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Dispatches from the Wilderness: A History of the Canadian Missionaries and Korean Protestants in Northern Korea and Manchuria, 1893 - 1928

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Dispatches from the Wilderness: A History of the Canadian Missionaries and Korean Protestants in Northern Korea and Manchuria, 1893 - 1928

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the motivations of the Canadian missionaries and Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong Province (Northeastern Korea) and Gando (Southeastern Manchuria) as well as the influence they had on one another during the first few decades of the twentieth century. The analysis of Canadian motivations demonstrated that they were wholly consumed with building the mission and would do nearly anything to ensure that it succeed, including: working themselves to exhaustion, co-operating with Protestant nationalists, vigorously protesting against the Japanese colonial government's brutal suppression of the Koreans in 1919 and 1920 as well as capitulating to the demands of their constituency when they were forcefully expressed in the 1920s. The Korean Protestants wanted changes to be made to the educational and financial policies of the mission and some resorted to violence in an effort to spur the Canadians into action. The examination of Korean motivations shows that they gravitated toward the Church for a variety of reasons, one of the most salient being, their desire to reclaim their nation from the Japanese imperialists.

The discussion of the influence that the Canadians had on the Koreans revealed, among other things, that their decision to work with, rather than against the nationalists, contributed to further radicalizing the Church, and their "women's work" helped to transform the nature of gender relations in Hamgyeong and Gando. The investigation of the Koreans showed that they too had much influence. The Canadians understood they had to "do the bidding" of the Koreans for the mission to succeed, as is most clearly seen in their resolve to transform the mission in the 1920s.

The study of the Canadians and Koreans in Hamgyeong and Gando enhances our understanding of the missionizer and the missionized in the overseas mission field by providing a different way of viewing the motivations of the former and emphasizing the agency and power of the latter; enriches our knowledge of Korean Christian history by revealing how and why the Canadians and Koreans built a distinct mission and Church; and illuminates the role that the Presbyterian Maritime Church played in the Canadian missionary movement.

Acknowledgements

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my supervisor Dr. David B. Marshall. Throughout my course of studies he has not only provided me with the guidance I needed to complete this project, he has also been encouraging, patient, and inspiring. I am also grateful to Dr. David Wright for rekindling my interest in North Korean history and Dr. George Colpitts for all of the support he has given me over the past few years. I also wish to thank Dr. Jane Samson and the other members of my thesis committee for their questions, criticism, and advice.

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INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1893, William John MacKenzie, an independent Presbyterian missionary from Cape Breton, Nova Scotia set sail for Korea full of zeal to bring the gospel to the "heathen." In June, 1895 he shot himself in the small hut in which he was living near the shores of the Yellow Sea. His close friends and colleagues claimed that he committed suicide because of a delirium brought on by a fever or heat stroke. Upon hearing this news, MacKenzie's supporters in the Maritimes, led by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society (Eastern Division), began pressuring the men at the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Division)[1] to resume the work that their fallen hero had started. After orchestrating a sophisticated propaganda campaign in the religious press, in which MacKenzie was depicted as a saintly martyr,[2] and having heated debates with their opponents (many of whom were from the F.M.B.), they reached their objective in the fall of 1897. The popular enthusiasm whipped up by the crusading Maritimers had become far too strong for even the most powerful and sober minded of the naysayers to hold it back. In August, 1898 Rufus R. Foote, his wife Edith (née Sprott), Robert Grierson and his wife Lena (née Veniot) and Duncan MacRae were dispatched to Korea whereupon they quickly set up a mission station at Wonsan, a major city in Hamgyeong[3] Province (Northeastern Korea). Within a few years they had established other mission stations

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[1] The missionary organizations of the Presbyterian Church in Canada were divided into "East" and "West." The Eastern Division was composed of the Maritime Provinces. All other provinces were under the jurisdiction of the Western Division. The Foreign Mission Boards amalgamated in 1913.

[2] MacKenzie's supporters in the Maritimes made no mention of his suicide. The most comprehensive work on MacKenzie was written by Elizabeth A. McCully; *A Corn of Wheat or the Life of Rev. W.J. McKenzie of Korea* (Toronto: The Westminster Co, Limited, 1904). This work did much to propagate the notion that MacKenzie was a saintly martyr.

[3] The transliteration system that will be employed throughout the thesis is Revised Romanization of Korean. The Canadian Presbyterian Mission was given charge of Hamgyeong by the Presbyterian Mission Council of Korea. The mission was also responsible for the areas contiguous to Hamgyeong, namely Gando and Siberia.

north of Wonsan at Hamheung, the largest city in Hamgyeong, and Seongjin, a tiny fishing village. By 1913, two other mission stations were founded, one at Hoeryeong, a village on the Tuman River in the far Northeast, and Yongjeong, a burgeoning town in Gando (Southeastern Manchuria).[4] The missionaries followed the Koreans wherever they went, including Siberia. The dream they had of establishing a permanent presence in Siberia though, never materialized.

The Canadians concentrated mostly on Church work but, as with their counterparts elsewhere in Korea and most other overseas mission fields, they also set up schools with the intent of training future leaders of the Church and hospitals in hope of drawing converts to the faith. During the nineteenth century the practice of the healing arts was viewed by most missionaries as part and parcel of the evangelical enterprise, hence many of the missionary doctors were also ordained ministers. Robert Grierson, a close friend of MacKenzie's, was one such missionary. The other two endeavors which occupied the Canadians was the performance of what they called "women's work," largely the domain of female missionaries, and the writing of letters (articles)[5] to the religious press at home with the goal of enticing parishioners to donate funds to the mission. Without women and money the mission was doomed to fail.

For the first few years that the Canadians were in Korea, Church growth was steady and their work was not hampered by the authorities, a persistent problem that many, if not most other overseas missionaries faced.[6] After the Russo-Japanese War, however, there was an onrush of

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[4] The Japanese referred to it as Jiandao and the Chinese referred to it as Chientao. The Korean term Gando (middle-territory) will be used throughout this work.

[5] Many of these "articles," were in fact letters written to friends, family, mission bands, and other missionary organizations of one kind or another. They were meant for public consumption. Geoffrey Johnston has provided an excellent treatment of Presbyterian missionary propaganda in his, *Missionaries for the Record: Letters from Overseas to the Presbyterian Church in Canada: 1846 – 60* (Belleville, ON: Guardian Books, 2005).

[6] One of the more famous instances of this phenomenon is the ban placed on missionaries by the British East India Company. It feared that the missionaries would antagonize the Hindu population. The ban was lifted in 1813.

Koreans wishing to join the Church, and the Japanese imperialists who had set up a protectorate over Korea in 1905 became a perpetual source of problems for the missionaries. In addition to this, the Canadians, like their fellow missionaries on the peninsula, had to contend with a burgeoning nationalist movement that developed in their churches.

A large percentage of Koreans who gravitated toward Protestantism did so because they were certain that the churches and schools could be used as vehicles to help stir up nationalist sentiment and prepare the way for the eventual liberation of Korea. In the churches, ministers taught parishioners about the gospel message of equality and freedom as well as the stories of the Jewish plight under their oppressors (the book of Exodus was particularly favored by the nationalists), while in the schools, teachers attempted to instill patriotic values in the students, and in some cases, trained them in the military arts. The nationalist tide was a double-edged sword for the missionary movement in Korea. It was, arguably, the leading factor which contributed to rapid Church growth (by 1910, about one percent of the population was Christian) however it also posed a serious threat to Church and mission. The Japanese viewed the nationalists as a scourge to be wiped out and the missionaries as a "fifth column." Nevertheless, the Canadians did very little to curb nationalist activities in their territory. In fact, they worked very closely with a few of the nationalist leaders.

Soon after annexing Korea outright in 1910, the Japanese arrested the majority of the Protestant nationalist leaders thus crushing their movement. In late 1918 however, it rose back to life. Inspired by President Woodrow Wilson's pronouncements regarding national self-determination, Protestant nationalists and their allies began planning demonstrations to protest against Japanese rule. The resultant "March First Independence Movement" was the largest uprising during the colonial period. Starting on 1 March 1919, hundreds of thousands of

Koreans, including Protestants, took to the streets throughout the peninsula. They were quickly and brutally put down by the colonial government. Thousands were killed and tens of thousands were arrested. Many of the prisoners were tortured. Protestants were particularly targeted by the Japanese.

All of the missionary groups vigorously protested against the tactics employed by the authorities. The Canadians were among the most strident. Their parishioners too were killed, injured, and arrested. In 1920, the missionaries in Yongjoung once again denounced the Japanese. The imperial government, intent on eradicating the nationalists in Gando (and strike fear into the Korean population), burnt down villages and killed hundreds, if not thousands. Many of the victims were Protestants.

In the 1920s, the missionaries had to endure even greater challenges. For the first time in the history of the mission parishioners rose up against their authority. Some even resorted to violence. A few of the Canadians were threatened and assaulted. Students burned down the boy's academy in Hamgyeong. The catalyst that sparked this uprising was the poor state of the mission's schools. The students, supported by the flock, including leaders of the Church, were angered at the reluctance of the missionaries to build and maintain modern schools that would comply with the educational regulations of the Japanese administration. With the failure of the 1919 Uprising, the majority of the Protestant nationalists had concluded that they had no other recourse open to them but to accept that the colonial system was not going to quickly disappear. Therefore, they tried to work within that system to continue carrying out their struggle – in a non-political manner. And, as they had done previous to 1919, they turned to education, only this time, they demanded more of the missionaries. They wanted them to provide a thoroughly modern education that could equip the young with the skills they would need to build a new

Korea. Of course, not all Protestants were so high minded. A diploma from a school which had conformed to the standards of the Japanese could, potentially, help graduates obtain a well paying job.

The Canadian missionaries ultimately capitulated to the demands of their constituency. They built two new schools at great expense both in terms of cost and principles. To be in full compliance with government regulations they were forced to remove religious instruction from the curriculum. And, they created a mission-wide joint board in which missionaries and Church leaders would, as co-equal partners, determine all mission policies excepting those related to the medical side of the work. In addition to this, Koreans were given access to "home funds" to use at their discretion. The 1920s marked the beginning of a new era. The mission had become "institutionalized," the Koreans wielded more authority than they ever had previously, and a younger, more liberal minded group of missionaries came to direct the mission's affairs. The pioneers and first generation missionaries were seen by most of their colleagues as ill-equipped to meet the challenges of the future.

Objectives of this Study

This thesis has two main objectives: the first of which is to examine the motivations of the Canadian missionaries and the Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando. When considering the Canadians I argue that they did everything within their power to make their mission a success, as is most apparent in their decision to work with the nationalists (a very risky proposition) and their transformation of the mission in the 1920s, because they were driven to serve both God and the mission itself. In fact, the Canadians were so driven to serve the mission that they actually forgot about God at times – as was once confessed by A.F. Robb, a first

generation missionary from Nova Scotia. In reply to a question asked by R.P. MacKay, the Secretary of the F.M.B., he stated, "you asked me if I was keeping in touch with God … if you asked me three months ago I would have had to say I was not keeping in touch with my own soul. My own vineyard was not being kept. I was so busy with the Lord's work [mission work] that I had lost communion with him."[7] Robb was by no means unique. Many of the Canadians often forgot about God in their obsessive quest to make the mission a success. The mission became their "idol" so to speak.

Accounting for why the missionaries "idolized" their mission, my thesis suggests that many of them were consumed with the desire of being seen as a hero in the eyes of the parishioners back home; they feared failure (especially after writing articles for the religious press that described their success); and the more they sacrificed in the name of the mission the harder they worked to build and protect it. In short, "the mission" became the center of their lives.

When considering the motivations of the Koreans it will be shown that at least initially, many were driven to join the Church to satisfy their profane objectives. A large percentage of them had a strong desire to reclaim their nation from the Japanese (Hamgyeong and Gando were hotbeds of nationalist agitation); many believed that an education provided by the missionaries would help them improve their station in life; and more than a few were certain that the missionaries could offer them protection from their enemies – such as the Japanese.

Before moving forward, it should be pointed out that although most of this thesis concerns male missionaries and converts, much mention is paid to their female counterparts.

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[7] Alex Robb to R.P. Mackay, 27 February 1917, United Church of Canada Archives, Acc.79.204, box 3, file 42. Hereafter, the United Church of Canada Archives will be referred to as, UCCA.

They were, after all, central players in the building and functioning of the mission, and they changed the nature of gender relations in Hamgyeong and Gando – primarily by elevating the status of women. When discussing the motivations of the Canadian female missionaries, it will be argued that they, like their male colleagues, were primarily driven by a desire to serve God and the mission while the female converts were propelled, to a great degree, to rid themselves of their subservient position in Korean society.[8]

Aside from illuminating the motives of the Canadian missionaries and the Korean Protestants, the other main objective of this dissertation is to investigate the influence that they had on one another. In many, if not most studies done on the missionaries in Korea, it is taken for granted that the missionizer had much influence over the missionized, however, little is often said regarding the extent to which the missionized influenced the missionizer. It will be shown in this study that the Korean Protestants had a tremendous amount of influence over the Canadians, especially concerning the development of their policies.

An investigation of the Canadian missionaries and Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando provides insights into the Canadian overseas missionary movement, Korean Christian history, and the international missionary movement as well as world Christianity (as will be shown below).

Most of the work done on the Canadian overseas missionary movement has concentrated on the role that Central Canada and Central Canadians have played in its creation and development. This study shows why the Maritimers founded the Korean mission, the affect that

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[8] It should be noted that the Canadian missionaries were also deeply interested in this endeavor, but unlike their Korean colleagues, their principal aim in improving the status of women was to ensure that the mission would succeed.

the Maritime Church or the "home front" had on the missionaries, and how the missionaries, because of their propagandizing activities, connected Korea to the Maritimes.

In the field of Korean Christian studies very little has been written about either the Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando or the Canadian missionaries. Most of the scholarship has mainly concerned the Protestants elsewhere on the peninsula and the American missionaries, thus the distinct nature of the Canadians and the faithful in Hamgyeong and Gando remains obscure. To highlight the distinctiveness of both groups, this study focuses on the Canadian relationship with the Protestant nationalists and the transformation of the mission in the 1920s. When discussing the former issue it will be argued that the faithful in Hamgyeong and Gando were among the most radical of all the Korean nationalists and that the Canadians, because of their desire to build a prosperous mission, worked closely with them. The American missionaries, on the other hand, attempted to root them out. In doing so they were in keeping with a long-standing policy by which all missionaries in Korea were supposed to abide. They were to ensure that the Church would not be used for "political purposes."

The examination of the 1920s reveals that the Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando were among the most radical advocates for change (the missionized throughout the peninsula demanded that the missionizers enact reforms at this time), the Canadians went to impressive lengths to transform their mission, and that the Canadian mission was the only one to experience a wholesale change in regard to its leadership. As noted earlier, a younger more liberal minded group of missionaries came to the forefront of the mission during the 1920s. The majority of their colleagues thought that their ideas and policies could satisfy the desires of the Koreans.

Aside from revealing the uniqueness of the Canadians and the Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando, this investigation sheds light on other important issues as well. It

illuminates Japanese imperialist activities in the Northeast and Manchuria (as well as the Canadian response to them). And, it provides insights concerning the origins of the Korean communist movement. The Canadians worked side by side with Lee Dong Hwi, the founder of Korea's first communist party. Prior to his conversion to communism he had been a committed Protestant nationalist. The missionaries had employed him as a colporteur.

The two main issues this study seeks to illuminate in regard to the international missionary movement and world Christianity concerns missionary motivations and the power and agency of the missionized. In showing that the majority of the Canadians "idolized their mission," it is hoped that this study can point to a different way in which to view missionary motivations. This is of course not to say that all missionaries were like the Canadians, however, it is also not to say that the Canadians were altogether unique. The investigation of the power and agency of the Korean Protestants is intended to add to our knowledge regarding why non-Westerners gravitated toward Christianity and the influence that the missionized had on the missionizer.

Before going into detail concerning the specific themes/subjects that will be dealt with in the following chapters, it is necessary to first provide a synopsis of the scholarly work done on the overseas missionary movement, the Canadian missionaries in Korea, and the Protestant communities in Hamgyeong and Gando. Doing so will allow for a greater appreciation of how this study has been influenced by this work and highlights the distinctiveness of the arguments being made. It is also necessary at this juncture to address the controversies surrounding the overseas missionaries. They are so shrouded in controversy in fact, that any scholar studying them (especially one who is analyzing their motivations) has to, by necessity, thoroughly address it.

The Missionizer: Handmaiden to the Imperialist and Humanitarian

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the overseas missionary endeavor concerns the relationship that the missionaries had with the imperialists during the nineteenth and twentieth century. The stereotyped image of missionaries on gun boats is long lasting. One of the figures who contributed to perpetuating this image in Canada was the renowned popular historian Pierre Berton. In his bestselling book, *The Comfortable Pew*, a devastating appraisal of the mainline Protestant Churches published in 1965, he asserted, "Imperialism it has been said, begins with the missionary. If the missionary is unconscious of the fact that he is an advance scout for the political invader (as he certainly has been), this does not meliorate his error."[9]

Berton's characterization of the missionaries was a stark contrast to the ways in which they were usually portrayed to the Canadian public. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the missionaries were depicted as stalwart heroes deserving of emulation not admonishment.[10] By the 1960s however, Berton's ideas about the missionaries and their work held much currency, primarily with the young. The baby boomer generation was "transvaluating" the values of

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[9] Pierre Berton, *The Comfortable Pew: A Critical look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age* (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 101. The book was so popular that it went through seven printings the year it was published. Berton's characterization of the missionaries was unoriginal. Historian Norman Etherington, in his analysis of the image of the missionary in popular literature wrote: "J.A. Hobson memorably summarized the supposed sequence of imperial progress, 'first the missionary, then the Consul, and at last the invading army.' The same aphorism appears in many guises without attribution: first the missionary, then the trader, then the gunboat': first comes the Missionary, then comes the Resident, lastly comes the regiment.'" Norman Etherington, "Introduction," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1-2.

[10] The most detailed analysis of Canadian missionary literature is, Terence L. Craig, *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography* (Leiden, New York, Cologne.: Brill, 1997). The first missionary "heroes" in Canada were the Jesuits. A short compilation of their work is found in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: A Selection*, ed. S.R. Mealing (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990). One of the most well known of the Canadian Protestant missionary heroes was George Leslie Mackay. See, Marion Keith, *The Black Bearded Barbarian: The Life of George Leslie Mackay of Formosa* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1912); George Leslie Mackay, *From Far Formosa: the island, its people and missions*, ed, James A. Macdonald (New York: F.H. Revell Co, 1896). A good collection of brief biographical sketches of other Canadian Protestant missionary heroes was written by Peter McNab, *They went Forth* (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland and Stewart, 1933).

previous generations and found them wonting and or deplorable.[11] The more radical among them decried Canada's racist past, the colonialist enterprise of the West, the devaluing of non - Western cultures (all of which was long overdue) and questioned every authoritative institution, including the Church – and its missionaries.[12] To them, especially those who embraced a Marxist worldview, the "missionizers" were mere agents of the colonialist powers and or "cultural imperialists,"[13] a subject which will be discussed in much more detail in the next section.

The United Church, the most influential force in Canadian mainstream Protestantism, instead of offering up resistance to counter the criticisms of its missionaries, publicly acknowledged their faults. In 1966, one report called for the repentance of "all arrogance, whether racial, cultural or ecclesiastical in past mission practices."[14] Interestingly, similar sentiments had been expressed by reformers in both the United Church and the other mainstream Churches since the 1920s. Prior to the 1960s, the greatest criticisms of the missionaries actually came from within the Church.

Historian Robert Wright, an expert in the field of Canadian Protestant international outreach during the inter-war period, has shown that reformers began urging missionaries to "re-think" their worldview and policies in the 1920s because of their failure to "win the world for Christ in this generation" and the rise of anti-missionary sentiment in Asia following the First

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[11] An excellent account of the 1960s youth revolution in Canada is, Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
[12] For radical politics in the 1960s see Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s, The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008). Doug Owram has noted however that the religious impulse of the young remained strong; *Born at the Right Time*, 210. Elsewhere he asserted, "One of the most persistent themes of the sixties is the link between student activism and a religious sense of duty," 219.
[13] Alvyn Austin, *Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1888 – 1959* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), xiv.
[14] Ruth Compton Brouwer, "When Missions Became Development: Ironies of 'NGoization' in Mainstream Canadian Churches in the 1960s," *The Canadian Historical Review*, vol.91, no.4 (December, 2010): 667.

World War.[15] Reformers called on the missionaries to question their ethnocentrism, develop an appreciation for, and understanding of, the cultures and religions of non-Western peoples, and concentrate much more than they had previously to fostering the development of indigenous leadership in the Church. The reformers had come to understand, and rightly so, that much of the antipathy the missionaries faced in the field (other than being seen as "handmaidens to the imperialists"), stemmed from their self-righteous attitudes, disparaging of the cultures and religions of their hosts, and unwillingness to give more control of the Church over to the missionized.[16]

According to Wright, the ultimate aim of the reformers and the missionaries who adhered to their principles was to "win souls for Christ." The objectives of the United Church's mission board in the 1960s were altogether different. Rather than focus its attention on proselytizing, the board concentrated its efforts on providing "humanitarian and refugee aid" and "technical assistance."[17] This rather dramatic altering of the Board's long held polices could be seen as resulting from the changing nature of the overseas fields (in many of them "native evangelists" were in plentiful supply) or the liberal theological dispositions of United Church leaders.[18] However it could also be viewed as a means to avoid controversy or even embarrassment. By the

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[15] Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918 – 1949* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill – Queen's University Press, 1991), 144 – 145. Wright has shown that President Wilson's pronouncements regarding national self-determination contributed to the rise of strong and powerful nationalist movements in Asia. The ultimate goal of the nationalists was to free their nations from the dominance of Westerners. The nationalist tide led to an upsurge in demands from native Christians to be given more authority over the Church. Wright made no mention of Korea.
[16] Ibid, 142 – 177.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Historian Kevin Flatt has demonstrated that for the liberal leaders of the Church "evangelism" simply came to mean, "social service." Kevin Flatt, *After Evangelicalism: The Sixties and the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill – Queen's University Press, 2013), 204.

late 1960s "evangelism had become a word likely to 'turn people off.'"[19] In 1972, the leaders of the Church changed the name of the overseas missionary division from the "Board of World Mission" to the "Division of World Outreach."[20] The overseas missionary past of the United Church was effectively blotted out.

As the 1960s progressed into the 1970s, fewer and fewer of the idealistic young, always the backbone of the missionary endeavor, ever considered working for the United Church no matter what the stated objectives of its missionary bodies may have been.[21] The majority of those who wanted to serve abroad joined the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) instead. It was a thoroughly secular organization whose leaders would accept help and guidance from overseas missionaries but were careful to avoid being associated with them.[22] By the 1970s, the missionaries and their faith were quietly being relegated to the margins. And neither they nor their religion were much discussed in the public square anymore. The cultural revolution of the 1960s was indeed a powerful and long lasting phenomenon.[23]

The other nations in the West were experiencing their own cultural revolutions, and as occurred in Canada, support for mainline Protestant Churches as well as their overseas missionary enterprises radically declined.[24] And like the United Church, they began concentrating on providing material aid to the developing world rather than proselytizing. In

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[19] Ruth Brouwer, "When Missions Became Development," 688.
[20] Ibid, 668.
[21] Ibid, 680 – 681.
[22] Ibid, 684 – 685. Brouwer has also written a monograph on CUSO; *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961 – 86* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2013).
[23] Mark Noll, *What Happened to Christian Canada?* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2007).
[24] Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (Chichester, Sussex, U.K.: Wiley – Blackwell, 2009), 69. When discussing this point Robert stated, "By the late 1960s, amidst a climate of self-doubt and re-evaluation, the numbers of western missionaries from older western 'mainline' denominations, both Catholic and Protestant, began to plummet."

effort to explain why they changed their policies, Dana L. Robert, in her insightful study of the overseas missionary movement wrote:

> European mission agencies shifted their primary focus on development aid, which they poured into the "Third World" as a form of reparation for the legacy of colonialism. In liberal theological circles, growing religious pluralism and secularism assumed that conversion to Christianity was an assault on indigenous cultures.[25]

The negative image of the missionary that developed in the 1960s, the self-doubt of the mainstream Protestant Churches, and the quickening pace of secularization did little to inspire research into the history of overseas missions either in or outside of Canada for some time. If the missionaries were little more than imperialists dressed in clerical collars, there seemed no need to study them. The "secular" imperialists were much more numerous than their religious counterparts and were far more influential. The missionaries thus became, in the words of one American historian, "shadowy figures."[26]

Starting in the 1980s, however, scholars began to re-assess the relationship between the missionaries and the imperialists. Brian Stanley was the most influential of them. In, *The Bible and the Flag*, he detailed the often fractious nature of missionary-imperial relations, the suspicions the missionaries and imperialists had of one another, and how they frequently worked at cross purposes.[27] He also showed how missionary education inadvertently undermined empire by fostering the growth of powerful nationalist movements in the non-Western world. When elaborating on this matter Stanley asserted, "Many of the products of missionary secondary

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[25] Ibid, 68 – 69.
[26] William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1987), 2.
[27] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions & British imperialism in the nineteenth & twentieth centuries* (Leicester, UK.: Apollos, 1990). He showed, for example, that the members of the British East India Company believed the missionaries were potential troublemakers and or lunatics and recounted the efforts of South African missionaries to protect the Xhosa from violent settlers in the early nineteenth century.

schools or Christian institutions of higher education … frequently became the articulators of nationalist protest in a way that some of their missionary mentors had failed to anticipate."[28] The Koreans were not the only ones who saw in education a tool to be used to reclaim their land from a foreign aggressor.

As a professional historian, Stanley of course did not sidestep the darker side of the overseas missionary enterprise. Some of the examples he provided to expose it were the refusal of Anglican missionaries to speak out against slavery in the Caribbean during the early nineteenth century and the prevalence of anti-Xhosa sentiment among the missionaries in South Africa, especially after the South African Frontier War of 1834 – 35.[29] Stanley was no mere apologist for the overseas missionaries. Neither are the many scholars that he has influenced, such as Jack Thompson. His work on missionary photography has revealed much about the Protestant missionary response to the atrocities committed in the Congo. It is a story worth recounting here since it demonstrates the complex nature of missionary/imperial relations, the humanitarian impulse of missionaries, and a key reason why so many would not speak up against the authorities.

As the "Scramble for Africa" was in its initial stages, King Leopold of Belgium set up the Congo Free State (which he personally oversaw) in an effort to exploit the natural resources of the region. The most lucrative of these was the "wild rubber" of Congo's forests.[30] Leopold's agents, in their quest for wealth, forced the Congolese to cultivate the rubber (an extremely labor

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[28] Ibid, 135.
[29] Some of the other examples Stanley provided to reveal the unseemly aspect of the missionary enterprise were: the failure of missionaries in Kenya to protest against the system of slavery that existed on the plantations during the twentieth century and the desire of the missionaries in the South Pacific for London to annex the regions in which they had set up stations.
[30] T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Grand Rapids, MI / Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 2012), 178.

intensive endeavor) and severely punished those who did not fulfill their quotas. They were incarcerated, killed, held hostage, and had their hands cut off. Sometimes whole villages were burnt down.[31] George Washington Williams, an African-American minister who was a witness to some of these horrors described them as "crimes against humanity" in a letter to President Benjamin Harrison.[32] Earlier, he had written a letter to King Leopold himself. It was subsequently published and sparked a storm of controversy in the Western world, but only for a short period.[33]

Although the Protestant missionaries were well aware of the crimes occurring in the Congo during the early 1890s, very few spoke up and the ones who did were silenced by their superiors at home. With the atrocities ever mounting, however, more missionaries did begin going public and by the start of the twentieth century began including pictures of the victims in the articles they published. Before long, Leopold was condemned in the capitals of Europe as well as in Washington D.C, and missionaries along with secular humanitarians formed the "Free Congo Association." The images of maimed Congolese villagers were indeed powerful. Unable to overcome the insurmountable scrutiny he faced, Leopold eventually gave control of the Congo Free State to the Belgian government in 1908.

Arguably, the missionary who did the most to draw public attention to the plight of the Congolese was the British missionary Alice Harris.[34] In 1905 alone, while on furlough at home, she gave over 300 lectures using lantern slides. She then proceeded to the United States where,

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[31] Ibid, 173.
[32] Ibid, 171. Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 112. Hochschild devoted a whole chapter to Williams; 101 – 114.
[33] No major Western power wanted to become entangled in a diplomatic controversy at this time.
[34] T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness?*, 185.

using the same technology, she spoke to over 200 audiences.[35] Jack Thompson has argued that her frantic schedule was driven by a passionate humanitarianism. She might have gone to the Congo to save souls, but, in the end, preserving their bodies was what counted most in her mind. What then drove the majority of the Protestant missionaries and the administrators at home to remain silent during the 1890s? Certainly it was not a consequence of them having any liking for Leopold. According to Thompson, it may have been a result of a fear "that too public a criticism of Leopold and his policies might well lead to a curtailment of their work in the Congo."[36]

To end this discussion of the missionary/imperialist relationship, it would seem fitting to provide a quote from Andrew Porter, an expert on the British overseas missionary movement. He wrote in his landmark work, *Religion versus Empire?*:

> The growing scale of Britain's worldwide presence of course made it impossible for missionaries to escape all involvement either with empire or with facets of Britain's expansion abroad. However, that involvement was both patchy and discontinuous while also highly competitive, decidedly negative as well as optimistically engaged. Attitudes ranged from total indifference or harsh criticism of empire, through discomfort and toleration, to enthusiastic support. The great majority of missionaries displayed a fitful interest in empire, giving it their temporary and often grudging attention chiefly when it hindered evangelization or might bring its authority to bear in a necessary defence of missions' past achievements or basic freedom to carry on their work.[37]

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[35] Ibid, 196 – 197.
[36] Ibid, 174.
[37] Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700 – 1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 323 – 324. Historian Robert Johnson came to a similar conclusion. He wrote, "Missionaries were ready to criticize the Empire, even at other times they welcomed its security and commercial support. Indeed, in each case, the missionaries pursued their own agenda and supported imperialism only when they saw some advantages to themselves and their missions"; *British Imperialism* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 105. Historian J.P. Daughton has argued that the French Catholic missionaries of the late nineteenth century believed they had no other recourse but to support the imperialists if they wanted their missions to survive. The Republican government was extremely hostile to the Church. When discussing this issue Daughton wrote, "The politics of religion in fin-de-siècle France required missionaries to work for their *patrie* on earth or else risk giving up their service to their God in heaven." J.P. Daughton, *An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880 – 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 256.

The Missionizer: Cultural Imperialist, Civilizer and Christianizer

The controversy surrounding the missionaries does not solely stem from their relationship with the imperialists. It was also a result of their desire to change the societies and cultures in which they lived and worked as well. This is a facet of the missionary endeavor that has been much discussed by mission scholars. The consensus among them is that even though the majority of overseas missionaries were mostly interested in making converts, they also believed it necessary, depending on time and place, to "civilize" in order to create the conditions by which the gospel could take hold.[38] And the form of Christianity and civilization they expected their converts to adopt was Western in orientation.[39] Brian Stanley, in the *Bible and the Flag*, has shown that this has led to a tremendous amount of antipathy directed at the missionaries. He wrote, "Historians, anthropologists and theologians are united in their judgment that missionaries have been guilty of foisting their own values on the converts. The charge of cultural imperialism is leveled against missionaries irrespective of their country of origin or their field of service."[40] Stanley did not precisely define the term "cultural imperialism" and as the scholars Ryan Dunch and Andrew Porter have argued it is a rather nebulous concept,[41] however its meaning is clear to

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[38]Brian Stanley makes this quite clear in the *Bible and the Flag*. He wrote, "There can be little dispute that, for most of the nineteenth century, British Christians believed that the missionary was called to propagate the imagined benefits of Western civilization alongside the Christian message,"157. The doyen of mission studies Andrew Walls showed the preponderance of this view among the British by constructing an imaginary mission meeting attended by a spaceman who periodically returns to earth every few centuries to investigate the state of Christianity. Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History* (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books, 1996), 5. For an American perspective see Hutchinson's *Errand to the World*.

[39] Lamin Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 217 – 218.

[40] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 157. Pierre Berton propounded these views as well; *The Comfortable Pew*, 101 – 103.

[41] Andrew Porter, '"Cultural Imperialism,' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780 – 1914," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.25, no.3 (1997): 372 – 373. Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory*, vol.41 (October, 2002): 301 – 307.

the critics of the missionaries. Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., one of the harshest of these critics, argued that the "cultural imperialist" missionaries in China were violent creatures intent on subjugating, dominating, and destroying anything that stood in their way.[42]

While analyzing the American missionary experience in China, Schlesinger asserted that, "The evangelical crusade enlisted men and women of clearly delineated and aggressive psychological cast. By definition, missionaries were so persuaded of their possession of absolute truth that they would risk anything and destroy nearly anything to assure its propagation."[43]

Further on he argued that the missionaries in China contributed to the aggressive policies that the United States pursued in Asia during the Cold War:

> The Founding Fathers supposed that America would spread its influence by example rather than by intervention. But missionaries saw their responsibilities more urgently. Where traders wanted only to make money or politicians to make treaties, missionaries wanted to change souls and societies. Their evangelical spirit helped to infuse the American role in the world with the impulses of a crusade. Many things contributed to the disaster in Indochina, but one element was surely the notion that Americans had a special capacity to "build" nations…[44]

More than a few mission scholars have pointed to the work of Edward Said, perhaps one of the most influential intellectuals of the twentieth century, as being pivotal in popularizing the sorts of notions as expressed by Schlesinger.[45] In his two most famous monographs, *Orientalism* and *Culture and Imperialism*, he argued that the success of the

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[42] Mission scholars have discussed Schlesinger and his negative perceptions of the missionaries; Dana L. Robert, "Introduction," in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706 – 1914*, ed. Dana L. Robert (Grand Rapids, MI/ Cambridge, U.K, 2008); Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism," 309.
[43] Arthur Schlesinger Jr, "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism," in, *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John King Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 360.
[44] Ibid, 373.
[45] Three such scholars are: Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism," Andrew Porter, "Cultural Imperialism," and Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818 – 1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 9 – 11.

