

PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES IN SOUTHERN MANCHURIA, 1867-1931:

RELIGION, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

A dissertation by

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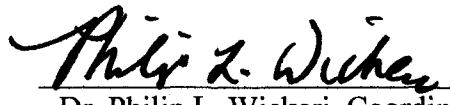
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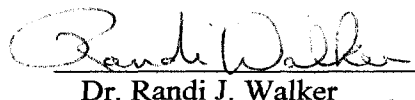
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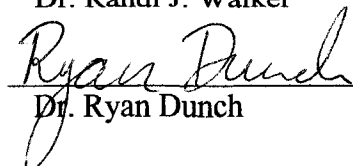
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ABSTRACT

PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES IN SOUTHERN MANCHURIA, 1867-1931: RELIGION, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

A dissertation by Hyung Shin Park

This dissertation examines the ways in which the Irish, Scottish, Korean, and American Presbyterian missionaries in Southern Manchuria represented the gospel, discovered the needs of the converts and other people in the area, and transformed their mission methods in the late Qing and the early Republican period of China.

The first chapter surveys the home-base of the missionaries from the four different nationalities and suggests that the common theological orientation of the missionaries was orthodox Presbyterianism and Evangelicalism. Some other formative factors from the home-bases were the emphases on education, commerce or development, social responsibility, and the sense of duty in the spread of “civilization.” Those features, in general, shaped the “superiority” of both Christianity and Western civilization in the mind and practice of the Presbyterian missionaries.

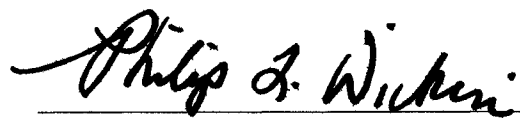
The second chapter shows that the missionaries pursued unity within the Presbyterian tradition, cooperation and comity along with the churches in other traditions and the missionary societies, and the development of an indigenous Presbytery or Church both in Manchuria and the rest of China. The missionaries, however, also maintained their narrow-mindedness in unity, a reluctance in divesting themselves of the responsibilities for the Church of Manchuria, and a hostile attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church. In encountering Chinese religions, they generally held the position that the Chinese religions were “pagan” or “superstitious” and that Christianity was superior to them. However, a few missionaries tried to understand those religions from an historical point of view and affirm some aspects of their spirituality. They thereby hoped to see the emergence of a Chinese Christianity with Chinese religious and cultural characteristics.

The third chapter investigates the ways in which the missionaries worked among immigrants, refugees and the sick. The period that the missionaries worked in Southern Manchuria was also a time in which massive migrations from North China, Korea, and Japan to Manchuria were made. It was also a time when China, Russia, and Japan were competing with one another for the dominance in East Asia. This resulted in a couple of international wars mainly in Southern Manchuria. The missionaries were faced with a considerable number of immigrants and refugees as a result of the wars. The desperate needs of the people in Southern Manchuria helped the missionaries change their mission methods and dedicate themselves to relief, development, and some other types of activities to improve the conditions of the people’s life. Whereas the other three nationalities dealt mainly with the marginalized, the American missionaries who worked

among the Japanese in the Kwantung Leased Territory in Manchuria had a different context in encountering the (semi)-colonizers.

The last chapter analyzes the missionaries' political and 'politically neutral' stances made in response to national events. Experiencing the Boxer Uprising of 1900 and the May Thirtieth Incident of 1925, the British missionaries came to be sympathetic to Chinese nationalism and expressed their willingness to abandon the political rights of Christian missions coming out of the unequal treaties. Korean missionaries joined the anti-colonial movement in Manchuria as contributing to nationalistic education. In addition, facing the crisis of the Korean immigrants' survival in the midst of the competing Chinese and Japanese nationalisms in Manchuria, some Korean missionaries participated in the naturalization movement for Chinese citizenship. Some American missionaries saw the bilingual and bicultural ability in many Koreans residing in Manchuria. They hoped to mobilize them for the evangelization of the Chinese. The American missionaries among the Japanese in Manchuria had the attitude of 'political neutrality.' However, they were, especially in the early period of their work, considerably dependent on the financial support of the Japanese Kwantung Government.

In the conclusion, the author suggests that the direction for the future study of Christianity in Manchuria should be indigenization and contextualization of the Church. He also suggests the direction for trans-nationality in encouraging the study of Christianity among the minority ethnic groups in Manchuria and the study of the trans-national expressions between and among the different groups.

 3 October 2008
Coordinator's Signature Date

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated
to my wife Kyongha Alex Park,
my children Monica Eunji Park and Francis Eunho Park,
and my parents Youngju Park and Yangja Wi.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Philip L. Wickeri, Professor of Evangelism and Mission at San Francisco Theological Seminary, Dr. Randi J. Walker, Professor of Church History at Pacific School of Religion, and Dr. Ryan Dunch, Professor of History at the University of Alberta for their guidance, encouragement, and patience.

My gratitude also goes to the Kwang Eum Church, Korea, the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church (KEHC), and the Doorae Research Institute for providing the funds and prayers for my studies.

Above all, I owe a debt of love, patience, and prayer to my strongest supporters, my wife, Kyongha, my children, Monica and Francis, my parents, Youngju Park and Yangja Wi, and the rest of my family members in Korea and the United States.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. Periodicals, Minutes, Proceedings, and other Sources

ARFMOUPC	<i>Annual Report of the Foreign Missionary Operations of the Untied Presbyterian Church</i>
CHA	<i>The Church at Home and Abroad</i> [of the PCUSA]
CM	<i>Contemporary Manchuria</i>
CR	<i>The Chinese Recorder</i>
CYCS (I)	<i>Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Sang)</i> [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I]
CYCS (II)	<i>Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Ha)</i> [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. II]
GRSS	<i>General Report of the ShenChyun Station</i>
JLSZ	<i>Jilinshengzhi</i> [The Records of the Jilin Province]
JPCUSA	<i>The Journal of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.</i>
KMF	<i>The Korea Mission Field</i>
MGAPCRB	<i>The Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards</i>
MHPCI	<i>The Missionary Herald of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (?)</i>
MJN	<i>The Manzhou Jidujiao Nianjian</i> [Manchou Christian Federation Year Book]
MRW	<i>The Missionary Review of the World</i>
TYCNH	<i>Taehan Yesugyo Changnohoe Nohoe Hoerok</i> [The Minutes of the Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church]
MRUFCS	<i>The Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland</i>
MRUPC	<i>The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church/ United Presbyterian Missionary Record</i>
OP	<i>The Orthodox Presbyterians/The Orthodox Presbyterian, theological review, and missionary recorder</i>
YCCCH	<i>Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Chonghoe Hoerok</i> [The Minutes of the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church]
YCCPNH	<i>Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Pyŏngbuk Nohoe Hoerok</i> [The Minutes of the Pyŏngbuk Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church]

B. Churches, Societies, and other Institutions

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ARCUSA	American Reformed Church of the U.S.A
ATS	American Tract Society
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
CI	Church of Ireland
CCC	Church of Christ in China (Since 1927)

CCJ	Church of Christ in Japan
CFMSA	Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknollers)
CS	Church of Scotland
CPC	Canadian Presbyterian Church
CPCC	Continuing Presbyterian Church of Canada
CPCC	Chosŏn Presbyterian Church Council (Since 1901)
DLC	Danish Lutheran Church
EPC	English Presbyterian Church
FAPCWE	Female Association for Promoting Christianity among the Women of the East [of the PCI]
FCC	Federal Council of Churches [of Korea] (Since 1918)
FCS	Free Church of Scotland
FCPEM	Federal Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions [of Korea] (Since 1912)
FMA	Female Missionary Association [of the PCI] (Since 1874)
GA	Girls' Auxiliary [of the PCI] (Since 1911)
GACPC	General Assembly of the Chosŏn Presbyterian Church (Since 1912) = the PCK
GCEMK	General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea (Since 1905)
GMS	Glasgow Missionary Society (Since 1796)
HKYY	Hankuk Kidokkyo Yŏksa Yŏnguso [The Institute for Korean Church History]
IPK	Independent Presbytery of Korea (Since 1907) = the PCK
JMC	Japanese Methodist Church (Since 1907)
KMC	Korean Methodist Church
LMS	London Missionary Society
MEC	Methodist Episcopal Church
MECS	Methodist Episcopal Church, (South)
MEP	Society of Foreign Missions of Paris (Société des Missions Etrangères)
MMC	Moukden Medical College
NBSS	National Bible Society of Scotland
NCCC	National Christian Council of China (Since 1922)
NSK	Nippon Sei Kokwai [of Japan] (1887)
PCCC	Presbyterian Church of Christ in China (Since 1907)
PCI	Presbyterian Church in Ireland
PCK	Presbyterian Church of Korea
PCUS	Presbyterian Church in the U.S
PCUSA	Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A
PCV	Presbyterian Church of Victoria
PHSP	Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, USA
PHSB	Presbyterian Historical Society, Belfast, UK
PMC	Presbyterian Mission Council [of Korea] (Since 1893)
PMS	Pyŏngbuk Missionary Society [of Korea] (1900)
PSC	Presbyterian Synod of China (1870)
PU	Presbytery of Ulster [of Ireland] (Since 1642)
RC	Relief Church [of Scotland]

RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RGS	Royal Geographical Society
ROC	Russian Orthodox Church
RPCNA	Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America
SBC	Southern Baptist Convention
SC	Secession Church [of Scotland]
SDA	Seventh-Day Adventists
SM	Synod of Manchuria (Since 1907)
SMS	Scottish Missionary Society in (Since 1796)
SU	Synod of Ulster [of Ireland] (Since 1690/1691)
UFCS	United Free Church of Scotland (Since 1900)
UPC	United Presbyterian Church [of Scotland] (Since 1847)
WFMS	Western Foreign Missionary Society [of America] (Since 1831)
WMSPC	Women's Missionary Society of Pandong Church [of Korea] (1898)
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

INTRODUCTION

Manchuria presented two different faces to Western missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the nineteenth century it was one of the most difficult places for a Western missionary to reach and adjust themselves to. It was, as located at the northeastern corner of the Far East, one of the most remote places to many of Western missionaries. Manchuria, having a very long and cold winter, was not easy for the first comers to adjust themselves to. It, as opened to foreigners only after the treaties of Tientsin and Peking in 1858 and 1860, was not a friendly place to foreigners socially and culturally at least until the end of the nineteenth century.

For example, the British missionaries who were appointed to Manchuria in the nineteenth century and arrived at Shanghai by boat were able to arrive at the treaty port of Manchuria Newchwang only after staying a few more days at Shanghai waiting for another small boat bound for Manchuria. The pioneering and first resident missionary in Manchuria from the English Presbyterian Church (EPC) William C. Burns could not survive the severe Winter weather of Manchuria and died the next spring. Both Elizabeth Hunter and M. A. Stewart Ross, the first missionary wives from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI) and the United Presbyterian Church [of Scotland] (UPC) respectively, also died within a couple of years in Manchuria.¹ Left alone in Manchuria, by the death of her wife and the resignation of his fellow missionary Hugh Waddell on health grounds, Dr. J. M. Hunter seriously thought about quitting his work there, which also meant the Church's quitting of the Manchuria Mission. In 1880, facing financial and some other

¹ R. H. Boyd, *Waymakers in Manchuria* (Belfast: The Foreign Mission Office, Church House, 1940), 32-34; the Missionary Report of the United Presbyterian Church (MRUPC) (Jan. 1872): 572.

crises, the UPC also came to negotiate with the English Presbyterian Church (EPC) in order to hand over the Manchuria Mission, although the plan was soon withdrawn.

In the early twentieth century, Manchuria certainly became more attractive and friendly to Westerners and other outsiders by many favorable environments in politics, economics, society, and culture. For instance, being constructed by Russians and Chinese, the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchuria Railway provided a fascinating travel itinerary to inter-continental travelers between Europe and Manchuria. At the turn of the year 1909, it could take only fourteen days for one to travel from Scotland to Manchuria by the Trans-Siberian Train and the Chinese trains. The Scottish missionary John Ross reported, “We left Glasgow on the 9th and arrived here on the 25th October. We stayed over one day at Berlin and one and a half in Moscow. In great haste two days could be taken off the journey.”² Travel by boat was the only way to travel between Europe and China decades ago, took several months, and often caused travelers to die under the heat of the equator. However, the inter-continental travel by the Trans-Siberian Train meant a revolution of transportation to the missionaries and other travelers. In addition, the Ch’ing government made Manchuria a sort of free trade zone after the Russo-Japanese War as an experiment for the whole China. Having passed the crisis of the Manchuria Mission mentioned above, the UPC abolished its Shantung Mission and concentrated its effort for China mission on Manchuria in the mid-1880s, and, furthermore, decided to expand the Manchuria Mission at the cost of its Japan Mission when it merged with the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) in 1900.

Why, then, did the Irish and Scottish Presbyterian Churches want to start, continue, and expand their Missions in Manchuria? In detail, what kind of missions did

² *The Missionary Report of the United Free Church of Scotland* (MRUFCS) (Jan. 1909):16.

the Board of Foreign Missions of the home Churches expect to their missionaries in Manchuria? What kind of direct and indirect influences did the missionaries get from the home Church, society, and culture? What were the British, Korean, and American Presbyterian missionaries' experience and discovery in Manchuria, particularly in Southern Manchuria? Did they only represent the expectations from their home-base? Or, did they explore new ways of Christian service and transform themselves by them?³ In addition, what were the response and evaluation of the home Churches to their work in Southern Manchuria?

This dissertation is a discussion of these questions. It is a way of describing and analyzing the thought and practice of the Irish, Scottish, Korean, and American missionaries, who worked in the southern part of Manchuria in the late Ch'ing and the Republican periods, focusing on their engagements in the realms of religion, society, and politics. In Chapter One, I will investigate the home Church's faith and activities in referring to the home society's culture and ideologies. In addition, the reasons and processes in which the Churches decided to choose Manchuria as their mission field will be discussed. Chapter Two is about the different ways of the missionaries' engagements in the various religious groups pertaining to the Western Christian tradition – Protestant Churches and missionary societies, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Russian Orthodox Church– and the religions encountered in Manchuria – Daoism, Buddhism, Shamanism, folk religions, Confucianism, and Islam. Chapter Three will be a discussion

³ For the theme of the missionary transformation by their field experience, see William R. Hutchison, "Evangelization and Civilization: Protestant Missionary Motivation in the Imperial Era," in *Missions and Ecumenical Expressions*, ed. Martin E. Marty (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1993), 33.; Daniel H. Bays and Grant Wacker, ed., *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003); Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1997)

about the ways in which the missionaries responded to the marginalized caused by the social changes and political turmoil and also to the Japanese semi-colonizers yearning for a better life in a foreign colony. Chapter Four revolves around some of the major social and national movements in the early twentieth-century China – the Boxer Uprising and the May Thirtieth Movement, Japanese colonial enterprise in Southern Manchuria, and the Koreans’ nationalistic and trans-national activities in Manchuria – and shows the different ways of response made by the missionaries in Manchuria.

Presbyterian Missionaries

This is the first full study of the different kinds of Presbyterian responses in Manchuria. Our focus is on the missionaries of the Presbyterian Churches from four nationalities – the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI), the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) and the subsequent Scottish Churches by mergers - the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS) and the Church of Scotland (CS) - the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK), and the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA), who came to the southern part of Manchuria from 1867 to 1931. The Presbyterian Church in Ireland, which was established in Northern Ireland out of various Presbyterian movements, was the first Church setting up a mission in Manchuria. In Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church since 1847 became an important Scottish Presbyterian Church along with some other Presbyterian Churches including the establish Church of Scotland and finally merged with the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) in 1900 and also with the established Church of Scotland in 1929. The Church set up a Manchuria Mission in 1872 and continued to maintain it until the first half of the twentieth century. The Presbyterian Church of Korea

sent its lay and ordained missionaries to Manchuria in the early twentieth century although it did not set up a separate mission in Manchuria first. Influenced by the Scottish Mission in Manchuria and some other Presbyterian Churches which sent missionaries to Korea, the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) was one of the two strongest Protestant Churches along with the Korean Methodist Church in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The PCK included its Korean members and churches in Manchuria within the Korean Presbyteries in the northernmost Korean peninsula and, later on, set up several separate Presbyteries in Manchuria. In the early twentieth century, American missionaries to Manchuria came from the two Missions – the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) and the West Japan Mission of the PCUSA.

According to *The Christian Occupation of China*, published in 1922, the Scottish and Irish Presbyterian missionaries made up sixty three per cent of the missionaries in Manchuria sent by the Churches – the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS), the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI), the Danish Lutheran Church (DLC), the Seventh-Day Adventists (SDA), and the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC).⁴ Considering that the book omitted the missionaries from the PCK, the PCUSA, and the Canadian Presbyterian Church (CPC), who were working in the Korean and Japanese immigrants in Manchuria, the percentage will get bigger. Indeed, Presbyterian missionaries were the first Protestant missionaries to arrive in Manchuria and continued to form the biggest body out of all the Protestant Church traditions.

⁴ Milton T. Stauffer, *The Christian Occupation of China* (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922), 259.

This study does not deal with the Lutheran missionaries from the Danish Lutheran Church (DLC) and the Methodist missionaries from the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC), who were present in Southern Manchuria in the period this dissertation is engaged in. This study also does not deal with the Presbyterian missionaries from the Canadian Presbyterian Church (CPC), the Continuing Presbyterian Church of Canada (CPCC), and the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (RPCNA), who worked in eastern Manchuria and northern Manchuria and the Methodist missionaries from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS), who worked for Russians in northern Manchuria. Although not included in this study, the CPC missionaries who were sent to Korea were also very active among the Korean immigrants in the '*Kando*' area and became an important force to help form a nationalistic Christianity in the exiled community. The work of the CPCC and the RPCNA not only outside the geographical scope but also happened at the end of the period of this study. In addition, the size of the works was not large.

Manchuria and Southern Manchuria

As to the spatial delineation of 'Southern Manchuria,' a combination of geographical, historical, and cultural definitions will be used in this work. In fact, 'Manchuria' has been a contested region among China, Russia, Korea, and Japan in the modern era. Russia took the so-called 'Outer Manchuria,' the northeastern part of the previous form of 'Manchuria,' by the Aigun Treaty of 1858 and the Peking Treaty of 1860 and attempted to possess the whole Manchuria at the turn of the twentieth century. Korea has participated in the borderline dispute against the Ch'ing dynasty since the eighteenth

century. Having won both the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, Japan occupied Liaotung peninsula in 1905 and established 'Manchukuo' in the Chinese Manchuria in 1932. The term 'Manchuria' is foreign to Han Chinese and the region has been called by them 'Northeast China.' The term 'Manchuria' has been a problem and even a taboo among many Chinese especially after the rise of the Japanese 'Manchukuo' in the region. Furthermore, there is no administrative name of 'Southern Manchuria' in the course of the history of China or Manchuria.

According to some recent studies on this region, Southern Manchuria has been a distinctive borderland in many ways among the Chinese, Korean, and 'Manchurian' civilizations for a long time. 'Southern Manchuria' of this dissertation, on the whole, covers the territory of the Fengtien province in the nineteenth and twentieth-century China up to 1927 when the province name was changed into Liaoning with a little change in delineation. It, being the southernmost province out of the three in Manchuria, includes a region, in the west, from Shanhaikuan (Shanhaiguan now) located at the eastern end of the Great Walls, in the north, to the area bordering the Inner Mongolia, and, in the east, to the area north the upper part of the River Yalu [the River Arok in Korean], which belonged to Fengtien province or Kirin province by administrative changes. Many geographers, including Owen Lattimore and Juha Janhunen, claimed that (Southern) Manchuria was independent from the China proper by the part of the Great Khingan Range, and the only route by the land between the two regions, Manchuria and North China, was the corridor including the town of Shanhaikuan. Southern Manchuria is also discontinued from the Korean peninsula by the River Yalu and from the eastern part of Manchuria by another range.

Historically, Southern Manchuria was a part of China, Korea, the Chin state and the Ch'ing state before the Manchus' entering China proper, or some other various ethnic groups residing and traveling in Manchuria. The region's fluidity in political and demographical change makes it difficult to attach the region to any neighboring political and cultural entity. In the early seventeenth century, the area was the heart land of both Nurhaci's the Chin state and his descendants' state Ch'ing before the establishment of the Chinese Ch'ing dynasty, as Moukden becoming the capital. Thereby, it was the land of the Manchus throughout the Ch'ing dynasty with increasing number of the Han Chinese immigrants. It was not until 1907 when the Ch'ing government officially allowed Han Chinese to migrate into the area. Manchuria was under the rule of the succeeding warlords, Chang Tso-lin and Chang Hsüeh-liang, since 1917 whose Manchuria government was semi-independent from the Chinese government. Manchuria, in turn, fell to the hands of Japanese in the establishment of the puppet state Manchukuo in 1932. Finally, it became a part of China after the World War II. It is certain that Southern Manchuria has a dynamic, diverse, and complicated history. In the course of the modern times, Southern Manchuria was influenced by the cultures of Koreans, 'the Manchus,' the Mongols, Russians, and Japanese as well as by the dominant Han Chinese. Particularly, the Liaotung peninsula was strongly influenced by the Russian and Japanese cultures due to their management of the area for more than thirty years of concession. In addition, the eastern part of Southern Manchuria was heavily populated by Koreans, and, thereby, rice cultivation became one of the features in the area.

This dissertation covers the time period from 1867 to 1931. 1867 was the year that William C. Burns from the English Presbyterian Church (EPC) started his work at

Newchwang. 1931 was the year before the establishment of the Japanese Manchukuo that brought a very different context to the Christianity in Manchuria. Although the period in which William C. Burns worked in Manchuria was not long enough to be influential on the society of Manchuria, the year 1867 should be noted as the starting point of the Presbyterian or Protestant work in Manchuria and William C. Burns' work was succeeded by the Irish Mission in 1869 directly by his appeal for the Protestant work in Manchuria.

Methodology

This is a comparative study to analyze the different Presbyterian Missions or Churches present in Southern Manchuria in utilizing the sources from various Presbyterian archives. The missionaries in Southern Manchuria from the same Presbyterian tradition but from different contexts displayed an interesting scene in the new stage. While some of them worked together, some others worked independently in the same or different places. Some of them worked among Han Chinese and the Manchus and some others worked among Korean or Japanese immigrants. By comparison, contrast, and analysis, this study will have opportunity to identify both the shared practice and thought of the missionaries and also some distinctive aspects in them. As to the Irish and Scottish missionary archival sources, missionary reports and monographs, reports and essays from the Board of Foreign Missions, and various Minutes were mainly used. For the American and Korean missionary archival sources, missionary reports, published and unpublished, missionary essays, sources from newspapers, and some other sources were utilized.

Another perspective applied to this study comes from the scholarship of indigenization and contextualization, which is a critique of Western imperialism and colonialism especially attached to Christian missions and an effort to encouraging the perspective and activities of the indigenous people. This study tries to question about the cultural and political implications in the missionaries' thought and practice, which might be attached to the political and commercial imperialisms of the Powers and also to the superiorities of Western culture and Western religious belief. Furthermore, although it does not focus on the indigenous Christians, the development of indigenous Christianity will be carefully discussed. Philip L. Wickeri's strong emphasis on indigenization and contextualization in his lectures and writings, Andrew Walls' emphasis on the Christianity in the Non-Western World became the most important resources in this aspect.⁵

The so-called 'Trans-nationalism' or 'Post-nationalism,' which supports a historiography going beyond the national boundaries or ideologies in the space of the borderlands, is another important perspective for this study. The reason why I adopt the term 'Manchuria' for Northeast China does not come from a rejection of the previous or current national sovereignty of China upon the region. Rather, it comes from my intention to define the area as a geographical, historical, social, cultural, religious, and even, political borderland in the course of the modern era. I respect for the ways paying attention to the perspective and history of the local people, who actually resided in the

⁵ Philip L. Wickeri, *Mission from the Margins* (Louisville: Presbyterian Church (U.S.A), Office of Theology and Worship, 2004), *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988), and *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K.H. Ting and the Chinese Church* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2007). Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996) and *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2002).

area, and to the perspective and history concerning changes, amalgamation, and hybridity in cultural expression in the borderland. I also think that 'Manchuria' and 'Southern Manchuria' deserve as independent regions retaining historical entity. Both 'Manchuria' and 'Southern Manchuria' have internal integration. They also have distinctiveness from the rest of China and the other neighboring states or areas. In this methodological thinking, I benefited from the works of Juha Janhunen, Kim Han-kyu, Leo K. Shin, Prasenjit Duara, Randi J. Walker, and Gloria Anzaldúa among many others.⁶

Sources

It should be noted that, in terms of the primary sources used for this dissertation, I have both advantages and disadvantages from my relying on the missionary sources especially for the Irish, Scottish, and American missions, although I was able to utilize a few Chinese source materials. As to getting the sources from Chinese and some other indigenous converts' side in Northeast China (Manchuria), I found that many important sources for the history of Christianity in Manchuria were not extant. One of the reasons for the scanty primary sources may come from the fact that Manchuria or Southern Manchuria experienced many social, national, and religious disorders, such as the Sino-Japanese War, the Boxer Uprising, the Russo-Japanese War and the Cultural Revolution, and some of them were explicitly against Christianity. More systematic efforts in securing and helping access the sources will become a great contribution to the

⁶ Juha Janhunen, *Manchuria: an Ethnic History* (1996) ; Han-kyu Kim, *Yodongsa* [A History of Yodong/Manchuria] (Seoul: Munhak kwa jisöngsa, 2004); Leo K. Shin, *The Making of the Chinese State: Ethnicity and Expansion on the Ming Borderlands* (Cambridge, 2006); Prasenjit Duara, "Transnationalism and the Challenge to National Histories," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California, 2002); Randi Jones Walker, "Unpacking For a Journey Across Racial Borders: Protestants in the North American West," in *Pacific School of Religion Bulletin* vol. 83 no.1 (Spring 2004): 1-3; Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands*, rev. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999).

development of the scholarship in the study of Christianity in Manchuria. Especially, the use of “missionary cases” (*jiaoan*) and local and provincial gazetteers (*defang zhi* and *sheng zhi*) would be useful sources to further explore the studies in the history of Christianity in Manchuria from the Chinese side. Although the period was short, I visited the two cities Shenyang (Shengking or Moukden formerly) and Yingkou (Newchwang formerly) in Liaoning province and the capital city of China Beijing, and was able to access some documents from the Provincial Library, the National Library of China, the Chinese Academy of Social Science Library, several university libraries, and a few church libraries. I also obtained various missionary sources and some Chinese sources from the institutions outside China, including the Gamble Library of the Union Trinity College (Belfast, Northern Ireland), the Presbyterian Historical Society (Belfast, Northern Ireland), the Archive of the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World and the New College Library of the University of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, Scotland), the Institute for Korean Church History (Seoul, Korea), the Library of the Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary (Seoul, Korea), and the Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia, the U. S. A). I was able to obtain some Japanese sources about Japanese immigration to Manchuria, Japanese political agreements with Chinese and Russian governments, and even Christian histories in Manchuria from some published books by Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans.

As to the secondary sources, particularly in the study of Manchuria, Owen Lattimore and Joseph Fletcher’s researches on Manchuria conducted in the 1950s and the 1970s respectively became a preliminary guide in understanding the history, geography, and culture of Manchuria, although both of them seems to support a Sino-centric

understanding of Manchuria. I see a renaissance in the historical, geographical, social, and ethnic studies of Manchuria, which was achieved during the past decade. I was encouraged and benefited from the accumulated knowledge and perspectives of those works. I believe that a list of some representative works may help the readers understand my work and help develop their own works in the further study of Manchuria. Some scholars, such as Juha Janhunen and Kim Han-kyu, tried to show a non-Sino-centric understanding of Manchuria and saw Manchuria as an independent entity. Leo K. Shin and Pamela Kyle Crossley were, although their subject-matters were not about Manchuria, also in a similar direction in their discussions about the relationship between the central and the marginal in China, ethnic identity, the power struggling in the frontiers, and some other issues in the borderlands. Scholars, including Thomas R. Gottschang, Diana Lary, and Christopher Mills Isett, dealt with some social aspects of Manchuria, such as immigration and social classes. Nationalistic perspective also a popular way of understanding Manchuria especially among some Chinese scholars including Li Zhi-ting. Studies about Japanese presence in Manchuria were conducted by some scholars including Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka and Prasenjit Duara. In addition, I utilized various secondary sources about the history of China, the history of Christianity in China, and the history of Christianity in Korea, and the history of Christianity in Japan.

Research on Christianity in Manchuria

One of the most important motives of this dissertation is to fill the gap in the history of Christianity in China. Not only many general studies in the history of Christianity in

China but also some studies on the sub-regions, such as Fujian province⁷ and Hong Kong,⁸ and on various ethnic groups, such as the Miao and the Hakka,⁹ were carried out by scholars. However, it is very difficult to find the works on the Christianity in Manchuria. Few monographic works on the Christianity were conducted since the publication of the book about the missions of the British missionaries, *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950*, which was written in 1967 by the Irish Presbyterian missionary Austin Fulton. In 1994, William Palmer Addley included the section “Foreign Mission in China” in his dissertation on the Irish foreign missions titled, “A Study of the Birth and Development of the Overseas Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland up to 1910.” Laurence Kirkpatrick published a book about the Irish Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria titled, *Made in China: the Story of Irish Presbyterians in China*, in 2008.

Korean historians have been interested in the history of Korean Christianity in Manchuria as an additional part in the history of the Korean Christianity. Their interests are, by and large, comprised of the following four sub-topics: the early Scottish missionary John Ross and his fellow John McIntyre’s translation of the first Korean Bible, the first Koreans under the Scottish Mission and their contribution to the Korean Protestantism, the Korean Christians’ independence movement in Manchuria, and the Korean Churches’ missionary works in Manchuria. In 1992, Choi Sung-il wrote his dissertation related to John Ross’ translation of the Korean Bible titled, “John Ross

⁷ See Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 2001)

⁸ See Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong and New York, 1985).

⁹ See Jessie Lutz, *Hakka Chinese Confront Protestant Christianity, 1850-1900* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1998); Ralph R. Covell, *The Liberating Gospel in China: The Christian Faith among China’s Minority Peoples*. (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995).

(1842-1915) and the Korean Protestant Church: the First Korean Bible and Its Relation to the Protestant Origins in Korea.” O Se-do and O Se-jong co-authored *Manju kamni kyohoesa* [A History of Korean Methodist Church in Manchuria] in 1997, and Yi Hak-in and Kim Man-su co-authored a wonderful book about the nationalistic Presbyterian missionary in Manchuria Han Kyöng-hŭi titled, *Manju ũi sadobaul hankyöngghŭi moksa* [Apostle Paul of Manchuria Rev. Han Kyöng-hŭi] in 2005.

Romanization

The Romanization systems were used in this dissertation as follows. For the Chinese language, this dissertation adopts both Wade-Giles and Pinyin Romanization Systems. It applies the Wade-Giles system for the personal and place names pertaining to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus Moukden and Fengtien are used in the text and footnotes in preference to Shenyang and Liaoning. However, when there is a need to address some place and personal names pertaining to the period after the time period of this dissertation, I freely use Pinyin system. Thus, this dissertation adopts Shenyang, Liaoning, and Beijing to talk about the writer’s research itinerary instead of Moukden, Fengtien, and Peking.

For the Korean language, the McCune-Reischauer Romanization System is used with a few exceptions. Some place and personal names difficult to recognize in the System are retained according to the social custom. Thus Seoul is used for Söul in the text and footnotes. Korean scholars often name some places in Manchuria in Korean pronunciation. However, being influenced by the Korean-Chinese scholars in part, some scholars have started to use Chinese pronunciation for those places. This dissertation

identifies the place names in Chinese with some exceptions, such as '*Kando*' and 'West *Kando*' very common among the Koreans in Manchuria and Korea. This dissertation prefers Tunghua and Jian to Tonghwa and Jip'an. When needed, the names are followed by the alternative names or pronunciations in parenthesis.

Some place names in Manchuria were changed many times even in a couple of decades according to the political and administrative changes. For example, the port city Talien was named Dalny by the Russians after they leased it in 1897 and Japanese, in turn, changed the name into Dairen after 1905. Later it was corrected into Dalian in the pinyin system. The capital city of Fengtien province Moukden also has several historical names, including Shengking, Moukden (Mukden), and Shenyang. In these cases, this dissertation adopts the most common name for the time period. Thus, the capital city of Fengtien province is Moukden throughout and Dairen is the name for the city of Dalian. When needed, the names are followed by the alternative names or pronunciations in parenthesis as in the previous case.

As to the Chinese and Korean names, the order of name is given like this. The last name goes first and, then, the first name goes frequently with hyphenation in between the two letters. However, in footnotes, the first name goes first as the Western names are treated.

Of the names of the Western missionaries, ordained missionaries usually do not have any abbreviation before the name. Thus John Stewart is an ordained missionary. Men and women medical doctors have the abbreviation 'Dr.' before the name. The fact that the full name of most missionary wives is not easily identified is very discouraging. I

tried to identify and use the names although it was not always successful. Thus Elizabeth Hunter is used for Mrs. J. M. Hunter.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HOME-BASE: THE ROOTS OF THE IRISH, SCOTTISH, KOREAN, AND AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONARIES' THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

The missionaries as both individuals and a group are the product of their own church and national culture in many ways. The conditions of the home-base frequently function as parameters and also limitations to the work of the mission located in a distant area. In this chapter, before discussing the work of the missionaries in Southern Manchuria, I would like to investigate their home-base - the United Presbyterian Church (UPC, up to 1900)/the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS, since 1900),¹ the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI), the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK), and the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A (PCUSA) - as a significant formative to the missionaries' internal and external world, at least in their early period. This study will include theology and practice of the home Churches, the policy and practical expectations of the Board of Foreign Missions which appeared in setting up the missions, enlisting missionaries, and controlling the missions and missionaries, and the cultural and ideological sentiments of the larger society.²

¹ In this work I will focus on the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) and the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS), leaving some other Scottish Churches including the Church of Scotland (CS) and the Free Church of Scotland (FCS).

² The study about European and American home-base of the eighteenth and nineteenth century foreign mission fields has been updated in recent scholarship. S. Piggin, in his *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858*, studied "the social background, motives, and training of British Protestant missionaries" focusing on the missionaries sent to India. In *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, Brian Stanley and his fellow scholars, in a new approach, tried to show the European intellectual and spiritual sentiments such as Enlightenment, Germanic Pietism, and European civilization as the impulses of the Evangelical Missionary Movement. See Brian Stanley, ed. *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001); Brian Stanley, "Christian missions, antislavery and the claims of humanity, c.1813-1873," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities, c. 1815-c.1914*, vol. 8., ed. by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Andrew Porter, "Missions and Empire, c. 1873-1914," in the same book. Evangelicalism, which was traditionally treated as the most important formative for the missionary movement, was revisited by W. R. Ward and Mark Noll in its new

1. Scottish Church, Society and Foreign Missions

Scottish Foreign Missions and the UPC Manchuria Mission

While the established Church of Scotland (CS) was still dominated by the Moderates, who were interested in more 'rational' religion, in the late eighteenth century, and did not recognize the cause of foreign missions, a few independent missionary societies started to embody the cause in the life of evangelical Scottish Presbyterians. Both the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) and the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS) were established in 1796 and carried the gospel to the West Africa, the South Africa, the West India, and West Indies starting in the next year. The foreign missionary work of the societies was joined by the major Scottish Churches only after the mid-1820s, setting apart the Secession Church (SC)'s missionary work to North America since 1742. The CS was able to start the work in 1824 and the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) made its starting with the 1843 Disruption.

A 1847 merger of the Secession Church (SC) and the Relief Church (RC), which were the branches of Scottish Presbyterianism originally coming out of the Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) started foreign missions in the following fields transferred from the predecessors: Nova Scotia, Canada, West Indies, Africa, and Australia. The UPC and its successor the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS) successfully expanded their foreign missionary works up until 1929 the year when the

implications of inner and diverse identity and its relation with powers and culture. See W. R. Ward, "Evangelical Identity in the Eighteenth Century," in *Christianity Reborn: the Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); and Mark Noll, "Evangelical Identity, Power, and Culture in the 'Great' Nineteenth Century," in the same book. Jane Hunter's book *The Gospel of Gentility* became one of the first works in its kind by juxtaposing the missionary work of the Western women missionaries and missionary wives with their social and cultural background at home. See Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

UFCS merged with the CS.³ In 1872, when the UPC started to send missionaries to Manchuria, it was sending its missionaries to the seven foreign mission fields in the world: Jamaica, Trinidad, Old Calabar, Caffraria, India, China, and Spain, and it was also about to establish another mission in Japan.⁴ The 1900 formation of the UFCS brought another chance to expand mission fields to the Church in revising the list with India, Arabia, Manchuria, South Africa, Livingstonia, Old Calabar, Jamaica, and Trinidad. By 1905, the Church had fifteen missionary councils or Presbyteries in the four regions of India, Manchuria, Africa and the Islands.

It should be noted that there were two Scottish forerunners, Alexander Williamson and William C. Burns before the Manchuria Mission of the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) was established by a Scottish minister John Ross in 1872. Having started in 1862 at Ningpo, a southern treaty port, the China Mission of the United Presbyterian Church moved to Chefoo, Shantung province, in 1870, primarily serving North China.⁵ The UPC missionary to North China Alexander Williamson decisively helped the Board of Foreign Mission of the UPC open another station in Manchuria,

³ The United Presbyterian Church (UPC) merged with the Free Church of Scotland (FCS), which had departed from the established Church of Scotland (CS) in 1843, to create the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS) in 1900. The UFCS was, in turn, merged with the Church of Scotland in 1929, in accepting the latter's name for the new church. For a brief sketch of the history of the unions of Scottish Churches, see A. Morris Stewart, *The Origins of the United Free Church of Scotland: A Sketch of Scottish Presbytery* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1901)

⁴ *Annual Report of the Foreign Missionary Operations of the United Presbyterian Church (ARFMOUPC), for the Year Ended April 1873* (Edinburgh: Mission House), 4. To get the general understanding of the history of the foreign missions of the UPC and the UFCS, refer to John M'Kerrow, *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1867); D. Mackichan, *The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927); Elizabeth G. K. Hewat, *Vision and Achievement: 1796-1956*. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960); and John R. Fleming, *The Church in Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), 230-237.

⁵ I would like to divide the Chinese mission fields and periods of the UPC and the succeeding UFCS into three with some years overlapped each other: the first Ningpo from 1862 to 1872, the second Chefoo from 1870 to 1886, and the third Manchuria since 1872. Mackenzie's book, *Church and Missions in Manchuria: a Survey* can be a help in this regard. See the page 24. For the narrative of the beginning of China mission of the UPC, see John M'Kerrow, *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1867), 505-7.

which would be eventually developing into the only mission of the UPC in Chinese territory since 1886. Although having been sent to China originally by the London Missionary Society (LMS), Williamson became a missionary of the National Bible Society of Scotland (NBSS) to North China in 1863 after his long furlough. He made pioneering Bible journeys in the spring of 1864, April 1866, and the fall of 1867 through all the sub-regions of Manchuria: Southern Manchuria, Central Manchuria, Northern Manchuria, and South-eastern Manchuria.⁶ Then, he became a missionary of the UPC in 1870 while continuing to work for the NBSS for a while.⁷ His experience of Bible journeys in Manchuria was crucial when he successfully encouraged the new missionary John Ross originally sent to North China to open a new station in Newchwang, Manchuria, in 1872. He listed the seven reasons in driving the establishment of a Manchuria station in fall 1872 as follows:

- 1) There was no ordained minister to perform and religious service among the foreigners resident there. 2) No man to baptize converts among the heathen or organize a church on protestant principles in the whole of north, south or central Manchuria. 3) Mr. Ross appeared just the man for the post-a married man of very considerable purpose and judgment. 4) Chefoo [of Shantung] is now well provided with missionaries, as far as regards itself and the immediate neighbourhood. ...5) There appeared good if not imperative reason for determining this matter at once. ... 6) Even though the Irish Board

⁶ Alexander Williamson, *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea*. Vol. II (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1870) 23. Alexander Williamson worked for the NBSS for about ten years since 1863 and he, by the early 1870s, became an influential missionary and writer in creating interests in China, Manchuria, Mongolia, and Korea in the UPC and the larger Scottish and British world as well as in the NBSS by publishing the two-volume book of Chinese geography, civilization, and his extensive Bible journey experience, titled *Journeys in North China, Manchuria, and Eastern Mongolia; with Some Account of Corea* in 1870 and his booklet, *The Claims of China: Also a Letter to the 'Times'* in 1872. The second volume of *Journeys* was almost dedicated to his journey through Manchuria. In his booklet, he earnestly appealed the need of commerce, exploitation, and missionary enterprise in China from his missionary perspective. Next year, the Board of Foreign Mission of the UPC supported his claim and published the booklet again in *MRUPC* (Jan. 1872) under the new title, "The Claims of China on the Attention of Christian Men." I will revisit the details of the booklet below in the discussion of Scottish missions and Commerce.

⁷ *MRUPC*, June 1884, p. 209; Mrs. Duncan M'Laren (E.C. M'Laren), *Missions of the United Presbyterian Church: the Story of Our Manchuria Mission*. Edinburgh: Offices of United Presbyterian Church, 1896, page 13.

determined to send out more men, and hold on,-which we all hope that they will do,- there was more than room for us. ... 7) ... Newchwang is only 24 hours' sail by steam from Chefoo, and so is quite within workable limits....⁸

The Scottish pioneering missionary of the English Presbyterian Church (EPC) William C. Burns became not only the first missionary of the Church to China in 1847 but also the first resident Protestant missionary to Manchuria, starting his work at Newchwang, the newly opened treaty port at the mouth of the River Liao, in 1867.⁹ Although he came to die in the spring of the next year, Burns successfully aroused missionary interests in Manchuria to the British and Western world.¹⁰

Scottish Evangelicalism

One of the most noticeable aspects of the nineteenth century Scottish church and society especially as the environment of the foreign missions was the rise of Evangelicalism. As shared by the contemporary British and other Western Evangelicalism, the fundamental characteristics of Scottish Evangelicalism were comprised of emotional preaching, revivalism, and missionary zeal.¹¹ The first Scottish Evangelicals at the end of the

⁸ Alexander Williamson, "Newchwang," in MRUPC (July 1873): 572.

⁹ For the lists of the EPC and Scottish missionaries, refer to the Tables 1 and 3 at the end of this study.

¹⁰ Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Church and Missions in Manchuria*, p. 23. William C. Burns contributed to Chinese Christianity with his translations of *Peep of Day* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* as well as many other hymns into Mandarin Chinese. His case at Newchwang in relation to the EPC missionary work remains questionable as most Scottish and Irish mission histories are silent of it. For more biographical information on W. C. Burns, see the essay, "Jubilee of the Native Chinese Church in Connection with the Presbyterian Church of England," in MRUFCS (April 1904): 175 and the biography written by Islay Burns. *Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, M.A.: Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church*. (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1870)

¹¹ Many researchers have studied the features of the British, Continental, and American Evangelicalism and their' relation to the 19th century foreign missionary movement. David Bebbington depicts Evangelicalism with the quadrilateral of conversionism, [evangelistic] activities, Biblicism, and Cruci-centrism. See David Bebbington, *Modern British Evangelicalism: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 1-19. Mark Noll sees it with the two emphases of "the Scriptures as a bedrock of authority" and "active experience of God." See Mark Noll, "Evangelical Social Influence in North Atlantic Societies," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, ed. by Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk (New York:

eighteenth century were the advocates of emotional preaching against Moderatism, which was a rational interpretation of Christian faith throughout the eighteenth century and, thus, a rejection of the extreme in thought, culture, and practice.¹² John Wesley and George Whitefield's visits to Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century also contributed to making a tradition of Evangelical emotional preaching particularly based on Pietism. The majority members of the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) and those who led the departure of the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) from the established Church of Scotland (CS) in 1843 were the advocates of emotional preaching. In addition to emotional preaching, Revivalism was another significant constituent in Scottish Evangelicalism especially in the early twentieth century. For example, *the Missionary Report of the United Free Church of Scotland* (MRUFCS)'s considerable coverage and strongly positive attitude on the Wales Revival show how much the Scottish Evangelicals were longing for revivals and how much their missionary movement was being helped by the tenets related to revivalism, such as the sense of duty for foreign missions, the connection of revivals and the pouring of the Holy Spirit to the people in all nations, and eschatology often attached with Premillennialism.¹³ Missionary zeal of Evangelicalism for those living in remote areas in Scotland and for 'heathen souls' certainly came from emotional preaching and

Oxford University Press, 1994), 129. W. R. Ward regards it as what stems from German Pietism and the eighteenth century revivalism of Wesley and Whitefield. See W. R. Ward, "Evangelical Identity in the Eighteenth Century," in *Christianity Reborn: the Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Donald M. Lewis, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 11-30. The Evangelism was also described by Stuart Piggin as what it means to be 'real Christianity,' 'vital religion' or 'experimental religion.' See Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: the Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries in India* (The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), 17-18.

¹² See, Elizabeth G. K. Hewat, *Vision and Achievement: 1796-1956*. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960), 3-4.

¹³ For those essays related to Welsh Revivals published in the *Missionary Report of the United Free Church of Scotland* (MRUFCS), see the editorial "Impressions of the Revival in Wales," (February 1905): 51 and the March, May, and June issues of 1905. For the essays from the 1910s in the same magazine, see a layman, "the Quiet Hour: preparing for a revival," (July 1910): 326; Rev. D. R. Kilpatrick, "Reminiscences of the Revival of 1860," (Dec. 1910): 556; and S. Y. X, "The Philosophy of Revival," (Oct. 1911): 450.

revivalism. Especially, the vivid mission reports of the missionaries aroused vast missionary interests among the Evangelicals and other Scottish Christians.

In addition, the missionary zeal also came from some other factors of the larger society, such as new knowledge of the world helped by the British navigations, particularly done by the Scottish descendant Captain James Cook (1728-1779), and the British colonial enterprises.

Scottish Evangelicals had a strong democratic impulse in terms of Church polity and parish ministry, and it made them distinctive from the Evangelicals in some other European and American countries. In the early nineteenth century Scotland, Evangelicalism was not a conservative movement but a progressive, democratic, and political movement in defense of the rights of the Church and its parishioners against the civil government and the powerful and rich. A symbolical illustration for this point may come from the history of the Evangelical Party, featuring Thomas Chalmers. The Party strived for restricting or abolishing the Church patronage, which had come from aristocracy, the landowners, and professionals, and for claiming the rights of common parishioners in the selection of the Church of Scotland's parish ministers in the early nineteenth century.¹⁴

Education and Commerce in the Scottish Foreign Missions

The strong conviction of secular education was another significant aspect of the nineteenth-century Scottish church and society and worked for both restriction and support of foreign missions. The debate over the beginning of foreign missions in the

¹⁴ Steward J. Brown, "The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843," in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, ed. Steward J. Brown and Michael Fry (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 5-7.

1796 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland must be one of the best illustrations for the restriction part. Against the overture for foreign missions submitted by a presbytery and the support address of Mr. Heron, Mr. Hamilton of Gladsmuir addressed the Assembly as follows and successfully discouraged foreign missions:

To spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel among barbarous and heathen nations seems to me highly preposterous, in as far as it anticipates, nay, as it even reverses the order of nature. Men must be polished and refined in their manners before they can be properly enlightened in religious truths. Philosophy and learning must in the nature of things take the precedence. Indeed it would hardly seem less absurd to make revelation precede civilization in the order of time than to pretend to unfold to a child the *Principia* of Newton ere he is made at all acquainted with the letters of the alphabet.¹⁵

Even in the early twentieth century, this type of position was still popular among not a few Scottish people. According to James Denney, the professor of New Testament Language and Literature at Glasgow College, some contemporary philosophers and theologians were arguing for secular education not ‘with’ but ‘before’ the gospel in foreign mission fields. “Military discipline, the discipline of enforced labour, the discipline of law and government, must all tell upon them before they reach a level at which the Gospel comes within their reach.”¹⁶ In this type of understanding, foreign missions were to be successful only among ‘civilized people’ not among ‘inferior races.’ In addition, this reasoning was *de facto* an opposition against evangelical foreign missions, often falling under the ideology of the colonialists against Christian foreign missions. In reality of foreign missions, the cause of secular education ‘before’ and ‘with’ the Gospel was adopted by many Scottish Churches as a leading mission method, and not a few missionaries rendered their service to the education of science, literature, and

¹⁵ D. Mackichan, *The Missionary Ideal in the Scottish Churches* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), 80-81.

¹⁶ See, James Denney, “Why We Are Not Interested In Missions,” MRUFCS (February 1909): 52.

English at schools backed by the missions. Alexander Duff (1806-1878)'s teaching mission at the Church of Scotland General Assembly's institution at Calcutta since 1830, the United Presbyterian Church's emphasis of secular education in many mission fields,¹⁷ and the Free Church of Scotland's educational work with Duff after the 1843 Disruption were the representative cases to show the Scottish Church's efforts for secular education and civilization.

The last feature of the nineteenth century Scottish church and society that I want to show here is the combining of commerce and Christianity, as seen among some foreign missionaries. The concept 'commerce' in the nineteenth-century Scottish and British mission fields supposedly meant the self-development of native communities by strengthening their economic infrastructure including the distribution routes of resources and securing wider market, even though the process and result of their commercial enterprises were not always unfolded according to the missionaries' intention but were frequently abused and distorted by self-conscious colonialists. Scottish tradition of political economy became an important theoretical force to this type of idea and action. For example, the Scottish missionary and the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, John Philip (1775-1851), cited "Adam Smith, Fergusson, Malthus and Richardo in support of his contention that liberty was the necessary precondition for industry" and emphasized the self-improvement of the natives' economic condition through commerce.

¹⁷ For example, starting the Church's India missions in 1859, the first missionaries, Williamson Shoolbred, John Robson and William Martin from the UPC were engaged in teaching at schools before preaching the gospel. Although the immediate reason came from their inability to speak the vernacular language in part, they set up a school before a chapel and hired native teachers for secular education and "three languages were taught in the school, namely, the Hindi, the Urdu, and the English." The number of students increased and the progress in acquisition of new knowledge was "most satisfactory." See, John M'Kerrow, 464, 466.

¹⁸ A Central African historian, a legacy of Scottish missionary work, described Scottish missionaries' advocacy of commerce and Christianity as follows:

Scottish missionaries combined evangelical zeal with social services and political involvement. ... Scottish missionary work in Malawi was inspired by David Livingstone's dream, i.e. to establish 'commerce and christianity' in the area around Lake Malawi. ... Through industrial missions, the Scots sought to establish a nucleus for development of a 'new Africa.'... The primary motive of the missionary enterprise was to evangelize and 'civilize' indigenous peoples.¹⁹

2. Irish Church, Society and Foreign Missions

The Presbyterian Church in Ireland and Its Manchuria Mission

Irish Presbyterianism developed in the Northern Ireland trans-national borderland among Scotland, England, and Ireland in terms of geography, national identity, religion, historical tradition, and some other cultural elements. Started by a group of Scottish Presbyterian settlers in 1606, the Irish Presbyterianism saw the formation of the Presbytery of Ulster (PU) in 1642 and the Synod of Ulster (SU) by 1690/1691.²⁰ The Synod finally merged with the Secession Synod (SS)²¹ in 1840 to create the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI).

¹⁸ Brian Stanley, "Christian Missions, Antislavery, and the Claims of Humanity, c. 1813-1873," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities, c. 1815-c.1914*, ed. by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 451-52.

¹⁹ Harvey J. Sindima, *The Legacy of Scottish Missionaries in Malawi* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), pp. ii-iv. For a recent study of commerce in Scottish missions, see, Ian Douglas Maxwell, "Civilization or Christianity? The Scottish Debate on Mission Methods, 1750-1835," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, edited by Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001)

²⁰ For details, see J. Ernest Davey, *The Story of A Hundred Years* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1940), 7-8.

²¹ The Secession Synod was an Irish Presbyterian Church whose first congregation went back to the year 1746. It was influenced by the Scottish Seceders.

