
Contradictory Impulses



*Edited by Greg Donaghy
and Patricia E. Roy*

Contradictory Impulses
Canada and Japan
in the Twentieth Century



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For Michael and Maureen Donaghy



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Contradictory Impulses



Introduction

Greg Donaghy and Patricia E. Roy

For most of the past two decades, Japan has been one of Canada's most important economic and political partners. In 2004, it was Canada's second most important export market and the fourth greatest source of imports.¹ Japanese investments in Canada total over \$10.5 billion, ranking Japan fifth among foreign investors, and it is the ninth most important destination for Canadian investment abroad.² Politically, Canadian and Japanese leaders are closely allied through shared membership in the G8, while Canada's diplomatic presence in Japan is its third largest in Asia.

Despite the importance of this trans-Pacific relationship, scholars in neither country have yet developed an accessible overview of Canada-Japan relations. Instead, comfortably confined within their own areas of specialization, students of the relationship have tended to work in relative isolation on narrow topics within limited time periods.³ Thus, there is an extensive literature on Canadian Protestant but not Catholic missionaries in Japan; on Japanese immigration and the treatment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War, but little on political-security relations from 1914 to 1939. Similarly, there are scholarly debates on the unhappy career of Herbert Norman, the alleged communist-turned-Canadian-diplomat, but almost no archivally based work on relations since 1945. The narrow focus of the historiography often obscures enduring and broad themes in the Canada-Japan relationship, thus reinforcing the tendency of foreign policy scholars to emphasize Canada's relations with the Atlantic world.⁴ This book attempts to restore some balance to the literature on Canada's place in the world and contends that Canadians and their governments have long had a world view that includes Asia, the Pacific, and Japan. Though the individual authors within this volume may sometimes differ, together their contributions trace the evolution of an important bilateral relationship that, while often characterized by contradiction and uncertainty, has matured in fits and starts over the past century.

Canadians have always been conscious and proud of their status as a Pacific nation, but their early efforts to develop a role in that region were hindered by the contradictory impulses shaping their approach. For more than half a century, racist restrictions curtailed immigration from Japan, even as Canadian traders, diplomats, and missionaries manoeuvred for access to the fabled wealth (measured in dollars or souls) of the Orient. Until the expiry of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1921, Canadians, who feted the Japanese as the “British of Asia,” relied on Japan to protect their western coast, while simultaneously fearing Tokyo’s imperial ambitions.

Though racial antipathy often characterized early Canadian attitudes towards the Japanese, Canada’s relations with Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were more complex and warmer than is commonly acknowledged. Many Canadians admired the Empire of the Rising Sun for its rapid and orderly drive towards modernization and cheered heartily when the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902 formally allied Japan and the British Empire, of which Canada was then a part. The *Ottawa Evening Journal* praised the new alliance as “an extraordinary mark in history,” while Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier described it as “one of the happy events of this century.”⁵

As Laurier acknowledged implicitly, Canada’s relations with Japan were already constrained by the influences of its two closest and much more powerful allies, Britain and the United States. The Asian preoccupations of these major powers, particularly China’s expanding role throughout the Pacific, form much of the backdrop for the evolution of the Canada-Japan relationship during the twentieth century. Even so, what Canada lacked in military and economic strength could be offset to some extent by “soft power.” In defining this concept, the American political scientist Joseph Nye states that countries can sometimes achieve their foreign policy objectives “through attraction rather than through coercion,”⁶ by projecting their values abroad to cultivate relations with foreign civil society “so that they want what you want.”⁷ Protestant and Catholic missionary activities, underwritten financially and spiritually by a youthful Canada searching for a way to make its mark on the world, were an exercise in “soft power” par excellence.

There were undoubted differences in emphasis between English-speaking Protestant missionaries, rooted in Ontario, and French-speaking Catholic missionaries, drawn largely from Quebec. Protestants were quicker to address Japanese social problems than Catholics, who placed greater emphasis on spiritual objectives. There were chronological distinctions too: Protestant missionaries flourished before 1941, while Catholics, who started slightly later, continued to arrive in strength through the 1950s. They were geographically distinct as well, with Protestant missions cutting a swath through central Japan, while their Catholic competitors clustered close to the major cities along the coast (see Figure 1.3).

The similarities, however, were far more striking. Both sets of missionaries were starry-eyed at the prospect of converting the Japanese masses and saving a “million souls for Christ.” Neither made many converts, though both made other contributions to Japan in the fields of education (especially of girls and women), social work, medical care, and scholarship. More important, priests and ministers alike participated vigorously in discussions at home on the meaning of social and political developments in Japan, and on bilateral relations, frequently becoming influential, if sometimes misguided, interpreters of Japan to Canadians.

Canada’s imperial links played an important role in shaping early encounters between Canadian and Japanese citizens. The Japanese sponsor of a shady scheme to land undocumented Japanese immigrants along the British Columbia coast in 1906 escaped serious penalty for violating Canadian customs and immigration laws partly because of Japan’s close ties with imperial Britain. Yet, relations with Japan were increasingly complicated by Canada’s growing attachment to the emerging American empire. As British Columbians’ antipathy to the Japanese rose with an influx of immigrants in 1907, they borrowed an American idea and formed an Asiatic Exclusion League. Its activities helped spark Vancouver’s anti-Asian riot of 1907, which led to tighter restrictions on immigration from Japan. Those restrictions did not end opposition to Japanese immigration in British Columbia, but they did cause lingering resentment in Japan.

That riot helped shape official attitudes towards Japan and drew attention to Canada’s place in the Pacific. By the early 1920s, Canada’s military viewed Imperial Japan with a new sense of foreboding, a sentiment that reinforced racial stereotypes and contradicted the more positive images of Japan promoted by missionaries. As Canada’s small professional military became increasingly sophisticated, it abandoned its farcical notions of a Japanese invasion in favour of a realistic analysis that stressed the dangers to Canada of unbridled competition between the United States and Japan in the Pacific. Then, as now, Washington feared that a weak Canada threatened its own borders, and Canadian military leaders insisted that if Canadians could not (or would not) defend their shores, Americans would. This was a compelling argument, and when Mackenzie King’s government authorized a modest expansion of the navy in the late 1920s, it was acting more in response to US stimuli than to any fear of the Japanese.

Even as some Canadians viewed Japan and the Pacific as a source of danger, Canada was still drawn towards Japan. Like many Canadians, Prime Minister Laurier was inspired by what one historian of the early economic relationship has called “the myth of the Japan market.”⁸ He sent a trade commissioner on a reconnaissance mission to Japan in 1897 and established a commercial agency in Yokohama in 1904.⁹ Trade with Japan grew slowly – over the next decade, total trade averaged less than \$2.5 million annually,

Table I.1

Canadian trade with Japan, 1870-1929 (Cdn\$)		
Year	Exports to Japan	Imports from Japan
1870	1,000	311,000
1880	26,891	542,972
1890	26,825	1,258,763
1900	110,735	1,751,415
1910	659,118	1,673,542
1920	7,732,514	13,637,287
1929	42,100,000	12,921,000

Source: Klaus H. Pringsheim, *Neighbors across the Pacific: The Development of Economic and Political Relations between Canada and Japan* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983), 24.

with the balance consistently in Japan's favour (see Table I.1). In exchange for pottery, silk, toys, and tea, Japan's main exports across the Pacific, Canada shipped salt fish and the occasional boatload of coal and lumber.¹⁰

Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King was also attracted to Japan, encouraged in part by the rapid shift in the early 1920s in the terms of trade. Japan's poor crops in 1921-23 and the lumber required to rebuild after the Kanto earthquake of 1923 boosted sales of Canadian wheat, flour, and lumber. Japan's industrial expansion during the 1920s added a new market for Canadian metals. "It is true," boasted Mackenzie King in 1928, "that our trade with the Orient today is greater than was the trade of Canada with the United Kingdom at the time the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into office."¹¹ The following year, Canada opened its third overseas diplomatic legation in Tokyo, in a fine neo-colonial building built by the first minister, Liberal Party bagman and Montreal financier, Sir Herbert Marler. King's motives were complex and contradictory; in addition to promoting trade, the new mission was intended to administer the regulations designed to curtail Japanese immigration and demonstrate Ottawa's growing diplomatic autonomy.

The contradictions defining the relationship intensified in the 1930s when Japan's military leaders seized Manchuria, and then parts of China, their dangerous adventures fuelled by copper, nickel, and other vital minerals exported from Canada. In many parts of Canada, these tensions sparked a long and public debate over the nature and value of the country's ties with Tokyo. Often uncertain about how to respond to these pressures, Ottawa looked timidly to London and Washington for guidance.