West's imperialist project was greatly dependent not only on colonial administrators, soldiers, and traders, but also on authors, scholars, composers, poets, philosophers, painters, economists, and social scientists. According to Said, they were instrumental in producing the knowledge needed to subjugate the non-Western "other" and constructing images of the "other" which justified this subjugation. The depiction of the "East" and its inhabitants as uncivilized and thoroughly immoral, gave the Western imperialists grounds to act upon it with impunity. The "West," being superior and moral, had the right and responsibility to take control of, and change the "Orient" in its own image. And with the coming of Social Darwinian thought, the impetus to dominate was given even further justification. To explain, Said stated:

> Along with all other peoples variously designated as backward, degenerate, uncivilized, and retarded, the Orientals were viewed in a framework constructed out of biological determinism and moral-political admonishment. The Oriental was linked thus to elements in Western society (delinquents, the insane, women, the poor) having in common an identity best described as lamentably alien. Orientals were rarely seen or looked at; they were seen through, analyzed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined – or as the colonial powers openly coveted their territory – taken over.[46]

Said only refers to the missionaries on a few occasions in his work. One historian has noted that this is largely the result of his secular orientation.[47] When Said does discuss them however it is evident that he believed they were little different from the imperialists. In *Culture and Imperialism* for example, he told a story of the unequal partnership that existed between a group of American missionaries and a sect of Arab Protestants. The Americans were contemplating closing down the local church and mission school without taking the wants and

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[46] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 207.
[47] Jeffrey Cox, "Master Narratives of Imperial Missions," in *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*, eds., Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), 9 – 11.

needs of the Arabs into due consideration. When ending his discussion of the matter Said asserted:

> One can see in this story, I think, the power to give or withhold attention, a power utterly essential to interpretation and to politics. The implicit argument made by the Western missionary authorities was that the Arabs had gotten something valuable out of what had been given them, but in this relationship of historical dependence and subordination, all the giving went one way, the value was on one side. Mutuality was considered to be basically impossible.[48]

Jeffrey Cox, an expert of Indian Christianity and the missionary movement in India, has suggested that Said's influence has been so great that a "Saidian master narrative" now dominates the scholarly world, and has thus contributed to furthering the already marginal status of the missionaries in the field of imperial history.[49] To explain he asked the question, "But what is it possible to say within the Saidian framework? In the rhetoric of unmasking that characterized the Saidian master narratives, missionaries are often regarded as hardly worth exposing."[50]

The cultural imperialist model/ Saidian master narrative can be compelling upon first glance. The missionaries did intend to radically transform non-Western cultures and they did at times either work closely with the imperialists and or provided a "moral imperative" for the expansion of Empire. British and American missionaries, for example, were certainly not shy to remind the home audience that their nations were chosen by God to evangelize and civilize (thus justifying their imperialist ventures). There are, however, some faults with the cultural

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[48] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 41. Quoted in Jeffrey Cox, "Master Narratives of Imperial Mission," 11. In *Orientalism* Said claimed that the impetus for the missionary movement was to justify the colonial endeavor. After elaborating on the establishment of certain missionary societies in Britain he stated, "To colonize meant at first the identification of – indeed the creation – of interests; these could be commercial, communicational, religious, military, cultural; *Orientalism,* 100.
[49] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines,* 10.
[50] Ibid.

imperialist model/Saidian master narrative as well. The binary of "oppressor" and "oppressed" that is at the heart of both ideas simply does not hold up well under careful scrutiny. The power relations between the overseas missionaries and the converts were, generally speaking, not at all one sided. The missionaries were in an extremely weak position vis-à-vis the convert. The latter could simply leave the Church or start one of their own if they were displeased with the missionaries. When considering the history of the Canadian missionaries and Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando, the Saidian binary is altogether inadequate. By the 1920s, it was the Koreans who were "oppressing" the Canadians.

Another major drawback to the cultural imperialist model/Saidian master narrative is that it cannot account for those missionaries who attempted to (or did) come to identify with the converts. Frank Schofield, a Canadian who worked for the Presbyterian Mission in Korea was one such missionary. He had a profound appreciation for Korea and Koreans and spent all of 1919 denouncing the Japanese colonial government for its brutal suppression of the March First Independence Movement as well as its reform program. He believed it did little to help the Koreans.

The cultural imperialist model/Saidian master narrative also cannot account for the positive impacts that the missionizer had on the missionized: two of them being their contribution to the spread of literacy/formal education and their role in improving the lives of women in the non-Western world.

The Protestant missionaries, being "people of the book," endeavored to teach the missionized how to read, and developed written scripts where they did not exist (of course it was the native converts who did most of this work). The African scholar Olufemi Taiwo asserted that the creation of these scripts was, "one of the greatest achievements of the missionaries in most

parts of Africa."[51] To explain he wrote "it would be crazy to suggest that the spadework done by the missionaries did not provide the basic building blocks for the written languages [of Western and Central Africa] as we have them today."[52] Andrew Porter, in his discussion of missionary education and the spread of literacy among the missionized reached similar conclusions. He argued that it gave them opportunities to write down their own histories, defend their interests (in the case of the lower castes in India for example), improve their status, and challenge "imperialist assumptions."[53]

Saidian scholars would not view the educational work in such a positive light. Kim Yunseong, for example, in his discussion of the mission schools in Korea stressed that they were little more than sites that contributed to the spread of Western hegemony.[54] The "women's work" that the missionaries conducted is also a subject that is contested – primarily because the missionaries attempted to directly change the very nature of familial and gender relations that existed in the field.

Until recently the "women's work" of the missionaries had received little scholarly attention because, in the words of Dana Robert, "missionary women [had] been perceived as marginal to the central tasks of mission."[55] This is no longer the case, thanks in large measure to scholars such as Robert. They have shown that female missionaries were essential to the carrying out of the "Great Commission" because the typical mission field was one in which "traditional"

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[51] Olufemi Taiwo, *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity in Africa* (Bloomington, IN.: Indiana University Press, 2010), 68.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Andrew Porter, "Cultural Imperialism," 383.
[54] Kim Yunseong, "Protestant Missions as Cultural Imperialism in Early Modern Korea – Hegemony and its Discontents," *Korea Journal*, vol. 39, no. 4 (winter, 1999): 205 – 234.
[55] Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their Thought and Practice* (Macon, GA.: Mercer University Press, 1998), xvii.

gender relations existed, thus the separate spheres of male and female were clearly demarcated. Missionary wives did most of the "women's work" during the first half of the nineteenth century. Starting around the 1880s, single females increasingly began to enter the overseas mission fields and their numbers steadily grew. Well over half of all missionaries were female by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Some of the first scholars to examine the lives of these single female missionaries stressed that they chose their vocation in order to not only evangelize the "heathen" but to live an independent life and improve their chances of having a rewarding career (something they could not do at home).[56] Rhonda Semple on the other hand has emphasized in a more recent work that historians should "keep religious belief in mind when considering why women entered professions and chose a career in missions."[57]

Historian Patricia Grimshaw, while providing an overview of the work done by the female missionaries wrote:

> Theirs was at heart a modernizing and assimilationist agenda, presenting as basic the adoption of those family forms – monogamous marriages, gender divisions of labor, certain ways of child rearing – that accorded with Western understandings of goodness and propriety. As the nineteenth century proceeded, the 'civilizing mission' became at an official British government level the moral legitimization of their acquisition of an Empire of massive proportions.[58]

According to this assessment, the female missionaries were simply cultural imperialists who contributed to serving Empire. Yet, Grimshaw notes in a different work that the educational

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[56] Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984). Hunter suggested that the female missionaries, once in the field, gained much self respect and esteem as well as a sense of power. According to her, the missionaries relished their positions of authority; 227 – 228. Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876 – 1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
[57] Rhonda Anne Semple, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2003), 6.
[58] Patricia Grimshaw, "Faith, Missionary Life and the Family," in *Gender and Empire*, ed. Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 264.

efforts of the missionaries in India "produce[d] female leaders within Church and government."[59] Thus it would seem that the "women's work" of the missionaries was not entirely negative – as would be admitted by Grimshaw and most other mission scholars who have done work in the field. Dana Robert is one of the leading proponents of this notion. She noted that the missionaries actively campaigned for women's rights, provided formal education to girls (which was in many ways a revolutionary act) and gave opportunities for women to work outside the home. According to Robert, the "women's work" ultimately contributed to breaking down prejudices against the education of females in the non-Western world, improved their standard of health, and cleared a way for them to enter into the professions.[60]

Yet another fault of the cultural imperialist model/Saidian master narrative which should be discussed here is that it could lead one to presume that all of the missionaries were "scientific racists." Now, although it does seem that in certain places, such as Africa, the dominant racial theories of the nineteenth century did take hold to a certain extent,[61] scholars have shown that most missionaries were relatively unaffected by them. When speaking to this, Andrew Porter stated:

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[59] Patricia Grimshaw and Peter Sherlock, "Women and Cultural Exchanges," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 190. Further on in their discussion, Grimshaw and Sherlock noted, "As the explosive growth of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific is better studied, the role of women as grass-roots supporters and leaders is coming to be acknowledged, although much more work remains to be done on this topic."

[60] Dana Robert, *Christian Mission: How World Christianity Became a World Religion*, 114 – 141.

[61] For more on this see, Andrew C. Ross, "Christian Missions and the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Change in Attitudes to Race: The African Experience," in *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880 – 1914*, ed. Andrew Porter (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003): 85 – 105. Olufemi Taiwo, *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity in Africa*, 66 – 67. On the whole however, Taiwo was sympathetic to the missionaries, 68 – 72. Andrew Porter, *Religion vs. Empire?* 288. C. Peter Williams, "The Church Missionary Society and the Indigenous Church in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Defense and Destruction of the Venn Ideals," in *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706 – 1914*, ed. Dana L. Robert (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, U.K.: William B.Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008): 86-111.

> In the late nineteenth century, as earlier, missionary outlooks continued to rest on the convictions of universality. This persuasion depended not on biological or other scientific reasoning but on two fundamental biblical principles: the availability to all members of the human race of grace and redemption from sin and the atonement for the sins of the world represented in Christ's death and resurrection.[62]

Following a similar line of thinking, Brian Stanley asserted:

> For most of the nineteenth century, if the missionary movement can be accused of racism, the racism was of a "soft" kind. It was based, not on any notion of permanent biological inequality between races, but on obstinately deep – rooted convictions about differences between "civilized" and "uncivilized" peoples, which were explained in terms of a causal connection between Christianity and the regenerative process of "civilization." The supposed inferiority of non-Western peoples was believed to be not intrinsic but environmental and conditional, hence in principle, capable of civilization.[63]

Jane Samson, another mission scholar who has done work on missionary concepts of race, once asked, "If missionaries were always racist colonialists how did they make converts?"[64] This was a rhetorical question.

Much more can be said regarding the relationship between the imperialists and the missionaries and the cultural imperialist model/Saidian master narrative, however, to delve deeper into these matters here would divert us from our primary purpose. What is important to keep in mind at this juncture is that the vast majority of the missionaries were not motivated primarily by a desire to serve Empire or to dominate/subjugate, and that the missionized had a

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[62] Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire?*, 285.
[63] Brian Stanley, "From the 'Poor Heathen' to The Glory of God and Honour of all Nations: Vocabularies of Race and Custom in Protestant Missions, 1844 – 1928," *Occasional Papers* no.21 (New Haven CT.: Yale Divinity School Library, October, 2009), 3 – 4.
[64] Jane Samson, "The Problem of colonialism in the western historiography of Christian missions," *Religious Studies and Theology*, vol.23, no.2 (2004): 3. Samson provided a discussion of race and the missionaries in the Pacific during the nineteenth century in, "Ethnology and Theology: Nineteenth-Century Mission Dilemmas in the South Pacific," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids MI / Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 99 – 122.

great deal of power and agency. They were not simply subjects that were acted upon by the missionizer but subjects who acted in their own self interest.

The Overseas Missionary in Canadian Historiography

Historian John Price, in his work *Orienting Canada*, asserted that a "Eurocentric narrative continues to grip Canadian diplomatic history, rendering Asia a 'distraction' (at best) or, more often than not, relegating it to the oblivion of the omitted."[65] He then in turn "relegated" the thousands of Canadian missionaries who had worked in Asia during the time period he was studying to the "oblivion of the omitted." The only missionaries he elaborated on were Chester Ronning, a missionary who became an "Asia hand" for the Department of External Affairs, and James G. Endicott, a missionary turned socialist[66] who is best known for propagating the rumor that the American military used biological weapons during the Korean War.[67] They were denied at the time and proven groundless since.[68]

Price's omission of the missionaries is not surprising. He used a Saidian theoretical model to guide him in his work.[69] It is however, lamentable. To leave out the missionaries in any study regarding Canadian-Asian relations is to leave out far too much. Until at least the 1940s, the missionaries were, as historian Robert Wright noted, "Canada's ambassadors to the world."[70] During the inter-war period, the Canadian Department of External Affairs was composed of a

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[65] John Price, *Orienting Canada: Race, Empire, and the Transpacific* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 3.
[66] For more on Endicott, see, Stephen Endicott, *James G. Endicott: Rebel out of China* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).
[67] John Price, *Orienting Canada*, 272 – 279. He also discusses Canada's biological warfare program.
[68] See, Milton Leitenberg, "China's False Allegations of the Use of Biological Weapons by the United States during the Cold War," Working Paper # 78, Cold War History Project – The Wilson Center, https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/cwihp_wp_78_china_false_bw_allegations_korean_war_march_16.pdf. In 1998 a group of de-classified Soviet documents revealed that the allegations against the Americans were groundless.
[69] John Price, *Orienting Canada*, 6.
[70] Robert Wright, *A World Mission*, 6.

handful of diplomats working in a few consulates and embassies, most of which were in the Western world. Conversely, there were over 1000 Canadian Protestant and Catholic missionaries in Korea, Japan, China, India, Palestine, Egypt, Bolivia, west-central Africa, British Guiana and Trinidad.[71] The bulk of the missionaries were located in Asia and they certainly did not "relegate it to the oblivion of the omitted." They routinely wrote articles for the religious press at home.

Robert Wright's work is the most detailed account of the role the Protestant missionaries played in Canada's international outreach during the early twentieth century. It is also the only work which fully illuminates the attempts of those involved in the missionary endeavor to reconsider their ethnocentrism and appreciate the cultures and religions of non-Western peoples. To demonstrate one of the concrete results of these efforts, Wright showed that in the 1930s Protestant clergymen and missionaries contributed to making Gandhi and the Japanese evangelical minister Toyohiko Kagawa household names in Canada. According to them, both represented the best of humanity and as such were models to be emulated by both parishioners and members of the clergy.[72] When summing up his chapter on Kagawa and Gandhi Wright asserted:

> The mounting identification of Canadian church and mission officials with these Asian leaders in the late 1920s and early 1930s demonstrated, in short, an attitude of genuine openness to non-Westerners of deep faith and a feeling of heartfelt liberation from the stifling ethnocentrism that had long bound their perceptions of the non-Christian world.[73]

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid, 178 – 196.
[73] Ibid, 196. A little earlier on in his work, Wright stated, "The appeal of Mahatma Gandhi and Toyohiko Kagawa among Canadian Protestant clergymen and missionaries in the late 1920s and the early 1930s lay in their evocation of a spiritual quality that seemed to many to be in decline in the Christian West;" *A World Mission*, 195.

Perhaps if John Price had taken Wright's work and the other work done on the Canadian overseas missionaries into consideration (which will be discussed below), he might have been able to provide a more nuanced interpretation of the history of Canadian-Asian relations.

The first Canadian historian to thoroughly explore Canada's missionary involvement in Asia was Alvyn Austin, a member of the "Canadian Missionaries in East Asia Project" based at York University.[74] He and his colleagues endeavored to rescue the missionaries from the doldrums. Austin led the way so to speak by publishing *Saving China*: *Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959*. It is an exhaustive study which considers both Protestant and Catholic missionaries. He did much to show how the Canadian missionaries linked Canada to China, the struggles they faced, the contributions they made in the fields of education and medicine, and how many had become "Pro-Chinese."[75] Margo Gewurtz, another Chinese expert, and one of the founding members of the "Project" at York, unlike Austin, concentrated much more on the Chinese, thus giving us a better understanding of the "native" side of the story and hence, their agency.[76]

Some of the most insightful studies on the Canadian missionary movement since the publication of Austin's work have concerned the role of women. Ruth Compton Brouwer, Rosemary Gagan, and Katherine Rideout, are the pioneers in this field and they have all argued in one form or another, that a career as an overseas missionary was attractive to ambitious,

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[74] Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott, "Introduction," in *Canadian Missionaries Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, eds., Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 6.
[75] Alvyn Austin, *Saving China*, 260.
[76] Margo Gewurtz, "Women and Christianity in North Rural Henan, 1890-1912," in *Pioneer Christian Women - Gender, Christianity and Social Mobility*, ed. Jessie Lutz (Bethlehem PA: Lehigh University Press, 2010), 199 – 213. Margo Gewurtz, "'Their Names May not Shine': Narrating Chinese Christian Converts," in *Canadian Missionaries Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, eds., Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 134 – 151.

educated, and talented single females during the nineteenth and early twentieth century as it gave them an independence that they could not have obtained if they had remained in Canada.[77] Two other notable works which explore similar themes are Margaret Prang's biography of Caroline Macdonald (a Japanese missionary) and Sonya Grypma's study of Canadian Presbyterian nurses in Henan.[78]

Quebec's Catholic overseas missionary movement has received much scantier attention by scholars, however, the work that has been done on them by Serge Granger and Richard Leclerc has hopefully paved the way for future historians.[79] Like Alvyn Austin, both endeavored to shed light on how the religious connected Canadians (in this case, the Québécois), to the Pacific and in doing so revealed that Quebec's missionary undertaking in Asia was extensive. From the late nineteenth century until well into the twentieth century thousands of Québécois missionaries worked in China and Japan.

All of the above-mentioned scholars have, in some fashion, exploded the myth popularized by Pierre Berton that the missionaries were in league with the imperialists and or undermined the cultural imperialist model/Saidian master narrative to some degree. According to their findings, the Canadians were primarily motivated by a desire to spread the gospel, or in the case of women, to gain a "sensitive independence," not to simply tear asunder the cultures of their host countries. Margaret Prang has shown that Caroline Macdonald had a deep respect for

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[77] Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God*. Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881 – 1925* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill – Queen's University Press, 1992). Katherine Rideout, "A Woman of Mission: The Religious and Cultural Odyssey of Agnes Wintemute Coates," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 71, no.2 (June, 1990): 208 – 244.
[78] Margaret Prang, *A Heart at Leisure from Itself: Caroline Macdonald of Japan* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995). Sonya Grypma, *Healing Henan: Canadian Nurses at the North China Mission, 1888 – 1947* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).
[79] Serge Granger, *Le Lys et le Lotus: Les Relations du Québec avec la Chine de 1650 à 1950*. (Montreal: VLB Éditeur, 2005). Richard Leclerc. *Des Lys* à *L'ombre du mont Fuji: Histoire de la presence de l'Amerique francaise au Japon* (Sillery, Quebec: du Bois – de – Coulange, 1996).

the Japanese as well as their culture – and the feeling was mutual. She was awarded a medal from the Japanese government in recognition of her social work and prison ministry. The scholars who have investigated the Canadians missionaries in Korea and the Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando have also cast doubt on Berton and the Saidian master narrative.

The Historiography of the Canadian Mission in Korea

A. Hamish Ion was the first Canadian scholar to examine the history of the Canadian missionaries in Korea and Manchuria, yet since the works in which he discussed them encompassed the entire Canadian Protestant missionary movement in the Japanese Empire he could not treat them in an altogether comprehensive fashion. Most of Ion's focus was on the missionaries in Japan proper. That said, his analysis of the missionaries in Korea/Manchuria illuminated what for most Canadian historians would have been rather opaque or arcane subject matter. In the first volume of his study Ion paid considerable attention to their protests against the Japanese authorities in 1919 and 1920.[80] In the second volume he elaborated upon the rise of communism in the Gando region and how the Canadians began to side with the imperial authorities because of their anti-communist policy. The communists frequently raided Korean villages causing a great deal of misery. Ion argued that the Canadians were compelled to take these courses of action because they saw themselves as the "protector" of the Koreans.[81] When recounting the Canadian protests against the Japanese in 1919/1920 he stated, "The Canadians were motivated by humanitarian feeling."[82]

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[80] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872 – 1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), 188 – 208.
[81] A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931 – 1945* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1999), 74.
[82] Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 207.

Ruth Compton Brouwer, the only other Canadian historian to publish on the Canadian mission in Korea, examined the life and work of the medical missionary Florence Murray, a native of Nova Scotia. She worked at the Canadian hospital in Hamheung and trained a coterie of Korean physicians starting in the 1920s.[83] Brouwer argued that Murray's main motivation stemmed from a commitment toward obtaining a sense of independence and modernizing the medical side of the mission. Two non-academics have published biographies of influential male missionaries. Helen MacRae wrote about her father Duncan MacRae, one of the first five missionaries dispatched to Korea in 1898 and the founder of the station in Hamheung, while Robert K. Anderson recounted the life and work of Luther Lisgar Young. He began working for the mission in 1906. Both of these authors did extremely well to "humanize" their subjects, a feature that is strangely absent in much of the work on missionaries, and argued that they, Duncan MacRae and Luther Lisgar Young, identified with the Koreans.[84] Anderson, for example, related the story of a time when Young told his children, "When you get to heaven, look for me among the Koreans."[85] Helen MacRae on the other hand described, often with much zest, the instances in which her father lamented the dire situation of the Koreans under Japanese rule and his confrontations with the authorities after Koreans were brutalized by the gendarmes/soldiery during and just after the Russo-Japanese War as well as in 1919.[86]

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[83] Ruth Compton Brouwer, *modernizing women modernizing men: The Changing Mission of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).
[84] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain: The Life of Rev. Duncan M. MacRae, D.D* (Charlottetown, P.E.I: A.J. Haslam, 1993). Robert Anderson, *My Dear Redeemer's Praise: The Life of Luther Lisgar Young, Sometime Missionary in Korea and Japan* (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1979). Helen MacRae is the only Canadian historian to have elaborated upon the Koreans in any depth. She discussed some of the more important figures who contributed to building the Church in Hamheung.
[85] Robert Anderson, *My Dear Redeemer's Praise*, 12.
[86] Needless to say, this is a very sympathetic account of Duncan MacRae. Helen MacRae also wrote a great deal about her mother Edith MacRae – a seminal figure in the founding of the "women's work" of the mission and the Hamheung station. As with her portrayal of Duncan, Helen MacRae emphasized the strength, resilience, and

The most comprehensive account of the Canadian mission remains unpublished. It was written by William Scott, one of the mission's most influential leaders.[87] He dealt with a wide variety of issues, some of them being: W.J. MacKenzie, the pioneers, the Canadian protests against the Japanese in 1919 and 1920, the institutionalizion of the mission in the 1920s, the rise of communism in Korea, mission policies, and the evacuation of the missionaries from Korea with the coming of the Pacific War. Although he does discuss the Korean side of the story to a certain extent, Scott's history is very much a "mission history" thus the influence that the missionized had on the Canadians is not altogether clear. In his examination of the transformation of the mission during the 1920s for example, Scott made little mention of the Korean rebellion.[88]

Over the past decade or so Korean scholars have taken an interest in the Canadian mission as well, and many of the themes in their works are similar to those pursued by the Canadians. Kim Myoung Bae, like Helen MacRae, directed his attention on Duncan MacRae's fierce opposition to the Japanese while Moon Baek Ran, akin to Hamish Ion, discussed the Canadian condemnations of the colonial powers.[89] Kim Seung Tae examined the confrontations that the missionaries had with the Japanese too, but he also spent time on Robert Grierson's

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adventurousness of Edith. Although the other Canadian missionaries are by no means absent in her work, Helen MacRae concentrated her attention, for the most part, on her parents.

[87] William Scott, "Canadians in Korea: Brief Historical Sketch of Canadian Mission Work in Korea" (circa 1975).

[88] The same is true regarding the other scholars who have examined the missionaries and or the Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando. Hence, the root cause of the transformation of the mission during the 1920s has not been adequately understood.

[89] Kim Myeong Bae, "Deonkan M. Maegre ui Chogi Seongyosayeok gwa geu Sinhagjeok Teugjing e Gwanhan Yeongu" [A Study of Duncan M. MacRae's Early Missionary Work and Theology] in *The Bulletin of Korean Church Studies*, vol. 31 (2012): 105-138. This is perhaps the most comprehensive account of Duncan MacRae in Korean. Like Helen MacRae, Kim provided a very sympathetic analysis of Duncan MacRae's life and work. Mun Baek Ran, "Kaenada Seongyosadil ui BukGando Hanin Sahoeinsik" [Canadian Missionary Views of the Korean Community in Gando], in The Dong Bang Hak Chi's, *The Journal of Korean Studies*, vol. 144 (2008): 103 -143. Although Mun discussed a wide variety of topics, he spent much of his time elaborating on the Canadian reaction to the Gando massacres.

cordial relationship with Lee Dong Hwi.[90] Seo Jeong Min and Kim Bang, two of Lee biographers, also examined the relationship that Grierson had with Lee, and like Kim Seung Tae, made sure to recount how Grierson helped him flee to Gando in 1913.[91] Lee's nationalist activities were well known by the Japanese authorities and they were bound to arrest him.

The Canadian relationship with other leading Protestant nationalists was also much discussed in recent studies by Seo Geong Il and Seo Dae Su. They are the foremost experts on the Church in Gando.[92] Both have shown that the nationalists in Gando were extremely militant and that some of them used the schools as military training grounds in effort to build an army that could strike against the Japanese. According to both Seo Geong Il and Seo Dae Su, the Canadians made no serious attempt to put a halt to their activities. Conversely, they worked with Kim Yak Yeon, one of the most influential figures in the Protestant nationalist movement.

The Canadian missionaries have been, for the most part, lauded by both Canadian and Korean historians. One of these missionaries, Dr. Frank Schofield, won the renown of the Korean people. He was the most radical of the missionaries who protested against the Japanese in 1919. He used the press to the fullest to denounce the Japanese colonial administration for its brutal suppression of the Koreans, condemned its reform program almost as soon as it was

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[90] Kim Seung Tae, *Hanmal Ilje Gangjeomgi Seongyosa yeongu* [A Study of Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1884 – 1942] (Seoul: The Korean Christian History Research Institute, 2006):77-139. This is among the most exhaustive examinations of the Canadian missionaries in Korea and Manchuria written in Korean.

[91] Seo Jeong Min, *Lee Dong Hwi wa Gidoggyo: Hanguk Sahoejuui wa Gidoggyo Gwanggye Yeongu* [Lee Dong Hwi and Christianity: A Study of the Relationship between Korean Socialism and Christianity] (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2007). Seo devoted an entire chapter to the Canadians, Grierson, Yi, and the nationalist movement, 247 – 355. Kim Bang, *Daehan Minjok Imsijeongbu ui Chodae Gukmuchongri I Dong Hwi* [The First Prime Minister of the Korean Provisional Government, Lee Dong Hwi] (Seoul: Research Center for the study of the history of the Independence Movement), 44 – 45.

[92] Seo Dae Su, *Gando Minjokdokripundonggei Jidodja Kim Yak Yeon* [Kim Yak Yeon: The Leader of the Korean Nationalist Movement in Gando (Seoul: Yeoksakongkan [History Publishers], 2003). Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa* [A History of the Korean Christian Nationalist Movement in Northern Gando during the Japanese Colonial Period] (Seoul: Hanshin University Press, 2008).

announced in the summer, and continued to condemn it in 1920. Upon his death in 1970 he was buried in the "Graveyard for Patriots" in Seoul. It is one of the highest honors that can be bestowed upon an individual by the South Korean government.

Recently, attempts have been made to ensure that Schofield will not be forgotten. In 2004, a group of prominent Koreans in Toronto set up the "Dr. Frank Schofield Memorial Foundation to establish a monument dedicated to him[93] and in South Korea, members of the "Tiger Schofield Memorial Foundation," published a collection of Schofield's articles in 2012.[94] In the winter of 2016/2017 they then organized an exhibition at the Seoul Museum of History called "Frank Schofield: The 34th Patriot of the West."[95]

In 2019, to celebrate the centenary of the March First Movement, the Foundation will release Schofield's, *An Unquenchable Fire*, a book comprised of his descriptions of the work he did at the Severance Hospital in Seoul, the atrocities committed against the Koreans by the Japanese in 1919, the Korean Declaration of Independence, and Korean petitions.[96] The Korean Institute for Advanced Theological Studies has also been actively commemorating Schofield. In the past few years it has published *Frank Schofield, the Blue – Eyed Thirty Fourth*

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[93] In October, 2010, the Foundation reached its first objective; a 2.4 meter bronze statue of him was unveiled on the grounds of the Toronto Zoo. It will be the centerpiece of the "Dr. Frank Schofield Memorial Garden," a site replete with traditional Korean buildings, a square pond, and a stone wall; "Dr. Schofield Statue unveiled in zoo's memorial garden: Korean community, government contributed to site," *Scarborough Mirror* (8 October 2010), https://www.toronto.com/news-story/56558-dr-schofield-statue-unveiled-in-zoo-s-memorial-garden.
[94] *Ganghan Jaenin Holangi Cheoleom Yakhan Jaenin Bidulgi Cheoleom* [Like a Tiger to the Strong and a Dove to the Weak], eds., Kim Seung Tae and Lee Hang, trans. Lee Si-won (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2012).
[95] Seoul Museum of History: "Frank Schofield: The 34th Patriot from the West," http://eng.museum.seoul.kr/eng/board/NR_boardView.do?bbsCd=1044&seq=20161203183050706.
There were 33 signatories to the Korean Declaration of Independence in 1919.
[96] "Missionary's archive on independence unveiled," *Korea Joongang Daily* (23 February 2016), http://mengnews.joins.com/view.aspx?aId=3015374.

Representative and *Our Friend Schofield,* an illustrated history or comic book targeting young readers.[97]

Chapter Breakdown

When reviewing the work done by Hamish Ion, Helen MacRae, Robert Anderson, William Scott, Kim Seung Tae, and the other Korean historians who have investigated the Canadian missionary movement in Korea/Manchuria it would seem that the missionaries were motivated by their humanitarian impulses and a desire to proselytize while the converts were driven to join the Church because of their intense nationalism.[98] In this study it will be shown that the motivations of the Canadians and Koreans were a little more complex. The Canadians were, to a great extent, just as interested in advancing the cause of the mission itself as they were the cause of Christ.[99] As discussed earlier, the Canadians frequently forgot about God in their quest to make the mission a success, as is perhaps most plainly seen in their decision to work with the nationalists. The Canadians could not help but be aware that many of them were willing to use violent methods to achieve their goals. When considering the motivations of the Koreans, it will be shown that although a large percentage of the converts were indeed prompted to join the Church to wage a struggle on behalf of their nation (of which much will be said) there were

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[97] Myeong Gyun Ryu, Seon Hwa Choe and Da Mi Kim, eds., *34 Beonjjyae Buleun Nunui Minjok Daepyo Praenkeu Seukopildeu* [Frank Schofield, the Blue – Eyed Thirty Fourth Representative] (Seoul: Korean Institute for Advanced Theological Studies, 2017). Ji Yeon Kim, Meong Gyun Ryu, Eun Hae Gang, and Choe Seon Hwa, eds., *Uri ui Chingu Seekopildeu* [Our Friend Schofield] (Seoul: Korean Institute for Advanced Theological Studies, 2015).
[98] The nationalist ethos that permeated the Korean Church has been emphasized by Korean historians.
[99] William Tate is the only other scholar to dispute the sorts of views of the Canadians as advanced by the historians mentioned above. He argued that the more liberal minded of the Canadians during the late 1910s and early 1920s were highly influenced by modern business practices and techniques and thus became most interested in creating modern institutions for the mission/Church in order to "perpetuate their organization." According to Tate, this embracing of the "bureaucratic model" on the part of the liberals was the impetus behind the changes that took place in the 1920s. William Tate, "From the Sidelines of Empire, Canada's Protestant Mission to Korea, 1898 – 1938" (master's thesis, Dalhousie University, 2008), 80. ProQuest MR44022.

of course, other reasons; some of which were loftier than others. As noted earlier, a great many Koreans turned to the Church out of a simple desire to improve their station in life.

Aside from providing an alternative view of Canadian and Korean motivations, another seminal difference between this study and those of the scholars mentioned above is its attempt to take into account both sides of the story. By doing so it becomes possible to fully appreciate the influence that the Koreans wielded over the Canadians. Like the converts in the many other mission fields throughout the world, the missionized in Hamgyeong and Gando had much power and were not simply subjects that were acted upon by the missionizer.