The history of foreign missions in Irish Presbyterianism starts with the India Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI) in 1840, and by the turn of the twentieth century the missionary work became a significant part in the Church. Generally speaking, Irish Presbyterians were not interested in foreign missions except helping their immigrants in North America in the eighteenth century. However, the interest in foreign missions from within the Synods and other Presbyterians gradually developed since the 1810s by some enthusiastic evangelical leaders, and it got popularized by the end of the 1830s.²² The representatives of the London Missionary Society (LMS) and Scottish Missionary Society (SMS) had a chance to address at the annual meeting of the Synod of Ulster (SU) in 1812 and 1824 respectively and organized their Irish auxiliaries. Significant enough, the Irish Presbyterian ministers Hope Waddell and Thomas Leslie were sent to Jamaica for missionary works by the SMS in 1829 and 1835 respectively. The first period of the Presbyterian efforts of foreign missions was consummated with the commissioning of the two missionaries James Glasgow and Alexander Kerr to Gujarat, India, by the newly formed General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI) in 1840.²³ Foreign missionary service of the PCI was greatly expanded by establishing several different missions in areas including Asia and Europe. The mission to the Jews who were scattered in Palestine, Syria, and Germany was launched in 1843. The Colonial Mission for the British immigrants living in the British colonies started in

²² Various essays relating to foreign missions including necessity and expansion of missions and the news about various missionary societies increasingly appeared in the most influential Presbyterian periodicals, *The Orthodox Presbyterians* and its succeeding *The Orthodox Presbyterian, theological review, and missionary recorder* from 1829 to 1840. For the examples, see "Presbyterian Missions" *The Orthodox Presbyterian* vol. 2. no. 13. (Oct. 1830): 21-28; "Missionary Intelligence" with attachment of the report of "the Church Missionary Society" *The Orthodox Presbyterian, theological review, and missionary recorder* vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1838): 35-36.

²³ Bill Addley, "Irish Presbyterian Attitudes to Mission before 1840," in *Into All the World: A History of the Overseas Work of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1840-1990*, ed. by Jack Thompson (Belfast: Presbyterian Church in Ireland), 11.

1846. As elaborated later, China Mission focusing on Manchuria started in 1869 and became one of the most 'productive' fields especially after the Boxer Uprising in 1900. When the Continental Mission began in 1870, Spain was its base.²⁴ It is significant that three foreign missionaries of the PCI - the first two R. Montgomery and W. Beatty to India and the last F. W. S. O'Neill to Manchuria - were appointed into the Moderator of the General Assembly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²⁵ With the appointments, missionary work of the PCI became the service not just for the people in the mission fields but for the Irish Church and its members.

The Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI)'s beginning of the Manchuria mission was greatly urged by the China mission concern group within the PCI and also by some leaders of the English Presbyterian Church (EPC) from 1866 to 1869. The PCI pastor W. J. Patton came to have a strong interest in the cause of China mission by the summer of 1866. He started to arouse the interest among Irish Protestants by publishing essays in the *Evangelical Witness* in August 1866. Importantly, in April 12, 1867, three pastors of Belfast, W. J. Patton, George Shaw, and S. J. Moore held a special meeting titled "Conference of the Friends of a Mission to China" in order to urge the General Assembly a China mission.²⁶ After a while, the EPC missionary William C. Burns, who started his Manchuria work in 1867, came to know that Irish Presbyterians had interests in China mission and invited the PCI to Manchuria mission. He wrote a letter to the fellow EPC missionary to China Carstairs Douglas in November 21, 1867 as follows:

²⁴ J. Ernest Davey, *Ibid.*, 28-33. Foreign missionary zeal of the PCI was too strong that a pastor raised a question of the zeal in 1884. "Yet all this growing enthusiasm for the enlightenment of other nations but adds emphasis to the question, What has God appointed us to do for this land? A thorough realization of our duty to Ireland would go far to solve some vexed questions which seriously embarrass the Church." See *The Missionary Herald of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (June 1884), 105.

²⁵ J. Ernest Davey, *Ibid.*, 29-30.

²⁶ R. H. Boyd, *Waymakers in Manchuria: The Story of the Irish Presbyterian Pioneer Missionaries to Manchuria* (Belfast: The Foreign Mission Office, Church House, 1940), 1-4.

It seems to me that no place more suitable (or perhaps so suitable) could be recommended to the Irish Presbyterians than Nieu-chwang [Newchwang], and Manchuria beyond, ... If the Irish were here, would this not be a fine place to come to from the south for a change of air? ... Romish priests are found here and there, but the only representative of the Protestant churches is my solitary self!²⁷

Carstairs Douglas, in turn, appealed for the cause of Manchuria mission to the PCI in a very emotional manner by the summer of 1868 immediately after William C. Burn died in Manchuria. His letter published in the September issue of the *Missionary Herald of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (MHPCI) reads, "It is the Presbyterian Church in Ireland that is, under the circumstances, suitable for taking up this work. While Mr. Burns was in health, he had asked the Irish brethren to come here; from his sick bed he repeated the request, and now from his tomb and the empty chamber, from his native evangelist."²⁸ It is interesting that Donald Matheson, who was an elder of the EPC and "a member of a business firm well known in the Far East," was also involved in this missionary request. He made this suggestion to W. J. Patten. "I do hope you will not lose sight of Newchwang. The opening seems so providential, and with such a pioneer as Burns your first missionary could not fail to make a good beginning. ... Manchuria may be called a temperate climate except in winter, when the cold is greater, although steadier than at home."²⁹ Finally, the Mission Board decided to set up Manchuria Mission with the base of operation at the treaty port of Newchwang at its August meeting of 1868. The General

²⁷ Islay Burns. *Memoir of the Rev. William C. Burns, MA: Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1870), 526-27.

²⁸ Quoted from William Palmer Addley, "A Study of the Birth and Development of the Overseas Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland Up To 1910" (Ph.D. diss., the Queen's University of Belfast, 1994), 218.

²⁹ R. H. Boyd, *Ibid.*, 15.

Assembly recognized “the call of God to this Church to undertake a Mission to China.”³⁰

“A well known medical gentleman” Dr. James Molyneaux Hunter and “a distinguished student and licentiate” Hugh Waddell responded to the missionary call to become the first missionaries of the Church’s Manchuria mission and were sent by the Church in 1869.³¹

A generous gift by a member of the Church “in perpetuity of £100 a year” helped to launch the Mission with many other hearts’ desire for China mission.³²

Evangelicalism in Ireland

Like in Scottish Presbyterianism, one of the most important theological and cultural movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Irish Presbyterianism was Evangelicalism. Originating in the mid-eighteenth century with some Moravian and Methodist evangelists including John Cennick and John Wesley, Irish Evangelicalism gradually developed into the main theological and cultural movement among the Presbyterians by the 1830s.³³ While its general tendencies - the experience of personal assurance of salvation, strong anticipation of religious revivals, and evangelistic interests in home and foreign missions - were similar to the counterpart in Scotland, the historical course of the Irish Evangelicalism was very distinctive from the Scottish version.³⁴

³⁰ William Palmer Addley, *A Study of the Birth and Development of the Overseas Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland up to 1910*. (Ph.D. Dissertation, the Queen’s University of Belfast), 214, 217; R. H. Boyd, *Ibid.*, 4-6.

³¹ For the list of the PCI missionaries, see the Table 2 at the end of this study.

³² *MHPCI* (July & Aug., 1869): 345-46.

³³ See, Finlay Holmes, “The Triumph of Evangelicalism in the Synod of Ulster in the Early Nineteen Century,” in *Ebb and Flow*, ed. W. Donald Patton (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 2002), 9-19; *The Orthodox Presbyterians* (1829-1837) and *The Orthodox Presbyterian, theological review, and missionary recorder* (1838-1840).

³⁴ Along with W. D. Killen, Finlay Holmes, a historian of the PCI, listed some positive and negative influences of Evangelicalism on Irish Presbyterians. While the former included spiritual improvement including family prayers, Sabbath Schools, new congregations, missionary movements, and the 1859 Irish Revival, the latter did anti-intellectualism and Presbyterian anti-Catholicism. See Finlay Holmes, 18-19.

As one of the most important key words in interpreting the Irish Evangelicalism is 'experience' or 'heart/mind,' the concept of 'personal religion' trying to overcome doctrinal and ethical religions is at the heart of the Evangelical Revivalism. John Wesley, who had experienced a personal assurance of salvation in 1738 and preached about the renewal of mind in England, also made as many as twenty-one visits to Ireland since 1747 and brought about "a more substantial and influential evangelical presence."³⁵ In the early nineteenth century, many Irish Presbyterians understood Evangelicalism as a 'personal religion' different from the two other alternatives available, namely, the doctrinal and rational Orthodox faith and the philosophical and ethical faith especially seen in some Unitarian radicals from the New Lights. In this regard, Irish and Scottish Evangelicalism shared the emphasis on 'emotional' religion. This 'personal' characteristic is vividly shown in the final of a series of twelve essays published in *The Orthodox Presbyterian* from November 1830 to October 1831 with the title, "Personal Religion."³⁶ After winning the bitter Arian Controversy between the orthodox party and Arian opponents within the Synod of Ulster from 1822 to 1829, Irish Evangelicalism became successfully settled down into the hearts of many Irish Presbyterians. It could be seen as a symbolical event for "the triumph of Evangelicalism" that the Synod of Ulster

³⁵ Finlay Holmes, *Ibid.*, 9-10.

³⁶ Some part of the essay reads, "Our object, in the discussion of personal religion, has been to guard our readers against two extremes-the one which rests contented with mere *orthodoxy of profession*, without acknowledging the *power* of godliness-the other which rests in a narrow circle of *outward moralities*, without acknowledging necessity of godliness-and to both errors we have opposed that unvarying word of truth, that in the work of salvation, there is nothing that availeth but "a new creature"-Gal.vi. 15. We fear there are many who rest in the first extreme. They receive, and profess, orthodox opinions on the great subjects of the Deity of Christ, the entrance of sin and death, of justification by faith, the sovereignty and efficacy of grace; and yet these subjects never sink into *their hearts*. ... The other extreme is a resting satisfied with *mere morality*, with indifference on the subject of religious opinions. They set it down as a first principle, that it signifies little what a man believes respecting the Trinity, the atonement, or a man believes respecting the Trinity, the atonement, or regeneration, if he owes no man any thing, and provides things honest in the sight of all men." See *The Orthodox Presbyterian, theological review, and missionary recorder* vol. 3 no. 25 (Oct.1831): 1-2. The editor particularly identified the "enemies" of the Church in around the 1820s as 'Arianism,' 'Romanism,' 'Deism,' and 'Unitarianism.' See the pages 1-5.

changed its standard for the ordinands in 1828 in adding 'experience' to 'orthodox.'³⁷

The 1859 Revival was a special experience of 'personal religion' to great majority of the ministers and laity of the Presbyterians and other Protestants in Northern Ireland.

"Churches were crowded, services often very prolonged and multitudes brought under intense conviction of sin and into assurance of salvation. Thousands professed conversion

in every part of the region touched by the Revival."³⁸ According to the research by

William Palmer Addley, while "the Revival was not wholeheartedly supported by the

clergy" in England, but "ministerial support for the Revival was very much stronger" in

Northern Ireland.³⁹ The visits of the American Revivalists, Dwight L. Moody and Ira

Sankey to Northern Ireland in 1874 brought about another wave of Evangelical Revivals.

Through "the 1870s and the following decades of the century ... the spirit of revival was

reborn and rekindled in the Irish Presbyterian Church and other churches as well."⁴⁰

Although Irish Presbyterian Evangelicals were visited and shaped by some various Christian groups, their standard teaching came from the Westminster Confession of Faith and, thus, had different theological assumptions especially of grace, conversion, and human beings from Moravians, Methodists, and Anglican Evangelicals.⁴¹ Like in Scotland, the Seceders and the Covenanters played an important role in Northern Ireland to preserve Calvinist orthodox doctrines. Just as Scottish Evangelicals were ready to

³⁷ Finlay Holmes, *Ibid.*, 17. Also refer to Finlay Holmes, "The Presbyterian Church in Ireland," in *Christianity in Ireland: Revisiting the Story* (Dublin: The Columba Press, 2002), 124-33.

³⁸ J. Ernest Davey, *Ibid.*, 41.

³⁹ William Palmer Addley, "A Study of the Birth and Development of the Overseas Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland up to 1910" (Ph. D. diss., the Queen's University of Belfast, 1994), 155-56.

⁴⁰ Joseph Thompson, "The Influence of D. L. Moody on Irish Presbyterianism," in *Ebb and Flow*, ed. W. Donald Patton (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 2002), 140.

⁴¹ For the similarities and differences within British Evangelicals, see, Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: the Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries in India*. (The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), 17-18.

criticize of liberal theologies and charismatic religious culture,⁴² Irish Evangelicals could accept Evangelicalism only by adding it to their own Calvinist orthodox doctrine. It is true that Methodism should be regarded as one of the most important stimulus to the shaping of Irish Evangelicalism. However, interestingly, many members of Methodist societies who had Presbyterian tradition, never left “the church of their fathers” but “remained infused into it a spiritual life and power of which, under circumstances, it would have been altogether destitute.”⁴³ It seems that Finlay Holmes properly pointed out the Irish Evangelicalism in Presbyterian style. Irish Evangelicalism did not accept Wesleyan Arminianism or Anglicanism but claimed their faith being “orthodox and evangelical.” This style was well represented by the Evangelical leaders including Moderator Henry Cooke (1788-1868) in the mid-nineteenth century and became the fundamental ethos of the foreign missions.⁴⁴

3. Presbyterian Church of Korea and Foreign Missions

The Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) and Its Manchuria Mission

Early Korean Presbyterianism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was shaped by the endeavors of both foreign missionaries and Korean Christians. The

⁴² Steward J. Brown, “The Ten Years’ Conflict and the Disruption of 1843,” in *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, ed. Steward J. Brown and Michael Fry (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 5.

⁴³ C. H. Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland* (Belfast: Allen, London: Woolmer, 1885-8), ii, 465. Quoted in Finlay Holmes, “The Triumph of Evangelicalism in the Synod of Ulster in the Early Nineteen Century,” in *Ebb and Flow*, ed. W. Donald Patton (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 2002), 11.

⁴⁴ Finlay Holmes, “The Triumph of Evangelicalism in the Synod of Ulster in the Early Nineteen Century” in *Ebb and Flow*, ed., W. Donald Patton (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 2002), 12-13, 16-17.

Scottish missionaries John Ross and John MacIntyre sent by the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) for Chinese population in Manchuria had a strong interest in Koreans in Manchuria and in Korea proper. The Scottish Mission in Manchuria laid the foundation of Korean Presbyterianism and the larger Korean Protestant Christianity in the following four ways: the baptism of the first Korean Protestants in Manchuria since 1879; the translation of the New Testament in the late 1870s and the 1880s; the influence on the shaping of the first Protestant communities in Ŭiju, Pyŏngyang, Sorae, Seoul, and some Korean villages in ‘West *Kando*’ by its first Korean converts and colporteurs; and the idea of indigenization.⁴⁵ All of these contributions were also recognized by the early American Presbyterian missionaries who entered Korea only after 1884, discovered the Protestant communities, and traveled to Manchuria.⁴⁶ The Korean evangelists and colporteurs influenced by the Scottish missionaries in Manchuria also played a crucial role in founding Korean Protestantism. They themselves pursued Christian faith and baptism, became co-workers for the translation of the Bible, and spread the Bible and

⁴⁵ For the details of the Scottish missionaries and the first Korean Protestants’ works for Koreans inside and outside the Korean territory, see the following sources: John Ross, “Manchuria Mission,” *The United Presbyterian Missionary Record* (MRUPC), (Oct. 1, 1880), pp. 333-334; John Ross, “The Christian Dawn in Korea,” *The Missionary Review of the World* (MRW), (April, 1890), pp. 241-248; several missionary letters and reports by John Ross, Alexander Kenmure, and H. G. Underwood collected under the title “Korean Christians’ Work from Eūju to Seoul and Sorae” in Sung-Deuk Oak (ed), *Sources of Korean Christianity, 1832-1945*, Seoul: Hankuk Kidokkyo yŏksa yŏnguso (HKYY) [The Institute for Korean Church History], 2004, pp. 22-25; Hankuk Kidokkyo Yŏksa Yŏnguso [The Institute for Korean Church History], *Pukhan Kyohoesa* [A History of Christianity in North Korea] Seoul: Hankuk Kidokkyo yŏksa yŏnguso, 1999, pp. 46-52.

⁴⁶ In addition to the report by H. G. Underwood mentioned above, see T. Stanley Soltau, “Work Among Korean Immigrants,” in *Church and Missions in Manchuria: A Survey of A Strategic Field*, ed. Alexander R. Mackenzie (London: World Dominion Press, 1928), 61; S. A. Moffett, “Fifty Years of Missionary Life in Korea” in *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (Seoul: PCUSA Korea Mission, 1934), 39. In this essay, S. A. Moffett emphatically admitted that he learned the idea of indigenization from the Scottish and Irish missionaries in Manchuria in his 1891 trip with J. S. Gale to Manchuria, saying, “What impressed me most was the large Church building erected according to Chinese architectural ideas and the services conducted by the Chinese pastor, all things being conducted in accord with Chinese life and customs. The idea of developing an indigenous Church took deep root and through the years since we have endeavored to develop the Church on the basis of Korean thought and custom, objecting only to that which was contrary to Scripture and allowing freedom for the natural expression of Korean ideas.”

gospel despite extreme difficulties including the banning of introducing Christian literature into Korean territories by severe penalties. They eventually set up Christian faith communities in many places mentioned above. The Presbyterian missionaries to Korea from the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A (PCUSA), the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV), the Presbyterian Church in the U.S (PCUS), and the Canadian Presbyterian Church (CPC) began their Korea Missions in 1884, 1889, 1892, and 1899 respectively only after the work of the Scottish missionaries and the indigenous Korean Christians. The PCUSA started medical and educational works under the recognition of the Korean Royal Court and also began evangelistic work in some of the cities and villages. The Presbyterian missions launched cooperative works with one another in forming the Presbyterian Mission Council (PMC) in 1893, which would develop into the Chosŏn Presbyterian Church Council (CPCC) in including some Korean Presbyterian leaders as the members in 1901. The Presbyterians also participated in the cooperative works with the missionaries from other denominations in creating several consequent ecumenical councils in the first two decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁷ In 1907, the Independent Presbytery of Korea (IPK, the Presbyterian Church of Korea) was eventually set up as the first self-governing Presbytery, and it, in turn, developed into the General Assembly of the Chosŏn Presbyterian Church (GACPC, the Presbyterian Church of Korea) in 1912.

PCK: Distinctive Growth in the Northwestern Region of Korea

⁴⁷ Those ecumenical councils were the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea (1905), the Federal Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions (1912), and the Federal Council of Churches (1918).

The characteristics of the early fifty some years of the Presbyterian Church of Korea up to 1930 particularly in relation to its social and cultural context need to be discussed for better understanding of the Manchuria missionaries from the Presbyterian Church of Korea. One of the distinctive is that the Church greatly developed in the northwestern region of Korea consisting of the three provinces of Pyŏngan Bukdo, Pyŏngan Namdo, and Hwanghae Do in both size and significance. The Pyŏngyang Station of the PCUSA Korea Mission to serve the northwestern region was set up in 1893 and developed in the late 1890s. The second station Shenchun was set up particularly to serve Pyŏngan Bukdo, the northernmost province, in 1901. The number of the baptized in the northwestern region enormously increased throughout the early period and covered about eighty percent of the total Korean Presbyterian population before the establishment of the first Independent Presbytery of 1907⁴⁸ and about seventy five percent of the Presbyterian population in 1933.⁴⁹ It was Pyŏngyang where the historic first meetings of both the Independent Presbytery of Korea of 1907 and the General Assembly of the Chosŏn Presbyterian Church [the Presbyterian Church of Korea] of 1912 were held. Furthermore, the fact that all the first seven Presbyterian ordainees came from the northwestern region shows how much the Church was strong in the region. In addition, the region saw the Presbyterians' active participation in many social and nationalistic events such as the March First Movement and their presence became a very important part of the Church's social concerns throughout the colonial history.

⁴⁸ Hankuk Kidokkyo yŏksa yŏnguso [The Institute for Korean Church History], ed. *Pukhan kyohoesa* [A History of Christianity in North Korea] (Sŏul: Hankuk Kidokkyo yŏksa yŏnguso, 1999), 68.

⁴⁹ See the statistics in Harry A. Rhodes and Richard H. Baird, ed., *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* 216-18.

A couple of significant reasons why the Presbyterian Church of Korea became very strong in the northwestern region may be analyzed from the social history of Yi Dynasty and the earliest Korean Protestant history in the region. Some Korean researchers including Yun Kyŏng-no and Kim Hyŏng-sŏk paid attention to the social history of the northwestern region for the outstanding growth of Korean Protestantism in the region.⁵⁰ According to another research, the region has been marginalized throughout the subsequent Korean Dynasties since as early as the seventh century. Particularly, the Royal Court of the Yi Dynasty whose politics revolved around Seoul the Capital city and the powerful families discriminatively prevented the northerners from the higher positions of the government.⁵¹ It is widely acknowledged by Korean historians that the Hong Kyŏng-nae Rebellion of 1811-1812 which occurred in Pyŏngan-do well reveals the oppression of the politically and socially marginalized people in the northwestern area. In the northwestern region, the middle class, not the *Yangban* elite class, rose by the commercial activities with the Chinese who came to Manchuria and Korea and by the industry based on the rich natural resources of the northwestern region. The northwestern people, located on the margin and borderlands in both geographical and political ways, were more open to foreign influences. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, their intellectual, political, cultural, and religious aspiration became so strong and Presbyterianism was an excellent alternative to the marginalized. In this regard, Christian

⁵⁰ See Kyŏngno Yun, "105 in sagŏn kwa Kidokkyo sunan," [The 105 Incident and the Suffering of Christianity] in *Hankuk Kidokkyo wa minjokundong*, [Korean Christianity and Nationalistic Movement] ed. Manyol Yi and others (Seoul: Bosŏng, 1986), 285-334; Hyŏngsŏk Kim, "Hankuk Kidokkyo wa 3.1 undong," [Korean Christianity and the March 1 Movement] } in *Hankuk Kidokkyo wa minjokundong*, [Korean Christianity and Nationalistic Movement] ed. Manyol Yi and others (Seoul: Bosŏng, 1986), 335-82; Hankuk Kidokkyo yŏksa yŏnguso, ed., [The Institute for Korean Church History] *Pukhan kyohoesa* [A History of Christianity in North Korea] (Seoul: Hankuk Kidokkyo yŏksa yŏnguso, 1999), 19-38, 57-60.

⁵¹ Hankuk Kidokkyo yŏksa yŏnguso, ed., [The Institute for Korean Church History] *Pukhan kyohoesa* [A History of Christianity in North Korea] (Seoul: Hankuk Kidokkyo yŏksa yŏnguso, 1999), 28-31, 57-58.

faith was more than a religious belief to them. It was a liberating gospel to release the oppression of the people from the middle and lower classes and to lead the people to a new religious, cultural, or even political world. In other words, Korean Presbyterianism or Christianity was invited to Korean history at the end of the Dynasty in playing its role in the life of the society and state as well as of the individuals.

The second significant reason why the Presbyterian Church of Korea became very strong in the northwestern region is that the first Korean colporteurs and evangelists intensively worked in that region. Most of the first Korean Protestants, who were baptized by the Scottish missionaries in Manchuria and worked for them with the translation and dissemination of the Bible, such as Baik Hong-jun, Yi Ŭng-chan, and Sŏ Sang-yun, came from Ŭiju the city located at the northwestern tip of Korea. Not surprisingly, Baik Hong-jun disseminated Christian gospel first in that city in 1879 and a faith community was created by 1885. Sŏ Sang-yun became a colporteur in the areas near Ŭiju and eventually created a strong Christian faith community at Sorae in Hwanghae Province, which is sometimes called 'the cradle of Korean Protestantism.' Thus, a great Protestant work became started in the northwestern region, by the local Korean Christians before any Protestant missionary came in.

PCK: Social and Political Christianity

The early Presbyterian Church of Korea, as shared by some other Korean Protestant Churches, also showed that the Christian faith had strong social and political implications especially represented by the causes of modernization and anti-colonialism respectively. Yi Manyŏl and Yi Dŏkju analyzed that while the helpless common people of Korea saw

Christianity in close relationship with Western missionaries as a shelter from both corrupted government officials and the violent Korean, Chinese, or Japanese troops at war, young liberal politicians also embraced Christianity by as an excellent way leading to modernization.⁵² Thereby, many early Korean Christians, who were experiencing personal, social, and national crises at the end of the dynasty and in the beginning of the Japanese colonial regime, wanted to project their social and political aspirations onto the new faith from the West.

Presbyterian Christians were among the first responders to the social and national needs of modernization and the anti-colonial independence movement. The following examples may show how their social and nationalist movement was embodied in their thought and activities. First, according to a table about the graduates of the first and second year classes of the Pyŏngyang Presbyterian Theological Seminary, two out of the fifteen served on the thirty three national representatives for the March First Movement, another organized an anti-Japanese Independence Army, and two others actively participated in the nationalist movement and independence movement each.⁵³ Second, the so-called 'The 105 Incident' or 'The Korean Conspiracy Trial' was a representative and forged event by the Japanese regime in Korea whose police arrested around 700 Koreans in the northwestern region in 1911 in the cause of the Korean nationalists' conspiracy of the government-general's assassination and prosecuted 122 of whom 6 were finally

⁵² See Manyŏl Yi, "Hanmal Kidokkyoin ūi minjokŭisik hyŏngsŏngkwajŏng,," [The Process of Nationalistic Identity Formation in the late Yi Dynasty Korean Christians] in *Hankuk Kidokkyo wa minjokundong*, [Korean Christianity and Nationalistic Movement] ed. Manyŏl Yi and others (Seoul: Bosŏng, 1986), 11-73; Dŏkju Yi, *Chogi Hanguk Kidokkyosa yŏngu* (Seoul: Hankuk Kidokkyo Yŏksa Yŏnguso, 1995), 121-48. The early PCUSA missionary to Korea C.E. Sharp also pointed out the different motivations of protection and civilization for Christian faith between the lower classes and higher classes Koreans. See C.E. Sharp, "Motives for Seeking Christ," *Korea Mission Field* 2. no.10 (August, 1906): 182.

⁵³ Jŏngmin Sŏ, "Chogi Hankuk daebuhŭngundongŭi ihae," [Understanding of the Early Korean Revivalism] in *Hankuk Kidokkyo wa minjokundong*, [Korean Christianity and Nationalistic Movement] ed. Manyŏl Yi and others (Seoul: Bosŏng, 1986), 264-65.

sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment.⁵⁴ Of the 90 prosecuted whose religion was identifiable, did 65 come from the Presbyterian Church while 16 from other types of Protestantism and 1 from Catholicism.⁵⁵ This was a political and religious persecution particularly aimed at destroying the secret political association, '*Sinminhoe*' [the New People's Society] and undermining the strong Christian forces in the northwestern region. The incident, although it was a false indictment, paradoxically shows how much the nationalistic and anti-colonial activities of the Presbyterians were threatening the Japanese regime in the early period of the colonial rule. Third, Yi Sŭnghun, who was a Presbyterian elder and served as the representative on the Christian side in the March First Movement, can be regarded as a symbol of the early Korean Presbyterians and Protestants who contributed to bringing the social and nationalistic meaning of Christian faith to the Korean Church and the larger society. He started to study Christianity at the Pyŏngyang Presbyterian Theological Seminary in 1915 and became an elder next year. He contributed to the independence movements with various activities including nationalistic education in the 1910s and 1920s.

PCK: Korean Presbyterians' Fundamental/Evangelical theology and faith

Despite the social and nationalistic quality of its Christian faith, the Presbyterian Church of Korea's dominant view on the biblical and theological interpretation and Christian ethics was very conservative and even in asceticism.⁵⁶ The first meeting of the

⁵⁴ Kyŏngno Yun, "105 in sagŏn kwa Kidokkyo sunan," [The 105 Incident and the Suffering of Christianity] in *Hankuk Kidokkyo wa minjokundong*, [Korean Christianity and Nationalistic Movement] ed. Manyŏl Yi and others (Seoul: Bosŏng, 1986), 285-334.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 313.

⁵⁶ For the study of the conservative missionaries to Korea, see L. George Baik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Pyeng Yang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1929), 440-49; Daeyŏng Ryu, *Chogi miguk sŏnkyosa yŏngu* [The Study of Early American Missionaries to Korea] (Seoul:

Independent Presbytery adopted the Confession of the Presbyterian Church of Korea and declared that its faith was in British and American conservative Presbyterian theological interpretation. It includes the followings in its introduction: “especially as the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms interpreted the Bible clearly, we understand that our Church and Seminary ought to teach them and take the Shorter Catechism as the Catechism of the Presbyterian Church of Korea.”⁵⁷ In addition, ‘the Rule of the Korean Presbyterian Church,’ which was demanded to all the baptized, reveals fundamental characteristics in ethical standards. It stipulated 1) obeying God alone, “not the custom of the honoring of ancestral spirits,” 2) observance of the Lord’s Day 3) “filial reverencing of parents” during the life of the parents, 4) having “one woman for one man,” 5) trusting and obeying the Lord, 6) necessity of working, 7) prohibition of wines, opium, gambling, fighting, and killing.⁵⁸ The fundamental and evangelical interpretation of faith and theology provided the Church with great zeal for Bible conference, Revivalism, and evangelistic/ missionary works.

The first two affairs carried out at the first meeting of the historic Independent Presbytery in 1907 were about the personnel and administrative system: the ordination of the first seven Korean Presbyterian pastors; the recognition of the seven regional agency meetings for conducting the entrusted affairs by the Presbytery, although those meetings

Hankuk Kidokkyo yōksa yōnguso, 2001), 91-154. It is noticeable that Chu Chae-yong introduced the Canadian Presbyterian missionary William Scott who worked in Korea since 1914 and was particularly liberal in his biblical interpretation and activities. Chaeyong Chu, *Hanguk Kūristokyo sinhaksa* [A History of Theology in Korean Christianity] (Seoul: Taehan Kidokkyosōhoe, 1998), 84-89.

⁵⁷ *Taehan Yesugyo Changnohoe Nohoe Hoerok, 1907*. [The Minutes of the Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church], p. 24.

⁵⁸ R. E. Speer, *Report of the Mission in Korea of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions*, p. 16. Cited from L. George Baik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Pyōng Yang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1929), 214-15.

have already existed for the past six years.⁵⁹ The third and very significant affair had to do with Korean Presbyterians' missionary activities. The Presbytery resolved to send Yi Ki-pung, one of the first seven ordainees, as missionary along with a few other evangelists to Cheju Island, which was sixty miles away from the southern tip of the Korean peninsula. In two years, the 1909 meeting of the Presbytery passed the resolution to send Choe Kwan-hŭl as missionary for Korean immigrants in Siberia.⁶⁰ Celebrating its establishment, the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea held in 1912 resolved to send missionaries to Shantung Province of China as well as to set up a joint church in Tokyo, Japan, with the Korean Methodist Church (KMC) for Korean students.⁶¹ In addition, Korean immigrants in the major cities of China like Peking, Nanjing, and Shanghai were often under the missionary/evangelistic concerns of the Presbyterian Church of Korea. For example, a Korean Protestant community in Shanghai asked the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea to send a missionary/evangelist to Shanghai in 1916.⁶²

Korean Presbyterian churches' work for the Korean immigrants in Manchuria started by 1901 before all the official foreign missions of the Independent Presbytery for Siberia, China proper, and Japan. More than 400,000 Koreans, particularly those living in

⁵⁹ *Taehan Yesugyo Changnohoe Nohoe Hoerok*, 1907. [The Minutes of the Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church], pp.1-11. *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Sang)*. [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I] pp. 182-3. The first Korean Presbytery was preceded by the Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Kongŭihoe [the Chosŏn Presbyterian Church Council] for six years, which comprised delegates from the Korea missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, the Canadian Presbyterian Church, and Korean Presbyterian leaders. The establishment of the Presbytery in 1907 was decided by the resolution of the Council.

⁶⁰ *Yesugyo Changnohoe Taehan Nohoe Hoerok*, 1909 [The Minutes of the Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church], pp. 13, 23. Siberia here means the southern part of Russian Manchuria including Vladivostok.

⁶¹ *Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Chonghoe Hoerok*, 1912 [The Minutes of the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church], pp. 11-13, 21, 23, 26; *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Ha)*. [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. II] p. 14.

⁶² *Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Chonghoe Hoerok*, 1916 [The Minutes of the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church], p. 35.

northern part of Korea, migrated to Northeast China called Manchuria by 1920 in escaping from their economic and political predicaments.⁶³ Some Protestant immigrants who had accepted Christian faith in Korea and had been appointed deacons or elders started to set up their own faith community or organized church in their new place in Manchuria. For instance, as early as in 1898, Lee Sŏng-sam, Yim Dŭk-hyŏn and other fellow Korean refugees established a church named the Iyangja Church at Jian, located in the ‘West *Kando*’ area, whose building would be burnt down by the Boxers in 1900.⁶⁴ Korean Presbyterian churches especially in the northern part of Korea actively responded to the immigrants’ spiritual and material needs.⁶⁵ In 1901, the PCUSA missionary N. C. Wittemore and the Korean lay worker Ahn Sŭng-won visited and encouraged the Iyangja Church and ordained Lee Sŏng-sam and Yim Dŭk-hyŏn as deacon.⁶⁶ The Women’s Missionary Society of Pandong Church (WMSPC), Pyŏngyang, and the *Pyŏngbuk* Missionary Society (PMS), North Pyŏngan Province, were organized in 1898 and 1900 respectively.⁶⁷ In 1901, the *Pyŏngbuk* Missionary Society sent the lay evangelistic worker Yu Sang-do to Manchuria to work “among the settlers close to the Yalu.”⁶⁸ Presbyterian

⁶³ According to a study, Korean immigrants in Manchuria amounted to 60,000 in 1890, 75,000 in 1900, 105,000 in 1910, 460,000 in 1920, 610,000 in 1930, and 2.1 million in 1945. Hyŏnsŏk Chae, *Ilcheha jaemanhanin Kidokkyohoe e kwanhan yŏngu* [A Study of the Korean Church in Manchuria in the Japanese Colonial Era] Tanguk University, M.A. Thesis., p.5.

⁶⁴ For more cases of the establishment of church by immigrants themselves, See, *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi* (Sang). [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I] pp. 55, 208, 212, 216, 221-222; *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi* (Ha). [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. II], 100-101, 105.

⁶⁵ *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi* (Sang) [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I], 204, 223; *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi* (Ha) [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. II], 102, 108.

⁶⁶ *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi* (Sang). [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I]. 59.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 74-75.

⁶⁸ *Korea Mission Field*, (December, 1913): 326. In addition, *the Report of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA to the Annual Meeting, 1907*, reports that during the previous year the *Pyŏngbuk* Missionary Society has been sending two workers “in the extreme north of the province,” and, by the local congregations, “200 yen were subscribed for the support of a third worker to labor among the Koreans living in Manchuria.”

churches started to send the ordained pastors Han Kyong-hŭi, Choe Sŏng-ju, Choe Bong-sŏk, and some other lay evangelists to 'West *Kando*' and two other ordained pastors Kim Dŏk-sŏn and Cha Hyŏng-jun to 'Fengtien' as missionaries in the early-1910s.⁶⁹ Some other ordained and lay evangelists followed for Manchuria work in the 1910s and the 1920s.⁷⁰ A PCUSA missionary visited about twelve Korean churches in 'West *Kando*' and 'Fengtien,' "one with a congregation of three hundred, and several others with average congregations of a hundred," and identified that all the churches "had been founded and organized by the Korean pastors, and had never before been visited by a foreign missionary."⁷¹ Most Korean Presbyterian activities in Manchuria during the first three decades of the twentieth century were made in the following regions: 1) 'West *Kando*,' which consisted of the southeastern part of Fengtien Province and the southwestern part of Kirin Province of China, 2) 'Fengtien,' which consisted of Moukden and its vicinity at the central part of Fengtien Province and the southern part of the province including the cities of Antung and Fenghuangcheng, and 3) 'North *Kando*' or 'Kando,' which was the eastern part of Kirin Province.⁷² While the two regions 'West

⁶⁹ *Taehan Yesugyo Changnohoe Nohoe Hoerok, 1911*. [The Minutes of the Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church], pp. 35-46; *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Sang)*. [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I], 204, 222. Rev. Han Kyong-hŭi had already helped the Hŭlulu Church of South Manchuria established in 1907; *Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Chonghoe Hoerok, 1915* [The Minutes of the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church], 45; *Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Pyŏngbuk Nohoe Hoerok, 1915*. [The Minutes of the Pyŏngbuk Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church], 24, *Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Pyŏngbuk Nohoe Hoerok, 1916*, 4, 35.

⁷⁰ For the list of the PCK missionaries, see the Table 4 at the end of this study.

⁷¹ T. Stanley Soltau, "Work Among Korean Immigrants," in *Church and Missions in Manchuria: A Survey of A Strategic Field* (London: World Dominion Press, 1928), 62.

⁷² 'West *Kando*' was also called 'Nammaju' [Southern Manchuria] by the contemporary Koreans. While most Korean immigrants in 'West *Kando*' and 'Fengtien' were from the Pyŏngan Province of Korea located in the northwestern Korea, those in 'North *Kando*'/ 'Kando' were from Hamkyŏng Province the northeastern Korea. As far as Presbyterianism is concerned, while Christians in 'West *Kando*' and 'Fengtien' were dominantly related to the Presbyterian Church of Korea and the PCUSA Korea Mission, those in 'North *Kando*'/ 'Kando' were more related to the Presbyterian Church of Korea and the Mission of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. Beyond these three regions, Korean immigrants came to move further to the north part of Manchuria and to Russian Siberia due to various distresses mainly from Japanese police and Chinese bandits in the early twentieth century.

Kando’ and ‘*Fengtien*,’ were mainly helped by the *Pyŏngbuk* Agency Meeting of the Independent Presbytery before the establishment of the General Assembly in 1912, and, then, by the *Pyŏngbuk* Presbytery, the *Sansŏ* Presbytery, the *Ŭisan* Presbytery, and the *Namman* Presbytery up until 1930, the ‘North *Kando/Kando*’ region was helped by the Presbyteries in the northeastern part of Korea, the Korea Mission of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, and Korean Methodist Church.⁷³

The PCK missionaries’ activity reflects challenges and opportunities different from the other Western Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria. They could not be just preachers or church leaders among the countrymen who were exiled in a foreign land but were asked to be the social, political, even economic leader as well as religious leader. In contrast, they less felt to adjust themselves to the culture and geography of the people and did not need to learn their main language and culture to carry out the missionary work. In addition, they were able to have a good communication with the Presbytery or the Church which sent them to Manchuria because the distance between the two parties was not very long.

4. Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

⁷³ The *Sansŏ* Presbytery was created with the territory including West *Kando* in Manchuria and some northeastern part of the *Pyŏngbuk* Presbytery in 1916, the *Ŭisan* Presbytery with that including ‘*Fengtien*’ in Manchuria and some southwestern part of the *Pyŏngbuk* Presbytery in 1918, and the *Namman* Presbytery with West *Kando* in Manchuria in 1921.

Presbyterianism as an organized church within the territory which now belongs to the United States started in 1706 although long before the beginning of the eighteenth century there existed some “scattered elements of Presbyterian church life”⁷⁴ in the congregations influenced by the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches of Netherlands, France, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. The Synod of Pittsburgh started to bring the work of foreign missions under its commission by creating the Western Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS) in 1831 while the General Assembly was still recommending the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) mainly formed by Congregationalists in 1810 to the missionary interests and patronages of its own churches. It, however, was not very long for the Church to bring the missionary interests to one of its top priorities at least in terms of organizational structure. The General Assembly of 1837, after a few abortive overtures, resolved to create ‘the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America’ and to choose forty ministers and forty laymen as members of the Board.⁷⁵ The foreign missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) remarkably developed in a half century of the Board’s history, the Secretary Frank F. Ellinwood was able to report statistics of the Church’s foreign missions as follows:

We close a half century of the Board’s history with thirty-four missions under our care, and occupying sixteen different countries. There are five hundred missionaries, male and female, and two hundred and eighty-nine native preachers of all grades. ... There are

⁷⁴ John De Witt, “Characteristics of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,” *Journal of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A* (JPCUSA) 1, no. 1 (May 1901): 59-60.

⁷⁵ Arthur J. Brown, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., With Some Account of Countries, Peoples and the Policies and Problems of Modern Missions* (London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1936), 38.

three hundred and ten organized churches, with a membership of nearly 22,000, and over 23,000 pupils of all grades are in our seminaries and schools."⁷⁶

When the Western Japan Mission of the PCUSA set up its Manchuria Station in 1906 at Dairen, the Board of Foreign Missions was running 27 different missions in the world.⁷⁷ In 1918 the year when the Korea Mission of the PCUSA officially set up its Manchurian Station at Moukden, there were 26 missions.⁷⁸ It is noticeable that the Manchuria work of the PCUSA came from the frontier work of both the Korea Mission and the Japan Mission in the early twentieth century: the work among Korean immigrants in the northernmost area and the work among the Japanese immigrants in the Leased Territory in Manchuria.

The theological, ideological, and cultural tendencies of the General Assembly of the PCUSA and its Board of Foreign Missions on Christian missions up to the 1910s were, by and large, in the line with the American evangelical conviction of Christian gospel and civilization. In the course of the nineteenth century, the idea and practice of American missions both domestic and foreign developed in the combining of the Christian gospel and the building of Christian civilization along with the expansion of

⁷⁶ Frank F. Ellinwood, "Address Delivered By Rev. F. F. Ellinwood, D.D., Before the General Assembly At Omaha, May 25," *The Church at Home and Abroad* (July 1887), 81. In regard to the statistics about the growth of the PCUSA foreign missions up to 1906, see "A Summary of Seventy-Three Years of Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. A," in *The Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards, 1906*: separate sheet.

⁷⁷ The PCUSA mission fields in 1906 were in Africa, China, U.S. (for Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans), India, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Persia, Philippines, Siam, Laos, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, and Syria with 889 American missionaries and 2,611 indigenous preachers, teachers, and other workers. See *The Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards, 1906*.

⁷⁸ The mission fields in 1918 were in Africa, China, U.S. (for Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans), India, Japan, Chosen (Korea), Mexico, Persia, Philippines, Siam, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Syria with 1,353 American missionaries and 6,242 native preachers, teachers, and other workers. See *The Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards, 1918*.

national territory,⁷⁹ the development of national identity, and the rise of imperialism. The historian William R. Hutchison noted the religious and political impulses of the nineteenth century American missions and their inseparability, saying that “Christian obligation and American obligation were fundamentally harmonious. ... To insist that the flame’s ignition was purely religious, or that it was merely a matter of national identity or expansiveness, would be to miss the point that is probably most vital for an understanding of American efforts, then and later, to redeem the world.”⁸⁰ Another historian Henry Warner Bowden particularly tried to explain the late nineteenth-century American expansionist tendency of missions like this. “By 1890 essentially the same expansionist sentiments which had earlier defended a continental vision of manifest destiny now pushed that view to broader scope. ... many thought it was time to export those exemplary patterns [of American achievements] as befitting a nation grown into a world power by its naval prowess.”⁸¹ The work of domestic and foreign missions, especially toward the end of the century, was one of the best ways for American Protestants to express the self-understanding of themselves and to be responsible for their ‘Christian duty’ to the world.

The Presbyterian circle participated in this strong national sentiment. In his essay “Characteristics of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,” the church historian John De Witt listed ‘the missionary spirit’ as one of the five characteristics of

⁷⁹ For the best yet controversial work on the development of American national identity in relation to the expansion of the national territory westward, see Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1963). His essay was originally published in 1893.

⁸⁰ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 44-45.

⁸¹ Henry Warner Bowden, “An Overview of Cultural Factors in the American Protestant Missionary Enterprise,” in *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective*, ed. R. Pierce Beaver (South Pasadena, CA: 1977), 50.

the PCUSA before 1900 along with ‘a loyal and patriotic Church,’ ‘being intellectual in its construction of Christianity,’ ‘Catholicity,’ and ‘the Puritan type.’⁸² The late nineteenth century Presbyterians significantly contributed to the Student Volunteer Movement for foreign missions, and the Presbyterian lay mission leader and Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions Robert E. Speer may be the icon of that contribution.⁸³ The mission theology stated by both the General Assembly of the PCUSA and its Board of Foreign Missions until the early 1920s included conventional Calvinist doctrines, the superiority of Christian religion, and the evangelical conviction of ‘soul-winning.’ Both the General Assembly of the PCUSA and the Princeton Theological Seminary became the bastion of the nineteenth-century conservative Presbyterian theology. Up until the early 1920s the General Assembly continued to support the theology and culture attached to the Westminster Confession with the strong pressure from the conservative members including many of the seminary faculty. The 1910 General Assembly even “adopted a set of five ‘essential and necessary’ doctrines,” the same as ‘the five points of the Fundamentalists’ of the 1920s except for the last one ‘the physical second coming of Christ,’ including “belief in the inerrancy of the Bible, the virgin birth of Christ, his substitutionary atonement, Christ’s bodily resurrection, and the authenticity of miracles,” which the meeting in 1916 and 1923 would reaffirm.⁸⁴ The theology of the leaders of the Board of Foreign Missions including Frank F. Ellinwood and Robert E. Speer basically belonged to the old pattern comprising of ‘false religions’ and ‘soul-winning’ although

⁸² John De Witt, “Characteristics of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,” *Journal of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A* (JPCUSA) 1, no. 1 (May 1901): 64-70.

⁸³ Editorial of a Presbyterian magazine have claimed that “at the Inter-Seminary Alliance at Oberlin more than half of the eighty-one young men who expressed their willingness to enter the foreign mission field were from Presbyterian theological seminaries.” See “Missionary Uprising Among Students,” *The Church at Home and Abroad* (August, 1887): 113.

⁸⁴ Randall Balmer and John R. Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1993), 87.

there were some hints of social gospel motives in their thought. For example, the Secretary Robert E. Speer emphasized of the ‘soul winning’ in his address to the newly appointed missionaries. “Soul-winning is the primary aim of missions. The aim is not sociological, not political, though these are important. Our aim is to win men to Jesus Christ. ‘He came to seek and to save that which was lost.’”⁸⁵ The PCUSA missionaries who were sent to Korea and Japan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had the theological and cultural tendency of American Presbyterianism and the Presbyterian Church mentioned above. For example, one of the dominant characteristics of the Korea missionaries was the so-called ‘Puritan Type.’ Arthur Judson Brown, who served the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA from 1895 to 1929 as Secretary, depicted its missionaries to Korea as ‘strongly conservative’ and of ‘the Puritan type’ as follows:

The typical missionary of the first quarter century after the opening of the country was a man of the Puritan type. He kept the Sabbath as our New England forefathers did a century ago. He looked upon dancing, smoking, and cardplaying as sins in which no true follower of Christ should indulge. In theology and biblical criticism he was strongly conservative, and he held as a vital truth the premillenarian view of the second coming of Christ. The higher criticism and liberal theology were deemed dangerous heresies. In most of the evangelical churches of America and Great Britain, conservatives and liberals have learned to live and work together in peace; but in Korea the few men who hold “the modern view” have a rough road to travel, particularly in the Presbyterian group of missions.⁸⁶

The General Assembly and the Board in the 1920s and the 1930s were not immune to the Modernist-Fundamentalist Controversy of the 1920s, the Report of Hocking Controversy since 1930, and some other changing landscapes in the thought and practice of American

⁸⁵ Robert E. Speer, “Notes from an Address given by Robert E. Speer, June 22, 1898. Conference with newly appointed missionaries,” *The Church at Home and Abroad* (September 1898): 211.

⁸⁶ Arthur Judson Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East: the Story of Korea’s Transformation and Japan’s Rise to Supremacy in the Orient* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1919), 540. It should be noted that the twentieth-century study of ‘the Puritan’ including that of Perry Miller is different from that of the nineteenth century.

Christian missions but often found themselves in the heart of the inescapable conflicts.

However, it seems that this kind of rather revolutionary theology and idea did not appear in the Korea and Japan mission fields of the PCUSA at least by the 1920s.⁸⁷

PCUSA Manchuria Work from the Korea Mission

Being a transfer from the Scottish Mission in Manchuria, the work of the Korea Mission of the PCUSA among Korean immigrants in Manchuria started in about 1901 and developed into 'Manchuria Station,' an independent work whose headquarter was housed at the city of Moukden in 1918 first, which then moved to Hingking in 'West Kando' in 1921.⁸⁸ By at least three reasons the origin of the Korea Mission's Manchuria work may go back to 1901. The first is related to the comity between the Scottish Mission and the Korea Mission of the PCUSA. As early as in 1892 the Scottish missionary John Ross asked the PCUSA Korea Mission to take over the work for Koreans in Manchuria. In 1901 the PCUSA missionary N. C. Wittemore, as the delegate of the Korea Mission, "attended the Manchuria Conference of the Scotch and Irish Missions in Moukden to

⁸⁷ For a good survey of the changing experience of American Presbyterianism in the early twentieth century, see Randall Balmer and John R. Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1993), 83-95.

⁸⁸ *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church U.S.A, 1884-1934*, one of the most extensive narratives on the work of Manchuria/Sinpin Station of the PCUSA Korea Mission, incorrectly described that the beginning of the Manchuria/Sinpin Station was 1919, stating, "And yet our Mission station in Manchuria was the last to be established, which occurred thirty five years after the founding of the Mission." See the page 367. Arthur J. Brown also incorrectly wrote of the start of Manchuria work in his book *One Hundred Years* stating that "Hingking (Japanese Sinpin), in Manchuria, was occupied in 1918." See the page, 416. However, according to *The Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards (MGAPCRB), 1919 and 1920*, the Manchuria Station of the Korea Mission was officially open in 1918 at Moukden and it moved to Hingking (Sinpin) in 1921. In *MGAPCRB, 1919*, the separate entry of station name 'Work in Manchuria Among Koreans' with the indication of the opening year 1918 was made, the missionaries Mr. & Mrs. W. T. Cook and Mr. & Mrs. T. S. Soltau were transferred from the stations of Andong and Syenchun each to the new Manchuria Station, and the statistics of the Mission also showed Manchuria as a separate station. In *MGAPCRB, 1920*, not only did the report of the Kangkei Station state, "This year saw the definite separation of the work in Manchuria from that in Chosen proper, as far as the station is concerned," but also the separate report of 'Manchuria Station' started to appear. See *MGAPCRB, 1919*, pp. 158 and 169 and *MGAPCRB, 1920*, pp. 191-92, 203, 205-6.

discuss the transfer to our Mission of the work for Koreans in Manchuria.”⁸⁹ In addition, the missionary N. C. Wittemore visited the Iyangja Church in ‘West Kando’ with a Korean worker in 1901, as already mentioned above, and ordained two Koreans as deacon.⁹⁰ Also, when the new Shenchun Station of the PCUSA was set up in the northernmost region of Korea in 1901, its territory already included “a strip of Manchuria of unknown width settled by Koreans, among whom two promising groups are already located.”⁹¹ The statistics of the station records the year of the origin of the work in ‘Manchuria County’ as 1901.⁹² Although the work of the PCUSA Korea missionaries among Koreans in Manchuria was usually preceded by the work of both the Korean immigrants themselves and the evangelists/missionaries of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, the American missionaries’ activities, including the leading of Bible classes among the Koreans in Manchuria, also increased throughout the 1900s and the 1910s, and they were planning more systematic work for the Koreans than before. In May 1913, “the Mission took action” that the work in Manchuria be divided between the Canadian Presbyterian Mission and the PCUSA Korea Mission by the provincial line between Kirin and Fengtien/Shengking, and, in turn, “the Eastern Hun River” be the dividing line between the Shenchun and Kangkei stations of the PCUSA mission in allowing the Shenchun station to supervise “the part of Manchuria just over the Yalu River, reaching

⁸⁹ N. C. Whittemore, “Fifty Years of Comity and Co-operation in Korea,” in *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (Seoul: PCUSA Korea Mission, 1934), 96. This paper does not regard the 1891 Moukden trip for Scottish and Irish Missions by the Korea missionaries J. S. Gale and Samuel A. Moffett as a ‘Manchuria Work among Koreans.’ For the trip, see S. A. Moffett, “Fifty Years of Missionary Life in Korea” in *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (Seoul: PCUSA Korea Mission, 1934), 39.

