conflict breaks out which Japan has to take part. To be able to rebuild her economic life without the strain of keeping up a great army and navy, has been

a great blessing to this land. I only wish it could be permanently so in every country.”⁽⁴⁵⁾ Outerbridge was clearly pleased Japan had been able to rebuild her economic life without having to spend on the armed forces. It would appear he was a pacifist.

In an address to the annual meeting of the Board of Overseas Missions in Toronto while he was on furlough in 1951, Outerbridge maintained that “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.”⁽⁴⁶⁾ Outerbridge remained hopeful that the United Church in the future would not continue to neglect Japan.

Without a willingness on the part of Western countries to support Japan’s re-entry into the international trade system, however, Outerbridge thought there remained a great danger in the future for Japan. He believed the only way that Japan could sustain itself was through international trade, and that required Western co-operation. In late 1951 he argued Japan “must buy raw materials, manufacture them into sale goods and sell them in the world’s market. But here lies a difficulty, China has always been Japan’s best customer, and is her nearest neighbour. And China has gone Communist. Already some voices are being raised inside Japan counselling her to follow

China, since China trade is essential to Japan's existence. Those voices are not loud at present. But they will become much louder if the Western nations refuse to give Japan a fair share of the world's trade. If the old struggle for world markets is renewed and Japan, because of her weakened condition is shut out, she will be thrown back into the arms of Communist China, with disastrous results for Asia and the world."⁽⁴⁷⁾ Outerbridge was uttering a genuine fear that out of its need to trade Japan might have to follow China's lead and become Communist. As it turned out, Japan was able to boost its exports to Western countries, and its earlier trade dependency on China evaporated and with it the danger that Japan might have to copy China.

Conclusions

Howard Outerbridge would remain at work at Kwansei Gakuin until 1956 when he reached missionary retirement age of seventy. In the nine years since he had returned to Japan after the War, he had played a key role in re-establishing it as a viable educational institution and university. Despite his earlier fears of communism and pessimism about political figures, he was able to witness by the time he left Japan that the parliamentary system and democracy was securely established in the country.

During the early Occupation of Japan when the opportunities for Christian growth were propitious, Canadian missionaries in Japan including Outerbridge were filled with hope that their Christian work might help to atone for the Allies' massive

destruction of Japanese cities and its resultant enormous loss of civilian Japanese lives during the war. Yet, the United Church of Canada, despite post-war increases in Church revenue, appeared loath to fund its Japan Mission to the same level as it had prior to 1941. Further, it entered into co-operative work with American missions, which subordinated Canadian interests to American ones rather than maintaining a separate Canadian mission identity. A result of this was that those institutions, which the United Church had traditionally supported such as the Kwansei Gakuin, were starved of Canadian funds, and their post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction hopes delayed.

The descent of the Bamboo Curtain following the opening of the Korean War put an end to the United Church of Canada work in west China and north Korea. Canadian participation in the Korean War as well as the economic regeneration of Japan and the accompanying growth of its international trade led to Canada-Japan relations becoming increasingly more complex. Prior to 1941, the missionary movement had served as a major conduit in Canada-Japan relations, by the 1950s this was no longer the case. Nevertheless, the example of Howard Outerbridge during the Occupation does illustrate that Canadian missionary devotion to serve the Christian cause in Japan continued unabated in the hope that “eventually this great people will be brought into the Kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ” would be fulfilled.

Endnotes

- (1) U[nited]C[hurch] [of] C[anada] A[rchives] B[oard] [of] O[verseas]

M[issions] J[apan] [microfilm]1949, Box 7 File 180, Outerbridge to Arnup,
10 October 1949.