To illuminate the main issues of this study, one of the more seminal being the distinctive nature of the Canadians and the Koreans, much emphasis has been placed on the ways in which they both formed, and were formed by, the environments in which they lived and worked. In other words, the individual and the local will be interlinked. In effort to shed further light on this notion, as well as the key themes and subjects which will be dealt with in this study, a brief synopsis of each chapter is provided below.

This work is divided into three sections and contains seven chapters. The first section is comprised of one stand-alone chapter that consists of an analysis of how the chaotic political situation in Korea benefitted the Protestant missionaries; W.J. MacKenzie's work in Sorae village; how and why the Maritime faithful (and American missionaries in Korea) whipped up enthusiasm to commence a mission to Korea; and the affect that this enthusiasm had on the male pioneers Robert Grierson, Duncan MacRae, and Rufus Foote. It will be shown that all three eagerly sought an opportunity to become "heroes" like MacKenzie and because of this threw themselves into "the work" with abandon. Chapter One is the foundational chapter of this thesis because the pioneers had a tremendous amount of influence on the missionaries who came after

them. They set the tone and created the ethos that permeated throughout the mission until the 1920s. All were expected to emulate them, and most did, especially the first generation missionaries from the Maritimes (who outnumbered their peers from the rest of Canada). The history of the Canadian mission in Korea and Manchuria is very much a story that involves the Maritime region of Canada.

Section Two, referred to as the "Formative Era," covers for the most part, the period between 1898 and 1919. It is comprised of four separate chapters. Chapter Two examines the first itinerating experiences of the missionaries, their desire to expand, and their medical and formal educational work. The mission's four doctors: Robert Grierson, Kate MacMillan, Stanley Martin, and Florence Murray, are at the centre of the discussion concerning the medical side of the work because they are among the best examples of Canadians who "idolized" the mission. An exploration of the educational work of the missionaries shows the uniqueness of the field in Hamgyeong/Gando and provides a glimpse of some of the students they sent abroad to study: namely Jeong Chang Sin, H.Y. Cho, Kim Kwan Sik, Kang Younghill, and Lee Sang Chul. Among other things, an examination of them plainly reveals the desire on the part of the missionaries to obtain the loyalty of the best and brightest of the young in their schools, the agency of the missionized, their "worldly ambitions," their nationalist outlook, their faith, and in the case of Jeong Chang Sin, their feminist credentials. Her single female Canadian teachers made a powerful impact on her.

Chapter Three concerns the evangelistic efforts of the missionaries, women's work, and the missionary propagandistic activities. The section on evangelism details the ways and means the missionaries employed to propagate the gospel, instruct the faithful, and train leaders for the Church. Particular attention is paid to the syncretic nature of Korean religious thought and the

theological dispositions of the pioneering/first generation missionaries. An investigation of the former allows for a better appreciation of how Koreans interpreted the Christian message and an examination of the latter helps to shed light on the worldview of the pioneers/first generation missionaries.

The section on women's work focuses on both the married and single women in the mission. It will be argued that, like the men, the majority of the female missionaries were driven to make the mission a success, something which Bessie Robb, the wife of Alex Robb, explicitly stated in 1922. In an article entitled, "The Missionary Wife and Her Task," she asserted: "First and most important, she [the missionary wife] must be heart and soul in sympathy with work – If not better for her husband's happiness and the work's sake if she had never come to the foreign field … To be a success as a missionary's wife, one must at least regard oneself as also a missionary."[100] In the final section on women the focus will be on Louise McCully. She was greatly influenced by MacKenzie's spirit. They were engaged at the time he took his life.

The section on missionary propaganda analyzes the articles they wrote for the religious press, their endeavor to connect Koreans with "pen-pals" or individual supporters back home (who would help cover the costs of education and the like), and their furlough tours. The discussion of their articles is of particular value in so far that it clearly shows that although the missionaries did indeed at times depict the Koreans and Korea in an "orientalist fashion," they also portrayed them in an extremely positive light as well. All missionaries understood that funds could dry up if they regularly portrayed the missionized in a derogatory fashion. Mission

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[100] Mrs. B.C. Robb, "The Missionary Wife and Her Task," *Korea Mission Field*, vol. xviii, no. 10 (October, 1922), 222. Nova Scotia Archives and Research Management, MG.1, vol. 2288 # 6. Henceforth the acronym "NSARM" will be used in place of Nova Scotia Archives and Research Management.

supporters wanted to be reassured that their money was not being squandered away on useless causes.[101] The discussion of the missionary furlough talks reveals, yet again, the priority that they placed on the mission work (especially those from the Maritimes). While at home they devoted themselves to crisscrossing around Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and at least in one case, Newfoundland, to drum up funds for the mission. The discussion of the furlough talks also reveals that the missionaries had become heroes in the eyes of the faithful, something which no doubt contributed to their desire to make the mission succeed. To fail meant disappointing their many admirers at home – a fate they attempted to avoid at all costs.

Chapter Four details the trials and tragedies the missionaries experienced as they protected and served the mission. Nearly every missionary had to take part in numerous and often challenging tasks. They itinerated for hundreds, if not thousands of miles every year, instructed catechumens, trained Church leaders, and taught in the schools (all of which was done in an obsessive manner). In addition to this, in 1904-05 they found themselves caught in the middle of battles between the Russians and Japanese. And then, upon Japan's setting up of a protectorate over Korea in 1905, they had to begin contending with an imperialist power which thoroughly distrusted them, abused members of the flock, and kept them under close watch.

As a result of these trials, nearly every missionary at one time or another became thoroughly exhausted and got sick, sometimes seriously so. One missionary openly admitted that, at one point, he was on the verge of having a "nervous breakdown." Another missionary, after only a brief period, simply packed up his bags and returned home without informing his

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[101] Historian Natasha Erlank has shown that the Scottish mission in South Africa lost a great deal of support because the missionaries depicted the Xhosa as having "sunk lower than the beasts." Erlank, "Civilizing the African": The Scottish Mission to the Xhosa, 1821 – 64," in *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, U.K.: 2001), 158 – 159.

colleagues. He was unable to conform himself to the esprit de corps of the mission and the extremely demanding nature of the field in Hamgyeong and Gando. The vast majority of the others stayed, regardless of the tragedies and losses they experienced. In fact, some of those who lost the most were among the most dedicated of the missionaries. They did not want their sacrifices to have been made in vain.

Chapter Five concerns the Canadian response to the Protestant nationalists in Hamgyeong and Gando. It is argued that the missionaries actively cooperated with them, not because they believed Koreans were capable of governing themselves (most in the formative era did not believe they could properly govern their own Church),[102] but rather to advance the cause of the mission. The nationalist movement was particularly virulent in the churches of Hamgyeong and Gando, thus, the missionaries, led by Robert Grierson, felt that they had no other recourse but to work with its leaders. Not doing so could seriously undermine the future of the mission. The decision of the Canadians to work with the nationalists served to further radicalize the flock. As a means to show why a radical ethos was so pervasive in the Church (prior to the Canadian decision to work with the nationalists), a brief synopsis of the socio-cultural and historical forces that contributed to Hamgyeong's exceptionality and the Korean immigration to Gando will be provided.

The final two chapters concern the "Revolutionary Period" (which covers the years between 1919 and 1928). Chapter Six details the vigorous protests of the missionaries against the Japanese imperial government for its suppression of the March First Movement and the Gando massacres of 1920. A contrast will be made between Frank Schofield and his compatriots,

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[102] The vast majority of the missionaries in Korea held this opinion.

including A.E. Armstrong (the Under-Secretary of the F.M.B.) to show the gulf that existed between them. While Armstrong and the missionaries in Hamgyeong and Gando were motivated to protect both the Koreans and the mission, Schofield was compelled entirely by humanitarian impulses.[103]

Chapter Seven examines the Korean rebellion of the 1920s and the Canadian reaction to it. If only taking into account the history of the mission written by William Scott, it would seem that the transformation of the mission was a consequence of the growing liberalism of the Canadians.[104] However, it will be revealed in this chapter that the impetus for this transformation was a profound fear for the mission's future (as was regularly expressed by Scott and the other missionaries in their correspondence). They were extremely worried that they had lost control of the situation and would do nearly anything to please their constituency, even if that meant revolutionizing the mission – and casting aside the pioneers. By the late 1920s they were no longer heeded, or wanted, especially those who refused to change, such as Duncan MacRae. This study ends in 1928 because it was then that Scott vanquished MacRae at a council meeting aimed at radically altering the educational policy of the mission.

When elaborating on why the Koreans decided to challenge missionary authority, much time is devoted to the nationalist ethos of the Church and the socio-cultural revolution that was taking place during the 1920s (thanks in large measure to the influx of new ideas that were

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[103] Historian Dae Yeol Ku argued that the missionaries in Korea were motivated to protest against the Japanese in 1919 out of a desire to protect the Koreans, the Church and their missions. When discussing this notion, he wrote, "…the need to modify the anti-Christian policy of the Seoul government was as strong a force behind the missionary movement against the Japanese as the suffering of the Koreans. This factor was to become a prevailing theme and was to overshadow humanitarian issues regarding the Koreans when they met the new governor-general in September." Dae Yeol Ku, *Korea under Colonialism: The March First Movement and Anglo-Japanese Relations* (Seoul, Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1985), 191. William Tate, in his brief discussion of the Canadians and Armstrong in 1919, argued along similar lines; "From the Sidelines of Empire," 55.

[104] In a sense, Scott's history is an apologetic for the liberal turn that the mission took in the 1920s. Scott was most responsible for bringing it about.

sweeping through Korea).[105] Yet to provide a thorough understanding of this revolt, it is necessary to delve deeper. It will be argued in this chapter that the uprising against the missionaries was a visible manifestation of a deep-seated resentment on the part of the missionized. Since 1905, the Canadians, especially Robert Grierson and Duncan MacRae, had seemed to be "on their side," yet in 1919 and 1920 they did nothing to advance the nationalist cause. In addition to this, the second generation of Korean Christians, unlike the first generation, did not tolerate the cultural chauvinism of the missionaries.[106]

Sources and Final Comments

The main sources used in this work are located at the United Church of Canada Archives and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (also known as Nova Scotia Archives and Research Management). The former contains an indispensible collection of missionary correspondence, missionary meeting minutes, F.M.B. meeting minutes, and the diaries of Robert Grierson, as well as his autobiography. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia holds the Helen F. MacRae collection, an invaluable set of resources on the pioneering/first generation missionaries from the Maritimes. Helen MacRae gathered the correspondence of her parents, family and friends, the diaries of her father as well as missionary publications, pamphlets, and a whole host of other material, including audio-tape interviews she did in the early 1970s with Koreans who had been associated

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[105] Ibid, 112 – 117.

[106] As will be shown in Chapter Seven, an important factor which contributed to the differences between the first and second generation Christians regarding their views on missionaries was that the former were exposed to a wide variety of non-Christian literature – including anti-missionary literature written by Marxists. Another seminal reason is that the first generation of Christians was much more bound to tradition. Hence, they had a pronounced deference toward authority figures.

with the missionaries.[107] The collection also contains the correspondence of A.F. Robb, Bessie Robb, Jenny Robb, Luther Lisgar Young, and other long serving missionaries – all of whom have little voice in the United Church of Canada Archives. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia also contains the William Rufus Foote fonds (composed of his diaries and letters to family and friends).

The material at both archives is rich however it is not altogether unproblematic. When writing to their superiors in either Halifax or Toronto the missionaries were reluctant to speak about negative events or feelings unless it was to complain about a lack of resources, or when their situation had become dire – as during 1919 and the 1920s. They usually attempted to present the best picture they could of the mission to avoid any possible negative repercussions (whether real or imagined). There is also a certain amount of self-censorship in the personal letters too, even if they were not meant for publication. Rumors of one kind or another could easily get started back home and after 1905, the missionaries worried that their correspondence might be read by the authorities.

The other main drawback to the correspondence is that Koreans are often not mentioned by the missionaries, hence, it can be difficult to piece together their story. This is a common problem for mission scholars since the missionized usually did not leave behind a paper trail.

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[107] Most of these interviews were done in 1972. MacRae did 29 interviews of active and retired Canadian missionaries, 31 interviews of Koreans who had worked with Canadians and escaped to South Korea between 1945 and 1950, 17 interviews of Korean Presbyterian and Methodist Clergymen and eight interviews of Koreans living in Toronto. The majority of these interviews were conducted in Korean, however, some were all or partly in English and most were translated into English. Kim Jung-gun utilized the interviews for his discussion of Korean immigrants to Canada in his unpublished dissertation, "'To God's Country": Canadian Missionaries in Korea and the Beginnings of Korean Migration to Canada (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1983). The author has also made use of them as well; "Korean Christian Nationalists and Canadian Missionaries, 1919 – 1945: Voices from the Helen Fraser Macrae Oral history Project," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* [Korea Branch], vol. 90 (2015): 1 – 20.

That said, as a means to tell their story, much use has been made of the missionary letters and the religious publications in which they are discussed. The autobiography of Lee Sang Chul has also been used.[108] Lee was a former student of the boy's high school in Yongjoung. He moved to Canada during the early 1960s and subsequently became the first Asian moderator of the United Church of Canada. Lee's autobiography is an excellent source which provides a glimpse into the sometimes nightmarish world that Koreans lived in during the colonial period, the more spiritual minded of the converts, the radical nature of the Protestant Church in Hamgyeong/Gando, and how the missionized viewed the missionizer.

The two other main sources used to illuminate the Korean side of the story are the interviews conducted by Helen MacRae and the works of the Korean scholars previously mentioned. The former provides us with valuable insights into Canadian-Korean relations and some of the root causes of the conflicts between the two groups in the 1920s while the latter sheds light on the Protestant nationalists in Hamgyeong and Gando.

The main objectives of this study are to examine the motivations of the Canadian missionaries and Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando as well as the influence they had on one another. It will be shown that the Canadians were, first and foremost, motivated to serve both God and the mission while the Korean decision to join the Church, at least initially, stemmed primarily from a profound desire to reach their material objectives (although the more spiritually inclined among the flock are by no means discounted). When considering the latter issue, emphasis will be placed on the influence that the Koreans had on the Canadians, especially in regard to the policies that they implemented.

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[108] Sang Chul Lee, *Nageune, The Wanderer* (Winfield, B.C: Wood Lake Books Inc, 1989). Younghill Kang, *The Grass Roof* (Chicago and New York: Follett Publishing Company, 1966).

In illuminating the motivations and influence of the Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando, this study adds to our knowledge regarding why non-Europeans chose to convert to Christianity, the agency of the converts, and the power dynamics at play in the mission field. It will be shown that the Koreans, not the Canadians, controlled the destiny of the mission.

The analysis of the Canadian motivations is intended to enhance our understanding of the overseas missionary. Critics of missionaries have assumed that they were either in league with the imperialists or cultural imperialists, who at their worst intended to destroy non-Western cultures. The majority of mission scholars have argued that the main motivation of the missionaries was to serve God, or in the case of women, to gain a "sensitive independence." This study, as alluded to earlier, reveals that the Canadian missionaries were driven, in large measure, by an intense yearning to make their mission a success. The extent to which other missionaries were propelled by the same drive is not clear, however, it is possible that many had been. Further research into the matter is needed.

In addition to shedding light on the "big picture" so to speak, this study has two other principal aims. The first is to enhance our knowledge of Korean Christian history. An examination of the Canadian missionaries and the faithful in Hamgyeong and Gando illuminates the distinctive nature of the missionary movement and the Protestant Church during the colonial period. And the second is to enrich our understanding of the Canadian overseas missionary movement, first and foremost, by investigating why the Maritime Church decided to found a mission to Korea and the influence the Church had on the missionaries – both of which are considered in detail in the following chapter.

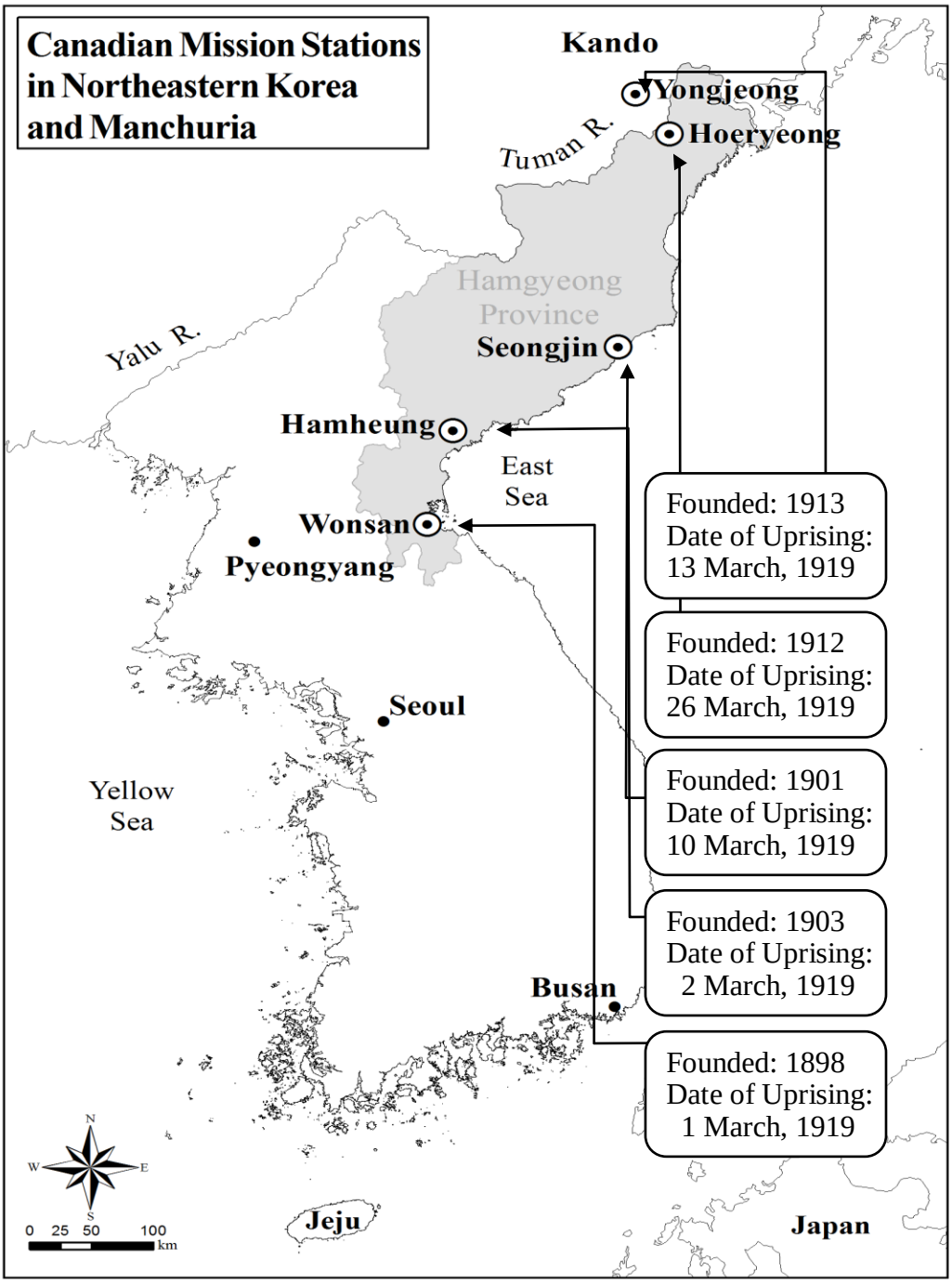

Illustration 1.1: Map of Canadian Mission Stations in Northeastern Korea and Gando

CHAPTER ONE: FROM PERIPHERY TO PERIPHERY: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CANADIAN MISSIONARY PRESENCE IN NORTHEASTERN KOREA

The Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea was born of tragedy, fear and hope. Well over a decade before it was founded in 1898, King Gojong implemented a policy of toleration regarding the Protestant missionaries arriving to his kingdom during the early 1880s, all of whom were Americans, because he surmised they could influence their home government and thus help him preserve Korean independence against an ever-expanding Japanese threat. Many of the inhabitants of Sorae, a small fishing village in the Northwestern province of Hwanghae, took an interest in William John MacKenzie, an independent Presbyterian missionary from Cape Breton, and progenitor of the Canadian mission, because they believed, like Gojong, that their very this-worldly goals could only be obtained with foreign aid. Their primary desire was to be kept free from harm. They had faith that MacKenzie and his extraterritorial rights would ensure their safety in the midst of the Donghak Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese War – both of which broke out in 1894.[109]

In 1895, MacKenzie's unexpected death drew much attention to Korea among the more devout in the Maritimes, and during the following year, an emotionally charged campaign to inaugurate a mission to Korea commenced after the *Theologue*, the organ of Pine Hill Divinity College, MacKenzie's alma mater, published a letter from Sorae requesting that the friends of the

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[109] Japanese and Chinese soldiers did not usually interfere with the work of the missionaries. Doing so would have inevitably caused friction between their governments and the Western powers – something they wished to avoid. The Korean government was wary of offending the missionaries as well. Historian Dae Young Ryu has shown that it had little control over the missionaries. He asserted, "At the heart of extraterritorial rights was the notion that Westerners were under the jurisdiction of their consulate only. The Korean government had no authority whatsoever to enforce its basic laws over American missionaries from residing and purchasing property in the interior [even when it was illegal to do so under Korean law]." Dae Young Ryu, "Treaties, Extraterritoriality Rights, and American Protestant Missionaries in Late Joseon Korea," *Korea Journal*, vol.43, no.1 (spring, 2003): 174. Until the Canadian government set up a legation in Tokyo in 1929 the British consuls in Korea and Manchuria were responsible for the Canadian missionaries.

late missionary follow up on the work he started. The proponents for Korea used a plethora of arguments in an effort to convince the men on the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Division) that their cause was legitimate – two of the more prominent being that MacKenzie's death as well as the Sorae letter were providential signs that the Maritime faithful were chosen to save Korean souls and the fortunes of the Church would improve by staking a claim in Korea.[110]

The advocates of starting a mission to Korea were cognizant that their Church earned much prestige and many adherents in the mid-nineteenth century after it established a mission in Vanuatu in 1846. Its founder John Geddie quickly became a hero.[111] The Foreign Mission Board of the Maritime Church (hereafter F.M.B.) subsequently founded missions in Trinidad and British Guyana.[112] The champions of the Korean mission never explicitly argued that it would play a more significant role in aiding the advancement of Presbyterianism in the Maritimes than the other missions operated by the Board. However, it does seem that they seriously contemplated the possibility of just such a turn of events. They were fully aware of the frenzied enthusiasm that developed in the Protestant Churches in Ontario, the United States and Britain as a result of their missionary endeavors in India, China and Japan – the most prestigious mission

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[110] Historian David B. Marshall has persuasively argued that much of the enthusiasm surrounding foreign missions in Canada stemmed from a belief that they could shore up the strength and influence that the Church had lost as a result of the growing secularization of Canadian society. In other words, winning victories for Christ abroad was good for the Church at home. For more on this see David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 99-126.

[111] The proponents of foreign missions in the Maritimes were highly influenced by the articles about Geddie that appeared in the religious newspapers and journals. Geddie's biography/hagiography was written by the Reverend George Patterson. It was entitled, *Life Among the Cannibals: Being the Life of the Rev. John Geddie, D.D., First Missionary to the New Hebrides with a history of the Nova Scotia Presbyterian mission on that group* (Toronto: J. Campbell, J. Bain, Hart, 1882).

[112] Geoffrey Johnston provided a synopsis of the overseas missions operated by the Maritime Church in, "Presbyterian Missionaries from the Maritimes: Comparison and Contrast," in *The Contribution of Presbyterianism to the Maritime Provinces of Canada*, eds., Charles H.H. Scobie and G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 190 – 205.

fields in the world. Korea, to be sure, was not nearly as glamorous as the Asian superpowers in the eyes of most Protestant foreign missionary enthusiasts in Canada and elsewhere, but the Korean boosters in the Maritimes thought that it could be to their fellow parishioners since assisting a Korean mission meant being a part of the "Great Commission" in Asia.

The missionaries who went to Korea in 1898, akin to MacKenzie before them, were driven by an eagerness to "convert the heathen" in the name of Christ and their Church back home, and becoming heroes, or if need be, martyrs. In this chapter I will examine how and why the motives of the missionizers and missionized converged in the 1890s through an analysis of W.J. MacKenzie's tumultuous life in Hwanghae Province, the crusade to establish a Korean mission in the Atlantic Provinces, the dispositions of the pioneering missionaries, and their first experiences on the peninsula. It is first necessary however to discuss the chaotic atmosphere in which the Koreans were embroiled in the late nineteenth century and reveal how it contributed to the advancement of Protestantism.

King Gojong, Crisis, and Protestant Missionaries

The Korean experience in the age of the new imperialism was unique. As the peoples of Africa and much of Asia were coming under the sway of the Western powers, Korea was being drawn by the Japanese into their sphere of influence. Korea was a significant component in the plans of many Meiji reformers because they were convinced that Japanese unity, strength and security depended on assuming a dominant role on the peninsula. They reasoned that focusing on Korea could bring disparate political factions together, while in controlling Korean affairs, it was presumed that Japan would benefit economically and thwart any possible designs the Western

powers or Russia might have on their neighbor.[113] The Japanese were most fearful of Russia. They envisioned a scenario in which, sometime in the future, the Tsar would take Korea and then use it as a launching point for an invasion across the Tsushima Strait.

Starting in the late 1860s, the reformers had endeavored to entice the Koreans into breaking away from the long established relationship that had existed between their two nations and enter into a new one based on the principles of modern diplomacy.[114] Gojong's father, Yi Ha Eung, the Daewongun (regent) who acted in the name of the young king, and the conservative faction at court, saw no need to upset their traditional diplomatic policies which were, at least technically, in the hands of the Chinese.[115] They were also deeply suspicious of Japan's intentions. The Daewongun had always been extremely wary of outsiders, a turn of mind which only deepened in light of French and American aggression.[116]

In the autumn of 1866, France sent a punitive expedition to Gangwha Island (located about 50 kilometers from Seoul) to avenge the executions of French missionaries that had taken place earlier in the year.[117] Catholicism had been viewed as a serious menace by most Korean rulers and officials ever since it first made headway on the peninsula in the late eighteenth

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[113] Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895 – 1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 29-34.
[114] Ibid, 34-35. Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys: The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1977), 6. Prior to the late nineteenth century the Koreans and Japanese had few diplomatic or economic ties to one another.
[115] Deuchler argued that the tributary relationship entered its "classic" period after the establishment of the Ming Dynasty in the late fourteenth century, 2. In the late sixteenth century the Ming came to Korea's aid after Toyotomo Hideyoshi's forces invaded the peninsula. The resultant war has come to be known as the "Imjin War." It occurred between 1592 and 1598. Hundreds of thousands of Koreans were killed and countless villages and cities were destroyed.
[116] An excellent account of the Daewongun's reign is James Palais's, *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1975).
[117] Father Félix-Claire Ridel, one of the missionaries who successfully fled to Chefoo, China informed the French Admiral Roze what had occurred. Yong Koo Kim, *The Five Years Crisis, 1866 – 1871: Korea in the Maelstrom of Western Imperialism* (Seoul: Circle, 2001), 30.

century.[118] Its practitioners (who by the 1860s had grown to around 20,000) along with their foreign priests, were seen as posing a dangerous challenge to the Confucian world order that had taken hundreds of years to construct. As a means to exterminate their Catholic enemies, Korean kings unleashed four great waves of persecution, the most widespread being that which was undertaken by the Daewongun in 1866.[119] He was convinced that the Catholics were intent on preparing the way for an imperialist invasion of Korea. Approximately 10,000 Catholics were killed, including nine priests from the Paris Foreign Missions Society.[120]

The French expeditionary force succeeded in causing much havoc in the vicinity of Gangwha in the early autumn of 1866, but failed to reach its main objectives of coercing the Koreans to apologize and pay an indemnity for the killing of the missionaries. The Daewongun's troops vastly outnumbered the invaders and following a few skirmishes the French resolved to retreat in November. Five years later, the United States met with the same level of resistance. In 1871, the Americans dispatched five warships to Korea with the goals of finding a resolution regarding the protection of shipwrecked sailors, begin trade negotiations, and make enquiries concerning the fate of the U.S.S. General Sherman – a merchant ship that was known to have

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[118] The first Koreans to become Catholics were those taken prisoner by the Japanese during the Imjin War. A handful of Jesuits went to Korea with the Christian Daimyō that were part of the military expedition. Juan Ruiz de Medina S.J., *The Catholic Church in Korea: Its Origins, 1566 – 1784*, trans. John Bridges, D.J (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1991), 42 – 86. Some of the Korean scholar-diplomats who went to Beijing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries met the Jesuits and acquainted themselves with Catholic literature. Prince Sohyon brought Catholic books back to Seoul in 1645 but died soon thereafter. Choi Jae Keun, *The Origins of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea* (Seoul: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2006), 17-18. Catholicism grew in popularity among scholars in the late eighteenth century. Korean religious scholar Don Baker has argued quite convincingly that one of the fundamental reasons why members of the Confucian literati embraced Catholicism was their belief that its tenets could help them reach sage hood.; *Korean Spirituality* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 64.

[119] The most thorough overview of the early persecutions remains Charles Dallet's, *Histoire de L'eglise de Corée: Précedée d'une Introduction sur L'histoire, Les Institutions, La Langue, Les Moeurs et Coutumes Coréennes: Avec Carte et Planche* (Paris, Librairie Victor Palmé, 1874).

[120]The persecutions did not in any way wipe out the Catholic presence in Korea. At the time that Korea was annexed by Japan there were 73, 317 believers. Joseph Chang Mun Kim and John Jae Sun Chung, eds., *Catholic Korea: Yesterday and Today* (Seoul: Catholic Korea Publishing Company, 1964), 321.

sailed to Korea in 1866. They were unaware that its entire crew, including the Protestant missionary Robert Thomas, was killed by an angry mob on the Daedong River near Pyeongyang. Because of their previous experience with the French, the Korean troops stationed at Gangwha were not caught off guard when they spotted the American flotilla on 1 June 1871. They immediately opened fire. The Americans responded with a massive show of strength, inflicting a few hundred casualties, however, like the French, they too were unable to break the resolve of the Koreans and vacated from Ganghwa.[121]

As the Koreans were celebrating their victory over the Americans, Meiji reformers were debating whether or not they should use military force against Gojong. After a few years of heated discussions between the hawks and the moderates, the former finally won out, and in September 1875 the Un'yo, a naval vessel, was dispatched to Korean waters with the hope that it would provoke an incident.[122] The Japanese were optimistic that if they could demonstrate their military prowess in the wake of Korean retaliation, Gojong (who had assumed full authority in 1873) would feel compelled to change his mind about entering into formal diplomatic negotiations. Their plans worked. The sight of the Un'yo off the coast of Ganghwa stirred the Koreans to shell it from batteries onshore. The Un'yo immediately returned fire in kind and a contingent of soldiers stormed inland burning and pillaging at will.[123] Feeling that they had softened the intransigence of the Koreans, the Japanese then sent a diplomatic mission to Gangwha onboard three warships in February. Gojong, knowing that his antiquated military was completely outclassed by the advanced forces of Meiji Japan, and attuned to the unyielding

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[121] For a brief but good summary of the French and American Invasions see Kim Yong Koo, *The Five Years' Crisis,* 97 - 122. Kim notes that the missionary Félix-Claire Ridel acted as guide, 101.
[122] Peter Deus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 44.
[123] Ibid, 43. Martina Deuchler, *Barbarian Envoys*, 23.

nature of his opponents, decided to capitulate. He signed the "Treaty of Amity" in February, 1876.

The stipulations of this agreement were, for the most part, similar to those found in many of the other unequal treaties of the nineteenth century. Treaty ports were to be established in which Japanese citizens with extraterritorial rights could reside, and the Korean market was to become much more open to Japanese goods than it had been previously. One clause however was quite distinct as it signaled Korea's first step toward breaking away from the Sino-centric diplomatic world order. Article 1 stipulated that "Korea was an independent state enjoying the same sovereign rights as Japan."[124] The Japanese had won a major victory in compelling the Koreans to accept this provision. They wanted Korea to eventually sever all of its tributary ties to the Qing so that if, and or when, an opportune time arose, they could usurp China's traditional role and control the peninsula.

Sensing weakness, the United States, Russia, France, Britain, Germany and Italy followed Japan's lead, and by the 1880s, had all signed treaties with Korea.[125] Other than the Russians, they were satisfied with securing trading privileges and wanted little else. None of them considered becoming embroiled politically or militarily over Korea's affairs because they assumed its fate would be decided by Japan and China. Events in 1882 proved them right. The Meiji government dispatched troops to Korea after an anti-Japanese riot occurred in Seoul. The Japanese consulate was burned down, several soldiers were killed, and Japan's most bitter opponent in Korea, the Daewongun, returned to power. His supporters wanted him to expel the

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[124] Martina Deuchler, *Barbarian Envoys*, 47.
[125] Korea established diplomatic relations with the United States in 1882, Britain and Germany in 1883, Russia and Italy in 1884 and France in 1886.