This preoccupation with American and British policy in Asia shaped Canadian defence policy in the Far East in the late 1930s and into the Second World War. The government's emphasis on home defence after the Japanese attacks on the US base at Pearl Harbor in December 1941 reflected this

established policy while meeting western Canada's demands for protection. Domestic considerations also influenced the government's unfortunate decision to remove Japanese Canadians from the West Coast. Though support for this policy was widespread, it was by no means universal, a point explored in Greg Robinson's pioneering examination of the Japanese-Canadian experience in Quebec. Many Quebecers shed their pre-war anti-Japanese prejudices and graciously made room for the small Japanese-Canadian community that developed in wartime Montreal.

The war in the Pacific was not a Canadian priority. Though Canadian forces joined the Americans in the assault on the Aleutians in 1943, MacKenzie King's government resisted the extravagant demands of its military advisors to become more deeply involved in the final phase of the war against Japan. It soon became clear that the consolidation of US power in Asia left little room for Canadian initiative. US unilateralism, the bitterness that accompanied the removal of Japanese Canadians from the West Coast, and the mistreatment of Canadian prisoners of war ended Canada's ambivalent flirtation with Japan for almost a generation.

The United States looms large in Canada's postwar relationship with Japan. As Washington tightened its Cold War hold on Asia, L.B. "Mike" Pearson, deputy minister and then minister of external affairs, sought to minimize potential disagreements with Canada's closest ally. Pearson largely dismissed the concerns of Canada's top Japanese specialist, the controversial diplomat Herbert Norman, about Allied occupation policy and the 1951 Japanese peace treaty and lined up solidly behind the United States. As a result, Canada increasingly confined its postwar interests in Japan to concrete issues such as fisheries and trade. Over the next two decades, such parochial interests defined bilateral relations, which expanded slowly and fitfully. The conclusion of a limited trade agreement in 1954 and the creation of the Canada-Japan Ministerial Committee in 1961 – the two highlights of the period – underscored how slight the relationship remained.

Nevertheless, by the early 1960s, relations were changing again, as Ottawa faced growing pressure to liberalize Canada's restrictive immigration requirements and remove the colour bar. The demand for action was partly driven by the growing domestic and international revulsion against racism that followed Nazi Germany's defeat in 1945. The confrontation with the totalitarian Soviet Union placed a further premium on democratic human rights. Ottawa's motives were also practical. During the early stages of the Cold War, Canada was reluctant to do anything that might encourage Japan to turn against the West. In addition, Japanese Canadians became skilled political operatives and generated considerable public support for their cause, a campaign that was undoubtedly helped by Japan's rising economic fortunes.

The removal of racial immigration restrictions clearly eliminated a major bilateral irritant. At the same time, the advent of cheap jet travel in the

1960s made it easier than ever for inhabitants of the two countries to visit each other. Before 1941, few Canadians and even fewer Japanese could afford the time or the money for trans-Pacific tourism, but that changed during the 1960s. While only slightly more than 5,000 Canadians visited Japan in 1960, by the end of the decade their number had increased to almost 17,000 annually. In the two decades after the war, the low value of the yen and currency restrictions made overseas vacations almost impossible for Japanese. With an improving economy, Japan eased currency travel restrictions in 1964, making overseas travel easier for its citizens. Though only 400 or so Japanese visited Canada in 1960, the numbers soared in the latter half of the decade. Expo '67 drew much attention and almost 19,000 Japanese tourists to Canada.¹²

Ottawa and Tokyo acknowledged the importance of tourism as a source for closer relations, and it figured in the Framework for Economic Cooperation they signed in 1976. A Canadian government travel agency worked hard in Japan to convince potential tourists that Canada was more than the Rocky Mountains, a popular image in school geography texts and travel brochures.¹³ However, economic realities, not advertising, were more responsible for increased travel to Canada. After Japan agreed in 1985 to allow the yen to rise in value to reduce its trade surplus, Japanese tourism soared. By 1992, the Canadian dollar, which cost 213 yen in 1985, was worth only 104 yen.¹⁴ Moreover, to reduce its surplus, the Japanese government encouraged its citizens to travel abroad by easing restrictions on school trips, making passports more accessible, increasing the duty-free allowance, and offering tax concessions for business travel. Dealing specifically with Canada, Tokyo introduced a Two Way Tourism Program in 1991, whose goal was to see two million visits across the Pacific per year with 1.5 million arriving from Japan and half a million Canadians going there.¹⁵ Though the collapse of the Japanese "bubble economy" and a low Canadian dollar made this an impossible target, the Canada-Japan Tourist Conference still called for "aggressive efforts" to send 200,000 Canadian visitors to Japan and 800,000 Japanese to Canada in 2004. For Japanese tourists, the Rockies and nearby Calgary and Vancouver remained the most popular destinations, followed by Niagara Falls and Toronto.¹⁶ Despite the legendary fame of Anne of Green Gables, whose story figured in translation on the Japanese school curriculum, only 13,600 of the 391,000 Japanese who visited Canada in 2004 ventured as far east as Prince Edward Island, Anne's home. That year, 161,000 Canadians went to Japan.¹⁷

Though there is now more contact than ever before between the two countries, just how much Canada's relationship with Japan has changed since the mid-1960s remains unclear. This is the subject of vigorous debate in the final chapters of this volume. According to Carin Holroyd, the answer is, not much. While British Columbians (and other Canadians) welcomed

Japanese investments in the 1960s that they would have denounced as treasonous just a few decades earlier, Holroyd argues that Canadians remained uninterested in Japan and reluctant to exploit the relationship's potential. As a result, Japanese investors were able to maintain a low profile as they purchased an important stake in Canada's natural resource industries before moving into the manufacturing sector in the 1970s. Dangling promises of future investments, Japanese investors played local, regional, and provincial interests in Canada against each other. These astute tactics, combined with Canada's unhealthy preoccupation with the American market, inhibited Canadian efforts to craft a strategic response to Japanese investment and reinforced Canada's traditional dependence on the resource trade. The result, Holroyd concludes, is a partnership of diminishing returns as Tokyo seeks out new partners in other countries that are more interested in a developed relationship.

Others reject these dismal conclusions and argue, with varying degrees of forcefulness, that Canadians have indeed come to recognize Japan's importance. Greg Donaghy contends that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, in his Japan initiative, was anxious to interest Tokyo in a deeper and more political relationship. Unhappy with the emphasis that Canada's postwar foreign policy had placed on relations with North Atlantic countries and the United States, Trudeau embraced Japan as a possible counterweight. But contradictory impulses, centred on the United States, were at work. While the prime minister's initiative was welcomed in Tokyo, where policy makers were also anxious to seek new diplomatic partners, the bureaucratic mavens in Ottawa, who had a profound stake in the existing order, resisted it. Without a sustained government-wide effort to alter the postwar pattern of Canadian commerce, it proved impossible to wean Canadian exporters from the vast and familiar market of the United States.

Despite their different assessments of Canadian awareness of Japan, Donaghy and Holroyd agree that Canada's recent efforts to engage Japan have been overwhelmed by the contradictory attractions of its great-power partner, the United States. Political scientist John Kirton, in contrast, finds a much different and more constructive role for the United States in contemporary Canada-Japan relations. In his view, the process started by Trudeau was revived under Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in the 1980s as both Canada and Japan, by pursuing closer relations with Washington, created a dynamic "North Pacific triangle" centred on the United States. The economic and political challenge represented by a resurgent post-Cold War United States drew its two partners more closely together than ever before. This rapprochement was partly based on the deepening trade and financial relationship that developed as Canada and Japan weathered the forces of globalization and trade liberalization in the late 1980s and 1990s. More important, closer bilateral relations were forged by a new set of international

linkages – the G8, the Group of 20, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) – aided by the willingness of political leaders in both Canada and Japan to recognize the growing importance of the bilateral relationship. In short, Kirton contends, systemic, summit-level forces compelled Canada and Japan to begin to deal with each other in new, more profound ways as the twentieth century ended.

Kirton, however, is almost alone among Canadian observers in his uncritical description of a robust contemporary Canada-Japan partnership.¹⁸ The Canada-Japan Forum, a consultative non-governmental organization, recently echoed the statement made in January 2005 by the prime ministers of the two nations, that “co-operation has yet to reach its full potential,” pointing to a “lack of attention on both sides.”¹⁹ Certainly, Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s decision in January 2007 to close two consular posts – in Osaka and Fukuoka – while his government searches for a more active and global diplomacy centred on closer relations with the United States, strongly suggests that the old contradictory impulses continue to shape Canada-Japan relations. Indeed, the persistence of these contradictory impulses was neatly captured in the architecture of Canada’s new embassy in Tokyo. The gleaming postmodern structure that architect Raymond Moriyama erected in the 1990s contrasts favourably with the derivative architecture of Canada’s first mission in Tokyo, the diplomatic enclave built by Marler in the 1930s. His neo-colonialism has been replaced with a mature Canadian sensibility that is reflected in the new embassy’s embrace of Japanese influences, its generous display of Canadian art, and its emphasis on cultural diplomacy. At the same time, the new embassy’s design reflects some historic themes. Its fusion of Canadian and Japanese elements, representing the deepening and broadening of bilateral relations, is overwhelmed by its commercial elements, which evoke the same haunting myth of vast Oriental riches that attracted Canadian missionaries and traders a century ago.