- (2) Ibid..
- (3) For Ernest Bott, see Andrew Hamish Ion, "To Build a New Japan: Canadian Missionaries in Occupied Japan 1946-1948," in Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyô Kenkyûjo *Kiyo*, no. 47 (January 2015), 153-192; For Alf Stone, see Andrew Hamish Ion, "Alf Stone and Occupied Japan 1946-1948: Missionary Hopes and Christian Opportunities," in Meiji Gakuin Daigaku Kirisutokyô Kenkyûjo *Kiyo*, no. 48 (February 2016), 379-417.
- (4) Jesse Henry Arnup (1880-1965), Secretary of United Church of Canada Foreign Missions from 1925 to 1952 and also Dr. David Gallagher who served on the Board of Overseas Mission during the 1940s and 1950s.
- (5) See John W. Krummel, ed., *Raini Mesojisuto Kyôshi Jiten: A Biographical Dictionary of Methodist Missionaries to Japan: 1873-1993* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1996), see separate entries for Edna and Howard Outerbridge, 194.
- (6) UCCA, BOMJ 1948, Box 7 File 168, Outerbridge to Bates, no date (May 1948?).
- (7) UCCA, BOMJ 1949, Box 7 File 180, Outerbridge Annual Report 1949, 16 December 1949.
- (8) UCCA, BOMJ 1950, Box 7 File 189, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 9 August 1950.
- (9) Ibid..
- (10) Ibid..
- (11) UCCA, BOMJ 1950, Box 7 File 189, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 14

March 1950.

- (12) UCCA, BOMJ 1950, Box 7 File 201, Outerbridge Address to the annual meeting of the Board of Overseas Missions 1951.
- (13) UCCA BOMJ 1946, Box 7, File 152, Kanzaki to Bates, 24 March 1946.
- (14) UCCA BOMJ 1947, Box 7, File 153, Arnup to Stone, 4 February 1947.
- (15) UCCA BOMJ 1947, Box 7, File 153, Stone to Arnup, 10 October 1947.
- (16) UCCA BOMJ 1948, Box 7 File 168, Outerbridge to Bates, no date May? 1948.
- (17) UCCA BOMJ 1948, Box 7 Fie 168, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 12 October 1948.
- (18) Ibid..
- (19) UCCA BOMJ 1948, Box 7 File 168, Outerbridge to Arnup and Gallagher, 22 March 1948.
- (20) Ibid..
- (21) UCCA BOMJ 1949, Box 7 File 180, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 8 February 1949.
- (22) UCCA BOMJ 1949, Box 7 File 180, Gallagher to Outerbridge, 23 February 1949.
- (23) UCCA BOMJ 1948, Box 7 File 180, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 8 February 1949.
- (24) UCCA BOMJ 1949, Box 7, File 180, Outerbride to Arnup, 10 October 1949.
- (25) UCCA BOMJ 1949, Box 7, File 180, Arnup to Outerbridge, 19 December 1949.
- (26) Ibid..
- (27) UCCA, BOMJ 1950, Box 7 File 189, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 14 March 1950.

- (28) Ibid..
- (29) UCCA BOMJ 1949, Box 7, File 180, Gallagher to Outerbridge, 30 November 1949.
- (30) UCCA BOMJ 1949, Box 7, File 180, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 7 December 1949.
- (31) Ibid..
- (32) Ibid..
- (33) UCCA BOMJ, Box 6, File 142, Outerbridge to Armstrong, 4 July 1945.
- (34) UCC: BOMJ, Box 6, File 142, Outerbridge to Armstrong, 4 July 1945.
- (35) UCCA BOMJ 1948, Box 7 File 180, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 1 January 1949.
- (36) Ibid..
- (37) UCCA BOMJ 1950, Box 7, File 193, Outerbridge Annual Report 1950.
- (38) Ibid..
- (39) Ibid..
- (40) UCCA BOMJ 1949, Box 7 File 180, Outerbridge to Arnup, 10 October 1949.
- (41) Ibid..
- (42) UCCA BOMJ 1949, Box 7 File 180, Arnup to Outerbridge, 19 December 1949.
- (43) It was in late November 1950 that Outerbridge learnt that Ralph and Margaret had been able to leave Chengtu for Hong Kong, and so were safe. See UCCA, BOMJ 1950, Box 7 File 189, Outerbridge to Gallagher, 20 November 1950.
- (44) UCCA BOMJ 1950, Box 7 File 189, Outerbridge to Friends around the World 13 November 1950.
- (45) Ibid.

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- (46) UCCA BOMJ 1951, Box 7 File 201, Outerbridge Address to the annual meeting of the Board of Overseas Missions 1951.
- (47) Ibid.