Japanese and destroy the Min clan at court (Queen Min and her relatives were despised by many on account of their corruption and ruthlessness).[126] The Chinese, knowing that Japan was going to use the revolt as an excuse to expand its military presence in Korea, sent forces of its own to Seoul, kidnapped the Daewongun for fear that his presence would further destabilize the situation, and placed Gojong back on the throne.[127]

Upon assuming power, the young king soon faced an even greater challenge than that posed by the Chinese and Japanese. Progressive minded intellectuals, all of whom were part of what came to be known as the Enlightenment Party, called on him to implement Meiji style reforms.[128] They had all been to Japan and were awed at the rapid transformation that had taken place there as a result of the decision of the reformers to modernize their nation. This experience convinced them that Korea had to follow a similar path if it wanted to be the equal of the great powers and thus avoid losing its independence.[129] When Gojong rejected their appeals, the members of the Enlightenment Party began to plan a coup, and on 4 December 1884, they put their ideas into action. This "Gapsin Coup"[130] was a relatively brief affair – it only lasted three days. The insurgents were easily vanquished by a large detachment of Chinese soldiers under the leadership of Yuan Shikai. Rather than follow up on their victory however, the Chinese, mindful that they were not prepared to engage in a full scale war, decided to de-escalate the tensions. The

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[126] Key Hiuk Kim, *Opening of Korea: A Confucian Response to the Western Impact* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1999), 68-69. Martina Deuchler, *Barbarian Envoys*, 31. Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 54. Carter J. Eckert, Lee Ki Baik, et al., *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchokak Publishers, 1990), 205-206.
[127] The Chinese did not consult the Koreans concerning the removal of the Daewongun. He was taken to Beijing. Key Hiuk Kim, *Opening of Korea*, 70.
[128] Sebastian C.H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 62. The leader of the Enlightenment Party was Kim Ok Gyun. One of the younger members was Seo Jae Pil. He would later convert to Protestantism and become an influential leader in the independence movement.
[129] For a thorough study of the leaders of the coup see Harold F. Cook, *Korea's 1884 Incident: It's Background and Kim Okkyun's Elusive Dream* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1972).
[130] Gapsin denotes the year 1884 according to the 60 year lunar calendar that was in use at the time.

Japanese, having very few forces of their own, had similar intentions. Therefore, in 1885, both sides agreed to remove their forces from the peninsula.[131]

The coup was a boon for the Protestant missionary movement in Korea. Horace Newton Allen, a medical doctor attached to the United States legation in Seoul (and missionary from the Presbyterian Church North, U.S.A.) was instrumental in healing Queen Min's nephew from a stab wound he received and because of this won much renown at court. Gojong, in getting to know Allen, concluded that the missionary could help him cement strong ties with the United States, a country which, though bellicose in the past, had, in the eyes of the king, put aside its imperialist schemes and was therefore trustworthy. He believed that the Americans could, if need be, protect the independence of his kingdom. Aspiring to take the first step toward bringing a fruitful relationship between Korea and the United States into existence, Gojong, with the help of Horace Allen, established a legation in Washington D.C. in 1888. A year earlier the missionary had accompanied a group of Korean diplomats to the capital and introduced them to influential figures in the American government.[132]

Gojong exhibited to the American Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries who came to Korea in the early 1880s the same respect and courtesy as he did Allen. He even overlooked their missionizing efforts (evangelizing remained prohibited under the law)[133] and actively supported their medical and educational work. Gojong built the Royal Korean Hospital (which the

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[131] They signed the Treaty of Tientsin on 18 April 1885.

[132] For more on the relationship between Gojong and Allen see, Fred Harvey Harrington, *God Mammon and the Japanese: Dr. Horace N. Allen and Korean-American Relations, 1884 – 1905* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966). Harrington shows that although Allen was sympathetic to Gojong, his motives for helping the king were not altogether altruistic. He hoped that his association with the king could help him set up profitable business ventures in Korea. An invaluable source concerning Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is Horace Allen's *Things Korean: A Collection of Sketches and Anecdotes, Missionary and Diplomatic* (New York: F.H. Revell and Company, 1908).

[133] The freedom to practice Christianity was not officially established in Korea until the early twentieth century.

missionaries would manage) and he, along with his wife, personally named two missionary schools – both of which were to become the flagship educational institutions of the Methodists. The boy's school was called the *Baejae Hakdang* (The Hall for the Rearing of Useful Men) and the one for girls, the *Ehwa Hakdang* (The Pear Blossom Institute). Compared to their Catholic counterparts who suffered much before the 1880s, the Protestant missionaries in Korea had little to fear from the authorities.

The Donghak Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese War

A large segment of the Korean population was opposed to Gojong's policies, the most militant of which were the adherents of Donghak (Eastern learning). Donghak was a monotheistic syncretic religion that included aspects of Confucianism, Buddhism, Korean folk beliefs and Catholicism. To a certain extent it was similar to the Taiping religion in so far that, as historian S.C.M. Paine noted, "it was both greatly influenced by Christianity but also intensely hostile to it."[134] Choe Je U, the founder, called his religion Donghak to distinguish it from Sohak (Western Learning). The Korean authorities were not interested in the theological-philosophical intricacies of the new religion and assumed Choe and his followers were Catholics. In December 1862 Choe was executed on the grounds that he was a traitor and a heretic.

Under the leadership of Choe's most devout disciple, Choe Si Hyeong, Donghak's popularity continued to expand, primarily among the peasantry. They were attracted to its emphasis on equality and its eschatological worldview. Donghak believers held that Korea was on the verge of becoming a society in which, to use historian Don Baker's words, "There would

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[134] S.C.M. Paine, *The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895: Perceptions, Power and Primacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 112.

be no more injustice, poverty, or disease, and … [all] people would be treated with the respect they deserved."[135] During the 1890s, hoping to bring this new world into existence, the Donghak launched the largest peasant uprising in Korean history. The catalyst for the rebellion was the actions of a particularly corrupt official who routinely extorted peasants in the Southwestern province of Jeolla. Thousands of farmers from all over Jeolla gathered together under the leadership of Jeon Bong Jun and demanded the end to the exploitative practices of government functionaries, the destruction of the powerful families in Seoul and the expulsion of foreigners.

Detachments were hurriedly sent from Seoul to crush the rebellion but they were destroyed. In May, the rebels then succeeded in taking the strategic city of Jeonju and began marching toward the capital. Gojong, feeling that he had no other options called on the Qing to dispatch soldiers to help him quell the rebellion. The Japanese in turn, quick to turn the crisis situation to their advantage, sent thousands of troops to the peninsula. The resulting war between the Qing Empire and Meiji Japan was a lopsided affair (the Chinese were defeated in every major land and sea battle). The terms of peace brought about an end to the tributary relationship between Korea and China. The Qing recognized Korea as an independent nation and thus would never intervene in Korean affairs again.

Previous to the outbreak of the war, the Japanese, after assuring that Korea would remain neutral, stripped Gojong of his authority and assumed control of the government in Seoul. Then, with the cooperation of Korean reformers, many of whom had taken part in the Gapsin Coup, enacted hundreds of laws known as the "Gabo Reforms"[136] which were directed at radically transforming Korean diplomatic practices, society, and institutions. Some of the more

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[135]Don Baker, *Korean Spirituality*, 82.
[136] Gabo denoted the year 1894 according to the 60 year lunar calendar that was in use at the time in Korea.

revolutionary of these reforms included the annulment of all treaties with China, the creation of seven new ministries, the abolition of slavery, class distinctions of any kind, childhood marriage as well as the Confucian state examinations, the modernization of the judicial and banking systems, and a revamping of the military. The main goal of the Gabo Reforms was to remodel Korea in the image of Meiji Japan in preparation for the setting up of a protectorate.

The Western powers made few comments about Japan's Korean policy. They were much more concerned with its plans concerning China. Yet, with the assassination of Queen Min in October 1895 they took some notice of the affairs on the peninsula and condemned the Japanese government. The queen was murdered on the orders of Miuru Gorō (the Japanese Ambassador in Seoul) primarily because she and her clan fostered close ties with the Russians and Americans.[137] The Meiji administration in Tokyo, hoping to minimize the damage done by the assassination, put Gorō on trial.[138] Japanese diplomats in Seoul assured the Western consuls that Gojong would be safe and that Japan would not take Korea by force.[139] Few of the consuls may have believed them however none were willing to risk causing a diplomatic incident between their home governments and Japan. Hence they ceased their protestations.

Upon the queen's death, a handful of missionaries, including Oliver R. Avison, a young medical missionary from Toronto and Gojong's personal physician, held watch over the king to make sure that the Japanese would not make any attempts on his life.[140] Gojong, however,

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[137] Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 109.
[138] He was quickly exonerated. William Franklin Sands, an American diplomat who was based in Seoul during the first few years of the twentieth century, in his discussion of Gorō's trial, pointed out that no witnesses other than the "conspirators party" were called to the court; *Undiplomatic Memories, The Far East, 1896 – 1904* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1930) [reprint] (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1975), 69.
[139] Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 113.
[140] Oliver R. Avison, "Memoirs" unpublished, ca.1941, UCCA, Acc. 88.094C, pp. 547-548. Avison stated that he saw Gojong every day, 562.

conscious that the missionaries would not be able to keep him safe in perpetuity, decided to seek the aid of the Russians – the only non-missionary foreigners who were willing to help him. And on 11 February 1896, he fled to the Russian legation.[141] He remained there for over a year and, because of this, greatly diminished the power of the Japanese in Korea. They could not make laws or conduct any governmental business without his seal of approval. The Russians, at least for a brief time, were in the ascendency.

The Toronto Group of Four and Korea in the Central Canadian Imagination

Oliver R. Avison was a member of what has come to be known as the "Toronto Group of Four."[142] Horace Grant Underwood, one of the American Presbyterian pioneers in Korea, had convinced Avison to join his mission in 1892 while he was giving talks in Toronto.[143] Avison's role in shielding Gojong from the Japanese is well documented yet he is best known for being an institution builder in Korea. He was instrumental in the founding of the Severance Hospital and the Joseon Christian College in Seoul.[144] Prior to becoming a missionary himself, Avison, as a leader of the Medical Student's Y.M.C.A. at the University of Toronto in 1890, helped to recruit Dr. Robert Alexander Hardie, an active participant in the Student Volunteer Movement.[145] Hardie spent nearly his entire adult life on the peninsula (he retired from active missionary work in 1935). Early in his career he earned much fame for initiating a series of revivals in Wonsan

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[141] William Sands, *Undiplomatic Memories*, 67-68.
[142] William Scott, "Canadians in Korea: A Brief Historical Sketch,"15. Scott provided a synopsis of the "Toronto Group of Four." For a detailed study of these missionaries see, Yoo Young Sik, "The Impact of Canadian Missionaries in Korea: A Historical Survey of Early Canadian Mission Work, 1888 – 1898" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, Toronto, 1996); ProQuest, NQ27810. He published a shorter version of this work before doing his dissertation; *Earlier Canadian Missionaries in Korea: A Study in History, 1888 – 1895* (Mississauga: The Society for Korean and Related Studies, 1987).
[143] O.R. Avison, "Memoirs," 92.
[144] In the late 1950s the two institutions amalgamated to form Yonsei University.
[145] O.R. Avison, "Memoirs," 84-86.

starting in 1903, which his biographer has argued, laid the groundwork for the Great Pyeongyang Revival of 1907.[146]

Malcolm C. Fenwick, another Torontonian, became enamored with Korea while listening to Robert Parmalee Wilder of the S.V.M. give a lecture about it in 1889 at the Niagara Bible Conference.[147] Soon thereafter, Fenwick eagerly submitted an application to the Corean Union Mission (a society formed by a group of Toronto businessmen who were associated with the Y.M.C.A). From the time he arrived to Korea in 1889 until his death in 1935, Fenwick refused to join any formal denomination and established the independent Corean Itinerant Mission and then the Church of Christ in Corea. He is considered by some to be one of the founders of the Baptist Church in Korea since after the Second World War members of the C.C.C. formed the Korea Baptist Convention.[148]

James Scarth Gale was part of the first cohort of missionaries from Canada to reach Korea in 1888.[149] He was sent by the University College Y.M.C.A. at the University of Toronto. Gale had a long and productive career. With the help of a Korean colleague, he translated *Pilgrim's Progress* as well as numerous other Christian tracts into *Hangul* (the native Korean

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[146] Kim Chil Sung, "The Role of Robert Hardie in the Korean Great Revival and the Subsequent Development of Korean Protestant Christianity" (PhD diss., Asbury Theological College, Wilmore, Kentucky, 2012); ProQuest, 3535011. For more on Hardie's importance regarding the Wonsan Revivals see, Sung Deuk Oak, "Major Protestant Revivals in Korea, 1903 – 35," *Studies in World Christianity*, vol.18, no.3 (2012): 269-290; and Kim Jin Hyeong, *Chogi Hanguk Gamli Gyohoe: Bukhan Gyohoe Sa: 1887 – 1910* [The History of the Early Methodist Church in North Korea: 1887 -1910] (Seoul: Korean Methodist Association, Western Division, Korean Unification Missionary Association, 1997), 390 – 395.

[147] Young Sik Yoo, *Earlier Canadian Missionaries*, 42. Unlike the three other members of the "Toronto Group of Four," Fenwick was not university educated. At the time he decided to go to Korea he was a manager of a wholesale hardware business. Malcolm C. Fenwick, *The Church of Christ in Corea* (New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911), 13.

[148] Yu Kun Jae, "An Analysis of the Historical and Theological Identity of the Korean Baptist Convention: An Indigenous Charismatic Movement (PhD. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014), 77. (ProQuest 10024589). Yoo in "Earlier Canadian Missionaries in Korea," disputed the idea that Fenwick was a founder of the Baptists, 52-53.

[149] Robert Harkness and his wife Isabella went to Korea at the same time as Gale. They were recruited by the Corean Union Mission based in Toronto. They returned in 1889 because Robert Harkness had become seriously ill. The Corean Union Mission closed its doors soon thereafter.

script) and took part in the rendering of Korean folk tales and poems into English. He also published a Korean-English dictionary, a grammar, and various other works on Korea, including a comprehensive history.[150] Perhaps his greatest accomplishment was translating the entire Bible into *Hangul* a few years before retiring. In addition to this, he worked on the missionary translation committee, was a key founder of both the Seoul Y.M.C.A. and the Royal Asiatic Society and, of course, performed the traditional tasks of a missionary.[151]

It is undeniable that the Toronto Group of Four made a profound impact on Korea. Their influence on Central Canada, however, was minimal. The grass roots supporters of Protestant missions and the foreign mission boards based in Ontario cared little about Korea. They focused almost all their attention on India, China and Japan. This lack of zeal for Korea in the late nineteenth and first few years of the twentieth century in the mainstream Protestant Churches of Ontario is evident in that no member of the Toronto Group of Four ever made any serious effort to persuade the F.M.B. of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Western Division) or the Board of Foreign Missions for the Methodist Church in Canada to enter into the Korean mission field. Malcolm C. Fenwick, always suspicious of the major denominations, remained independent, while Avison, Gale and Hardie, understanding that none of the mainline Churches in Ontario were interested in Korea, opted to work for the Americans. Avison, although a Methodist, remained with the Presbyterian North, U.S.A. Mission throughout his entire time in Korea.

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[150] Richard Rutt, *A Biography of James Scarth Gale and a New Edition of His History of the Korean People* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1972). Some of Gale's most well-known works are: *Korean* Sketches (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898); The *Vanguard* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1904) and *Korea in Transition* (New York: Young Peoples Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada – Eaton and Mains, 1909).

[151] He was most active doing regular missionary work during his first decade in Korea. Although he was not ordained until 1897 he ministered to the flock in Sorae, Busan, Wonsan and Seoul. He spent his mature years in Seoul concentrating on his literary studies.

James Scarth Gale eventually found employment with the same mission when the Y.M.C.A. in Toronto could no longer adequately support him. Robert Hardie, for similar reasons, became a member of the Methodist Episcopal South Mission in 1898.

Korea did indeed find few supporters in Central Canada during the 1890s. In Atlantic Canada, on the other hand, it figured prominently in the minds of the advocates for overseas missions, so much so that the F.M.B. (Eastern Division) faced much hostility because of its intransigence in regard to starting a mission to Korea. This animosity only began to subside in the fall of 1897 when the leaders of the Board, worried about losing their credibility, submitted to the demands of their constituency to seize the opportunity that William John MacKenzie's work in Sorae had given the Maritime Church.

William John MacKenzie: Linking Atlantic Canada to Korea

William John MacKenzie vowed to devote himself to God after overcoming a crisis of faith when studying at the Pictou Academy in the early 1880s. He provided very little evidence that can shed light on this part of his life, but his doubts seemed to have run very deep. MacKenzie's biographer/hagiographer, Elizabeth A. McCully, maintained that he had "nearly become an infidel" at the time.[152] In 1887, while attending Dwight Moody's Student Missionary Conference in Northfield, Massachusetts, the precise nature of his calling became clear to him and in the following year he volunteered to the Student Missionary Association at Pine Hill Divinity College to become its first missionary to Labrador. His application was readily accepted and he left for the mission field soon after graduating from Dalhousie University in the spring.

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[152] Elizabeth McCully, *A Corn of Wheat*, 13. McCully based much of her work on MacKenzie's diaries.

In anticipation of taking part in the missionary venture, MacKenzie immersed himself in the accounts of missionary lives and William Elliot Griffis's *Corea, the Hermit Nation*.[153] The stories in Elliot's book depicting the persecutions of the Catholics and the work of the Presbyterians fascinated him to such an extent that he became determined to proselytize among the Koreans.[154] Upon returning home from Labrador, MacKenzie enrolled at Pine Hill and took courses in medicine to prepare himself for his future vocation. According to Elizabeth McCully, MacKenzie's obsession with Korea grew stronger the longer he remained in Nova Scotia. She wrote, "Korea stretched out her hands to him in silent entreaty … the vast untouched wastes of heathen lands, where never a sower had yet passed, was ever on his mind."[155]

MacKenzie had a measure of success in convincing some in his flock that a mission to Korea was worthwhile (he was given $100.00), but he failed to persuade the F.M.B. The men on the Board felt that they could not take on the burden of starting another mission without putting Vanuatu, Trinidad and Guyana in jeopardy. They had very few financial and human resources to spare. The F.M.B. in the Maritimes was always much poorer than its sister organization in Toronto. Not wanting to seem entirely uninterested in his aspirations however, the Board suggested to MacKenzie that he apply to the Presbyterian North, U.S.A. Foreign Mission Board. He refused.

McCully proposed that MacKenzie's decision to not follow the Board's advice stemmed from his nationalist spirit. She asserted "as a Canadian he believed that he should represent Canada wherever he might go as God's ambassador, and that the money for his support should

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[153] William Elliot Griffis, *Corea: The Hermit Nation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882).
[154] Elizabeth McCully, *A Corn of Wheat*, 19-20.
[155] Ibid, 54.

not come from another than his native land."[156] This argument has some validity. MacKenzie, like all Presbyterians of Scottish heritage during the 1890s, would have undoubtedly been proud to be a Canadian, but it fails to take into account his regionalist sensibilities. It is likely that MacKenzie considered his "native land" to consist of the Atlantic Provinces, not the entire breadth of Canada from East to West. If he thought of himself in terms of being Canadian rather than a Nova Scotian, or a Maritimer, MacKenzie would have asked the F.M.B. (Western Division) to help him fulfill his dream of starting a mission to Korea.[157] Yet, he never entertained the notion of taking such a course of action. McCully was, no doubt, fully aware of MacKenzie's disposition, thus it would seem that she attempted to make the subject of her study a Canadian nationalist in an attempt to reach as wide an audience as possible in order to raise resources for the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea. As she was writing MacKenzie's biography in 1902, the missionaries in Korea, including her sister Louise, were in great need of money and extra personnel.

MacKenzie, knowing that he could not convince the F.M.B. to sanction his cause, decided that he would go to Korea as an independent missionary. And to raise the funds needed he persistently turned to his friends, colleagues, and parishioners at Stewiacke as well as the local advocates of foreign missions. His earnest appeals were effective and by the fall of 1893 he had gathered enough funds to commence his career as an overseas missionary, which was from the very start we are told, full of adventure and heroism. McCully, while elaborating on MacKenzie's trip across Canada on the C.P.R., recounted a story in which he got off from the

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[156] Ibid, 55.
[157] It is highly likely that he would not have known of the lack of interest central Canadians had for Korea.

train "somewhere in the neighborhood of the Rockies" then proceeded to "melt [the] hardened hearts" of a group of gambling drinkers by delivering a powerful sermon.[158]

In December 1893, MacKenzie arrived in Jemulpo (Incheon) and hurriedly went to Seoul, the epicenter of the missionary movement in Korea. In conversation with H.G. Underwood – who had, by the 1890s, become one of the most important missionaries on the peninsula,[159] MacKenzie stated that he wanted to live far from other foreigners because he thought it was of the utmost importance to immerse himself in the life and culture of the Koreans. Like some of his heroes such as John Geddie, Henry Hudson Taylor of the China Inland Mission, and the Canadian Presbyterian George Leslie Mackay of Taiwan, MacKenzie believed that he could earn the trust and respect of the people he had come to convert only by learning the native language and adapting himself to his new environment as quickly as possible (something he could not do if he lived in the capital or on a mission compound). Underwood suggested to MacKenzie that he go to Sorae, a small fishing village on the Yellow Sea.[160] Sorae seemed to Underwood to be a particularly auspicious and safe place for an inexperienced

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[158] Ibid, 65-66. Robert Grierson, in his memoirs, recounted that in 1904, while on his way to Halifax via the C.P.R., he met one of the men who had been converted by MacKenzie. According to Grierson, the man confirmed that MacKenzie led many of his friends to Christ. Unfortunately, Grierson did not provide any more details regarding MacKenzie's time in the West other than this. Robert Grierson, *My Life in Korea as a Missionary, 1898 – 1934* (Toronto: Michael Scott, 2002), 14. This is a reprint of Grierson's unpublished memoirs he entitled, *Episodes on a Long, Long Trail*. It is located at the UCCA.

[159] He remained one of the most important of the missionaries until his death in 1916. His son, Horace Horton Underwood was also an influential missionary. He was a key figure in mission education in Korea for many decades.

[160] Lillias Horton Underwood, *Fifteen Years among the Top-Knots or Life in Korea* (New York: American Tract Society, 1904; reprint, Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1987), 123. This is one of the most thorough studies of the American pioneers written by a missionary and as such is essential reading for any scholar interested in both the missionary experience as well as the history of Korean Protestantism. It is particularly good at documenting the "human side" of the missionaries.

missionary to start work since one of the first Koreans Protestants, Seo Gyeong Jo, had been living there for some time.[161]

MacKenzie's brief sojourn in Korea was tumultuous from beginning until end. In January, 1894 he made up his mind to accompany a fellow Canadian, James Hall, to Pyeongyang. Hall, who was in the employ of the Methodist North, U.S.A. Mission, was given the responsibility of starting a station there. On his journey, MacKenzie witnessed a man die after being stabbed[162] and, in Pyeongyang, he along with Hall and some native Protestants, were subject to much abuse.[163] A group of townsmen grew extremely upset when they learned that one of the Korean Christians had purchased a house for Hall and his mission. Under Korean law, foreigners could not buy property outside the treaty ports so in order to bypass it, missionaries, like Hall, resorted to subterfuge.[164]

The situation in January was diffused soon after Hall made a complaint to the magistrate. Anti-Christian disturbances in Pyeongyang, such as the one MacKenzie experienced in early 1894, were quite commonplace. Two of the most renowned occurred in April, 1893 and May, 1894. And in both cases, Samuel Austin Moffett of the Presbyterian North Mission and the

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[161] The missionaries often referred to Seo Gyeong Jo as "Mr. Saw." He moved to Sorae in 1884. His brother Seo Sang Ryun was baptized by John Ross of the United Presbyterian Church (Scotland). Ross and his partner, John MacIntyre, from their base in Mukden (Shenyang) began ministering to Koreans in the 1870s. Ross wrote the first Korean language primer in English and the first New Testament in Korean. Sebastian C.H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 58-59. George L. Paik was one of the first scholars to discuss the importance of Ross and the Seo brothers in regard to the growth and spread of Protestantism in Korea; *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832 – 1910* (Pyeongyang: Union Joseon Christian College, 1929); reprint, (Seoul: Yonsei University, 1970), 57-59.

[162] Elizabeth McCully, *A Corn of Wheat*, 88. Rosetta Sherwood Hall, M.D., ed., *The Life of Rev. William James Hall, M.D.: medical missionary to the slums of New York, pioneering missionary to Pyongyang* (New York: Press of Eaton and Mains, 1897), 268.

[163] Elizabeth McCully, *A Corn of Wheat*, 88-95. According to Hall there was much talk in Pyeongyang about killing foreigners and the native Christians.

[164] Motokazu Matsutani, "Church over Nation: Christian Missionaries and Korean Christians in Colonial Korea" (PhD.diss., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass, 2012), 74-75 (ProQuest 3514041).

transfer of property to foreigners were involved. The second incident was particularly serious. Korean Christian helpers under the supervision of Hall and Moffett were beaten, jailed and sentenced to death on order of the governor of Pyeongyang.[165] Only the intervention of the British and American consuls saved their lives. At the behest of the missionaries they petitioned the Korean government to set the prisoners free.

Prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, MacKenzie spent three months in Sorae testing out his missionizing strategies. He only ate Korean food, spoke as much Korean as he could, wore Korean style clothes, practiced his rudimentary medical skills, and preached (Seo Gyeong Jo translated). In reading McCully's account of MacKenzie's first experiences in Sorae, it is plain that both his proselytizing efforts and his attempt to adapt to Korean culture did not produce the sort of results he expected. Some of the villagers, rather than ask him and Seo about the gospel, enquired if they could make money by joining the Church while others approached the pair simply because they wanted to learn about events that were occurring outside of Sorae.[166] MacKenzie was no doubt unimpressed at this, however, he was inspired by many within the small Christian community. While discussing the tiny band of Christians in Sorae in his diary he asserted, "Oh, what a field! I know no better. I have seen some triumphs of the Gospel here already. Eight were received into the Church by one man [Seo] in one day. They are

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[165] Ibid, 74-75. In 1890, The Presbyterian North Mission decided that Pyeongyang should be the location of its second station. Lee Jong Hyeong, "Samuel Austin Moffett: His Life and Work in the Development of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1890-1936" (PhD. Diss., Union Theological Seminary, Richmond Virginia, 1983), 38 (ProQuest MR93789). Moffett went to Pyeongyang on six separate occasions to start up a station but was threatened and driven away each time. He was finally able to found a station there in 1893 with the help of his peers William Swallen and Graham Lee. After the Sino-Japanese War, the mission began to grow at a much quicker pace than before. By October, 1895 there were 73 baptized communicants, 195 catechumens and 4 congregations. Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia, vol. II, 1500 – 1900* (New York: Orbis Books, 2005), 538-539.
[166] Elizabeth McCully, *A Corn of Wheat*, 112.

men who have been persecuted, regarded as mad, hated by former friends, yet standing firm, and cheerfully bearing all for Jesus's sake."

MacKenzie had to leave Sorae in April, 1894 in order to send some letters to Nova Scotia and would only go back in October. On his return in the fall he entered into an incredibly dangerous and confusing situation. The Japanese had defeated the Chinese but they were unable to destroy the Donghak and since the rebels had a particularly large presence in Hwanghae Province, MacKenzie found himself in the middle of a war zone. He was also routinely threatened by the Donghak. They announced on more than one occasion that they would kill all the foreigners they met.

MacKenzie's second stay in Sorae was much more successful than his first, primarily because like many of his fellow missionaries in Korea, he began to use the extraterritorial rights he held to his advantage.[167] It would seem that he first thought of doing so after some Koreans flocked to him hoping that he could shield them from Donghak and Japanese aggression. In his discussion of this phenomenon he wrote, "Find I am popular for supposed protection. Two men came last night at 12:30 to seek my aid. Anxious that I should show up when the Japs come."[168] MacKenzie's unfurling of the St. George Flag on 12 December led many others to believe that he could (and would) give them sanctuary.[169] Scores from nearby villages descended on Sorae

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[167] Motokazu Matsutani effectively argued that the extraterritorial rights of the American missionaries attracted many Koreans to them during the 1890s since it was believed that the foreigners could protect them, "Church over Nation," 74-77. MacKenzie would have learned of this in his experiences with Moffett and Hall.
[168] McCully, *A Corn of Wheat*, 153. Sung Deuk Oak argued that many went to Sorae in search of protection; *The Making of Korean Christianity*: *Protestant Encounters with Korean Religions, 1876 – 1915* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2013), 120-122.
[169] Korean Christians and non-Christians alike followed MacKenzie's example and began to display the flag of St. George; Sung Deuk Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*, 120 – 130. Oak did not argue that MacKenzie intentionally used the Cross of St. George as a means to draw people to him. He suggested that Koreans may have been attracted to the Cross of St. George because it resembled symbols displayed at Confucian funerals; Oak, 116 – 117. McCully maintained that Koreans saw the Cross of St. George as a religious symbol.

when they saw, or heard of the flag flying over the missionary's make shift home, and soon thereafter, the Christian congregation increased. Many who attended the church services were, or had been, Donghak adherents. They had the most to gain from befriending MacKenzie since their main enemies, the Japanese, were to a great degree, careful to stay clear of offending Westerners. Hence they would not enter the confines of Sorae.[170] Some of the more diehard of the Donghak continued to threaten MacKenzie and the Christians, but, in the end, they never committed any acts of violence. By April they had been virtually wiped out by the Meiji army, something that MacKenzie celebrated. He wrote in his diary, "Sorae is becoming a centre of safety and happiness."[171]

The Christian community in Sorae went from strength to strength in the spring. Its members built a church without using any funds from foreign sources (the first Koreans to do so) and a greater number of people were coming to Sunday services than ever before.[172] With the expansion of the Church and the lessening of hostility to the "Jesus doctrine" in Hwanghae Province, MacKenzie became extremely busy. He was constantly absorbed in the day to day affairs of his congregation and spoke with a growing stream of enquirers, many of whom wanted him to help them solve their mundane problems (most of which concerned legal or financial difficulties). MacKenzie's frustration with these insincere interlopers is patently noticeable in some of his diary entries. On 28 May he stated, "A Korean holiday, so many came to visit. It was tiresome all day and I need to be patient."[173] Three days later he had become so annoyed at the worldly dispositions of the Koreans who came to see him that he was compelled to write, "[felt]

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[170] The Japanese did not want to risk provoking an international incident.
[171] Elizabeth McCully, *A Corn of Wheat,* 195.
[172] Ibid, 200.
[173] Ibid, 213.

a longing to keep to the one theme, Christ and him Crucified."[174] In these, we see that MacKenzie's Faustian gamble to make a show of his extraterritorial rights did not always work to his advantage.

In addition to receiving large numbers of visitors, MacKenzie expended much energy dispensing medicine, pulling teeth, selling literature, itinerating to nearby villages, dealing with the authorities, and learning Korean. And all the while his mental constitution started to rapidly deteriorate. The most informative source which depicts MacKenzie's descent into madness is Lillias Horton Underwood's *Fifteen Years among the Top-Knots*. MacKenzie's diary, usually a very illuminating source, provides little information about his state of mind. Seo Gyeong Jo, Underwood's confidant, informed her that MacKenzie told him in June that he spent "long nights of anguished struggle with Satan and then again of hours of ecstatic joy with his Saviour."[175] He also related that MacKenzie had, on one particularly memorable occasion, advised an elderly woman he saw on the side of the road near Sorae, "Take care of your head. Don't work too hard in the sun … or you may lose your mind as I have."[176] MacKenzie's physical health was also quickly disintegrating. He vomited often, was feverish and suffered from bouts of insomnia. His Korean friends pleaded with him to seek the help of a missionary doctor, but by this time it would seem that he had already made up his mind to take his own life. On 23 June he shot himself in the head.

The exact nature of MacKenzie's death was remarked upon by Robert Hardie in the October, 1895 issue of the *Canadian College Missionary Magazine*.[177] All other missionaries

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[174] Ibid, 214.
[175] Lillias Horton Underwood, *Fifteen Years among the Top-Knots*, 126.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Kim Chil Sung, "The Role of Robert Hardie," 83.

discussed it in a much more indirect, discreet manner. They never mentioned publicly that he killed himself.[178] The most common reasons given by the missionaries in their publications to explain his sudden death was that he had suffered from sun stroke or fever.[179] Some argued that MacKenzie's attempt to live in the same manner as Koreans caused his physical constitution to weaken.[180] It is possible that MacKenzie had become infected with some sort of virus that brought on a form of dementia, the symptoms of which can include disorientation and hallucinations. It is also feasible that he was going through a nervous breakdown as a result of his experiences in Korea. His life was routinely threatened, he observed high levels of violence, and he came to understand the myriad of difficulties encountered by missionaries, not the least significant being the inability to convert the natives en masse. When considering this last point it is important to keep in mind that for a missionary like MacKenzie, who had already experienced a spiritual crisis and seemed to believe before leaving Nova Scotia that he could be as successful among the Koreans as Paul was among the Gentiles, this must have been extremely disheartening. All told however, it should be admitted that we will never fully understand the factors that compelled MacKenzie to commit suicide. There is, on the contrary, no question that his death contributed to the establishment of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea.