Canada’s relations with Japan have changed profoundly over the past century, though probably not as much as its partisans might wish. Always a Pacific presence, Canada’s early efforts to discover Japan were complicated by the contradictory impulses that shaped its view of Tokyo. The aspirations of missionaries and traders were burdened with harmful restrictions on Japanese immigration and well-founded apprehensions about the diplomatic and military challenges of Asia. These tentative Canadian forays into Japan ended with the outbreak of the Pacific war in 1941, a conflict that cast a long shadow over bilateral relations, which did not begin to recover until the mid-1970s. Canada has since tried to engage Japan with a modest amount of success, but has too frequently been drawn aside by echoes of the historic impulse that continues to pull Canada and Canadians southward. Even so, as the closing essays in this volume demonstrate, the two

countries' political, economic, and diplomatic interests are more closely aligned and entwined in a web of reinforcing cultural and social ties than ever before, raising the prospect of closer relations yet to come.

Notes

- 1 Global Trade Information Services World Trade Atlas, Canada Edition, Trade data, accessed 2 September 2005.
- 2 Investment data retrieved from <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/eet/cimt/2004/CIIP04-en.asp>, accessed 2 September 2005.
- 3 The existing literature on the relationship is discussed extensively in the "Suggested Reading" section at the end of this book.
- 4 Despite the obvious importance of the Asia-Pacific region, especially since the mid-1970s, many Canadian historians still overlook it. See, for example, Norman Hillmer and J.L. Granatstein, *Empire to Umpire: Canada and the World to the 1990s* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 2000). See also the 600-page collection edited by Patrick James, Nelson Michaud, and Mark J. O'Reilly, *Handbook of Canadian Foreign Policy* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), which contains essays on Europe, the United States, the Middle East, Latin America, and la francophonie, but nothing on Asia.
- 5 "Britain and Japan," *Ottawa Evening Journal*, 15 February 1902; Laurier quoted in the minutes of the 111th meeting of the Committee of Imperial Defence, Committee of Imperial Defence Records, Minutes and Memoranda, 26 May 1911, CAB38/18, National Archives at Kew.
- 6 Joseph S. Nye Jr., *The Paradox of American Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 9.
- 7 Joseph Nye, "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics," Address to the Carnegie Council Books for Breakfast Program, 13 April 2004, <http://www.cceia.org/resources/transcripts/4466.html>, accessed 7 July 2006.
- 8 Robert J. Gowen, "Canada and the Myth of the Japanese Market, 1896-1911," *Pacific Historical Review* 39, 1 (1970): 63-83.
- 9 The chequered history of the trade commission in Japan is traced briefly in O. Mary Hill, *Canada's Salesman to the World: The Department of Trade and Commerce* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977), *passim*.
- 10 Patricia Roy, "Has Canada Made a Difference? North Pacific Connections: Canada, China, and Japan," in *Making a Difference? Canada's Foreign Policy in a Changing World Order*, ed. John English and Norman Hillmer (Toronto: Lester Publishing, 1992), 131; Klaus H. Pringsheim, *Neighbors across the Pacific: The Development of Economic and Political Relations between Canada and Japan* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983), 22.
- 11 Walter A. Riddell, ed., *Documents on Canadian Foreign Policy, 1917-1939* (Toronto, 1962), 281.
- 12 These statistics are drawn from Pringsheim, *Neighbors across the Pacific*, 213.
- 13 Tom Waldichuk, "Japanese Travel Brochure Images of Canada and the Promotion of Japanese Tourism in Canada," in *Why Japan Matters!* ed. Joseph F. Kess and Helen Lansdowne, 218-26 (Victoria: Centre for Asia-Pacific Initiatives, 2005).
- 14 Martin Thornell and Klaus H. Pringsheim, *Japanese Travel to Canada* (Ottawa: Canada-Japan Trade Council, 1993).
- 15 Canadian Tourism Commission. *Japan: Canadian Highlights Report: Pleasure Travel Markets to North America* (Ottawa: Coopers and Lybrand for Canadian Tourism Commission, 1996).
- 16 Waldichuk, "Japanese Travel Images," 223.
- 17 *Economic Impact: Tourism 2004: Final Report* (Charlottetown: Tourism PEI, 2005), 35. http://www.gov.pe.ca/photos/original/tourism_ecimp04.pdf, accessed 16 June 2006; Canadian Tourism Stats and Figures, 2004, <http://www.CanadaTourism.com>, posted 23 January 2006, accessed 15 June 2006.
- 18 Kirton's critics are legion and are identified in the "Suggested Reading" section at the end of this book.
- 19 Canada-Japan Forum, *Report of the Canada-Japan Forum 2003-2006* (June 2006), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/n-america/canada/report0606.pdf>.

1

Soul Searchers and Soft Power: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, 1873-1951

Hamish Ion

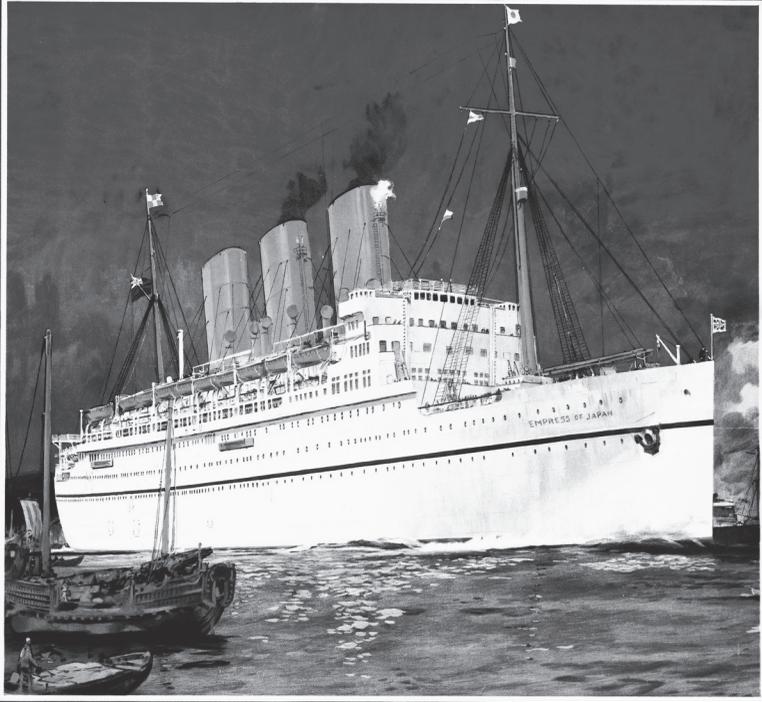
No nation with a nationalistic background and with a long history of militarism can ever become a peacemaker until it becomes Christian through and through. We hear talk to-day about Japan becoming a second Sweden – a peace-loving democracy – but it can become that only if it becomes Christian.

A.R. “Alf” Stone, United Church of Canada
missionary, 20 August 1946¹

Wind and steam brought Commodore Matthew Perry and the black ships of the United States Navy to Japan in 1853 to open the country to Western intercourse. The Sheffield steel guns of the Royal Navy and the presence of British and French garrisons in Yokohama until 1875 guaranteed Western access to the treaty ports of Japan before and after the Meiji Restoration of 1868.² As part of the British Empire, which had extensive interests in Pacific affairs, Canadians were delighted to join the Great Powers in their discovery of Japan and to become a vital link in the all-red route that joined Britain to Asia and challenged the American hold over trans-Pacific trade. From 1891 until the start of the Pacific War in 1941, Canadian Pacific (CP) White Empress liners carried mail, cargo, and tourists from Vancouver to the magical Far East. In return, they brought Asian immigrants and exotic fabrics that high speed “silk trains” rushed to the fashion bazaars of Montreal, London, and Paris. While CP posters might have exaggerated the world of enchantment waiting in Asia, a mere twenty-one days from Europe, they captured the novel sense of grand adventure that accompanied the development of this link across the Pacific.³

From the beginning, then, the activities and interests of the major Pacific powers have shaped Canada’s relations with Japan. But another competing theme has also animated bilateral relations for much of the past century.