⁹⁰ *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Sang)*. [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I]. 59.

⁹¹ Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *General Report of the ShenChyun Station, 1903-1904*, 28-29.

⁹² Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *General Report of the ShenChyun Station, 1903-1904, 1904-1905, and 1905-1906*.

up to and beyond Mukden.”⁹³ N. C. Wittemore was assigned to investigate Manchuria for future work and conduct a temporary work for several years leading up to the year 1913.

⁹⁴ It was a significant development in the Manchurian work that the new missionaries to Korea, Mr. and Mrs. T. S. Soltau who arrived in November 1914, were appointed to Manchuria, although they would reside at both Shenchun and Kangkei stations for the next few years.⁹⁵ A major development of the Korea Mission’s work among Koreans in Manchuria came with the establishment of the Manchuria Station at Moukden in 1918 and its move to Hingking located in ‘West Kando’ in 1921 to create a joint station along with the Manchuria Mission of the United Free Church Scotland (UFCS), which would work among Chinese and the Manchus. In 1913 the Korea Mission took action that “the Rev. N. C. Whittemore attend the Meeting of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission and represent to them the matter of establishing a joint station at Tong Hwa Hyun [Tunghua hsien in ‘West Kando’],” and by 1916 the Mission resolved to open a new joint station in Manchuria with the Scotch Mission. There was an exchange of delegates for the Annual meetings between the American Korea Mission and the Scottish Manchuria Mission in 1917 and 1918. ⁹⁶ Eventually, the Manchuria Station of the Korea Mission officially opened at Moukden, and Mr. and Mrs. Soltau and Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Cook were appointed to the station as the first missionaries.⁹⁷ In 1921 the mission moved to a small

⁹³ Harry A. Rhodes, ed. *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church U.S.A, 1884-1934* (Seoul: The Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church, USA, 1934), 370; N. C. Wittemore, “The Opportunity in Manchuria,” in *the Report of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to the Annual Meeting held at Pyeng Yang, September 1913*. 67.

⁹⁴ N. C. Wittemore, “The Opportunity in Manchuria,” in *the Report of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to the Annual Meeting held at Pyeng Yang, September 1913*. 67.

⁹⁵ Harry A. Rhodes, *Ibid.*, 371.

⁹⁶ For the details, see Harry A. Rhodes, ed. *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church U.S.A, 1884-1934* (Seoul: The Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church, USA, 1934), 369-74.

⁹⁷ *The Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards (MGAPCRB), 1919*, 158

town of Hingking, a hundred miles east of Moukden and one of the populous Korean villages in Manchuria, and the Mr. and Mrs. Soltau were replaced by Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd P. Henderson.⁹⁸

PCUSA Manchuria Work from the West Japan Mission

The Manchuria Station of the PCUSA West Japan Mission started in 1906 as an initiative for the Japanese immigrants who came to Southern Manchuria mostly in the early 1900s. By the victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, the leasehold of Liaotung peninsula and the South Manchurian Railway were transferred to Japan, “the chief imperialist in Manchuria,”⁹⁹ from Russia, which had seized the area. Russia constructed the Chinese Eastern Railway and the South Manchuria Railway since 1897 and had tried to expand its power into the whole Manchurian territory. The attitude of many Chinese high officials including Chang Chih-tung after the war was ‘pro-Japanese’ and ‘anti-Russian,’ and the Chinese government ratified Japanese advancement in the area in 1905 after the peace treaty between Russia and Japan.¹⁰⁰ Since then, a Japanese civilization mostly comprising of the Japanese colonialists, military and civil, in the Kwantung Leased Territory, and the South Manchuria Railway Lines, and their supporting facilities in the ‘the Railway Zone’ began to be created in Manchuria. Particularly, the South Manchuria Railway became the most important transportation system for Japanese to exploit Manchurian natural resources during the next forty years. Japanese immigration

⁹⁸ *The Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards (MGAPCRB)*, 1921, 200. For the list of the PCUSA Korea Mission and the PCUSA Japan Mission, see the Table 5 at the end of this study.

⁹⁹ Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, “Late Ch’ing Foreign Relations, 1866-1905,” in *The Cambridge History of China vol II Late Ch’ing, 1800-1911*, Part 2, ed. John K. Fairbank and Kwang-Ching Liu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 111, 141. For a full understanding of this context, see the pages 70-141 in the essay.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 140.

into Manchuria which started with 5,000 people in 1905 multiplied ten times in 1908 making the number 56,000. The number reached 101,000 in 1914 and 215,000 in 1930.¹⁰¹

The PCUSA missionary work in Japan had started with Dr. and Mrs. James C. Hepburn in 1859. The Church of Christ in Japan [Nihon Kirisuto Kyokwai] began in 1877 as a union of various churches in Presbyterian and Reformed traditions¹⁰² and became the largest Protestant body in Japan. By 1907 the West Japan Mission and the Dendo Kyoku (Board of Home Missions of the Synod of the Church of Christ in Japan)'s mutual agreement on 'Cooperation' began to operate and the East Mission of the PCUSA joined this type of relationship by 1910.¹⁰³

In 1906, an agent of a small Japanese congregation of the Church of Christ in Japan at Dairen, Manchuria, the Secretary of the Dendo Kyoku (Board of Home Missions) of the Church, and a PCUSA missionary visited the missionaries at Osaka Thomas C. Winn and Eliza C. Willard Winn and desperately asked them to take care of the flock of the Japanese congregation in Manchuria.¹⁰⁴ Thomas Winn and Eliza Winn moved from the Osaka Station to the congregation at Dairen to work as 'missionary pastor.' All the statistics of the PCUSA Japan Mission in the 1910s and the reports of the West Japan Mission to the General Assembly regard the transfer of Mr. and Mrs. Winn to

¹⁰¹ The Far Eastern and Russian Institute, *A Regional Handbook on Northeast China* (Seattle: The Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington, 1956), 64-65. The figures were from *the Manchuria Railway Survey and the Manchuria Year Book, 1932-33*.

¹⁰² *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards, 1916*. 260.

¹⁰³ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards, 1908*. 239; 1910, 23. I will revisit the 'Cooperation' between the Western Missions in Japan and the Church of Christ in Japan (CCJ) in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁴ See the letter of T. C. Winn to the Secretary of the Board Mr. Robert Speer written on June 8 1906, collected in *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn, 1978-1908*, ed. Susumu Suzuki (Kanazawa, Japan: Holuriku Gakuin, 1985), 231.

the Japanese Manchurian congregation as the establishment of the Manchuria Station.¹⁰⁵

The next year, Arthur V. Bryan and Margaret P. Cuthbert Bryan were transferred from the Matsuyama Station to the Manchuria Station and started their work at Port Arthur.¹⁰⁶

The Manchurian Presbytery of the Synod of the Church of Christ in Japan was started by 1912, while the Manchuria Station continued to exist until the year 1923 when T. C.

Winn retired and no missionary was available for the work.

Conclusion

The study of the home-base of the Irish, Scottish, Korean, and American Protestant missionaries, who worked in Southern Manchuria in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, shows that the missionaries were fundamentally expected to represent Christian faith in the lines with both Evangelicalism and Presbyterianism. The nineteenth-century Evangelicalism in both shores of the Atlantic featuring ‘emotional’ or ‘personal’ religious experience, revivalism, and missionary zeal to save ‘heathen’ souls was among the most important motives of all the missionaries. It was not only a religious movement to deliver a more emotional version of Christian faith to ‘Others’ but also a social movement to reform the political and social aspects of people at home and abroad. That motive was often combined with the European idea of progress coming out of the Enlightenment. In other words, many evangelical missionaries were also the advocate of

¹⁰⁵ See *Table of Statistics for the Year* from 1911 to 1922 (sources from The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia (PHSP): RG 93 Box 3 Folder 1, 2, and 3; *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards* (reports since 1907)

¹⁰⁶ For short introductions to the PCUSA Japan Mission’s work in Manchuria, refer to the following resources: Arthur Jackson Brown, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the USA* (London and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1936), 707-8; Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Church and Missions in Manchuria: A Survey of A Strategic Field* (London: World Dominion Press, 1928), 28-29.

the humanitarian and cultural transformation in the cause of development and the 'duty' of spreading civilization.

The Scottish and Irish Presbyterians' self-identity as Presbyterians, which was transmitted from their sixteenth-century Reformers and reinforced by the struggling with the state-religion issue both at Scottish and British levels, was very strong in their faith and the idea of polity in the nineteenth century. It seems that this identity was stronger than national identity in the mind of the Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria who came from different nations. One of the evidences for the strong Presbyterian identity in the home Churches and the missionaries can be found in the fact that the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) was attempting to hand over the Manchuria mission to the English Presbyterian Church (EPC) in the 1880s. In addition, the first resident missionary to Manchuria William C. Burns was raised in Scottish Presbyterian Church, worked for the English Presbyterian Church, and invited Irish Presbyterian Church to Manchuria for a permanent missionary work. In him, denominational identity probably meant more than national identity. Korean and American missionaries in Manchuria also had a strong Presbyterian identity. Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) had a strong Presbyterian stance upon the Westminster Confession of Faith, as its Rule shows, and the American missionaries were in a good communication with the Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria from the beginning and took over their Korean work in Manchuria. In sum, as far as the denominational identity was concerned, the three groups of Western Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria were, by and large, in the same historical origin, faith, and polity. They were in the Scottish-Irish Presbyterianism, based on the Westminster Confession of Faith, and adopted the polity of non-state Church. The

Presbyterian Church of Korea and its missionaries were not different from the Western counterparts in this regard, although they were from a different historical and social context. One of the most significant differences in the Korean Presbyterians might be their strong awareness of social and nationalistic responsibility mentioned above. However, it is not very clear if it came from their Presbyterian faith. Probably it was a more common ground in the faith and activity of the Korean Christians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thereby, the Korean Presbyterian missionaries were both similar in the Presbyterian identity to the other Western Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria and different from them in their social, cultural, and political settings and awareness. It seems that the Korean Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria had a close relationship with the American missionaries from the PCUSA Korea Mission. For example, the PCK appointed an American missionary to several churches in the 'Fengtien' area of Southern Manchuria during a certain period. Furthermore, the PCUSA missionaries were always a part of the PCK Presbyteries, often serving as the staff members.

This chapter also shows that their mission field Manchuria was chosen by the political and social changes in China and East Asia and the connections in Church tradition and ethnicity. The works of the pioneers William Burns and Alexander Williamson and the Irish and Scottish missions were only made upon the opening of the new treaty port Newchwang. The new opportunity to spread the gospel given by the 1860 treaty was something not to lose to the evangelical world. The work of the Korean Church and the American Manchuria stations from the West Japan Mission and the Korea Missions were made against the background of Japanese advancements onto Korea

and Manchuria. The work for the Korean and Japanese immigrants in Manchuria was an extension of the work of the PCK and the Korea and Japan Missions of the PCUSA in the land of exile or a colony. All the missionaries also had reasonable connections to start their work. The previous works in Manchuria by William Burns of the English Presbyterian Church, Alexander Williamson of the Scottish Church, Dairen Church from the Church of Christ in Japan, and the initial work of the Presbyterian Church of Korea became good foundations and connections for the British and American missionary works. Korean missionaries certainly had ethnic connection for their work.

How, then, did the missionaries represent the theological, spiritual, and cultural positions of their home-base in their mission field Southern Manchuria? How did they position their own tradition or religion among other churches, traditions, and religions? The next chapter is going to be a space to deal with those questions.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MISSIONARY AND RELIGION: ECUMENICAL AND INTER-RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTERS IN SOUTHERN MANCHURIA

This chapter will consider the ways in which the Southern Manchuria missionaries from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI), the United Presbyterian Church (UPC)/ the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS)¹, the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK), and the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) pursued Christian unity and cooperation within the Protestant circle, kept tensions with Roman Catholic missionaries, and responded to Chinese religions and folk customs. The Presbyterian missionaries in Southern Manchuria had chances to participate in the unity work of comity, cooperation, or even union among the Church's missions and various missionary societies. Their competition with the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) in the Manchurian mission field proved that the two religions were still in a rivalry or a hostile relationship to each other. By the way, encountering the people influenced by the Russian Orthodox Church in the northern borderland became a surprising and special experience to the missionary. The encounters with Chinese religions in Southern Manchuria contributed to the missionaries' learning about 'pagan' religions. The experience also allowed them to explore a better relationship of Christianity with other religions and to develop some ways of establishing an indigenous Christianity in China. All these encounters became a challenging yet productive experience in which Presbyterian missionaries came across their own demarcation in the awareness of the 'Other.' How then and in what degree did the missionaries represent their home Church's doctrinal, spiritual, and cultural view vis-

¹ The United Presbyterian Church (UPC) merged with the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) to make the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS) in 1900.

à-vis the other Christian groups and 'pagan' religions? What were their new discoveries from the local religious contexts? What were the changes and negotiations in the missionaries' view, which might have been both radical and moderate? Finally, was there any criticism or applause from their home toward their changes and negotiations?

1. Union and Cooperation among the Protestant Churches and Mission Societies

In the Western world, the first attempt for Protestant unity movement came from foreign missionary co-operations, such as the early eighteenth-century Pietist missionary movement by Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans² and the nineteenth-century international missionary networking among various missionary societies and churches.³

The cause of denominational cooperation and union in the mission fields like China was a significant agenda particularly within the Presbyterian and Reformed tradition in the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The movements in the foreign mission fields were often a project causing the cooperation and union movement among the home Churches. The Alliance of the Reformed Churches, which was already started by American and Scottish leaders in 1875, held a meeting at Belfast, Ireland, in 1884 to

² David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 457. In this paper, 'unity movement' designates a meaning embracing co-operation, making of federation, and union between or among churches and societies, leaving the meaning 'Ecumenical' or 'Conciliar' movement especially unfolded in the mid-twentieth century progressive Protestant circle.

³ The following case shows international and trans-denominational missionary cooperation among American, English, and Scottish Protestant Christians in the late 19th century. One of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions (ABCFM), Mr. Alden's address at its 1877 annual meeting was published in the Scottish *Missionary Report of the United Presbyterian Church* (MRUPC) with three Scottish 'esteemed' brethren's enthusiastic responses to it. This event was made by "a friend in London" who was "wisely interesting himself in the wide circulation of a paper under the above title." See *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church* (MRUPC) (1878): 124-28.

talk about the ways of cooperation one another. In America, the 1887 General Assembly of the PCUSA unanimously adopted a paper about the establishment of national churches in the mission fields together with other Churches in the Reformed tradition.⁴

As the prototype in China, a union of two Presbyterian missions was made out of the Dutch Reformed Church of America and the English Presbyterian Church (EPC) at Amoy, China, in 1863.⁵ In 1870, the PCUSA initiated the Presbyterian Synod of China (PSC) consisting of eight Presbyteries with a view to developing an ‘organic union’ of all the Presbyterian Churches in China although this hope would be discouraged by the 1893 meetings of the PSC.⁶ However, a new plan of ‘organic union’ by the Presbyterian missions in China started in 1901, and among the nine participating groups were the missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI) and the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS) centering on Manchuria.⁷

Union of Missions

⁴ See “Union Presbyteries,” *Church at Home and Abroad* (CHA) (July 1887): 87. “The resolutions [of the PCUSA General Assembly of 1887] are as follows: 1. That in order to build up independent, national churches holding to the Reformed doctrine and the Presbyterian polity, on foreign fields, the more general and complete identification of our missionaries with the native”

⁵ H. V. Noyes, “Presbyterian Union in China,” in CR (January 1903): 10. Also refer to Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), 365-367; *The China Mission Hand-Book* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1896), 257-62. The official name ‘the Reformed Church of America’ of the Dutch Reformed Church of America formally started to be used in 1867 in America.

⁶ The eight Presbyteries include Peking, Shantung, Shanghai, Ningpo, Foochow, Canton, Japan, and Siam, of which, the last two would soon be withdrawn. “Editorial,” in *the Chinese Recorder* (CR), (July 1926): 463-64.

⁷ For the Presbyterian union movement in China, See H. V. Noyes, “Presbyterian Union in China,” in CR (January 1903): 10-15. The other participating Presbyterian groups for the 1901 movement included the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S, the Reformed Church in America (Dutch), the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church of England, and the Presbyterian missionaries connected with the China Inland Mission. Refer to the page 14 of the same source.

Having been established in 1869 and 1872 respectively, the Irish and Scottish Presbyterian missions joined each other in 1890 to create a united Mission Conference and a native Presbytery in the following year.⁸ Even before the union occurred, the two Presbyterian missions had a comity agreement with each other to avoid overlapping in their mission field. While the Irish mission was working “to the west of the river Liao,” flowing from the north to the south, “at Newchwang, Chin-chow, Kuang-ning, Moukden, Hsin-min-tun, Fakumen, and in the north at Kuan Cheng-Tzu, Kirin, and Ku-yu-shu,” the Scottish mission was working “on the east of the Liao and towards Korea, also in the north at Ashiho.”⁹ In 1889, the two missions started to discuss the ways in which they could unite with each other and help organize a united Chinese Presbyterian Church. In the next year, the two Mission Councils were merged into a united Mission Conference.¹⁰ Finally, upon the decision of the Synod of the UPC and the General Assembly of the PCI,¹¹ the first Presbytery of Manchuria to be run by the indigenous leaders in using Chinese language was created in 1891. Unlike the circumstances in their home, the two Presbyterian Churches became one ‘indistinguishable body’ in the mission field Manchuria.¹² The 1890 union of the Irish and Scottish missions in Manchuria was the

⁸ For the procedures of the union, refer to the following sources. *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church* (June 1891): 173, (Sept. 1891): 247, (Sept 1892): 309; Supplemental pages to the *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church* (June 1892): 19. For Chinese sources, see *Guandong jidujiao zhanglaohui gongli* (General Rules of the Guandong/Manchuria Presbytery, 1910), 1; *Manzhou jidujiao nianjian* (Manchou Christian Federation, 1938), 69-70.

⁹ J. Miller Graham, *East of the Barrier* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1902), 23.

¹⁰ William Palmer Addley, “A Study of the Birth and Development of the Overseas Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland up to 1910” (Ph.D. diss., Queen’s University of Belfast, 1994), 228.

¹¹ Supplement to *Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church* (June 1892): 19.

¹² A. J. Weir, “China: Only God Can Make A Tree,” in *Into All the World*, ed. by Thompson, (Belfast: the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1990), 59.

second in China after the mentioned union at Amoy in which ‘the spirit of unity within the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches’ was embodied.¹³

The union was a way of trying to overcome the rivalry between the two missions, which existed since their beginning period, although it was not very severe. Reports of the PCI mission in the 1870s reveal their rivalry as early as in 1873 in the aspects of funding for the work and church location as follows: “the Scotch Mission has its chapel in the middle of the town” and “Mr. [John] Ross has abundance of money.”¹⁴ While the Irish Board and missionaries were quite apprehensive when the Scottish missionary John Ross entered Newchwang in 1872, the Scottish missionaries did not exactly welcome the Irish missionary Thomas Fulton to Moukden in 1885.¹⁵ Thomas Fulton’s uneasy feelings with some Scottish missionaries of Moukden with the conflicts in the committee work and territorial competitions in evangelism and church establishment show the rivalry and jealousy between the two groups of missionaries especially in the beginning periods.¹⁶

In the event of the 1890 union, overcoming the conflicts, the missionaries welcomed the new reality that they “have become one ecclesiastically.” As an Irish missionary pointed out, this union became “one of the causes of the success in Manchuria” making the Church of Manchuria grow “in strength with the years.”¹⁷

The union was a triumphal event in the history of Christianity in China generally as well as in Manchuria, in term of the achievement of the so-called ‘organic union’

¹³ It should be noted that the foreign missions of the PCI and the UPC “shared a common heritage and practical outlook, and there had been a close association between them since the 1840’s. See William Palmer Addley, *Ibid.*, 228.

¹⁴ *Missionary Herald of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (Oct. 1873): 218; (Nov 1873): 237.

¹⁵ William Palmer Addley, *Ibid.*, 228. Addley cited the following sources: Thomas Fulton, *Reminiscences* (Chin Hsien, Manchukuo, 1937), 82-84; Robert H. Boyd, *Waymakers: the Story of the Irish Presbyterian Pioneer Missionaries to Manchuria* (Belfast: Church House, 1940), 54; and Robert H. Boyd, *Thomas Cosby Fulton*, 24.

¹⁶ Thomas Fulton, *Reminiscences* (Chin Hsien, Manchukuo, 1937), 83.

¹⁷ F. W. S. O’Neill, *The Call of the East* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1919), 32

between the missions of individual Churches. It was an event transcending the national and organizational demarcation of Churches on a shared mission field and securing 'theological and pragmatic' common ground within a tradition.¹⁸ The union may be regarded as a significant embodiment of the spirit of the 1863 union between the Dutch Reformed Church of America and the EPC at Amoy as mentioned above.¹⁹ It was also directly influenced by the efforts toward 'organic union' of the Presbyterian Synod of China since 1870.²⁰

However, despite the positive evaluation of it from within the Irish and Scottish missionaries and the significance in the unity movement in the history of Chinese Christianity and even in the whole history of Christian missions, it is true that the union had a serious limitation because it was made only within the Presbyterian circle. It excluded the other missions and societies already active in Manchuria or to come in the near future. For example, the Manchuria mission of the Danish Lutheran Church (DLC) started its work in Southern Manchuria in 1893 and became the third biggest missions after the PCI and the UPC by the end of the century. This mission, however, kept a relationship with the two missions only at the level of 'cooperation' in failing to join the Presbyterian Synod of Manchuria. The DLC Mission started to participate in the Manchuria Conference of the Irish and Scottish Missions for cooperation in 1916.²¹ Strictly speaking, this sort of union carried on only within the same tradition might be

¹⁸ For the tendency of theological and pragmatic unity movement in the mission fields, refer to David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996), 458-59.

¹⁹ The two united presbyteries in Fukien province and Manchuria were regarded as the representative unions in the nineteenth-century China. See Wallace C. Merwin, *Adventure in Unity: the Church of Christ in China* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974), 21.

²⁰ H. V. Noyes, "Presbyterian Union in China," in CR (January 1903): 13.

²¹ Wallace C. Merwin, *Adventure in Unity: the Church of Christ in China* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974), 80.

regarded rather as an anti-unity movement in that it might deepen the chasm between the traditions. The American Episcopal Bishop of Shanghai F. R. Graves, thus, piercingly criticized the contemporary unity movement in China around 1910 and suggested a movement embracing both Protestantism and Catholicism as follows:

The fact is that we are outwardly divided, sometimes openly antagonistic, and what we have to find out is the way in which division may be done away. ... Christian missions from all the great countries of the world are working here each on its own lines and each perpetuating its own ecclesiastical character. ... Are not most missionaries thinking of a union of Protestant missions? ... Unless church union can embrace all Christians in China, Catholic and Protestant, the problem will be nearly as far from solution as ever. ... We have to remember that Christianity is a greater thing than Protestantism and to widen our minds and hearts to entertain the conception of a unity which shall embrace all.²²

It is noticeable that, with the coming of the union between the PCI and the UPC, the indigenous Christians in Manchuria hoped a Christian unity embracing the all types of Protestant Churches in Manchuria. According to the Scottish missionary Daniel T. Robertson, who worked in Manchuria from 1890 to 1938, “from the opening of the negotiations which were to bring about a united Presbyterian Church” the indigenous Christians, “with jubilation,” hoped “the uniting of all Protestant denominations in one common Church.”²³ In 1913, Daniel T. Robertson himself was, on the one hand, able to publicize the problem of sectarianism in the Protestant mission fields, stating in his book, “There is much reason to fear that the sects introduced by Western Protestantism have already, by the inculcation of widely differing rules, put serious obstacles in the path of organic union.” On the other hand, he had a positive view of Chinese Christianity that it “as it grows in flood, will restlessly endeavour to overleap the confining banks of

²² F. R. Graves, “The Problem of Church Unity in China,” in CR (February 1910): 151, 153.

²³ Daniel T. Robertson, *Our Mission in Manchuria* (Edinburgh: Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1913), 120.

sectarianism.”²⁴ At any rate, this type of narrow unity movement within the Presbyterian circle in Southern Manchuria continued in Manchuria until the time when the Presbyterian Synod, which was organized in 1907, participated in the creation of an inter-denominational body the Church of Christ in China in 1927, which will be discussed later.

Making Indigenous Churches

The Irish and Scottish missionaries’ strong aspiration for the development of an indigenous Church in Manchuria was of importance in the 1890 union of the two missions and the subsequent history of Christianity in Manchuria. In the union, the missionaries not only set up a united Mission Conference but also helped create a historic Chinese Presbytery, officially named the *Kuantung* Presbytery or the Presbytery of Manchuria, in 1891 with its first Presbytery meetings convened in the following year.²⁵ According to Duncan M’Laren the Chairman of the Foreign Mission Boards of the UPC at that time, “the aim of the missionaries and the Boards” in the union was “to build up a strong united native Church.”²⁶ A missionary report by the Scottish missionaries John M’Intyre and J. A. Wylie on the resolutions of the 1891 General Conference of Presbyterian Missionaries in Manchuria shows the missionaries’ positive attitude toward the building up of an indigenous Church in Manchuria as follows:

There was a very full discussion of the question, whether the Presbytery was to be simply the symbol and organ of the union of the foreign missionaries, or was to be distinctively a court of the native church, with missionaries present only as advisers. ... It

²⁴ Daniel T. Robertson, *Our Mission in Manchuria* (Edinburgh: Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1913), 120-21.

²⁵ MRUPC (Sept., 1891): 248; MRUPC (Sept, 1892): 319. For the list of the Chinese and foreign members of the first Presbytery, refer to MRUPC (Jan.1893): 18-19. It was decided that the Irish and Scottish clerical missionaries may have double identity with their own home presbytery and the Presbytery of Manchuria ‘temporarily.’ See William Palmer Addley, *Ibid.*, 228.

²⁶ MRUPC (Sept., 1892): 309.

was finally agreed, without a dissentient voice, that the Presbytery should be a 'native Presbytery.' The Chinaman is thus brought to the front; the official language of the Presbytery is Chinese; and the way kept clear for a self-governing and self-supporting church.²⁷

The *Kuantung* Presbytery or the Manchuria Presbytery developed into the Synod of Manchuria with the three subordinate presbyteries of Liao West, Liao East, and Kirin in 1907²⁸ and, in turn, into the Manchurian part of the Church of Christ in China (CCC) in 1927. The creation of the Synod of Manchuria was, on the one hand, a development from the Presbytery of Manchuria. And it, on the other hand, was helped by the long lasting Presbyterian effort for establishing the nationwide Presbyterian Church of Christ in China (PCCCC).²⁹ The Synod became linked with the other "synods of North China, Central China, South Fukien, East Kuangtung, and West Kuangtung to form the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of China," a court which in the meantime assumed "functions of advice only, and not of control."³⁰ The establishment of the Synod was a

²⁷ MRUPC (Sept., 1891): 247-48.

²⁸ Some sources identify the year for the establishment of the Synod of Manchuria as 1897 and some others as 1907. I claim it happened in 1907 on the basis of the reports of MRUFCS (August 1904, page 352; November 1907, page 497) and native sources in Chinese. The Scottish missionary George Douglas reported in 1907 that "our supreme court, which has hitherto ranked as a Presbytery, now becomes a Synod." For the assertion of the 1897 origin, see Daniel T. Robertson, *Our Mission in Manchuria* (Edinburgh: Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1913), 120; William Palmer Addley, *Ibid.*, 229. For that of 1907, see MRUFCS (Nov., 1907): 497; Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Church and Missions in Manchuria* (London: World Dominion Press, 1928), 24; Robert Boyd, *Manchuria and Our Mission There* (Belfast, 1908), 66; *Guandong jidujiao zhanglaohui gongli* (General Rules of the Guandong/Manchuria Presbytery, 1910), 2; *Manzhou jidujiao nianjian* (Manchou Christian Federation, 1938), 70.

²⁹ Delegates from all the Presbyterian missions in China, composed of Chinese and foreign missionaries, held a committee meeting toward the union of the Churches at Shanghai from April 19th to 24th, 1907 which was two days before the opening of the 1907 Shanghai Missionary Conference. MRUFCS (Nov. 1907): 496. Also See Wallace C. Merwin, *Adventure in Unity: the Church of Christ in China* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974), 32-34.

³⁰ Daniel T. Robertson, *Our Mission in Manchuria* (Edinburgh: Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1913), 120. George Douglas, a Scottish missionary who worked at Liaoyang, controversially argued that the 1900 union of the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland creating the United Free Church of Scotland in Scotland brought a positive influence on the union movement of the Presbyterian Churches in China leading to the Presbyterian Church of Christ in China. See *the Missionary Report of the United Free Church of Scotland* (Nov. 1907): 496.

great event in the history of the Church of Manchuria, especially in terms of the development of indigenous leadership. While the first Moderator of the Presbytery of 1892 was the Irish missionary James Carson, that of the Synod of Manchuria of 1907 was the Chinese Pastor Chang from Tiehling.

The Irish and Scottish missionaries had a considerably positive attitude toward the formation and running of the native Synod of Manchuria. For instance, the Irish missionary F.W.S. O'Neill revealed his hope of an indigenous Church run by the Chinese themselves fashionably in the chapter "Citadel of the Kingdom" of his book *The Call of the East*. The chapter was rendered as a fiction consisting of a long conversation between the two close friends, a Christian and a non-Christian, about the Church/Synod of Manchuria. The following is a part of what the Christian friend depicted about the Church to his friend:

Jesus, you know, was born and died in Asia. His religion is not really a British invention. In order to be strong and permanent, Christianity must take root in our country and grow into a great *Chinese* tree with Chinese fruit. Therefore *we* must do the work ourselves.³¹

It seems that, using the form of fiction in this chapter, O'Neill very effectively expressed his perception of the indigenization of Western Christianity into the Chinese culture. The Christian friend must be the author himself and the Christian Church in Chinese style the goal of his missionary activities. The Synod of Manchuria, in twenty years, took part in the creation of the Church of Christ in China (CCC), which was an inter-denominational and organic union of missions and different Churches existing in China and also a consummation of the unity movement over more than fifty years since the first

³¹ F.W. S. O'Neill, *The Call of the East* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1919), 54.

Presbyterian union at Amoy.³² While the Chinese leader Cheng Ching-yi from Beijing served as the first Moderator of the first General Assembly held at Shanghai in October 1927 and A. R. Kepler as the General Secretary,³³ some Irish and Scottish missionaries of Manchuria including Andrew Weir played an important role in the inter-denominational work of the CCC.³⁴

Despite their contribution to the buildings of the Presbytery of Manchuria, the Synod of Manchuria, and the Church of Christ in China, the Irish and Scottish missionaries were very slow both in divesting themselves of the responsibilities for the Church and in helping develop the indigenous leadership. According to the Irish historian A. J. Weir, who was a son of the Irish missionary to Manchuria Andrew Weir and himself a missionary there from 1945 to 1951, the united Mission Conference “rather than the Presbytery” “still tended to be the driving force behind the Church’s life and work.”³⁵ The Scottish missionary Alexander R. Mackenzie also witnessed to this lingering of the missionaries in the deliverance of leadership, saying that “for many years until 1922, the principal decisions about Mission work, as regards the Presbyterian Church, were made and registered by the Manchurian Mission Conference, composed of the missionaries of the Scottish and Irish Churches, along with some others.”³⁶ In 1922, the Conference finally decided to take steps to hand over the crucial responsibilities to the Synod of Manchuria by appointing two special committees, the Policy Committee first

³² However, the CCC covered only about one-third of the Protestant Christians in China. See Andrew Weir, “The First General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China,” in CR (November 1927): 713.

³³ Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Church and Missions in Manchuria* (London: World Dominion Press, 1928), 42-43; Andrew Weir, “The First General Assembly of the Church of Christ in China,” in CR (November 1927): 714; Sumiko Yamamoto, *History of Protestantism in China: the Indigenization of Christianity* (Tokyo: The Institute of Eastern Culture, 2000), 76-81.

³⁴ Ivor F. Smith, *Andrew Weir of Manchuria* (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 2000), 11.

³⁵ A. J. Weir, *Ibid.*, 59.

³⁶ Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Church and Missions in Manchuria: A Survey of A Strategic Field* (London: World Dominion Press, 1928), 31.

and the Finance Committee to come in the near future. Only in 1927 did the Synod request the PCI and the UFCS “to transfer to the Synod” “authority to locate missionaries and to fix their work.”³⁷ The Churches endorsed the decision and request by the Synod.³⁸ In the Mission Conference held the next year, “a detailed scheme was drawn up for putting this drastic step into execution.”³⁹

It seems that the development of indigenous leadership in the Presbytery and Synod was slower than the missionaries’ expectation particularly during the beginning periods. Some of the missionaries found that the problem was deeply related to the indigenous leaders’ attitude of ‘passiveness.’ For example, James A. Wylie wrote of the 1894 Presbytery meetings as follows:

The part taken by the native elders in the discussions was not so conspicuous as last year. This was a special matter of regret to those of us who felt that the very constitution of the Presbytery was compromised by any circumstance or circumstances which tended to make the court appear more as a foreign than as a native court; the Presbytery by its very constitution was to be a native Presbytery.⁴⁰

Daniel Robertson, who were also present at the first Presbytery meetings, wrote of the same negative condition, stating that the indigenous elders “were at first slow to rise in the church-courts and speak their mind. ... They preferred to listen, and then to express themselves by the not ineffective method of voting.”⁴¹ He, however, was also able to admit that they were improved with their experience and more confidence in themselves added.

³⁷ Ibid., 31-33. For additional information on the ‘problems and prospects’ in relation to the devolution of the Church in Manchuria in the late 1920s, see the pages 41-48 of the same book.

³⁸ Ivor F. Smith, Ibid., 14.

³⁹ F.W.S. O’Neill, “What We May Hope From the Jerusalem Meeting,” in *the Chinese Recorder* (April 1928): 224.

⁴⁰ MRUPC (Oct. 1894): 282.

⁴¹ Daniel T. Robertson, *Our Mission in Manchuria* (Edinburgh: Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1913), 121.

Co-operation and Comity

The missions of the PCI and the UPC/UFCs cooperated with some other territorial missions in Manchuria, such as the mission of the Danish Lutheran Church (DLC), the London Missionary Society (LMS), and the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A (PCUSA). The Danish Mission of Manchuria started in 1893 with the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. C. Bolwig and Mr. and Mrs. Waidtlöw, and many others followed their path since 1895.⁴² The Danish missionaries set up the first mission station at Port Arthur (Lüshun) located at the southern tip of Liaoning Peninsula in 1895. They, with the Irish and Scottish missionaries who came earlier, had a comity agreement at Newchwang for the field delimitations. As a result, the DLC mission took charge of the southern coastal area, while the PCI mission took the western part of the Liao River and the UPC mission the eastern part.⁴³ With the agreement, the Danish missionaries started to extend their work into the towns in the coastal area and in the north part of the Yalu River toward the eastern mountainous area, “such as Dagushan, Xiuyan, Fengcheng, and Dandong, and Kuandian.”⁴⁴ By the 1910s, the missionaries also started to set up mission stations at Moukden, Changchun in the middle part of Manchuria, and at some other towns in the northeastern part of Manchuria. In 1886, two missionaries of the North China Mission of the London Missionary Society (LMS) set up one of the four central mission stations at Chao-yang, a city in the westernmost part of Southern Manchuria and “in the extreme

⁴² There are three different records about the starting year of the Manchuria mission of the DLC with 1893, 1895, 1896. This paper prefers the year 1893 with the arrival of the first missionary the C. Bolwig couple. For the survey of the DLC mission in Manchuria, refer to Qing Tang, *Zhongguo jidujiao bainianshi* (Xianggang: Daosheng chubanshe, 2001), 314-16; Milton Stauffer, ed., *The Christian Occupation of China* (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922), 250-60; Estrid Nielsen, “*An Introduction to the History of Danish Mission in Dongbei China*,” (photocopy), p. 1; Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Ibid.*, 24

⁴³ Zhixin Wang, *Zhongguo jidujiaoshi gang* (jidujiao wenyi chubanshe, 1993), 209; Qing Tang, *Zhongguo jidujiao bainian shi* (Xianggang: Daosheng chubanshe, 2001), 314, 357; Elizabeth G. K. Hewat, *Vision and Achievement: 1796-1956*. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1960), 258-59

⁴⁴ Estrid Nielsen, “*An Introduction to the History of Danish Mission in Dongbei China*,” (photocopy), p. 1

north of Chihli, as the sphere of the Mongol mission.”⁴⁵ In the year 1901, the work of the LMS station, which was “dreadfully affected by the Boxer Uprising,” was transferred to the Manchuria Mission of the PCI, and Andrew Weir became in charge of it, getting involved in the works for the Mongols.⁴⁶

Presbyterians in other parts of China, showed its good relation to the Presbyterians in Manchuria with the transfer of the Chao-yang station. However, it is true that there were no extensive relation between the two groups in Manchuria beyond this transfer case because the LMS did not develop their work in the region after the Boxer Uprising.

A few famous non-territorial societies, such as the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), and the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), were also active in Manchuria and had a cooperative relationship with the PCI and the UPC/UFCS. The Bible Society was in a partnership with the Irish and Scottish missions of Manchuria. It started to work in Manchuria in 1883 with the appointment of “an agent to reside and work.” Its main depot was “in Moukden, with branches at Newchwang and Harbin” and the Irish and Scottish missionaries worked with the agents of the Bible Society together “in colportage and distribution of the Scriptures.”⁴⁷ In 1908, the Irish mission had “in each district a few colporteurs, usually in the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society, but superintended by the local missionaries,” who traveled “from market to market.”⁴⁸ The YMCA and the YWCA were also in a partnership with the two missions and the Danish

⁴⁵ *The China Mission Hand-Book* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1996), 19 [out of the Part II]

⁴⁶ Ivor F. Smith, *Ibid.*, 10. Also refer to MHPCI: Sept. 1900: 228. The Mongols resided in the westernmost area of each Manchurian province: Fengtien, Kirin, and Heilungkiang.

⁴⁷ Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Ibid.*, 25-26. For the examples of the partnership, see Thomas Fulton, *Reminiscences* (Chin Hsien, Manchukuo, 1937), 75; A. R. Crawford, *Sketches of Missionary Life in Manchuria* (Belfast: R. Carswell & Son, 1899), 166-65.

⁴⁸ Robert Boyd, *Manchuria and Our Mission There* (Belfast, Wm. Strain & Sons, 1908), 70

mission. The YMCA of Manchuria began with its first secretaries in 1911. While some of them were “appointed by the National Committee of the Chinese Y.M.C.A.,” others were “missionaries of the Presbyterian and Danish Missions specially detached for this work for periods of five years at a time.”⁴⁹ The YMCA Conference of 1917 was held in Manchuria and Johannes Rasmussen of Moukden served as the Chairman.⁵⁰ The YWCA of Manchuria employed a missionary from the Scottish mission in 1918.⁵¹

The Korea Mission of the PCUSA, the West Japan Mission of the PCUSA, and the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) also participated in various co-operations and comities. The Korea Mission of the PCUSA had a cooperative relationship with the Scottish mission in Manchuria since 1892, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, and gradually took the responsibility for Koreans in Manchuria instead of the Scottish Mission. Finally, both missions set up a joint station at Hingking in 1921 to take care of Chinese, Manchus, and Koreans in Hingking.⁵² For Koreans in Manchuria, the PCUSA Korea Mission also had a cooperative relationship with the PCK as well before and after setting up its Manchuria station at Moukden in 1918, which would soon move to Hingking. The PCUSA missionaries’ cooperative works with the Korean missionaries and evangelists were usually approached from the two northern stations Shenchun and Kangkei. One of the missionaries William Blair visited Manchuria five times from 1908

⁴⁹ Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Ibid.*, 26. To see more of the co-operative relationship between the PCI and the YMCA of Manchuria, see Tom Blakely, “The Y.M.C.A. in Manchuria,” in *MHPCI* (Feb. 1943: Wartime Edition).

⁵⁰ “Missionary News: Leadership in Manchuria,” *CR* (September 1917): 614. Johannes Rasmussen did not belong to the Irish and Scottish missions.

⁵¹ Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Ibid.*, 26.

⁵² See Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Ibid.*, 29; T. Stanley Soltau, “Work Among Korean Immigrants,” in *Church and Missions in Manchuria: A Survey of A Strategic Field*, ed. Alexander R. Mackenzie (London: World Dominion Press, 1928), 61.

to 1920 to take care of the Korean congregations through either the Shenchun station or Kangkei.⁵³

The Presbyterian Church of Korea, “for several years prior to 1924,” “had a comity committee for the field in Manchuria” with the Korea Methodist Church resulting in a conference in Moukden in January, 1924. The Manchuria field was shared between the two Churches, and “that division of territory has, with slight modifications, been pretty well observed during the succeeding ten years.”⁵⁴

In Japan, Christian union and cooperation movement was very strong since 1870, especially within the same tradition, resulting in several united or indigenous Churches including the Church of Christ in Japan (CCJ) in 1877, the Episcopal Nippon Sei Kokwai (NSK) in 1887, and the Japanese Methodist Church (JMC) in 1907. In the 1900s, the West Japan Mission of the PCUSA, carrying out a different policy from the East Japan, had a favorable position toward ‘cooperation’ with the CCJ.⁵⁵ According to a letter of Thomas C. Winn the first PCUSA missionary to Japanese in Manchuria, one of his important motives to go to the Dairen congregation of Manchuria in 1906 was to assist a local congregation of the CCJ and thus to contribute to building up the relationship between the PCUSA and the CCJ.⁵⁶

While, as investigated above, many missions and societies working in Manchuria in the late nineteenth and early twenty centuries pursued union or some type of

⁵³ For the detailed stories of his visitations, see William Newton Blair, *Gold in Korea* (Topeka: H.M. Ives & Sons, 1948), 88-91.

⁵⁴ N. C. Whittemore, “Fifty Years of Comity and Co-operation in Korea” in *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (Seoul: PCUSA Korea Mission, 1934), 96.

⁵⁵ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards, 1908, 238-40; 1910, 22-23.*

⁵⁶ Thomas C. Winn, *The Letter of Thomas Clay Winn, 1878-1908*, ed. Susumu Suzuki, (Kanazawa Japan: Hokuriku Gakuin, 1985), 231-32.

cooperative relations, a few others were more individualistic in running their enterprises. The Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) that started its mission in Moukden and Changchun around 1916 tended to work “in as complete separation from other Protestant Missions as do the Missions of the Roman Catholic Church.”⁵⁷ The Manchuria mission of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) serving the “immigrant members of the Baptist persuasion from Shantung and other parts of China proper” did “not feel free to adhere to the principles of comity generally observed by Protestant Missions working in China.”⁵⁸ That mission set up its first station in Dairen in 1908 and another at Harbin in 1924.

In addition, it seems that, at least in their beginning period, there was a tension between the Presbyterian missionaries and the Anglicans in the British communities residing in Southern Manchuria over the worship style of the British Consulate. Hugh Waddell, one of the first two Irish missionaries was asked to lead the worship at the British Consulate in 1869 but insisted on leading it only in Presbyterian style. The form of the worship, which had been conducted in the Presbyterian style with William Burns, changed to the Anglican style at his death in 1868 when a certain Mr. King continued to lead the worship. Finally, Hugh Waddell was able to serve the worship in his Presbyterian style while the Anglican adherents’ yielded their rights to him.⁵⁹ It seems that a nineteenth-century Scottish Presbyterian missionary was still not free to overcome the chasm between Presbyterianism and Anglicanism in a mission field.

The missionary method “comity,” was used by many missionary agencies not only in Manchuria but also in many other parts of China, Korea, Japan, and some other ‘mission fields’ in the world. Whereas it has been praised for emphasized co-operation, it

⁵⁷ Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Ibid.*, 26-27.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁹ MHPCI (Sept. 1, 1869): 415-16.

also has been criticized for being colonialistic. The fundamental attitude of the most British Presbyterian missionaries in Southern Manchuria was certainly related to the 'occupation of the land' with the gospel like in many other contemporary missionaries in the world. To them, 'comity' was a concrete way of expression in that spirit. It, however, seems that comity in Southern Manchuria was not really related to a direct colonialistic enterprise in the area although more sources about the relations between the British missionaries and the British communities in Manchuria may give some clues to this theme. In that Denmark was not a colonialistic force in the area, the Danish Lutheran missionaries' agreement on the comity with the British missionaries does not seem to have any direct colonialistic implication. The comities of the Korean and American missionaries who worked only in the Korean immigrants' communities were not related to this concern, either. In addition, there is no evidence that the American missionaries participated in any comity with other missions or Churches.

2. Encounters with the Roman Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church

The Roman Catholic Church's mission to China started with the Franciscans in the late thirteenth-century. Setting apart from John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruk, who went to the Mongol court in Karakorum as Papal envoys, John of Montecorvino was the first missionary who reached the Yüan China. Pope Nicholas IV sent him to the capital Khan Baliq [Beijing now] in 1289 with a letter to the Emperor Khublai Khan and John of Montecorvino stayed there for more than 15 years in establishing a church and baptizing six thousand people. He was appointed Archbishop of Khan Baliq by Pope Clement V in

1307. More Franciscan missionaries including Peregrinus of Castello followed him in the Yüan China working mostly in the first half of the fourteenth century. Zaitun, a port city in the south, was one of the important cities for the Franciscans along with Khan Baliq.⁶⁰

The Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci arrived in 1582 in Macao and soon started his missionary work in Kwangtung with his fellows. He finally reached Peking in 1598 and helped convert many intellectuals including Hsü Kuang-ch'i and Li Chih-tsao in the first decade of the seventeenth century. He also wrote an introduction to Christian faith titled, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*.⁶¹ The Jesuits' mission became the foundation of the modern Catholic missions to China, and many other orders and missionary societies including the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris (MEP) followed in the subsequent centuries.

Encounter with the Roman Catholic Church

The missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) in Manchuria in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was mainly carried out by the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris (MEP). The Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (CFMSA) was added only in 1926 with a mission set up at Fushun near Moukden.⁶² The Catholics' work in Manchuria was started as early as in the seventeenth century. However, "it was only in 1838 that Manchuria was erected into an Apostolic Vicariate, including Mongolia, which, however, was separated from it in 1840" and "Mgr. Verolles, of the Société des

⁶⁰ Ian Gillman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, *Christians in Asia before 1500* (University of Michigan Press, 1999), 298-305. For the letters of John of Monte Corvino, Brother Peregrine, and Andrew of Perugia. Christopher Dawson, ed. *Mission to Asia* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 1980) 221-237.

⁶¹ Matteo Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, ed. Douglas Lancashire, and Peter Hu Kuo-chen, (St. Louis, Mo.: Institute of Jesuit Sources; Taipei, Taiwan: Ricci Institute, 1985), 5-10.

⁶² Jean-Paul Wiest, *Maryknoll In China: A History, 1918-1955* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1988), xxiii.

Missions Etrangères [The Society of Foreign Missions of Paris], was the first Vicar-Apostolic.” In 1878 when he died, “the staff consisted of 19 missionaries, 3 native priests, and 6 catechists.”⁶³ According to later reports, the number of the Catholics in Manchuria in 1889 was about 13,000 but soared to over 42,000 in 1909,⁶⁴ multiplying after the two national events of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the Boxer Uprising of 1900. By 1920, the number grew up to 57,560 while the entire Chinese Catholics was 1,971,189.⁶⁵ While the work of the MEP was dominant up to the 1920s with two central mission stations in Moukden and Kirin,⁶⁶ the CFMSA, also known as the Maryknollers, was added to the work in the late 1920s.⁶⁷ Both the ordination of “the first Chinese Catholic Bishops of modern times,” although none from Manchuria was in the group of the new Bishops, in “St. Peter’s Church in Rome on October 28th, 1926” and the Pope Pius XI’s reaffirmation of the policy of indigenous leadership with the Encyclical “*Rerum Ecclesiae*”⁶⁸ on February 1926 were great encouragements to the missionaries and Catholic Christians in Manchuria.

The Presbyterian Churches’ View of the Roman Catholic Church

In the course of the nineteenth century, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics in the West were still in the antagonistic relationship to each other as symbolized in the Philadelphia

⁶³ MRUPC (Oct. 2, 1893): 298-99. The source for this part came from *Le Journal des Missions Evangéliques* and the Report of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris (MEP/ Société des Missions Etrangères) for 1892.

⁶⁴ Joseph de la Serviere, S. J., “The Work of the Catholic Church in China,” CR (October 1913): 618.

⁶⁵ Milton Stauffer, ed., *The Christian Occupation of China* (Shanghai: China Continuation Committee, 1922), 461. Being one of the biggest in its kind in China, the SFMP was in charge of 12 other Vicariates in China in addition to Manchuria. See the page 458 of the same source.

⁶⁶ Milton Stauffer, *Ibid.*, 459.

⁶⁷ The Catholic Missionary Society of America, the oldest Catholic missionary body, reached Kwangdong, China in 1918.

⁶⁸ Paschal D’Elia, S. J., “Catholic Native Episcopacy in China,” CR (May-June, 1927): 347, 357.

Nativist Riots of 1844. The Riots were raised by the Presbyterians who were afraid of a rapid influx of Catholic immigrants to the U.S. from Ireland and other European countries. After this incident, “anti-Catholic feeling grew strong across the U. S.”⁶⁹ In the China mission field, Presbyterians and other Protestant missionaries ignored all the previous efforts of the Roman Catholic Church. To them “it was as if the Catholics had never come to China.”⁷⁰ Most of the Presbyterian missionaries sent to Manchuria in the late nineteenth century were basically the descendents of the early modern Presbyterian and Reformed Christians, who were in rivalry or even hostile relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. For example, in their complicated historical and religious context intertwined with the Irish Catholics, the Irish Presbyterians started their home and foreign missions in a rivalry against the Irish Catholicism. One of the most significant reasons of the Irish Presbyterian and evangelical activities at home came from the fear of and competition with the Roman Catholics. J. Ernest Davey shows that the early eighteenth-century Presbyterian home mission started with the hope to convert ‘Irish Papists’ to the Protestantism particularly to the Presbyterianism as follows:

Thus there is a reference in the Acts of the Synod of Ulster to a scheme of 1705 to preach the gospel to Irish Papists, and in 1710 the Synod of Ulster sent out a number of ministers and licentiates, qualified to speak in Irish, to evangelise their Roman Catholic countrymen and to distribute the Scripture in Irish.... In 1716 we read of fourteen agents of the Mission, mostly ministers. Such was the beginning of the Irish Mission which has continued to the present day.”⁷¹

Not surprisingly, the cause of the Irish Presbyterian foreign mission was also furthered by their competition against the Roman Catholics in Europe and their expansion into the rest

⁶⁹ James H. Smylie, *American Presbyterians: A Pictorial History* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1985), 81-87.

⁷⁰ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), 361.

⁷¹ J. Ernest Davey, *The Story of A Hundred Years*. (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1940), 24-25.

of the world. The Minute of the General Assembly of the PCI in 1869 when the PCI started Manchuria mission shows that the work for the proselytizing of Catholics into Protestantism deserved the running of a separate Board named 'the Mission to Roman Catholics,' in addition to the other five Mission Boards.⁷² Of the remaining five, 'The Church Extension Scheme' to the Irish and 'The Continental Mission' whose main base was in Spain was *de facto* the works to Catholics, as well.