The Campaign for Korea in the Maritimes

Just a few days before MacKenzie died an editorial appeared in the *Presbyterian Witness, and Evangelical Advocate*, the organ of the Presbyterian Church in the Maritimes, that depicted

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[178] No Canadian missionary ever made reference to Hardie's article in their private correspondence either.
[179] William Scott was the first Canadian missionary to openly admit that MacKenzie took his own life; "Canadians in Korea," 33.
[180] Lillias Horton Underwood warned missionaries to not live in the same manner as MacKenzie had; *Fifteen Years among the Top-Knots*, 125-126.

him as a man of courage, strength, resilience and great faith. The writer informed his readers that MacKenzie had not spoken a word of English or seen any non-Koreans in over eight months and "lived as the people live so far as food, clothing and shelter are concerned." He went on to add that "few probably have the endurance to stand this kind of life." He concluded by stating that the mission (MacKenzie's mission), "ha[d] taken hold of the hearts of many of our people" and suggested that the Church should consider getting involved in Korea.[181]

The opinions expressed by the author were most definitely shaped by the letters that MacKenzie himself had submitted to the *Presbyterian Witness*. As with all missionaries, he wrote about his experiences in the mission field to the people back home in an attempt to arouse their interest and awaken their charitable inclinations. Wishing to captivate his audience, MacKenzie focused on two particular topics: the element of danger in his work and the increasing receptiveness of the Koreans to Christianity. In the 2 March 1895 issue of the *Witness*, for example, MacKenzie elaborated on how the Donghak had destroyed the homes of the wealthy and threatened him as well as his fellow Christians. Continuing in a similar vein he noted that the Donghak had killed a French priest and that he expected to meet "the same fate."[182] He then assured his readers that he was making considerable progress even though the situation in which he found himself was perilous and full of hardship. MacKenzie stated that after he raised the flag of the Cross of St. George above the Sorae compound "the foreigner's friendship is now eagerly sought by loyal and rebel alike."[183]

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[181] *Presbyterian Witness*, 15 June 1895, Maritime Conference, United Church of Canada Archives. Hereafter referred to as, "UCCA, Maritime Conference."
[182] W.J. MacKenzie, "Korea" (Extract from letter dated, 12 December 1894), *Witness*, 2 March 1895, 74, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[183] Ibid.

In his final letter to appear in the *Witness* MacKenzie touched on similar themes. He wrote that even though his "life was in danger and … thought that his … end had come," he remained in Sorae because, "There was nothing to do but stand at my post as escape at length was impossible."[184] Fortunately, according to MacKenzie, Providence saved him. It also contributed to bringing about the fortuitous circumstances needed for the Church to expand and prosper. MacKenzie explained that upon his arrival in Sorae there were only three baptized Koreans, but now, at the time he was writing, approximately 70 to 100 Koreans attended the two services on Sunday as well as the prayer meetings held every Wednesday.[185] At the bottom of this letter was a note from the editor that plainly reveals the motivation behind its publication. Readers were informed that donations to the fund that had been set up for MacKenzie could be sent to his treasurer located on Hollis Street in Halifax.[186]

MacKenzie's tragic death produced an intense outpouring of enthusiasm for him and Korea – a phenomenon that was sparked to a great extent by a publicity campaign initiated by the proponents of starting a Korean mission in the Atlantic Provinces as well as a handful of American missionaries in Korea. Both groups understood that the F.M.B. would only reconsider its position on Korea if pressured to do so by those in the pews. A seminal actor in this partnership was H.G. Underwood. He was always interested in enlarging the missionary presence in Korea. It would appear that he hit upon the idea of commencing an alliance with the

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[184] W.J. MacKenzie, "Good News from Korea. Letter From Rev. W.J. MacKenzie," *Witness*, 15 June 1895, 188, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[185] William Scott discussed this letter, and while doing so, made mention of the growth of the Church in Sorae; "Canadians in Korea," 33. Elsewhere, he noted that the editor of the *Presbyterian Witness*, Rev. Robert Murray, was so moved by this letter that while at the General Assembly, he made a motion regarding commencing a Korean mission. William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 34.
[186] W.J. MacKenzie, "Good News from Korea." Letter from Rev. W.J. MacKenzie," *Witness*, 15, June 1895, 188. UCCA, Maritime Conference.

Canadians when he was in Sorae. He was asked by the British Consul to investigate the cause of MacKenzie's death, gather his belongings, and ensure that a proper burial would take place.[187] While at Sorae, Underwood found the addresses of those to whom the late missionary had been writing. Although the correspondence between Underwood as well as his fellow American missionaries in Korea and their collaborators in the Maritimes has seemingly not withstood the test of time, it is evident that it existed. On 19 October 1895 an article appeared in the *Presbyterian Witness* stating that "friends"[188] had received letters from the missionaries in Korea –two of which were printed in full.

One of these letters was written by Dr. John David Wells, a Presbyterian missionary who had gone to Sorae with H.G. Underwood. Wells exalted both MacKenzie and the small band of Christians with whom he had lived and worked. His laudatory remarks about MacKenzie reached a crescendo when he proclaimed, "I can truly say that a man actuated by the highest motives which can stir a human being coming into this far country and sacrificing himself for these people … deserve a higher tribute than my weak but willing pen is able to describe." With respect to the native converts he asserted, "The Christian community there at Sorae is a bright

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[187]The British Consulate turned to H.G. Underwood to help them ascertain the facts of MacKenzie's death and gather his belongings because he was a well known and trusted figure among the missionaries in Korea. He was also well acquainted with Sorae since he had spent a great deal of time there in the past. It is uncertain as to why the consulate did not request James Scarth Gale's help. He, like Underwood, had much experience working in Sorae and its environs. Lillas H. Underwood wrote of the consulate's request but did not mention anything concerning her husband's efforts of trying to ensure Canadian involvement in Korea. Lillas H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea; an intimate record of the life and work of the Rev. H.G. Underwood, D.D., LLD., for thirty one years a missionary of the Presbyterian Board in Korea* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918; reprint, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1983), 129.

[188] William Scott has shown that one of these "friends" was Rufus Foote, one of the first volunteers for the mission. He received a letter from Samuel Moffett. William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 38.

spot in this dark land."[189] The other letter included in the *Witness*, written by George Heber Jones of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, was similar in content and form.[190]

Just one week later, the *Witness* published a shortened version of an article which included some references to MacKenzie. It was to appear in the November issue of the much acclaimed *Missionary Review of the World*.[191] Although it is unknown who received the article in Nova Scotia, we can safely assume that it was sent by either its author Samuel Moffett or one of his colleagues in Korea. Among other topics, Moffett described the threat posed by the Donghak, the miraculous drawing power of the Cross of St. George, and MacKenzie's fearlessness. To underscore this character trait the author quoted from one of MacKenzie's diary entries describing an occasion in which he hunted a tiger that was menacing the villagers of Sorae.[192]

Even though stories like these had the desired effect (the notion that the Maritime Church should get involved in Korea was becoming increasingly popular) the F.M.B. stood its ground. The men on the Board remained unmoved even after receiving a letter from Sorae asking them for help in early 1896. In fact, it would appear that they hoped few in the Maritimes would learn of the letter since they did not make its contents known to the general public. They only included it in the F.M.B.'s Annual Report to the General Assembly – the minutes of which few ever read. Much to the chagrin of the Board, some students from the Pine Hill Divinity College eventually

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[189] "The Late Rev. W.J. MacKenzie, Korea," *Witness*, 19 October 1895, 332, UCCA, Maritime Conference. Wells also asserted that he and H.G. Underwood had been greeted by the villagers of Sorae with open arms. William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 33.
[190] Jones made sure to recount an instance in which MacKenzie fearlessly stood up against a Donghak leader who threatened his life.
[191] The article was entitled, "The Work of the Spirit in North Korea," *Missionary Review of the World*, vol.8, no.11 (November, 1895): 831-837, 859.
[192] "Korea," *Witness*, 26 October 1895, UCCA, Maritime Conference. William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 32.

became aware of the letter and duly published it in the *Theologue* in December, 1896. Considering the importance of this document it will be quoted at length. In it we read:

> We sincerely trust that by the Grace of God you have been blessed and are well. After Mr. MacKenzie arrived in Korea, he came to the village of Sorai, in the Magistracy of Chang Yun, in the Province of Hwang Hai Do, and working hard about his father's business led many to come out and take their stand for the Lord. The village of Sorai was always a very wicked place, devoid of blessings. Now there are many who are trying to follow the example of Mr. MacKenzie. His body is no longer with us, and we, in prayer, want to know God's will. We now, waiting before God in prayer, hope that you, our older brothers in Canada, will pray much and send us out a Christian teacher.[193]

Since Seo Gyeong Jo signed the letter on behalf of the Christians at Sorae it has been assumed that he was the one who conceived of writing it.[194] Now, although it is probable that Seo wrote the letter, it is highly possible that H.G. Underwood encouraged him to do so. Not only did Underwood translate the letter, he also mailed it to the main office of the F.M.B. in Nova Scotia.[195] This is not to say that Seo and the Christians in Sorae were not interested at the prospect of missionaries coming to their village or did not appreciate MacKenzie's efforts (by all accounts they did). Yet, Underwood's ambition of drawing the Canadians into Korea and the well-worn practice of missionaries having native converts write for religious publications in their home countries, strongly indicates that the Koreans were not the originators of the Sorae letter.[196]

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[193] "From Far off Korea," *Theologue*, vol. viii, no.2 (1896 December), 48. Copies of the *Theologue* can be read at, "Early Canadiana Online, http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_04867_31/15?r=0&s=1.
[194] Helen MacRae, William Scott, and Hamish Ion, for example, were certain that the Christians in Sorae were the originators of the letter. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 10; William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 36; Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 33.
[195] Lillias Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, 130.
[196] For more on the writings of the missionized see Gareth Griffiths, '"Trained to Tell the Truth': Missionaries, Converts, and Narration," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 153 – 172.

Soon after the entreaty from Sorae came to light, the *Witness* was filled with articles written by Korean enthusiasts (and many of them were either entirely, or partly, vitriolic in tone). In one of the first of these articles, the author expressed a deep disdain for the F.M.B. He argued that the Board had become so preoccupied with its financial status that it was disobeying the will of God. He wrote, "The concurrence of these things [MacKenzie's work and the appeal of the Korean Christians] surely indicates that God is calling our church to take up this work."[197]

An article that appeared in the *Witness* on 13 February 1897 was unreservedly hostile to the F.M.B. In one particularly scathing passage the writer declared "The inaction of our church in regard to Korea, seems like the conduct of the disciples when Christ asked them to give … five loaves and two fishes [to a crowd of thousands] and they said, 'What are they among many?"' Nearing the end of his tirade he then singled out the majority of the parishioners who gave, in his opinion, "next to nothing" for the advancement of foreign missions.[198]Another columnist made an analogous observation concerning the Presbyterian constituency in the 27 February edition of the *Witness*. He lamented, "Want of money alone hinders our Church from entering the work. If the two-thirds of our people who give as little as self respect will permit them, when the plate is passed around [on] Missionary Sunday … this difficulty [of paying for foreign missions] would vanish."[199] He then harkened back to the days when John Geddie's exploits contributed to creating enthusiasm for foreign missions among the faithful.[200]

A certain N.M. Clark also discussed Geddie and argued that the mission in Vanuatu was responsible for fostering explosive Church growth. He proclaimed, "We all know the results [of

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[197] "For the Witness, Korea," 30 January 1897, 34. Microfilm Reel 42 (12 Jan 1895 – 29 Jan 1898), UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[198] "For the Witness, Korea II," *Witness*, 13 February 1897. Mf. Reel 42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[199] "For the Witness, Korea III," *Witness*, 27, February 1897. Mf. 42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[200] Ibid.

Geddie's work]. The mission prospered and the church at home received such a baptism of the spirit her cords were lengthened, her members were soon doubled and the treasury was so filled, to carry on her work at home and abroad, that doubters were astonished and those who had countenanced the mission greatly encouraged."[201] The implicit message here of course was that the same sort of phenomenon would inevitably occur if the Church commenced work in Korea. The author ended his article by lambasting the F.M.B. He wrote "his [MacKenzie's] beloved Church did not feel authorized to appoint him to Korea for fear the necessary funds would not be provided, yet, the Lord did provide."[202]

The Reverend E. Scott (a supporter of the Board's position) was castigated in at least three separate articles that appeared in the *Witness*.[203] One of his critics took particular exception to Scott's argument that Providence was not involved in the "Korean project." She (the writer was identified simply as "one of the women") claimed that the fervor for Korea in the Church, the readiness of volunteers to take MacKenzie's place in Korea, and the call of the Sorae Christians, which, according to her, might have been "unparalleled in the history of missions," was ample evidence that the Lord's hand was at work. To emphasize her point she declared, "If this be not a clear call of Providence, we had better eliminate the phrase from our language."[204] Scott's notion that the American mission should be solely responsible for Korea was just as frustrating to the author as were his ideas about God's will. She asserted that the Americans

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[201] "A Korean Mission, Letter from Rev. N.M. Clark," *Witness*, 13 March 1897. Mf. 42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[202] Ibid.
[203] William Scott, when discussing Reverend E. Scott's opinions, asserted, "He branded the whole agitation as unhealthy, scorned the promise of self-support with the words "figures in fog loom large," and expressed the inept opinion that MacKenzie had set so high an idea of a Canadian in Korea than no one following him could possibly live up to it." William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 38.
[204] Ibid. William Scott, while elaborating on this letter, noted that the editor described the author as "one of the women."

wanted the Maritime Church to send missionaries of its own. And, in addition to this, she continued, "common sense would tell us to send our men where they can do the most effective work!" Elsewhere in the article the author argued that Koreans, unlike the Indians and Chinese were, "not only ready but *anxious* to receive the gospel."[205]

The Reverend L.G. MacNeill was even more forceful in his denouncement of Scott than the author mentioned above. MacNeill condemned Scott for his assertion that the Korea boosters were more interested in MacKenzie than they were in Christ. He maintained that the fervor for Korea was not the result of "human consideration" but rather "providentially enkindled interest." To give credence to his argument he avowed that, "God works by human instruments." MacNeill sincerely believed that Scott and those like him were blind to the ways in which the divine operated to improve the strength of the Home Church. He asserted that overseas missions had always been a key factor in galvanizing the flock in the Maritimes and was certain that if missionaries were sent to Korea, enthusiasm for them would be just as great as it was for MacKenzie. To accentuate this idea he asked the question, "And is there any fear that MacKenzie cannot be duplicated? It is not to be believed."[206]

Faced with the negative publicity in the *Witness* and the pressure exerted upon them by the 5,000 member strong Woman's Foreign Missionary Society (Eastern Division)[207] the leaders of the F.M.B. felt they had no other alternative but to call on all the Presbyteries in the Maritimes to take up the question of whether or not to inaugurate a mission to Korea. The results were unsurprising. Sydney, Inverness, Halifax, Lunenburg, and Shelburne were unconditionally in

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[205] "The Korean Mission," *Witness*, 15 May 1897. Mf. 42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[206] "Korean Mission, Letter from Rev. L.G. MacNeill," *Witness*, 22 May 1897. Mf. 42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[207] Hereafter, the acronym W.F.M.S. will be used.

favor of taking up the enterprise. St. John, Miramichi, Truro, and Wallace expressed approval but wanted the matter to be referred to the Synod. Only the Presbytery in Prince Edward Island voted against the Korean venture.[208] The F.M.B., seemingly clinging to the belief that in time the zeal for Korea would subside, stated that since in its judgment, there was a "diversity of opinion on the subject,"[209] the matter of sending missionaries to Korea should be decided at the Synod that would take place in October. In the meantime, the American missionaries and their comrades in the Maritimes as well as the W.F.M.S., in hope of ensuring that the vote at the Synod would be in their favor, continued their pressure tactics.

On 26 June, a letter that was sent from Samuel Moffett to "one of the volunteers" was published in the *Witness*. In it he explained that the Presbyterian Mission North did not have sufficient funds therefore it was imperative that "the Church [in the Maritimes] should not delay sending men." As a means to further entice his audience Moffett added that the missionaries would be given territory near Sorae. He wrote, "I would rejoice to hear that you could send four men into Song-Do [Gaeseong] and Whanghai [Hwanghae] Province and with perhaps more than a million people to evangelize, I think the four would have all they can do."[210] In August, excerpts from three more letters from American Presbyterian missionaries were printed in the *Witness*. John David Wells related his experiences concerning a recent itinerating trip he made one-hundred miles north of Pyeongyang where he met devout carpenters observing the Sabbath[211] while Underwood recounted the work that his wife was doing among women in Seoul

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[208] "Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee, East Section," 25 May 1897, no.2, UCCA.
[209] Ibid.
[210] "Letter from a Korean Missionary," *Witness*, 26 June 1897, 202. Mf, 42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[211] "Korea: The Church at Home and Abroad," *Witness*, 14 August 1897. Mf, 42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.

as well as his personal relationship with Gojong. He proudly reported that the king was very interested in "Christian work."[212]

The members of the W.F.M.S., many of whom were undoubtedly behind the campaign in the press, adopted a resolution at their annual meeting in the fall stipulating that they would support a missionary if the Synod approved of establishing a Korean mission. The President of the W.F.M.S., in her address to the assembly, as could be expected, reflected on Korea and at one point exclaimed, "From distant Korea eager hands are stretched out to us for the bread of life. Urgent voices are calling to our Church … Would it not be a magnificent way to celebrate our majority [she had started her speech with a discussion of the power of the W.F.M.S.] by sending out more men to reap the rich and ripening harvest which are offered there?"[213] As a consequence of this resolution and the articles about Korea in the *Witness*, the outcome of the Synod was a foregone conclusion. Enthusiasm for Korea had reached a peak by the time it commenced.

The reporter who covered the Synod for the *Witness* began his article with a reflection on the large audience in attendance and the "melodious" sounds of the music that accompanied the opening of the meeting. He then asserted somewhat sardonically, "If only such singing were universal in our congregations!"[214] Although the opponents of Korea were certain that defeat was imminent, they refused to give up without first stating their views plainly and forcefully. The retiring Moderator Reverend A. Falconer was the most adamant in his objections. He pleaded

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[212] Ibid. In the 21 August issue of the *Witness* a letter written by the Presbyterian missionary Graham Lee was printed. At the end of the letter Lee wrote, "Additional missionaries are urgently needed to lead and organize the awakening hosts of Korea."
[213] Twenty-First Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Division), 1897, p.8. Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives (hereafter referred to as, PCCA), File 1988-7005-1-4, 1896 – 1900, Annual Reports, W.F.M.S. (E.S).
[214] "The Maritime Synod," *Witness*, 9 October 1897. Mf.42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.

with his listeners to use "sound judgment" when considering Korea rather than be swayed "by novelties of new missions and individual heroisms." Falconer said that since the F.M.B. had a debt of $4,228, the missionary presence was already strong in Korea, and the Koreans were, in his opinion, a "weak and degraded race,"[215] it made little sense for the Maritime Church to get involved. If however, there were to be a Canadian mission in Korea he stated, it should be under the care of the Western Division of the Presbyterian Church.[216] The journalist who wrote about the Synod did not mention the reaction this suggestion received but it would stand to reason that it did not go unchallenged.

Others, including Reverend James Maclean, echoed similar sentiments as those expressed by Falconer. He stressed that the parishioners simply could not afford to equip and maintain yet another mission. The Reverend Dr. Sedgewick on the other hand used a geopolitical argument to justify his opposition to starting a mission to Korea. He reasoned that Russia would inevitably assume control of the peninsula and when that should happen he remarked "[say] good bye to our mission."[217]He also made sure to register his disapproval of the W.F.M.S. He declared, "That organization should not be put in the forefront of this discussion…."[218]

Since the "anti-Korea" faction held little weight at the Synod, any argument against inaugurating a Korean mission, no matter how rational or eloquent, was not going to be accepted. The vast majority of those in attendance were so anxious to play a role in the overseas missionary venture in East Asia that they were seemingly unconcerned with the possibility that such a mission could, sometime in the future, possibly have a negative effect on the older, more

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[215] Ibid.
[216] "Synod of the Maritime Provinces," *Witness*, 16 October 1895. Mf.42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid. William Scott, in his discussion of the "naysayers: at the Synod, mentioned Sedgewick's annoyance at the W.F.M.S; "Canadians in Korea," 39.

established missions operated by the Church. Reverend Gandier, in the argument that he put forth to explain the need for going to Korea, perhaps best encapsulates the mood at the Synod. He maintained that the Church needed to be involved in "another type of mission field and Korea furnishes this."[219] Reverend E.D. Miller, hoping to forestall a vote, motioned that the matter of Korea should be discussed again at the next Synod. Of the over 130 delegates only 25 of them voted in favor.[220] The Korean mission was born.

MacKenzie's Friends

The first two men who volunteered for the Korean mission were Robert Grierson and Rufus Foote. The former had already graduated from Pine Hill while the latter was due to graduate in the spring of 1898. Grierson had wanted to go to Korea for quite some time – an ambition that was kindled within him after MacKenzie (his close friend) asked him if he would consider working in Sorae.[221] It is highly likely that both Grierson and Foote were key figures in the propaganda campaign to start a mission to Korea. William Scott has shown that Foote had received a letter from Samuel Moffett asking him to go to Korea.[222]

The third man to volunteer for the Korean mission was Duncan MacRae, another student from Pine Hill. He desperately wanted to be a part of the mission, as is evident from the application he sent to the F.M.B. in February, 1898. He wrote, "I ask no salary; for my support. I

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[219] "The Maritime Synod," *Witness*, 9 October 1897. Mf.42, UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[220] William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 39.
[221] Elizabeth McCully, *A Corn of Wheat*, 69. Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 12. According to Grierson, the W.F.M.S. asked him and Foote if they were interested in going to Korea; Robert Grierson, "Afterword, The Harvest of Korea: A Corn of Wheat – A Sketch of Canadian Mission Work of the Canadian Presbyterian Church," unpublished, (n.d), 6.
[222] William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 38. Both Foote and Grierson would have received letters from the other American missionaries as well, and there can be little doubt that they eagerly sent them to the *Witness*. Grierson and Underwood became close friends.

shall look to God that He will open the hearts of my classmates, and fellow students; with faith in God and full confidence in my friends and fellow-students I make you this offer and hope you will grant me this request."[223] The men on the Board at first balked at MacRae's entreaty but reconsidered when, in their words, "it was found that enough money had come into the treasury to cover his [MacRae's] outfit and passage."[224] The students at Pine Hill had pledged to pay MacRae's salary for three years.[225]

Since Robert Grierson, Rufus Foote and Duncan MacRae were by and large the leaders of the mission until the 1920s, it would be pertinent at this juncture to provide an overview of their backgrounds and careers in Korea. In his memoirs, Robert Grierson intimated that by choosing the missionary task he was following the example of his father. John Grierson, born in Kirkcudbricshire, Scotland in 1827, immigrated to Nova Scotia in his youth and made a living first as a cabinet maker and then as a superintendent of the industrial school in Halifax. In his maturing years he took up the missionary vocation. He worked in Halifax, Labrador, Manitoba and even joined his son in Korea for a few years. He did not receive any compensation from the F.M.B. [226]

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[223] "Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee, Eastern Section," no.33, 15 February 1898, no.33, UCCA, Acc. 79.211C, file 1-1. Quoted in, Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain,* 11. Helen MacRae noted that her father had been deeply frustrated at the prospect of not appointed by the F.M.B. When he learned of the Board's reluctance to appoint, him he declared, "I will go to Korea if I have to swim to get there;" *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain,* 11.
[224] "Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee, Eastern Section," no.34, 26 April 1898, UCCA, Acc.79.211C, file 1-1.
[225] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain,* 11. The members of the Student's Missionary Association at Pine Hill pledged $600.00 for MacRae's first year, $685.00 for his second year and $810.00 for his third year. In April, 1902 however, they asked the F.M.B. to absolve them of their responsibility. They stated that the funds for MacRae had diminished on account of the small number of students at Pine Hill and the lack of financial resources of its graduates; "Presbyterian College – Students Missionary Association Minutes, 1896 – 1918, entry related to the ending of MacRae's support, 26 April 1902. UCCA, Maritime Conference, file, PHDH 009 – 43.
[226] Robert Grierson, *My Life,* 2-3.

The trajectory of Robert Grierson's early life paralleled that of MacKenzie. He graduated with a B.A. from Dalhousie University in 1890 (two years after his friend) earned a theology degree from Pine Hill, went to Labrador as a missionary in 1897, and ministered to the flock at Bethany Church in Halifax before leaving for Korea (MacKenzie had held the same post prior to his departure).[227] One of the seminal differences between the two was that Grierson was a doctor. He received a degree in medicine from Dalhousie in 1897. He also, unlike MacKenzie, was a talented musician and writer. Grierson was one of the few Canadian missionaries who had an ability to write articles that were insightful and entertaining – a skill which did not go unnoticed by his fellow missionaries at the Christian Literature Society in Seoul. In the late 1910s, they tried to entice him to be the editor of their journal. Early in his missionary career Grierson founded a station at Seongjin where he built the mission's first hospital as well as schools for boys and girls. He remained in Seongjin until he retired from the field in 1935.

Rufus Foote was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1869. He moved to Nova Scotia soon thereafter. He attended Acadia University where he earned a B.A. as well as an M.A. and then went to Pine Hill to study theology. In Korea, Foote spent most of his time in Wonsan however he also resided at Yongjeong in the Gando region of Manchuria, and Pyeongyang, where he taught in the theological college for a few months every year. Near the end of his life he was given a full professorship at the college, a position he was well suited for as his main passion was teaching. William Scott made sure to mention this in his memoriam to Foote in 1930. Writing for the *Korea Mission Field* he recounted how Foote, even when approaching

[227] Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 12. He noted the similarities between his life and that of MacKenzie's.

death at the Halifax General Hospital, took notes in preparation for the lectures he hoped to deliver in the future.[228]

Duncan MacRae's life has been amply documented thanks to the efforts of his daughter Helen MacRae. Duncan MacRae was born and raised in Baddeck, Cape Breton. While a blacksmith in his teens he decided to dedicate his life to God and the Presbyterian Church but only entered Pine Hill at the age of twenty-four. He had started high school later than his peers because he needed to work in order to pay for his tuition. Based on the letters he wrote in 1897, it is clear that MacRae's negative experiences as a student minister at Mount Uniacke, Nova Scotia, contributed significantly to his determination to go to Korea. He was thoroughly discouraged by both the lack of religious feeling and appreciation of his own efforts among those he was trying to save.[229] In May, while venting his frustration to Edith Sutherland, his future wife, he declared, "… the whole field is in shattered condition and it is only by the grace and Power of God that anything can be done: at times I could feel myself running against Antarctic ice heaps, as I visited [homes near the gold mines] but the Lord gave me grace and courage to go right ahead."[230] In the summer he was just as despondent and hoped for an escape. He wrote, "I seriously ponder the thought, am I just where the Lord would have me be. I would rather be in Korea than here."[231]

Duncan MacRae and his wife Edith spent much of their married life together at the mission station they founded in Hamgyeong in 1903. Edith, like most missionary wives during

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[228] William Scott, "In Memoriam – Rev. William R. Foote, D.D," *Korea Mission Field*, vol. xxvi, no.6 (June, 1930), 132, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2287 #224.
[229] Helen MacRae discussed her father's despondency and the difficulties that the other ministers faced at Mount Uniacke as well. She noted that some of them had been stoned by the locals; *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 7.
[230] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 18 May 1897, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #5.
[231] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 26 August 1897, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #5.

the early "pioneering period," was actively engaged in mission work. They often itinerated with their husbands, taught in the schools, and wrote articles for the religious newspapers and journals back home. Their participation was essential because there was a persistent lack of single female missionaries in the Canadian mission and only they could keep in close contact with Korean women. As in the case of mission fields throughout the world, the separation of the sexes was rigidly demarcated in Korea. The efforts of the wives were much appreciated by the male missionaries, so much so that they decided in 1914 that all wives who had a share in the work of the mission should be given the right to vote at council meetings. A.E. Armstrong, the Under-Secretary of the F.M.B., not wanting to set a precedent, disallowed the undertaking.

Of the three male pioneering missionaries, Robert Grierson and Duncan MacRae had the most in common when they were young. Both loved adventure, took great pride in their rugged individualism, and were unafraid to be confrontational. Rufus Foote on the other hand was dispassionate and composed.[232] Yet, they were all driven by the same objective – to be more successful than MacKenzie had been. They considered anything less than this would be a failure. They were so obsessed with achieving this goal that all else, including family, health, personal safety, emotional well being (and sometimes even God) became secondary. Given that the pioneers were seen by the missionaries who came after them as role models to follow, it is unsurprising that their spirit permeated in the Canadian camp for many years. It only began to dissipate in the 1920s when the second generation of more liberal minded missionaries concluded that because of the radical changes taking place in Korean society and within the

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[232] Helen MacRae has shown that her father quickly came to like Grierson but had divided opinions regarding Foote. While describing his feelings about Foote in a letter to Edith in 1898 he wrote, "Between you and I, the other man [Foote] is hard to approach … I can scarcely make much of anything of him. He wants to live by himself and do his own business in his own private way …. But Foote is a pretty good fellow after all. He lives in a world of his own on board ship." Quoted in Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 13.

native Christian community, the "old way of doing things" were hindering, rather than helping the mission.

Establishing the Mission in Hamgyeong Province

In the spring-summer of 1898 the pioneers conducted their first ever tour of the Maritime Presbyterian Church circuit. On the whole their talks were received with much warmth and enthusiasm – Rufus Foote was particularly successful in the country churches and some urban centers in New Brunswick.[233] In other places however, the parishioners were seemingly unmoved by the opening of the Korean mission. Robert Grierson noted in his diary that the attendance at an evening meeting in Moncton was only, "dimly attended."[234] One of Duncan MacRae's speeches about Korea resonated with a crowd from Truro[235] however he could not stir the people from Cape Breton. When discussing his anger concerning the apathetic nature of his hosts MacRae wrote, "I never saw such a dead lot of ministers and people."[236] He, as with most missionaries, could never fully comprehend why a great many in the pews either failed to support missions or only did so tepidly.[237]

Upon completing their speaking engagements in mid-July, the five pioneers, including the newly married brides, Edith Foote (née Sprott) and Lena Grierson, née (Veniot), headed west for Vancouver. The flock at St. John attempted to express their gratefulness to the missionaries

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[233] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 15 June 1898, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #6.
[234] Robert Grierson, "Diary log – Since leaving Halifax, July, 16, 1898," date of diary entry, 19 July 1898 (photocopied), NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2270 #16.
[235] Ibid, date of entry, 18 July 1898.
[236] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 15 June, 1898, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #6. MacRae visited 40 congregations. Helen MacRae noted that when his efforts to arouse the faithful failed "his heart would be sore." Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 12.
[237] Andrew Walls, when discussing the uniqueness of missionaries wrote "missions were the province of the enthusiasts rather than the mainstream"; *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission and Appropriation of Faith* (Maryknoll, N.Y: Orbis Books, 2005), 196.

by providing them with extra money so that they could pay for a "gentleman's car" and meals on their cross-Canada trip on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Duncan MacRae refused the offer. He thought that any extra resources should be used, "for better purposes."[238] Soon after reaching Vancouver they set sail and arrived in Korea on 8 September.

During their brief stay in Seoul, the Canadians were witness to an unfolding conflict between Gojong and progressive minded reformers of the Independence Club, an organization formed by one of the leaders of the Gapsin Coup, Seo Jae Pil.[239] The members of the Club called on the king to promote popular education, conduct a neutral-independent foreign policy, grant freedom of speech and assembly, ensure the equality of all Koreans before the law, and turn the Privy Council into an elected legislature. For a time Gojong allowed the Independence Club to operate freely and pledged to make some changes to the political system, but on 26 December he disallowed any further meetings or protests to be held and proceeded to arrest all of its leaders. Rhee Syngman, a graduate of the Baejae High School and future president of the Republic of Korea, was among them.[240]

The missionaries, although not in the least unconcerned with the political drama taking place in Seoul, were so absorbed with their immediate tasks at hand that they made few comments about it in their articles, diaries or letters. During their first month in Korea they acquainted themselves with the other missionaries, had their inaugural business meeting, began learning Korean, and planned a trip to Sorae. Robert Grierson was the first to leave the confines of the capital. He accompanied H.G. Underwood on a short itinerating trip just north of Seoul to

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[238] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 15 June 1898, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #6.
[239] Gojong remained at the Russian legation until 1897. His decision to leave was prompted in large measure by the independence activists who condemned him for seeking the help of foreigners.
[240] Rhee was arrested on 9 January 1899. For more on Rhee's early life see; Chong Sik Lee, *Syngman Rhee: The Prison Years of a Young Radical* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2001).

learn the methods that the missionaries used to organize churches in the countryside. Grierson knew no Korean but he tried to help Underwood examine baptismal candidates, saw a few patients, sang hymns, and regularly played the clarinet with the intent of attracting the curious. By his own account he was successful in this endeavor – all the inhabitants of one particular village came out to see the missionaries when they heard the strange sounds that emanated from the heretofore unknown instrument.[241]

At the Annual Meeting of the Presbyterian Council of Missions held in the fall, the pioneers encountered a dilemma. Sorae they were told, was not open to them as a mission station because more experienced missionaries had, since MacKenzie's death, taken responsibility for it. The Americans advised them that instead of Sorae they could set up their first station in the region around Busan, Songdo (Gaesong), or Hamgyeong Province. After careful consideration the Canadians chose Hamgyeong because they were eager to assume control of what Duncan MacRae referred to as the "large tracts of virgin soil"[242] in the North. Dissimilar to the rest of Korea, there was only a faint missionary presence in the Northeast. Malcolm Fenwick's Corean Itinerant Mission, the Methodist North Mission and the Presbyterian North Mission were all based at the treaty port of Wonsan. The Presbyterian Council informed the Canadians that James Scarth Gale and William Swallen, the two Presbyterian missionaries at Wonsan, would leave soon after their arrival, but that they would have to share the city and its environs with the Methodists. Other than this, they were responsible for all of Hamgyeong as well as the

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[241] "Diary of Rev. Robert Grierson, B.A., M.D. Missionary to Korea, 1898 – 1901," UCCA, Dates of diary entries, 22 September 1898 – 30 September 1898, pp.15-16.
[242] Duncan MacRae, "Greetings from Korea," *Theologue*, vol.x, no.3 (February, 1899), 82. "Early Canadiana Online," "http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_04867_42/20?r=0&s=1.

contiguous areas outside of the province in which Koreans resided.[243] The Korean population in the Gando region of Manchuria and Siberia increased year by year. Even though all the pioneers were excited about being given control of so much territory, one of them, Duncan MacRae, expressed regret at the years of indecision in regard to Korea by the F.M.B. Writing to Edith Sutherland he lamented, "Just think of the mission our church might have today, if she had sanctioned MacKenzie's coming out here and reinforcing him. She might have the banner mission of the world and one almost self-supporting."[244]

Before going to Wonsan all of the missionaries wanted to spend a few days at Sorae. As they approached the village in late November, the first sight they saw was of the St. George's flag flying over the compound. They visited MacKenzie's grave, preached a few sermons (through the interpretation provided by H.G. Underwood) slept in the same room in which MacKenzie died, and spoke with Seo Gyeong Jo. He told them that MacKenzie had taken his own life. Duncan MacRae seemed shocked when he heard the news.[245] The reactions of Foote and Grierson are not known. Neither one of them wrote much of anything about MacKenzie's suicide in their letters or diaries. There is no evidence which shows that any of the missionaries disparaged or thought any less of MacKenzie when they learned the truth about his death. The general feeling among them, and all the other Korean missionaries, was that he had not been in control of his mental faculties when he decided to commit suicide.