EMPRESS OF JAPAN
LARGEST AND FASTEST
ACROSS PACIFIC



DISPLACEMENT TONNAGE 39000 - GROSS TONNAGE 26000
TO AND FROM
JAPAN · CHINA
PHILIPPINES
CALLING HONOLULU WESTBOUND
CANADIAN PACIFIC
WORLD'S GREATEST TRAVEL SYSTEM

Figure 1.1 “Empress of Japan.” The allure of the Far East is reflected in this poster advertising the Canadian Pacific’s service to the Pacific. *Courtesy of Canadian Pacific Railway Archives, A6207.*

Though Canada has never been able to marshal the military assets or economic might of the larger powers, Canadians have sought to exert an influence in Japan through other means, using what the contemporary American international relations theorist, Joseph Nye, refers to as “soft power.” In Nye’s view, states can often achieve their foreign policy goals more effectively “through attraction rather than coercion,” through a network of coalitions that extend beyond traditional state-to-state relationships to embrace academics, non-governmental organizations, business people, and other members of civil society.⁴ In this book, Masako Iino’s concluding reflections on the projection of Canadian values through Canadian Studies in Japan and Marie-Josée Therrien’s chapter on the cultural exchanges involved in building Canada’s missions in Tokyo are classic examples. Canada’s use of soft power might even include its growing capacity to build a values-based partnership with Japan within the G7/8, as described in this volume by John Kirton. But the concept of soft power can be applied more broadly, helping us understand the impact and significance of Canadian missionary activities in Japan, beginning in the last century.

Christianity, the religion of most Canadians at least until the latter part of the twentieth century, is a soft power, and it was part of an arsenal of governmental, parliamentary, legal, cultural, and sporting institutions that projected the “civilizing” mission of Canada. The major denominations of Canadian missionaries in Japan – Methodists⁵ (after 1925, United Church of Canada), Anglicans⁶, and Roman Catholics – used soft power and moral suasion rather than military force or economic power in their attempts to convince Japanese of the benefits of a Canadian style of Western civilization. The establishment of overseas missions soon after Confederation was an early sign that Canadians believed that Canada could play an international role.⁷ This chapter and the following one on Catholic missionaries deal with this trans-Pacific religious endeavour, a symbol of the desire of Canadian Christians to share their religious ideas and so improve the physical and spiritual well-being of the Japanese people.

Canadian missionaries engaged in evangelistic work and built churches; they also erected schools, created social welfare centres, and conducted specialized medical work. In doing so, they and their constituents at home learned much about Japan and the Japanese. More than other connections, the missionary movement laid a broadly based foundation of goodwill between the two countries at the person-to-person level long before the two nations established diplomatic relations. The importance of these linkages is reflected in the enormous canon of primary and secondary literature in English and Japanese on Canadian missionaries.⁸

Through reports published in church magazines and journals, and letters to Sunday school classes, the missionaries served as respected interpreters of Japan to the Christian community in Canada. Unfortunately, they did

not always distinguish between their genuine sympathy and affection for Japanese people and the motives of Japan's political and military leaders in handling the East Asian crisis and the war in China. In Canada, this difficulty eroded the missionaries' position. In Japan, with the rise of *tenno*-centred (emperor-centred) militarism, missionaries failed to inculcate western democratic values, were isolated from Japanese Christianity, and were forced to leave the country in 1940. After the Second World War, with the development of greater intergovernmental and economic ties and the increased secularization of Canada, missionaries became less prominent in explaining Japan to Canada and in transmitting Western values to Japan. Their successors are the many Canadians who have gone to rural Japan with the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme.

Missionaries and the Rhythm of Their Lives

Even though many missionaries spent their whole working lives in Japan, they remained Canadian in their lifestyle, habits, and outlook. Missionaries were drawn from Anglo-Canadian families largely from rural Ontario; a smaller number were from Quebec, the Maritimes, or Manitoba. All of them saw overseas missionary work as a means of gaining freedom from the penury of the farm and securing upward mobility for themselves and their families. Ernest Bott, a United Church missionary, who did outstanding relief work during the Allied occupation of Japan, exemplified this trend. Bott belonged to a generation of small-town Ontarians who had served in the First World War or had family members who had done so. Christian service overseas enabled them to exercise their deep compassion and sympathy for the less fortunate, which had been engendered by the horrors of war.

For single women, missionary work in Japan provided an opportunity to exchange the prison of marriage or the torment of rural school teaching for a fulfilling life teaching under more favourable conditions and serving the church amidst exotic surroundings. Undoubtedly, this was why educational work attracted so many Canadian women, who formed the majority of Canadian missionaries at the beginning of the twentieth century, and why they founded so many schools. In 1884, Martha Cartmell founded the Tōyō Eiwa Jo Gakkō in Toriizaka, Tokyo; Mary Cunningham from Halifax founded the Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakkō in 1889; and Agnes Wintemute established the Yamanshi Eiwa Jo Gakkō in the same year in Kofu.⁹ These schools, created to provide Christian education for girls, continue to thrive. Canadian Methodists also participated in the formation, in 1918, of the Tokyo Woman's Christian College, which was formed by several Protestant denominations (Tokyo Joshi Daigaku), with Nitobe Inazō as its first principal. The Canadian Anglican Loretta Shaw¹⁰ was a long-time teacher at the Poole Memorial School for girls in Osaka. Mary Chappell, who was born in Japan, taught for many years at the prestigious Tsuda Juku Daigaku in Tokyo, while her twin

sister, Constance Chappell, a United Church of Canada missionary, taught at Tokyo Woman's Christian College. These are only examples of a host of Canadian women who contributed to the education of Japanese Christian women.

Canadian missionary work was often a family affair, with two generations of the same family, fathers and daughters or sons, successively serving in the mission field.¹¹ Similarly, certain universities were identified with missionary work, especially the University of Toronto with its various denominational universities and colleges: Victoria (Methodist, United Church), Trinity (High Anglican), and Wycliffe (Low Anglican). Of much less importance were Mount Allison in Sackville, New Brunswick, and Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, which were identified with the Methodist and Presbyterian churches respectively. Many of the scions of missionary families who returned home (dubbed the "mish kids,") played significant roles in academia, government service, or the church in Canada: the Normans of Nagano, the Powles of Takata, the Watts of Nagoya, and the Armstrongs of Nishinomiya. Until recently, Queen's University, for instance, had a Watts as principal, and a Powles and a Norman on its staff. Several children from these families, including Herbert Norman, whose career in postwar Japan is the subject of Chapter 7, provided Canada's growing diplomatic service with Asian expertise.¹²

While these missionaries were Canadian, they did not live in a linear state with Canada and Japan at either end; many, in fact, lived in a triangular context involving Britain, Canada, and Japan.¹³ Some missionaries, like the pioneer George Cochran, were born outside of Canada, in his case in Ulster. Some Canadian Anglicans went to Japan under the auspices of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands (SPG), as did Alexander Croft Shaw in 1873 and, later, William Gemmill, another Trinity graduate, who worked for the SPG until 1925. While he was headmaster of Trinity College School in Port Hope, Ontario, Arthur Lloyd influenced a number of young Canadians including Stephen Cartwright, who became a missionary first in Japan and then to Japanese within the Korean Anglican Church. Arthur Lea, a Wycliffe graduate, did much as a missionary in Gifu to develop a pioneering school for the blind in the 1890s before becoming the bishop of Kyūshū, an Anglican diocese supported by the British Church Missionary Society (CMS). His daughter, Leonora Lea, a long-time educational missionary in Kobe diocese, lived safely there through the Second World War with the help of Bishop Yashiro Hinsuke. Horace Watts, an Englishman serving in the Canadian Anglican mission, went to Canada after leaving Japan in 1940 and became a leading figure in the Canadian Anglican missionary society. The missionaries showed their connection to the British Empire, in which Canada constituted the hope for the future, in a myriad of ways. Robert Emberson in Shizuoka waved a flag to show his joy at the

victory of Britain's Asian ally in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905; Gwen Norman, a young missionary wife in Nagano, worried about the abdication crisis of Edward VIII in 1936.

Despite the close British connection, some Canadian missionaries worked for American missionary bodies. The Methodists, together with the missions of the American Methodist Episcopal Church North and South, supported the Japan Methodist Church formed by the union of the three Japan missions in 1907 (and, after 1941, the amalgamated Protestant denomination, the *Nihon Kirisutokyōdan* or Japan Christian Church.) Benjamin Chappell, a Maritimer, joined the Methodist Episcopal North mission. John Dunlop, a Queen's graduate, became an American Presbyterian missionary after originally going to Japan as a member of Charles S. Eby's quasi-independent Self-Support Band in 1888. From 1907, after the creation of the Japan Methodist Church, Canadian Methodist men joined the American Methodist Episcopal South in concentrating their educational efforts in the Kwansei Gakuin, a higher school for boys in Nishinomiya, near Osaka. This school attained university status in 1934.

For most Canadian missionaries, life followed the characteristic rhythm established by the mission schools. The schools kept at bay the alien Japanese society outside the mission compound gates. Where they were in control, women missionaries could pursue a familiar teaching career without the added stress and unexpected challenges that they might encounter at a Japanese school under a Japanese headmaster. The school year also allowed for long summers away from the fetid heat of the coastal cities in the sylvan cool of hill stations at Karuizawa or Lake Nojiri, where missionaries could hold annual conferences and seek fellowship among their own kind with the Japanese kept at arms' length. Unfortunately, this life often separated missionaries from the mainstream of Japanese education and tended to isolate them from the changing currents in Japanese thought and society.