It seems that while the Irish and Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria disliked to be taken for the Roman Catholic missionaries by the indigenous people, they were very jealous of the size of the personnel and funding of the RCC for the work in Manchuria. In his early days of work, J. M. Hunter, one of the first two missionaries and the first medical missionary of the Irish mission, "was bitterly disappointed" at many places of Manchuria when he and his fellow missionary "found it impossible to sell even a tract, and for no other reason than" that they were "taken for Romanists."⁷³ One of his fellow missionaries, James Carson also had the same feeling at Liaoyang and other places. "As often as it is," he and his fellows tried to "remove the misapprehension by disclaiming any connection whatever."⁷⁴ According to Carson, the Roman Catholic missionaries in Manchuria had become the "objects of intense suspicion and dislike" "on account of their nationality (French), their arrogant pretensions in matters pertaining to civil rights, and the mysterious ritual of their divine service."⁷⁵ The Tientsin Massacre (1870), some other routine conflicts between Chinese and French Catholic missionaries,

⁷² The six Mission Boards of the PCI were Church Extension Scheme, Mission to Roman Catholics, Foreign Mission, Jewish Mission, Colonial Mission, and Continental Mission. See *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, June 1869*. p.1322

⁷³ MHPCI (Feb.1876): 28.

⁷⁴ MHPCI (June 1875): 606; (November 1875): 762; (Feb. 1881): 388.

⁷⁵ MHPCI (June 1875): 606

and the Sino-French War of 1884 might have been alive in the Manchuria people's collective memories at least before the end of the century.⁷⁶ Probably, the Presbyterian missionaries selected those accounts of conflicts between the French missionaries and the indigenous people in Manchuria and added their perspective to them, too. The greater numbers of the Roman Catholic personnel, construction of impressive chapels and other buildings with liberal funding from Rome, and the longer history of the missionary work in Manchuria often made the Irish and Scottish missionaries jealous of the mission of the Roman Catholic Church.⁷⁷ Hunter once said, "Here we have had one priest and six sisters of mercy landed from France to open an hospital. At Ichow I found two French priests, and they may be said to swarm over the country. What are *we* doing?"⁷⁸ He also said, "A temple for the worship of Mary is being put up near where I am sitting, and Rome has her missionaries going among the people. There is no lack of men or means in that quarter."⁷⁹ In 1876, James Carson was surprised by the news of the Catholics' long presence at Newchwang "for the last two hundred years" "in possession of property."⁸⁰

The Presbyterian missionaries, beyond jealousy, criticized of the missionary work of the RCC in Manchuria in the following three categories. As emphatically shown in the early missionaries of the 1870s, their first criticisms were related to the difference in doctrines between the two. Hunter has sold a book to "a Roman Catholic junkman" and noticed that the person "knew only of a religion which begins and ends with Mary and

⁷⁶ See Paul Cohen, "Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900," in *The Cambridge History of China vol. 10: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911, Part I*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 169-71.

⁷⁷ As mentioned above, the missionaries of the RCC in 1878 amounted to nineteen with additional three native priests. However, the number of the entire Protestant missionaries from the PCI and the UPC in the year was only four.

⁷⁸ MHPCI (Feb. 1876): 29. See also, MHPCI (Nov. 1875): 763.

⁷⁹ MHPCI (Oct., 1873): 218.

⁸⁰ MHPCI (Feb. 1876): 29.

the Pope.” Hunter, a Presbyterian layman, particularly, was not comfortable with the idea that “the Pope had power to forgive sins.”⁸¹ The second criticism came from the circumstances that, as the Presbyterian missionaries saw, some negative influences of the Catholic missionaries in Manchuria, including ‘pretensions,’ prevented the Protestant missionaries from having access to the indigenous people for Christian work. In 1875, Dr. Hunter criticized of the Catholics as follows:

The door is already closed in several places, through the fear or hatred developed among the people by the pretensions of arrogant priests. The impression produced by the experience of my last journey was that in ten years Popery will have the door effectually shut against us.⁸²

Another point in the criticism by the Presbyterian missionaries was whether the culture of the Catholic Church and the teaching of the missionaries might benefit people, particularly the Chinese in daily life. For example, F. W. S. O’Neill wanted to claim that, as “the citadel of the Kingdom was the *home*” that the Spirit of God worked, “a Catholic missionary” was not proper “to bring about the change-the Christian home life,” to which “he was a stranger.” To O’Neill, the Protestant missionaries were “winning the citadel in China, where the home was everything.”⁸³

The Irish and Scottish missionaries utilized many ways, including “establishing a mission station,” “residing among the native people,” “cultivating their acquaintance,” and “openly preaching the Gospel,”⁸⁴ to have the indigenous people perceive the difference of Protestants and Roman Catholics,⁸⁵ for the purpose of distinguishing

⁸¹ MHPCI (Oct., 1874): 472.

⁸² MHPCI (June 1875): 608.

⁸³ F. W. S. O’Neill, *The Call of the East: sketches from the history of the Irish mission to Manchuria* (London: J. Clarke, 1919), 56-57.

⁸⁴ MHPCI (Feb, 1875): 536.

⁸⁵ MHPCI (Feb. 1876): 29.

Protestant faith from Catholicism. In the mid 1870s when the mind of indigenous people was still closed to Christian faith and the force of Catholic mission was even stronger than that of the Protestant missions in many aspects, one of the best ways that the Irish and Scottish missionaries adopted to penetrate the double 'obstacle' was to make Protestantism 'a religion of the Bible' by the selling and spreading of the Bible on the indigenous people's mind, which could be contrasted to the ritual-based Catholic faith. As the descendents of the Reformers, they had a conviction that the Bible was "the sum and substance of their creed."⁸⁶ Accordingly, they believed that their own tours of preaching and Bible selling and the employment of the indigenous colporteurs were among the most valuable strategies, particularly in the early periods of their work. James Carson and J. M. Hunter were agreed on this policy as follows:

The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants; and what the circulation of the Word of God and the preaching of the Gospel may lead to, through the blessing of God, is all that we desire to attain to. Mr. Carson and I are of one mind in regard to the diffusion of the truth.⁸⁷

Not a few indigenous people responded to the sale of the Bible and other Christian literature, and "some Roman Catholics were among the number of purchasers."⁸⁸

Encounter with the Russian Orthodox Church

The history of the Russian Orthodox Church in China originated in the Russian expansion to the northernmost area of Manchuria in the 1650s. In its eastward movement with frontiersmen and troops, Russia fortified Albazin, a town located on the bank of the

⁸⁶ MHPCI (Nov. 1875): 762.

⁸⁷ MHPCI (June 1875): 608.

⁸⁸ MHPCI (Nov. 1875): 762

Amur River in Heilungkiang province of Manchuria in 1651.⁸⁹ The Russians' exploring activity was soon contested by the Manchus, who the Russian called as the "*bogdoiskii* people." In 1665, a Russian Orthodox missionary started his work in the town and built a church named the Christ's Resurrection Church. The Savior the Son of Man Monastery was also built in six years.⁹⁰ In 1683, an expedition of the frontiersman Grigori Mylnikov along "with seventy men and parish priest from Albazin, Maksim Leont'ev," into the forest along the Amur River brought an unexpected result to the party. They were captured by a group of the Manchus and brought to the capital Peking. They found themselves to get exiled when the Emperor K'ang-hsi ordered them to stay in a designated area of the city.⁹¹ As Father Maksim Leont'ev made a chapel in the area and started his work to take care of the Russian flock, the so-called 'Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking' was started.⁹² The Russians' Christian work in China especially developed in the second half of the nineteenth century in allowing religious service in Chinese language and expanding the work to "Hankow, Tianjin, Kalgan, and Urga."⁹³ In the early twentieth century, the Russian mission had 17 churches, 40 chapels, 1 seminary, 20 religious schools, press, and some other institutions in the areas including major cities like Tientsin, Harbin, and Shanghai and expanded its work to the Inner Mongolia and the Sinkiang province.⁹⁴ According to the report of the Bishop Archimandrite Innocent,

⁸⁹ Dina V. Doubrovskaja, "The Russian Orthodox Church in China," in *China and Christianity*, ed. Stephen Uhalley and Xiaoxin Wu (Armonk and London: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), 165.

⁹⁰ Feng Le, *Dongzhengjia shi* [The History of Orthodoxy and the Ideology]. rev. (Beijing: Zhongguo shehuikexue chubanshe, 1996), 299.

⁹¹ Eric Widmer, *The Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking During the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1976), 1-3.

⁹² In order to know more about the subsequent religious and diplomatic mission by the Russians in Peking, refer to Archimandrite Innocent, "The Russian Orthodox Mission in China," CR (October 1916): 678-85; Dina V. Doubrovskaja, *Ibid.*, 163-76; Eric Widmer, *Ibid.*

⁹³ Dina V. Doubrovskaja, *Ibid.*, 170.

⁹⁴ Feng Le, *Ibid.*, 308-09.

“during 1915, 583 Chinese were baptized. The total number of baptized Chinese is 5,587.”⁹⁵

In Manchuria, Russian Orthodox Christianity most developed at Harbin and the adjacent area of the Chinese Eastern Railway while a few other cities also saw the rise of Russian Orthodox Christianity. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of Russians came into Harbin because of its location close to Russia, the opportunity to work for “the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway”⁹⁶ since 1897, and the political turmoil after the Revolution in 1917.⁹⁷ The first Russian Orthodox Church in Harbin was built in 1898 and the second followed the next year. 7 churches were built between 1900 and 1908, 9 between 1918 and 1924, and 4 between 1925 and 1930. There existed 14 Orthodox churches along the Chinese Eastern Railway, which traversed northern Manchuria from west toward the far eastern city Vladivostok. In addition, Russians managed 2 churches and 1 monastery in Dairen and Port Arthur [Lüshun] located at the tip of the Liaotung peninsula, which Russians took over since 1897. The rapid development of the Russian Orthodox Church in Manchuria ceased after the 1917 October Revolution in Russia when the new Russian government decided not to support the Church financially. Temporarily, all stations outside Harbin and Machouli, as well as Shanghai, Peking, and Tientsin, were “closed, owing in large part to continued non-support from the Russian home-base.”⁹⁸ According to a source, the number of the Christians in Manchuria amounted to about 300,000 in 1922.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Archimandrite Innocent, “The Russian Orthodox Mission in China,” CR (October 1916): 684.

⁹⁶ “An Outline of the Russian Orthodoxy in Manchuria,” *Contemporary Manchuria* (CM) vol. II no.6 (November 1938): 85.

⁹⁷ Dina V. Doubrovskaja, *Ibid.*, 173.

⁹⁸ Milton T. Stauffer, *Ibid.*, 464.

⁹⁹ Feng Le, *Ibid.*, 316. A Japanese source, as of 1938, shows that there were 25,000 followers of the Russian Orthodox Church in Manchuria of which about 10,000 resided in the city of Harbin. Refer to the

The Irish missionary Dr. J. M. Hunter was on the bank of the Amur River, in the summer of 1876, seeing, on the other side, a Russian town “with its two churches, its barracks, its telegraph poles, and a merry-go-round.” It was at the end of his three-month evangelism tour from the southernmost port city Newchwang up to the northern border of Manchuria adjoining the Russian territory. In his report to the Board, Hunter, most of all, wanted to show his excitement about reaching “the confines of heathendom” as follows:

We had indeed reached the border of China, and consequently were at the uttermost part of the heathen world in this direction. ...I think that the Irish Presbyterian Church has been honoured to carry on end of the Gospel chain round the world to meet the other end in the hands of the Greek Church, and in the uttermost parts of earth, link the two ends together? So it has been. ... The Gospel has been carried to the very border of China! Your Church has fulfilled, or rather in our Church has been fulfilled the words in Acts: - Ye shall be witnesses to Me unto the uttermost parts of the earth [i.8]. ... The chain of Gospel truth carried by us from the west and south, met the Gospel chain, carried by Russians from the north, and the connecting link was found.¹⁰⁰

His excitement also came from his encountering a Chinese influenced by the Russian Orthodox Church in that borderland. Hunter lodged in his house and was able to have an extensive conversation with him. The person already had a good amount of knowledge about Christianity from the catechisms, which were given from “the Russians.” Hunter wrote about his encounter with him and, thus, with the Orthodox Church’s mission in Manchuria as follows:

The Chinaman with whom we lodged knew the story of the Israelite in Egypt as well as I did, and among the books in Chinese which he showed us were two catechisms of Scripture history, one in the language of scholars, and the other in the every day language of the people, and as far as I could see they were pure unalloyed Gospel

essay “An Outline of the Russian Orthodoxy in Manchuria,” *Contemporary Manchuria* (CM) vol. II no.6 (November 1938): 86.

¹⁰⁰ MHPCI (Oct.1876): 275; MHPCI (Dec. 1876): 311.

truth. ... Our friend had received his catechisms from the Russians and knew the contents; we have placed the New Testament in his hands.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, Hunter, interestingly, recorded his favorable opinion to the catechisms from the Russian Orthodox Church as follows:

When looking over the catechisms I was rejoiced to see that nothing could be plainer than the language in which it was stated that men are sinners before God, and that God for Christ's sake will forgive and save. No doubt there are mummeries in the mode, but the worship itself in the Greek Church is that of the true God, the living God, and the everlasting King. How cheering to think, yea, to know, that unprecedented efforts in the world's history are being made to spread the Gospel. ... No minister, no evangelist ever set forth the way of salvation more clearly than did the Greek priest who composed that catechism. ... It was gratifying to see that here the Commandments were given not only in full, but that an explanation was given of the whole ten like that which we have in our own Shorter Catechism. I was glad of this, because the Chinese spoke of the pictures in the Russian church.¹⁰²

Dr. Hunter's extensive and repeated reports reveal very important points in his perception of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Russian Church's mission to the Chinese in the Manchurian borderlands, and even the opinion of the Board toward the Church. First, it is obvious that he greatly praised the contents of the catechisms from the Russian Orthodox Church. For him, the books were containing the most succinct form of the Christian faith statements. Second, judging from the fact that the books were in Chinese, it seems that the Russian Church and Christians were systematically working for the Chinese in the borderlands about two decades before the establishment of the first Russian Orthodox Church in Harbin. Third, Hunter had a favorable attitude toward the doctrine of the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches, beyond praising the contents of the catechisms. He said that "the worship itself in the Greek Church is that of the true

¹⁰¹ MHPCI (Oct. 1876): 275.

¹⁰² MHPCI (Oct. 1876): 275; MHPCI (Dec. 1876): 311.

God, the living God, and the everlasting King.” His idea of the Orthodox Churches was very different from his strong rejection of the faith according to the Roman Catholic Church. Probably, one of the big reasons for the different view came from his understanding of the Pope.¹⁰³ Fourth, by the phrase “the c truth” which was met in the Chinese and Russian border, he showed that the Russian Church was able to be a partner of the Protestant Churches in Christian missions. Fifth, he gave a copy of the New Testament to the Chinese. It was a kind of ritual to the Protestant missionary. Interestingly, the *Missionary Report of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* by the Board published his reports including the favorable opinions.¹⁰⁴ The positive view of the Russian Orthodox Church by Dr. Hunter and the Irish Board of Missions need to be compared with the encounter in some other contexts between Presbyterians and the Russian Orthodox Church. For example, Presbyterians and the Orthodox Church had a very antagonistic relation in Alaska in the late nineteenth century. The Presbyterian missionary Sheldon Jackson also worked as a colonial administrator and participated in the systematic deconstruction of the Orthodox Church in Alaska.

3. Encountering Other Religions of Manchuria

Religions in Manchuria

¹⁰³ According to Don Herbert Yoder, American Protestants perceived that the Orthodox Christians were more 'Americanized' and democratized. "Relations of the Eastern Churches in the United States with Protestantism have been consistently better than those of Rome." See Don Herbert Yoder, "Christian Unity in Nineteenth-Century America," *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, ed. Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (London: S. P. C. K. 1967), 226.

¹⁰⁴ In addition to the previous issues, refer to MHPCI (July & Aug. 1877): 461.

I need to note that this section mostly deals with the Irish and Scottish missionaries and their encounters with other religions because the missionaries of the PCUSA and the PCK in Manchuria were mostly relating themselves to the Korean and Japanese immigrants and, seemingly, lacked significant encounters with other religions of Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese.

Like in the other parts of China, the life in Southern Manchuria has been, from the ancient times, very religious at both popular and institutional levels.¹⁰⁵ As religion may be defined as “the system of beliefs, ritualistic practices, and organizational relationships designed to deal with ultimate matters of human life,”¹⁰⁶ the representative traditional religions in Southern Manchuria up to 1930 were Shamanism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Folk religion, and Islam. It is widely acknowledged that Manchuria is one of the areas where Shamanism has been strongest in the world. Shamanism was not only the religion of the Manchus, who founded the Chin state and Chinese Ch’ing dynasty, but also that of many other ethnic groups in Manchuria including Mongols, Koreans, and Xibo. Shamanism in Southern Manchuria, although not having any temple or organizational system, showed its tenacity and popularity with some distinctive features and skills, such as the ‘Sorcerer’s Dance,’ ‘getting involved in the issues in the prosperity of the ethnic group,’ ‘healing of the sick,’ ‘productivity,’ ‘passage rituals,’ and ‘prediction of the future.’¹⁰⁷ As to the religions coming from the Han Chinese culture,

¹⁰⁵ I follow C. K. Yang’s interpretation of the location of religion in China in affirming of “the strong and pervasive influence of religion in Chinese society.” He tried to reject the extreme negation of the importance of religion in Chinese society especially done by the Modern Chinese scholars including Liang Ch’i-cha’o and Hu Shih. See C. K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1961), 1-27. Wang Zhixin introduced both theories in his book. See, Chisim Wang, *Chungguk jonggyo sasangsa*, trans. Myŏng-Yong Chŏn, (Seoul: Ironkwa Silchŏn, 1988), 15-17.

¹⁰⁶ C. K. Yang, *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Zhongjian Mou & Jian Zhang, *Zhongguo zongjiao tongshi* (xia), [The History of Religion in China. vol. 2] rev. ed. (Beijing: Shehui kexuewenxian chubanshe, 2003), 1167-74.

while Confucianism was popular among the intellectuals and the higher officials, Daoism and Buddhism were more practiced by the lower classes including peasants. Daoist and Buddhist temples were built at many central and small cities including Moukden, Liaoyang, and Haicheng, and the Lama Buddhist towers were among the religious symbols of Southern Manchuria. Daoism and Buddhism were frequently amalgamated with Shamanism and some other folk religions in many areas making the religious landscape very multi-religious. According to the Scottish missionary J. Miller Graham's observation, the people of Southern Manchuria were experiencing a syncretism with Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. "It is not uncommon, however, to find people whose religious experience is coloured by all three. Confucianism has no priesthood, so that priests are either Buddhist or Taoist, easily distinguishable from the laity by their low-necked dress, or shaven head. The religious indifference of the people is frequently illustrated by their readiness to call in either to say prayers or conduct funeral ceremonies."¹⁰⁸ Islam, one of the strong religions in all of China, was present in Southern Manchuria as well. It came to Manchuria from Hebei and Shandong Provinces in the late Ming and early Ch'ing dynasties.¹⁰⁹ According to Miller, there were about one thousand "Mahommedan families" in a small city of Haicheng, located near Newchwang, with a mosque and a school for youth at the turn of the twentieth century.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ J. Miller Graham, *East of the Barrier: side lights on the Manchuria mission* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1902), 21.

¹⁰⁹ Shenyangshi renmin zhengfu difangzhi bianzuan [Shenyang City Records Compilation Office], ed., *Shenyang shi zhi* vol. 16: Shequ, renmin shenghuo, minzheng, xiaoshuminzu, zongjiao, fengsu, fangyan [Records of the City of Shenyang] (Shenyang: Shenyang chubanshe, 1994): 325. According to the table "1948-1992 nian zongjiao qingkuang," [Condition of Religion 1992] of the City of Shenyang in the page 305 of the same source, Islam was the dominant religion group showing 40,000 adherents out of the total number 53,000 while that of the year 1992 be 60,000 out of 110,000. This statistics missed Shamanism and various folk religions only including Islam, Daoism, Buddhism, Catholicism, and Protestantism.

¹¹⁰ J. Miller Graham, *Ibid.*, 15.

The first Presbyterian missionaries' ideas about the relationship between the realities of Christianity and other religions especially in the early periods, connected to the attitude of their home Churches, came from the conventional dichotomy of 'Christianity' and 'pagan religions' and the 'Triumphalist Motive,' by which Christians ought to conquer the pagan religions in the religious battle field. Apparently, the attitude of the four sending Churches toward the religions other than Christianity may be represented with the words 'superstition,' 'idolatry,' and 'heathens.' One of the greatest duties of the late nineteenth-century Scottish Presbyterians was, as the fourth statement of Declaratory Act of the United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland adopted in May 1879 showed, the sending of "the gospel to the heathen," who were "sunk in ignorance, sin, and misery."¹¹¹ The 1873 General Assembly of the PCI depicted Chinese religions as "the dark-degrading beliefs, and superstitious practices of Chinese idolatry."¹¹² An Irish Presbyterian's description of 'pagans' as "souls in bondage," "the perishing" "millions upon millions immortal souls" "rushing blindfold on the road to everlasting perdition," and "sinful mortals,"¹¹³ probably could not fail to represent the late nineteenth century average Irish and British Presbyterians' understanding of the people outside Christianity. Having arrived at Newchwang in 1869, one of the first two Irish missionaries Hugh Waddell, in bringing the metaphor of the Israelites' conquest of Canaan, enunciated the conventional perceptions for foreign missions, the 'possession' of the mission field and the 'civilizing' of the indigenous people, in his first letters to the Church as follows:

¹¹¹ John R. Fleming, *The Church in Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), 307. For more information on the theological and church polity position of the UPC and the UFCS on other religions and foreign missions, refer to the various declaratory acts and faith confessions from 1879 to 1926 which are collected in Fleming's book, *The Church in Scotland, 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1927), 306-16.

¹¹² MHPCI (September 1873): 200.

¹¹³ MHPCI (December 1874): 500.

We may have grace and wisdom from on high to take possession of the field for Christ and cultivate it all for Him. ... so many Pisgah-tops, from each of which you may get such a view of the heavenly Canaan as shall far more than compensate you for the trouble you have had to arrive there.¹¹⁴

John Omelvena, who arrived in Southern Manchuria in 1895, a few years later, revealed the 'Triumphalist Motive' very well in depicting his mission field as the battle field and the Chinese culture as ancient archenemy respectively.

The Gospel, we are thankful to own, and the ancient archenemy are marshalling all their hitherto unconquered forces to stamp out the truth, and *the battle is just beginning*. Victory, we know, is finally on our side, but the scars of the fight are not all on the vanquished.¹¹⁵

In the same year, the other Irish missionaries joined Omelvena in a letter to the divinity students of the PCI titled 'Appeal from China to Our Irish Students.'

"We know from experience that such times when 'the kingdom of God suffereth violence' are not of indefinite duration, and therefore the present crisis should be to all a distinct call from God to advance to the conquest of Manchuria for Christ while we have the opportunity."¹¹⁶

Encounters with Shamanism and Other Folk Religions

One of the first novel experiences of the Irish and Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in their evangelism tours was the encounter with Shamanism and other folk religions and, not surprisingly, the evangelical Presbyterians labeled it as "superstition." In 1875, James Carson had a chance to watch an annual religious festival at a town about sixteen miles from Newchwang, which "thousands upon thousands" were present and extended over

¹¹⁴ MHPCI (Sept 1869): 414; MHPCI (Feb 1870): 22. Another Irish missionary James Carson, with many other contemporary missionaries, joined Hugh Waddell's perception of 'Possession,' writing that "God's time to favour China has arrived. The Presbyterian Church of Ireland may now possess this land." MHPCI (Feb. 1876): 31.

¹¹⁵ MHPCI (Jan. 1899): 5.

¹¹⁶ MHPCI (Jan. 1899): 8.

five days. "In the three beautiful terraced temples crowning the summit of the hill," were "numerous prayers inscribed to the goddess." "Many of these petitions" were "admirable and very suggestive, but addressed to the Unknown God."¹¹⁷ The prayers were mostly about necessary human needs, such as having children, health, and prosperity.

The PCUSA missionaries working in Manchuria did not fail to watch a variety of religious deities, shrines, artifacts, and customs inculturated in many people's life in Manchuria and also labeled them as "superstition" and "heathenism." For example, T. S. Soltau observed those religious scenes on the route between the Kangkei station of Korea and 'West Kando' of Manchuria in 1917 and wrote of it as follows:

But on the other hand, the little shrines containing ancestral tablets and incense burners in front of every house, showed that superstition and heathenism were in full force, and the coffins containing the dead lying on top of the ground under the trees, made one realize that the old civilization of China was lacking in the fundamentals of sanitation.¹¹⁸

Next year, he, while visiting a church in West Kando, thought that the church "was having a hard fight against superstition and indifference in the lonely valleys."¹¹⁹

Many of the Manchuria missionaries saw the Chinese Shamanism and folk religions as not even 'religion' but degraded 'superstition,' while treating Christianity as an 'enlightened' religion. For example, Hunter looked down upon *feng shui*, a Chinese geomancy, saying "How different the enlightened hope of the Christian!"¹²⁰ Folk religions in Manchuria frequently related to the worshipping of the sun, the moon, pigs, and even the dead body "taken out of the graves and re-coffined"¹²¹ was regarded only as 'superstition' and 'paganism' to him and many other missionaries. It seems that the early

¹¹⁷ MHPCI (Oct. 1875): 748.

¹¹⁸ T. S. Soltau, "Between Two Empires-God's Chance," KMF vol. XIII. no.3 (March 1917): 69.

¹¹⁹ KMF vol. XIV no. 8 (August 1918): 165.

¹²⁰ MHPCI (April 1879): 1053.

¹²¹ MHPCI (Nov 1872): 739; (June, 1873): 90.

missionaries did not have any space to appreciate the ‘social’ and ‘religious’ roles of the folk religions in the community. However, many indigenous converts and those who were interested in Christian faith had a different position from the missionary understanding of Shamanism and folk religion and often found themselves caught in between the two worlds of Western Christianity and their traditional religions already embedded in their family, communal, and even business life in Manchuria. For example, to the suggestion of James Carson to prepare “to take down the shrine to the God of Wealth, and remove the ancestral Tablet,” the indigenous man Wang Yin-san, who had been interested in Christianity, hesitated to carry on the suggestion because, “as to ancestral worship, he could not control the wishes and practice of his family and friends; and as for the other, if he took it down his customers would leave him to a man and his business be ruined.”¹²² Around the same time, “a wealthy and intelligent inn-keeper” who had “repeatedly asked for baptism,” yet refused “to submit to this simple test of his faith.”

Encounters with Buddhism and Daoism

The Irish and Scottish Presbyterian missionaries had chances to meet Buddhists and Daoists at their chapel meetings, to have fellowships with the priests, and to have some converts having Buddhist and Daoist backgrounds. As mentioned above, Mahayana Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism, the latter mostly in Mongolian villages, were popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Southern Manchuria. A Buddhist temple at Takushan in the southern coastal area was “the most perfect place of worship” a

¹²² MHPCI (Oct. 1884): 294.

missionary “ever saw.”¹²³ It was not unusual for the foreign missionaries to encounter the Buddhist and Daoist believers at their chapel meetings. James Carson reported that a Buddhist opposed to his sermon about sinful nature of human beings, saying that “the Sage says that at birth we are holy and perfect.”¹²⁴ Some missionaries had chances to have conversation with Buddhist priests in their temples about various religious issues including the way of salvation.¹²⁵ Medical missionaries including J. M. Hunter provided Buddhist priests with medical services and the Bible.¹²⁶ The missionaries were often visited by Buddhist priests for a conversation, although, according to them, their conversation was usually ended up with disagreement. Three Buddhist priests once came up to a missionary and objected to what he said earlier “as to the error of supposing” that “supposed good works could compensate for the wrong doings of a life.” One of the priests “stoutly asserted that a life of retirement and devotion could atone for the sins of the past.”¹²⁷ An old Buddhist priest visited the missionary and showed his religious view against the uniqueness of Christian religion that “Well, we are both on our way to heaven, we shall see each other there.” The missionary “gave him a Gospel, for which he was very thankful.”¹²⁸

Some missionaries had some positive attitude on Buddhism and Daoism after a certain amount of experiences in Manchuria. Although not a thorough analysis of the missionaries’ views of other religions but just a sampling of typical views, the following

¹²³ MHPCI (March 1877): 372.

¹²⁴ MHPCI (Feb. 1876): 30.

¹²⁵ MHPCI (Feb 1872): 529-30.

¹²⁶ MHPCI (Feb 1872): 528-29.

¹²⁷ MHPCI (Nov. 1877): 619.

¹²⁸ MHPCI (June 1877): 439.

cases may show some positive view of the missionaries on other religions. It is noticeable that the Scottish missionary John Ross showed more comprehensive and somewhat different understanding of Buddhism in his book, *The Chinese Peoples and Their Religions*, written at the beginning of twentieth century. He tried to explain Buddhism's 'atheistic' nature and its aim of perfection and annihilation through accumulation of merit and to relate the divinization of Buddhist teachers to the worshipping of Christian saints in Catholicism as follows:

All life, known or conceivable, is imperfect, and therefore evil. Perfection is inconsistent with sentient being; therefore the highest aim of the Buddhist is the cessation of life. ... Real Buddhism is blankly and frankly atheistic. In no part of it is there any hint which can, by any torture of exposition, be supposed to imply the existence of God. True it now has gods many: but they are its prominent teachers deified after their death, they correspond exactly to the canonized saints of the Church of Rome. ... In China the Buddhist hopes and toils and prays to heap up such an accumulation of merit, as will enable him to gain that perfection which will entitle him to annihilation.¹²⁹

Ross also had a positive view of Daoism. He, although criticizing of the degradation of Daoism coupled with various 'superstitions,' admitted the affinities between the moral characters of Daoism and Christianity, saying that "Taoism [Daoism] approached Christian teaching more nearly than even Confucianism. Confucianism did not recognize the duty of that kind of forbearance which can forgive injuries. Taoism [Daoism] did."¹³⁰

In a book written in 1919, the Irish missionary F. W. S. O'Neill highly appreciated Buddhist spirituality in that it was about humans' inward experiences, although he did not recognize it as a 'true religion.' He admitted that "among the multitudes that turned to Christ in those days, many of the sincere came from the Buddhist sects. Religion for them was not mere formal ritual observance or national

¹²⁹ John Ross, *The Chinese People and their Religions* (Glasgow: Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1900-1901), 13.

¹³⁰ John Ross, *Ibid.*, 11.

custom. It was a thing of heart.”¹³¹ The Buddhist practices of “hungering and thirsting after righteousness” might be a good way leading to “the Way of Peace,” which meant Christianity.¹³² To get to the Christian faith, the indigenous people’s attitude was the most important thing, rather than the help from foreign missionaries. “Still, after all, the ingathering, under God, was due to the Chinese themselves.”¹³³ It seems that, to him, Buddhism was, like Evangelicalism in the West, a religion of heart and experiences, and was also similar to the law and philosophy leading to Gospel. This characteristic of Buddhism, he thought, resembled that of some early Church thinkers like Justin Martyr, who regarded law and philosophy as important steps toward the truth of Christianity.

Similarly, the Scottish missionary J. Miller Graham was going to see a contribution of Daoist spirituality to Christianity, saying that Daoism “has given the Christian Church some of its choicest and most spiritual converts.”¹³⁴ A few examples may support Graham’s positive view of the connection between Daoist and Christian spiritualities. In 1881, a Daoist priest was converted to Christianity, believing “in Christ as the Son of God.” He was “desirous of receiving baptism in order that he may help to propagate the doctrine.”¹³⁵ Liu Wen-rui of Kuyushu, who became a pastor in 1916 and served as the Moderator of the Synod of Manchuria later, had belonged to a Daoist group called ‘The Golden Pill Sect’ that it was known for immortality.¹³⁶ The Irish missionary

¹³¹ F. W. S. O’Neill, *The Call of the East* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1919), 36-37.

¹³² O’Neill wrote of the journey of his believers having Buddhist background as follows: “‘But until Mrs. Li told me about the God of the Christians, I never found real peace. I fasted and repeated the prayers, and burned incense, and sat for hours cross-legged and motionless in meditation. It was like the Israelites wandering in the wilderness. Now I have reached the Promised Land, for I know the true God.’ ... She, and others like her, had been hungering and thirsting after righteousness, with no one to show them the Way. Now in the hated Faith of Jesus, they had found the Way of Peace.”

¹³³ F. W. S. O’Neill, *Ibid.*, 37.

¹³⁴ J. Miller Graham, *Ibid.*, 21.

¹³⁵ MHPIC (Feb. 1881): 389.

¹³⁶ F. W. S. O’Neill, *Ibid.*, 86-87.

W. Miskelly positively commented on him that “my intimate friend whose counsel I sought in every difficulty and with whom I always felt I could talk heart to heart. Few Christians in Manchuria have a record of service so honourable and unblemished.”¹³⁷

Encounters with Confucianism

Confucianists who encountered Christianity tended to understand it as an ethical form rather than a religious entity that the missionaries represented. The polite Confucianists were a group in the chapel meetings listening carefully to the preaching and, in turn, sharing their Confucian tenets with the missionaries. It seems that they were very satisfied with their own Confucian morals for a Chinese life. They also recognized Christianity as a good religion for the westerners but rejected the Christian doctrines and spirituality as something that would contribute to their life. Consenting “to the excellence of Christianity,” they were willing to add a statement that “all religions admonish good works. ‘Each country follows its own habits and customs; Christ is your Holy Man, and Confucius is ours.’”¹³⁸ In their own ethical Confucian system, there was no room for “original sin” and “a Saviour.” They laid great stress “upon the due observance of the duties of life and the obligations of society.”¹³⁹ Some of them, who felt a need in relation to religiosity, already added the spirituality of Buddhism, Daoism, or a popular religion to their Confucian life in their own way. One of the James Carson’s apologetics to a Confucianist was to stress human vulnerability in keeping the law made from “the teaching of reason and conscience, known to man before the coming of Christ and

¹³⁷ Ibid., 88.

¹³⁸ MHPCI (Nov. 1877): 619.

¹³⁹ MHPCI (Nov. 1877): 620.

Confucius” and to suggest the need of a Savior. The Confucianist, however, rejected the idea that humans “cannot keep the law.”¹⁴⁰

The missionaries in Southern Manchuria showed two types of thinking toward Confucianism, although the two were not necessarily contrasted each other. First, Confucianism was not regarded as a religion like Shamanism, Buddhism or Daoism by some missionaries, although the missionaries recognized that it implied ‘religious’ aspects around the worship of various deities in the events of ancestral worship or the temple shrines-related activities. In this respect, the Presbyterians were similar to the sixteenth and seventeenth century Jesuits. In this type of thinking, John Ross was one of the representative missionaries, in saying that the great Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi was “an agnostic of the type of the most extreme agnostic of recent times,” and as Confucianism “is now believed and taught, it is not, properly speaking, a religion at all.”¹⁴¹ To him, the contemporary Confucianism was nothing but an ethico-political system mostly serving the union of a state.

It is essentially an elaborated ethical system defining the relations of mankind, and the duties implied in those relations. This ethical system is inextricably intertwined with the Confucian theory of government. It is impossible to eliminate the ethics from the politics, or to separate the politics from the ethics. The ethics are political and the politics ethical; for the government is patriarchal.¹⁴²

Toward the issue of ancestral worship, Ross was one of the most open-hearted missionaries as well as in Manchuria who wanted to somehow allow it into a Christian’s life in China. In the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai from May 7-20, 1890, he was one of the most aggressive debaters toward the

¹⁴⁰ MHPCI (Nov. 1877): 620.

¹⁴¹ John Ross, *The Chinese People and their Religions* (Glasgow: Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1900-1901), 9-10.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 9.

acceptance of 'ancestral worship' as far as the 'idolatrous parts' would get eliminated. He claimed that the acceptance of 'ancestral worship' would get more converts who have been struggling with the succession of the Chinese tradition.¹⁴³

Secondly, conversely, some missionaries paid attention to the ancient form of Confucianism so as to guarantee religiosity in Confucianism which would be conveniently connected to Christian religion. John Ross was, again, one of the most outstanding thinkers in this view. He, even though he did not regard Confucianism as a religion in a formal way, saw it maintaining some inherited truths from the ancient deistic world as follows:

Yet though the Confucian system is essentially an ethico-political system, among its heaps of ethical grain we occasionally come across a rich diamond of religious truth, uncut, unpolished; but which the Christian can apprise at its real value, can furbish and put in its proper setting. These isolated truths have descended from the earliest dawn of Chinese literature; from the days when Deism was universal, and when idolatry was unknown. Confucius transmitted those ancient truths.¹⁴⁴

Thus, he was able to say without hesitation that "the Chinese classics are second in the excellence of their moral teaching only to the doctrines of Christianity."¹⁴⁵ His idea, again, seems to be parallel to Matteo Ricci's main idea in his *T'ien-chu-shi-i* [The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven] in that the original form of Confucianism was theistic and, so, could be communicated with Christian religion.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, John Ross attempted to suggest a Christianity in China rooted in Chinese intellectual legacy of Confucianism and religious legacies of Buddhism and Daoism. He asserted that,

¹⁴³ *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890): 657. Also see pages 692 and 700 of the same source.

¹⁴⁴ John Ross, *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁴⁶ Matteo Ricci, S.J., *The True Meaning of The Lord of Heaven [T'ien-chu Shih-i]* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985), 32-33.

“originally,” these three forms of religion, Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism, did not have “idols of any kind,” and “the huge mass of the Chinese people insist that the three religions are one.” Remarkably, Ross brought a lesson, as an analogy, from the western tradition to support a creation of indigenous Christianity in China. As Western Christianity did not reject but absorbed the intellectual and religious legacies of Platonism and Aristotelian philosophy to build up a Christian system, Chinese Christianity was also to adopt Confucianism and other religious and spiritual legacies to build up a new form of Christianity in China. While, to Ross, Confucianism was ‘the tree’ and foundation of Chinese Christianity, Western Christianity was called to provide ‘the dry but shapely tree’ of Confucianism with a ‘living sap.’ He put it as follows:

Confucianism is a system like that of Plato or Socrates. Buddhism is a system of superstitious religious ceremonies. Taoism [Daoism] is concerned with the mysteries of magic, corresponding to the vagaries of western Spiritualism. ... It is not impossible to conceive a Christian who is a believer in Plato, who is also religious devotee and an ardent Spiritualist. That is an exact parallel to the attitude of the Chinese mind towards his three religions. ... But the hope of China consists in the fact that the system of Confucius holds the first place in the study and the esteem of the Chinese people. It will blend with Christianity in the immediate future, as did Platonism or the teachings Aristotle in the past. The living sap of Christianity will enter into the dry, but shapely tree of Confucianism, and cause it to bring forth good fruit in rich abundance for the well-being of China.¹⁴⁷

Conclusion

Summing up, all the four Presbyterian missionaries working in Southern Manchuria in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries pursued Protestant unity in the forms of organizational union and/or cooperation in order to combine, develop, or share their works. The union accomplished by the Irish and Scottish missionaries also helped found

¹⁴⁷ John Ross, *Ibid.*, 14.

an indigenous Church in Manchuria, which would later develop into the Synod of Manchuria and also become a part of the Chinese Church of Christ. Cooperation was carried out among all the missionary groups among the missions, some other Churches, and various missionary societies. Most of the cooperative activities, especially between the Irish and Scottish missions and the BFBS, showed a congenial partnership toward the achievement of their works. However, the most significant limitation of the union and cooperation done in Manchuria, as in other parts of China and the world in the period, was that the unity came from more teleological motives but less ontological ones. It was purposeful and became a means to achieve something else.

The British missionaries' actual relations with Roman Catholic missionaries in Manchuria were very limited except for a few conflicts over converts and a few contacts during the time of turmoil of the Boxer Uprising. Their relationship remained indifferent, competing, or even hostile in Southern Manchuria. Some Irish missionaries' encounter with Russian Orthodox Christians showed a more positive attitude than that with Roman Catholic Christians. In their mind, the Russian Orthodox Church kept the most important Christian message.

As to the Chinese and Manchurian religions, the British missionaries showed both very conservative and changing attitudes. Although most British missionaries maintained the supremacy of Christian religion upon other religions, some of them were also trying to find and utilize the values of the Chinese religions for the building of a Chinese Christianity. While Shamanism and folk religion were treated as "superstition," Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism often had a better place in the missionaries' mind because of some particular aspects in the religions' spirituality, ethics, and religiosity. In

Southern Manchuria, the Presbyterian missionaries represented the legacy of the Reformation resisting against the Roman Catholic Church, theological understanding of Christian faith in the Reformed tradition, and the Evangelical fervor to save “heathens.” However, at least some of them started to seek for new thoughts and actions toward more relevant understanding and practice of religious reality in Manchuria and the world - the quest for the development of indigenous Church, the ecumenical cooperation of all the Christian Churches, and the historical and sociological understanding of local religions and their contribution to a Chinese Christianity.

An important aspect that the Presbyterian missionaries had to cope with in Southern Manchuria has to do with social problems caused by the massive migrations, the spread of diseases, some international wars, and some other factors. The next chapter is going to explain how the missionary responded to the immigrants from North China, Korea, and Japan, to the sick from the epidemic and common diseases and wars, and the refugees from all of the factors listed above.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MISSIONARY AND SOCIETY: IMMIGRANTS, REFUGEES, THE SICK, AND THE COLONIZERS

Southern Manchuria in the late Ch'ing and Republican periods was in the midst of various social changes. While the constant influxes of Chinese immigrants from northern China became a feature of the Manchurian society since the nineteenth century, the Korean and Japanese immigrants also greatly increased in the area particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. At the turn of the twentieth century, Manchuria became a center of industrialization in China and East Asia based on its rich natural resources and the new constructions, such as the South Manchuria Railway, the Chinese Eastern Railway, and coal mines often related to imperialistic approaches from Russia, Japan, and other Powers. Frequent wars or military conflicts international and domestic happening in Manchuria and the ill economics caused by the government of the warlords brought impoverishment, injury, sickness, and even death to a number of people in Manchuria. In addition, just as in other parts of China before and after the Revolution of 1911, Manchuria also experienced the rise of nationalism, Communism, and some other new trends in thought and movement updating the conventional society and culture heavily conditioned by the military and bureaucratic administration of the Ch'ing dynasty. As scholars inside and outside China have observed, the surge of Han Chinese, Korean and Japanese immigrants into the territories of Manchuria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was one of the greatest migration movements in the history of the world.¹ This

¹ For the major researches from Chinese and Western scholarship, refer to the following sources: Ping-ti Ho, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Thomas R. Gottschang and Diana Lary, *Swallows and Settlers: The Great Migration from North China to Manchuria*

great immigration disclosed new critical issues, such as housing, employment, and safety in many parts of the frontier provinces, relief of refugees and the poor, the reconciliation of the competing nationalisms or between nationalism and imperialism.

This chapter will consider some of the changes in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Manchuria, particularly revolving around the issues of immigrants, refugees, and the sick. Then, it will discuss about the Irish, Scottish, Korean, and American Presbyterian missionaries' responses to the changes, issues, and realities which occurred in the society of Manchuria and the life of the people.

1. Immigrants, Refugees, and the Missionary

Relief Mission to Chinese and the Manchus

Chinese immigration from northern China to Manchuria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was stimulated by both repulsive forces of northern China, such as high density of population, low development of industry, famine, wars, and the resultant heavy taxation, and attractive factors of the destination, such as spacious and fertile land, better transportation, higher wage, low density of population, and the Manchu government's support of the immigrants to the Manchurian frontiers in resisting against the aggressive

(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2000); Qiang Li, "Yingxiang zhongguochengxiang liudongrenkou de tuili yu lali yinsufenxi," [An Analysis of Push and Pull Factors in the Migration of Rural Workers in China] *Zhongguo shehuikexue* [The Chinese Social Science] no.1 (2003): 125-36; Adam Mckeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* vol. 15, no.2 (2004): 155-89; Lecai Gao, "Jindai Zhongguo dongbei Imin lishi Dongyin Tanyuan," [The Historical Reason of the Northeast Immigration in Modern China] *Dongbei Shidaxuebao* no. 2 (2005): 29-35.

expansion of Russians in the Far East.² The Manchu government of the Ch'ing dynasty, since its beginning, cherished the region Manchuria as the origin of the Manchus and prohibited peoples other than the Manchus from entering the territory especially the territory beyond the "lines denoted by the Willow Palisades," which were made in southern Manchuria by the Ch'ing government for indicating "the Manchuria frontier region."³ The devices to maintain the "political stability" and "cultural equilibrium" among the various ethnic peoples of Manchuria, as collectively called the Manchus, were, according to Robert H. G. Lee, the follows: 1) the barring of Chinese immigration so as to prevent the upsetting of racial and cultural balance; 2) the maintenance of the traditional political and social organization of the tribal peoples and the minimization of their contacts with other ethnic groups; 3) the placing of limitations upon the territorial and occupational mobility of the bannermen.⁴ The government was, however, forced to face illegal yet persistent and irresistible migrations of Han Chinese by the end of the eighteenth century as well as the population shortage in Manchuria caused by the emigration of the Manchus since the beginning of the dynasty. The government's decision in 1812 and its implementation in 1824 "to resettle impoverished Manchu bannermen from Peking onto military farms in Kirin and southern Heilungkiang...setting aside farmlands for the Manchu immigrants and offering them five tax-free years"⁵ only confirmed the tendency of the sinicized Manchus not to return to their origin in hardening

² For a study of the repulsion of Shandong Province, which produced 80% of the whole Chinese immigrants to Manchuria, and the attraction of Manchuria, refer to Franklin Ho, *Population Movement to the North Eastern Frontier in China*, (Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 13-18.

³ Robert H. G. Lee, *The Manchurian Frontier in Ch'ing History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 3, 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵ Joseph Fletcher, "Sino-Russian Relations, 1800-62," in *The Cambridge History of China: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911* part I vol. 10, ed. John K. Fairbank (London, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 332.

to monopolize the territory for any cultural or economic cause.⁶ In the course of the nineteenth century, the government was aware of “the advance of Russia through Siberia” and it seemed “politically advisable to fill up Manchuria with Chinese” as a counterweight “in order to prevent Russian penetration.”⁷ While the new immigration policy was never satisfactory in the two frontier provinces of Kirin and Heilungkiang, according to Owen Lattimore, it meant that the Han Chinese “increased enough in the south and middle of Manchuria to swamp the Manchus and the easternmost Mongols, to draw most of the Chinese Bannermen in Manchuria away from the Manchus and make them once more homogeneous with ordinary Chinese, and to make the Chinese Pale in lower Manchuria much less like a special frontier domain and more like a part of China proper.”⁸ The population of Fengtien Province, which approximately covers Southern Manchuria of this study, grew to over 10 million during the period from the 1900s to the 1920s.⁹ In the late 1920s, Southern Manchuria was attractive to the Chinese immigrants,

⁶ Nurhachi, in Manchuria, created the banner system, which was a system of armies with eight different banners by clan, in about 1601, and the system continued to exist throughout the Ch’ing dynasty. The Ch’ing court called it “the only definitive institution for historical identification of the Manchus.” According to Mark C. Elliott, Manchu identity or ethnic sovereignty survived mainly by the system. It “became the preeminent emblem of Manchu hegemony” in the Ch’ing dynasty. See Mark C. Elliot, *The Manchu Way: the Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 12-13. Also see Robert H. G. Lee, *Ibid.*, 22-40.

⁷ Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.: Capitol Publishing Co., Inc. and American Geographical Society: New York, 1951), 139.

⁸ Owen Lattimore, *Ibid.*, 140. His sinicization logic may be accepted at the level of demographic and social changes in the Southern Manchuria although it may not necessarily command the perfect sinicization found in the China proper and explain the cultural exchanges and hybridities happening in many parts of Southern Manchuria such as the communities of the Manchus, Koreans, and later Japanese.

⁹ Chu Hsiao, *Manchuria: A Statistical Survey of Its Resources, Industries, Trade, Railways, and Immigration* (Tientsin, China, 1929), 36-38. Systematic statistics on the population of Manchuria was never done by the government before 1927 except the one in 1910 in which the population was assumed only by the number of family. According to Joseph Fletcher, Chinese population of Kirin province became doubled in the early nineteenth century due to the immigration. See Joseph Fletcher, “Sino-Russian Relations, 1800-62” in *The Cambridge History of China: Late Ch’ing, 1800-1911* part I vol.10, ed. John K. Fairbank (London, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 332. In 1910, the population of the whole Manchuria, presumably, amounted to about 15 million and it, in turn, soared into 25 million in 1927 by Chinese and some other immigrants. As to the number of immigrants, the Chinese immigrants to

especially to very new immigrants and seasonal workers,¹⁰ with the higher rates of industrialization, commercialization, and transportation networks, although, compared to the other two frontier provinces, there was not enough land for all the immigrants who preferred farming.¹¹ The migrating journey of the Chinese immigrants and their initial life in Manchuria were never a romantic one but were close to that of refugees. The immigrants were susceptible to epidemic diseases, too.¹² As Franklin Ho has pointed out, 40 per cent of the Chinese immigrants returned to their home town in the years of 1928 and 1929 when the condition of North China was one of the worst. That high ratio may show the unsatisfactory quality of the immigrants' life in Manchuria.¹³

The Presbyterian missionaries who worked in Southern Manchuria in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries responded to the predicaments of the immigrants and the refugees from wars in various ways. Several Irish and Scottish missionaries from the beginning of their work recorded the processions of immigrants in a sympathetic way and were often involved in helping them. The Irish medical doctor J. M. Hunter, in the late 1870s, wrote about the extremely poor immigrants facing starvation and cold weather and the families that were willing to sell the children. He said, "Probably five thousand persons will perish in the course of next winter. From my daily experience of them they are in absolute want, and if the thousands come it will be dreadful when the cold sets in." A Shantung immigrant "had been proposing to sell his daughter, aged thirteen, and would

Manchuria amounted about 5 million from 1923 to 1930. See Franklin Ho, *Population Movement to the North Eastern Frontier in China*, (Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 1-2, 50.

¹⁰ Franklin Ho, *Population Movement to the North Eastern Frontier in China*, (Shanghai: China Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 20-24.

¹¹ Ibid, 17.

¹² As the Irish missionary James Carson observed, the majority of those attacked by epidemic diseases were "the poor immigrants" who arrived in Southern Manchuria "in the last stage of destitution." MHPCI (Nov. 1877): 621.

¹³ In addition to the permanent returns, seasonal workers, as usual, covered a big part of the returns. The ratio of seasonal workers out of the returns is illusive.

have given the new born child to anybody who would take it.” He and his fellow missionaries and indigenous workers were able to provide some food and medical help to the immigrants. They “brought out the mullet prepared for their own supper, and gave it to them.” “One of them was dragging himself painfully along, labouring under an attack of ague. Somebody brought him in, and I prescribed for him.”¹⁴ Another Irish medical missionary D. L. Fisher showed the missionaries’ persistent concerns about the immigrants in depicting the predicament of the immigrants that he watched in 1900 as follows:

Every day we have been meeting a continual stream of emigrants from Shan-tung Province. Food there is very scarce, and the prices are fabulous. It is pitiable to see so many of these wretched people walking mile after mile footsore and weary, especially the women on their small crushed feet. How they manage it beats me.¹⁵

The Irish and Scottish missionaries were more systematically engaged in the life of the refugees and the sick when they carried on a relief mission at the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. After the former war, the missionaries actively participated in the Red Cross work to the rescue of the needy. During and after the latter war whose main battlefield was Southern Manchuria, the missionaries expanded their work for the refugees. According to Dr. Dugald Christie’s report in January 1905, there were “at least 20,000 refugees” in the city of Moukden. “Crowds of starving women and children daily” gathered around the gates of the mission station, and the missionaries were doing their “best to give them food and shelter.”¹⁶ While the Red Cross and Refugee

¹⁴ J. M. Hunter, “China,” *MHPCI* (Jan. 1877): 348-50.

¹⁵ D. L. Fisher, “News from Dr. Fisher,” *Missionary Herald of Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (*MHPCI*) (Aug. 1900): 194.

¹⁶ Dugald Christie, “Caring for the Refugees in Moukden,” *Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland* (*MRUFCS*) (Jan. 1905): 20-21.