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[243] The following is a list of the other mainstream Protestant missions operating in Korea at the time and the years in which they were founded – The Presbyterian North, U.S.A. (1884), The Methodist North, U.S.A. (1885), The Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Australia (1889), The Church of England (Anglican), (1890), The Presbyterian South, U.S.A. (1892), The Methodist South, U.S.A. (1896).
[244] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 27 October 1898, NSARM, MG.1, 2251 #6.
[245] He told Edith Sutherland that MacKenzie went "insane from fever and sunstroke." MacRae did not tell her how he died but promised he would do so in the future. He wrote "will report you full details some day but I dare not write it now." Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 27 October 1898, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #6.

The missionaries wrote glowing accounts of Sorae in the *Presbyterian Record*, the *Witness* and the *Theologue*. MacRae asserted, "The scene of MacKenzie's labor is, I venture to say, one of the brightest spots in the heathen world, and stands to-day as the banner province in Korea, and is the shining star in the darkness of this land."[246] Robert Grierson, writing for the *Witness*, outlined how the Christians of Sorae were pioneers in many respects. They were the first Koreans to build their own church, day school and manse and had within their ranks the first baptized infant as well as the first native Presbyterian Elder – Seo Gyeong Jo.[247] In his opinion, Sorae was, "altogether unique, unparalleled as yet in any other part of Korea."[248]

Before describing Sorae, Grierson attempted to justify why he, MacRae and Foote would be going to Hamgyeong. He made sure to mention that he and his peers intended to set up a mission station in Sorae but had to change their plans when they discovered it had become the site of much work on the part of other missionaries. He assured his readers that Hamgyeong Province was a very promising place in which to start their work. Grierson explained that it was a huge field with a large population and big cities.[249] Rufus Foote, like Grierson, in his defense for choosing Hamgyeong, emphasized its size. He wrote that there was a "limitless field before us."[250] Duncan MacRae, hoping to persuade the students at Pine Hill that the decision to locate the mission in the Northeast was sound, told them that James Scarth Gale called it, "the gem of

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[246] Duncan MacRae, "The First by Rev. D. MacRae," *Presbyterian Record* , vol. xxv, no.4 (April, 1899), 113. "Early Canadiana Online," http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_04907_88/18?r=0&s=1.
[247] Robert Grierson, "Our Korean Mission: A Trip to Sorai, Letter from Dr. Grierson," *Witness*, vol.lii, no.6 (11 Feb 1899), 42. Mf. Reel. 43 (5 February 1898 – 9 March 1901), UCCA, Maritime Conference.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Rufus Foote, "Letter from Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol.xxv, no.3 (March, 1899), 69. Foote asserted that the Presbyterian Council in Korea advised him and his peers to set up a mission in Northeastern Korea. "Early Canadiana Online," http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_04907_87/6?r=0&s=1.

all the provinces."[251] What MacRae failed to disclose to his benefactors, either out of ignorance or trepidation, was that Hamgyeong Province was considered by the majority of Koreans living in the south as a wild, lawless, desolate place inhabited by uncultured, difficult, and dangerous people. Northeastern Korea, like the Maritimes, was far away from the center of economic and political power.

Although many of the Korean supporters in Atlantic Canada must have been disappointed in the choice of location for the Canadian mission there is no evidence to suggest that any complained. Their silence concerning this matter is comprehensible given that they had, after all, fulfilled their ultimate objective. By starting their missionary careers in Korea, Grierson, Foote and MacRae met their goals as well. And, they were to quickly meet more of them – especially in relation to the winning of native converts to the faith. Unlike their peers elsewhere in the world during the first few decades of the twentieth century, the main challenge the Canadian missionaries in Northeastern Korea faced was not that there were too few native enquirers but that there were too many. The formative period in the history of the mission was a "golden age."

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[251] Duncan MacRae, "Greetings from Korea," *Theologue*, vol.x, no.3 (February, 1899), 82. "Early Canadiana Online," "http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_04867_42/20?r=0&s=1.

CHAPTER TWO: THROUGH THE FIELDS, UP THE MOUNTAINS, AND IN THE INSTITUTIONS: BUILDING A PROTESTANT COMMUNITY IN HAMGYEONG AND GANDO

Historian Jeffrey Cox, while commenting on the common stereotyped view of the missionary in his book *Imperial Fault Lines*, stated:

> The image of an itinerant evangelist in a pith helmet, often portrayed in a comic mode, is deeply ingrained in popular culture, and very misleading. The overwhelming majority of missionaries were not wandering preachers in search of converts but institution-builders presiding over churches, schools, and hospitals. A typical missionary in the late nineteenth century, not only in Punjab, but everywhere, was not a male itinerant preacher but a female school teacher or administrator. The encounter of missionaries with Indians occurred, not in the open air, but mainly in an institutional setting.[252]

Until the 1920s, the typical Canadian missionary in Hamgyeong and Gando, minus the pith helmet (most of the time),[253] actually fits the stereotype described by Cox quite well. They resembled more the Methodist saddlebag preachers that roamed through the backcountry of Ontario during the early nineteenth century than the Canadian Protestant missionaries in Japan, China, and India who had to use the "bait" of institutions to attract followers in the early twentieth century.[254] One of the most distinguishing characteristics of the Canadians in Korea

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[252] Jeffrey Cox, *Imperial Fault Lines*, 7 – 8.

[253] The author has seen pictures of Duncan MacRae and Robert Grierson wearing pith helmets. The pictures are located in the Helen MacRae Collection at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

[254] As early as 1802 there were 10 itinerating Methodist ministers in Ontario. Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill – Queen's University Press, 1996), 43. John Webster Grant has a discussion of the Methodist itinerators in, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 46 – 47. Hamish Ion discusses the institutions of the Canadians in Japan in, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 116 – 135. The Canadian Presbyterians in India, who, unlike the Japanese missionaries, did itinerate in the early days of their mission, began concentrating on institutional work during the 1880s with the founding of Indore College. It later became affiliated with Calcutta University. Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God*, 111. J.T. Taylor, *In the Heart of India: The Work of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission* (Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1916), 80 – 81. The Canadian Methodists in China became extremely active in institution building during the early twentieth century. Alvyn Austin, "Wallace of West China: Edward Wilson Wallace and the Canadian Educational System in China, 1906 – 1927," in *Canadian Missionaries Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, eds., Alvyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 111 – 133. The Methodists in China,

was that they lived out much of their lives "in the saddle." As for their institutions; the hospitals and the schools – they were, generally speaking, "primitive." The Canadians simply could not build adequate institutions because of their lack of resources.

The Canadian mission persistently suffered from chronic poverty (as was predicted by the opponents of the mission). The dire situation was particularly irksome to the physicians who dreamed of building modern and efficient hospitals. Robert Grierson and Kate MacMillan, the first two doctors in the mission, were also frustrated with the poor quality of their schools (which they helped to build) but like most of their compatriots, they could rest easy to a certain extent because the Koreans were founding their own.

An examination of the institutional side of the mission is an apt place to begin our investigation of the missionizer and the missionized in Hamgyeong and Gando because the doctors were among the most representative examples of missionaries who imbibed the "MacKenzian spirit" of the mission; it shows how the missionaries attempted to create future leaders of the Korean Church; and it plainly reveals why Koreans built their own schools and gravitated toward those of the missionaries – thus shedding light on their agency and motivations. The nationalists dreamed of training an elite cadre of students who would resurrect Korea; the less high minded hoped that they could obtain a higher status; the more spiritually inclined desired to learn more of Christ; and a segment of the young female population yearned to improve the lives of their sisters. The education provided to the young girls by the female missionaries and "forward thinking" Koreans revolutionized gender relations on the mission

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like the Presbyterians, did itinerate, but it was often dangerous for them to do so. The Canadian missionaries, as with all other missionaries in China, had to be evacuated on more than a few occasions due to riots and uprisings of one kind or another. The field which most closely resembled Korea was Taiwan; Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 33 – 34, 80 – 86, 140 – 144, 173 – 177.

compounds and the Presbyterian communities in Hamgyeong and Gando. Before any of this could occur however, the pioneers and first generation of missionaries had to "build the mission." And being wholly committed "MacKenzians," they embarked on their endeavor with an unrelenting fervor.

Itinerating and Setting up Mission Stations

The missionaries were constantly in motion. They spent much of their careers not only travelling across the Pacific, but throughout their territory itinerating and in Canada giving talks about Korea. When in the field, in addition to their very heavy workloads as teachers, ministers, doctors and nurses at the stations, all missionaries were compelled to itinerate because it was the only way they could reach the Christian communities within the vast areas that were under their authority. At the height of the mission's expansion (around 1922), the territory for which the Canadians were responsible included all of Hamgyeong Province and Gando; approximately 60, 000 km^2, as well as the Primorsky Krai region of Siberia.

The pioneering male missionaries travelled by foot, pack pony, donkey, ox-cart, steamship and bicycle. Duncan MacRae ventured to use the buggy that was sent to him from Nova Scotia on many occasions however it turned out to be more of an impediment than an advantage. It could not negotiate the steep and narrow passages in the mountains or the bridges that spanned the rivers in Hamgyeong. The bicycle was most prized by Robert Grierson. He thought it was an extremely valuable evangelizing tool because it helped him cover much more ground than he could using any other method of transportation, and he noticed that a missionary on a bike attracted large crowds. Grierson would tell the "*gugyeongers*" (sightseers) of the

gospel once they gathered around him.[255] Rail transport was unavailable and the roads unfit for the use of mechanized vehicles until the Japanese built the first railroads and began paving the roads in Hamgyeong in the 1910s.[256]

Some of the best sources of information with respect to the itinerating life of the pioneering missionaries in Northern Korea are found in Canadian religious periodicals and newspapers. To arouse the interest of their audience the missionaries went into great detail about the foulness of the inns where they stayed, the strange customs they witnessed, and the difficult terrain they spanned. They also regularly expounded upon the time expended while itinerating and the immense distances covered to stress that a tremendous amount of stamina was required to fulfill their obligations.[257] In an article for the *Witness* on 23 June 1901, Rufus Foote stated that during the past year he had visited all the groups south of Wonsan and most of those in the north too.[258] Robert Grierson told his readers that during the same period he journeyed 1800 miles by bicycle, 140 by steamship, and 82 on foot. Duncan MacRae declared that he got as far as the Manchurian border.[259] One year later Grierson reported, rather embarrassingly, that he had only spent 44 days itinerating. To defend himself against any possible accusation of lacking dedication, he pointed out that he could not do much more than this on account of having to

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[255] "Diary of Rev. Robert Grierson, B.A., M.D., Missionary to Korea, 1898 -1901," UCCA, Date of entry 21 May 1900, p.54. One of the first Korean verbs that the missionaries regularly used, at least when writing articles, was *gugyeonghada* (to sightsee). They changed the verb to an adjective to denote the people who regularly took time out of their day to take a look at the strange foreigners. William Scott made mention of Robert Grierson's passion for his bicycle and how he attracted crowds with it; "Canadians in Korea," 47. A great many other missionaries in Korea used the bicycle as a means of transport as well.
[256] The first rail line that connected Hamgyeong to the rest of Korea was the Wonsan – Seoul line built in the mid-1910s.
[257] They were no doubt influenced by Isabella Bird Bishop's, *Korea and Her Neighbours: A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position of the Country* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1897) [reprint] (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970).
[258] "Our Foreign Missions," *Witness*, vol. lliv, no.25 (23 June 1901), 197. NSARM, Microfilm, 8409.
[259] Ibid.

build the mission compound in Seongjin.[260] MacRae on the other hand, could boast that he trekked 1266 miles in 132 days and in the process helped to open up 13 new sub-stations.[261] His wife Edith accompanied him for 95 days and travelled by way of her "chair" (palanquin) for 530 miles and 410 more by steamer.[262] Single female missionaries were prominent writers of the itinerating story too. Louise H. McCully in her Fourth Annual Report for the W.F.M.S. elaborated on the five trips she took that spanned 95 days and 573 miles overland and 120 miles by boat.[263] In her Sixth Annual Report, Jenny Robb informed the women of the W.F.M.S. that she itinerated as much as she could in 1909. The furthest congregation she visited was 140 miles away from her home base in Seongjin.[264]

Grierson and MacRae were the mission's most intrepid itinerators. They were intent on pushing north so that they could proselytize among the scattered population of Hamgyeong and escape from the southern end of the field – which for them had some serious drawbacks. The enthusiasm that MacRae and Grierson had for working in the south was much less great than their passion for the north because they had a strong desire to be away from other Westerners and yearned to build a mission station with their own hands.[265] These were "muscular Christians" wanting desperately to emulate W.J. MacKenzie, their other missionary heroes, and

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[260] Robert Grierson, "The Work in Song Chin," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxvii, no.3 (March, 1902), 113. Unless otherwise noted, all copies of the *Presbyterian Record* discussed are from the PCCA.
[261] Duncan MacRae, "McRae's 4th Year," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxvii, no.2 (February, 1903), 64. NSARM, Mf. 8409.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Louise H. McCully, "Fourth Annual Report," *Message*, vol.xii, no.5 (February, 1904), 2. Unless otherwise noted, all copies of the *Message* are from the PCCA.
[264] Jennie B. Robb, "Miss Robb's Sixth Annual Report," *Message*, vol.xix, no.6 (March, 1910), 8.
[265] By 1898 a small enclave of approximately 30 Westerners were living in Wonsan – most of whom were either missionaries or customs officials. The port was opened for trade by the Japanese in 1880; "Wonsan and Across the Peninsula," *The Korean Repository* (November, 1898), 401. The population of Wonsan and its environs was 51,000.

the characters they read about in Ralph Connor novels. His, *The Sky Pilot* and *The Man from Glengarry* were favorites among all the pioneers.[266]

Robert Grierson chose to build *his* station at Seongjin – a very small fishing village on the coast about 370 kilometers north of Wonsan. He believed it was an ideal location. Besides Wonsan, it was the only other place in Northeastern Korea opened to foreigners[267] and it could be used as a base from which the hundreds of thousands of people in North Hamgyeong Province could be reached.[268] The majority of the people in this region were farmers inhabiting small to medium sized villages. As of 1901, there were only seven cities and nine towns in the entire province. When Grierson first moved to Seongjin in the spring of 1901, the population was only about 2,500 and the few buildings in the centre of town, other than the residences of the Koreans, belonged to the Japanese vice-consul. There were almost no Christians (only about 20 to 30 attended Church on Sundays). A few other adherents could be found in the 18 sub-stations in the areas nearby.[269]

Given the isolation of Seongjin, the small population, and the few resources at the disposal of the missionaries, the construction of a compound took an extremely long time. It

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[266] Edith MacRae to Mary [a friend from Nova Scotia], 7 February 1902, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2257 #7. Edith asked Mary to thank her mother for sending the two novels to her. She wrote that the missionaries liked the books. She also told Mary that Dr. Kate MacMillan had given her Ralph Connor's *Black Rock: A Tale of the Selkirk's* to read. For a detailed discussion of Ralph Connor – the pen name of Charles William Gordon, one of Canada's most famous authors and a key proponent of muscular Christianity, see David B. Marshall, "'A Canoe, and a Tent and God's Great Out - of – Doors": Muscular Christianity and the Flight from Domesticity, 1880s – 1930s," in *Masculinity and the Other: Historical Perspectives*, eds., Heather Ellis and Jessica Meyer (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 23 – 42.

[267] It became a treaty port in 1899.

[268] Hamgyeong Province was divided into two separate provinces in 1895. In 1902 Robert Grierson stated that there were 370,000 people in North Hamgyeong Province; "Third Annual Report from Song Chin Station/1901," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxvii, no.3 (March, 1902), 113. In 1900 the Canadian missionaries estimated that there were about one million people and 35 towns in all of Hamgyeong. "Our Work in Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, no.3, vol.xxv (March, 1900), 70.

[269] Robert Grierson, "Third Annual Report, Grierson," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxvii, no.3 (March, 1901), 112-113.

would have taken longer if John Grierson had not helped. Along with itinerating for hundreds of miles, preaching, teaching, and delivering lectures with the aid of his magic lantern, the elder Grierson, a carpenter by trade, contributed to building a home for his son, daughter in-law and granddaughter, a well, a church, and a dispensary.

Hamheung, a walled city approximately 125 kilometers north of Wonsan, was altogether distinct from the first two locations at which the Canadians had decided to build mission stations. It was the capital of South Hamgyeong Province, over 30 kilometers away from a port, had a large population (approximately 40,000)[270] and the hub of trade in the Northeast. Every five days a huge market (called *o-il-jang* in Korean) was held just outside the city walls where thousands gathered.[271] Some of the staple goods that were commonly bought and sold at these markets were rice, grain, hemp, ginseng, fish, salt, and livestock. Hamheung was a particularly important center for the cattle and salt trade in the region.

The first missionary to make a concerted effort to proselytize in Hamheung was the American Presbyterian William Swallen. In early 1899, Rufus Foote accompanied him and they had some success. Five Koreans were baptized.[272] Subsequently, Foote resolved to center his attention on Wonsan and the south therefore the "Northern Circuit"[273] came into the hands of Grierson and MacRae. When Grierson became preoccupied with Seongjin, the responsibility for Hamheung ultimately went to MacRae, a turn of events he wholeheartedly welcomed. When young, MacRae coveted adventure and shunned the easy life, hence he could not wait to move to

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[270] Duncan MacRae, "Letter From Rev. D. Macrae – A Few Weeks Itinerating," *Presbyterian Witness.* no.47 (November, 1899), 374.
[271] These markets were held in every large town in Korea.
[272] Robert Grierson Diary, 1898-1900. UCCA, Date of entry, 1 April 1899, p.39.
[273] The missionaries used this term to denote the area stretching from Hamheung to the borders of Manchuria and Russia.

Hamheung. He hoped that his fiancé and soul mate, Edith Sutherland, would share his convictions.[274] To prepare her for the type of life she was about to lead in the "great heathen city," he explained, "If you come here, your life will be a hard one. I am likely to be in a lonely isolated place, with nothing but Koreans around."[275]

MacRae made his inaugural trip to Hamheung in May of 1899.[276] When describing his first experiences there he told Edith, "I attracted the attention that Barnum's white elephant would [if it walked] through the town of Baddeck."[277] He resided at the house of a certain Mr. Sin,[278] a recent convert to the faith and leader of the nascent Christian community. Sin's home served as church, drop in center and curiosity shop. MacRae, speaking a very disjointed and nonsensical Korean, endeavored to make the many people that clustered around him see the errors of their ways, repent, and accept the Gospel.[279] He utterly failed.[280] Seo Gyeong Jo did no better. As he preached a group of drunken onlookers heckled him. This anti-missionary/Christian sentiment in Hamheung, though discouraging, only served to heighten MacRae's yearning to make it the site of a station. He proclaimed to Edith, "…we [the mission] are going to take the city whether from the plains ot [sic] the hill tops."[281]

The most serious anti-missionary incident happened in March of 1901. The catalyst for it was the fascination that the Koreans had for Edith MacRae[282] and Edith Foote. They had never

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[274] Helen MacRae, in her biography of her father, wrote much about the lifelong love affair between her parents.
[275] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 13 September 1899, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #10.
[276] Duncan was accompanied by Seo Gyeong Jo and his Korean teacher, "Mr. Yang." Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 49.
[277] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 8 May 1899, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #10.
[278] First name is not known.
[279] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 8 May 1899, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #10.
[280] Helen MacRae, in her discussion of Duncan's first experiences in Hamgyeong, described the hostility that he encountered. On one occasion, someone threw a rock at him. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 51.
[281] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 15 November 1899, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #10.
[282] Duncan MacRae and Edith Sutherland got married in Japan in the summer of 1900.

seen Caucasian women. When telling of the melee that broke out, the former apprised the readers of the *Message*, "The People of Ham Hung were demanding a sight of the foreign ladies, and were announcing that unless such were granted they would be obligated to return with stones and remove the house [Mr. Sin's house] from our fair countenances."[283] The next day more people came to see the female missionaries, some inebriated, and when foiled (neither of the Edith's would go outside), made good on their threats by throwing projectiles at the house. One man launched a bone at Rufus Foote.[284] In March of 1902, the converts were the principal targets of violence. Amid a demonstration protesting the corruption of the governor, the recently built church was almost destroyed.[285]

In spite of these alarming events, Duncan MacRae and his peers continued to proselytize in Hamheung and in time, either because of indifference or becoming desensitized to the missionary presence, the local populace curtailed their abuse. By late 1903, Duncan MacRae had decided that because of the changed atmosphere, it would be safe to purchase a home. In January, 1904 he and Edith moved in with the aim of establishing a permanent residence in what they thought was now, "their" city. Yet, they soon had to flee on account of war.[286] Between 1904 and 1905, Hamheung was occupied by both the Japanese and the Russians. The MacRaes only returned at the close of the hostilities and when they did, much to their surprise, they found that more people wanted to enter the Church than ever before. Duncan and Edith reported that in 1905 alone, 72 adult communicants and 139 catechumens were added to the Church rolls.[287] As

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[283] Edith MacRae, "Letter from Mrs. MacRae," *The Message*, vol. ix, no.9 (June, 1901), 5.
[284] Ibid, 6. Helen MacRae described the chaotic scene in her, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 93.
[285] Duncan MacRae to Father, 3 April 1902, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 #7.
[286] Duncan MacRae, "Rev. D. MacRae/Personal Report 1904," *Presbyterian Record*, vol.xxx, no.2 (February, 1905), 69.
[287] Duncan MacRae, "Hamheung Station Report, 1905," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxi, no.1 (February, 1906), 61.

was the case with those in Sorae during the Sino-Japanese War and the Donghak Rebellion, it would seem that many had joined the Church in search of protection. At the outbreak of the war in 1904, the Canadians prominently displayed the Union Jack on the mission compounds to avoid being shelled by the combatants.

Dissimilar to almost all of the other Canadian missionaries, the pioneers, with the exception of Foote periodically, never relocated to stations that they did not found. The less senior missionaries, because of the chronic shortage of personnel in the mission, frequently moved from station to station to fill in for those who left Korea unexpectedly or went home on furlough. The MacRaes were forever linked to Hamheung, the Griersons to Seongjin, and the Footes to Wonsan. On their respective compounds the pioneers and most of the other missionaries raised families, slowly became proficient in Korean, went to church twice on Sundays and Bible study on Wednesday nights, recuperated from itinerating, socialized, skated on the frozen rivers, and tobogganed on the hills in winter, taught in the schools, conducted intensive classes for church workers and catechumens twice a year, shopped along narrow streets, and went to the markets on *o-il jang*. Because of their daily interactions in the Korean world at their mission stations and in the countryside, the majority of the missionaries grew more attuned to the rhythms of life in their adopted country than the one in which they were born and rarely returned. For the Canadians, the stations where they resided in the field, not the towns or cities they left behind in Canada, were the places they called home.

The Doctors

The physicians considered in this study were different from one another in many respects, however, they shared one commonality – all of them were intensely driven to make their work

prosper.[288] Kate MacMillan died while fulfilling her duties as a physician, Florence Murray's physical health deteriorated during her first few years as a missionary in consequence of her inability to rest,[289] Robert Grierson's ambition prompted him to wage a war of sorts against the F.M.B. as well as learn how to build a hospital on his own, and Stanley Martin, also unafraid to voice his dissatisfaction with the F.M.B., endeavored to have the medical work closed down in Hamheung so that his in Yongjoung could progress. MacKenzie's footsteps rang loudest in the mission's hospitals.

When Robert Grierson first arrived in Korea he privileged learning the native language over that of practicing medicine.[290] He understood that doctors, because of their extremely hectic schedules, could potentially never acquire an adequate knowledge of Korean if they did not start learning it when new to the field. He was more than a little anxious about this possibility since what he wanted to do most of all was propagate the gospel directly to his patients without the use of an interpreter. Judging from the result of the language test he took in 1900, it would seem that he had little to fear about not becoming proficient in Korean. In less than two years of studying he passed the third-year language exam administered by the American Presbyterian Mission (North). H.G. Underwood was so impressed with Grierson's language skills that he asked him to prepare Sunday school lesson plans based on the Book of Genesis.[291]

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[288] Dr. Thomas Mansfield, sent to Korea by the Western Division of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board in 1912, will not be discussed here. He did not found any hospital and spent most of his career at the Severance Hospital in Seoul.
[289] Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Home Lessons, Foreign Tests: The Background and First Missionary Term of Florence Murray, Maritime Doctor in Korea," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, vol.6, no.1 (1994), 122.
[290] Laura Macdonald, "Minister of the Gospel and Doctor of Medicine" (master's thesis, Queen's University, 2000), 52.
[291]"Third Annual Report of Rev. Robert Grierson, M.D., II – Language and Literature," in *Acts and Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1901, p.120. PCCA.

Grierson planned to direct more of his attention to medicine when adept at Korean yet he was unable to because the F.M.B. in the Maritimes provided him with only a miniscule amount of financial resources and the lack of missionary personnel necessitated his participation in the other affairs of the mission. Aside from itinerating, he constructed buildings, started schools, organized the Church, conducted intensive training classes, and preached. At the height of the Russo-Japanese War, Grierson had to abandon his medical practice altogether as he was forced to evacuate with the coming of the Russian army. The Russians bombed the Japanese settlement on 16 April 1904 and then seized control of Seongjin.[292]

Grierson's animosity toward the F.M.B. in the Maritimes was nearly as strong as it was for the Russians. He viewed both as erecting barriers between him and the achievement of his aims. He routinely harangued his employers for what he believed was their disinterest in the mission. In the March, 1908 issue of the *Presbyterian Record* he publicly aired his grievances by announcing that due to the severe shortage of staff at Seongjin little medical work could be done, therefore he continued, it was imperative that the Board send more missionaries (he wanted one married missionary and a single female worker for his station).[293] When the F.M.B. failed to comply with this request, Grierson promptly threatened to resign. The Board, tired of his accusations, refused to let the matter pass without making its opinion known and put him in a precarious position. It declared, "… this Committee believing that Dr. Grierson's resignation was sent in under an entire misapprehension of the Committee's attitude towards the Korean Mission refer back to him for reconsideration, and request that he lay *this* resignation before the Mission

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[292] "Song Chin Station, Korea For 1904," *Presbyterian Record*, vol.xxx, no.2 (Feb, 1905), 61
[293] "Song Chin Station For 1907," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxii, no.3 (March, 1908), 110.

Council and consult with them."[294] Grierson, never seriously thinking about abandoning his cherished vocation, remained in Seongjin.

The Western Board was not safe from the doctor either. When it first made the momentous decision to cooperate with its Eastern counterpart in the matter of Korea in 1909, Grierson was elated. Three years later he voiced the same sorts of complaints as he had in the past. In the Annual Report for Seongjin that was sent to the Western Board in 1912 he bitterly complained:

> This work [the medical work] can never be conducted satisfactorily while the doctor in charge is so immersed in church, school, administrative, class, theological, and other work; … until we have a doctor with no other duties, we shall have a medical work only in name; and the medical work unsatisfactory as it is, will but limit the activities of the senior missionary in his other important spheres.[295]

His protests eventually bore fruit. In 1914, the Boards provided him with $7,000 to build a bona fide hospital at Seongjin (the Western Division gave him $5,000 and the Eastern Division contributed $2,000, the latter somewhat hesitantly).[296] It is no coincidence Grierson was supplied with the funds he wanted at this particular time. The leaders of the Boards in Halifax and Toronto knew that his furlough was due and he would come see them in person.

When on furlough, Grierson took post-graduate medical courses in New York, and while studying, started to make plans for the construction of the hospital. He learned how to design blue prints, became familiar with the different types of plumbing, heating and lighting systems

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[294] "Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee, East Section," 26 May 1908, p.5. UCCA, Acc.79.211C, file 1 - 1.
[295] "Song Chin Station of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea Report for 1912," UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 7. Laura Macdonald, "Minister of the Gospel and Doctor of Medicine," 59.
[296] The Eastern Board's late reply to Grierson's request for funds made him furious. He had expected to use the money from the East for the equipment he needed. He wrote to Armstrong, "It is absolutely useless to give me a hospital with no equipment." Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 7 January 1915, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 25.

that were needed, and discovered the most cost effective ways to ship materials to Seongjin.[297] Grierson was obsessed with realizing the dream of building a modern hospital at *his* station. He waited for nearly two decades, and now it seemed that he would finally have an opportunity to do what he loved most – cure bodies and souls at the same time. He was, after all, both doctor and reverend.

The completion of the hospital inevitably took longer than Grierson had expected. As was the case previous to his furlough and throughout his entire career, he could only devote part of his time to the medical side of his work. His lack of expertise in construction and inability to foresee potential problems with the work contributed to slowing the progress made on the hospital. For instance, Grierson was unaware that the well which was to be the source of water for the hospital had to be lined with concrete. He only realized this when someone, in using the well that had been dug, found a rat in their bucket (the rodent had evidently found its way into the well after scratching through the earthen walls).[298] Notwithstanding the myriad other difficulties Grierson confronted, the *Jedong* Hospital was completed in 1917 and was, at least for a time, the most up to date medical facility of the mission. It was Grierson's proudest achievement.

Until the 1920s, the state of the medical work in Hamheung was in even more disarray than in Seongjin. When Florence Murray, a young medical missionary from Nova Scotia first saw the hospital in Hamheung she was aghast. The vivid description she provided of it in 1922 leaves a lasting impression:

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[297] Ibid. Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 18 January 1915, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 25. Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 27 April 1915, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 26. Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 4 April 1916, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 34.
[298] Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 19 July 1916, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 37.

> Wards small; over-crowded; patients mostly squatting on the beds instead of lying properly in them; wards full of visitors; a roll of dirty bedding under one cot; a bundle of patient's clothing under another; half a melon on a bedside table; the rind on the floor; a few dry fish on another table; no nurse in sight; every bed with its chart, fairly well kept too; operating room inconvenient; plaster coming down on account of a leak in the roof; lighting insufficient; sterilizer of ancient design and not in good working order … no anesthetic room; no running water, no electric lighting; the septic tank out of order; the staff overworked; the work half done; one has seen the whole institution.[299]

Murray's predecessor, founder of the aforementioned hospital, and the second doctor sent out by the F.M.B., Kate MacMillan, passed away from typhus just a few months before Murray's article was published. During the over two decades she spent in Korea, MacMillan, like Grierson, aspired to build a modern hospital, however she was never given much support from either of the Boards (West and East) or from the organization that paid her salary, the W.F.M.S., to realize it. The Boards responded to the missionaries who complained the loudest and MacMillan, although she sometimes made her dissatisfaction known, was never overtly hostile. She had a much milder and gentler personality than Grierson and chose to patiently carry her cross rather than storm the high heavens. MacMillan could have never contemplated forcing the hand of the F.M.B. by threatening to leave the field.