Canadian Anglicans shared the enthusiasm of the Methodists for summers at the hill stations but had a different approach to mission work. The Anglicans eschewed the building of mission schools beyond the ubiquitous kindergarten in favour of pastoral work. At the behest of the Anglican bishop of South Tokyo, Edward Bickersteth, the Canadian Anglican Church began sending missionaries to Japan in 1889.¹⁴ John Waller, a Trinity graduate, served as a parish priest in Nagano from 1892 until his retirement from active work in the mid-1930s and only left that city after his internment in 1941.¹⁵ His Wycliffe counterpart, James Cooper Robinson, went to Japan in 1889 and worked long years in Nagoya. In 1912, Heber J. Hamilton, also from Wycliffe, was named bishop of the diocese of Mid-Japan, which stretched across central Honshū from Nagoya to Niigata on the Japan Sea side including Nagano with its alpine reaches as well as the snow country around Takata. It became the missionary responsibility of the Canadian

Anglican Church, and a steady stream of Canadian Anglicans, men and women, served in it until the beginning of the Pacific War.

Canadian missionaries were also among the pioneers in Japanese studies. Robert Cornell Armstrong wrote on Japanese Confucianism and Buddhism,¹⁶ Harper Coates co-authored a significant study of Hōnen,¹⁷ Egerton Ryerson explored the wonders of *netsuke* (ivory carvings),¹⁸ Ronald Shaw translated Buddhist writing,¹⁹ Howard Norman translated some of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's stories²⁰ and was interested in Uchimura Kanzō. Arthur Lloyd, a British Anglican priest with connections to Canada and a Canadian wife, was a pioneer in the study of Japanese Buddhism.²¹ George Cochran served on the committee that translated the Old Testament into Japanese.

Canadian Missionaries in Meiji Japan

The Canadian missionary adventure in Japan began on 30 June 1873, when the pioneer Canadian Wesleyan Methodist missionaries, George Cochran and Davidson McDonald and their families, arrived in Yokohama after the Japanese government removed the proscription edicts against Christianity from public view. Although Christianity remained a proscribed religion until 1889, the missionary movement took the removal of the edicts as the signal to begin active and open propagation of the Christian Gospel to the Japanese.

Evangelizing the Japanese was the primary goal of Canadian missionaries. The most outstanding and most controversial of the early Canadian Methodist evangelists was Charles S. Eby, who arrived in Japan in 1876. Eby extended Methodist work to Kofu and Yamanashi prefecture, but his enthusiasm often exceeded the resources of the Mission Board at home. As part of his plans for the immediate Christianization of Japan and to allow Methodists to push beyond the confines of the earlier Tokyo-Shizuoka-Kofu triangle into central Honshū, he formed the so-called Self-Support Band. The Band's lay missionaries were to support themselves by teaching English in Japanese schools, but without support from the Mission Board the Band was short-lived. Undaunted, in the 1890s, Eby built a very large church, the Central Tabernacle Church in Ginza, Tokyo.

For many years, the church was a financial albatross for the Canadian Methodist mission, but in its congregation were a number of influential and wealthy, philanthropic Japanese, especially Kobayashi Yatarō, a multi-millionaire who had married into a family that had made its fortune through the sale of Lion Brand dental and other hygienic products. His generosity not only helped the Methodists maintain the Tabernacle but also assisted them in their social welfare and relief work in the slums of Tokyo.

Early Japanese Protestants assumed that Christianity was the basis of Western civilization and that Japan must become a Christian nation if it wished to adopt Western technology successfully. Further, many early Christian



Figure 1.2 Missionary Charles Eby built the large Canadian Methodist Central Tabernacle in Ginza, Tokyo, circa 1894. Although the congregation included a number of wealthy and influential Japanese parishioners, the church was an ongoing financial burden for the Canadian Methodist mission. *From the collection of Hamish Ion.*

ex-samurai believed that Christianity could be grafted on to a Japanese Confucian or even *bushidō* root to create a new perfected moral code for Japan. The majority of ordinary Japanese, however, subscribed to the popular religions of Buddhism and Shinto, which thrived during the late nineteenth century while Confucianism was eclipsed. Thus, a connection between Christianity and Confucianism had neither a long-term nor a deep resonance in Japanese society. The desire to acquire new knowledge to equip themselves better for changing times remained the most common motive for most converts.

Protestant missions experienced some growth in the early Meiji period. Convert bands coalesced around missionaries or Western lay Christians teaching in new schools of Western studies in the treaty ports, and in provincial towns and cities. Missionaries or lay Christians formed Protestant bands in Shizuoka, Hirosaki, Niigata, Osaka, Kumamoto, and Sapporo, as well as in the Tokyo areas of Tsukiji, Shiba, and Koishikawa (see Figure 1.3). These bands developed along skeins of contact, friendship, family relations, and,

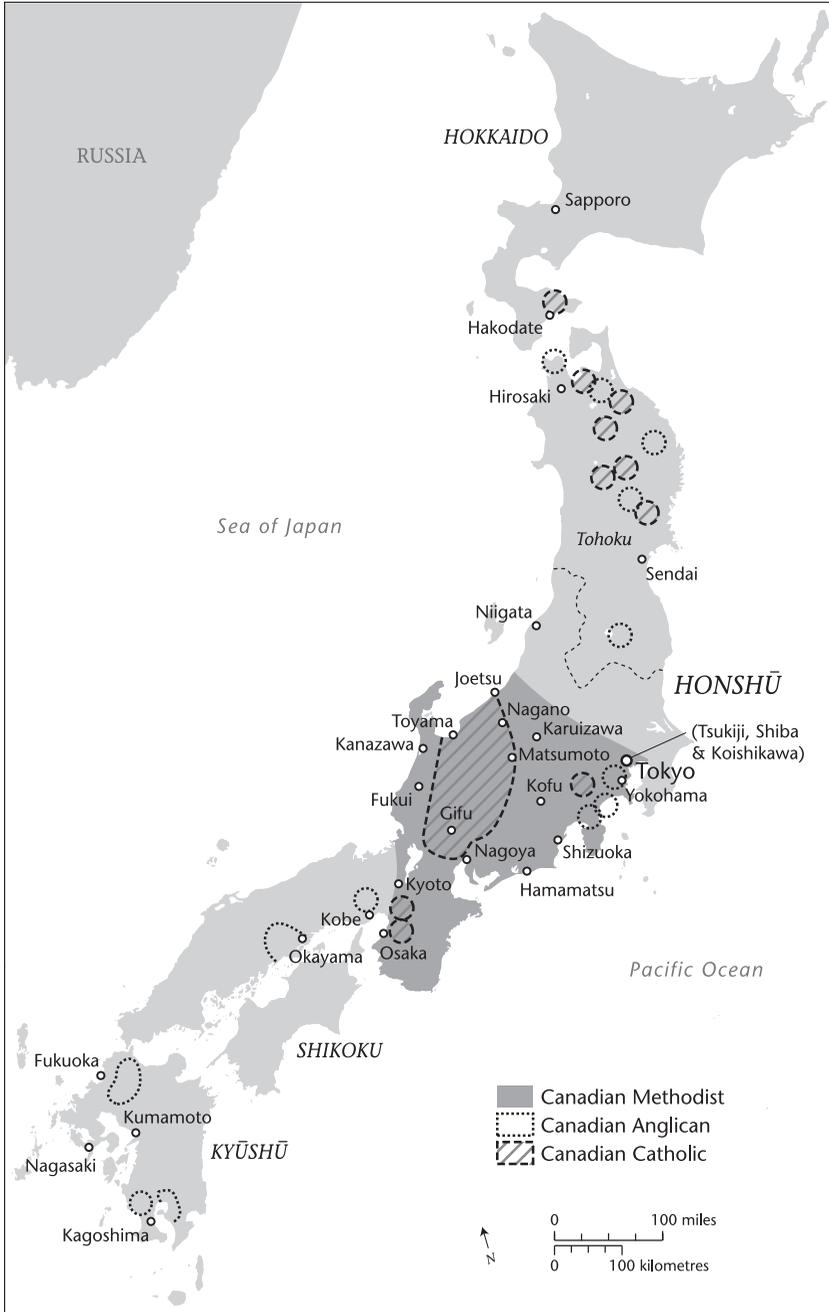


Figure 1.3 Map of Canadian missionary territories in Japan

in rural areas, family influence and economic power. A large percentage of the initial converts were ex-samurai attracted to Protestantism through the educational work of missionaries and the influence of such prominent intellectuals and educators as Nakamura or Tsuda Sen, an agricultural expert and early American Methodist Episcopalian convert.