Aid Society of Shanghai has come and provided the local relief committee with a fund through James Webster, the Scottish missionary of Manchuria and honorary secretary of the Society, the Manchuria missionaries carried out their relief mission in the field in nominating James W. Inglis as the treasurer and representative of the Red Cross.¹⁷ The Chinese Viceroy also “has appointed two officials to sit with the missionaries in committee” and the two parties were “working very harmoniously together.”¹⁸ According to John Ross, it was “the most imperative work” to provide “for the scores of thousands of refugees who fled into town from the misconduct of both armies.” The medical missionaries including Dr. Dugald Christie, Dr. W. A. Young, and Dr. Minnie Horner were fully employed with numerous works for men and women patients.¹⁹

The missionaries’ dedicated services at the outbreak of the 1911 Pneumonic Plague of Manchuria brought both joy and trauma to the missionary, indigenous Christian, and non-Christian communities in Southern Manchuria. The government and the Irish and Scottish medical missionaries worked together to save the people from the plague, which was spreading from the north toward south, and “thereby check the spread of infection throughout Manchuria and beyond.”²⁰ Dr. Arthur Jackson, who came to Manchuria only two months ago to assist Dr. Dugald Christie and teach at the new Medical College, died “on the 25th January,” having contracted “the plague during his inspection of coolies at the railway station”²¹ for nine days.

¹⁷ John Ross, “What our Missionaries have been doing in Moukden,” MRUFCS (Oct. 1905): 462.

¹⁸ Dugald Christie, *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁹ John Ross, *Ibid.*, 462.

²⁰ Austin Fulton, *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1967), 249.

²¹ James W. Inglis, “Work in Manchuria,” in *China Mission Year Book*, ed. D. MacGillivray (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1911), 222.

The Irish and Scottish Presbyterian missionaries' work for the Chinese immigrants and refugees can be discussed in the following points. First, the missionaries' work for immigrants and refugees brought about a considerably improved relationship between the Church and the Southern Manchuria society at the turn of the twentieth century. Not surprisingly, the missionaries' networking with the Red Cross and services providing the needy with necessary aids including medical services at the crises of the Manchurian society gave them a splendid chance to access the masses as well as the government officials.²² The missionaries and the Church became popular among the masses for the first time in the Manchuria mission's history particularly by their works for the refugees from the two wars. The fact that the Irish and Scottish missions gained an explosive increase in the number of new converts during the period from 1896 to 1900 can be a good evidence for that.²³

Although the official attitude of the Chinese central government toward the foreigners after the 1860 Treaty of Peking was generally tolerant, the attitude at the provincial or local level was still not friendly to the missionaries for a long time. The first Manchuria missionaries could not avoid experiencing hardship when trying to "rent premises for dwelling-house and chapel." In a town, "all, with one consent, refused to have anything to do with the foreigner."²⁴ While adults rejected the foreigners, scolding,

²² For this part, refer to Mrs. Dugald Christie, *Thirty Years in Moukden, 1883-1913: Being the Experiences and Recollections of Dugald Christie, C. M.G.* (London: Constable and Company, 1914), 164-95.

²³ The number of "the baptized Christians connected with the Irish Mission" increased about four times in 1899 from that of 1896. See the chart "Growth of the Church in Manchuria from 1883-1918." F. W. S. O'Neill, *The Call of the East* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1919), 123.

²⁴ MHPCI (Nov. 1871): 481, 529; MHPCI (Feb. 1881): 386. Of course, in a few places like Haicheng and Moukden, the missionaries were able to rent properties without great difficulties. See MRUPC (Dec. 1876): 328.

“the Impudence! Coming here pretending to teach *us!*,” children teased them in yelling “*Yang Kweitzu*,” or “Foreign Devil.”²⁵

The Church, however, started to get converts from every class in Manchuria after the Sino-Japanese War.²⁶ Especially, “the impression made upon the masses” by the relief mission during the Russo-Japanese “has been remarkable”²⁷ and even the Viceroy and his officials responded positively to the missionaries’ work with the Red Cross. Indeed, the attitude of the government officials toward the Christian missions and Church was greatly improved since then. For example, at the funeral service for Dr. Arthur Jackson who died in his service for the plague patients, the Viceroy Hsi-Liang donated 10,000 Chinese dollars, a great amount of money, to Jackson’s mother living in Scotland. She, in turn, donated the money to Moukden Medical College (MCC).²⁸ Thus, “the west wing of the college” was built in memory of Arthur Jackson.²⁹

Secondly, it seems that the Southern Manchuria missionaries’ ardent services in relief to the immigrants and refugees came from not so much the mission theology of the home Church, the policy of the Mission Boards, or the original work schedule of the missionaries as their direct field experiences with the desperate people facing death and other miserable conditions in life.

²⁵ F. W. S. O’Neill, *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁶ Daniel T. Robertson, *Missions of the United Free Church of Scotland: Our Mission in Manchuria or the Story of Our Mission Manchuria* (Edinburgh), 231.

²⁷ John Ross, *Ibid.*, 464.

²⁸ Part of the Viceroy’s speech reads as follows: “He went forth to help us in our fight daily, where the pest lay thickest; amidst the groans of the dying, he struggled to cure the stricken, to kind medicine to stay the evil. Worn out by his efforts, the pestilence seized upon him, and took him from us long ere his time. Our sorrow is beyond all measure; our grief too deep for words.” For more, See Austin Fulton, *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1967), 250; *The First Annual Statement of the Moukden Medical College* p. 5.

²⁹ F. W. S. O’Neill, *Ibid.*, 107.

As already mentioned in the previous chapters, the basic theological orientation of the Irish and Scottish missionaries was primarily dogmatic in seeking for theological orthodoxy in Reformed tradition and evangelical in aiming at the salvation of the souls as the goal of their missionary activities. It is not strange that the primary mission methods of the Church of Scotland and other Scottish Churches were 'preaching' and 'teaching,' focusing on the Bible which was the 'text.' Thus, "the historic Church of Scotland was led, in 1830, to give prominence, for the first time on an adequate system, to Teaching." In Manchuria, the United Free Church of Scotland in 1900 was also aware of the importance of 'teaching' along with 'preaching' and others as its mission methods.³⁰ However, Scottish missionaries' direct and repeated encounters with famine and some other predicaments in the African and Indian mission fields allowed for them to 'discover' another important mission method of relief or 'industrial mission,' which was based on the 'context.' For example, they organized "the African Lakes Corporation" in Africa and "the Scottish Mission Industries Company" in India.³¹ It seems that, to those missionaries, field experience became a necessary condition to bring different and more concrete ideas and practices in Christian missions.

Similarly, the Manchuria missionaries' repeated encounters with poor immigrants and the refugees from destructive wars allowed them to move toward more contextualized practices in mission. They came to recognize that relief and aid should be, many times, at the top of the list in their missionary activities.

Mission to the Marginalized Korean Immigrants

³⁰ The Board of Mission, "A Survey of Our Foreign Missions: Five Missionary Methods" in *the Missionary Report of the United Free Church of Scotland* (MRUFCS) (Aug. 1905): 366.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 368.

Manchuria became a shelter not only to the Chinese from northern China but also to many Koreans who faced economic and political turbulence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³² A considerable number of Koreans living in the northern part of Korea suffered from the frequent famines during the period from the 1860s to the 1880s. Many of them ventured into Manchurian territories in crossing the two Rivers Yalu [Aprok in Korean] and Tumen [Tuman in Korean], which were the borderline between Chosŏn and Ch'ing Dynasty, and settled in the areas known to them as 'Kando,' the area beyond the River Tumen, 'West *Kando*,' beyond the River Yalu,³³ and some other towns and villages in Manchuria.³⁴

In fact, the borderline between Chosŏn dynasty and Ch'ing dynasty has been controversial since the eighteenth century. As the K'ang-hsi Emperor of Ch'ing dynasty had established a monument of demarcation at the top of the Mount Changbai [Baekdu in Korean] in 1712 and set the borderline between the two countries by the Rivers Yalu and Tumen flowing from the mountain. However, Chosŏn government, facing a considerable number of emigrants to 'Kando' beyond the River Tumen, came to investigate the monument again and to question over the interpretation of some Chinese letters on the monument for the eastern borderline 'the River Tumen.' The words on the monument were read, "*Dongweitumen* [東爲土們]." While Chinese interpreted the words that the

³² Studies show that Koreans already migrated into the southern and eastern parts of Manchuria as early as in the fourth century while the migration became 'illegal' during the Ch'ing dynasty. See Chae-jin Lee, *China's Korean Minority: the Politics of Ethnic Education* (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986), 15; Sŭngje Ko, *Hankukiminsayŏngu* [A Study of the History of Korean Immigration] (Seoul: Ōmungak, 1973), 15-16. The problem of borderline between China and Korea became an important issue among China, Korea, and Japan at the turn of the twentieth century. For this, see Sŭngje Ko, 15-30.

³³ 'West *Kando*' included the hsiens [counties] of Linjiang, Tunghua, Kuantien, and Jian.

³⁴ Hun-gu Yi, *Manjuwa chosŏnin* [Manchuria and Koreans] (Pyŏngyang: Sungsil jŏnmunhakkyo kyŏngjehak yŏngusil, 1932), 94; Kyu-hwan Hyŏn, *Hankuk yuiminsa* vol. 1 [A History of Korean Immigrants] (Seoul: Ōmungak, 1967), 139. The Ch'ing government's opening of Manchuria in 1881 also became a facilitating factor of Korean immigration before 1900.

eastern borderline became the Tumen [圖們江], the Koreans were persuaded to interpret them that it was 土門江, which was also flowing from the Mount Changbai but toward the inner Manchuria. According to that interpretation, 'Kando' was to be a part of Chosŏn's territory. The two countries had three conferences over the issue from 1885 to 1887 but could not resolve the problem. While Ch'ing dynasty continued to claim its interpretation, Chosŏn became lose the right of diplomacy to Japan in 1905.³⁵ One insists that the region name 'Kando' [*Chientao* in Wade-Giles System] comes from the fact that it is located between the two Tumen Rivers.

What is important thing around this controversy is that a number of Korean immigrants came to the regions called 'Kando' and 'West Kando' in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese governments had to manage the migration of Koreans. According to the source from the Japanese Foreign Ministry, at the end of the 1920s, Tunghua in 'West Kando,' Antung near the mouth of the River Yalu, Moukden the capital city of Fengtien Province, and Tiehling the neighboring city of Moukden belonged to the most popular places for Korean immigrants in Southern Manchuria while some others migrated to areas including the Kwantung Leased Territory and the South Manchuria Railroad Zone.³⁶ 'West Kando,' which was the most popular region in Southern Manchuria among the Korean immigrants and comprised several hsiens [counties], was competing with the region called 'Kando' or 'North Kando' located outside Southern Manchuria in terms of the number of yearly

³⁵ Sŭng-je Ko, *Hanguk iminsa yŏngu* [A Study of the History of Korean Immigration] (Seoul: Ōmungak, 1973), 15-22.

³⁶ Hun-gu Yi, *Ibid.*, 114

immigrants during the 1910s.³⁷ The total number of Korean immigrants to 'West *Kando*' from 1910 to 1926 was 111,252 while the number to '*Kando*' being 126,964.³⁸

What, then, created a surge of Koreans into Manchuria in the early twentieth century? According to Yi Hun-gu's survey of a group of 201 Korean immigrants in Manchuria, the most significant driving motive for their migration was economic difficulty covering at least 67 per cent while political motive was 3.4 percent, which was negligible.³⁹ Hyŏn Kyu-hwan, however, saw that there were political reasons behind the seemingly economic motive. As oppression from the various colonial policies led the farmers to lose their land, they were strongly dissatisfied with the colonizers and migrated to Manchuria and other places. He saw that the fact that Manchuria became the bastion of the Korean independence movement as time went on and the sizable number of Koreans living in the southern part of Korea as well as those in the northern part who migrated to Manchuria might imply the political motive of the immigration movement.⁴⁰ From those views, both economic and political motives may help explain the big surge of Korean immigrants to Manchuria. It seems that the conspicuously high numbers of Korean immigrants to 'West *Kando*' and '*Kando*' in 1910, 1918, 1919, and 1926⁴¹ may support the political aspect of the immigration movement if we reflect the Japanese

³⁷ Ibid., 98-100. The number of the immigrants to West *Kando* was 19,145 in 1910 and 25,372 in 1919 being greater than those to *Kando*.

³⁸ As to the demography of the entire Manchuria, a Japanese source shows that Koreans amounted to 403,415 in 1929 while Chinese were 24,194,587 and Japanese 203,169. Chu Hsiao, *Manchuria: A Statistical Survey of Its Resources, Industries, Trade, Railways, and Immigration* (Tientsin, China, 1929), 40. Japanese official sources especially during the early decades of the nineteenth century tend to underestimate the number of Koreans in Manchuria due to the Koreans' hiding from the Japanese' authorities. However, the Japanese numbers seem to be fine in order to show the ethnic demography by the area and period. SMR the Japanese railway company assumed the number of Koreans in Manchuria 600,000 in 1924. See South Manchuria Railway Company, *Manchuria: Land of Opportunities* rev. ed. (New York: South Manchuria Railway Company, 1924), 3.

³⁹ Hun-gu Yi, Ibid., 103.

⁴⁰ Kyu-hwan Hyŏn, Ibid., 159.

⁴¹ Hun-gu Yi, Ibid., 99-100

occupation of Korean territory in 1910 and the height of Koreans' independence movement in the March First Independence Movement in 1919.

The impoverished and oppressed immigrants from Korea were, in turn, marginalized in the new Manchurian context. Their difficulties could be categorized into economic hardship, political instability, and unsafe social condition.⁴² The immigrants, who spent most of their financial resources in the course of journey, often arrived in Manchuria having almost nothing and, especially in the first year, became *de facto* enslaved in serving the Chinese land owner as a tenant farmer.⁴³ Most Korean immigrants were engaged in farming in Manchuria and their rice farming soon became famous in Manchuria as well. "As a rule" they did "not secure ownership of the land"⁴⁴ and kept a lower standard of living than that of Chinese farmers of Manchuria.⁴⁵ The Korean immigrants in Manchuria often found themselves trapped by both the Manchurian government and the Japanese colonial government in Korea that was making an aggressive move to secure the benefits from Manchuria. Under the changing attitude of the Chinese or Manchurian government, especially of the warlord Chang Tso-lin, toward the Japanese advance in Manchuria, Chinese officials often overtaxed the Koreans, who were presumably regarded as the precursors of the imperial Japanese government and capriciously ordered the closure of Korean schools and churches.⁴⁶ As symbolized by the Kyōngsin Massacre of 1920 in Manchuria, the surveillance and attacks by Japanese police and troops, sometimes irritated by Korean nationalists' attacks on their properties,

⁴² Refer to Hun-gu Yi, *Ibid.*, 105, 225.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴⁴ Hugh Miller, "A Visit to West Kando," *Korea Mission Field* vol. XIV no.11 (Nov. 1918): 228.

⁴⁵ Korean immigrants' average living cost in 1930 was 101.71won while that of the Chinese farmers in Manchuria was 149.33 won. See Hun-gu Yi, *Ibid.*, 227-28.

⁴⁶ Chae-jin Lee, *China's Korean Minority: The Politics of Ethnic Education* (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986), 22-23. Also see Hun-gu Yi, *Ibid.*, 109.

were one of the great threats to the Koreans' lives. The Kyōngsin Massacre by the Japanese Kwantung Army was carried in the 'West Kando' and 'Kando' regions in the next year of the March First Movement of 1919 in which the Koreans in Manchuria also actively participated.⁴⁷ In addition, since the 1920s, violence by some Korean Communists, influenced by the Russian Revolutions, became a political threat to the immigrants, too. The immigrants were also exposed to socially unsafe conditions. For example, the notorious Manchurian bandits' activities including stealing, killing, and setting on fire⁴⁸ were a great danger to their life and properties.

As Protestantism was very strong among the Korean immigrants in Manchuria, some other religions also had not a few followers. According to a statistics about Korean religion believers in Manchuria, which was published in 1936, while the number of Protestants amounted to 35,277, the numbers of Confucianists 14,543, Buddhists 3,895, and Roman Catholics 3,662. The Korean religion Chōndogyo[Donghak] believers amounted to 1,938 and another Korean religion Daejonggyo believers were 1,022. Meanwhile, a pro-Japanese religion Sichōngyo believers were 920 and the Japanese religion Shintoism believers were 493.⁴⁹

The missionaries from the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) and the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA) responded to marginalized Korean immigrants in Manchuria shaped by the unstable condition of the frontier society and the ever changing climate of politics between China and Japan.

⁴⁷ For the Kyōngsin Massacre in West *Kando*, see Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Manjuūi sadobaul hankyōnghūi moksa* [Apostle Paul of Manchuria Rev. Han Kyōnghūi] (Seoul: Kidokkyo yōnhapsinmunsa, 2005), 221 ff, 246-47. 33 Christians were killed in the *Namman* [Southern Manchuria] Presbytery only in March First Movement and the Massacre. See *Chosōn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Ha)* [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, vol. II (Seoul: Hankuk kidokkyoyōksa yōnguso, 2002), 393.

⁴⁸ Hun-gu Yi, *Ibid.*, 108.

⁴⁹ Kyu-hwan Hyōn, *Ibid.* 521.

To begin with, the PCK and the Korea Mission of the PCUSA tried to include the Koreans in Manchuria in their evangelistic works and jurisdiction since the early twentieth century. As mentioned earlier, the *Pyŏngbuk* Agency Meeting of the Independent Presbytery started to send its evangelists to the ‘West *Kando*’ region since 1901. The *Sansŏ* and *Ŭisan* Presbyteries organized in 1916 and 1918 included the ‘West *Kando*’ region and the ‘*Fengtien*’ region respectively along with a part of North *Pyŏngan* Province.⁵⁰ The *Namman* [Southern Manchuria] Presbytery was organized in 1921 in order to solely serve the ‘West *Kando*’ region whose Christian churches greatly developed in the 1910s.⁵¹

The Korea Mission of the PCUSA assigned Mr. and Mrs. Stanley T. Soltau solely for the work to the Koreans in Southern Manchuria in 1914 and finally opened the ‘Manchurian Station’ with Mr. and Mrs. Soltau and Mr. and Mrs. W. T. Cook at Moukden in 1918. The station was moved to the town of Hingking in 1921 and continued to serve the ‘West *Kando*’ region until it was forced to close in 1936 due to the political and military tensions following the establishment of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo in 1931.

The Korean and American missionaries strived to improve the quality of the marginalized Koreans’ life in Southern Manchuria as well as to spread the gospel. Han Kyŏng-hŭi, who was sent to ‘West *Kando*’ as a lay evangelist in 1909 and as an ordained missionary/evangelist in 1915 by the PCK, participated in organizing the Merchants and Farmers Union (1915), the Farming Union (1920), and the Farmers Corporation (1924) to

⁵⁰ For example, one of the four districts of the *Ŭisan* Presbytery was ‘*Fengtien*’ outside Korean territory. See *Taehan Yesugyo Changnohoe Ŭisan Nohoe Hoerok*, 1920. [The Minutes of the *Ŭisan* Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church], 30.

⁵¹ *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Ha)* [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, vol. II (Seoul: Hankukkidokkyoyŏksayŏnguso, 2002), 389.

better the conditions of the immigrants.⁵² While he served as the founder or principal of several schools including *Ŭnyang* Elementary School, *Samsŏng* Women's Middle School, and *Dongmyŏng* Middle School in West *Kando*, the *Namman* [Southern Manchuria] Presbytery of the PCK itself was also engaged in establishing and running schools for the Koreans in West *Kando*.⁵³ In facing a new law pressing the Koreans in Southern Manchuria in 1925, he organized the *Kidokkyo Hyŏpjinhoe* [Association for Christian Cooperation] and became the Chair to help the members move to Northern Manchuria and establish communal farming villages.⁵⁴ W. T. Cook of the PCUSA participated in relieving the Korean Christian refugees in the famine of 1920 in Moukden. Having come to Moukden in charge of seven Manchuria churches of the *Ŭisan* Presbytery, he "learned of the famine conditions" which prevailed "among a group of churches lying a few miles west from the city." Through "a solid week's trip from church to church," with visitation of "nearly every Christian home in the villages," he found "thirty-four homes in actual want of food." He sent "a dollar per person to those in most pressing want" and started to collect a relief fund from the foreigners' community in Syenchun in Korea.⁵⁵

It seems that the Korean missionaries sent to Southern Manchuria had advantages in helping the Korean immigrants because they came from the same ethnic background as their flock and a similar context of life coming frequently from the *Pyŏngbuk* Province located next to Southern Manchuria. The missionaries started to be sent to Southern Manchuria not long after the Korean immigrants started to shape their communities in the new place. Many missionaries were able to participate in the establishment of churches,

⁵² Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 18-19.

⁵³ Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 179, 183, 268-72.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 284-86.

⁵⁵ W. T. Cook, "Koreans Starving in the Vicinity of Moukden," *The Korea Mission Field* vol. XVII no. 2 (Feb. 1921): 43-44.

schools, and other social organizations from the beginning period. When the immigrants were in the midst of personal, social, and national crises and desperately needed a strong social leadership to set up the public aspects of their life, the missionaries were ready to help them with a trained leadership, a wide network, Christian spirituality, and compassion. In addition, Korean Protestants had fortunately been sympathetic about Korean nationalism against Japanese colonialism with some other religious groups including Chōndogyo and Catholicism⁵⁶ and often led the movement along with some other social agencies. The missionaries were also supporting nationalism in participating in many kinds of activities including the March First Independence Movement and even military training. In this situation, the missionary Han Kyōnghŭi was imprisoned by the Japanese police from 1928 to 1932 at the end of his Christian and nationalistic work in *West Kando*.

The PCUSA Korea Mission did not launch any major educational or medical work in Southern Manchuria until the closure of the Hingking Station in 1936. However, its missionaries wanted to set up educational works there or individually participated in the schools established by Koreans. For example, Welling T. Cook, who resided in Moukden and Hingking after 1918, was acutely aware of the Koreans' need of schools in Southern Manchuria. However, it seemed that he was discouraged by the financial condition of the Korea Mission not permitting the work. The following is a part of his letter about the problem of education in Manchuria published in *the Korea Mission Field* in 1924.

⁵⁶ Another Korean religion Sichōngyo was not sympathetic about Korean nationalism.

Constant and unrelenting pressure is brought upon us by the Korean brethren who think we should let the mission seek wider channels than the mere gospel, and we should help them in their desperate attempts for a middle school. Having been consistently discouraged from expecting anything from mission, and realizing the growing crisis, they have inaugurated a 40,000 Mex. Dollar program for a middle school endowment, of which some 3,000 Mex. Dollars have been subscribed entirely by the Koreans, that is the Christians. ... No hope for the future of this Christian population; no Japanese schools to fall back on, no efficient Chinese schools; and financially unable to keep sending their children to Korea for schooling. ... They are in a more critical and helpless situation than those in Korea, and with the present financial stringency at home, the mission is helpless to assist them. What can we do?⁵⁷

Some PCUSA missionaries had an opportunity to participate in the education for the Koreans. For example, the missionary Lloyd Henderson served as the pastor of five Christian schools out of the twelve that the *Namman* Presbytery operated⁵⁸ before he was killed in the midst of the conflict by Chinese and Japanese troops in 1932.⁵⁹

Mission to the Japanese in the Manchuria Semi-Colony: A Different Case

A massive Japanese immigration to Manchuria started after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 to carry out the imperialistic enterprises in the Kwantung Leased Territory and the South Manchuria Railway Zone.⁶⁰ Interestingly, "Chinese attitudes had changed from 'anti-Japanese, pro-Russian' after the Sino-Japanese War to 'pro-Japanese, anti-Russian' after the Russo-Japanese War."⁶¹ This change was due to the imperialistic

⁵⁷ W. T. Cook, "Hingking (Manchuria) Station Letter, March 1st, 1924," *The Korea Mission Field* vol. XX no.6 (June 1924): 122.

⁵⁸ Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 300.

⁵⁹ Harry A. Rhodes and Archibald Campbell, ed., *History of the Korea Mission: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. vol. II, 1935-1959* (New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A, 1964), 73.

⁶⁰ Akira Iriye showed in his essay that "Japanese imperialism," like Western imperialism, "existed in the late nineteenth century and left upon it a distinct imprint," and "a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity characterized expansionist thinking and behavior" "in the late Meiji imperialism." See Akira Iriye, "Imperialism in East Asia," in *Modern East Asia: Essays in Interpretation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970), 134-35.

⁶¹ Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, Late Ch'ing Foreign Relations, 1866-1905," in *The Cambridge History of China: Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911* part II vol.11, ed. John K. Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu (London, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 140.

approaches of Russia in Manchuria after the Boxer Uprising. Against the possible imperialism of Japan, "Chang Chih-tung recommended the complete opening of Manchuria to foreign commerce and residence, introducing British and American influence."⁶² "In 1906 the South Manchuria Railway Company was organized to develop the Railway Zone" and 'the Sino-Japanese Treaty respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia of 1915' "extended the lease of the Kwantung Leased Territory and the South Manchuria Railway Lines to 99 years."⁶³ "The fusion of military and civil functions under one officer, the Governor General,"⁶⁴ was carried on until 1919 and the Leased Territory was divided into "three civil administration districts with headquarters at Dairen, Port Arthur, and Chinchow." Port Arthur and Dairen were "partly self-governed."⁶⁵ The number of Japanese immigrants in Southern Manchuria constantly increased except for the year 1928. The number of Japanese was 185,199 in 1927 and increased to 248,373 in 1930. Furthermore, it would soar into 820,000 in ten years.⁶⁶ As to the location of the people, ninety six per cent of the Japanese immigrants in the 1900s resided in the Kwantung and the South Manchuria Railway Zone and more than ninety per cent afterwards did.⁶⁷ As to the occupation, those who were engaged in agriculture, manufacture, commerce, and transportation were greatly increased throughout the history of the community. In many ways, the attitude and social condition of the Japanese immigrants were different from most of the contemporary immigrants to Manchuria from

⁶² Chih-tung Chang, *Chang Wen-hsiang kung ch'uan-chi*, 85.23-b. Cited from Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *Ibid.*, 140.

⁶³ South Manchuria Railway Company, *Manchuria: Land of Opportunities* rev. ed. (New York: South Manchuria Railway Company, 1924), 3.

⁶⁴ C. Wallter Young, *The International Relations of Manchuria* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1929), 66.

⁶⁵ South Manchuria Railway Company, *Manchuria: Land of Opportunities* rev. ed. (New York: South Manchuria Railway Company, 1924), 8-9.

⁶⁶ Kyu-hwan Hyön, *Ibid.* 31.

⁶⁷ Chu Hsiao, *Ibid.*, 41-43.

China and Korea who were impoverished and marginalized. Most of all, the Japanese immigrants were not refugees at all but, from their perspective, ambitious colonialists to try to bring a best civilization to an East Asian frontier by improving the quality of Manchurian transportation service with the betterment of the South Manchuria Railway and its related facilities, raising heavy industries particularly with the development of mines, building luxurious hotels in the main cities, and doing some other works⁶⁸

How then did the missionaries sent by the PCUSA Japan Mission understand the Japanese community of immigrants in Southern Manchuria and serve them? As to the personnel, only two missionary couples worked in Southern Manchuria between the beginning in 1906 and the closure in 1923. T. C. Winn and Eliza Caroline Willard Winn, after their twenty eight years of work in Japan, set out their new journey of Christian work at Dairen in 1906. A. V. Bryan and Margaret P. Cuthbert Bryan were also transferred from Japan in starting their work at Port Arthur in the next year and resigned from their work in ten years.

It seems that the average Japanese immigrants in Manchuria, as the missionaries understood, were somewhat free from their own tradition and social network but were susceptible to Christianity and Western civilization. A. V. Bryan was able to write in two years of his work that “our opportunities to present Christian truth in Port Arthur are far greater than I have ever found them in Japan because they are so far from relatives and have little in the way of pastime.”⁶⁹ The immigrants, as reported by T. C. Winn in his

⁶⁸ Refer to South Manchuria Railway Company, *Manchuria: Land of Opportunities* rev. ed. (New York: South Manchuria Railway Company, 1924). The Yamamoto Hotels built in the main cities, such as Port Arthur and Changchun, must have symbolized the Japanese civilization in Southern Manchuria.

⁶⁹ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1909, 268.

beginning period, had also “more initiative and far more financial independence than those found in most churches in the ‘Main Land.’” Thus he was optimistic to see the possibility of self-support of the Dairen church.⁷⁰ Indeed, in 1910, all the three Japanese churches in Southern Manchuria “carried on without the use of any Mission money, aside from that for the missionaries.”⁷¹ In these circumstances, the two missionary couples served five churches in 1917 while the Dairen church was received a remarkable number of 246 new baptized members in the year.

In the semi-colonial land of Japanese Southern Manchuria, the people whom the missionaries served mainly came from the Kwantung Army and Navy, a few professional schools, the Southern Manchuria Railway Company, and some others. In his report in 1912, A. V. Bryan said, “some of our most earnest Christians belong either to the army or navy and have official duties on Sundays which make it impossible for them to be regular.” He had “Bible classes in the Naval hospital, attended by six doctors, two classes three hours a week in the house and another class in connection with a night school.”⁷² Technical College located in the new town of Port Arthur, which was “a residence town for military and professional people,” became a wonderful source of Young Adult Christians. According to a missionary, it was “ranking second in the Empire, being surpassed by that of Tokyo only” and the students came from “all quarters of Japan” The missionaries were able to host many students “coming regularly to study English Bible.”⁷³ Florence Julia Bigelow Winn described the church of Port Arthur in 1921 as follows. “The first that presents itself is the work for students. Port Arthur church is

⁷⁰ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1908, 258.

⁷¹ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1911, 268.

⁷² A. V. Bryan, “Report of Port Arthur, 1911-1912,” p. 1, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #1, Folder #6

⁷³ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1920, 283.

preeminently a church of students. What more promising field can there be than these young men brought to Manchuria from every province of Japan and who are to help mold the future of the country?"⁷⁴

The missionaries also attracted some converts from the people working for the South Manchuria Railway Company. In a period when T. C. Winn was absent, Mr. Bryan came to serve the Moukden church and indicated that the church was helped by some social workers employed by the company. They helped the church "as much as possible" "among the Christians who are too few and too weak to employ regular evangelists." Interestingly, all the social workers were "former YMCA men and were all chosen by the Company because of their connection with that organization."⁷⁵ T. C. Winn was enjoying his visit to a South Manchuria Railway conductor's home at Moukden around 1918. "It was exceedingly cheering" for him "to see that the children of the conductor were taught something of the Bible and the singing of hymns."⁷⁶

The American missionaries who worked among Japanese in Southern Manchuria responded to the immigrants' strong yearning for Western way of life with the offering of English and foreign cooking classes. One of the A.V. Bryan's important works was to meet the immigrants' need of English learning. He taught English at several types of schools and taught Bible in English at various meetings as the following report of 1909 shows:

My work has been largely that of English teaching in two night-schools in both the army and naval headquarters, as well as privately in the home. ... The English teaching has

⁷⁴ Mrs. T. C. Winn [Florence Julia Bigelow Winn], "Manchuria Station," p. 47, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #1, Folder #9

⁷⁵ A. V. Bryan, "Report of Manchurian Work: Report by Mr. Bryan, June 12, 1914(?)," p. 47, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #2, Folder #2

⁷⁶ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1918, 258.

given me an opportunity of reaching with the Gospel those who otherwise would not have listened.⁷⁷

His teaching of English continued in the following years at the Technical School and a few other places.⁷⁸ Another way to serve the Japanese immigrants' zeal for Westernization was to offer cooking classes to women by the women missionaries. In 1912 and 1913, the missionaries' cooking classes were very popular especially among the women from the higher classes. Eliza C. Willard Winn held foreign cooking classes for women in many places. She said, "I still have foreign cookery or fancy work to attract women who are not at first attracted by the Gospel, and I think it has given them happy, innocent diversion in the lonely places where many of them live."⁷⁹ To Margaret P. Cuthbert Bryan, offering cooking classes was one of her three major works along with the running of a kindergarten and the managing of the Ladies Meeting. It seems that she wanted to develop the cooking classes. She was able to access the women from the higher classes of the society through the work. She described her three cooking classes in Port Arthur as follows:

I have three cooking classes. One just begun which I call the 'o jo San' class and the daughter of the head Civil Judge is its leader. One class of seven ladies chiefly wives of Technical School teachers. One more which consists of four ladies—first the wife of the Army Chief of Staff who is prejudiced against Christianity; second, the wife of the aid to the Chief of Staff. I think she is a Christian but afraid to have it known; third the wife of the Chief Army Surgeon of Manchuria; and fourth, the wife of the Chief Paymaster. These four ladies are all too 'high collar' to come if any others enter the class. There is

⁷⁷ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1909, 267. It seems that the money from his English teaching was turned over to the church.

⁷⁸ A. V. Bryan, "Report of Port Arthur, 1911-1912," p. 1, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #1, Folder #6; "Report of Manchuria Station (Port Arthur), 1913," p. 1-2, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #1, Folder #7

⁷⁹ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1912, 306.

no direct religious teaching, but always talk about work and Christianity while they are in the kitchen.⁸⁰

The missionaries' responses to the zeal for Westernization with the English and cooking classes apparently provided the missionaries with a 'contact point' in a mission field. For example, some of the English class members became the foundation of a Christian meeting.⁸¹ Probably, the making of a 'contact point' was the most important reason when A. V. Bryan tenaciously taught English at various schools after the beginning period of his work. The women missionaries were also longing for 'Christian talk' in the classes as their reports showed. To many Japanese immigrants, the missionaries were one of the greatest resources to access Western ideas and material life around them. Their practical needs were met by the missionaries who were all ready for their requests. However, it should be noted that the missionaries' strong intention of offering classes in English and cooking did not come from the cause of cultural and social transformation but from their evangelism-centered strategy. Despite the missionary efforts to manage those classes, it is questionable how much they contributed to the transformation of the Japanese immigrants' mind, culture and society as a Christian mission except for securing the 'contact point.'

2. The Missionary among the Sick

⁸⁰ Mrs.. Bryan [Margaret P. Cuthbert Bryan], "Report of Port Arthur by Mrs. Bryan, July 1913," p. 2, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #1, Folder #7

⁸¹ A. V. Bryan, "Report of Manchuria Station (Port Arthur), 1913," p. 1, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #1, Folder #7

Life of Medical Missionaries in Manchuria

It is certain that a medical doctor was one of the busiest professionals in Southern Manchuria at the end of the Ch'ing Empire and the Republican periods with many sick people suffering from diseases brought by the poor condition of hygiene, relatively long winters, and casualties caused by banditry, social turmoil, and frequent wars, international and domestic, that occurred on the site.⁸² Some common diseases in Southern Manchuria including tuberculosis and eye trouble were aggregated by the poor knowledge and management in hygiene. Tuberculosis was "often passed on from one person to another" by those not using "isolation or disinfectants." Eye trouble was often "caused by irritation from the smoke from the kang or long brick platform," which was the dominant heating system in Manchuria.⁸³ People in Southern Manchuria were often attacked by epidemic diseases. While Pneumonic Plague, which happened in the winter of 1910-1911, was the most dreadful one, cholera, typhus and small-pox were among other endemic maladies.⁸⁴ In the 1920s, the department of hygiene of the Kwantung Government listed infectious diseases in the South Manchuria Railway Zone during the first two decades of the twentieth century as follows: typhoid fever, paratyphus, dysentery, scarlet fever, small pox, diphtheria, typhus, cerebrospinal meningitis, relapsing

⁸² While the entire Manchuria became a ground of banditry, Southern Manchuria was the heart of numerous international and domestic violent activities in the late Imperial and Republican China including the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, the Boxer Uprising of 1900, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, the Moukden Incident of 1931 and following invasion of Japan to make its puppet state Manchukuo. Some even called Manchuria 'The Cockpit of Asia.' See Colonel P. T. Etherton and H. Hessel Tiltman, *Manchuria: the Cockpit of Asia* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1932)

⁸³ Ethel Omelvena, *Sketches from a Medical Missionary's Life in Manchuria, 1898-1929* (1957), p. 6, The Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh. Ref #40, Box #1. The heating system 'kang' was "heated internally by smoke from the cooking pot running in horizontal flues." "The kang was the ordinary sleeping place, and also took the place of chairs or seats in the home." For the list of diseases and operations done in the Moukden Hospital, see Dugald Christie, *Ten Years in Manchuria: A Story of Medical Mission Work in Moukden, 1883-1893* (Paisley: J. And R. Parlane, 1900), 93-100.

⁸⁴ Ethel Omelvena, *Ibid.*, 621.

fever, and influenza as well as cholera and plague.⁸⁵ One of the painful and socially destructive diseases in the area was opium poisoning. A considerable number of people in Manchuria, often the entire family, had the habit of opium smoking⁸⁶ and some of them were poisoned with it. Wang Jing-ming or 'Old Wang,' who was converted by the Scottish missionary John Ross and became the first and great indigenous evangelist of Manchuria, had been also poisoned with opium.⁸⁷ Indeed, the government issued "proclamations from time to time forbidding its growth," but these were "generally disregarded."⁸⁸ Opium smoking was not something socially banned in Manchuria and brought a disastrous effect to the person, family, and society. Not surprisingly, some opium poisoning patients came to die of it. While a considerable number of the opium poisoning patients came to medical missionaries often carried by others as being unable to walk, a patient could not help but asking for his poisoned arm to be cut off.⁸⁹

While the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI) sent 24 medical doctors and 2 nurses to Manchuria from 1869 to 1931, the Scottish Churches in succession - the United Presbyterian Church (UPC, up to 1900), the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS, since 1900), and the Church of Scotland (CS since 1929) - sent 38 medical doctors and

⁸⁵ "Hygiene of South Manchuria," *Light of Manchuria* no. 24 (August 1922): 28-29.

⁸⁶ MHPCI (Nov. 1873): 236. The Scottish medical missionary of Moukden Dr. Dugald Christie estimated in the 1890s that "about forty per cent of the adult male population of Moukden indulged in it, and a large number of women, especially those belonging to the upper class." Dugald Christie, *Ten Years in Manchuria: A Story of Medical Mission Work in Moukden, 1883-1893* (Paisley: J. And R. Parlane, 1900), 75-76.

⁸⁷ John Ross, *Old Wang: the First Chinese Evangelist in Manchuria* (The Religious Tract Society, 1889), 22-23.

⁸⁸ James Carson, MHPCI (Nov. 1877): 619.

⁸⁹ MHPCI (Feb. 1877): 353; (April 1879): 1054; (Sept. 1879): 1247; (Sept. 1879): 1249-50. Irish and Scottish missionaries in Manchuria including the medical missionary Dr. J. M. Hunter objected opium traffic by the Britain just as many other Protestant missionaries in other parts of China did. He wrote in his report to the Board that "one was a man whose hand had been rotting for more than a year. His state was almost indescribable. I defy the United Kingdom to produce a human being in such a state." MHPCI (Sept. 1879): 1249. In 1924, the National Anti-Opium Association was created as greatly helped by the Anti-Narcotic Committee of the N. C. C. See Tai Ping Heng, "Chinese Christians and the National Anti-Opium Movement," CR (August 1927): 517-20.

10 nurses from 1881 to 1931.⁹⁰ The medical missionaries amounted to forty percent of all the missionaries of both missions in the period. Among the medical missionaries who worked longest in Manchuria were Dr. Dugald Christie and Dr. R. J. Gordon with about forty years. The Scottish Mission was running “five hospitals and dispensaries across Manchuria” in 1905 with the largest two hospitals located in Moukden and Liaoyang of Southern Manchuria.⁹¹

The routine practice of the medical missionaries in the biggest hospital in Manchuria located at Moukden was as follows: prayer meeting of the hospital staff, visitation of the wards with the superintending of dressings, seeing out-patients in the Consulting Room followed by prescribing for them, and the second round of the wards with medical follow-ups and gospel talk. “Out-patient days were Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday” and “Wednesday and Saturday were kept for operations.”⁹² A brief description of a few selected medical doctors’ work and life will be discussed here.⁹³

Dr. J. M. Hunter, sent by the PCI in 1869, was the first medical missionary in Manchuria and one of the two resident Protestant missionaries. He tried to carry on both medical and evangelistic works throughout his life. One of the features of his initial work was to visit the northern, western, and eastern frontiers of Manchuria to explore the possibility of Christian missions there. He encountered Christians influenced by the Russian Orthodox Church, which prevailed in the Russian territory only across the

⁹⁰ Austin Fulton, *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1967), 391-99. The medical doctor Agnes M. Cowan is missing in the list of this book. The total number of missionaries in the Irish Church and Scottish Churches was 73 and 108, respectively, during the period, except for the missionary wives.

⁹¹ H. H. Tsai, “Scottish Women Medical Pioneers: Manchuria 1894-1912,” *Scottish Medical Journal* (1992): 57.

⁹² Ethel Omelvena, *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁹³ Accounts of a few selected women medical missionaries in Manchuria will be made in a separate section later in this chapter.

borderline.⁹⁴ He experienced a series of personal difficulties and obstacles in his early period including the resignation of his fellow missionary Hugh Waddell, failure of his health, and the death of his wife.⁹⁵ In addition, it seems that Hunter had some difficulties in contributing to the mission's teamwork. According to a research, "he was a rugged individualist" and had an uneasy relationship with his colleagues including James Carson. The Board gave a warning against him and tried to recall him to home at least one time.⁹⁶ His medical work began to be recognized by the indigenous people only after overcoming the initial difficulties including the spread of some strange rumors, including the report of "children being made away with for the sake of their eyes and hearts to make medicine of," clearly related to the 'Tientsin Massacre' of 1870.⁹⁷ The average number of his patients in the period between August 14th 1878 and the 26th was 19.⁹⁸ Opium poisoning was one of the sad and common diseases he rendered his service for throughout his period. Hunter died of illness in the ship coming home in May 1884.⁹⁹

The Scottish medical missionary Dr. Dugald Christie was recognized not only from the missionary and indigenous Christian circle but also from the larger Manchurian community including the highest officials by his longest service out of all the medical missionaries in Manchuria, the founding of the Moukden Medical College (MMC), and the rendering of his service to the work of the Missionary Conferences in China. Dr. Christie was sent by the United Presbyterian Church as one of the first two medical missionaries to Manchuria in 1882 and served the indigenous people and his colleagues

⁹⁴ MHPCI Oct. 1876: 275; Dec. 1876: 311.

⁹⁵ MHPCI (March 1872): 545; (Feb. 1873): 217

⁹⁶ William Palmer Addley, "A Study of the Birth and Development of the Overseas Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland up to 1910" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University of Belfast, 1994), 318-20.

⁹⁷ MHPCI (Jan., 1871); (Nov. 1): 1871. After getting reputation, he have received 'Two Tablets' from one of his patients as a gift and sent it to the Museum of Ireland in 1880. MHPCI (April 1880): 88.

⁹⁸ MHPCI (Jan. 1879): 990.

⁹⁹ MHPCI (Sept. 1884): 274.

in Manchuria for forty years until he retired in 1922. The patients at the Moukden Hospital, which was the biggest one in Manchuria in the size of the staff, were the main group that he was responsible for. As mentioned earlier, he also worked for the refugees and patients from the wars and plagues. His life as a medical missionary may not be properly described without mentioning of his contribution to the founding of the Moukden Medical College (MMC). Christie, who has dreamed of a medical training school in Manchuria from the beginning of his service, finally launched to make “his appeal for help to found a college of medicine in Manchuria”¹⁰⁰ in the fall of 1909. Between 1908 and the early 1909, his plan had been greatly inspired by the generosity of the Viceroy Hsu Shih-chang and other Chinese officials who donated a site contiguous to the Moukden hospital for a medical school and promised “a liberal government grant” for running it.¹⁰¹ The plan was, then, approved and fully supported by the Council of the Scottish Mission in Manchuria, the United Conference of the Scottish, Irish, and Danish Missions, the Board of Foreign Missions of the UFCS, and even the Manchurian Branch of the Chinese Medical Missionary Association for Christie to go for fundraising.¹⁰² Neither the UPC nor the PCI would, however, be responsible for financial support, although the United Conference heartily recommended it “to the liberal support of all interested in the welfare of the Chinese.”¹⁰³ Already in October 1910, the contributions received by Christie totaled over £4,000, which was the needed expenses for the

¹⁰⁰ Austin Fulton, *Ibid.*, 248.

¹⁰¹ In addition to the site, the Viceroy of Manchuria “guaranteed Tls. 3,000 (about £420) a year for ten years towards the College.” “During January and February 1909, Chinese officials and other friends subscribed \$5,000 (about £450) towards the Building Fund.” MRUFCS (March 1910): 117. Also, see Iza Christie, “Life at Moukden Medical College,” MRUFCS (March 1913), 142. Also see, *Fengtian yikedaxue jianshi* [Brief History of Mukden Medical College] (1992), 43.

¹⁰² MRUFCS (March 1910): 117; Austin Fulton, *Ibid.*, 248.

¹⁰³ MRUFCS (March 1910): 117; Austin Fulton, *Ibid.*,

construction of the building, only leaving the salaries for the staff.¹⁰⁴ “The Moukden Medical College formally opened in 1912” with the teaching staff of 7 medical doctors including Dr. Christie himself and the 60 selected students out of over 230 applicants.¹⁰⁵ In addition, being a senior and respected medical missionary in China, Dr. Christie served the Medical Missions Committee of the China Centenary Missionary Conference held in Shanghai in 1907 as the Chairman.¹⁰⁶

The life of the Irish missionary Dr. James A. Greig, who came to Manchuria in 1889 and worked in the city of Kirin until 1926 shows the difficulty in pioneering missionary work in a new place in the late nineteenth-century Manchuria..¹⁰⁷ His life also shows how, at the turn of the twentieth century, the governing agencies of a field missionary - the Mission Committee on site and the Board of Foreign Missions - and indigenous Christians were responding to a series of critical events and decisions of the missionary. At the meeting of the Mission Committee in Moukden in May 1900, Dr. Greig, because of his wife’s fatal illness chronic during the past eight years and acute recently, proposed his resignation with “the opinion of his medical colleagues” in Manchuria that “it is impossible for her to live in that country.”¹⁰⁸ The Committee “recommended the Board to accept his resignation” and even appointed another missionary Dr. D. L. Fisher “to take his place at Kirin.”¹⁰⁹ It seems that owing to the

¹⁰⁴ MRUFCS (Oct., 1910): 453. The famous Scottish traveler and writer Mrs. Isabella L. Bird Bishop left £1,000 out of her estate for the College. MRUFCS (March 1910): 130.

¹⁰⁵ *Fengtian yikedaxue jianshi* [Brief History of Mukden Medical College] (1992), 51; MRUFCS (March 1912): 123.

¹⁰⁶ *China Centenary Missionary Conference Records* (New York: American Tract Society, 1907), 247, 626-59.

¹⁰⁷ He was brutally attacked “by a number of soldiers at an inn near the city of Kirin in 1891” when he was “endeavoring to gain an entrance” into the city.” See Robert Boyd, *Manchuria and Our Mission There* (Belfast: Wm. Strain & Sons, 1908), 60.

¹⁰⁸ MHPCI (Aug. 1900): 190.

¹⁰⁹ MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 225.

seriousness of her illness, Greig and the Committee properly chose ‘resignation’ rather than ‘furlough,’ which was normally recommended by ‘the Rules of the Foreign Mission.’¹¹⁰ However, the Mission Board “decided to postpone consideration of the matter.” Meanwhile, the Elder Sung of the Kirin congregation “on behalf of the Kirin Christians,” proposed to Dr. Greig that “after his return home he should pay an annual visit to Kirin of two or three months, the expenses of which will be borne by them.” Unfortunately, June 1900 was the time that the dreadful Boxers’ Uprising was spread into Manchuria from the North China. Mr. and Mrs. Greig evacuated to the city of Vladivostok located in the Russian territory in August but, on arriving at the city, Mrs. Greig died.¹¹¹ Left alone with the great loss, Dr. Greig decided not to return to his home but to Kirin where his Christians were being persecuted under the Boxers. He wrote, “I have asked Mr. [Thomas] Fulton to let you know I now wish to withdraw my resignation, as my sole reason for retiring from the service of the Mission was Mrs. Greig’s continued ill-health. I will not come home at present.”¹¹²

Medical Service with Evangelism

The Irish and Scottish missionary work in Manchuria is a showcase for the close relationship between medical service and evangelism in a mission field. While the medical services served as eye-opening events to remove the ‘prejudices’ of the

¹¹⁰ Although a much later version, the stipulation about this case from “the Foreign Mission 1921 Rules,” reads, “If it appears necessary that a missionary should accompany his wife or any member of his family whose return home is by medical certificate declared to be necessary, he shall be at liberty to anticipate his furlough on obtaining the like approval.” *Irish Presbyterian Mission, Manchuria: Handbook for Missionaries Approved by the Mission Council, January, 1926*, p.3.

¹¹¹ MHPCI (Nov. 1900): 278. A historian called the mission field as ‘the white woman’s grave.’ R. D. Kernohan, *Women in the Church: In Our Church* (Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1985): 78-81. This was cited from H. H. Tsai, “Scottish Women Medical Pioneers: Manchuria 1894-1912,” *Scottish Medical Journal* (1992): 56.

¹¹² MHPCI (Nov. 1900): 278; (Jan. 1901): 9-10.

indigenous people against the foreign missionaries, evangelism was the goal in the activities of the medical doctors and all other types of missionaries. When the Irish Church started its foreign mission in Manchuria in 1869, they sent an ordained pastor Hugh Waddell with Dr. J. M. Hunter. This pattern was repeated in the practices of the Irish Manchuria Mission including the case in which it sent James Carson and Dr. James A. Greig together to open the city of Kirin for the gospel in 1889.¹¹³ The fact that the Board of Missions in 1876 sanctioned the graft of medical mission on the more education-centered mission in India with an additional fund for medical mission shows the PCI's strong awareness of the close relationship between medical service and evangelism as well. The position of the Board was said that "The value of medical missionary is beyond question, and the value is greatest where he is grafted on a mission that is already well established. ... Why should there not be a Medical Mission Fund, a guarantee Fund of £600 a year for five years."¹¹⁴ It was not long before the Scottish Church participated in the support of the partnership model of evangelism and medical service in a foreign mission field. As mentioned above, it sent the first medical missionary to Manchuria in 1882. The address, "The Office of the Medical Missionary in China," delivered by the Scottish Rev. James Black to "Dr. D.C. Gray, on his designation as a medical missionary to Manchuria, in Wellington Church, Glasgow," on February 14th 1892 must be a vivid example to show that the late nineteenth century Scottish church leaders were participating in the idea of the partnership. Here is a part of that address:

¹¹³ W. S. O'Neill, *The Call of the East* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1919), 19-20.

¹¹⁴ MHPCI (July & Aug. 1876): 122-23.

The medical missionary, whose office is the cure of the body as well as the saving of the soul, is certainly the more perfect representative of Jesus Christ. ... Many of the people are eager enough to have advice and medicine in their sicknesses from the medical missionary, who would not for a moment listen to the preaching of another missionary. ... I am persuaded that the medical missionary and the gospel missionary should always be found working together in every foreign mission field. And, I believe, that if the Churches had begun sooner to act upon the principle of sending out the one along with the other, the success of the gospel among the heathen would have been greater than it is.¹¹⁵

Dr. Dugald Christie of Moukden was one of the medical missionaries who knew that the nature of medical missions was evangelistic. In 1891, he singled out six “Christian young men who were willing to devote themselves to the work of ‘medical-evangelists’” through the examination in Chinese classics and Christian knowledge for the following five years of training in medical knowledge.¹¹⁶ His spirit of evangelism in medical work was reflected in the philosophy of the Moukden Medical College, which would be founded in about twenty years. It was essentially to be “a missionary institution, run on Christian principles, permeated by Christian influence, and with a great deal of direct Christian teaching.”¹¹⁷ The mission hospitals also had very strong programs serving the cause of evangelism. Bible women or medical missionaries approached the out-patients waiting for the doctor’s consultation. Evening visitation of the wards was an important time for the medical missionaries to encourage their patients toward Christian faith.¹¹⁸ The way of winter village work of Dr. Ethel Louie Starmer (Ethel Omelvena), who was sent by the Scottish Church in 1898 for the next 24 years of medical work in Southern Manchuria, will be an excellent illustration for the Scottish partnership of medical service

¹¹⁵ MRUPC (April 1892): 119.