Her meekness should not be mistaken for weakness however. She was just as devoted to her vocation as Grierson and the pioneers. Similar to them and most of the other missionaries that followed in their footsteps, MacMillan too was haunted by MacKenzie's ghost. Her very life inexorably revolved around the mission and she did whatever was necessary to aid in its growth and preservation. She learned Korean, itinerated for thousands of miles, taught in the schools,

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[299] Florence Murray, "First Impression of Medical Work," *Korea Mission Field*, vol. xviii. no.10 (October, 1922), 235, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2288 #6. Quoted in William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 124.

actively proselytized, trained workers, and performed countless surgeries. She took only two furloughs and during one of these went to Scotland with the goal of improving her medical skills and knowledge.[300] MacMillan's grueling work ethic was taken note of soon after she entered the field. Edith MacRae predicted, mistakenly, that because of it, she would burn out. In 1903 she, Edith, confided to her mother, "Dr. McMillan is a very hard worker and unless she takes better care of herself will not last long…."[301]

Throughout her entire career MacMillan practiced medicine using rudimentary tools in unsanitary conditions. She began the medical work in a small room that was eight feet wide and used the mud floor as an operating table.[302] Until she was afforded an opportunity to open a dispensary in Hamheung in 1907 (owing to the $400.00 given to her by her father), MacMillan conducted much of the medical work from her own home.[303] She had always been busy but after the inhabitants of Hamheung learned of the new dispensary, MacMillan hardly had any time of her own. From May 1906 until January 1907 she performed over 4,200 "medical treatments."[304]

In 1914, utilizing the over $1,500 bestowed to her by the faithful in Miramichi, New Brunswick and the F.M.B., MacMillan built the primitive hospital that Murray described[305] and soon thereafter was once again inundated with pleas for medical assistance by the Koreans in Hamheung. MacMillan, in her report to the W.F.M.S. of that year, asserted that she, along with

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[300] A.E. Armstrong to Kate MacMillan, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, 27 June 1916, box 3, file 36.
[301] Edith MacRae to her mother, 24 August 1903, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 # 8.
[302] *Canadian Mission Hospital, Hamheung Korea, 1926* (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1926), 2, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2290 #35. Kate MacMillan, "Annual Report by Dr. Kate MacMillan," *Message*, vol. xii, no. 4, (January, 1904), 3. Laura Macdonald, "Minister of the Gospel and Doctor of Medicine," 82.
[303] "Medical Work," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxiii, no.3 (March, 1908), 121. Laura Macdonald, "Minister of the Gospel and Doctor of Medicine," 83.
[304] "Medical Work," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxiii, no.3 (March, 1908), 121.
[305] Kate MacMillan, "Medical Work in Korea," *Message*, vol. xxiii, no.12 (September, 1914), 5.

one Korean doctor and two nurses looked after 5,175 new cases and gave 10,300 treatments.[306] In the same report, MacMillan made sure to emphasize that all of the patients she and her assistants ministered to learned of Christ. She claimed that they preached the gospel approximately 14,000 times. For MacMillan, "the great aim of the [medical] work [was] the bringing of salvation to perishing souls."[307]

The *Jehye* Hospital might have been unsophisticated and perhaps even insalubrious, but the inhabitants of Hamheung and the many Koreans who MacMillan came into contact with while itinerating were deeply appreciative of her efforts. They displayed their gratitude in late February, 1922 when, in the words of her long time friend Bessie Robb, the streets of Hamheung were "lined with crowds of silent and sympathetic people" wishing to pay respect to MacMillan as her bier passed through the city streets on its way to the graveyard.[308] Thereafter, the Christians in Hamheung, desiring to preserve MacMillan's memory, purchased a marble slab, had the sentence, "To the Memory of Dr. Kate McMillan" etched into it, and erected the monument over the entrance of the hospital.[309] She had earned her way into the pantheon of missionary heroes – a crowning achievement coveted by many of MacMillan's peers.

The third and final hospital was built just across the Tuman River in Yongjeong – a growing city in the Gando region of Manchuria. The pioneers, ever yearning to expand their territory, had wanted to found a station in Yongjoung, or the "village of the dragon well"[310] for many years but were impeded by their shortage of staff. It was opened by the missionaries from

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[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Mrs. A.F. Robb, "What One Life Accomplished," *Korea Mission Field*, vol. xviii, no.6 (June, 1922), 128, NSARM, MG.1. vol. 2287 #11.
[309] *Canadian Mission Hospital, Hamheung Korea, 1926*, 4.
[310] Dae Sook Suh, "The Dragon Village: Longjingcun in Yanbian," in *Koreans in China*, eds., Dae-Sook Suh and Edward J. Shultz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 164.

the Western Board in 1913. Gando was a particularly attractive area to build a medical facility because the Korean population was expanding at a phenomenal rate (it went from 109,000 in 1910 to 323,806 in 1922).[311]

Stanley Haviland Martin, the founder of the hospital at Yongjoung, exhibited the same sort of work ethic as the pioneers and shared Grierson's temperament. Shortly after arriving in Korea he began complaining of a lack of surgical equipment (he performed his first operation at his home on a kitchen table)[312] and spoke strongly about his aspiration to construct a hospital.[313] The F.M.B., while sympathetic to the young doctor's wishes, denied his request. They wanted him to spend time learning Korean before he became embroiled in medical work.[314]Martin was livid.

In his protestations to the F.M.B. Martin pronounced that his services were much in demand therefore it was imperative for a hospital to be built as quickly as possible. He informed Armstrong that from April to December of 1916 alone, he saw 7,700 patients and performed 120 major operations (those in which an anesthetic was used).[315] Frustrated with the Board's silence on the matter of the hospital, Martin, as Grierson had often done, strove to pressure the men in Toronto by publicizing his criticisms. He sent a letter to Ephraim Scott, the editor of the *Presbyterian Record* in February 1917, outlining his utter discontent with the work he was doing and the Board's policies. Martin commenced his tirade by declaring that the Board was

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[311] Changyu Piao, "The History of Koreans in China and the Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture," in *Koreans in China*, 53. By 1922 the Koreans in Gando made up 82.2% of the population.
[312] Elizabeth McCully and E.J.O. Fraser, *Our Share in Korea* (Toronto: The Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1931), 49-50.
[313] Stanley Martin to A. E. Armstrong, 29 April 1916, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 34. Stanley Martin to R.P. MacKay, 15 June 1916, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 36.
[314] A.E. Armstrong to Stanley Martin, 16 November 1916, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 40.
[315] Stanley Martin to A.E. Armstrong, 27 December 1916, UCCA, Acc. 79.204C, box 3, file 41.

untrustworthy. He claimed the F.M.B. had failed to live up to its promise of supplying him with medical equipment.[316] He then underscored the desperate means by which he was compelled to carry out his duties as a physician. Martin told Scott that he had recently removed a child's tonsils with the aid of a metal tube and a mandolin string.[317]

Martin warned Scott that the pool of potential converts in Gando would inevitably diminish if the F.M.B. did not pay more attention to the medical component of the work in Yongjoung because he could not care for all of the patients coming to see him – and he faced competition. The Chinese had built a well equipped hospital in the city.[318] He also remarked upon the sacrifices he made and issued a veiled threat. Martin asserted that he had declined "a very useful position in the army medical service"[319] to join the missionary ranks and recently started to "think it [was] much better to be in France doing something worthwhile helping some of the cases they [had] there …."[320]

A.E. Armstrong tried to assure the young missionary in mid-March 1917 that he and the Board were doing all they could to help him succeed.[321] The Under-Secretary divulged that he had discussed the needs of the Korean mission to all the congregations he recently visited and that the F.M.B. made a specific appeal for the medical work in Yongjoung in the *Presbyterian* (the main organ of the Presbyterian Church in Canada).[322] The advertisements succeeded. A certain Miss. Woodrow of Montreal donated $4,000 and a farmer from Ontario, Mr. Kerr, gave

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[316] Stanley Martin to the Presbyterian Board, 4 February 1917, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 43. It is unclear if Martin or Ephraim Scott sent this letter to the Board in Toronto.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Armstrong told Martin: "we are most anxious to help you in the magnificent opportunity you have in Korea." A.E. Armstrong to Stanley Martin, 14 March 1917, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 55.
[322] Ibid.

$1,000 to the mission.[323] All of this money, and a further $3,000, were given to Martin.[324] Appeased, Martin then commenced planning the building of his hospital and estimated that it would be completed by the summer of 1919.[325] It was not until the early 1920s, however, that it began to resemble a fully functioning medical institution.

Martin, although a source of irritation to the F.M.B. at the beginning of his career, became one of A.E. Armstrong's favorite missionaries by the 1920s. The source of this admiration stemmed from Martin's ability (and good fortune) to secure much of the money needed for his hospital from family and associates back home. Martin received $14,000 from a congregation in Orillia (his wife's hometown) and $5,000 from St. John's Newfoundland (his hometown).[326] Florence Murray, his protégé, stated that Martin was also well liked by the Koreans in Gando.[327] Some of the pioneering missionaries on the other hand found him insufferable, especially Edith MacRae. She loathed him because he had treated Kate MacMillan with disdain and he attempted to convince the F.M.B. to close down the hospital in Hamheung after she died so that his could prosper.[328] This sort of action on the part of any missionary, let alone one who had not shared in the hardships of the early days, was beyond the pale to Edith. Venting her frustration to A.E. Armstrong about the matter in the summer of 1923, Edith wrote that she did not understand how Martin "could so forget honor as to build his work, or try to, on the ashes of one so old, so splendidly successful, and so dear to our hearts as that of Dr. Kate

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[323] Armstrong to Martin, 10 November 1917, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 52.
[324] Ibid. In early 1918 Armstrong promised to send $500.00 more to Martin. A woman (who remained nameless) from Ormstown Quebec donated the funds to the mission. A.E. Armstrong to Stanley Martin, 7 February 1918, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 54.
[325] Stanley Martin to A.E. Armstrong, 8 December 1917, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 53.
[326] Stanley Martin to R.P. MacKay, 23 November 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box, 6, file 92.
[327] Florence Murray "learned the ropes" from Martin when she first arrived in the field in 1921. Florence Murray interviewed by Helen MacRae, 14 January 1972, Toronto, Ontario, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2344, tape.1.
[328] Edith MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, 26 July 1923, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 112.

McMillan."[329] She also made a rather unsubtle threat. She boldly stated, "I wish I could see Dr. Mckay and Dr. Martin together before I leave for Korea!"[330] There was little talk of shutting down the medical work in Hamheung after Armstrong read Edith's letter. She had successfully defended what she considered to be "her territory."

The hospital in Hamheung, thanks to the efforts of Florence Murray, became one of the outstanding accomplishments of the Canadian mission in Korea. To satisfy the stringent requirements of the Japanese authorities concerning medical institutions, Murray remodeled the hospital from top to bottom. One of her first tasks was to widen the corridors – the original architect of the hospital, the Reverend Samuel Proctor, a former shipwright,[331] constructed hallways that were only three feet wide.[332] She revamped the plumbing system, built a new operating room, bought new furnishings, including metal beds (the wooden beds were full of bugs), and installed an electrical system.[333] By the mid 1920s so many renovations were made that the hospital MacMillan had built was unrecognizable.

Murray also made innovations in regard to the medical staff. Knowing that the F.M.B. was in no position to send out another physician and burdened by an extremely heavy workload herself, Murray trained Korean male medical students. Ruth Compton Brouwer, in her study of Murray, mentioned that she initially had difficulties with these men since they were not in the least pleased with being instructed by a woman, however, she did eventually earn their

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[329] Ibid.
[330] MacKay had seemed to entertain the notion of shutting down the hospital in Hamheung. Edith MacRae was in Baddeck at the time.
[331]The mission could not afford to hire a professional architect.
[332] Florence Murray interviewed by Helen MacRae. In her autobiography, Murray noted that there were no blueprints of the hospital; *At the Foot of Dragon Hill* (New York: E.D. Dutton & Company, Inc, 1975), 55
[333] Florence Murray interviewed by Helen MacRae. Florence Murray, *At the Foot of Dragon Hill*, 56.

respect.[334] Murray also gained the admiration of the Korean populace in Hamheung – a remarkable feat when bearing in mind that she was not at all liked when new to the field. She had insisted that her patients pay for the medicine she gave them. Kate MacMillan routinely let them have it free of charge.[335]

The Canadians never kept a running tally of the amount of people who became Christians as a result of their positive experiences under their medical care, but it would be safe to presume that more than a few converted after either they themselves, or their loved ones, were cured by missionary doctors. What is known for sure is that the Korean Christian community was extremely grateful for the medical aid furnished them by the mission. In the early 1970s, Helen MacRae, the daughter of Edith and Duncan MacRae, interviewed scores of Koreans who had been associated with the Canadian missionaries and one of the most common questions she asked was what they considered to be among the most positive impacts the missionaries made in Korea. In their answers many of her interviewees made reference to the mission hospitals and the medical staff.

Education – Formal Schooling

The Canadians built the hospitals. The Korean Christians built the majority of the schools. The Protestant missionaries in Korea, with their emphasis on literacy and their legitimizing of the native script *Hangul* (it had been denigrated by the Confucian elite since its

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[334] Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modernizing Women, Modernizing Men*, 83 – 85.
[335] Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Home Lessons, Foreign Tests," 12.

inception in the fifteenth century),[336] inadvertently caused an "education fever." For the first time in Korean history the *minjung* (meaning "the people" or "marginalized segments of society") could, potentially, rise above their stations.[337] Education in their minds was power. The interest in education among the Koreans rose to even greater heights after Japan set up a protectorate in 1905. By the time that it annexed Korea outright in 1910, there were close to 1,000 "mission schools" on the peninsula.[338] On the eve of the March First Uprising in 1919, there were 78 primary schools and 10 secondary schools in Hamgyeong and Gando.[339]

Many if not most of the Koreans who built and taught at these schools believed a well educated populace was central to any plan of reclaiming their nation from the Japanese. Only when Koreans were "enlightened" could they become masters of their own fate. A strong and virulent nationalist spirit was particularly ubiquitous in Gando. Numerous ardent nationalists, Christian and non-Christian alike, always under the watchful eye of the Japanese and in perpetual danger of being jailed or worse in Korea proper, fled to Gando with the intention of carrying on their fight for independence in relative security. The nebulous identity of the Koreans in Gando and the light Japanese presence in the area worked to the advantage of the nationalists. The Chinese and Japanese were at odds over which of their nations had authority

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[336] The invention of *Hangul* is attributed to King Sejong. Chinese was the lingua franca of the Confucian elite. They were wholly committed Sinophiles as they believed Chinese culture to be superior over that of all others. All official documents were written in Chinese until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.
[337] The term "minjung" came into use during the 1960s and was used primarily by radical activists who protested against Park Chung Hee's dictatorial regime. Some of the most prominent of the minjung Protestants came from Hamgyeong and Gando. When describing the tenets of minjung theology, historian and Korean Christian expert Donald N. Clark wrote: "In the first place, minjung theology defines *the people* as the *subjects of history* – meaning that they ought to claim their function as the people who *shape* history rather than settle for being shaped *by* it. In other words, it is an activist ideology that challenges people to take their destiny into their own hands." Donald N. Clark, "Growth and Limitations of Minjung Christianity in South Korea," in, *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence*, ed. Kenneth M. Wells (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 92.
[338] Michael J. Seth, *Education Fever: Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 17. By "mission schools," Seth must have included those built by the Christians.
[339] Horace Horton Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea* (New York: International Press, 1926), 86.

over them and the Japanese police force attached to the General Consul's office in Yongjoung and the sub-consulates in Juzijie, Toudaogou, Hunchun, and Baicaogou numbered a little over 100 men.[340]

Lee Dong Hwi, a well-known and revered Protestant nationalist, whipped up a tremendous amount of enthusiasm for education in Gando and Hamgyeong. While he was there between 1909 and 1913, a multitude of schools and churches were built.[341] He and some of the other nationalists also generated interest in taking back Korea by force if necessary – the students were to be the vanguard of the movement.[342] The Church was the command center of the nationalists. It was the only institution in which they could congregate in relative freedom from Japanese intrusions because the colonial authorities were, under conditions of normality, wary of offending the missionaries and thus cause a disruption between their home government and the Western powers.

The formal schooling afforded by the Canadians, albeit on a smaller scale than that provided by the Koreans, made significant impacts on the Church and in the lives of thousands from Hamgyeong and Gando. Their aim in furnishing this schooling was to draw students to the faith, create Church leaders, foster loyalty to the mission, and give young females the same educational opportunities as young males. The Christians were reluctant to build and fund

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[340] Erik W. Esselstrom, "Rethinking the Colonial Conquest of Manchuria: The Japanese Consular Police in Jiandao, 1909 -1937," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol.39, no.1 (February, 2005): 42 – 44. The "Gando Treaty" of 1909 gave the Japanese the right to establish consulates in the region.

[341] Seung Tae Kim *Hanmal Ilje gangjeomgi Seongyosa Yeongu* [A Study of Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1884 – 1942], 133 – 135.

[342] Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjok Undongsa [The Korean Christian People's Movement in Northern Gando Under the Japanese Regime]*, 91, 99 – 100. The school in the Myeongdong area of Northern Gando, founded by Kim Yak Yeon, was a training ground for young and willing freedom fighters; Dae Suk, *Gando Minjok Dongnip Undongui Jidoja Kim Yak Yeon*, [Kim Yak Yeon: The leader of the People's Liberation Movement in Gando]. Yi Dong Hwi planned to carry out a war of liberation from Gando; Bang Kim, *Daehanminguk Imsijeongbu ui Chodae Gukmucheongli: Yi Dong Hwi* [The First Prime Minister of the Korean Provisional Government: Yi Dong-Hwi], 53.

schools for girls at first. It took them some time to believe that educating their daughters was a worthwhile and profitable enterprise.

To achieve their goals the missionaries established primary and secondary schools at the stations and sent some of their most promising students to higher educational institutes in Korea, Japan and Canada. The first primary and secondary schools were founded in Wonsan. Hamheung, because of its location and dense population, ultimately became the educational center of the mission. By the mid-1910s the missionaries had built two primary schools and two secondary schools (often referred to as "academies") in the city. For a brief time the boy's academy in Hamheung was the home to those who had been studying at the one founded by Robert Grierson in Seongjin. His academy was closed for wont of funds in 1911. It later reopened. The mission's lack of resources plagued the formal educational work of the missionaries. Many of the school buildings in the formative period of the mission were makeshift affairs at best (some were dilapidated), desks were in short order, and school supplies such as pens, paper, pencils and slates – rarities.

In 1912, a few of the missionaries had grown so despondent at the shoddy state of the schools and the many problems associated with them that they complained to the F.M.B., "We have no educational work worthy of the name."[343] Nothing changed. In 1915, the educational predicament of the mission worsened. The Japanese Governor – General Terauchi Masatake announced that the diplomas of mission school graduates would not be recognized by the government, if at these schools, religious instruction was given during class hours. L.L. Young, a first generation missionary who placed little value on secular education, and already frustrated

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[343] "A Statement of the Views of the Party for Concentration in regard to the Remit of the Mission Council to the Voting Members on the Problem of Manning the Field," p.10; 1912 January, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1 file 7.

with the Japanese bureaucracy as well as the endless complications related to the schools, thought it might be appropriate for the mission to shut them all down if reinforcements were not forthcoming. In a fit of anger he wrote to Toronto, "I am strongly of the opinion that unless men can be sent directly to supervise what schools we have, these schools [should] be closed and money used in direct evangelical work."[344] Neither the F.M.B. nor his comrades shared his views.

Young's principal concern regarding the schools was that the missionaries could not sufficiently administer them because they were almost completely occupied with itinerating, evangelizing, and training Church workers. The Canadians were part-time teachers and principals at best, therefore the Koreans were in charge, and in Young's opinion, "A school in a heathen land unless properly supervised is from a Christian point of view, a rather doubtful quality."[345] He had cause to worry. Some of the Korean teachers employed by the Canadians at the stations were nationalists that instilled a sense of patriotism in their pupils. Kang Younghill, a former student of the Yeongsaeng Boy's Academy in Hamheung, described such a teacher in his first novel, *The Grass Roof*. According to Kang, a certain "Mr. Brilliant Crane"[346] taught his pupils Korean history (which was prohibited by the colonial educational authorities). The Japanese tried to erase every trace of Korean history from the minds of the young since knowledge of it could, and, in fact, did, lead to the stirring up of nationalist sentiment among them. Mr. Brilliant Crane was ultimately jailed for breaking the law.[347]

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[344] L.L. Young to R.P. MacKay, 28 October 1915, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 29.
[345] Ibid.
[346] This is a pseudonym.
[347] Younghill Kang, *The Grass Roof* (New York: Follet Publishing Company, 1959), 325 - 326. It was originally published in 1931.

Chun Taek Bu, another graduate of the Yeongsaeng Boy's Academy, in his interview with Helen MacRae, gave further evidence that reveals the nationalist orientation of the native educators in the employ of the Canadians. He spoke of a teacher that frequently propounded upon the story of Exodus.[348] Christian nationalists strongly identified with the Israelites, something which was well known to the Japanese. During the early 1940s, the colonial government, fearful that the Koreans could become inspired by the story of the Israelites, ordered all Christian educators to refrain from discussing the Old Testament. Many disobeyed, including Kim Jae Jun, the founder of the Joseon (Hanguk) Seminary in Seoul and former teacher at the Eunjin Boy's Academy in Yongjoung.[349]

In the formative period of the mission the Christians silently tolerated the poor quality of the schools and the little attention the missionaries paid to them. Their patience might seem puzzling but explanations for it are not difficult to find. The Korean schools were, on the whole, worse. The native Christian population consisted mostly of farmers, laborers and artisans hence they could not afford to erect adequate school buildings or maintain them properly. School supplies of every kind were virtually non-existent and the quality of teachers low. Compared to these, the Canadian schools were superior. The only other schools that could rival those of the Canadians were the ones built by the colonial government and they were unpopular. Few parents were interested in allowing their sons and daughters to be educated by the imperialists.[350]

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[348] Taek Bu Chun interviewed by Helen MacRae, 1 April 1972, Seoul, South Korea. NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2341, tape. 15. Chun was the Secretary of the YMCA.
[349] Kim Jae Jun, "Historical Sketch of the Hanguk Seminary," UCCA, Acc. 83.011.C, box 27, file 6.
[350] Seong Oh and Ki Seok Kim, "Expansion of Elementary Schooling under Colonialism: Top Down or Bottom Up?," in *Colonial Rule and Social Change in Korea,* eds., Hong Yong Lee, Yong Cheol Ha and Clark W. Sorenson (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013), 125.

The three other main factors that contributed to Korean quiescence during the formative period were firstly, a belief among them that the Canadians were "on their side" in their struggles against the Japanese (the mission employed Lee Dong Hwi as a colporteur and did nothing of import to impede the nationalists);[351] secondly, the generosity displayed by the missionaries – many of the Canadians helped students pay for their tuition, supplies, and living expenses; and thirdly, the ambitions of the students. They believed that the educational opportunities supplied by the missionaries could not only bring about the rebirth of the Korean nation but also help them obtain their own personal goals (be they material and or spiritual in nature). As a means to demonstrate this notion a brief discussion of a few of the mission's students will be provided below.

The Students of the Mission

Jeong Chang Sin, a native of Seongjin, born in 1901, was forever changed by her association with the missionaries.[352] Her story is valuable to researchers interested in the education they provided to females because it reveals the dualistic quality of that education. The Canadians instilled conservative and radical values in their female students. On one hand, missionary teachers wanted the girls they taught to become good and faithful Christian mothers so that they would raise good and faithful Christian sons and daughters (and thus strengthen the Church), and then on the other hand, they hoped that these girls would, when older, contribute to

[351] Much more will be said about this in Chapter Five.
[352] The information regarding Jeong presented here comes from the interview she had with Helen MacRae. Jeong was among the most informative of all the interviewees.

the destruction of their subservient status. Jeong Chang Sin was both Christian mother and feminist activist.[353]

Jeong was greatly influenced by Jenny Robb, a single female evangelist and educator. She met Robb in 1908 and subsequently converted to Christianity without her parent's consent. Jeong was little more than eight years old.[354] Her second mentor was Ethel B. MacEachern, another one of the mission's single female evangelist-teachers. As a young teenager, Jeong moved to Hamheung to continue studying under MacEachern's guidance at the Youngsaeng Girl's School. MacEachern was the principal. The missionary was very pleased with Jeong's progress and proudly told A.E. Armstrong in 1918 that her protégé was elected President of the Christian Endeavor Society.[355] Upon graduation, Jeong became a teacher at Youngsaeng, and in March, 1919 she, like so many other Christians, took part in anti-Japanese demonstrations (Jeong said she was one of the 42 leaders in Hamheung). She was arrested, jailed for nine months, and tortured.

When released, Jeong then went to a school in Japan run by the Canadian Methodist missionaries (most likely with MacEachern's help) in order to earn the credentials needed to become a certified teacher in Korea. When back in Hamheung, Jeong resumed her teaching duties at Yeongsaeng, got married to a fellow patriot (and minister) in 1925 and had five children. In 1945, she and her family fled to South Korea to escape from the communists and while in exile in Seoul before the Korean War, recommenced her crusade to save the Korean nation, only this time her enemies were not the Japanese but the communists and the foreign

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[353] Jeong Chang Sin interviewed by Helen MacRae, 24 April 1972, Seoul, South Korea, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2341, tape. 10.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Ethel MacEachern to A.E. Armstrong, 15 February 1918, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 54.

powers that divided Korea. She spoke out against Kim Il Sung and trusteeship at large gatherings on behalf of women's patriotic associations. Jeong's animosity toward the United States Army Military Government was not so strong that she would not take advantage of the opportunities it provided. She entered the police academy for women that it founded. As a police officer, Jeong helped orphans and women. She worked with females abandoned by their husbands and those who suffered from domestic abuse.

Jeong's passionate nationalism was stimulated by her father (a patriot himself), and the education she received from her Korean teachers, the sermons she heard from Korean ministers, and the relationships she had with her fellow parishioners. Her active and fearless promotion of women's rights in South Korea can be attributed, in large measure, to her close and long lasting relationships with the Canadian female missionaries. It was through them that she would have first learned that women in other parts of the world (the Western world primarily), had more freedoms and encountered less discrimination than they did in Korea. She would have also learned that women in the West fought for these rights and had to continually fight to be taken seriously by men in authority, something that many of the female missionaries, including her mentor Ethel MacEachern, was forced to do in the early 1920s.

Since the time she arrived in Korea in 1913, MacEachern had attempted to the best of her ability to provide a sound education for the girls under her care but was never able to because of the inadequate resources at her disposal. She had been patient with the F.M.B., however by 1923, because of the pressure she was under by the Koreans to begin construction on a new school building, and the belittlement of her concerns by the men in Toronto, MacEachern exploded. The focus of her wrath was on A.E. Armstrong. She had written to him in February concerning the money needed to build the school but he did not reply until the spring, and in this reply, he

blamed her for the difficult situation in which she found herself. Armstrong implied that she should have tried harder to get the Church in Canada more interested in the school when she was on furlough.[356] In her response, MacEachern refused to make any comment about Armstrong's criticism and instead condemned him and the Board for being dishonest and incompetent. The F.M.B. had yet to give the missionaries from Hamheung the $10,000 that it promised them earlier, and it misplaced $6,000 that was sent to the office in Toronto by the W.F.M.S. This, MacEachern suggested, greatly jeopardized the work because the provisioning of a good and strong education was necessary for attracting girls to the Church. To emphasize the struggles of her students, MacEachern told Armstrong that they were housed in a variety of "mud huts" and added "we [the missionaries at Hamheung] hang our heads in shame every time a visitor gets a glimpse of these unsanitary, crowded little hovels. They are a disgrace to our mission." She finished by writing, "This letter is simply a request from Hamheung that you urge that the $6,000 for the site and the gift of $10,000 for a building be sent to Korea at once, in order that a calamity be averted."[357] Decades later, Jeong Chang Sin would, like MacEachern, be impelled to confront men that were jeopardizing the lives of the women she was assisting. She often met face to face with husbands who had beaten their wives.

Jeong Chang Sin was one of the few students the mission sent abroad to receive a post-secondary education. Most went to Pyeongyang Theological Seminary, Union Christian College (also in Pyeongyang) or Joseon Christian College in Seoul.[358] The idea to dispatch students to Canada came entirely from the missionaries, not the heads of the Boards. The Foreign Mission

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[356] A.E. Armstrong to Ethel MacEachern, 12 May 1923, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 110. He wrote, "May I say that I am sorry [that] while you were on furlough you did not use your splendid talents more fully in the direction of securing interest in the project of [the] girl's school for Ham Heung?"
[357] Ethel MacEachern to A.E. Armstrong, 29 December 1923, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 117.
[358] Students who seemed to have an aptitude for medicine were sent to the Severance Medical College in Seoul.

Board of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (East and West) as well as the United Church of Canada Board of Overseas Missions were extremely wary of taking part in this venture because of the anti-Asian immigration laws and fears that Korean students could either become too "Westernized" and thus alienated from their compatriots back home, or be tainted by the liberal theology that they would inevitably learn in the classroom.[359]

Louise McCully and her sister Elizabeth McCully (also known as, "The McCullys") had no such worries. They were certain that H.Y. Cho would succeed in his studies and avoid any and all temptations in Canada. Feeling no need to tell the F.M.B. of their intentions and making little preparations, they sent Cho to Nova Scotia by way of the *Empress of Britain* in early 1914.[360] There are no records which can unequivocally explain why they booked passage for Cho on a trans-Atlantic liner instead of the trans-Pacific liners[361] that the missionaries routinely used. However, it is possible that the McCullys thought a Korean without the necessary visa papers would have an easier time passing through customs inspection in Halifax rather than Vancouver.[362]

Cho turned out to be a source of almost endless frustration to the Foreign Mission Boards. The mission had guaranteed A.E. Armstrong that he would return to Korea after a few years stay in Canada.[363] Cho had other plans. He enjoyed being abroad and remained in Canada for a number of years earning degrees from Dalhousie University and the University of Toronto.

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[359] This fear of liberalism diminished in the 1920s.
[360] Louise H. McCully to R.P. MacKay, 13 January 1914, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 19.
[361] The missionaries usually used the *Empress of India*, *Empress of Japan* and *Empress of Asia*.
[362] The two researchers who have done work on the first Korean students sent to Canada by the mission are Kim Jung Gun, "'To God's Country": Canadian Missionaries in Korea and the Beginnings of Korean Migration to Canada" and Young Sik Yoo "Canada and Korea: A Shared History," in *Canada and Korea: Perspectives 2000*, eds., R.W.L. Guisso and Young Sik Yoo (Toronto: University of Toronto Center for Korean Studies, 2002), 9-44. Neither provided reasons why Cho took the Atlantic route to Canada.
[363] Kim Jung Gun, '"To God's Country,'" 78 - 87.

He then crossed the border, studied at the University of Chicago and became the President of the Korean Student's Federation in the U.S.A. for a time.[364] All the while, the men at the F.M.B. tried to convince Cho to go home. They were responsible for his well being and wanted him to start working for the mission. In 1927, when he finally heeded their entreaties, Cho told the F.M.B. that he expected to be given the same status as the Canadian missionaries. The Board refused.[365] When back in Korea, he did make good on his promise to take up a post in the mission – his most prestigious position was that of principal of the Martha Wilson Bible Institute for Women. In 1950, Cho was killed by the communists. Kim Jung Gun, an expert on Korean immigration to Canada, when telling the story of Cho's demise stated, "It is probable that his [Cho's] flamboyance and Westernized life style provided the spark for his tragic death at the hands of the local communists [in Hamheung]."[366]

Kang Younghill and Kim Kwan Sik, the two other students sent to Canada during the time period under discussion, similar to Cho, moved to the United States soon after landing in Canada. They were fully aware that a degree from a prestigious university in the U.S.A. would be much more respected by Koreans than one earned at a Canadian university. Kang, who never had any intention of working for the mission in the future (although he said he would)[367] attended Pine Hill Divinity College in 1921, and then went to the United States. He got a Bachelor of Science Degree from Boston College and an M.A. in English Education from Harvard. Following graduation, he started teaching Comparative Literature at New York University and it was there that he began work on his first autobiographical novel entitled, *The*

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[364] Ibid, 81, Young Sik Woo, *Canada and Korea*, 30-31.
[365] Kim Jung Gun, "'To God's Country,'" 84.
[366] Ibid, 86.
[367] Ibid, 105. Elsewhere Gun stated, "Kang was too ambitious to settle for simple theological studies as prescribed by his sponsors;" 104.

Grass Roof. His second novel, *East Goes West, the Making of An Oriental Yankee*, although not as well received as the first, is just as valuable for scholars of the Canadian mission. In both we are treated to a rare glimpse into the perspective of how a Korean perceived the Canadian missionaries and their homeland. Kang was unimpressed with both. Other than Luther Lisgar Young, the missionary most responsible for bringing him to Canada, and a few others, Kang had little respect for the Canadians he met in Korea. In *The Grass Roof*, he stated that in his opinion, "Most missionaries ha[d] more enthusiasm than intelligence…."[368] In *East Goes West*, when speaking of his impressions of Halifax he wrote, "Can it be that only in this one corner of earth the tide of flux has not come, and remains as if unchanged?"[369]

Kim Kwan Sik was expected to take courses in religious education at Knox College in Toronto and return to Korea within three years.[370] Yet, he concluded after studying there for only a short period of time, that it would be best for him to attend an Ivy League College. In the spring of 1923, he applied to Princeton without the knowledge of the F.M.B. and was accepted.[371] Knowing that his decision would cause consternation at the Board and needing money to cover the costs of tuition and living expenses, Kim wrote to A.E. Armstrong to justify his action. He informed him that Princeton was the ideal place for him to study because of its excellent curriculum and he had won a scholarship worth $200.00.[372] The Board was powerless and acquiesced. In 1925, Kim graduated with an M.A. in Semitic languages and became a

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[368] Younghill Kang, *The Grass Roof*, 330.
[369] Younghill Kang, *East Goes West: The Making of an Oriental Yankee* (New York: Kaya Production, 1997), 120. It was originally published in 1965. Kim Jun Gun discussed Kang's disdain for the missionaries and the Maritimes in "To God's Country," 103 – 104. The missionary E.J.O. Fraser, in his interview with Helen MacRae, noted that Kang disliked the missionaries. E.J.O. Fraser interviewed by Helen MacRae, 10 June 1971, Windsor, Nova Scotia, NSARM, vol. 2342 #8, Tape 10, no.2.
[370] "Minutes and Reports, 24th Annual Meeting Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1922," p.30. UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 9, file 151.
[371] Kim Kwan Sik to A.E. Armstrong, 10 July 1923, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 112.
[372] Ibid.

trailblazer of sorts in the Canadian mission. In 1927, he was chosen by the missionaries to be the principal of the Youngsaeng Girl's Academy – the first native Christian to hold such a high position at a Canadian school.[373]

There is much less information about the students who went to Japan compared to those who went to Canada because the documentary material available makes few references to them. Hardly any of these students made it into the official records, the bulk of which is located at the United Church of Canada Archives, because the missionaries did not usually involve the F.M.B. in their plans to sponsor them but rather found the necessary funds on their own. They were cognizant that the Board rarely wanted to help them educate their students outside the peninsula anyway and the costs associated with this endeavor, which were much smaller than in the case of Canada, did not warrant the copious correspondence that its participation in such matters would have inevitably produced. A.E. Armstrong always wanted to be kept informed about the students studying abroad.