Personal loyalty to an outstanding leader, Japanese or missionary, provided a common pattern of conversion. Canadian Methodists formed two of these important Christian groups among students at Japanese schools of Western learning, the Shizuhataya in Shizuoka and the Dōjinsha in Koishikawa, where McDonald and Cochran respectively taught.²² In 1874, the Shizuoka Band, one of the earliest Christian groups in the interior of Japan, made up largely of ex-samurai adherents of the former Tokugawa Shogun, formed around McDonald. Shizuoka became a stronghold of Canadian missionary work and the source of many of the first pastors in the Japan Methodist Church. A second Shizuoka Christian Band was formed in 1885-86 around Francis Cassidy and Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu.²³ Among this second Shizuoka Band was Yamaji Aizan, a thinker of national significance and one of the first historians of Japanese Protestantism. In December 1874, George Cochran baptized Nakamura Masanao (Keiū), the founder of the Dōjinsha school, a nationally important intellectual, and a leading advocate of Japan's acceptance of Christianity.²⁴ While teaching at the Dōjinsha, Cochran formed the Koishikawa Christian Band around Nakamura, and among its members was Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu, who became the leading Japanese pastor in the Canadian Methodist mission.

Hostile government attitudes towards Christianity, however, impeded Protestant growth. Following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the new government responded to the perceived Christian threat by using autochthonous quasi-religious rituals to reinforce its power and legitimize the modern Japanese monarchy by linking it with a mythical past. Resistance to Christianity was also reinforced by the prestige of the intellectual tradition that was intimately connected with established religion and through arguments for the defence of the fatherland and of Japanese religion. Nationalist thinkers advanced various anti-Christian arguments with strong xenophobic undertones or spy conspiracy theories to justify its prohibition. Moreover, from the late 1870s, opponents used the new Darwinian idea of evolution imported from the West to attack Christianity. During the late 1880s, Buddhist scholars, sometimes with government support, began asserting that their theology was superior to that of Christians. Not surprisingly, in this context, Canadian missionaries made relatively few converts (apostates, who renounced Christianity, were more numerous and perhaps more influential in Japanese society than the Christians); paradoxically, the negative cultural

implications of Christianity for Japan significantly affected its political, social, and religious development. In response to the perceived threat of Christianity to their culture, the Japanese made a concerted effort to restore, rejuvenate, or reinvent their own political, social, and religious forms from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.²⁵

In 1889, the Meiji Constitution guaranteed religious freedom without defining its meaning. This was especially true in terms of church-state relations at the governmental and bureaucratic levels, but also applied to questions surrounding the relationship between Japanese nationalism and patriotism and Christian faith at the personal level. To the government, religious freedom meant that religion was to serve the interests of the state, and the government was prepared to ensure that religious freedom did not compromise those interests, particularly in education.

Always sensitive to swings in public opinion, the advance of the Christian movement slowed in the mid-1890s owing to Japanese outrage at the Triple Intervention of 1895 in which Russia, Germany, and France opposed many of the concessions that Japan had obtained from China in the Treaty of Shimonoseki ending the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. Further, Japan was irritated at Britain's reluctance to revise the 1858 Treaty of Yedo with its extraterritorial clauses that restricted Japanese sovereignty. In 1899, the Tokyo government, eager to prevent foreign religious influence on male education at the primary and secondary level, prohibited the teaching of religious subjects in all schools seeking the official accreditation on which their survival depended. Because they could not teach religious subjects, Canadian Methodists transferred control of the Tōyō Eiwa Gakkō, their boys' school, to Ebara Soroku, a Japanese Christian, rather than continue it as a mission school. These government regulations did not apply to female education, so the Canadian Methodists were able to continue their three girls' schools as mission schools.

Unlike Buddhists, who suffered no conflict between their religion and their Japanese identity, Japanese Christians found it exceedingly difficult to overcome the doubts that non-Christian Japanese and the Japanese government had about their loyalty to Japan, and even their "Japaneseness." In order to assert their Japaneseness, by the end of the Meiji era in 1912, some Japanese Christians were suggesting the creation of a Japanese Christianity (*Nipponteki Kirisutokyō*) that would be free of any Western influence and completely distinct from the Christianity propagated by Western missionaries. Yet, even before this radical solution was suggested, the mainstream Japanese Christian movement, in its desire to be identified with nationalism, had become – especially in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 – an ardent supporter of Japan's expansionism and imperialism overseas. By supporting Japanese imperial and military ambitions in continental East Asia, Japanese Christians could dramatically demonstrate their loyalty to Japan.

The Calm and the Storm

Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 catapulted Japan into the ranks of the world's great powers. The Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the conflict, also marked a watershed in Japan's political and social development by stimulating irresistible calls for political reform, ultimately leading to the establishment of responsible government in 1918 and universal male suffrage in 1925. In response to the dangers posed by political liberalization, the ruling elite strove to buttress its hold on power by developing the *tennosei* (emperor worship) ideology that underpinned state Shinto, by enacting repressive legislation against trade unions and socialists, and by providing sweeping powers to the gendarmerie. After 1905, Japan also underwent rapid urbanization and industrialization, especially during the boom years of the First World War, when Tokyo and Osaka developed into modern cities with all the conveniences of the early twentieth century and its attendant problems of widespread slums, poverty, prostitution, and labour unrest.

Canadian missionaries responded to the new conditions by developing new specialized forms of missionary work that focussed on welfare work in the slums of east Tokyo. In the 1920s and 1930s, for instance, the social work of Annie Allen and Ernest Bott among the poor, and of Percy Price and Kobayashi Yatarō in forming the Airindan, which ran night school classes for labourers and elementary school classes for impoverished children in Tokyo, helped draw the attention of Japanese authorities to a hitherto neglected area of social welfare. Likewise, the establishment of a sanatorium by Canadian Anglican missionaries in rural Nagano prefecture helped demonstrate the need for proper facilities for tuberculosis sufferers. Caroline Macdonald, a Canadian Presbyterian, went to Japan at the turn of the century under the auspices of the YWCA, and became known as the White Angel of Tokyo for her work among prisoners and her advocacy for prison reform. Emma R. Kaufman, her contemporary, also made a significant contribution to the YWCA.

In the years immediately following the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910, missionaries continued to help organize major national evangelistic campaigns. Through the 1920s and early 1930s, Dan Norman mounted extensive campaigns in the farming communities of Nagano, while Bishop Hamilton was an animated street preacher. This soon changed. After the formation in 1922 of the National Council of Churches (NCC), which came to include most Protestant denominations and Christian schools, social institutions, the YMCA, the YWCA, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the emphasis shifted from denominational to ecumenical work. Though its actual power over individual denominations was limited to moral persuasion, the NCC came to play an increasingly important role in coordinating the cooperative endeavours of the Protestant movement. It took the lead in 1928, for instance, in promoting the major evangelistic campaigns

headlined by the charismatic Kagawa Toyohiko (the most internationally famous Japanese save for an occasional military officer and the emperor until the advent of Yoko Ono) under the banner of the Kingdom of God movement. The NCC also came to represent the Protestant movement in its dealings with the Japanese government. Therein lay the rub. By the 1930s, missionaries had increasingly turned over direct evangelistic work to Japanese Christians and, consequently, were becoming isolated in their educational and specialized social work from ordinary Christians at the parish level.

The growing East Asian crisis following Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931 meant that the NCC and Japanese Christian movement were increasingly unable to resist government pressure to conform to its policies and perceived wishes in regard to Christian attendance at state Shintō ceremonies. After the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July 1937, Christian opposition to the conflict was extremely rare. In part, this stemmed from fear, as the thought-control police (*tōkkō kempetai*), after oppressing heterodox Japanese new religions, turned their attention (largely because they needed employment) to the persecution of millenarian Christian groups like the Nippon Seikokai (NSKK) and Salvation Army with clear foreign connections. Genuine feelings of patriotism and national sentiment, coupled with their desire to free the Japanese and other East Asian Christian movements from Western influence and missionary control, led Japanese Christian leaders to participate in the spiritual mobilization campaign in 1937. In addition, they barely protested the removal of Western missionaries from Christian schools and enthusiastically supported the government initiative to amalgamate all Protestant denominations into one Protestant church, the *Nihon Kirisutokyōdan* (known as the Kyōdan for short), in 1941.

Among the major Protestant denominations, only an Anglican rump of the NSKK led by Bishop Sasaki Shinji, who had succeeded Hamilton as bishop of Mid-Japan, and Bishop Yashiro Hinsuke of Kobe refused to join the Kyōdan. While remaining patriotic and nationalistic, their belief that the episcopal system of the NSKK represented a better form of religious organization than the one offered by the Kyōdan inspired them to risk imprisonment for their religious beliefs. Worried that their continued presence might endanger their Japanese Christian friends in the pervasive anti-British atmosphere, most Canadian missionaries, regardless of denomination, left Japan by the end of 1940. Yet, some were hurt and disappointed by the failure of most Japanese Christian leaders to stand up against their government's religious policies and defend the foreign missionaries with whom they had worked closely for over fifty years. Canadian Anglicans, in particular, felt let down by Bishop Sasaki because their past loyalty to him made them expect he would support them.