¹¹⁶ Dugald Christie, *Ten Years in Manchuria: A Story of Medical Mission Work in Moukden, 1883-1893* (Paisley: J. And R. Parlane, 1900), 61-62.

¹¹⁷ MRUFCS (March 1910): 117.

¹¹⁸ Ethel Omelvena, *Ibid.*, 6-7.

and evangelism. A part of the narrative of her medical work with the evangelistic missionary Miss Robina Taylor Garriock is as follows:

During the slacker time of work in the Hospital, which was winter, we took journeys into the villages. ... Two of us traveled together, a doctor and a teacher, leaving the other two ladies to keep the work going in the City. ... Messages were sent round to the villages we intended to visit, either to the evangelist, or if no evangelist, to the leading member of the little knot of Christians. A medicine box was furnished with concentrated mixtures to be diluted with water, powders ready wrapped, and dressings for surgical cases. We also took books, simple pamphlets and portions of Scripture. These were eagerly bought. They were provided by the British and Foreign Bible Society. ... We started the day's work in good time, and while I was seeing patients, Miss Garriock held a teaching class for women who were interested, or visited Christian women members, if any, in their homes. Where there was an Evangelist we slept at night in the little Chapel, and if there was none, we were hospitably received into a member's family, and slept on the kang with the family. In the evening there was a service for all, and gospel stories and pictures were explained. Sometimes we stayed two or more days in a village, sometimes only one, and then we passed on to the next village.¹¹⁹

Women Medical Missionaries

In 1877, the first Irish medical missionary Dr. J. M. Hunter desperately called for women medical missionaries, writing that "I wished for a thousand pounds, that I might give it to the Mission Board to enable you to send out some sensible woman, with a smattering of medicine. O, THE GOOD THAT A GOOD WOMAN COULD DO among these people!"¹²⁰ Both Irish and Scottish Missions started to send their single women missionaries to Manchuria in 1889 with Maggie Struthers and Sarah Nicholson. Especially, more systematic 'Zenana Mission' of the Irish Church, which meant 'Women's Mission to Women' supported by a separate organization and fund, launched its history in Manchuria in 1891 with Miss Kennedy and Miss Cousar. The Scottish Church also reported its three "Zenana missionaries and ten native agents" in 1891.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 7.

¹²⁰ MHPCI March 1877: 372-3.

¹²¹ MRUPC (June 1891): 176.

The ‘Zenana Mission’ of the PCI was started in 1874. The origin of the concept of the ‘Zenana Mission’ came from the India mission by a group of English women and it is particularly related to the work by medical missionaries for women. “Some visionary Victorian women in London ... founded the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, with a vision: ‘If we can give the women of India the power to read, and the Book to read, God will bless his word.’ In 1873, at a time when there were only two qualified female doctors in England, they extended the work in the *Zenanas* (enclosed female quarters in India), and the name was changed to the *Zenana Bible and Medical Mission*. For many years it remained an entirely women’s mission to women (men are admitted to ZBMM only in 1950) and registered remarkable achievements.”¹²²

Women medical missionaries also started to arrive in Manchuria in the 1890s. The Scottish Mary Campbell Horner and the Irish Annie Gillespie were the first medical doctors arriving in 1894 and 1896, respectively. Both Churches sent 29 Medical doctors and 12 nurses from 1894 to 1931 making up 43% of all the women missionaries and, surprisingly, 55% of all the medical missionaries during the period.¹²³ The first four Scottish women medical doctors arriving before 1900, Mary Campbell Horner, Katherine Kirk Paton, Isabella Aitken, Ethel Louie Starmer, worked in the cities located in Southern Manchuria, such as Moukden, Liaoyang, and Kaiyuan.¹²⁴ Medical staff at a small hospital or dispensary was frequently made up of all women.¹²⁵ One of the branches that the women medical missionaries felt most weak in Manchuria from the medical condition of

¹²² *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions* (Baker Academic, 2000), 501.

¹²³ For the list of the women missionaries, see Austin Fulton, *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1967), 391-99.

¹²⁴ H. H. Tsai, “Scottish Women Medical Pioneers: Manchuria 1894-1912,” *Scottish Medical Journal* (1992): 56.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

the indigenous and from the current status of development in the medical mission was 'Maternity.' According to Dr. Edel Omelvena, "Chinese were very conservative about this, and they had many superstitions and customs in connection with it." "An old woman officiated, and being ignorant of any method of dealing with abnormalities, and totally unacquainted with antiseptics of any sort, many lives of mothers and infants were lost." The Moukden Women's Hospital was rebuilt in 1903 and Dr. Mary Campbell Horner and Dr. Ethel Louie Starmer were among the missionaries working for it. As mentioned above, "the number of medical women exceeded that of men" during the period.

Medical Mission: A Discussion

Some of the important findings and issues will be discussed below in considering of the significance and problems of the medical work in the Manchuria Missions. First, in terms of the size of the staff and fund, the medical mission in Manchuria had a special position in the foreign missions of both Irish and Scottish Churches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The PCI sent 26 medical missionaries making up thirty one percent out the total of 83 missionaries during the period. Comparison of Manchuria mission to India mission may suggest another insight toward the prominence of medical mission in Manchuria. Up to 1910, 8 medical missionaries went to Manchuria while 2 went to India.¹²⁶ A study on the Scottish Church's missionaries and mission funds may show how much the Church's medical mission resources were concentrated on Manchuria rather than on many other mission fields, and how much the Manchuria Mission's resources were concentrated on medical mission rather than on some other mission methods like education. The UPC was sending 5 medical missionaries to

¹²⁶ William Palmer Addley, *Ibid.*, 221.

Manchuria in 1894 making the mission the second biggest in rank out of all the mission fields only after India with 6. In other types of missionaries, Manchuria Mission was, however, keeping 9 ordained missionaries only being the fifth behind Jamaica with 20 and India with 14. 'Zenana Missionaries' in Manchuria were ranked the third with 5 while India being the first with 13.¹²⁷ In terms of the size of mission funds, Manchuria was ranked of 'the Ordinary Fund' the third biggest mission field with £4,918 out of all the 8 fields after India with £10,234 and Caffraria with £4,950 in 1890.¹²⁸ In details, Manchuria was the second with £414 in the expenditure for 'Hospitals and Dispensaries' after India with £474. 'Educational' of Manchuria Mission was ranked at the bottom of the eight fields with only £40 while India Mission, which was the first, reported £2,002 for that expense. In 1892 and 1893, Manchuria rose as the biggest mission field out of the eight fields in 'Hospitals and Dispensaries' while it remained at the bottom in 'Educational.'¹²⁹ In sum, medical mission had a great significance in Manchuria in terms of expenditure and personnel while educational mission greatly developed in India.

Secondly, it seems that, as the report of Alexander R. Mackenzie pointed out,¹³⁰ the Moukden Medical College, along with many other mission schools of the Republican China, was facing growing nationalistic demands from the Chinese government and from the society as a whole in the 1920s. He described the demands and the difficulties from the missionary as follows:

¹²⁷ "General Abstract of Mission Statistics," MRUPC (Supplement to the July 1894): 16.

¹²⁸ MRUPC (April 1891): 114.

¹²⁹ MRUPC (1893): Extra page 12; (1894): Extra page 12. The expenditure of Manchuria Mission in 'Hospitals and Dispensaries' amounted to £498 in 1892 and £569 in the next year, while that of India to £437 and £368 each in the two years.

¹³⁰ Alexander R. Mackenzie, *Church and Missions in Manchuria: A Survey of a Strategic Field* (World Dominion Press, 1928), 39-43.

If, as seems to be the case, some Chinese educational authorities are resolved to neutralize, as far as it possible, the Christian activities of schools and colleges founded by Missions, by claiming an ever-increasing share not merely of oversight but of control of the schools, even to the extent of deciding whether missionaries may or may not teach in institutions founded by themselves, of insisting on the appointment of Government nominees to the teaching staffs, and of deciding whether or not any institution may continue, are Mission Boards justified in continuing such work?¹³¹

The College was also facing with the problem of funding and the issue of identity as a Christian school by the lack of 'Christian' curriculum and program in the midst of more institutionalized Christian missions in the China of the 1920s. The College was "the largest staff of all, the most costly plant and the highest annual charges for running expenses." Therefore, he was raising these questions: "Is medical education a suitable direction for such expenditure? Is the result achieved commensurate with the effort put forth? Could something greater and more lasting be done by turning this energy in another direction?"¹³² He, as a response, suggested of the way to bring the cost of education from "the provincial authorities." In addition, he saw that "the purely religious training given by the College" was "a small part of the whole, and was of a voluntary nature" to meet the need of a Christian school. He tried to arouse an interest in the Christian identity of a mission school in a transitional period of the awakening Chinese society and in a period in which Christian missions in China was being redefined from a more liberal and humanitarian perspective.

The last point I want to bring to this discussion is about the meaning of the Women medical missionaries in relation to the rise of feminism in the Western society. The rise of Victorian Feminism in Ireland and Scotland contributed to the foreign mission movement of the religious women, and *vice versa*. For example, the Victorian Irish

¹³¹ Ibid., 41.

¹³² Ibid., 40.

society was experiencing a transition in terms of the scope and visibility of the women's activities in Church and society. In their co-research, David Hempton and Myrtle Hill shows the limitations and possibilities in the activities of the nineteenth century Irish religious women as follows:

Women's preaching should thus be seen as exceptional and transitional rather than officially sanctioned and accepted. Even at the peak of their influence women preachers were seen as itinerant supporters in virgin territory, as with the nineteenth-century overseas missionary movement, and were never accepted as regular preachers to settled congregations. ... The intensification and diversification of evangelical activity in the nineteenth-century greatly increased the opportunities for women's participation. ... Specifically female philanthropic societies, both evangelical and non-evangelical, also flourished in the mid-nineteenth century, and this type of involvement, while still largely secondary and supportive in nature, and still within the traditional arena of charity and benevolence, was important in offering an outlet to women's industry and talent outside the home and family circle.¹³³

It is true that Victorian Irish religious women were still secondary to men in many public places. However, it is also true that the women were filling the necessary gap in many public religious and non-religious areas including more emotional preaching, welcoming and guiding the itinerant preachers, and philanthropic activities. Particularly, their activities get valued in "the culture of middle-class female domesticity" and "evangelicalism transcended national boundaries, social classes, religious denominations and psychological stereotypes."¹³⁴ According to Sandra M. Baillie, "Women were important religious agents" in the nineteenth century in "Ulster's religious life and were active participants in religious life even if some of their roles were somewhat

¹³³ David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, "From 'Born to Serve: Women and Evangelical Religion,'" In *The Irish Women's History Reader*. edited by Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart. (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 120-22.

¹³⁴ David Hempton, *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion c 1750-1900*, (Routledge: London and New York, 1996), p. 180.

restrictive.”¹³⁵ Irish Presbyterian women helped foreign mission services largely in the following three ways: establishing missionary committees and auxiliaries; fund-raising; and working at mission fields. The Female Missionary Association (FMA) and the Girls’ Auxiliary (GA) were founded in 1874 and 1911 respectively within PCI.¹³⁶ The account of Irish women’s fundraising for foreign missions is of most significance in terms of the process and amount. For example, the records show that the Female Missionary Association of PCI was collecting about a half of the foreign mission fund of the Church in the 1880s and the amount was constantly increasing.¹³⁷ It should be noted that this fund-raising was one of the most important four sources of the foreign mission fund along with congregational contributions, donations, and bequests. Mrs. Martha Mary Magee’s substantial endowment of bequest amounting to about £37,000 for the foreign mission of PCI illustrates a wonderful example of Victorian Christian women’s philanthropic and evangelical dedication. Interestingly, the General Assembly decided to use the bequest only for the education of Indian women.¹³⁸ Irish and British Christian women developed the ‘*Zenana Mission*,’ an innovative way of foreign mission from women to women, in the second half of the nineteenth century. The *Zenana Mission* by Irish Presbyterian women was created in 1873 under its full title, ‘the Female Association for Promoting Christianity among the Women of the East’ (FAPCWE). The word ‘*Zenana*’ came from “the part of the Indian household set aside for women, and to which

¹³⁵ Sandra M. Baillie, *Evangelical Women in Belfast: Imprisoned or Empowered?* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), p. 10.

¹³⁶ J. Ernest Davey, *The Story of A Hundred Years*. (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1940) pp. 28-29.

¹³⁷ The contribution amounts of the Female Missionary Association from 1880 to 1886 were shown as £1,524 in 1880-1881, £1,556 in 1881-1882, £2,161 in 1884-1885, and £2,287 in 1885-1886. See, *MHPCI* July & Aug. 1882, p. 896; July & Aug. 1885, p. 150; July & Aug. 1886, p. 149.

¹³⁸ *MHPCI* July & Aug. 1879, pp. 1110-1. Martha Mary Magee also endowed with a substantial amount of £20,000 for establishing an institution for Presbyterian collegiate and seminary education which later became Magee College of the University of Ulster. Refer to J. Ernest Davey, *Ibid.*, 37.

men, including evangelical missionaries, had no access.” David and Hill mention the significance and growth of the *Zenana* Mission in Ireland like this. “While the setting up of the female mission was therefore essential to fulfill missionary objectives, it also gave local women the opportunity to consider the position of their eastern counterparts and to experience a different culture.” “By its second year the mission had 124 congregational auxiliaries in Ireland with over 6,000 members.”¹³⁹

By 1890, an awareness of the keen need of women missionaries in China including medical missionaries came up in the entire missionary society of China. Women delegates of “the two hundred and four ladies assembled” in “the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China made “An Appeal from More than Two Hundred Ladies, Members of the Conference” to “the Christian Women of the British Empire, the United States, Germany and all other Protestant Countries.” They recognized in ‘the Appeal’ the “four kinds of work open” to women missionaries in China, such as “school work,” the work “for the sick and suffering women,” the work “in the families of the Church,” and “evangelization among women.” The line for the second reads as follows: “There is a work to be done for the sick and suffering women of China, in hospitals, dispensaries and homes, for which skillful physicians are needed. Most of this work can be better done by women than by men, and much of it can be done only by women.” “Mrs. John Ross” and “Mrs. T.C. Fulton” from Manchuria were included in the list of the twenty signers.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, “From ‘Born to Serve: Women and Evangelical Religion,” In *The Irish Women’s History Reader*, ed. Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), 122.

¹⁴⁰ *The Missionary Review of the World* vol. 13 no. 9 (September 1890): 674-75.

H. H. Tsai, in a study of Scottish women missionaries in Manchuria, successfully contrasted between the low ratio of women doctors in the early twentieth century Scotland and the high ratio of them in the Manchuria mission field as follows:

At the University of Aberdeen between the years 1900 and 1910, women only made up 3% of the total graduates in medicine. In 1914, only 2% of the entries in the Medical Register were women. Yet, in that year, nearly half of the all the doctors in service in foreign mission with the United Free Church of Scotland Missions were women.¹⁴¹

As mentioned above, the number of the women missionaries exceeded that of male missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and thereafter, indeed. Tsai saw that “in an era in which women of medicine actually fared badly in their native Scotland as far as career prospects were concerned, overseas service may have held an attraction.”¹⁴² Foreign mission field provided the professional and awakened Christian women with one of the first and great places in which they were given a full attention of their gifts and knowledge.

Conclusion

Most converts of the British and Korean missionaries and the American missionaries among the Koreans in Manchuria came from the marginalized. People from lower classes, impoverished immigrants, war refugees, the wounded, the sick, and the exiled came to them at their critical moment. The American missionaries among the Japanese immigrants in Manchuria had a different experience. Many of them were the colonialists yearning for modernism and Westernization in a land of opportunity.

¹⁴¹ H. H. Tsai, *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 58.

The mission methods of the British missionaries were, as time went by, changing more emphasizing on medical service and relief, having faced the Manchuria people's social and material needs. Especially, the medical service, the Manchuria missions' specialty in comparing to other mission fields of the British Churches, provided the missionary with an excellent way to serve the society and to have a social network in the society. It also became a space in which British feminism found a way to develop.

However, the medical missionaries also revealed that their service was too teleological for the evangelization of the people and did not secure an independent space as a service for human physical needs. In addition, by the 1920s, the medical mission became under criticism by some missionaries and the home Churches mainly because of the high cost and the intention of the Chinese government for the controlling of the school curriculum.

American Manchuria stations for Koreans and Japanese were not supported by the Korea Mission and the West Japan Mission with full resources. The stations, which were set up last in the frontiers, were lacking in medical, educational, and some other services unlike in the stations in Korea and Japan. Socially and politically insecure environment in Manchuria probably prevented the PCUSA Korea Mission from supporting more resources for the work among the Korean immigrants in Manchuria. Indeed the Manchuria Station was abolished in the midst of the political turmoil in the Manchukuo period. The PCUSA Manchuria Station was started with Thomas Winn's appointment as the pastor of the Dairen Church and it was one of the stations for seventeen years. The mission for the marginalized or the lower classes was not focused in the station. However, the missionaries were striving for meeting the religious and cultural aspirations of the Japanese people in the semi-colony.

The Korean missionaries, who eventually became the pastors of the Presbyteries on site, tried to dedicate themselves to better the social and material environments of the converts and some other Koreans. Especially they were strong in religious and secular education, social work, political activities. Certainly they, as compared to the American missionaries, had advantages from the fact that they shared with their flock the same ethnic origin and the same feelings in national crises and economic hardship. As the Presbyteries developed in Manchuria, more personnel and resources were brought to the region.

The next chapter is a discussion about how the missionaries responded to some aspects of the politics revolved around Manchuria and China. A few representative events in anti-foreignism, nationalism, and trans-nationalism will be selected and discussed to help understand the political thought and practice of the missionaries.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MISSIONARY AND POLITICS: RESPONDING TO NATIONALISM, IMPERIALISM, AND TRANS-NATIONALISM

This chapter is intended to discuss the Irish, Scottish, American, and Korean Presbyterian missionaries' way of work and life in the backdrop of the Chinese nationalism, Japanese and Russian imperialism, and Korean nationalism in the early twentieth-century Southern Manchuria. Responding to the encroachments of the Western and Japanese imperialistic Powers at the turn of the twentieth century, the Chinese masses adopted nationalism and often expressed it as anti-foreignism as in the Boxer' Uprising of 1900. Russian and Japanese imperialism did not cease their rivalry in Manchuria and, finally, a war between the two resulted in a tragedy to the people in Manchuria. The Japanese *Kwantung* Government of Southern Manchuria ended up, with the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo, in dominating the warlordism of Chang Tso-lin and Chang Hsüeh-liang in 1932.

The two ideologies nationalism and imperialism have been intertwined or conflicting each other according to the context of the hosting historical stages. To begin with, the two were intertwined in their European origin. Many scholars, including Benedict Anderson¹ and Prasenjit Duara, agree that the history of the concept of nationalism and even nation-states in Europe is not very long. Whereas nation-states developed in the course of the eighteenth century, nationalism became popular only in the nineteenth century and was very much connected with Social Darwinism, the rights of

¹ See Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. rev. (London ; New York, 1991)

nation and its citizens, and colonial expansions.² Thereby European imperialism is something more than just colonial or territorial expansion. In this European nationalism, expansionism, imperialism, or even colonialism, the religion Christianity is also located in the thought of Social Darwinism by the end of the nineteenth century and is described as the survivor in the system of 'the survival of the fittest' over all the religions in the world.

According to Akira Iriye, Japanese imperialism in the late nineteenth century came from the nation's expansionist tradition and also, most significantly, from the "feeling of uncertainty and insecurity" in the contemporary context.³ Then, the expansionists, with the experience of imperialism, came to learn Western imperialism. In this Japanese expansionism, nationalism, or imperialism, Shinto religion could have been a part of the imperialist enterprise as an expansionist suggested.⁴ Christianity was expected to participate in the nationalism or imperialism. However, it was regarded as a philosophy or ideology rather than a religion to the imperialists.

In the modern China, nationalism was started with 'anti-foreignism' in the nineteenth century, although the definition of nationalism in this setting is illusive. By the early twentieth century, Chinese elites and intellectuals were introduced to the European nationalism or imperialism and were accustomed to Social Darwinism and the idea of democracy. But one of the most important and powerful ideas in the nationalism of the revolutionaries in the late Ch'ing dynasty was the form of ethnic nationalism centering on Han Chinese with the motto "Drive out the Manchus." According to the study of Hong-

² See Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 1-20.

³ Akira Iriye, "Imperialism in East Asia" in *Modern East Asia: Essays in Interpretation*, ed., James B. Crowley (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1970), 135.

⁴ Ibid.

yuan Chu and Peter Zarrow, this “ethnic-based and democracy-based nationalism” of the revolutionaries experienced a change in the succeeding reformers. The latter no longer sought the ethnic-based nationalism but pursued “a state-based nationalism” for survival in the midst of Western and Japanese imperialism. Anti-foreignism, which was more “local and traditional approach” “led by conservative officials and angry peasants,” was given up after the Boxer Uprising. Instead, “a more sophisticated and positive nationalism that laid the basis for both government and social reforms” were risen.⁵ In the twentieth-century Chinese nationalism, the attitude of the elites and intellectuals toward Christianity was a sort of ambivalent because they did not want to reject the civilization of the West but wanted to learn its both materialistic and mental forms, apart from the attitude of the conservatives and the people from the lower classes. However, in the Chinese understanding, Christianity was, anyway, attached to the Western imperialism, politically, culturally, and religiously. The Chinese nationalism was not intertwined with imperialism, unlike in the European and Japanese forms, but was an ideology interconnected with patriotism, democracy, ethnicity, nation-state, equality, and anti-imperialism.

What, then, was the response of the Presbyterian missionaries to the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean eruptive nationalisms? What were their thought and practice in facing the wars and conflicts, agitated minds, and the predicaments of their converts and other people in Manchuria driven by imperialisms? What was their narrow path to be among the nationalistic, imperialistic, and sometimes trans-national expressions? What was the way to lead their personal lives in the turmoil of Manchuria? This chapter will

⁵ See Hong-yuan Chu and Peter Zarrow, “Modern Chinese Nationalism: The Formative Stage,” in *Exploring Nationalisms of China: Themes and Conflicts*, ed. C. X. George Wei and Xiaoyuan Liu (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 3-21.

address these themes by focusing on the Boxer Uprising in Manchuria, the May Thirtieth Movement, Japanese advancement in Manchuria after the Russo Japanese War of 1904-1905, and Koreans' nationalistic and trans-national struggling in Manchuria.

1. Chinese Anti-Foreignism and the British Missionary

The Boxer Uprising in Manchuria

To begin with, it should be noted that the section is not intended to give a complete description of the Boxer Uprising in Manchuria but to give a general explanation about the development and feature of the movement, and its relation to the Shantung Boxers. Originating in Shantung Province in 1899-1900 as a fierce movement against the foreign and Christian influences in Chinese society, the Boxer Uprising also occurred in many parts of Manchuria. Being symbolized by the siege of the Peking legations in the summer of 1900, the Boxer Uprising was one of the most electric events in the history of Modern China in which Chinese peasants and some other people from the lower classes rose against foreign and Christian presences in China.⁶ According to Joseph Esherick, the Boxer Uprising or 'the Boxers United in Righteousness' (the I-ho-t'uan) in North China were never rebellious against "the Manchu rulers of China and their Qing dynasty" but were organized as a movement against foreigners, foreign Christianity and its Chinese

⁶ In order to see some of the major works and the transition of scholarship in the Boxer Uprising, see Victor Purcell, *The Boxer Uprising: A Background Study* (London, New York, and Ibadan: Cambridge University Press, 1963); Joseph W. Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1987); Paul A. Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); and Robert Bickers and R. G. Tiedemann, ed., *The Boxers, China, and the World* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007). As many scholars focused their work on the Boxers from Shantung, few scholars have dealt with the origins and development of the Boxers in Manchuria.

converts as the slogan “Support the Ch’ing, destroy the Foreign” showed.⁷ He sees that anti-dynastic sects like the White Lotus Sect were not involved in the movement but popular culture was its most important origin. Some other scholars including Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, however, saw that some groups involved in the event were actually rebellious against the Ch’ing court. Furthermore, Hsü also tried to see the economic frustrations of the Shantung people allegedly caused by the foreign economic penetrations for the motive of the event as well as the hatred foreign material civilization and Christian religion.⁸ The first Boxers of Manchuria, comprised of youth and adults, started to appear in the neighborhood of the treaty city Newchwang close to Shandong by boat in January 1900. They practiced their spirited marshal arts with many anti-foreign slogans including ‘Support and Protect the Chinese and Exterminate the Foreign’⁹ similar to those used in Shantung.¹⁰ As the movement spread to Chinchow toward the northwest, Port Arthur (Lushün) toward south, and many other places of Southern Manchuria and beyond, the Boxers eventually appeared in Moukden the capital city of the Fengtien Province by May and the members there came from the ranks of unemployed workers, railroad laborers, impoverished peasants, salesmen, and other types of lower class workers as well as many youth.¹¹ In addition, it seems that some sectarian societies like ‘the *Tsai li ti* sect’ were deeply involved in the movement. This sect originated in Shantung but developed in Manchuria into a great anti-foreign movement particularly after the Sino-Japanese War of

⁷ Joseph W. Esherick, *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv

⁸ Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, Late Ch’ing Foreign Relations, 1866-1905,” in *The Cambridge History of China: Late Ch’ing, 1800-1911* part II vol.11, ed. John K. Fairbank and Kwang-ching Liu (London, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 117-18.

⁹ The Chinese original reads, ‘fubaozhonghua, zhuquwaiyang.’

¹⁰ Zhiting Li, *Dongbei tong shi* [A Complete History of China Northeast Borderland] (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guzu Chubanshe, 2003), 595-96. In addition to the direct influence from the Boxers of Shandong, the 1891 Uprising in Eastern Mongolian against the feudalistic local government and the foreigners can be an influence on the Boxers in Manchuria, particularly in the Southwestern Manchuria.

¹¹ Zhiting Li, *Ibid* 596.

1894. “The Manchus joined them in crowds” and even “several members of the Imperial Family in Moukden and its neighbourhood became leaders.”¹² In the early June, the Boxers started to burn down the chapels and hospitals of the Scottish, Irish, and French Missions at Moukden area and also attacked the Russian railroad stations under construction. The Boxers also started their destruction and slaughter in the other frontier provinces Kirin and Heilungkiang by the end of June. While some government officials, including the vice governor-general, explicitly supported the Boxers, some government troops were aggressive in cooperating with attacking the mission properties and the Christians both foreign and indigenous.¹³ The following two Boxers’ items, the ‘Proclamation’ poster and the ‘Special Proclamation’ strip issued by a district official and the Imperial Court of the Ch’ing during the Boxer Uprising in Manchuria display very well the ‘official and governmental’ aspect of the movement, the hatred Christians and foreign missionaries as the target of the Boxers, and the Boxers’ basic spirit of nationalism:

Proclamation issued by the District Official of Kaiyüan (Manchuria) on the 19th day of the Seventh Moon (August) of the 26th Year of Kwang Hsu (1900) [when the Boxer Movement was at its height] exhorting the Christians and the Roman Catholics and Protestants to repent of their errors and return to their allegiance as good Chinese subjects, and threatening them with executions followed by indiputies to their bodies if they refuse to submit.¹⁴

¹² John Ross, *The Boxers in Manchuria* page 5. One of the few missionaries who stayed at the treaty city of Newchwang of Manchuria James Carson reported that “of all the persecutors of the Church everywhere none are more conspicuous and more diabolical than the brotherhood of the *Tsai li ti* sect. This is the universal testimony.” MHPIC (Nov. 1900): 278.

¹³ Zhiting Li, *Ibid.* Missionary sources, in addition to the Chinese sources, testify to “young lads,” “the soldiers,” and “the Manchu guards” participated in the movement in many places of Southern Manchuria. Refer to *Missionary Herald of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* (MHPIC) (Oct. 1900): 237, 239.

¹⁴ “Proclamation,” The Archives of the Gamble Library, The Union Theological College, Belfast, UK. The Box titled ‘Boxer and Other Materials.’ Translation was done by a Manchuria missionary.

Special Proclamation by Imperial Decree: It is hereby ordered this property belonging to the Christian rebels be forthwith confiscated and sealed up, to await registration with a view to its sale for the benefit of the Army revenues.¹⁵

According to a source, three hundred and eleven indigenous Christians and many French Catholic missionaries including the Bishop at Moukden were killed in Manchuria¹⁶ and almost all the chapels, hospitals, and Cathedrals were burned down or destroyed by the Boxers and the government troops mainly from June to August of 1900. Fortunately, all the Protestant missionaries with their family were able to escape to the treaty city Newchwang, Russia, or Japan before the most critical moment, although two missionary wives came to die in Vladivostok and Japan respectively right after their evacuation.¹⁷ The enthusiastic movement in North China and Manchuria for the protection of Chinese society and expulsion of all the foreign pressures religious and materialistic finally ended in October 1900. The conservative and militant Manchu Court of the Empress Dowager ran away from Peking as the expedition armies from the eight foreign Powers marched to the Peking legations in the early August. The reform-oriented governor-generals and officials of the Southern provinces including Li Hung-chang came to the fore of the central politics for the negotiation with the Powers.¹⁸ The aftermath of the movement was the death of a huge number of Chinese Christians, Chinese Boxers, and foreign missionaries, the charge of indemnity by the Powers amounting to 450 million taels upon

¹⁵ "Special Proclamation," The Archives of the Gamble Library, The Union Theological College, Belfast, UK. The Box titled 'Boxer and Other Materials.' Translation was done by a Manchuria missionary. There is an additional explanation of the item stating that "the above is a strip of paper which was pasted over the door of a Christian's house in Manchuria during the Boxer year (1900)."

¹⁶ F. W. S. O'Neill, *The Call of the East* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1919), 40-41.

¹⁷ While Mrs. Greig died of chronic illness at Vladivostok, Mrs. Westwater committed suicide by a pistol leaving his husband and children in Japan. See MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 224-5; Ethel Omelvena, *Sketches from a Medical Missionary's Life in Manchuria, 1898-1929* (1957) The Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh. Ref #40, Box #1.

¹⁸ Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *Ibid.*, 124-25.

the Manchu government, and thereby the decline of the conservative Court of the Empress Dowager particularly in domestic politics.

The Boxers and Chinese Politics in the Missionaries' Idea

The thought of the Irish and Scottish missionaries in Southern Manchuria to the Boxers was varied according to the Ch'ing government's changing attitude toward the Boxers and the local situation in Manchuria. Before the Manchurian Boxers came to the fore in June, the missionaries were well aware of the disturbances in Shandong and the neighboring province Chihli and also of the Empress Dowager's indifference to the suppressing of the Boxers. However, many of them did not think that it would break out in Manchuria. For example, John Keers, who worked at Chinchow, was, as of February 1900, recognizing that there was "a feeling of uncertainty as to the attitude of the Government towards Christianity." To him, "the apparent apathy of the authorities from the Empress Dowager down" was an important obstacle to solve the Boxers problem in North China. But he confessed later that he and other missionaries "had no idea that Manchuria should in any way be affected."¹⁹ They were hoping that the Boxers' activities "would be confined to Shantung and Chihli" and the Chinese officials would prevent the Russians from seizing Manchuria by not allowing the Boxers in Manchuria.²⁰ In addition, when they heard of the news about "Admiral Seymour's advance on Peking" in June, they felt relieved for days and "assumed that this would speedily make an end of the trouble."²¹ The missionaries' perception of the Boxers and the Court, however, turned out

¹⁹ MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 226.

²⁰ MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 227.

²¹ Dugald Christie, *Thirty Years in Moukden, 1883-1913: Being the Experiences and Recollections of Dugald Christie, C.M.G.* (London: Constable and Company, 1914), 135.

to be unrealistic. Their projection for Manchuria was also too optimistic. Indeed Empress Dowager decided to explicitly support the Boxers after February 1900 and even hired them to train the soldiers defending the Court. She finally proclaimed a war against the foreign Powers and was relying on the Boxers by the end of June.²² When the missionaries were seriously faced with the destruction by the Boxers in July, they came to grasp the nature of the Boxers and the Chinese politics much better. The Irish missionary Thomas Fulton, who still stayed at Moukden, wrote to the Board on June 19th that “the whole city is in a ferment,” the “anonymous placards” and “small handbills” “all breathe hatred to the foreigner, and agree upon the one remedy for every national ill, namely, extirpate the foreigner by fire and sword,” and the sympathy of “the soldiers and police, as a class,” “is wholly on the side of the ‘Boxers.’”²³ Keers claimed on June 21 that “the object of the ‘Boxers’ is to drive out foreigners” and “the ‘Boxer’ society is under the patronage of the highest statesmen in China.”²⁴ In addition, a senior missionary James Carson staying at the port of Newchwang endorsed this view in his report made on July 4th in emphasizing the movement’s idiosyncrasy and the Manchu Court’s support of it as follows:

This is altogether unlike any other movement in China with which foreigners are acquainted. It differs from all other secret societies in this, that it is essentially an anti-foreign organization. ... There is a well-founded belief that it has been secretly encouraged by what is known in Peking as the Manchu party—that is the party of the Empress-Dowager, with Prince Tuan at their head....Prince Tuan is, as you are aware, the father of the young sovereign.²⁵

²² Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *Ibid.*, 119-22.

²³ MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 228.

²⁴ MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 226.

²⁵ MHPCI (Sept. 1900)

Escape and Return of the Missionaries

Some missionaries including John Omelvena, John Keers, and Dr. Westwater stationed at Moukden, Kwangning, Chinchow, and some other most dangerous areas nearby started to leave southward by railway for the treaty port of Newchwang in mid-June. Dr. Christie, Dr. Young, and Thomas Fulton remained at Moukden toward the end of June. Other missionaries around Kirin including W. Miskelley, Dr. Greig, and Dr. Fisher had to escape northward to the Russian city Vladivostok by railway and boat in July due to the destruction of the railroads by the Boxers. The story of the Irish missionary F. W. S. O'Neill, who worked at Fakumen located northwest Moukden and was the last missionary to evacuate in Southern Manchuria, helps understand some critical issues in the missionary evacuation and gives important clues for the grasping the last days leading to the violent activities of the Boxers. The story shows that the missionaries' leaving behind the Christians was both selfish and altruistic. In the turmoil, the most basic yet hardest decision to the missionaries was undoubtedly whether they had to stay with the Chinese Christians or leave and, if it should be the latter, when they had to leave. O'Neill wanted to stay with his converts as long as possible. He wrote a letter to his mother on June 30th only three days prior to his leaving that "I do not wish to leave my work and the Christians here. My duty lies here at present."²⁶ According to him, he was preaching to an audience in his street chapel every day in the previous week when the town was "quiet" and "there was no disturbance or difficulty." It seems that the matter of his converts' safety, however, made him decide to leave. The following is a part of his narrative of the meeting attended by the elders, deacons, and himself right after hearing the news of the burning of the East Church, the Hospital, and Scottish Mission house in Moukden.

²⁶ MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 230.

Although it was written by the missionary himself, it would be enough to suggest a reason why a missionary needed to leave in the critical situation.

"Padre, the Boxer forces will soon be in our town. You must leave us. If you do not go, we Christians cannot scatter, but will feel bound to remain along with you. If we do not flee, nothing is left for us except torture and death!" ... The Irish Padre ... saw that the Deacon was right. In the early morning, dressed in a light-blue robe and an inverted-saucer straw hat, he sadly parted from his Chinese friends.²⁷

Second, some of his deacons were tempted to grab weapons to fight against the Boxers and asked O'Neill about it but he and two other elders did not agree on the idea. In fact, some days ago, more than two hundred Catholics of Moukden had been armed in their Cathedral to resist against the Boxers. They, however, could not be successful to protect both the Cathedral and their lives from the attacking of the government artillery as well as the spears and knives of the Boxers.²⁸ O'Neill reported that his deacons of Fakumen "would have been glad to make a common stand if attacked." To him, those "precautions, however, savour too much of the arm of the flesh." Elders Shang and Hsu were "not in favour of any such schemes."²⁹ All of them started a daily prayer meeting in O'Neill's house instead. By the way, it was not that this way of non-violence was kept by all the Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria. Apart from O'Neill's case, the missionaries W. MacNaughton and Dr. A. M. Westwater of Liaoyang located south Moukden were armed in the course of making their escape by train to Newchwang and "all the men 'foreigners,' community and missionaries," in Newchwang were "armed and prepared to watch" while "all the ladies and children were hurriedly aroused and taken to the British

²⁷ F. W. S. O'Neill, *The Call of the East* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1919), 40. See also Robert Coventry Forsyth, ed., *The China Martyrs of 1900* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904), 275.

²⁸ MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 229; (Oct. 1900): 239.

²⁹ MHPCI (Oct., 1900): 240.

legation.”³⁰ Third, at least in the case of Fakumen, the Boxers warned the missionary to leave before they set out the violent activities, although they did not necessarily do the same way for the Chinese converts. It seems that, like in other parts of China, the missionaries were treated more ‘generously’ than the indigenous Christians. The fact that no Protestant missionary in Manchuria was killed by the Boxers may support this view. O’Neill apparently “received threats of murder and burning of property.”³¹ He saw a bill “pasted up in several places in Fakumen saying that, by order of the Emperor,” the missionaries and Christians were “to be killed, and the chapels (Protestant and Roman Catholic) to be burnt”³² on the 8th of July. He, accordingly, had a chance to leave before getting harassed by them. Similarly, indigenous Christians were allowed a certain period to leave. But it seems that many Christians, often in a big family of more than ten to twenty people including the elderly and children, did not have a chance to leave and, indeed there was no place to hide them all. After a certain period, the Boxers started to hunt the Christians for blood and the government officials aggressively participated in the activity. For example, in a city of Kwangning, according to the testimony of Elder Chi and his brother, “the names of all the evangelists, elders, and deacons were posted up on the Yamen (courthouse) notice board. 120 taels were offered to any one who would bring in any elder, and 60 taels to those who brought in any of the others. Another later notice says that all Christians-men, women, and children-are to be destroyed, and their property confiscated.”³³ Indeed the Elder Hsu of Fakumen and Elder Shu of Moukden among numerous men and women Christians were murdered by the Boxers after their

³⁰ Ethel Omelvena, *Sketches from a Medical Missionary's Life in Manchuria, 1898-1929* (1957), p. 10, The Center for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh. Ref #40, Box #1.

³¹ John Omelvena, MHPCI (Sept. 1900): 226.

³² MHPCI (Oct., 1900): 240.

³³ J. Omelvena, “Suffering of Our Native Church in Kwangning,” MHPCI (Dec. 1900): 309.

missionaries left.³⁴ As the Boxers became stopped in Manchuria and the Russian troops occupied the major cities by October 1900, the missionaries gradually returned to their stations. The most conspicuous military movement in Manchuria during the fierce summer was not the cooperation of the Ch'ing government troops with the Boxers in persecuting the Christians but the quick and efficient occupation of the major cities, such as Harbin, Tieling, Moukden, and Newchwang, by Russian troops from July to October.³⁵ While Russia wanted to remain the predominant power in Manchuria in the proposal of a new treaty between Russian and China, most Chinese politicians, including Chang Chih-tung, and all the foreign Powers, particularly Japan, were opposed to the Russian expansion in the area. The Pastor Liu Chuan-Yue of the East Moukden Church, greatly helped by the Russian occupation, returned to Moukden in October, making the other Christians feel easy about coming back, and communicated with the missionaries in Newchwang. However, the missionaries still felt uneasy in November about returning to their work due to the banditry flourishing in many parts of Manchuria. According to James Carson's report in November 1900, "lawless bands of twenty, thirty, and upwards" were "roaming about terrorizing peaceful villages and isolated families, and exacting large sums of money from their fears." There was "no security for life or property except in the immediate vicinity of the railway" and "a radius of ten or twenty *li* from the city."³⁶ In the midst of turmoil, Dr. Greig, staying at Vladivostok, set out to go back to Kirin toward the end of October 1900 and other missionaries including F. W. S. O'Neill followed that path.

³⁴ MHPCI (Oct. 25): 1900.

³⁵ Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁶ MHPCI (Jan. 1901): 13.

Missionary Attacks of Imperialism after the Uprising

When some Europeans inside and outside China argued that the missionaries in China were responsible for causing the Boxer Uprising, the missionaries in Manchuria were not only obliged to defend themselves against the criticism but also willing to charge the Europeans in China with imperialistic activities upon Chinese territory, economics, and mind. Some other missionaries joined the critique of European imperialism with their own understandings of the Boxer Uprising and international politics. The Scottish missionary John Ross and Irish F. W. S. O'Neill were among those strongest advocates for the missionaries in China and Chinese patriotism in this concern. As to the popular criticism that the nature of the Uprising was "a missionary war," Ross strongly rejected this argument saying that "the real foundation, the one and only root of the evil," was "anti-foreign, not anti-missionary." To him, the missionary, who "was the only foreigner living intimately with the Chinese" and, thus, more visible, was "the first victim."³⁷ Ross, furthermore, claimed that the "vicious" European imperialism as well as the Catholic missionaries' "wicked" interference with the Chinese jurisdiction was responsible for the main motivation for the Uprising.³⁸ As a matter of fact, the Uprising was a kind of response from the Chinese masses to foreign imperialistic encroachments on Chinese territory, such as Japanese takeover of Taiwan and Liaotung peninsula in 1895 and 'the scramble for concessions' of 1897-1898 in which several foreign Powers competed to lease a part of Chinese territory or acquire the rights for railroads.³⁹ After pointing out the

³⁷ John Ross, *The Situation in China*, 9-10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

³⁹ In 1897, Germany obtained the concession of Kiaochow in Shantung and Russia occupied Port Arthur and Dairen in Liaotung peninsula. In the next year, the British secured the concessions of Weihaiwei the tip of Shantung peninsula and Hong Kong, Japan expanded its influence in Fukien province, and the French successfully leased Kwangchow Bay. For the details, refer to Leang-li T'ang, *The Foundations of Modern*

German encroachment in Shandong and the ensuing Chinese feeling of disgrace, Ross criticized the Powers' attempts to partition Chinese territory and he claimed there was a close relationship between foreign imperialism and the Uprising as follows:

When the Germans landed in Shantung and annexed the port of Kiaochow, a cry of indignation arose all over China, such as I never heard before.... Of all the possible alternatives of foreign policy on the conclusion of peace, inconceivably the worst would be the attempted partition of China ... because it would be the foundation for a far more serious uprising in the future.⁴⁰

He also looked out that European territorial attacking of China would eventually get harmful to the benefits of the European themselves in China, saying that "the more lawless and outrageous the European armies act now in the field, the more certain and the more speedy will come the overthrow of the influence and the prestige of the west."⁴¹ F. W. S. O'Neill joined Ross in this point. In viewing the Boxers as "ignorant men" "but true patriots according to their lights," he depicted the European imperialists as "unscrupulous" and attributed the cause of the Uprising to them as follows:

The cause of the rising lay in the unscrupulous conduct of the principal nations of Europe. One after another the Great Powers of Europe had deliberately seized nice bits of China. Germany, Russia, England, France, were all engaged in this pleasant and profitable game. 'We would not dream of stealing,' they chimed in chorus. 'Oh no, all we want is to borrow some of your lands and harbours. We do not wish to quarrel with you, for we have the kindest feelings towards you. We are, in fact, your friends. Please let us take these bits of your country without making a fuss. You should not call us robbers. That would interfere with the friendly relations between you and us.'

Ross and O'Neill's linking the Uprising to the imperialism of the Powers and describing the Protestant missionaries as a victim may be accepted as far as the Presbyterian

China (London: Noel Douglas, 1928), 67-80; Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* fifth edition, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 332-52.

⁴⁰ John Ross, *Ibid.*, 8-9, 15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

missionaries' basic policy and activities in Manchuria were concerned. According to a research conducted by J. G. Proctor, the Scottish missionaries in Manchuria "refrained from requesting British military intervention to punish those who had harmed them or to protect them in time of turmoil." There was a 'missionary case' in the Scottish Liaoyang Station located between Moukden and Newchwang. Fifteen hundred Manchus from Kirin located in the middle part of Manchuria were ordered to move to southern Manchuria for the Sino-Japanese War. A group of two hundred and fifty soldiers were quartered at Liaoyang in August 10 1894 and some of the soldiers assaulted the street chapel, while preaching was going on. They, in turn, wanted to assault the James A. Wylie's compound but only found it was locked. James A. Wylie with two assistants started out to go to the Yamen but he became soon assaulted by the soldiers and some people from Liaoyang. He was left on the road and, despite of the fellow medical missionary, died in six days.⁴² At this fatal event, the missionary community made "only a plea that Britain provide diplomatic support for Ross' demand that the Manchurian authorities bring the offenders to justice."⁴³ It is certain that the missionaries' approach of the Wylie case and the aftermath of it were much different from the case of the murder of two German missionaries in Shantung in 1897, by which the imperialistic Germany established a firm foothold in China.

However, the British missionaries in Manchuria may not be totally free from the charge of cooperating with imperialism in China. Their missionary work in Manchuria, starting at Newchwang located at the tip of Liaotung peninsula, was only able to be

⁴² Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkanxubian, ed. *Qingmo jiaolan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2006), 726; MRUPC (Oct. 1894): 271-313.

⁴³ J. H. Proctor, "The Response of Scottish Missionaries to Political Conditions in Manchuria, 1872-1950." *Mission Studies*, vol. 16-2 (1999): 48. Also see the pages 48-50.

started because of the 1858 Tientsin Treaty and the 1860 Peking Treaty and to be maintained by the treaty provisions. Furthermore, the missionaries maintained a good relationship with the Russian imperialists, who were the *de facto* ruling power in Manchuria, during and after the Boxer Uprising. Basically, the Scottish and Irish missionaries were grateful for the advance of the Russian troops. The missionaries and indigenous Christians were able to come back to their work and home because of the security that the troops provided. The Scottish and Irish medical missionaries willingly provided the Russian officials and elites with their medical services and often obtained good will from them. These missionaries' services became a fast and excellent way of building a network with the Russians. Furthermore, according to one source, there was at least one occasion in which a missionary considerably assisted the Russians' "military operations" in Southern Manchuria. J. H. Proctor tells a story about Dr. Westwater's cooperation with the Russian troops at Liaoyang as follows:

Dr. Westwater accompanied Russian troops as they approached Liaoyang and, at the request of their commander following the flight of the Chinese garrison, entered the city entirely alone to reassure its inhabitants and pave the way to a peaceful occupation. The Russian officer was moved by this action to say: "Scotland has produced two men for whom I have the greatest admiration. Sir Walter Scott and Dr. Westwater." As a token of appreciation, the Czar presented him with a gold snuff box, a gesture which the Church's Foreign Mission Committee (hereafter FMC) claimed, "secures a most favourable standing for us in the event of further political complications."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ J. H. Proctor, *Ibid.*, 52. This story was based on the UFCS Foreign Mission Committee's *Report on Foreign Missions* (1904): 64; James H. Morrison, *On the Trail of the Pioneers: A Sketch of the Missions of the United Free Church of Scotland* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913): 111.

According to Dr. Dugald Christie, Dr. Westwater, “as a Red Cross surgeon,” “went forward into that city to represent to its authorities the hopelessness and suicidal folly of resistance, and persuaded them to open the gates and let the Russians enter quietly.”⁴⁵ Although the missionaries probably did not have any choice but to utilize the security made by Russians to return to their work after the Uprising, Dr. Westwater’s aggressive help for the Russian troops in Liaoyang must be a very political behavior toward the advancement of Russian imperialism in Manchuria. It was a big political compromise with an imperialistic Power even though his behavior was not directly connected to the position of the British government in terms of the British-Russian relationship in China. It can be regarded as a clear evidence in which the British missionaries sometimes cooperated with the practitioners of imperialism in Manchuria directly and indirectly.

The May Thirtieth Incident of Shanghai

The May Thirtieth Movement of 1925 started with a tragic incident at Shanghai against the imperialism of the Powers and was a significant anti-foreign and nationalistic expression of the people of China in the early twentieth century. It originated in a Chinese laborers’ strike happening in February 1925 against the low wages in a Japanese mill located in the International Settlement of Shanghai. In May, it developed into a series of escalating events consisting of a second strike of the laborers and ferocious conflicts between the representatives of the laborers and the Japanese management; a Chinese laborer’s killing by the Japanese guards and the ensuing massive funeral ceremony; and the arrest of a number of the protesting laborers and students by the British police. Those events and incidents provoked a massive demonstration by

⁴⁵ Dugald Christie, *Ibid.*, 152.

thousands of students and workers in the International Settlement of Shanghai on May Thirtieth, “to protest British and Japanese atrocities,”⁴⁶ which were banned by the treaty provisions. Having felt frightened by the massive and fierce demonstrators, a British police lieutenant hurriedly ordered his men to open fire, delivering “a murderously accurate salvo of forty-four shots that killed eleven of the demonstrators and left twenty more wounded.”⁴⁷ This tragic Incident at Shanghai sparked a nationwide wave of anti-imperialistic “protests, strikes, and boycotts by students, workers, and merchants alike.”⁴⁸ “At least twenty-eight other cities held demonstrations in solidarity with the ‘May Thirtieth Martyrs,’ and in several of these there were attacks on the British and the Japanese.”⁴⁹ On June 23, one of the biggest protests, “formed from over a hundred different contingents of college students and soldiers, industrial workers and farmers, school children and boy scouts, and Whampoa cadets,” was met by the Shameen British police’s “indiscriminate firing,” as the protestors “passed close to the foreign concession area on Shameen Island,” leaving 52 Chinese killed and over 100 wounded.⁵⁰ The May Thirtieth Incident of Shanghai culminated a long history of political, economic, social and cultural problems stemming from the treaty system coercively made by the Western Powers at the expense of China since the Nanjing Treaty of 1842. For example, the dominant Chinese residents of the International Settlement of Shanghai were not able to represent themselves in the Municipal Council until the outbreak of the Incident, which

⁴⁶ Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China* fifth edition, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 534.

⁴⁷ Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990), 340.

⁴⁸ Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Jonathan D. Spence, *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Jonathan D. Spence, *Ibid.* Also see Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985.*

would raise the issue of the 'taxation without representation.'⁵¹ It was not until 1930 that the Municipal Council was forced by the Chinese movement to add five Chinese members to the existing nine foreign members. The representation case shows that all the important issues in the movement, by their origin and nature, were closely related to the Chinese' legal and cultural frustrations frequently experienced in the Concessions. These Concessions were basically Chinese territory. For example, "the British-dominated Shanghai Municipal Council not only did not prosecute the Japanese who opened fire, but arrested a number of Chinese workers on charges of disturbing peace and order."⁵² While the Westerners in the Concessions, like the British police Lieutenant and his men, were concerned about the ways to protect themselves 'legally' within the framework of the treaty provisions and to expand their commercial influence, if not territorial encroachments any longer, Chinese felt alienated in their homeland of their basic human rights and of their national sovereignty with the same framework.

Missionary Reactions to the May Thirtieth Incident

The Irish and Scottish Presbyterian missionaries in Manchuria discussed the Incident of Shanghai at their Missionary Conference held in July 1925⁵³ and the following Synod of Manchurian Church⁵⁴ and expressed their opinions to the missionary community in China and to the public as well as to their home Churches. Although not strong, there were some reactions of the people of Manchuria to the Incident of Shanghai. "Insulting slogans were plastered on the Scots' houses, students at the Medical College played a leading role

⁵¹ Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *Ibid.*, 534.

⁵² *Ibid.*.

⁵³ The Missionary Conference was comprised of the Irish, Scottish, and Danish missionaries since 1916.