When war came in 1941, the Japanese government interned most of the remaining Canadian missionaries at the Canadian Academy in Kobe or the

Sumire internment camp in Tokyo until 1942, when they were repatriated on the exchange ship *Gripsholm*. They were well treated and left before living conditions in Japan dramatically deteriorated.²⁶ Among the handful that escaped internment were Ernest Bott and his wife, who were allowed to live quietly in their own home before being evacuated, probably protected by Welfare Ministry officials who recognized their work in the east Tokyo slums. Two former missionaries remained through the war: Margaret Armstrong, who had taken out Japanese citizenship and lived quietly in Toyama, and Agnes Wintemute (Mrs. Harper Coates), who died in unhappy circumstances in early 1945.

During the war, many former missionaries who had returned to Canada became deeply concerned about the plight of Japanese Canadians, who were forcibly removed from the West Coast. Among the most active was Percy Powles, a Canadian Anglican clergyman, late of Takata. With his family, as Greg Robinson's essay later in this volume notes, he did much to help ease the difficulties of Nisei (the first generation born in Canada) relocated to Montreal. Constance Chappell, a teacher at the Tokyo Woman's Christian College, was another outspoken critic of the treatment of Japanese Canadians. Other former missionaries, such as Howard Norman, who became a civilian instructor at the Canadian Army Japanese Language School (S-20) in Vancouver, where he was commanded by a former missionary colleague, Arthur McKenzie, also helped Japanese Canadians as much as they could.²⁷ Indeed, the realization that their fellow Canadians were mistreating Japanese Canadians coloured missionary attitudes towards Christians in metropolitan Japan and reinforced the prevalent missionary view that the Japanese Christian leadership was blameless of any wrong during the war.

Bott, in particular, was deeply influenced both by the Canadian government's decision to deport Japanese Canadians back to Japan after the war and the means it used to convince them to accept "repatriation." In early August 1945, he speculated that Ottawa's repatriation policy would be the most serious concern in postwar relations with Japan and was appalled that the Canadian churches were unwilling or unable to prevent the projected deportation of Canadian-born Japanese. Bott presciently insisted that "every Canadian Japanese who goes to Japan after the war will be a living demonstration of the fact that Canada is neither Christian nor democratic and that Canada's signature on the United Nations Charter guaranteeing justice for minorities is a hollow mockery."²⁸ Deeply ashamed at their government's treatment of its Japanese-Canadian residents, missionaries like Bott were inclined to see the Japanese as victims rather than aggressors.

Even before the end of the war, missionaries favoured a generous political settlement. In July 1945, Howard Outerbridge, who had taught for many years at Kwansai Gakuin University, expressed a representative opinion when he said that the Allies would be very stupid if they did not find a "way of

turning the Emperor with his great prestige and influence into an asset, instead of hanging him, when everyone knows that he has been the reluctant tool of the revisionists, and thus turning everyone in Japan – liberal and reactionary alike – into our implacable foes.”²⁹ Modern scholarship might suggest that the Emperor was less of a reluctant tool than Outerbridge thought.³⁰ Nevertheless, Outerbridge correctly saw that the Emperor did and could wield considerable influence. Recalling the role of the Meiji Emperor in giving Japan a constitution in 1889, Outerbridge believed that the Showa Emperor could perform a similar service. While virtually every missionary agreed with the need for political change in postwar Japan, they were mainly concerned with easing the suffering of the Japanese, which had been caused by chronic food shortages and massive wartime destruction of property.

Reconciliation

What stands out about Canadian missionaries during the Allied occupation of Japan was a generosity of spirit, a deep compassion, and a genuine concern for the welfare of ordinary Japanese folk, Christian and non-Christian alike. This was particularly evident in the work undertaken by Bott in conjunction with Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia (LARA) to help ordinary Japanese cope with hardship during the first terrible years of the occupation. LARA was the only agency through which Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP) allowed North American religious organizations to send relief supplies on a large scale to Japan. While it is fashionable to question the achievements of the occupation and to highlight its seamier side,³¹ the unstinting efforts of Bott and LARA are reminders of the positive and generous element that was also at work. Sybil Courtice, who returned to occupied Japan to help rebuild the Tōyō Eiwa Jo Gakkō, the Canadian Methodist school for girls in Tokyo, or Percy Powles, the long-serving Canadian Anglican missionary in Takata, who came back in 1948 to serve as assistant bishop of the diocese of Mid-Japan, illustrate the same generosity of spirit.

The housing and food supply crisis in Japan during the early years of the occupation made it difficult for missionaries to return. Occupation authorities underlined this by not permitting the direct shipment of food to non-Japanese with no official connection with occupation authorities.³² This scotched any idea that missionaries might be able to return if they provided their own food, though Bott was eventually allowed to return to help in Japan.³³ The sheer extent of the terrible destruction deeply affected Bott.³⁴ Nevertheless, he found himself warmly received by Japanese Christians. He admired the fact that they never complained, though many had lost virtually everything. Leading Japanese Christians also appeared eager to have the missionaries return. Tomita Mitsurō, a prominent figure in the Kyōdan,

made this clear. After explaining that Japan's treatment of Korea had inspired the violently hostile attitude of Koreans to Japan and that Japan's victories over China and Russia in 1895 and 1905 had proved calamitous for Japan, Tomita told Bott that "the defeat has brought about a fundamental change of outlook which promises well for co-operation between the Churches of North America and the Church in Japan."³⁵ Missionaries accepted this *volte-face* at face value.

Conditions remained appalling throughout Japan. In late July 1946, after travelling extensively in northern and central Honshū, Bott noted that the destruction and dislocation of churches and congregations was beyond imagining and that reconstruction would be slow and expensive.³⁶ Worsening food shortages overshadowed all other problems. He stressed that the LARA relief program was very much needed, and, despite being too small (it was still thousands of tons a month) to make much difference overall, it remained a valuable expression of goodwill towards the Japanese on the part of the people of North America.³⁷ By 1947, Bott reported that he or one of the other two LARA representatives had visited every prefecture, had met their leading social workers, and had explained the spirit in which the relief supplies were sent and the agencies that had sent them.³⁸ Another United Church missionary, Alf Stone, underlined the importance of LARA in February 1947 when he noted that the practical work of "LARA (of which Church World Service is the biggest contributor) is doing more to atone for the atomic bomb, and build up good-will in this country, than all the *talk* [by Western commentators]."³⁹ Like many missionaries, Stone felt a deep sense of guilt about the use of the atomic bomb, and the need for atonement obviously influenced missionary motives in wanting to help the Japanese.

That postwar Canadian missionaries should act as Bott did should not be considered remarkable. Almost without exception, Canadian Protestant missionaries had responded warmly and generously to Japan since their extraordinary adventure began in 1874. With a commitment fired by their Christian faith, the Cochrans, the McDonalds, the Cooper Robinsons, the Hamiltons, and the Powles, together with hundreds of other Canadian missionaries and their supporters at home, journeyed west across the Pacific because they felt that Canada had something worthwhile of a religious kind to share with peoples beyond its borders. In many respects, this movement was the East Asian harbinger of the "soft power" that Lloyd Axworthy would trumpet during his tenure as Canada's minister of foreign affairs in the 1990s. Though budget cuts and a decline in Canada's global standing drove Axworthy to "soft power," missionaries embraced person-to-person "diplomacy" from the start. Though the effort resulted in few conversions, it left a lasting legacy of goodwill towards Canadians and a favourable image of

Canada as a tranquil land of Rockies, prairies, and lakes. How this translates into trade statistics and political influence is impossible to determine, but it surely helps persuade many Japanese parents to send their children to Canadian schools and universities. Today, of course, these temporary immigrants no longer come in White Empress liners, but in Air Canada planes, which carry back young secular English instructors to teach in the schools of provincial Japan, where missionaries once taught from faded Ontario primers. On both sides of the Pacific, the educational mission that was so fundamental to the Protestant missionary enterprise continues to provide the context for new person-to-person bridges.

Notes

- 1 A.R. Stone to Bell, 20 August 1946, box 6, file 144, United Church of Canada Archives: Board Foreign Missions Japan (hereafter UCC: BFMJ).
- 2 See Yokohama Taigaikankeishi Kenkyūka/Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan hen, *Yokohama Eibu Chūten Gun to Gaikokujin Kyoryūchi* (Tokyo: Tokyo Dō Shuppan, 1999).
- 3 See Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan hen, *Yokohama and Bankuba: Taiheiyo o koete* (Yokohama: Yokohama Kaikō Shiryōkan, 2005). An 1891 poster advertised Yokohama to London in twenty-one days (p. 8; see also poster on p. 11). In 1891, the Empress of India could carry 120 passengers; in 1922, the Empress of Canada could carry up to 488 passengers. In 1920-21, the White Empress liners carried 35,555 passengers across the Pacific, most of whom were Asian immigrants entering Canada or returning home for visits or permanent residence.
- 4 Joseph S. Nye Jr., *The Paradox of American Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 9. See also Greg Donaghy, "All God's Children: Lloyd Axworthy, Human Security and Canadian Foreign Policy, 1996-2000," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 10, 2 (2003): 43.
- 5 Although dated, Kuranaga Takashi, *Kanada Mesojisuto dendō shi* (Tokyo: Kanada Gōdō Kyōkai senkyōshika, 1937) remains a highly useful fact-filled history of the pre-war Canadian Methodist mission.
- 6 There is no individual history of the Canadian Anglican mission, although it is well represented in the standard history of the Nippon Seikokai, Nippon Seikokai rekishi henshu iinkai hen, *Nippon Seikokai hyakunen shi* (Tokyo: Nippon Seikokai kyōmuin bunsho kyoku, 1959).
- 7 Canadian Confederation had inspired Methodist churches to embark upon a spiritual union in order to create a truly national Methodist Church in the new Canada. Marilyn Färdig Whitely in her investigation of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada stressed that "the Methodist Church saw itself as the most Canadian of denominations, with a special role to play in building the nation." See "Open-Winged Piety: Reflex Influence and the Woman's Methodist Society of the Methodist Church in Canada," in *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History*, ed. Daniel H. Bays and Grant Wacker (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), 123-33. In 1872, at the annual meeting of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, a definite nationalistic feeling among Methodists held that "the day of small things, as regards the Dominion, was past and the same was true of our Mission work," and that "we have a glorious future before us in this great country." Wesleyan Missionary Notices 17 (November 1872), 258. The outcome of this meeting was the decision to commence that church's first overseas mission in Japan.
- 8 For a detailed history of the Canadian Protestant missionary endeavour in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan between 1872 and 1945, see A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990); and *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Univer-

sity Press, 1999). A short survey can be found in A. Hamish Ion, "Ambassadors of the Cross: Canadian Missionaries in Japan," in *Canada and Japan in the Twentieth Century*, ed. John Schultz and Kimitada Miwa (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991), 29-47. Also of interest is the detailed church-sponsored study of the first century of United Church of Canada work in Japan: G.R.P. Norman and W.H.H. Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan, 1873-1973*, 2 vols. (Toronto: Division of World Out-Reach, United Church of Canada, 1981). An interesting study of Canadian Methodist women missionaries is Rosemary B. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); an important biography of the most famous YWCA worker in early twentieth century Japan is Margaret Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself: Caroline Macdonald of Japan* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995). For the Canadian Roman Catholic missionary movement, see Richard Leclerc, *Des Lys à l'Ombre du Mont Fuji: Histoire de la présence de l'Amérique française au Japon* (Sillery: Éditions du Bois-de-Coulogne, 1995). For a valuable account of Canadian Roman Catholic priests interned in Kyūshū during the Pacific War, see Samuel Lapalme-Remis, "Enemy Nationals: The St.-Sulpice Mission in Fukuoka 1933-45" (MA thesis, Sheffield University, 2003).

- 9 For the detailed history of these three schools, see Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakuin hechijūnen shi hensan iinkai, *Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakuin hachijūnen shi* (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Eiwa Jo Gakuin, 1971); Tōyō Eiwa Jo Gakuin hyakunen shi henshan jitsukū iinkai, *Tōyō Eiwa Jo Gakuin hyakunen shi* (Tokyo: Tōyō Eiwa Jo Gakuin, 1984); Yamanashi Eiwa Jo Gakuin hensan iinkai, *Yamanashi Eiwa Jo Gakuin hachijūnen shi* (Kofu: Yamanashi Eiwa Jo Gakuin, 1970).
- 10 Loretta Shaw wrote a perceptive book on changing Japan after the First World War, *Japan in Transition* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1922).
- 11 For instance, the Anglicans included Alexander C. Shaw and his son Ronald D.M. Shaw, Percy Powles and Cyril Powles, and Arthur Lea and his daughter, Leonora Lea; the Methodists included Dan Norman and Howard Norman, Robert D. McKenzie and Arthur P. McKenzie, and Benjamin Chappell and Constance Chappell (Constance's twin, Mary, taught in Japan but was not a missionary).
- 12 John Hilliker, *Canada's Department of External Affairs*, vol. 1: *The Early Years, 1909-1946* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 190-92.
- 13 Howard Norman, the older brother of E.H. Norman, the diplomat, intimated that this was the case in a private conversation with the author.
- 14 Hamish Ion, "The Archdeacon and the Bishop: Alexander Croft Shaw, Edward Bickersteth, and Meiji Japan," in *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, vol. 3, ed. J.E. Hoare (Richmond, England: Japan Library, 1999), 108-20.
- 15 Nippon Seikokai rekishi henshū iinkai, *Akashi bitotachi: Nippon Seikokai jinbutsu shi* (Tokyo: Nippon Seikokai shuppan jigyobu, 1975), 73-75.
- 16 See, for instance, Robert Cornell Armstrong, *Just before the Dawn: The Life and Work of Ninomiya Sontoku* (New York: Macmillan, 1912).
- 17 Harper H. Coates and Ryugaku Ishizuka, *Honen, the Buddhist Saint: His Life and Teachings* (Kyoto: Chionin, 1925).
- 18 Egerton Ryerson, *The Netsuke of Japan* (London: G. Bell, 1958).
- 19 R.D.M. Shaw, *The Embossed Tea Kettle*, trans. Hakuin Zenji (London: Michael Joseph, 1961).
- 20 W.H.H. Norman, trans., *Hell Screen ("Jigoku Hen") and Other Stories by Ryomosuke Akutagawa* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1948).
- 21 See, for instance, Arthur Lloyd, *The Wheat among the Tares: Studies of Buddhism in Japan* (London: Macmillan, 1908).
- 22 For a more detailed account of this, see A. Hamish Ion, "Shizuoka Christians and Tokyo Evangelism in the early 1870s," *Meiji Gakuin Kirisutokyō Kenkyūjo Kiyō* 37 (2005): 251-97.
- 23 For Hiraiwa, see Kuranaga Takeshi, *Hiraiwa Yoshiyasu den* (Tokyo: Kanada Gōdō Kyōkai senkyōshikai, 1937).
- 24 Takahashi Masao, *Nakamura Keiū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1967), 132. Nakamura was the translator of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help*, and he was a member of the influential Meirokusha, the learned society, which included among its members Fukuzawa Yukichi, Mori Arinori, Nishi Amane, and many other leading Japanese specialists in Western studies.

- 25 For a brief overview of the Protestant movement in Japan, see A. Hamish Ion, "Japan," in *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 972-75. For a valuable recent collection of papers on Japanese Christianity, including its history, see Mark R. Mullins, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).
- 26 Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 312-13.
- 27 For a brief summation of McKenzie's military career in the Second World War, see McKenzie to Arnup, 18 June 1946, box 6, file 147, UCC: BFMJ.
- 28 Bott to Armstrong, 5 August 1945, box 6, file 142, UCC: BFMJ. See also Armstrong to Bott, 16 May 1946, box 5, file 144, in which Armstrong informed Bott that the Board of Overseas Mission was protesting formally the expulsion of Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry.
- 29 Outerbridge to Armstrong, 4 July 1945, box 6, file 142, UCC: BFMJ.
- 30 For a recent critical study of the Japanese Emperor, see Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000).
- 31 See, for instance, Yuki Tanaka, *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the US Occupation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002); and John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).
- 32 Bott to Taylor, 24 April 1946, box 6, file 144, UCC: BFMJ.
- 33 Between 1946 and 1950, some twenty-four pre-war United Church missionaries returned to Japan. See Norman, *One Hundred Years in Japan*, vol. 2, 430.
- 34 Bott to Bell, 22 April 1946, box 6, file 144, UCC: BFMJ. The devastation of Japan and the chronic food shortages are vividly described in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, especially 33-120.
- 35 Bott to Bell, 22 April 1946, box 6, file 144, UCC: BFMJ.
- 36 Bott to Courtice and Armstrong, 22 July 1946, box 6, file 144, UCC: BFMJ.
- 37 Bott to Birkel, 7 July 1946, box 6, file 144, UCC: BFMJ.
- 38 Bott to Arnup, 8 July 1947, box 5, file 157, UCC: BFMJ.
- 39 Stone to Arnup, 15 February 1947, box 6, file 153, UCC: BFMJ.