⁵⁴ The Synod of Manchuria was led by the indigenous Presbyterian Christians, and the Irish and Scottish missionaries cooperated with them.

in a massive public protest, and tension in the mission schools was such that they were closed early for the summer holidays.”⁵⁵ At this crisis, the missionaries were greatly helped by the favor of the warlord of Manchuria Marshal Chang Tso-lin, who maintained order against the anti-foreign agitation. Dr. Dugald Christie said after a visit to him that “I made grateful acknowledgment of the indebtedness of the Christian church in this crisis to his helpful attitude, which made any anti-Christian demonstrations impossible in Manchuria.”⁵⁶

Significantly, the meetings of the Missionary Conference held in June supported the revision of the treaties and abolition of the rights of extra-territoriality as follows:

We sympathize with Chinese aspirations for the revision of any treaties out of harmony with present conditions, as soon as that is possible in the best interests of China and the world ... in regard to the rights of extra-territoriality we feel that as subjects of foreign powers we are not in a position to divest ourselves of these, but shall welcome the abolition when that becomes possible.⁵⁷

The Synod of the Manchurian Church led by the indigenous Christian leaders and attended by both Chinese leaders and missionaries had a meeting and made a resolution which strongly supported the reform in the International Settlement of Shanghai, the revision of the ‘unequal’ treaties, and the negation of the evangelization supported by the special privileges attached to the foreign powers. A part of the Resolution reads as follows:

3. We firmly believe that the root cause of this tragedy is to be found in the form of government of the International Settlement in Shanghai as well as in the unequal treaties (repeatedly) concluded with China. We therefore declare that the necessity of a

⁵⁵ J. G. Proctor, *Ibid.*, 56-57.

⁵⁶ Dugald Christie, “To the Friends and Supporters of the Moukden Medical College,” (May 10, 1926) Mimeographed. This part was cited from G. Proctor “The Response of Scottish Missionaries to Political Conditions in Manchuria, 1872-1950,” *Mission Studies*, vol. 16 no. 2 (1999): 56.

⁵⁷ *Minutes* vol. IV, pp. 21-22. This part was cited from Austin Fulton, *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1967), 75.

fundamental alteration in the regulations of the Shanghai Municipal Council as well as the revision of every article in the treaties which bears unequally on China. ...

5. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to declare to our fellow countrymen that the Christian Church of China takes its stand on the religious liberty granted by the Constitution of the Chinese Republic and that in proclaiming the gospel of Christ within the social environment we do not wish to rely on the special privileges granted from time to time in the treaties with foreign powers.⁵⁸

The Synod asked the missionaries to forward the Resolution to the Mission Boards of the Irish and Scottish Churches and to help “the Home Churches to urge the British Government to allow missionaries to relinquish their extra-territorial privileges.”⁵⁹ Setting apart from the meetings of the Conference and the Synod, the Protestant missionaries stationed at Moukden whose majority came from Ireland and Scotland released “Mukden Missionaries’ Statement” responding to the Incident of 1925. It, as shown below, addressed some very important issues coming out of the Movement, such as national identity of Christians, missionary privileges, and ‘antagonism between foreigners and Chinese’:

We, the whole body of over fifty Protestant missionaries, American, Danish and British, resident in Mukden, wish to give expression to our deep regret at recent happenings at Shanghai, our sorrow over the loss of life that has resulted, and our desire for a speedy settlement in accordance with principles of justice and humanity. ... We affirm that our purpose is to put Christ first and nationality second. ... We feel that we foreigners should be prepared - even at considerable personal sacrifice - to surrender privileges which are found to be a just cause of offence to those in whose land we dwell. We therefore appeal to all the nations concerned to investigate the root causes of the suspicion and hatred which recent events have revealed, with a view to removing as far as possible all sources of antagonism between foreigners and Chinese. The depth of the antagonism has now been brought home to us, but only at the price of much suffering. It is therefore our earnest hope that this tragedy will mark the beginning of a determined and successful effort after a true brotherhood of East and West.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Minutes* vol. IV, pp. 27-29. This part was cited from Austin Fulton, *Ibid.* 76.

⁵⁹ *Minutes* vol. IV, pp. 27-29. This part was cited from Austin Fulton, *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ “Mukden Missionaries’ Statement,” *Chinese Record* (CR) (July 1925): 471.

When compared to the other 'Letters' released by some missionary bodies in China and published in the July issue of the *Chinese Record*, this Statement by the Moukden missionaries is found to be one of more sensitive responses to the aspiration of the Chinese public and to be one of more suggestive declarations to solve the long lasting problem of the treaty system and extra-territoriality. Other missionary statements, such as "Letter from the Shanghai Missionary Association to the Members of the Chinese Christians Union," "Letter from the Tientsin Missionary Association to the Tientsin Christian Union," and "Statement by Missionaries in Changsha," were only addressing the issues at the level of sympathy and deep understanding, such as "whole hearted sympathy," "our regret," and "external symptoms of long-continued and deep-seated racial misunderstandings," although these documents might have had their own specific purpose.⁶¹

Contrasting to those missionary Statements, the contemporary Chinese Christian leaders certainly showed more aggressive understandings and suggested more concrete solutions. Wang Chih-hsin, who was the editor of *Jiaoyou banyue kan* [The Christians' Semi-Monthly] clearly defended 'China's sovereignty' in the Concessions and attacked 'the unequal treaties' for the June 15 issue of the magazine as follows:

Consider the matter. ... Think; think it over again; what is the matter? The fundamental issue is that of the unequal treaties. In China treaty ports there are concessions; each concession has an autonomous government and is a cause of unrest in China; China has no legal authority to govern foreigners residing within her territory. Where is China's sovereignty? Is she not gradually dying? The case is urgent; come to China's rescue; do you not want to see her life preserved? Unless the unequal treaties are done away, there is no hope of saving her ... The unequal treaties are the sharp weapon with which China is being assassinated.⁶²

⁶¹ For all the missionary 'Statements,' see CR (July 1925): 469-77.

⁶² This part was cited from D. Willard Lyon, "What Are Chinese Christians Saying to One Another at this time?" CR (July 1925): 479.

Siao Bing-Shih, “a Christian Teacher in Hangchow Christian College,” also criticized of the unreasonable social system to Chinese in the concessions and hoped the missionaries’ role to terminate Western imperialism in China, writing that “in the concessions a minority of foreigners govern a majority of Chinese with foreign laws and customs which are entirely incongruous with Chinese customs and traditions.” The China missionaries “should influence their government to abandon its imperialistic policies and actions.”⁶³

One of the Scottish missionary in Moukden, John Stewart wholeheartedly joined the agitated Chinese and recognized that the concessions, extra-territoriality, opium, and the British missionaries came to exist in China by the treaties. He wrote as follows:

Politically, China has not been treated as an equal, but as a conquered nation. ... These “unequal” treaties have been forced on China by one Western power after another (but chiefly Britain), following successful wars. These made legal in China many things she did not want, but had tolerated on sufferance, including, *e.g.*, opium (Shanghai, 1858) and British missionaries (Tientsin, 1858). Under them she lost small but potentially valuable parts of her territory; from Hong Kong and Kowloon in the south to Port Arthur in the north, foreign “concessions” were set apart, and extra-territoriality was established.⁶⁴

He also pointed out some specific problems including the economic and political unfairness in the governing of the concessions, saying that “a million Chinese living in the International Settlement in Shanghai, who were estimated “to pay about 80 per cent of the taxes,” had “no representation at all on the Municipal Council.” He asked with the case that “What about the old principle of ‘No taxation without representation’?” Furthermore, he successfully displayed the Chinese frustrations in the extra-

⁶³ Bing-Shih Siao, “From a Chinese Teacher,” CR (July 1925): 475-76.

⁶⁴ John Stewart, “The Position in China: Root-Causes of the Anti-Foreign Feeling,” *Missionary Report of the United Free Church of Scotland* (MRUFCS) (September, 1925): 388.

territoriality.⁶⁵ The Manchuria missionaries reported the May Thirtieth Incident to their home Churches and appealed for the cause of Chinese nationalism inspired by it. On July 14th 1925, T. C. Fulton, J. W. Inglis, and A. Weir sent “Official Statements” to “the Foreign Mission Secretaries of the United Free Church of Scotland and of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland” on behalf of the Commission of Conference, comprised of ten Chinese Christian leaders and ten Manchuria missionaries. Having shared the grievances of the Chinese leaders, the missionaries were able to write that “the tragedy in Shanghai is only the most recent episode of a long history of a friction in that Settlement and other Treaty Ports, in which it is useless to pretend that the foreign community is blameless” and they rejected the rumor that the movement was “merely the result of Bolshevik agitation.”⁶⁶ In addition, the senior Scottish missionary Daniel T. Robertson represented the Manchuria missionaries supporting Chinese nationalism and the revision of the imperialistic treaty system to the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS) General Assembly of 1925, saying that Chinese nationalism was “a sentiment which they should ... support and encourage by every means within their power.”⁶⁷

That the missionaries in Manchuria expressed the abandoning of the legal rights from the treaties clearly shows that they were aware of the Western political imperialism by the unequal treaties. They were even willing to support Chinese nationalism in their home Churches. However, as shown in the Synod’s resolution and other essays and movements for the abolition of the nationwide extra-territoriality, the indigenous Church leaders of Manchuria and other parts of China were even more enthusiastic for making a

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ “Official Statements to the Foreign Mission Secretaries of the United Free Church of Scotland and of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,” MRUFCS (September, 1925): 390.

⁶⁷ The United Free Church of Scotland General Assembly Proceedings 1925: 176. This part was cited from J. G. Proctor, *Ibid.*, 55.

new setting for a Chinese patriotic Christianity. They were recognizing this opportunity as a way of reforming the cultural foundation of Christianity in China as well as the legal foundation of the Western and Chinese relationship. They hoped a Christianity not made by the special privileges, which have been consistently criticized by the Chinese society. In their straightforward claims to the missionary society as well as to the foreign community, we may find their two rudimentary attitudes probably shaped long time ago: the liberation of China from the Western imperialism and a Christian Church communicating with the society.

John Stewart's View of Imperialism

As shown above, the Manchuria missionaries, by and large, supported the ways that Chinese understood the Incident and the remedies they claimed like the revision of the Treaty. Then, what was the missionaries' idea about the larger concept of Western imperialism in the 1920s? The Scottish missionary of Moukden John Stewart's essay "The Position in China: Root-Causes of the Anti-Foreign Feeling" may be a good specimen to grasp the Manchuria missionaries' idea of Western imperialism. In the essay, Stewart tried to point out an important difference in the concept of imperialism between the British and Chinese that to the Chinese 'imperialism' meant "something much wider than the ideas it conveys" to the British. While the British thought of imperialism "as being purely political," "the modern Chinese" thought of it as being "commercial and cultural as well as political." His observation is very helpful to understand the two worlds of the imperialism discourses. Then, as to the current status of imperialism in China, he compared the different positions of the two peoples as follows:

As we have no desire to acquire more territory in China or (consciously at any rate) to impose our will on the Chinese people, we feel that, as far as China is concerned, we are innocent of imperialism. ... And they [the modern Chinese] feel that imperialism is working in China to the danger of the Chinese state and people in the political influence wielded by the foreign governments through their legations and consulates; in the vigorously pushed and steadily expanding trade carried on by thousands of foreigners all over China; and in the propagation of Western culture in China, chiefly through missionaries, but also by Japanese and some other government agencies.⁶⁸

With the remark that “as far as China is concerned, we are innocent of imperialism,” he made it certain that he distanced himself from Chinese in defining imperialism and, thereby, rejected the idea that the British were imperial in the early twentieth century China. This does not necessarily say that he rejected of the British imperialistic presence in China and some other parts of the world in the past. He, probably, wanted to defend the British from the Chinese blanket criticism of imperialism which he did not agree and to make sure that the current British activities were not by the state but by the commercial bodies and individuals. In addition, in his view, commercial activities in a foreign land were not imperialistic. His view seems to be agreeing with the traditional view of British missionaries’ perspective on ‘commerce’ often related to the concept ‘development’ from Christian missions.

Many Scottish and other British missionaries saw that Westerners’ commercial activities in an underdeveloped area may be an excellent way of helping the people toward wealth and empowerment. For example, John Philip (1775-1851) the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society from 1819-1848 combined the concepts of ‘commerce’ and ‘Christian work’ as to an African mission field. He saw that “the continuing improvidence of the Khoi [of South Africa] was the product of their

⁶⁸ John Stewart, *Ibid.*, 387-88.

status as virtual slaves, deprived of an independent economic base and the freedom to sell their labour to the best market” and endorsed the Westerners’ commercial activities to improve their condition. And he added Christianity to the work of commerce to ensure it would be helpful to the people. He said that “Civil liberty in itself was inadequate without the aid of Christianity, whose conviction of the incalculable worth of the human soul could alone impart ‘the thinking principle’ that was the first step towards true civilization.”⁶⁹ It is well known that David Livingstone sent to Central Africa in the mid-nineteenth century by the London Missionary Society was another strong advocate of integrating commerce, civilization and Christian missions in his Central African mission field.⁷⁰

Being a resident missionary of the National Bible Society of Scotland (NBSS) and United Presbyterian Church (UPC) to North China, Alexander Williamson was a powerful advocate of the development of commerce and Christian civilization in China. In his book, *The Claims of China*, Williamson saw that the goal of missionary work in China was “the emancipation of China” and the methods were the ‘development’ by combining mining, industry, and commerce and the establishment of Christian civilization by both education to get rid of all the ignorance and superstition and evangelism of the gospel.⁷¹ Thus, he was able to define Christian mission as ‘elevation’ and ‘salvation,’ saying that “In conclusion, we have no doubts about the nature and results of our work. We serve Almighty God; we seek to carry out His obvious purpose,

⁶⁹ Brian Stanley, “Christian Missions, Antislavery, and the Claims of Humanity, c. 1813-1873,” in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities, c. 1815-c.1914*, edited by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 451-452.

⁷⁰ For his integration of commerce, civilization, and Christianity, see David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1858); Harvey J. Sindima, *The Legacy of Scottish Missionaries in Malawi* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).

⁷¹ *Missionary Report of the United Presbyterian Church (MRUPC)* (January, 1872): 18-28.

for the elevation and salvation of His intelligent creatures.”⁷² Even though it seems that he was not intending ‘imperialistic’ exploitation of China by Westerners, Williamson was certainly willing to introduce the Chinese abundant natural resources to the West and to stimulate Western nations to develop the resources of China with commercial and industrial activities. He claimed that the amount of the minerals in China was the biggest in the world only next to America and that the British commerce in China would be lucrative in exploiting them.⁷³ In addition, China was to be the best market of the British and the size of the trade would not easily get reduced. Here is a part of his assertions:

I believe that China is the greatest field for commercial enterprise yet in store for merchants. ... We may reasonably anticipate that there will be not only increased demand for shirtings and woolens as at present, but for glass-ware, ironmongery, jewellery, and ornamental and fancy articles of all descriptions; for which goods China, when once fairly opened, will be beyond all question the largest market in the world.⁷⁴

Interestingly, his essay “The Claims of China on the Attention of Christian Men,” from which the above part was cited, was a re-publication of his booklet *The Claims of China* only with the title changed in the magazine of the Board of Missions *The Missionary Report of the United Presbyterian Church* (January 1872). The length of the essay or booklet was actually not short enough for the magazine. This fact dramatically shows how much the Board of Missions of the United Presbyterian Church was interested in his combination of commercial enterprise and Christian missions in China. John Ross has supported British commercial activities in China in his book *The Situation in China*. He, after about thirty years of his work in Manchuria, published a similar booklet titled

⁷² MRUPC (January, 1872): 28.

⁷³ Alexander Williamson, “The Claims of China on the Attention of Christian Men,” MRUPC (Jan. 1872): 17-18.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 21.

Trade-Routes in Manchuria and provided the British with a detailed description in geography of Manchuria for merchants. This was also re-published in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. The purpose of this book in Christian missions may be lost without the connection of commerce and Christian missions. It seems that John Stewart and other British missionaries in China were not aware of ‘commercial imperialism’ let alone ‘cultural imperialism.’ As long as their government was not involved in territorial imperialism against China, they felt free from imperialism. However, the history of China in the second half of the nineteenth century clearly shows that the British mercantile community was very aggressively and speedily moving toward the space of imperialism which their government tried to hide in a sense. For example, British policy to China after 1861 was “to support Chinese political stability and maintain British commercial pre-eminence by peaceful means” which was “a marked departure from the forceful approach that had characterized the earlier confrontation.”⁷⁵ During the 1869 Alcock Convention led by the British Consul Alcock discussing treaty revision, “the British mercantile community vigorously promoted the opening of all China and demanded new concessions on telegraphs, railways, mining, inland navigation and residence.” When the Convention adopted “the idea of treating China ‘as a country entitled to the same rights and privileges as civilized nations,’” “the British mercantile communities, both at home and in China and Hong Kong, scorned Alcock’s diplomacy and scoffed” at the idea. They “strenuously opposed the terms of the convention” and sent “numerous memorials” to Parliament, in “arguing against the ratification of the agreement.” Finally, the British department of Foreign Ministry decided that it would not endorse the Alcock Convention

⁷⁵ Immanuel C. Y. Hsi, *Ibid.*, 71.

under the pressure from the mercantile community.⁷⁶ In this case, although the British political imperialism was to be given up at the level of government, imperialism at civil and commercial level was maintained or rather reinforced in the 1860s. In other words, British commercial imperialism in China was demanding its power over the causes of politics and religion.

2. Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria and the Missionary

Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria

The modernized Japan rose as the dominant Power of the East Asia by the first decade of the twentieth century. Having deprived the imperial China of the status of suzerain over Korea by winning the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, Japan finally secured a superior status in Manchuria over the Czarist Russia in 1905.⁷⁷ All the rights of Russia related to “Port Arthur, Dairen, and adjacent territory” in Liaotung Peninsula and the South Manchuria Railway from Changchun to Port Arthur were transferred to Japan as well as the rights to possess South Sahalin and to monopolize the benefits from Korea.⁷⁸ The British and the U. S. allowed the Japanese interests in Manchuria in certain ways, including the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and the support of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, against the attempted southward movement of Russia by way of

⁷⁶ Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *Ibid.*, 76-77.

⁷⁷ Following the Sino-Japanese War, Japan had obtained a concession in the Liaotung Peninsula from China in 1895. Japan was, however, forced to withdraw from it because Russia, France, and Germany resisted against the Japan's advancement in Manchuria while Britain and America allowed it. This is an important case to see the power struggles among the international Powers in the East Asia, particularly one between Russia and Japan, during the following decades.

⁷⁸ For the Articles V and VI of the “Russo-Japanese Treaty of Peace” concerning the transference of the rights, see *Relations of Japan with Manchuria and Mongolia Document B*: page 7 of Appendix B-1.

Manchuria. Japan took over Korea in 1910 and established the puppet state Manchukuo in 1932. One of the most important reasons that Japan advanced onto the Korean and Chinese territories came from the motive to solve her difficulties in securing both natural resources for industry and markets for products. Owen Lattimore's finding of the motive from the domestic economics, in the classical theory of expansionism, that "the conditions within Japan itself"- the unchanging "rural economy" alienated by the development of Capitalism, "the lack of industrial raw materials," and poor "internal market" – "made enhanced imperialistic pressure in Manchuria inevitable"⁷⁹ is still persuasive although it has a tendency to neglect the political aspiration of the Japanese expansionists and the international 'rivalry' revolving around Manchuria. This economic and imperialistic aspect in the Japanese advancement is shown very well in her subsequent treaties with China after the Russo-Japanese Treaty. The "Sino-Japanese Agreement Concerning Mines and Railways in Manchuria," carried out on September 4, 1909, stipulated "the right of the Japanese Government to work" the coal mines at Fushun and Yuentai, the application of "the lowest tariff" of both "the Chinese Government tax" and "export duty" upon the coals produced at the mines, and the joint exploitation of all the mines along the Antung-Mukden Railway and the main line of the South Manchuria Railway, excepting those at Fushun and Yuentai,"⁸⁰ which were monopolized by Japan. In addition, The "Sino-Japanese Treaty Respecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia" of 1915 extended "the term of the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen, and the term relating to the South Manchuria Railway and to the

⁷⁹ Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y: Capitol Publishing Co. & New York: American Geographical Society, 1951), 146-47.

⁸⁰ *Relations of Japan with Manchuria and Mongolia Document B*: page 18 of Appendix B-1.

Antung-Mukden Railway, to a period of ninety-nine years respectively.”⁸¹ In details, it seems that a big wage differential was applied to the Chinese and Japanese laborers in the Kwantung Leased Territory. For example, a statistics about the wages of Japanese and Chinese laborers at the city of Dairen shows that Japanese laborers were paid twice or three times more than the Chinese laborers in the same type of work at the city of Dairen during the period from 1914-1918 and the situation got worse in the 1930s.⁸² Eventually, the first few decades led from quasi-colonialism to the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932. Owen was willing to state that “Japan moved a long way nearer to monopoly in the control of Manchuria. ... Manchuria therefore sank to a status much more colonial than that of the rest of China.”⁸³

Japan Missions, Japanese Church, and Japanese Imperialism

At the turn of the twentieth century Japan, many Missions to Japan and Christian societies there, such as the two PCUSA Japan Missions and the Y. M. C. A., as well as most Japanese churches implicitly and explicitly consented to Japanese expansions to Korea and Manchuria. According to Sawa Masahiko, a Japanese historian, most Japanese churches not only supported the wars against China and Russia in the 1890s and the 1900s but also aggressively participated in them in order to show Christian ‘loyalty’ to the nation or the king because they wished to overcome the situation in which they were

⁸¹ *Relations of Japan with Manchuria and Mongolia Document B*: page 5 of Appendix B-1.

⁸² See “1914-1918 niandu zhongri gegongzhong rigongzi duizhaobiao” (Table of Wage Differential Between Chinese and Japanese Laborers, 1914-1918) and “30 niandai dalianshi zhongrigongren rigongzi duizhaobiao” (Table of Wage Differential Between the Chinese and Japanese laborers at Dalian in the 1930s) from *Dalianjin bainian shi* [A Hundred Years’ History of Dalian] (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1999), 699, 700.

⁸³ Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y: Capitol Publishing Co. & New York: American Geographical Society, 1951), 145.

under suspicion from the Japanese society and, thus, came to have some kind of “inferiority complex.”⁸⁴

One of the most important moves of the Japan missionary toward Japanese nationalism came with the works of the Y. M. C. A. and the American Tract Society (ATS) during the Russo-Japanese War. The Y. M. C. A. of Japan established a new department called ‘the Soldiers’ Comforting Department of the Y.M.C.A Union of Japan’ and dedicated itself to the Bible distribution to the soldiers and chaplain service in the field with the cooperation of the Army. While the ATS took the role providing the Bibles and tracts for the use of the soldiers, the Y. M. C. A. carried out the actual works in the front. According to a letter of G. S. Phelps, written on March 17th, 1906, “one of the Foreign Secretaries of the YMCA who spent some months at the front,” to Henry Loomis the Secretary of the ATS in Japan, “the work of the Y. M. C. A. in connection with the army in the field has effected a peculiarly favorable opportunity for the distribution of the Scriptures among the soldiers. ... Through the favor of the War Department all such supplies were forwarded to any place desired, free of all expense.”⁸⁵ The letter of S. Otsuka ‘the Secretary General of the Soldiers’ Comforting Department of the Y.M.C.A. Union of Japan’ to Henry Loomis, written on March 10th 1906, supports this with more concrete information. He wrote as follows:

You have shown great sympathy in our work, and by the grant of an enormous number of Bibles, Testaments, and tracts have rendered a powerful assistance in giving to the soldiers at the front the spiritual comfort which was the most important object of our work. ... Since the opening of the Comforting Department at Chin-nam-po; September 15th, 1904, till December 31st, 1905, 1,693 Testaments, 25,596 Gospels and 101,437

⁸⁴ Sawa Masahiko, *Ilbon Kidokkyosa* [A History of Christianity in Japan] (Seoul: Daehan kidokkyo sōhoi, 1995), 102

⁸⁵ “Bible and Tract Distribution to Japanese Soldiers in Manchuria,” CR (June 1906): 313.

tracts have been distributed to the soldiers at the front in compliance with their request."⁸⁶

Thanks to the work during the war, J. G. Dunlop, "a plain Young Men's Christian Association army secretary," was allowed by the Kwantung Government of southern Manchuria to visit Port Arthur and Dairen twice right after the war while the government barred other Westerners' entrance.⁸⁷ It seems that the PCUSA Japan Missions were very encouraged by the fact that America and some other Western countries supported Japan during the Russo-Japanese War in various ways including medical services for the soldiers and also during the famine of 1906 with generous contributions and relief service by several Christian agencies. The mission was confident that now more Japanese came to show favor toward Christianity.⁸⁸ Tensions between the U. S. and Japan over the racial discrimination in California and the subsequent Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 brought a chance for the American missionaries in Japan to think more of their ways responding to the Japanese nationalism as well as to the racial issue. One hundred and ten American missionaries in Japan felt obliged to publish a statement against "the unfavorable influence of the senseless talk in the sensational press in the two countries of the possibility of war between America and Japan,"⁸⁹ which followed the Gentlemen's Agreement.⁹⁰ The Gentlemen's Agreement was an understanding between the U. S. and

⁸⁶ "Bible and Tract Distribution to Japanese Soldiers in Manchuria," CR (June 1906): 314-15.

⁸⁷ J. G. Dunlop, "Port Arthur and Dalny: A Year after the War," *The Missionary Review of the World* (February 1907): 93.

⁸⁸ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1907, 221-24.

⁸⁹ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1908, 237.

⁹⁰ See Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twayne Publisher, 1991), 18, 38, and 195. Also refer to Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From A Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989). As to the Japanese negative responses to the racial discriminations in the U. S. and other places, the PCUSA East Japan missionary David Thompson reported this. "The daily papers now have apparently little foreign news of importance to record, except news about Oriental exclusion bills discussed in California, Canada, Africa and Australia. Also we hear of mobs and their acts of violence. ... The 'Yellow Peril' may never be a peril to Europe or American, but it may be one to the

Japan by which Japan stopped “issuing passports to laborers desiring to emigrate to the United State” while the U.S President Theodore Roosevelt agreed to help the city of San Francisco abolish the discriminative Japanese-student segregation policy. The missionaries, in the statement, expressed their policy of political neutrality, opposition to racial discrimination, and the hope for an improved relation between the two nations. Part of the statement by the missionaries representing more than twenty American missionary organizations” is as follows:

While we, as missionaries, have nothing to do with questions of national economics and international politics, yet in matters affecting the mutual good-will of nations we, as messengers of God’s universal Fatherhood and man’s universal Brotherhood, are peculiarly interested, and, as Americans now residing in Japan, we feel bound to do all that is in our power to remove misunderstandings and suspicions which are tending to interrupt the long-standing friendship between this nation and our own. ... Our belief that the alleged ‘Belligerent attitude’ of the Japanese does not represent the real sentiments of the nation; and our ardent hope that local and spasmodic misunderstandings may not be allowed to affect in the slightest degree the national and historic friendship of the two neighbors on opposite sides of the Pacific.⁹¹

PCUSA Manchuria Station in Japanese Imperialism

The Manchuria Station of the PCUSA West Japan Mission⁹² serving the Japanese immigrants was favored by the Japanese colonial Kwantung Government and the South Manchuria Railway. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Station managed the Christian work in the Kwantung Leased Territory, including Dairen and Port Arthur, and in the South Manchuria Railway Zone from 1906 to 1923. Being an initiative by the Church of Christ in Japan (CCJ) and the PCUSA Japan Mission, the work in Southern Manchuria prospered in terms of the number of churches and Christians throughout the

missionaries and their work here.” *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1908, 240-41.

⁹¹ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1908, 237.

⁹² The West Japan and East Japan Missions of the PCUSA merged in 1912.

period. There were seven Japanese churches in Manchuria “regularly organized under the jurisdiction of the Synod of the Church of Christ in Japan”⁹³ when Mr. and Mrs. Thomas C. Winn retired from the work in 1923. When T. C. Winn arrived in Manchuria in 1906 as the pastor of the church of Dairen, the Kwantung Government gave to him a house to live and a large site for church in the best part of the city both free of rent and also donated a large fund and some other construction materials to build a church. It seems that there was a mistake when Mr. Maruyama of the CCJ offered to Winn the condition of the call, especially about the housing and salary, on behalf of the church of Dairen. Winn, on arriving in Manchuria, found that no housing was available from the church and “the desire of the church was for the Mission to open a regular Station” in Manchuria.⁹⁴ And “there was no appropriation from the Board of Foreign Missions for this new work,” except for the missionary’s salary.⁹⁵ At this crisis, Colonel Hibiki, an ardent Christian of the church, tried to get help from the Japanese government and secured the house and the church site free of rent. Winn wrote about this in his letter to Robert Speer the Secretary of the Board toward the end of the year and asked him not to put this into print at least for a while as follows:

The Govt. has given us the use of a house free of rent which would bring yen 150.00 to 200.00 per month. If Colonel Hibiki had not persisted in his efforts to secure it, I don’t know what we could have done! ... Adjoining the house is a large fine lot which the Govt. has given as a site for the church. A church building is greatly needed. (These facts

⁹³ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1924, 187. For the closure and retirement of Mr. and Mrs. T. C. Winn, see also *Minutes of the Japan Mission*, November 6, 1922 Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93 Box #1 Folder #2; *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1923, 175.

⁹⁴ This part comes from T. C. Winn’s letter to Robert Speer the Secretary of the Board written on Dec. 24th, 1906. Thomas Winn, *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn, 1878-1908* ed. by Susumu Suzuki, (Kanazawa, Japan: Hokuriku Gakuin, 1985), 245.

⁹⁵ Helen Pierson Curtis, “With the Japanese Vanguard in Korea,” *The Missionary Review of the World* (March 1908): 209-210.

above what the Govt. is doing, would better not be allowed to be put into print. It might do harm. ...⁹⁶

Winn's reports to the General Assembly of 1907 and 1908 also show the fact that the church was favored by the Government with a fund of 3,000 yen and some other materials to construct the building, in addition to the site and the parsonage, as follows:

The head of the city government has been most cordial in welcoming us, and insists upon doing all he can for our comfort. I happened one day to incidentally inquire if he could get trees to grow in our yard-there seems to be nothing but rock in it-and before I knew it the Government sent us seven nice locust trees which they planted free of expense. ... The church building has cost about yen 20,000. The 'Kwantung Government' has given a free lease of the land where the church stands. It also turned over for use in the erection of the building the contents of a warehouse on the lot, which consisted of lumber and cement in abundance for the purpose. It also contributed yen 3,000 in cash.⁹⁷

The situation of A. V. Bryan appointed to Port Arthur in 1907 was not very different from the Winn's case in getting good will from the government. He rented a building located at the very heart of the city and "owned by the Civil Department" for the use of church, classrooms, and parsonage at about one third of the fixed price after consulting with "the Secretary of the Governor-General, who is an earnest Christian and a former student at Princeton,"⁹⁸ One of the best statements of gratitude that Bryan made in his 1912 report was directed to the Kwantung Government which made it possible that the church built a chapel in the new town of Port Arthur with the fund formed by the

⁹⁶ This part comes from T. C. Winn's letter to Robert Speer the Secretary of the Board written on Oct. 17th, 1906 and Dec. 24th, 1906. Thomas Winn, *The Letters of Thomas Clay Winn, 1878-1908* ed. by Susumu Suzuki, (Kanazawa, Japan: Hokuriku Gakuin, 1985), 235, 245.

⁹⁷ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1907, 248: "Dairen Station," *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1908, 259

⁹⁸ "Work among the Japanese in Manchuria," *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1910, 270.

remission of the taxes “on condition that they would be used for this chapel.”⁹⁹ He wrote of this case as follows:

Just here I want to state the feelings of deep gratitude towards the Government in making it possible for us to have this chapel in the new town. Not only were we thus favored by the government in securing this chapel, but the Government architect is helping us with the plans, the belfry etc. was very kind; in getting a brass plate for the corner stone and in various fittings for the chapel, I wish publicly to acknowledge the great courtesy of certain officials connected with the Civil Department and the Technical School.¹⁰⁰

The PCUSA Manchuria missionaries also obtained the free pass or discounted pass on all the railways from the South Manchuria Railway Company, which was the most important means to the imperialistic Kwantung Government, and the passes seriously influenced the pattern of the missionaries’ work. Mr. and Mrs. Winn were great beneficiaries with the free pass for the ‘American first-class coaches’ on all the lines of the South Manchuria Railway for about 15 years. They described their itinerant work with the South Manchuria Railway free pass as follows:

Through the great kindness of the directors of the South Manchuria Railroad we have had permission to travel in American first-class coaches without any expense. This great favor has been a blessing we truly appreciate. ... We have traveled, each of us, during the year nearly 10,000 miles, being favored with passes over all the lines of the South Manchuria Railway.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ “Manchuria Station,” *The Japan Mission in 1912: Extracts from Reports of Districts, Stations and Individual Missionaries Presented at the Annual Meeting* (Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1912), 66.

¹⁰⁰ Arthur V. Bryan, “Report of Port Arthur, 1911-1912” page 2, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #3, Folder #6 Also see *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1914, 280. In order to see the church’s recognition of the financial help from the government with the selling of the property in the 1920s, see the resolution ‘# 38 Sale of Port Arthur Property’ in “Japan Mission, Ad Interim Actions, 1923-24,” page 7 and the resolution ‘Sale of Port Arthur Property’ in “The Japan Mission, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Dec. 7th, 1925,” page 9, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #1, Folder #2.

¹⁰¹ Mrs. C. T. Winn, “Work among the Japanese in Manchuria,” *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1910, 270; Mr. C. T. Winn, “Work among the Japanese in Korea,” *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1911, 268.

The discontinuance of the free pass and the issuing of the new half fare permit meant that they had to reduce their work requiring the railways. "The general tours along the South Manchuria Railway have not been made so frequently this year. ... Another reason is the discontinuance of the free pass on the railroads."¹⁰² It seems that, unlike the Winn's' case, Mr. and Mrs. A. V. Bryan could not secure a free pass from the beginning¹⁰³ and their work was much more restricted to the boundaries of the Kwantung Leased Territory. In 1929, the South Manchuria Railway still had a generous yet aggressive policy to give discounted passes to Christian missionaries and some other Christian workers. According to Bertha Starkey, a Methodist missionary who carried out an "evangelistic trip" in Manchuria at the end of the 1920s, the South Manchuria Railway Company was granting "50% discount on railroad tickets to all pastors and other Christian workers residing in Manchuria," and was "also very generous about giving passes to Christian leaders" who came in from "the outside for evangelistic meetings, lectures on religious education or social service."¹⁰⁴

Christian Missions under Imperialistic Favor?: a Discussion

As shown above, the PCUSA Manchuria Station, whether or not it was intended, was strongly favored by the Japanese imperialistic government with the foundational conditions on which the missionary work was built. Symbolically, the Church of Dairen was built on the site, originally spared by the imperialistic war and freely given by the imperialistic government, and with funds including subsidization from the same

¹⁰² *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1921, 300.

¹⁰³ Arthur Bryan, "Report of Manchuria Station (Port Arthur)" page 3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93, Box #3, Folder #7

¹⁰⁴ Bertha Starkey, "Among the Japanese in Manchuria," *the Korea Mission Field* (Oct., 1929): 199.

government. Missionary residences were also greatly helped by the 'good will' of the government. Their evangelistic itineraries were somewhat decided by the kind of travel passes which the South Manchuria Railway Company provided.

What was the missionaries' understanding of the advancement of Japanese onto Korean and Chinese territories? What type of ideas did they have about the relationship of Church and society, particularly in a semi-colonial land? Were they biased or neutral in politics? In the first place, the American missionaries sent to Manchuria were very conscious of the idea of the station's self-support but not aware of the possibility of the dependence on the government's money. In finishing his work, Thomas C. Winn proudly reported that the churches in Manchuria "with their adequate church buildings, parsonages, and in two places fine kindergartens" have been done "without any use of Board's money, except a few hundreds in Port Arthur while Mr. Bryan was there and the support of the missionary."¹⁰⁵ He was conscious of the policy of self-support for whatever reason. It is true that, thus, his work was, by and large, free from the Board's funds. But it is also true that they were still dependent on the money from outside, particularly in its founding stage, significantly from the generous yet imperialistic government. In the second place, it is questionable if the missionaries were 'politically-neutral' as they were receiving the great favor from the government and the South Manchuria Railway and also had a good mutual relationship with the leaders of the government and the South Manchuria Railway Company. In addition to the already noted favor from the government and the South Manchuria Railway, the relationship between them and the missionary needs to be noted here. For example, when the church of Dairen had a service for the new four elders who included "the head of the police department of

¹⁰⁵ *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1924, 187.

Dairen” and “the former head of the hospital of the South Manchurian Railroad Company,” it had as guests a few prominent leaders of the government and the South Manchuria Railway, such as “the Chief of the Civil Administration of Dairen” and “one of the Directors of the South Manchurian Railroad as well as “the United States Consul, and the English Vice-Consul.” T. C. Winn recorded his feeling to the speech of the Chief of the Civil Administration as follows:

The Chief of the Civil Administration made a speech of congratulation, in which he expressed the best wishes for the success of the work which the church is doing. As I listened to his words, and connected with them the fact that the 'Kwantung Government' had aided in the erection of the beautiful building we were dedicating to God's glory, I could but marvel at the changed attitude of the Japanese Government toward the Church.¹⁰⁶

While he appreciated for “the changed attitude of the Japanese Government toward Church,” he also testified to the strong bond between the Church and the Kwantung Government. There is another occasion to show T. C. Winn’s mutual relationship with the officials of the South Manchuria Railway Company. “The vice-President of the South Manchuria R. R. Co., Mr. Kunizawa, read an appreciative address” at the memorial service for Eliza Caroline Willard [Mrs. Winn] on May 3rd, 1912. After the service, T. C. Winn earnestly requested that the Japan Mission would send “appropriate expressions of thanks to the Dairen Church, the South Manchuria R. R. Co., and to the people in Dairen and Manchuria.”¹⁰⁷ As mentioned earlier, 110 American missionaries residing in Japan have expressed their attitude of ‘political-neutrality’ in their response to Japanese outrages against the Californian racism. What does it mean to be ‘politically-neutral’

¹⁰⁶ “Dairen Station,” *Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church: Reports of the Boards*, 1909, 265.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Winn, “Report of Manchuria Station (Dairen)” page 2, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. RG #93 Box #3 Folder #7.

when a missionary has a mutual and strong relationship with an imperialistic government? What would be an improved mutual and strong relationship between them? What would be the political responsibility of the missionary beyond the rhetoric of political neutrality in facing a kind of aggressive, imperialistic, and colonialistic government? It seems that, judging from the extant sources, the Manchuria Station did not carry out political responsibilities for the Japanese government.

3. Korean Nationalism and Trans-nationalism in Manchuria and the Missionary

Korean Presbyterian missionaries were in a different circumstance from the other British and American missionaries discussed above because they worked among the people ethnically identical with themselves and, most significantly, they were a part of the nationals in the period of the colonial occupation by the Japanese imperialists.

Korean Nationalism in Manchuria

The Korean nationalism in the early twentieth-century Manchuria consisted of the two parts: the independence movement against Japanese colonialism in Korea and Manchuria and the movement to restore Chosŏn dynasty or establish a new nation-state after the liberation.¹⁰⁸ As implied earlier, the preparation for the Japanese enterprise of the colonial

¹⁰⁸ To see the studies about Korean nationalism in Manchuria, refer to the followings: Hanguk tongnip yugongja hyŏphoe [Association of the Contributors to Korean Independence], ed., *Chungguk tongbukjiyŏk hanguk tongnip undongsa* [A History of the Korean Independence Movement in Northeast China] (Seoul: Jipmundang, 1997); Yŏng-sŏk Pak, *Iljeha tongnip undongsa yŏngu* [A Study of the Independence Movement in the Japanese Imperialistic Period] (Seoul: Iljogak, 1884); Se-yun Chang, *Chungguk Tongbukjiyŏk Minjokundong kwa hangukhyŏndaesa* [Nationalistic Movement in Northeast China and Modern History of Korea] (Seoul: Myŏngjisa, 2005)

Korea and Manchuria already started with the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. Part of the provisions of the ensuing Treaty of Shimonoseki, “the full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea” and the cession of the Liaotung region of southern Manchuria ‘in perpetuity’¹⁰⁹ would make Japan effectively take up Korea and Manchuria in the future, although the cession of Liaotung was not actually realized right away due to the interference of the Powers of Russia, Germany and France. As Japan, following the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, started to take the actual steps leading to the 1910 annexation of Korea, Korean independence movement became more vigorous in China, Siberia, Japan, and America as well as in Korea, and the non-violence May First Movement of 1919 led by religious and social leaders was one of the most conspicuous and massive movements inside and outside Korea. Reports made by westerners to some foreign presses on the movement, especially, the inhuman ways of Japanese suppression helped the world realize what was happening under the Japanese colonial ruling in Korea. The most important area in Korean nationalistic activities in Southern Manchuria was ‘West *Kando*’ located in the southeastern part of Fengtien province and the west of the Mount *Changbai* [Mount *Baekdu* in Korean]. There was a considerable number of Korean immigrants cultivating rice in the area at the end of the nineteenth century; some sub-areas had more Koreans than Chinese by 1905.¹¹⁰ In the early 1910s, the *Sinminhoe* [New People’s Association], one of the most important Korean nationalist associations, decided to have some of the leaders migrate from Korea to the West *Kando* area and make a strategic base outside the territory of Korea already under Japanese surveillance

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan D. Spence, *Ibid.*, 223.

¹¹⁰ Sang-gi Kim and Yŏng-guk Chae, “Nammanjuesŏ ūi hanguk tongnip undong,” [Korean Independence Movement in Southern Manchuria/West Kando] in *Chungguk tongbukjiyŏk hanguk tongnip undongsa*, [A History of the Korean Independence Movement in Northeast China] ed. Hanguk tongnip yugongja hyŏphoe [Association of the Contributors to Korean Independence] (Seoul: Jipmundang, 1997), 181-91.

for the independence movement against the colonialism. Some leaders including Yi Hoe-yŏng and Yi Dong-nyŏng migrated to the town of Sanyuanpu and neighboring areas with their family members and many other nationalists and Korean immigrants followed the path.¹¹¹

The immediate task for the nationalist leaders to achieve in West Kando was to create a voluntary governing body for the Korean immigrants named '*Kyonghaksa*' [Association of Cultivation and Learning] which had the four departments of the Interior, Agriculture, Finance, and Education. In the following decades, the Koreans created many other succeeding or competing governing bodies, such as the *Bumindan* [Association of Buyŏ People] and the *Hanjokhoe* [Association of Korean Ethnic People], in accordance with their orientation in nationalism and politics. They also established many elementary and middle schools in a strong nationalistic ferment, such as *Ŭnyang School*, *Dongchang School*, *Sinhŭng School*, *Sinhŭng Military Academy*, *Samkwang School*, *Tonghwa School*, and *Baedal School*. Of them, *Sinhŭng Military Academy* produced numerous military leaders and soldiers dedicating to the cause of Korean independence and nationalism. The curriculum of many other schools usually had classes for military training, too.¹¹²

Another important way of nationalistic activities by the Korean in West Kando was the running of more than eighteen military units including the *Sŏrogunjŏngsŏ* [West

¹¹¹ Japanese police also knew of this planned migration of the nationalist leaders by the mid-1910s. Japanese police record of the 'Conspiracy Case of 1912' related to the *Simminhoe* states this: "the nationalists of the *Sinminhoe* attempted to have a massive migration occur into West Kando, encourage social agencies, establish churches, set up military schools, and break outs independence wars to restore the national sovereignty of the old Korea. Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Manjuŭi sadobaul hankyŏnghŭi moksa* [Apostle Paul of Manchuria Rev. Han Kyŏnghŭi] (Seoul: Kidokkyo yŏnhapsinmunsa, 2005), 146.

¹¹² Sang-gi Kim and Yŏng-guk Chae, *Ibid.* 213-59. For the list of the nationalistic schools, Refer to *Ibid.* 237; Hun-gu Yi, *Manjuwa chosŏnin* (Pyŏngyang: Sungsil jŏnmunhakkyo kyŏngjehak yŏngusil, 1932), 231; Kyu-hwan Hyŏn, *Hankuk yuiminsa* vol. 1 [A History of Korean Immigrants] (Seoul: Ōmungak, 1967), 430-517.

Military Army] and the *Taehan Tongnipdan* [Korean Independence Army]¹¹³ to conduct “small-scale attacks against the Japanese army and police and their Korea collaborators, and to carry armed resistance across the Tumen and Yalu Rivers into Korea proper.”¹¹⁴ The movement to restore the old Korean polity *Taehan jeguk* [Imperial Korea] or establish a new nation-state was a significant yet schismatic aspect of the nationalistic activities in Manchuria. For example, The *Taehan tonguibu* [Korean Army United], which was established in 1922 as a unified army from all the military units active in West Kando experienced a schism due to the two different political orientations ‘Restorationism’ and ‘Republicanism.’¹¹⁵ Finally, the *Chǒngǔibu* [Orthodox and Righteous Army], a unified army from all the Korean military units in Manchuria, came to exist in 1924 and kept a good relationship with the Korean Provisional Government of Shanghai. According to Pak Yǒng-sǒk, a Korean historian, the *Chǒngǔibu* [Orthodox and Righteous Army], as the orthodox successor of various Korean associations and armies since the 1910s, adopted a democratic and Republican polity with the separation of three powers of legislature, executive, and judiciary. It was an exiled government and a preliminary nation-state with its own consuls and sovereignty.¹¹⁶

Korean Experience of Trans-nationality in the Manchurian Borderland

The life of the Koreans staying in Manchuria in the early twentieth century may be explained by trans-nationalism as well as nationalism. Southern Manchuria was a

¹¹³ Kyu-hwan Hyǒn, *Ibid.*, 577-96; Sang-gi Kim and Yǒng-guk Chae, *Ibid.*, 254-356. For the list of the nationalistic schools, refer to *Ibid.*, 237.

¹¹⁴ Chae-jin Lee, *China's Korean Minority: the Politics of Ethnic Education* (Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986), 23

¹¹⁵ Sang-gi Kim and Yǒng-guk Chae, *Ibid.*, 313-14.

¹¹⁶ Yǒng-sǒk Pak, *Iljeha tongnip undongsa yǒngu* [A Study of the Independence Movement in the Japanese Imperialistic Period] (Seoul: Iljogak, 1884), 29-31

geographical, cultural, economic, and political borderland located among Korea, China proper, Japan, and Russia. Many Koreans in Manchuria found that they were in the cultural and social influences from the Han Chinese and other ethnic groups. Especially those who migrated before 1900 and young generation even experienced legal change of their status. Thereby their self-identity was also changing and many of them had double identity culturally and legally. As the PCUSA missionary Harry A. Rhodes made many trips to West *Kando* in the first decades of the twentieth century, he observed the fact that “many of them were born and raised there, and many others have become Chinese citizens.”¹¹⁷ In Yi Hun-gu’s research conducted at the end of the 1920s, not a few Koreans were bilingual or multilingual and probably were very susceptible to other cultures. He wrote as follows:

According to my research of 1,074 Koreans from 201 families, those who may read one language to four languages-Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and Russian- were 398, those who may write were 368. While all of them may use Korean except for babies, those who were good at Chinese, Japanese, and Russian amounted to the numbers 484, 12, and 71 respectively. A few people were good at all the four languages. ... Illiterate population is very high. More than 47.8% may not read and 51.8% may not write.¹¹⁸

Korean and Chinese Christians’ boundary-crossing experience in Manchuria may be a good illustration to show the Koreans’ trans-nationality and also the Chinese’ trans-nationality. Harry A. Rhodes shows in his essays that there was cross-church membership between the two peoples as follows:

Many of the Koreans talk Chinese fluently; some of the Chinese worship in Korean churches and *vice versa*. I met one Korean who is a baptized member of a Chinese

¹¹⁷ Harry A. Rhodes, “How Manchuria Spells Opportunity to the Korean Church,” *The Korea Mission Field* vol. XI no.9 (September 1915): 248.

¹¹⁸ Hun-gu Yi, *Ibid.*, 229

church and has studied in one of the Bible Institutes of the Scotch Presbyterian Mission. ... Instances are frequent in which there is a mingling of the two peoples in religious matters. Korean Christians preach frequently to Chinese unbelievers; it is quite common to see Chinese in attendance at Korean services. Some Koreans are members of Chinese churches; no doubt the large number of Christians among the Koreans is very noticeable to the Chinese and has a good effect.¹¹⁹

Some Korean and Chinese Christians were helping each other. There was a Korean Bible class happening in a Chinese church building whose location “was central for all the Korean churches ‘inside the pass.’” “The Chinese Christians of the place generously” offered their church building.¹²⁰

There were also some negative, complicated, and trans-national relationships among Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese. Ralph Covell asked a proper question in his essay about the history of Korean Christianity in Manchuria. “Who were the Koreans in China-Japanese citizens, Chinese citizens, illegal aliens?”¹²¹ It seems that Chinese officials and people were ambivalent towards Korean immigrants in Manchuria until 1925.¹²² In the beginning, they even welcomed the Koreans, who were eagerly developing the land with rice cultivation, provided their needs,¹²³ and were sympathetic about Koreans’ predicaments. However, after the 1910 annexation of Korea, Japan proclaimed that “all Koreans living in China were now Japanese subjects,”¹²⁴ and the relationship between Chinese and Koreans started to change into a subtle, complicated one, and sometimes one of hatred. On occasion, Koreans, allegedly ‘Japanese subjects,’

¹¹⁹ Harry A. Rhodes, “Manchuria Again,” *The Korea Mission Field* vol.XI no.3 (March 1915): 71; “How Manchuria Spells Opportunity to the Korean Church,” *The Korea Mission Field* vol XI no.9 (September 1915): 248-49.

¹²⁰ Harry A. Rhodes, “Bible Class for Koreans in Manchuria,” *The Korea Mission Field* vol.X no. 5 (May 1914): 129.

¹²¹ Ralph Covell, “A Minority That Is Another Country: the Korean Church in China” (unpublished manuscript), p. 239.

¹²² Wijo Kang, “Korean Minority Church-State Relations in the People’s Republic of China” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (IBMR) vol. 14 no.2: 77-82.

¹²³ Sang-gi Kim and Yöng-guk Chae, *Ibid.*, 193.

¹²⁴ Ralph Covell, *Ibid.*, 240.

were regarded as a tool of imperialistic Japan. On other occasions, Chinese officials joining the Japanese police and troops were often attacked by Korean nationalist armies. It was not uncommon that the Chinese officials, in return, harassed Koreans. When Harry A. Rhodes was starting a Bible class for Koreans in an area of West *Kando*, he found a strange thing from the Korean attendants. He recorded the reason, "Our first surprise on the first evening of the class, was to meet 125 Korean men and a few Korean women, all dressed in Chinese clothes." "These 140 had come from eighteen different groups, from 10 to 83 miles distant." They were dressed so "in mortal fear of robbers" and "to please the Chinese." And "they don't like to appear in Korea in that garb."¹²⁵ The 1925 Agreement between Japan and the Chang Tso-lin government of Manchuria, in which Japan aggressively asked the government to help arrest the Korean nationalists, became a critical blow to the Korean nationalists and community. Furthermore, with the Japanese Kwantung Government expanding its police into more parts of Manchuria in the pretext of the protection of the Korean, 'their subjects,' Chinese in Manchuria as well as the officials started to ask the Koreans leave Chinese territory.¹²⁶ This political dilemma of the Koreans was often solved only by changing their cultural and national identities, in other words, by becoming naturalized citizens of China. On January 10, 1928, a conference of the Koreans in Manchuria, held in Moukden, opposed to the Chinese movement for the deportation of Koreans and supported the Koreans' naturalization and some other means to improve the condition.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Harry A. Rhodes, *Ibid.*, 129; "Koreans in Manchuria: the Problem of Their Evangelization," *The Korea Mission Field* vol. X no. 8 (August 1914): 235-36.

¹²⁶ Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 104.

¹²⁷ Kyochöl Kim, *Chungguk simyang sötap gyohoe yöksa yöngu* (Inchön: Chungguk söngyo yöngu hyöphoe, 1998), 17.

Korean Nationalism in Manchuria and the Missionary

Many of the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK) not only spread the gospel to the Koreans in Southern Manchuria but also participated or led nationalistic activities, while the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (PCUSA) missionaries were also sympathetic about the nationalism among the Koreans in the area with the limitation caused by the policy of ‘political-neutrality.’ The PCK started to send the lay evangelists to West Kando area Han Kyŏng-hŭi, Kim Jin-gŭn, and Hwang Un-gi by 1910.¹²⁸ Then, the Church sent its ordained missionaries Choe Bong-sŏk and Choe Sŏng-ju to the area in 1914 and Han Kyŏng-hŭi in the next year. As to the ‘Fengtien’ area, the Church sent its first ordained South Manchuria missionary Kim Dŏk-sŏn to Moukden in 1913 and some other missionaries, such as Cha Hyŏng-jun, Ryang jun-sik, Kim Kang-sŏn, Kim Byŏng-nong, Cho Dŏk-chan, and Baek Yŏng-yŏp, to various places including Moukden, Antung, Fenghuangcheng, and Kuantien during the following two decades. Although the primary task of the missionaries was to evangelize Koreans in the local area and set up churches, they also had nationalistic activities in their agenda. Many nationalistic schools were started in a church building, supported by the church members, and led by the missionaries. The *Namman* Presbytery, which started to serve the West Kando area in 1921, was running at least twelve schools only in about four years,¹²⁹ and many of them were undoubtedly following the line of nationalism in considering the leaders and teachers. The missionary Han Kyŏng-hŭi was “an anti-Japanese activist and nationalistic

¹²⁸ *Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Sang)* [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I] 204, 222-23.

¹²⁹ Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 298-303. The number of the schools ‘twelve’ was based on the report to the 1925 General Assembly of the PCK.

educator with a good reputation in the West *Kando* area.”¹³⁰ He established *Dong-myŏng* School and *Sam-sŏng* School in 1922 and 1926 respectively and also served *Ŭnyang* School and *Sam-sŏng* Women’s School as the principal. Like many other schools in West Kando, his schools were very nationalistic and included military drill classes.¹³¹ The song of the *Sam-sŏng* Women’s School, that he himself wrote, shows a strong nationalistic spirit with the phrase “the firm sprit of Korean independence” in its first line.¹³² He established the Association of Education in Southern Manchuria in 1923 and served as the Chair. He had a good network with other nationalist leaders, contributed to some of the strongly nationalistic associations including the *Hanjokhoe* [Association of Korean Ethnic People] and a few military units, and even helped found a few associations like the *Chosŏn Kukminhoe* [Association of Korean Nationals] in that direction.¹³³

March First Movement in the West Kando area started at the town of Sanyuanpu [Samwŏnpo in Korean] first in the early March 1919.¹³⁴ Christians, teachers, and students as well as nationalist leaders participated in the mass meeting held at a church in celebrating the event in Korea and claiming Korean independence on the 7th or 12th of March.¹³⁵ The principal of *Dongmyŏng* School and Pastor Han Kyŏng-hŭi with a few other nationalist leaders addressed to the people and became one of the most important leaders of the movement in the area. The people paraded down the streets and the movement rapidly spread to many other places of the West *Kando* area including

¹³⁰ Sang-gi Kim and Yŏng-guk Chae, *Ibid.*, 249.

¹³¹ Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 180.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 182.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 210-14.

¹³⁴ Sang-gi Kim and Yŏng-guk Chae, *Ibid.*, 260.

¹³⁵ Related sources are different in terms of the date. Refer to Sang-gi Kim and Yŏng-guk Chae, *Ibid.*, 260; Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 207.

Tunghua, Jian, and Kuantian.¹³⁶ It seems that the Korean missionaries and pastors did not always maintain the policy of non-violence in the March First Movement. Although the source came from Japanese side, another missionary to West Kando Choe Bong-sŏk established 'the Radicals' with other pastors and tried to attack Japanese armies.¹³⁷ Indeed, more Christians and other nationalistic leaders in Manchuria participated in various types of military activities around and after the March First Movement against Japanese police and troops. The PCUSA missionaries who worked for the Koreans in Southern Manchuria were sympathetic about their political predicament and their activities in nationalistic education and politics. The missionary Marion E. Hartness, who served as a speaker to a Korean Bible class in West *Kando* in the early 1920s, wrote about the political refugees and her sympathy for them as follows:

As we sat together getting acquainted I asked them to tell me what had brought them to Manchuria. It was a most unfortunate question, for in an instant most of the eyes were filled with tears as they recalled their home land and the reasons for migration. Many of them were elderly women, moved by no spirit of adventure or love of gain. They had come on a fruitless search for peace. I suppose the vast majority had fled, at the time of the independence movement in order to avoid arrest of themselves or their loved ones.¹³⁸

W. T. Cook was one of the missionaries who tried to participate in the sufferings of the Korean refugees in exile by documenting them. He joined the opening of the new Manchuria Station of the PCUSA Korea Mission along with T. S. Soltau in 1918 and left a description about the poor immigrants coming to Manchuria. He in turn observed the Kyŏngsin Massacre of 1920 against the Koreans in West *Kando* and North *Kando*, and

¹³⁶ Sang-gi Kim and Yŏng-guk Chae, *Ibid.*, 260-70

¹³⁷ Chong-guk Kim, ed., *Chungguk chosŏnjoksa yŏngu I* [A Study of the History of the Korean Ethnic People in China] (Seoul: Sŏuldaehakgyo chulpanbu, 1996), 279

¹³⁸ Marion E. Hartness, "Ins and Outs of South Manchuria," *The Korea Mission Field* vol. XXI no.11 (November 1925): 253.

reported the fact that the Japanese troops carried out a cruel massacre against the Koreans in West *Kando*. According to him, in West *Kando* only, 38 Christians, of whom six were elders, were killed by the troops and six churches were destroyed.¹³⁹

Korean Trans-nationality in Manchuria and the Missionary

As mentioned above, quite a few Koreans in Manchuria were already experiencing trans-nationality beyond their own Korean culture and identity. In 1927, the Manchurian Government started to enforce the deportation of Korean citizens out of Manchuria. However, the naturalized Koreans would have a right to remain there and even purchase land in Manchuria. The missionary to *West Kando*, Han Kyŏng-hŭi, already had become a naturalized citizen in 1915 although he remained Korean culturally and even politically afterward. He strongly persuaded the Koreans to become naturalized citizens of China, claiming that it would be a genuine patriotism for them to successfully settle down in Manchuria and provide their children with a good education. In 1928, he even helped establish the *Guihwa hanjok donghyang hoe* [Association of the Naturalized Koreans] at Sanyuanpu with other three hundred members in order to encourage the movement and served it as the General Secretary to help the processes through the Chinese officials.¹⁴⁰ Another PCK missionary Baek Yŏng-yŏp, who was sent to Moukden, particularly to the Sŏtap Church, in 1925 and worked through 1931 there, suggested to the Koreans, caught up among the conflicting Korean, Chinese, and Japanese nationalisms, more aggressive ways of accommodating to Chinese culture to solve the problem of deportation. Born in Korea, Baek graduated *Kuangwen* College at Peking in 1913 and *Jinling* Theological

¹³⁹ Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 246-47.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 124-25, 288.

Seminary at Nanjing afterward. On graduating, he worked for a Chinese church and a few stations of the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) in Manchuria. Then, he had a call from the PCK to serve the *Sōtap* Church.¹⁴¹ He suggested, during a discussion, the cooperation of Korean and Chinese Churches as a means to solve the serious problem of the deportation of Koreans. As a way of cooperation, he strongly recommended that Koreans in Manchuria study at the Manchuria Christian College run by Scottish missionaries not at the seminaries at Pyōngyang or Seoul in Korea. In addition, he suggested that prospective Korean students study in China and work for Chinese communities as lawyers or officials and to help solve the problem of Koreans in China.¹⁴² A few PCUSA missionaries had a dream in which the bilingual and bicultural Korean-Chinese Christians would serve for the cause of the evangelization of Chinese in the future. Harry A. Rhodes, a missionary at Kangkei Station in Korea and helped the Korean Christians in West *Kando* many times with Bible classes, raised the idea of the evangelization of Chinese by Korean Chinese in his two essays written in 1915, “Manchuria Again” and “How Manchuria Spells Opportunity to the Korean Church,” as follows:

There seems to be possibilities of the Koreans becoming an evangelizing force among the Chinese if a serious attempt be made and an understanding be reached between the missions and native church organizations concerned. ... The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea to agree to provide the Korean evangelists to the Chinese, and for the missions concerned to enter into a plan of co-operation by which the end desired could be realized.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Kyochōl Kim, *Ibid.*, 14-15.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁴³ Harry A. Rhodes, “Manchuria Again,” *The Korea Mission Field* vol. XI no.3 (March 1915): 71; “How Manchuria Spells Opportunity to the Korean Church,” *The Korea Mission Field* vol. XI no.9 (September 1915): 249-50.

It is certain that he was not only dreaming of this but also suggesting the practical ways that the PCK needed to help. To him, the opening of the PCUSA Manchuria Station meant developing an initiative to train Korean evangelists for the Chinese in Manchuria as well as setting up a center for the Korean immigrants. T. S. Soltau, the missionary assigned for the Koreans in Manchuria, strongly agreed with Rhodes' idea in 1917 and hoped the practical arrangements from the Board would be as follows:

The Korean readily learns the Chinese language, and already a number of them have become members of the Chinese Church, which has been established by the Scotch and Irish Presbyterian Missions. And since God has so signally used the Korean missionaries among their own people, may we not also expect Him to do great things through them among the Chinese at this critical time in that nation's history? A desire has already been expressed on the part of some of the leading Korean Christians for union with the Chinese Church in Manchuria, as soon as it seems feasible, which means as soon as the Koreans have a sufficient grasp of the Chinese language to permit of joint worship; so that the prospect of the evangelization of Manchuria by the Korean Church is no longer a dream, but has become a very real possibility, if only the Church at home is ready to take advantage of this tremendous opportunity.¹⁴⁴

Discussion: Limitations and Possibilities in the Borderland

It seems that one of the most difficult things to many PCK and PCUSA missionaries was the new revolutionary thought of Communism from Russia because it was frequently related to the anti-Christianity movement in Manchuria. Koreans residing in Manchuria neighboring with Russia were certainly not immune to Communist thought and a considerable number of Koreans turned to it in the 1920s. The churches in Southern Manchuria were under pressure by the aggressive Koreans adopting the Communism and interfering with church affairs in the second half of the 1920s. Thus, the PCK and PCUSA missionaries and pastors in West *Kando* often reported the pressures from the

¹⁴⁴ T. S. Soltau, "Between Two Empires-God's Change" *The Korea Mission Field* vol. XIII no. 3 (March 1917): 72.

Communists to their meetings. One time, faced with the conflicts with the Communists, the *Namman* Presbytery sent its pastor O Nŭng-jo to many places in West Kando in order to cope with the matter.¹⁴⁵ The eldest son of the missionary Han Kyŏng-hŭi, Han Chŏng-ok, became influenced by Communism when he was being trained at the *Hwampoa* Military Academy located in Guangdong, China. Returning to Sanyuanpu, West *Kando*, he became the leader of the Sanyuanpo Church and teacher of *Dongmyŏng* School and strived to spread Communism in his classes. He was seriously opposed by his father. Being a member of the Chinese Communist Party, he was in a conflict with a Korean nationalist group and was assassinated by that group in 1930 while his father was imprisoned by Japanese police in Sinŭiju, Korea.¹⁴⁶ The Naturalization movement of the Korean community in the 1920s was an event which the Koreans and missionaries supported for reasons of both nationalism and trans-nationalism in a distinctive context of Korean Manchuria under the pressures from the Koreans, the Japanese, and the Chinese. Naturalization was one of the last hopes for the Koreans endangered by the conflicting nationalisms. However, it was not a negation of nationalism in some way but a strong affirmation of it. The case of Han Kyŏng-hŭi may show it symbolically. He technically became a Chinese citizen after 1915 yet worked for Korean nationalism until he was imprisoned in 1928 by the Japanese police regardless of his citizenship.

Conclusion

¹⁴⁵ Hak-in Yi and Man-su Kim, *Ibid.*, 322-24.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 324-25.

The British missionaries in Southern Manchuria positively responded to the Chinese nationalism erupted by the Boxer Uprising and the May Thirtieth Movement. Although they, under the influence of the strong tradition of 'development missions' supporting commercial enterprise in mission fields, failed to see the danger of commercial imperialism in China, they properly criticized European territorial encroachments. They also supported the Chinese nationalism for the revision of the unequal treaties and the abolition of the rights of extra-territoriality. The American missionaries from the Japan Mission tried to follow the ideas of political-neutrality and financial self-support. They not only maintained a good relationship with the people from the higher classes of the Japanese society but also were considerably dependent on the support from the imperialistic Japanese *Kwantung* Government in Manchuria and its South Manchuria Railway. In result, the Christian responsibility in politics was difficult to be expected from their works. The American missionaries from the Korea Mission and the Korean missionaries participated in some works in Korean nationalism and trans-nationalism. Nationalistic education, independence movement, and the Naturalization Movement were some representative activities of the missionaries.

Politics sometimes provides missionaries with an opportunity to start their work or to address a political message to the community. On the contrary, it may endanger their works in a strong expression like anti-foreignism. Fortunately, the British supported Chinese nationalism and secured an improved position in the midst of their own indigenous converts and other people. The 'non-political' works of the American missionaries among the Japanese immigrants were paradoxically under the political and

even imperialistic Japanese enterprise in the quasi-colony. The missionaries among the Koreans found their way in a more nationalistic ethos.

CONCLUSION

This study has been a discussion about Presbyterian missionaries in Southern Manchuria in the late Ch'ing and early Republican periods of Modern China focusing on religion, society, and politics. In detail, this study has dealt with the theology and culture of the missionaries' home Church and society, Presbyterian union and Protestant cooperation in Manchuria, the missionaries' encounters with the Roman Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church, the missionaries' social activities with medical, relief, and teaching services, and their attitudes and activities in relation to nationalism and transnationalism. How can we, in conclusion, describe their world? What kind of suggestions can we obtain from their experience for the future of Christian mission in the world and for scholarship on the history of Christianity in Manchuria and, more generally, China?

Contours of the World of the Presbyterian Missionaries in Manchuria

The thought and practice of the Presbyterian missionaries in Southern Manchuria showed both evangelical and liberal understandings of Christianity and other religions, both traditional and innovative mission methods, and both political and 'politically-neutral' stances toward some critical political events happening in China.

The most dominant form of mission theology and culture in all the home-bases – Northern Ireland, Scotland, Korea, and the United States of America – was a combination of the nineteenth-century Evangelicalism and orthodox Presbyterian faith, and the missionaries in Southern Manchuria were, by the Church and fellow Christians, strongly expected to represent Christian faith in those two forms. This combination is well

demonstrated in the first words of the Irish missionary James Carson on arriving in Manchuria in 1874. He said, "There is want and degradation on every hand, the result of thousands of years of sin." The missionaries maintained the evangelical zeal for the salvation of a soul and the supremacy of Christian religion over other religions. While they had a strong interest in the spiritual welfare of the people in a foreign land, they regarded Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism as incomplete or corrupted religious systems and saw Shamanism and folk religions as 'superstitions.' The missionaries' strong dedication to the Presbyterian tradition was revealed in the narrow scope in their pursuing of Presbyterian union. They also revealed an indifferent, competing, and even hostile relationship with the Roman Catholic Mission in Manchuria, although they had somewhat favorable attitude toward the missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church. The missionaries' combination of Evangelicalism and Presbyterianism revealed a significant limitation in the medical service and education, whose main responsibility was to get rid of 'the prejudice' of the indigenous people for the next step 'proselytization.' In the Evangelical and Presbyterian theology, Christian participation in social services was conditioned by the evangelical cause. However, some of the missionaries, such as John Ross and F. W. S. O'Neill, showed more liberal attitudes toward Christianity and a few Chinese religions – Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. Although those missionaries did not support the contemporary form of the Chinese religions having different belief system from Christianity and often having various "images and idols," they tried to identify the original form of the religions and the religions' social functions in Chinese society. Often, the response from the home Church was not friendly to the liberal missionaries. For example, O'Neill was criticized by some

of the Church leaders for “the suspicion of at least heterodoxy.” One of the most important motives in the Korean and American missionaries was also the spread of the gospel among the Koreans in Manchuria in Evangelical and Presbyterian lines. They were strongly influenced by the late nineteenth-century American Evangelical or even Fundamental interpretation of Christian gospel and cultural implications.

Secondly, the missionaries brought both traditional and innovative mission methods, in terms of the form of Christian witnessing to various indigenous groups, such as immigrants, refugees, and women, to Southern Manchuria. In addition to the traditional Scottish and Irish mission methods, “preaching” and “teaching,” the British missionaries utilized the innovative mission methods, medical mission and relief mission, and worked for the marginalized. They worked for the people from the lower classes, impoverished immigrants, war refugees, the wounded, and the sick. Medical mission was the special feature of the Manchuria Mission of the British Missions in terms of the size of personnel and fund. The innovative mission methods sometimes enabled the missionaries to go beyond their own limitations. For example, despite the tension between the Presbyterian missions and the Catholic Mission and also despite his own negative attitude toward Catholicism, Dr. J. M. Hunter provided medical services to the Catholic priest and some nuns at Kirin and visited a Catholic orphanage for the same reason in 1882. The Catholics were very grateful for the help. The Korean missionaries’ work also included the developing the social and material conditions of the Korean immigrants in ‘West Kando,’ ‘Fengtien,’ and some other places in Southern Manchuria. American missionaries from the Korea Mission were not engaged in medical mission in Manchuria but showed their sympathy toward the immigrants and often participated in

relief mission for them. The 'Zenana Mission,' the mission of women for women,' became not only a way of serving people but also a way in which British women developed their careers and self-esteem. The high ratio of women missionaries in Manchuria gives a clue to think of the development of feminism both in the West and in the East. Of course, the 'Zenana Mission' was not the best form in which feminism developed best. According to David Hempton, Evangelical women's mission had two conflicting aspects of "new opportunity" and "subjection to male authority" in the context of Northern Ireland. He said, "Evangelical religion provides a particularly intriguing context within which to investigate the roles of women, because it's missionary and moral pragmatism both offered new opportunities for women and reinforced their subjection to male authority with the sternest of theological arguments."¹ The 'Zenana Mission' often brought about an ecumenical encounter among the people from different Churches. Like in "United Zenana Mission Association at St. Boswells," which was composed of ladies belonging to the Establishment Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, and the United Presbyterian Churches,"² the 'Zenana Mission' was a space for ecumenical encounters. The Korean missionaries were basically sent for the building of Christian communities through preaching and teaching of the gospel messages. However, they became involved in many social works in facing the predicaments of the immigrants or the exiled. They often helped the people's migration to another place in Manchuria, the improvement of economic condition, and the political expressions against colonialism.

¹ David Hempton, *The Religion of the People: Methodism and Popular Religion c. 1750-1900* (Routledge: London and New York, 1996), 196.

² MRUPC (Sept. 1882): 290.

Thirdly, both political and ‘politically-neutral’ stances in response to some critical politics of China were displayed in the thought and practice of the missionaries. Like in many other Protestant missions in China, the British Presbyterian missions started their work under the treaty provisions. The American missionaries from the Japan Mission also started with the political change between Japan and China. Korean missionaries and the American missionaries from the Korea Mission were also involved in their work in Manchuria by the political and social changes in Korea and Manchuria. All the missionaries were not free from the political conditions of China or East Asia. The British missionaries criticized European imperialism as a way of responding to the critiques from other Europeans after the Boxer Uprising. The missionaries also supported Chinese nationalism claiming the revision of the ‘unequal’ treaties and the abolition of the rights of extra-territoriality during the May Thirtieth Movement. The Korean missionaries among the Koreans in Manchuria were engaged in promoting the independence movement and the Naturalization Movement in responding to the nationalism and trans-nationalism of the Koreans. Indeed, the Korean Presbyterians had a tradition of political participation. Their Christianity was not just a way of seeking spirituality apart from social and political affairs. Although the most influential American missionaries were, by and large, conservative and followed the principle of ‘neutrality in politics’ in Korea, the Korean Presbyterians accepted Christianity as a way of the salvation for both the souls and nation in the time of the opening of the nation to foreigners and of seeking for modernity and in the time of imperialism and colonialism. Many church leaders were also expected to be the leaders of the society. A great number of Christian leaders seen in the list of the thirty three representatives for the March First

Independence Movement can be a symbol for the participation of the Presbyterian and also Protestant leaders in politics.

The American missionaries among the Japanese maintained the attitude of 'political-neutrality' and the principle of financial self-support. 'Political-neutrality,' especially in American missionaries residing in Japan, Korea, and Manchuria, meant the missionaries' non-participation in the local politics. It came both from insiders' conservative theology and from the factors from outsiders, i.e., the recommendations or administrative orders from Washington, D.C. to the missionaries. As mentioned earlier, a group of American missionaries themselves resolved 'political-neutrality' out of the conflict between Japanese and Americans over the racial discrimination issue. It was, by and large, from their theological tendency. By the way, American missionaries to Korea have at least one time been ordered not to interfere with Korean internal politics, which was in the turmoil with the influences from Japanese politics. That became one of the reasons many American missionaries were silent to the inhumane treatments of the Japanese police against Koreans in the beginning of the March First Movement. This attitude of 'political-neutrality,' was also the dominant attitude of the British missionaries in Manchuria toward Russians in the early twentieth century. When Russians came to Manchuria to 'rule' during a certain period after the Boxer Uprising, the Scottish missionary John Ross and other British missionaries showed the attitude 'political-neutrality.' However, it is true that this attitude of 'political neutrality' frequently means a silence or irresponsibility toward the political and important aspect of the converts or the people in the community. It has, paradoxically, been a kind of rhetoric to justify their political support for the *status quo* over the history. The British missionaries' 'political-

neutrality' toward the Russian regime in Manchuria was one in the category. The attitude of the American missionaries' among the Japanese was another example falling in this category, too. They were 'independent' from the Japanese politics of the Kwantung Leased Territory but became dependent on the support from the imperialistic Japanese *Kwantung* Government in Manchuria.

Toward Indigenization, Contextualization, and Trans-nationality

The issues indigenization and contextualization in a Christian Church are frequently related not only to the kinds of theology but also to the political and cultural environments of the Church. Although the British political or territorial ambitions seemed to decrease in China and East Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, British commercial imperialism did not cease to be present in the area. Indeed, the British government decided to use an indirect way of political control in East Asia by supporting the imperialistic Japan. Facing the anticipated advancement of Russia in East Asia by way of Manchuria, the Britain had the Anglo-Japanese Alliance with Japan in 1902 and renewed it in 1905. America also supported the advancement of Japan into Korea and Manchuria for the same purpose as the Britain had. Of course, both Russia and Japan were the most visible imperialistic Powers in the area. Numerous Chinese from northern China and another great number of Koreans moved to Manchuria. Japanese increased in Manchuria throughout the first few decades of the twentieth century and eventually established their state in Manchuria in 1932. Russians were present in the Liaotung peninsula and the northern part of Manchuria centering on Harbin. The Mongols, who

were present in Manchuria since long time ago, were always living in the western part of Manchuria. The Manchus resided in Manchuria, of course.

What, then, are the possible directions of the historiography in the history of Christianity in Manchuria against these political and social backdrops?

First, I would like to suggest the direction of 'indigenization' and 'contextualization' which includes the critiques of the Western form of Christianity to be transplanted in another soil and the encouragement of indigenous Christianity. Were the British missionaries aware of the political and commercial imperialism of the Britain? Were they related to the British commercial enterprises in Manchuria anyhow? And were they aware of cultural imperialism and the contextualization of Christianity? An Irish Presbyterian church leader, Thomas Croskery, said, "The pathway of missions has likewise become the pathway of commerce. It is said that every missionary in the South Seas causes a return in commerce of £10,000 a year."³ Could that reality be applied to the mission field Manchuria? Were the missionaries aware of the cultural and religious imperialism? One of the most representative metaphors for foreign missions in the Irish and Scottish Churches was 'sowing the seed,' but it seems that it was used without thinking of the respect for the soil. For example, in 1875, the Board of Foreign Mission of the Irish Church published an essay including the following part:

Let us, then, go boldly out into the Province, and sow the seed everywhere; sow it wherever the ground will take; sow it where there is no let or hindrance; call out the sowers from our ranks, and send them to the great, far-reaching fields; and before they come back to tell us that the fields are sown, the reapers will be wanted to gather the sheaves that will be white already to the harvest.⁴

³ MHPCI (Mar. 1883): 57.

⁴ MHPCI (July & Aug. 1875): 625-26.

The writer was only aware of the ‘hindrance’ but not of the kind or status of the soil. In other words, Western Christianity as the seed was not to be questioned by the Church or the missionaries. It is certain that this metaphor came from the New Testament. However, the use of the metaphor may be very self-conscious or imperialistic. Dr. J. M. Hunter also reported his work in Manchuria with the metaphor, “The good seed has been scattered far and wide and it ought to be followed by the planting and watering.”⁵ Although ‘anti-foreignism’ was not very strong in Manchuria, there were some ‘missionary cases’ including both Catholic converts and Protestant converts.⁶ In addition, the Mongols as well as Han Chinese and the Manchus expressed hostile feelings toward the foreign missionaries and indigenous converts as seen in the period leading to the Boxer Uprising. The researches on this area will deepen the scholarship in the history of Christianity in Manchuria. As conducted in this study, the researches on the relationship between the American missionaries among the Japanese colonialists in Manchuria and the Japanese government in Manchuria is an important theme to be continued. Christianity in the Japanese Manchukuo period from 1932 to 1945 will also be one of the important research areas including the following sub-areas, including the uneasy relationship between the church and state, especially in the early period and, conversely, the positive connection between the two.

Indigenous Christianity developed in Manchuria even earlier than the time that the Board of Missions or the missionaries wanted to recognize. It seems that the development of indigenous leadership was often inhibited by the Board probably because

⁵ MHPCI (Dec. 1875): 777.

⁶ One of the missionary cases occurred in Liaoyang, Fengtien Province in August 10th, 1894 and the Scottish missionary James Wylie was killed. See *Zhongguo jindaishi ziliao congkanxubian*, ed. *Qingmojiaolan* [Missionary Cases in the Late Ch’ing Period] (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju), 726.

it hoped to appeal for more missionaries and funds to the Church. For example, the Board of Mission of the Irish Church reported that there was no “native help” and Europeans were to continue to conduct the work in Manchuria in 1875 as follows:

Mantchooria [Manchuria] demands aid as urgently as Gujarat. There the native help has not yet been created, and the work must be done mainly by the European. ... It is almost necessary, in the mean time, that it should be the work of the European and not of the native. In time there will be those who have been trained under the eye of our missionaries, and to whom the work can be committed with confidence, but that time is not yet.⁷

However, already in the previous year, the Irish mission’s preaching was mostly carried out by the indigenous workers although the service was led by the missionaries. The Scottish missionary John Ross publicly confessed several times that without his assistant evangelist, Wang Jing-ming, he would never carry out in his ministry. The Scottish mission had indigenous evangelists, such as Tang Wun-hüan, Wang Jing-ming, and Wang Jing-an in 1876, only in four years since the mission started, and, in 1883, Wang Jing-ming, Wang Jing-tang.

The second direction that I would like to suggest in order to further develop the scholarship in the study of Christianity in Manchuria is related to the Christianity in the various minority ethnic groups and the groups which experienced trans-nationality. Researches on the Christianity in the ethnic groups of Manchuria are very significant in many ways. For example, Milton Staffer’s *the Christian Occupation in China* seriously omitted the missionaries working for the ethnic groups in Manchuria and the information of their converts. In other words, while the information for the British, Danish, and some American missionaries working for Chinese was abundant, the information about the

⁷ MHPCI (July & Aug. 1875): 623, 625

PCUSA and Korean missionaries for the Korean and Japanese immigrants is not available. However, Christian converts were found in almost all different ethnic groups in Manchuria, such as the Manchus, the Mongols, Koreans, Japanese, and Russians, as well as in the Han Chinese during the period that this study is concerned. For example, as already mentioned in the chapter two, the Irish missionary Andrew Weir “seemed to have quite an affinity with the Mongol people and greatly regretted having to move away from ChaoYang,” a city in the westernmost area of Manchuria. He reported that he had an excellent convert from the Mongolian group. The Russian Orthodox Church among Russians in Harbin and the adjacent areas in northern Manchuria must be one of the good topics for the Christianity in ethnic groups. This study is also congruent with the recent scholarship in the history of China emphasizing ethnic groups.

The studies on ethnic groups often need to include trans-nationality or Post-nationality beyond the interest in single ethnic groups. Many Christians from the Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Russian Christianities in Manchuria had cross-boundary experiences but that aspect was not much studied by researchers and a focused study in this aspect will be a significant counterweight to some of the previous works, which centered on activities by national boundaries and left the cross-boundary realities happening in the religious, cultural, political and social borderlands untouched. For example, Christian works among the Russians in Manchuria by some other Churches would be an intriguing theme. The British Presbyterian missionaries of Kirin, in the middle part of Manchuria, who took refuge in Vladivostok in the 1900 Boxer Uprising were eager to learn the Russian language for their future work in Kirin and other places in Manchuria. Indeed Russian influences were becoming powerful in many parts of

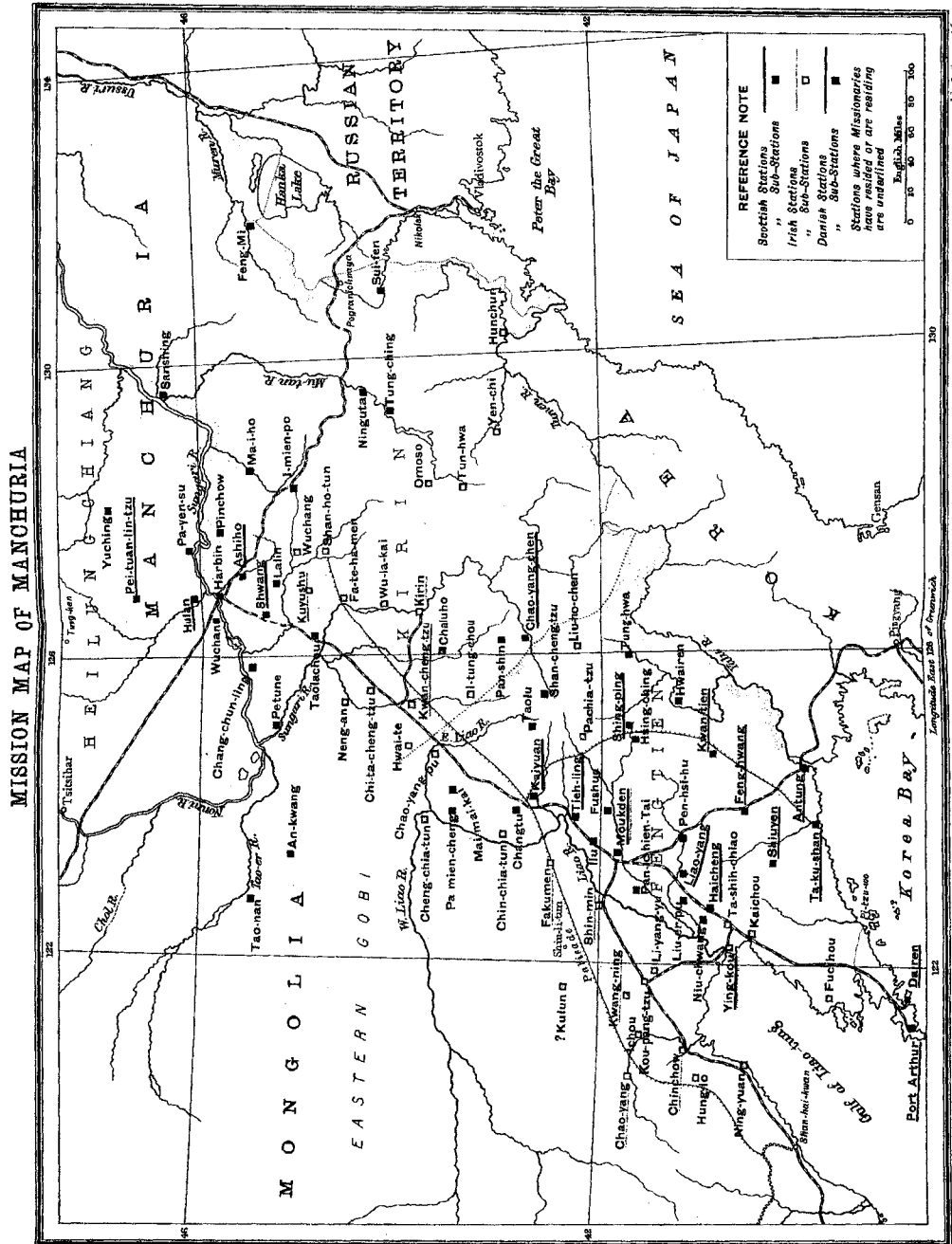
Manchuria by 1900 with the introduction of Russian people, company, the Russian Orthodox Church, and many other cultural factors. As another example, according to the sources, Korean Christians in the Chinese churches were not a few, and at least a small number of Korean Christians attended the Scottish mission's theological training school at Moukden, whose students were mainly from Han Chinese and the Manchus. By the same token, we may think about Chinese Christians in the Korean churches and in the Russian churches. We have at least some clues, mentioned above, that some Chinese attended Korean churches in Southern Manchuria.

GLOSSARY

<i>Ahshanshi tiedongqu zhi</i>	鞍山市鐵東區志
Chang Chih-tung	張之洞
Chang Hsüeh-liang	張學良
Chang Tso-lin	張作林
Chinchow	錦州
<i>Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Hoeuirok</i>	조선 예수교 장로회 회록
<i>Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Sang)</i>	조선 예수교 장로회 사기 (상)
<i>Chosŏn Yesugyo Changnohoe Sagi (Ha)</i>	조선 예수교 장로회 사기 (하)
Chŏndogyo[Donghak]	천도교, 동학
Daejonggyo	대종교
Dairen,	大連
<i>Dandong shi zhi</i>	丹東市志
<i>Feng shui</i>	風水
<i>Fengtien</i>	봉천
<i>General Assembly of the Chosŏn Presbyterian Church</i>	조선 예수교 장로회 총회
Heilungkiang Province	黑龍江省
Hingking, Sinpin	興京, 흥경
<i>I ho t'uan</i>	義和團
Independent Presbytery of Korea	독노회
<i>Jiaoyou banyue kan</i>	教友半月刊
<i>Kando, Ch'ientao</i>	간도, 간도
Kangkei	강계
<i>Kidok sinbo</i>	기독신보
<i>Kidokkyo Hyŏppjinhoe</i>	기독교협진회
Kirin	吉林
<i>Kuantung Presbytery</i>	關東老會
Kyōngsin Massacre	경신참변
<i>Liaoning sheng zhi</i>	遼寧省志
Liaoyang	遼陽
<i>Liaoningsheng Yingkowshi Jidujiao Jiaozhi</i>	遼寧省營口市基督教教志
<i>Manzhou jidujiao nianjian</i>	滿洲基督教年刊
Moukden, Shenyang	遼, 盛京, 沈陽, 奉天, 심양
Mount Changbai, Baekdu	長白山, 백두산
<i>Namman Presbytery</i>	남만노회
Newchwang,	牛莊
North Kando	북간도
<i>Port Arthur, Lüshun</i>	旅順
<i>Pyŏngbuk Nohoe Hoerok</i>	평북노회 회록

Pyŏngbuk Agency Meeting	평북대리회
Pyŏngbuk Missionary Society (PMS)	평북전도회
Pyŏngbuk Presbytery	평북노회
Pyŏngyang Presbyterian Theological Seminary	평양 장로회 신학교
Sansŏ Presbytery	산서노회
Shenchun	선천
Shenyang shi zhi	沈陽市志
Sichŏngyo	시천교
Sinminhoe	신민회
Sorae	소래
Taehan Yesugyo Changnohoe Nohoe Hoerok	대한 예수교 장로회 노회 회록
Taehan Yesugyo Changnohoe Ŭisan Nohoe Hoerok	대한예수교 장로회 의산 노회 회록
True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven, T'ien chu shi i, 天主實意	
Tumen River, Tuman River	圖們江, 두만강 [土門江, 토문강]
Tunghua, Tong Hwa	통화
Ŭiju 의주	의주
Ŭisan Presbytery	의산노회
Yalu River, Aprok River	鴨綠江, 압록강
Yang Kweitzu	洋鬼子
Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Chonghoe Hoerok	예수교장로회조선총회회록
Yesugyo Changnohoe Chosŏn Pyŏngbuk Nohoe Hoerok	예수교장로회조선평북노회회록
Yesugyo Changnohoe Taehan Nohoe Hoerok	예수교장로회대한노회회록
West Kando	서간도
Women's Missionary Society of Pandong Church, Pyŏngyang	판동교회 여전도회
Zhonghua jidujiaohui	中華基督教會

MAP of MANCHURIA



Source:
 Daniel T. Robertson, *The Story of Our Mission: Manchuria* (Edinburgh: The Foreign Mission Committee at the United Free Church of Scotland, 1913), 8.

TABLES

Table 1: The Missionaries from the English Presbyterian Church (EPC)

Appointed	Name	Retired/ Resigned	Died	Primary Location
1867	Rev. William C. Burns, M.A.		1868	Newchwang

+ Sources:

Fulton, Austin. *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950*. Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press. Pages 391-401

Table 2: The Missionaries from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI)

Appointed	Name	Retired Resigned	Died	Primary Location
1869	Dr. J. M. Hunter, M.B.		1884	Newchwang
1869	Rev. Hugh Waddell, M.A.	1872	1901	Newchwang
1874	Rev. James Carson, D.D.	1921	1926	Newchwang
1884	Rev. Wilfred. W. Shaw, M.A.	1892	1936	Newchwang
1885	Rev. T. C. Fulton, D.D.	1941	1942	Chinh sien
1889	Dr. James A. Greig, M. B.	1926	1954	Kirin
1889	Sara Nicholson	1897		Chinh sien
1890	Rev. J. H. Fitzsimons, B.A.		1890	
1890	Dr. Thomas L. Brander, M.B.	1905	1938	Chinh sien
1891	Kennedy	1892		
1891	Couser	1892		
1891	Rev. William Hunter, B. A.	1927	1929	Kuangning
1892	Rev. W. H. Gillespie, B. A.		1920	
1893	Dr. Robert J. Gordon, M.B., M.A.	1932	1935	Kuanchengtzu
1894	Rev. John Keers, M.A.	1930	1939	Hsinmin
1894	Isabella B. Grills	1895	1955	Chinchou
1895	Rev. Alexander R. Crawford, M.A.	1914	1935	Kirin
1895	Rev. John Omelvena	1895	1929	Hsinmin
1896	Dr. B. L. Learmonth, M. B.	1915		
1896	Dr. Annie Gillespie, M.B.		1897	Kuanchengtzu
1896	Dr. Sara McMordie, M.B.	1899		Chinh sien
1896	Elsie C. McMordie	1932	1954	Kirin
1897	Sara J. McWilliams	1936	1954	Fakumen
1897	Rev. F. W. S. O'Neill, D.D.	1932	1952	Fakumen
1898	Rev. William Miskelly, D.D.	1940	1955	
1899	Rev. Andrew Weir, B.A.		1933	
1899	Dr. David L. Fisher, M.B.	1901		
1899	Isabel Philips, B.A.	1904	1955	
1899	Dr. Margaret McNeill, M.B.	1927	1944	Kuanchengtzu
1900	Dr. John R. Gillespie, M.B.	1907		

1902	Dr. Emma Crooks, M.B.	1933	1937	Kirin
1903	Ella Wallace	1905		
1905	Margaret Grills, M.A.	1917	1967	Kuanchengtzu
1905	Dr. Ida D. Mitchell, M.B.		1917	Fakumen
1905	Dr. Walter Philips, M.B., F.R.C.S.	1932		
1906	Dr. Mary Eva Simms, M.B.	1911	1915	
1906	Dr. Elizabeth Beatty, M.B.	1917		Kuangning
1908	Rev. James McWhirter, D.D.	1945	1953	Kirin
1909	Jeanette Rogers	1920	1957	
1910	Georgina Grills	1945		Chinhsien
1910	Emily McNeill	1910		
1910	Rev. James Stevenson, M.A.	1945	1950	Moukden
1911	Dr. Marion MacIntyre, M.B.	1942	1954	Chinhsien
1912	Rev. William M. Cargin, B.A.	1922	1950	
1913	Rev. Tom M. Barker, D.D.	1949	1967	Moukden
1913	Rosa Hudson	1936		
1914	Rev. Robert K. Lyle, M.A.	1916		
1914	Rev. James McCammon, M.A.		1942	Newchwang
1915	Florence R. Crawford, B.A.	1921		
1920	Dr. Eileen Bell, M.B.	1921		
1921	May Hilton	1929		
1921	Caroline Conn	1926		
1921	Jane Beatty	1923		
1923	Maimie G. Johnston	1951		Moukden
1923	Ruth Dickson	1944		
1923	Margaret L. McCombe	1945		
1924	Dr. Rachel Irwin, M.B.	1936		
1924	Rev. Harry Johnston	1949		
1924	Agnes Gardiner, B. SC.	1947		Changchun
1924	Dr. Dorothy L. Sinton, M.B.	1930		
1924	Dorothy A. Crawford, B.A.	1950		Hsinmin
1924	Dr. Fedya Hunter, M. B.	1947	1965	Peichen
1924	Rev. Laurence H. Ker, M.A.	1929		
1924	Rev. Thomas J. Martin, B.A.	1929		
1924	Rev. Joseph Nimmons, B.A.	1929	1965	
1924	Rev. Ralph Morton	1937		
1925	Dr. William Coquhoun, M.B.			
1925	M. Lillie Dodds, S.R.N.	1949		Kirin
1926	Margaret McKeown, B.A.	1935		
1927	Dr. W. R. Sloan, F.R.C.S., M.D.	1938		
1927	Dr. Dorothy Faulkner, M.B.	1949		Changchun
1929	Amy Calvert, S.R.N.	1934		
1930	S. H. Currie, B.A.	1935		
1930	Rev. Austin A. Fulton, D.D.	1945		Moukden
1931	Robina Calwell, M.SC.	1934		
1931	B. Gallahar	1934		

+ Main Sources:

Fulton, Austin. *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950*. Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press. Pages 391-401

D. MacGillivray, ed. *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*. Shanghai: The American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907. 229-230

Table 3: The Missionaries from the United Presbyterian Church (UPC), the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS), and the Church of Scotland (CS)

Appointed	Name	Retired/ Resigned	Died	Primary Location
1866	Rev. Alexander Williamson		1890	Chefoo
1871	Rev. John Macintyre		1905	Liaoyang
1872	Rev. John Ross, D. D.	1910	1915	Moukden
1881	A. M. Westwater, L.R.C.S.E.	1920	1934	
1881	Dugald Christie, M.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.E.	1922	1936	Moukden
1881	Alexander Westwater, M.A.		1887	Liaoyang
1882	Rev. James Webster	1910	1923	Kaiyuan
1886	Rev. James A. Wylie		1894	Liaoyang
1888	Dr. Thomas M. Young	1921		Kirin
1889	Maggie Struthers	1892	1956	
1890	Rev. James W. Inglis, M.A., D.D.	1935	1943	Hailungcheng
1890	Rev. Daniel T. Robertson, M.A.	1938	1946	Ashiho
1890	Rev. George Douglas, M.A.	1926	1930	Liaoyang
1890	Margaret Lee Wilson	1891		
1891	Dr. David C. Gray	1901		
1891	Margt. Jane Sinclair	1895		
1894	David D. Muir, L.R.C.P.S.	1917		Kaiyuan
1894	Rev. James Stobie, M.A.	1929	1942	Hulan
1894	Emily Clayton Jones	1906	1937	
1894	Mary Stuart Davidson	1936	1957	Moukden
1894	Mary Campbell Horner, L.R.C.P. & S.	1927	1941	Moukden
1894	Dr. Katherine K. Paton	1899	1939	
1895	Rev. J. Miller Graham, M.A.	1904	1950	
1895	Dr. J. Muir Grieve	1899		
1896	Rev. Henry W. Pullar, M.A.		1921	Moukden
1896	Mary Fleming Graham		1919	Liaoyang
1896	Louisa Howie	1920	1953	Kaiyuan
1896	Isabella Aitken, L.R.C.P. & S.	1929	1937	Liaoyang
1897	Mary Paton	1929	1938	Kaiyuan
1897	Sarah Mundle	1929	1933	Liaoyang
1898	Rev. W. Macnaughton, M.A.	1941	1957	Liaoyang
1898	Ethel Louie Starmer, M.B., C.M.	1922	1964	Moukden
1899	A. A. Young, M.B., C.M.	1933	1938	
1899	E. McKillop Young, M.B.	1932	1942	Ashiho
1899	Robina Taylor Garriock	1928	1956	Moukden
1903	H. Maclure Anderson (Architect)		1942	
1905	Rev. David C. Davidson, M.A.	1941	1961	Moukden
1906	Rev. J. Primrose Hay, M.A.	1920	1949	
1906	Eliza J. Miller, M.B., CH.B. (Re-offered in 1929)	1910 1941		
1907	Rev. Alexander R. Mackenzie, M.A.		1929	Hsingking
1907	Bessie Macintyre	1935	1950	

1907	Emily McNeil, B.A	1912		
1908	Alex. R. Young, L.R.C.P.& S.		1941	Liaoyang
1908	Arch. R. Leggate, M.B. CH.B		1948	Hailung
1909	Rev. L. D. M. Wedderburn, M.A.	1946	1965	Acheng
1909	Jeannie M. Andrew	1914		
1910	Dr. Arthur Frame Jackson		1911	
1910	Ella F. Pringle, M.B. CH.B.	1917		
1911	Francis W. Scougal, B.SC.	1915	1918	
1911	Rev. James H. Rust, M.A.	1942	1965	
1911	Rev. James W. Findlay, M.A.		1949	Moukden
1911	Rev. John C. Dorward, M.A.	1946		Moukden
1911	Caroline I. Davidson, M.A.	1916		
1912	Colin F. Simpson, M.A., M.B., D.T.M.	1947	1964	Moukden
1912	William M. Nairn, M.B., CH.B		1933	
1912	Daniel Wheldon	1918		
1912	F. B. Crookart, M.P.S.	1944	1953	Moukden
1912	Lilian S. Macintyre	1941		Moukden
1913	Douglas S. Robertson, M.A., M.B., CH.B	1934		
1913	Evangeline D. Edwards	1920	1957	
1913	Margt. R. Forgan, M.A., M.B., CH.B (Re-appointed 1949)	1919 1951		
1913	Rev. John Steward, D.D.	1947	1957	Moukden
1915	Jean M. McMinn, M.A., M.B., CH.B.	1951	1955	Kaiyuan
1915	Catherine Hotchkiss, M.A.	1940		
1916	Dorothy Rutherford	1946	1961	Liaoyang
1918	Helen Hewat, M.B., CH.B.	1956	1963	
1919	Alexander Webster, B.SC.	1957		
1919	Alex. J. R. Taylor, M.B., CH.B.	1927	1950	
1919	Elis. S. Macgregor	1950		
1919	Kate Drummond (Nurse)	1922		
1919	Isabel J. Birrell (Nurse)	1923		
1919	Dr. Wm. S. T. Neville, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S.	1922		
1919	Dr. Hugh W. Y. Taylor, M.A., M.B., CH.B.	1947		Moukden
1920	Rev. George P. Littlewood	1943	1946	Kaiyuan
1920	Rev. Thos. King, M.B.E.	1925	1964	
1921	Dr. James D. Brown, M.B., CH.B.	1947	1954	Moukden
1921	Agnes Black	1952		Moukden
1921	Jessie I. P. Campbell	1949		Moukden
1921	Jean F. Stott (Nurse)	1926		
1921	Helen B. K. Maclean, M.A.	1955		Moukden
1922	Annie A. Smith (Nurse)		1957	
1922	Jean Macgregor Young (Nurse)	1946		Moukden
1923	S. A. W. Ewart (Nurse)		1925	
1923	Mary Law Johnstone (Nurse)	1944	1946	Moukden
1923	Charlotte Forsyth, M.B., CH.B.	1929		
1923	Isabel N. Fleming, M.A.	1957		Moukden
1923	Amy B. Grantham (Nurse)			
1923	George Taylor	1951	1966	Moukden
1924	Jane E. Riddoch, B.SC., M.B., CH.B.	1932	1933	

1925	Mary Wilson	1930		
1925	E. Storey	1930		
1925	Janet M. Stewart, M.B., CH.B.	1932	1933	Moukden
1925	Hugh S. D. Garven, B.SC., M.D., F.R.S. (ED), F.R.C.P.(G).	1948		Moukden
1926	Janie Henderson	1956		
1926	Winifred E. Munro (Nurse)		1930	
1926	Betty W. D. Martin, M.A.	1940		
1927	Isabel Mackintosh (Nurse)	1949		Kaiyuan
1927	E. G. K. Hewat., B.D., PH.D.	1955		
1927	A. N. McLennan (Nurse)	1933		
1929	Mrs. A. R. Mackenzie, M. B., CH.B.			
1930	G. C. S. Clark	1935		
1930	E. C. M. Jack, M.B., CH.B. (TEMP.)	1931		
1930	Dr. Douglas M. Gibson (Temp.)	1947		Moukden
1931	Rev. Robert B. Mitchell, M.A.	1936	1952	
1931	Jessie W. Service	1957	1958	Moukden

+ Main Sources:

Fulton, Austin. *Through Earthquake, Wind and Fire: Church and Mission in Manchuria, 1867-1950*. Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press. Pages 391-401

D. MacGillivray, ed. *A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907)*. Shanghai: The American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1907. 229-230

Table 4: The Missionaries from the Presbyterian Church of Korea

Appointed	Name	Retired/ Resigned	Died	Primary Location
1909	Han Kyŏnghŭi (Re-offered as ordained missionary)	1910 1914	1935	West Kando
1910	Kim Jingŭn (West Kando)			West Kando
1910	Hwang Un-gi			West Kando
1913	Rev. Kim Dŏksŏn			Fengtien
1914	Rev. Choe Bongsŏk			West Kando
1914	Rev. Choe Sŏngju			West Kando
1915	Rev. Cha Hyŏngjun			Fengtien
1916	Ryang Junsik Fengtien (ordained in 1917)	1922		Fengtien
1917	Rev. Kim Byŏngnong			Fengtien
1918	Rev. Kim Kangsŏn			Fengtien
1918	Rev. Cho Dŏkchan			Fengtien
1918	Yi Kyŏngho	1918		Fengtien
1918	Pak Bongchŏl	1918		Fengtien
1921	Chang Kwansŏn (as pastor of Namman Presbytery)			West Kando
1921	Yi Jiŭn (as pastor of Namman Presbytery)			West Kando

1921	Kim Iksu (as pastor of Namman Presbytery)			West Kando
1924	Kim Daeju			Fengtien
1924	Rev. Cho Yusŭng			Fengtien
1924	Rev. Yim Junchŏl			Fengtien
1925	Rev. Baek Yŏng-yŏp	1931		Fengtien

+ This list is not complete.

+ Main Sources:

Chosŏn yesugyo changnohoe sagi (Sang). [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. I]

Chosŏn yesugyo changnohoe sagi (Ha). [The History of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, Vol. II]

Various Minutes including *Yesugyo changnohoe taehan nohoe hoerok* [The Minutes of the Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church]
(for more minutes, see the bibliography)

Table 5: The Missionaries from the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

Appointed	Name	Retired/ Resigned	Died	Primary Location
1900s	Norman C. Wittemore (not officially appointed to Manchuria)			Korea
1900s	Welling. T. Cook (not officially appointed to Manchuria until 1918)			Korea & Manchuria
1900s	Harry Rhodes (not officially appointed to Manchuria)			Korea
1906	Thomas C. Winn	1923		Dairen
1907	Arthur V. Bryan	1916		Port Arthur
1914	Stanley T. Soltau	1921		Manchuria
1920	Lloyd P. Henderson		1932	Manchuria

+ This list is not complete.

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