As seen in the discussion of Jeong Chang Sin, the sending of students to Japan bore fruit. Another of the students that dedicated himself to the mission after his return from the imperial metropole was Kim Sang Pil. For over two decades he acted as a teacher and a principal at the schools in Hamheung.[374] Of all the students that went abroad in the twentieth century, however, Lee Sang Chul stands out most stunningly. A brief examination of his life discloses considerable insights into some of the reasons why mission school students came to identify with the gospel.

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[373] He became the principal of the Hamgyeong Boy's Academy in the 1930s.
[374] Kim Sang Pil interviewed by Helen MacRae, 17 April 1972, Seoul, South Korea, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2343 #6, tape 6.

Lee began working for the United Church in the early 1960s after graduating from Union College in Vancouver. He was asked to remain in Canada to minister to the fledgling Japanese congregation in Steveston, British Columbia. He was fluent in Japanese. Lee then set out for Toronto to help the small but growing Korean Christian community and preached of toleration, understanding, and the need to fight against injustice. Throughout his adult-life he waged battles on behalf of the *minjung*. He struggled against Park Chung Hee's oppressive dictatorship in South Korea and campaigned for the rights of all people regardless of their race or sexual orientation in his adopted country. In 1988, the United Church of Canada recognized his talents, passion, and dedication to human rights by selecting him as its Moderator. Lee's zeal for Christ and his animosity of any, and every form of discrimination, stemmed directly from his experiences under Japanese occupation in the 1930s and 1940s.

Lee was born in 1924 in a small village near Vladivostok but spent much of his youth in Manchuria. His father, foreseeing a possible calamity when the Bolsheviks would consolidate their authority in the Far East, decided it was in the best interest of his family to leave. Starting from a very young age Lee was witness to the brutality of the Japanese. In his biography he graphically detailed the first execution he saw. He wrote:

> One day the entire village was ordered to the outskirts of the town, where a man was digging a hole. I stood next to my father, who had a firm hand on my shoulder. He knew what was about to happen. I could feel the fear and tension of the whole community, gathered in silence … A military officer gave a lecture – the same basic lecture about the illegality of resistance against the Japanese authorities which I would hear many times over the years – while the condemned man knelt before his own freshly – dug grave. In retrospect, I have a deep sense of respect for this man, who faced executioners without a whimper. His quiet courage offered a far more powerful statement than the officer's lecture…The long, sharp sword blade descended swiftly, severing the head in one stroke. A fountain of blood

> erupted … I did not see the body follow its head into the grave, because I had buried my face in my father's chest.[375]

Other executions followed. On a separate occasion Lee observed 12 Koreans die at the hands of the Japanese.[376] His own brother-in-law was killed by a firing squad and when remarking on this event he asserted, "In my heart, I knew my brother-in-law could have done no wrong. If this could happen to him, then none of us Koreans were safe, no matter how we behaved ourselves."[377] These experiences combined with the daily travails of living under an oppressive regime and his hatred of the rich led Lee to flirt with communism – the dominant ideology of Korean nationalists in the 1930s. Yet, he could never bring himself to embrace Marxist-Leninist philosophy because he believed it to be based on pessimism. When discussing this idea he asserted "negative reactions to negative experiences do not necessarily produce positive results. I hungered for positive values, for hope, and the communism I had encountered did not satisfy that hunger."[378]

Lee found what he was looking for at the Eunjin Academy in Yongjoung. He grew deeply absorbed in the writings of Toyohiko Kagawa, the "Japanese saint." Kagawa worked with the oppressed and the destitute in the Tokyo slums. Lee's fascination with Kagawa kindled within him an interest in Christianity and he started to read the Bible – which soon became the center of his life. When reflecting on his initial encounter with the gospel he stated, "I became more familiar with this Jesus person. He was poor, like me. He was harassed and persecuted, just as the Koreans were. Yet he cared for others, loved them, helped them. And finally he was put to

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[375] Sang Chul Lee, *Nagenae, The Wanderer: The Autobiography of a United Church Moderator*, 28.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Ibid, 29.
[378] Ibid, 35.

death, though he committed no crime, just like my brother in law."[379] Lee, as with so many other Korean Christians, was also drawn to the Old Testament story of Moses and the Exodus.[380] The only way to give justice to his feeling about Exodus is to quote what he wrote about it in full:

> The story of Moses was a revelation. The children of Israel suffering unjust oppression of Egypt seemed exactly like the Koreans under the Japanese. The story echoed in me. Sometimes I could not sleep. I had to read it over again and again. The God described in these passages did not try to get the better of mortals, like the gods my parents tried to appease. This God *helped* people in their struggle. He *liberated* them. Perhaps he could do the same for us.[381]

In 1945, Lee fled south to escape from the advancing Soviet troops and their Korean communist allies. In Seoul he met his future wife Kim Shin Jah, the daughter of Kim Jae Jun. It was Kim who convinced Lee to become a man of the cloth, study in Vancouver, and then stay in Canada. Kim too was an advocate for the *minjung* and like Lee, dedicated his life to fighting on its behalf. By the early 1970s he had become one of the leaders of the pro-democracy movement in South Korea. The formal educational work of the missionaries had long-lasting and unforeseen consequences.

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[379] Ibid, 38.
[380] Ibid.
[381] Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE: FISHERS OF MEN, WOMEN, AND THE HOME CROWD

The majority of the Canadian missionaries during the formative era fully supported the schools and hospitals. However, they preferred "direct evangelism" over "indirect evangelism." Direct evangelism suited their theological dispositions (most were "traditionalists" who simply wanted to preach the gospel), it was far cheaper than institutional work, and it had the potential of aiding them to build the mission as rapidly as possible. To reach their goal, it was imperative for the missionaries to do "women's work" and propagandize in an effort to drum up funds from home. In this chapter, all three aspects of the "non-institutional" work are examined as a means to deepen our understanding of both the missionizers and the missionized.

The investigation into the evangelical activities of the pioneering and first generation missionaries illuminates their attempts to acclimatize themselves to the culture and the people of their host country (as MacKenzie had done), the methods they used to create and sustain a sound and strong foundation for the church, their theological views, and the ways in which the Koreans interpreted the gospel message.

In surveying "women's work," emphasis is placed on the role that married and single female missionaries played, the reasons why Korean women embraced the gospel, and the affect that this work had on Korea. Much of this section deals with Louise McCully. She was one of the most important missionaries who advanced the cause of "women's work" on the peninsula during the first half of the twentieth century.

Propaganda, the last aspect of the missionary work that is discussed here reveals how the missionaries portrayed Koreans in the religious press, their linking of individual Koreans and Canadians (by way of correspondence), and the time they spent in the Maritimes giving talks

while on furlough. The analysis of the propagandizing activities of the Canadians shows that although there were "orientalist" underpinnings in the way they described Korea and Koreans, they also depicted them in an extremely favorable fashion at times; they were the first Canadians to bring their compatriots into close contact with the Korean "other"; and they were, even when at home, completed devoted to the cause of the mission.

Direct Evangelism

The initial evangelizing efforts of the pioneering missionaries were unsophisticated and haphazard. From their home base at Wonsan they traveled to nearby villages where there were Christians or rumors of Christians living. They then began to cast their nets more widely. Within a matter of a year or so they had covered most of Hamgyeong and reached the borders of Manchuria and Russia. Their proselytizing methods, like those of MacKenzie before them, were simple. They would arrive at a village, town or city, set up shop on a busy street corner, preach, and hawk their wares. The pioneers and their colporteurs sold New Testaments, portions of biblical tracts, colorful calendars with religious imagery on them, and medical supplies. Quinine was always a good seller. Sometimes they sold all their stock, and on other occasions brought their merchandize back home with them.

Their fortunes improved when they became acquainted with Christians like Mr. Sin from Hamgyeong. Using their homes as command centers, the missionaries preached as they did on the streets, answered questions (most of which were not about Jesus and the Gospel), led Bible studies, and held worship services. They did the same at the inns where they stayed. These inns, though much maligned by the missionaries for their unsanitary conditions, were an essential component to the survival and success of the mission. They provided shelter to the missionaries

– the innkeepers rarely turned them away; and they provided a space where the people in Hamgyeong could meet them and become accustomed to their presence. No matter how much the Canadians used their "exoticness" to their advantage they were relieved whenever a Korean forgot that they were foreigners. Unfortunately, this could only happen when the missionaries spoke fluent Korean, an extremely difficult skill for some to acquire. Robert Grierson, Duncan MacRae, and Rufus Foote were all expert Korean speakers.

The language ability of the pioneers was a tremendous aid in their endeavor to preach the gospel to, and earn the respect of, potential converts. Another strategy some employed to earn this respect was eating the food their hosts made for them. Exhibiting hospitality to visitors was an essential component of North Korean etiquette and a main feature of this etiquette was to provide guests with an ample amount of food.[382] The dilemma that the majority of the missionaries faced in this regard was their delicate and uncompromising palates. Most of them would sooner spend hundreds of hours studying the proper usage of Korean honorifics than ingest some of the staples of Korean cuisine such as *kimchi* (pickled cabbage), *naengmyeong* (cold noodles) and the always incalculable number of *banchan* (side dishes) greeting their eyes whenever they were invited to a home. The one type of food that the missionaries did seem to like was *kalguksu* (long wheat noodles served in a mild broth). Of the three pioneering missionaries, Rufus Foote was the only one who could not stomach the native fare of North Korea. Duncan MacRae and Robert Grierson made a point of trying to acquire a taste for it.

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[382] German Kim and Ross King, "The Northern Region of Korea as Portrayed in Russian Sources, 1860 – 1913," in *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity, and Culture*, ed. Sun Joo Kim (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 269-270. Kim and King have shown that the Russians thought the North Koreans were very friendly and hospitable.

MacRae was ordered to do so by Seo Gyeong Jo.[383] He knew that Koreans were much more willing to listen to missionaries that appreciated their generosity and culinary appetites than those who just picked at what was offered them.[384]

Aside from giving their young students candy and other types of sweets, the pioneers and the first generation of missionaries rarely attempted to entice Koreans into eating Western style foods. They expressed their magnanimity by opening their homes to Christians as well as enquirers. The pioneering Canadians did not live within walled compounds secluded from the outside world. True, their houses eventually grew in size and in the case of Hamheung, did come to dominate the skyline – the MacRae home was known as the "eagles nest" since it was built on a hill, however Duncan and Edith MacRae always had an "open door policy" no matter where they lived. They knew that the Koreans expected them to be on call. This policy, though simple, was effective in helping the Canadians gain the trust of the Christian community.[385] It also, apparently, contributed to making it next to near impossible for the missionaries to have a quiet and restful domestic life. Rufus Foote's diary entries in the spring of 1906 plainly show this. On 31 March he wrote, "My study has been full of Coreans all day." Three days later much was the

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[383] Duncan MacRae Diary, 1898. Entry 11 October, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2260 #1.

[384] Elizabeth Underwood has shown that dissimilar to the Canadians, many of the American missionaries believed that MacKenzie's death was a warning to them about the ill effects of "going native," thus they avoided eating Korean food and began building "modern" homes; *Challenged Identities* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 2003), 123.

[385] The second generation missionaries were less disposed to opening up their homes to Koreans. In time, the Canadians did become more isolated from the Koreans, something which William Scott wrote about in his history of the Canadian mission; "Our missionary mode of life tended to isolate us from close contact with the Korean people. We lived, for the most part, in foreign style homes, wore foreign style clothes, ate foreign food and formed a neighbourhood of our own – a community apart. It is true that in our work, in church, school, or hospital, in the city or the country village, we rubbed shoulders with Koreans of all classes, but in our off – duty hours, in our home and social contacts, we tended to keep to our own missionary group. Even in our recreation, where familiarity is encouraged, we seldom mixed." Scott argued that this isolation and the belief that their religion was above all others, "made it easy to carry over this sense of superiority to the western civilization we inherited." This combined with their role as teacher and leader, according to Scott, "could pass over into a sort of colonial overlordship,"….; Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 238 – 239. The tensions that resulted because of the Canadian attitudes toward the Koreans will be analyzed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

same. He continued, "Today I did not get away from home as I was busy all day in my study with Koreans." By the following Saturday, Foote's patience was stretched to its limits and he wanted to be left alone. He lamented, "Had callers. feel [sic] tired and need a little rest before I begin any more heavy work. Coreans came to me for help for advice in law [and] business [.] I very much dislike."[386]

The interpersonal evangelical techniques developed by the missionaries were a key component in their task of building the Church. Just as important was their examination of candidates for Church membership, a part of their vocation that took up more and more of their time as the Christian community expanded. To become a fully-fledged communicant of the Presbyterian Church in Korea was no easy task. As Robert Grierson wrote in the *Presbyterian Record*, "It [the missionary movement in Korea] is not a superficial movement rushing thousands half informed into an organization which they will quickly leave. The new adherents are in most cases under instruction as catechumens for many months and in some cases years."[387] While an exaggeration, Grierson's statement is factual concerning the amount of time it usually took a Korean to be accepted into the Church. Enquirers regularly went through a probationary period that lasted six months and spent a further six months as a catechumen.[388] Those wanting to be accepted as a probationer had to give up all of their illicit habits and cease taking part in ancestral ceremonies – this was viewed as idolatrous by the missionaries. They also had to stop seeking guidance from the *mudang* (shamanic priestess) or *baksu* (shamanic priest), and be monogamous.

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[386] Rufus R. Foote Diaries, 1906, date of diary entries, 31 March, 3 April, 7 April, NSARM, MG.1. vol. 2273 #3A.
[387] Robert Grierson, "Korea, its Conditions and Prospects," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxvi, no.1 (January, 1900), 24.
[388]Archibald Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 22 March 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 7.

Husbands and wives in polygamous marriages were required to separate from all but the first spouse they married, an action that involved much emotional pain and suffering.

Rufus Foote was among the first of the Canadian missionaries to encounter problems related to plural marriages. In early February 1899, the past of a certain Mr. Na (Foote's spelling), was looked into, and it was found that he had never lived with his first wife because he married her when a child, and then she died in Pyeongyang during the Sino-Japanese War. He subsequently started living with another woman who herself was married.[389] Duncan MacRae wrote to Edith of a similar but more explosive situation. A colporteur known as Mr. Cha had two wives and three children with the second wife – from whom he separated.[390] According to MacRae, the second wife (who remained nameless) felt so deeply betrayed by her husband that she "kicked up a tempest" when he tried to leave her and then, "started after him to Wonsan."[391]

Probationers, if they passed the "moral test," prepared themselves for the catechumen exam by studying the Ten Commandments, portions of the Gospels, the Westminster Shorter Catechism, and other such staples within the Christian (Presbyterian) Canon. This entailed a tremendous amount of effort on their part in the early days because their reading level was usually quite low and the ideas they were trying to comprehend were almost entirely alien to them. How indeed could a Korean farmer or artisan whose spiritual-philosophical worldview shaped by the "three teachings" of Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism (all of which were in turn understood through the lens of animistic/shamanistic beliefs) even begin to fathom the trinity, original sin, a God becoming human, and the Christian conception of heaven and hell? To

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[389] Rev. William Rufus Foote, Diary, 1898 – 99, date of diary entry, 27 February 1899, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273 #1.
[390] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 19 November 1899, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #10.
[391] Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 8 December 1899, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 #10.

answer this question scholars of Korean Christianity have argued that converts used their own religious-spiritual background as a frame of reference.[392] The syncretic spiritual universe of the Koreans was a vital component that contributed to the success of the Church.

The theological stance and religious practices brought into vogue by the "father of Korean Protestantism" Gil Seon Ju, and the conceptions that converts had of the role of Bible women are excellent examples of the syncretic nature of Korean Christian thought. Gil was a "Daoist ascetic"[393]who converted to Christianity after having an intense spiritual experience in 1897. He was a member of the first group of Koreans to be ordained, ignited the Pyeongyang Revival, both of which occurred in 1907, and signed the "Declaration of Independence" in March, 1919. He is also well known for his popularization of the *saebyok gidohoe* (day-break prayer meetings), a distinctive feature of Korean Protestantism. Historian Hwang Jae Buhm has shown that the origin of the day-break prayer meetings stemmed from a Daoist ritual in which women, at dawn, would put a bowl of water in an auspicious place and pray to the "big dipper God"(*chilsongsin*).[394] The first generation of Korean Christians that took part in the *saebyok gidohoe* may have replaced the bowls of water with hymn books and Bibles as their ritual tools, but when taking their spiritual worldview into consideration, it seems probable that the God they prayed to bore a great resemblance to the one(s) worshipped by their ancestors.

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[392] Three of the more influential scholars who have advanced our understanding of the syncretic nature of the Korean spiritual worldview are: James Huntley Grayson, *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea: A Study in the Emplantation of Religion* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985); Don Baker, *Korean Spirituality* and Sung Deuk Oak, *The Making of Korean Christianity*. Most missionaries believed that Koreans were receptive to Christianity because they had been monotheists in the distant past. The God they were said to have worshipped was referred to as "Hananim.'" Don Baker has effectively argued against such a belief; "Hananim, Hanŭnim, Hanullim, and Hanŏllim: The Construction of Terminology for Korean Monotheism," *Review of Korean Studies*, vol.5, no.1 (2002), 105 – 111.
[393] Jae Buhm Hwang, "Rev. Kil Sōn-Ju's Theology Emphasizing Spiritual Endeavor, Revivalism and Biblical Inerrancy: Commenting on the Centenary of the Great Revival of 1907 in Pyŏngyang," *Acta Koreana*, vol. 10, no.2 (2007), 4.
[394] Ibid, 108.

Gil Seon Ju's eschatological framework was another innovation that resonated with his brethren. One of the Christian concepts which absolutely scandalized most Koreans was "hell." Firstly, they could not understand what hell was since there was no such place in their spiritual landscape[395] and secondly they could not accept that even if such a place did exist, their deceased ancestors, who had never had an opportunity to hear of the Gospel, would be cast down into it by a supposedly benevolent God. The missionaries produced no satisfactory answers to these dilemmas. Gil Seon Ju did. He spoke of an "earthly paradise" that would come into being after the Last Judgment from which its non-Christian inhabitants could, in the words of Korean religious scholar Kim Chong Bum, "travel back and forth between the two realms [the earthly and unearthly paradises] experiencing the joys and pleasures of both."[396] And, in time of course, nearly all would eventually be permitted to enter into heaven. These ideas surely would have garnered a sympathetic reception from the thousands listening to Gil from his pulpit at the Central Presbyterian Church in Pyeongyang and in the hundreds of other churches where he spoke. He itinerated to every corner of the country.

Historian Ellen Strawn has shown that the traditional belief in the powers of the shamaness (*mudang*) was an essential element in bringing women into the Church. She demonstrated quite convincingly that female Christians did not make a sharp distinction between Bible women and *mudang*. Bible women were often called upon by new converts to "exorcize" or cleanse their homes of evil spirits.[397]*Mudang* were the exorcists par excellence in pre-modern

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[395] There are of course "Buddhist hells" but they are quite different from the Christian hell.
[396] Chong Bum Kim, "Preaching the Apocalypse in Colonial Korea: The Protestant Millennialism of Kil Sŏn-ju,'" in *Christianity in Korea*, eds., by Robert Buswell Jr., and Timothy Lee (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 155-156.
[397] Lee Ellen Strawn. "Korean Bible Women's Success: Using the Anbang Network and the Religious Authority of the Mudang," *Journal of Korean Religions*, vol.3, no.1 (April, 2012), 126-127.

Korea. Katherine Mair-Young (Luther Lisgar Young's wife) and educator in Hamheung, revealed in an article for the *Message* that even non-Bible women believed they had the ability to exorcize. She spoke of a mother in-law (a Protestant) who came to believe that her daughter in-law was possessed by the "devil" and took it upon herself to "[take] her by force and again and again every day she and her neighbors prayed for the removal of the spirit."[398]

The traditional religious worldview of the Koreans most assuredly helped them understand certain Christian concepts but it did little to assist them in their efforts to pass the tests administered by the missionaries and native Church workers. For this, they relied on rote learning – the main pedagogical technique utilized by Confucian teachers. Like the students that attended the *sodang* (traditional village schools) potential converts memorized large amounts of information, a phenomenon that impressed every Canadian missionary at one time or another. Yet, as Archibald Barker, one of the founders of the Hoeryeong and Yeongjong stations noted, the memorization of data did not necessarily lead to the internalization of the types of Christian values the missionaries wanted to instill in their converts. In his report to A.E. Armstrong in early 1913, Barker asserted that most of the candidates he examined in Gando were Nomists. When he asked the probationers and catechumens what faith was, their replies included the following: "Faith is keeping the commandments and worshipping God," "Faith is keeping the Sabbath, reading the Bible, praying…" "Faith is praying with a perfect heart and honoring and serving God," and lastly, "Faith is keeping the commandments fully…." Continuing on, Barker explained, "Sin was said to be the doing of certain things which were contrary to God's will or

[398] Katherine Mair, "Missionary Letters. Letter from Mrs. Young," the *Message*, vol.xxx, no.8 (May, 1916), 5.

which were adjudged by man to be sin instead of the heart in relation to God and his will, a substitution again of effect for cause."[399]

D.A. Macdonald, who accompanied Barker to Gando, held similar opinions. He wrote to Armstrong, "In most places we found the people pretty much at sea in their theology."[400] Macdonald did not put forth any definite explanations why the Christians in Gando were so ignorant of the faith, but he did hint that some of the teachers were "Christians only in name." He stated that although their schools presented a "magnificent opportunity" they could also pose a "terrible danger" to the work of the mission and the Church in Gando in the future. What Macdonald failed to tell Armstrong was that some of the most militant of the Korean nationalists had joined the Presbyterian Church, fled to Gando, and erected schools to inculcate the young with anti-Japanese attitudes. The nationalism in the churches was so strong that it would not be too adventurous to speculate that many of the Christians in Gando would have understood Satan to be the Emperor of Japan, his minions the soldiers of the Japanese imperial army, and themselves lambs unstained by sin. Some of these notions were brilliantly captured by J.M. McLeod, the first missionary sent out by the Western Board of the F.M.B. In an article entitled, "A First Tour in Korea," written for the *Presbyterian Record* and published in March, 1910, McLeod described his experiences examining candidates in the far North of Korea and Gando. When in Yeongjong he asked one potential church member, "To whom does sin pertain?" The answer he received was: "To the Japanese." In response to the same question a different candidate said: "To the Pro-Japanese Korean Society."[401]

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[399] Archibald Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 1 January 1913, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box. 2, file 10.
[400] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 26 December 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 9.
[401] J.M. McLeod, "A First Tour in Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxv, no.2 (March, 1910), 111.

Absent from the letters written by Barker and Macdonald is the people that made their expeditions and examinations possible – the local Church workers. Without them the mission could not have functioned. They helped the missionaries ask questions, understand answers, translated when necessary, disciplined Church members and monitored the behavior of probationers as well as catechumens. Historian Paul S. Cha, in his work on the relationship between the American missionaries and Korean converts, has demonstrated that the Church workers in Korea had much authority in their communities. He stated: "they were the gatekeepers who funneled the masses seeking baptism to the missionaries."[402] The Canadians and their fellow compatriots in Korea, who at best were able to see each individual Christian group in the countryside once a year, were not in a position to judge the "moral fitness" of probationers, catechumens and adherents, therefore they had to rely on the advice of Church workers. These people lived in their villages year-round and knew the local inhabitants intimately.[403] They were the police officers, evangelists, and teachers within each Christian community.

All Church workers attended leadership training and Bible classes taught by the Canadians in their villages and at the mission stations. Enquirers, catechumens and laypersons not directly involved in mission business received religious instruction only. In holding these classes the Canadians aimed to raise the biblical literacy of the Christian community and produce a cadre of leaders that would, with them, build the Church. The Bible classes were very popular – people wanted to learn how to read. Some of the most reliable statistics available concerning

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[402] Paul S. Cha, "Unequal Partners, Contested Relations: Protestant Missionaries and Korean Christians, 1884 – 1907," *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol.17, no.1 (spring, 2012): 19.
[403] Rufus Foote mentioned the crucial role that the Church workers played soon after arriving in Korea. He noted that they were the "eyes and ears" (my quote) of the missionary. Rufus Foote, "Native Agency in Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxvi, no.2 (February, 1901), 65.

attendance levels at these classes were provided by Horace Horton Underwood in his book on education in Korea. According to his statistics, 4,924 Koreans studied in the Bible classes in 1920 and 9,824 in 1924.[404] Korean Church workers were no less enthusiastic about the leadership training courses and the Canadians reaped rich rewards because of it. A native leadership developed and continued to grow. Between 1899 and 1927 the number of ordained workers went from zero to 38 and the number of un-ordained workers rose from two to 147 (including men and women).[405] The first Presbytery was formed in 1912 and by 1925 there were four: the South Hamgyeong Presbytery, the North Hamgyeong Presbytery, the Central Hamgyeong Presbytery and the Eastern Manchurian Presbytery.

Many of the Koreans that attended the Bible-leadership training classes at the mission stations walked extremely long distances to reach their destination and most of them took care of their lodging and meals without the aid of the missionaries. The Canadians did not usually provide much material help for these students because they tried to abide by the "Nevius Method." John Livingstone Nevius, a Presbyterian missionary in China made a tremendous impact on the Protestant missionary movement in Korea. He was invited by the American Presbyterian missionaries in 1890 to Korea because they wanted his advice on how to best create a sound and strong native Church. Borrowing some of the notions first put forth by Henry Venn of the London Missionary Society and Rufus Anderson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Nevius argued that non-Western churches could only truly succeed if they were self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating.

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[404] Horace Horton Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, 32. He only included information between 1919 and 1924. The statistics for 1919 were not used because they seem skewed.
[405] This number excludes the Korean educational and medical staff. "Comparative Statistics, 1899 – 1937," UCCA, Acc. 83.006C, box 4, file 90.

Paul Cha noted in his examination of the Nevius Method that the fundamental problem Nevius aspired to solve was that of missionaries producing, "rice Christians."[406] Nevius believed the key to ensuring the laity, church workers and enquirers were sincere, was for missionaries to compel them to be self-supporting. He also stressed that missionaries had to make potential converts pass through a series of moral and faith based tests – something which, as seen, the Canadians did. Nevius and his missionary followers in Korea were certain that these methods would wean out most of those who came to the Church for self-aggrandizing purposes. The critical obstacle the Canadians encountered in trying to faithfully conform to the Nevius Method was the relative poverty of their constituency. The Christians in Hamgyeong and Gando were able to pay the salaries of many teachers and Church workers (all ministers were paid solely by Church funds), and build churches, erect schools, and send leaders for training at the missions with the use of their own funds, but they were never, in the least, fully self-supporting. The Church work would have stagnated without the financial aid of the Canadians.

Of all the missions in Korea, the American Presbyterian Mission (North) was most successful in creating a self-supporting native Church. Their achievements in this endeavor can be primarily attributed to the socio-economic position of the Christian population in the Pyeongan area – the region where the mission concentrated much of its attention. A wealthy merchant-trading class developed in Pyeongyang and its environs as a result of the Korean

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[406] Paul S. Cha, "Unequal Partners," 9. When discussing the phrase "rice Christian," Cha stated, "By the late nineteenth century, the term "rice Christian" was entrenched in the vocabulary of missionaries – especially those sent to East Asia. Strictly defined, this phrase referred to those natives who entered the church simply to gain a meal. More generally, rice Christians came to denote those who converted only for material gain, whether in terms of employment or political favors."

embassies that were regularly dispatched from Seoul to Beijing during the Joseon period. It was in the middle of the route that the embassies took.[407]

The Canadians may have been dissimilar to their peers in the Northwest regarding their policy on self-support, but the curriculum they used in their Bible and leadership classes was the same.[408] The students were exposed to traditional interpretations of the gospels, the Old Testament, Church history, and the life of Christ. All secular subjects were shunned. Before the 1920s, William Scott, a second generation missionary and graduate of both Queen's University and the theologically liberal Westminster Hall in Vancouver,[409] was the only one to voice a dissenting opinion about the conservative nature of the curriculum. Writing to A.E. Armstrong in the spring of 1916, he explained that some students in his Bible class were asking very difficult questions about Genesis and the reasons why God commanded the Hebrews to slaughter their enemies. Scott argued that if his fellow missionaries were truly serious about creating a knowledgeable Church leadership they would have to provide answers to such enquiries through the employment of a more progressive reading of scripture. Continuing in this vein he stated, "I feel that only a wise, but honest effort to present our modern interpretation of the Bible will satisfy and bring the best results in future years. Our old converts can go along quite well, on

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[407] When discussing the missionary movement in the Northwest, historian Donald N. Clark wrote, "… the roadway to China and the social, agricultural and commercial characteristics of the northwest helped make the northern area the country's most fertile ground for Christianity." Donald N. Clark, "The Missionary Presence in Northern Korea Before W.W. II: Human Investment, Social Significance and Historical Legacy," in *The Northern Region of Korea: History, Identity, and Culture*, 240.

[408] Charles Allen Clark, *The Nevius Plan of Mission Work in Korea*, 2nd ed (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1937), 33-34.

[409] Scott earned an M.A. in English and Political Economy at Queen's University. William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," ii. George C. Pidgeon, a prominent promoter of the social gospel, was one of Scott's instructors at Westminster Hall. Scott talked about Pidgeon during the interview he had with Helen MacRae. Soon after graduating Scott set sail for Korea and arrived in December, 1914. William Scott interviewed by Helen MacRae, 17 December 1971, Brantford, Ontario, NSARM, MG.1. vol. 2344, tape 17. For more on Westminster Hall see, Robert K. Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917 – 1981* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 27-28.

what they have already believed, but I fear for our young men. They mix with unbelievers in their work."[410] Later he added, "It is a remarkable thing that, despite the fact that our Canadian colleges authorized by the church, accept the main points of modern interpretation, our Korean mission has consistently held to the old, and boasted of its freedom from "Higher Criticism"…. The Koreans are bible students of the first order, and it is inevitable that they strike the same snags as our teachers have."[411]

Luther Lisgar Young thought Scott was a heretic.[412] The other veteran missionaries were unimpressed with the young missionary too. Although perhaps less rigid than Young in their theology, A.F. Robb, Duncan MacRae and Robert Grierson were all products of the conservative Pine Hill Divinity College and did not keep up with the new intellectual trends emanating from the Canadian universities. They preferred a simple "old fashioned' religion." The pioneering missionaries admired travelling evangelical revivalists that put on a good show such as Hugh T. Crossley and John E. Hunter[413] as well as Billy Sunday,[414] not dense theologians promulgating their opinions about the "historical Jesus" in massive tomes. The pioneers assumed, partly because of the popularity of their educational efforts, that they were in the process of molding a Christian leadership which did or would share their theological vision. They were wrong.

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[410] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 1 April 1916, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 3, file 34.
[411] Ibid.
[412]William Scott interviewed by Helen MacRae, Part 1, 17 December 1971, Brantford, Ontario, NSARM, MG.1. vol. 2344, tape 17.
[413]Duncan MacRae to Edith Sutherland, 26 May 1897, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2251 # 5. In this letter MacRae described his excitement at having an opportunity to participate at a Crossley and Hunter revival in Kentville, Nova Scotia. He wrote, "the Spirit of God is working in their midst." One of the most comprehensive accounts of Crossley and Hunter is found in Kevin Kee, *Revivalists: Marketing the Gospel in English Canada, 1884 – 1957* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill – Queen's University Press, 2006), 13 – 52.
[414] Robert Grierson wrote about his favorable impressions of Billy Sunday in, "The Evangelistic Sermon and How if at all, it differs from the Evangelistic Sermon in the Homeland," *Korea Mission Field,* vol.xii, no.10 (October, 1916), 266, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2287 # 4.

Many of the Koreans in the Church hierarchy had no desire to be "unearthly" followers of Christ. To them, Jesus was not only the son of God; he was also a social revolutionary who fought for the rights of the *minjung*. These were not ideas that they learned in the warm confines of the lecture hall like William Scott – they came to them from hard, bitter, tragic experience. In the 1910s, this conflict of visions did not lead to dissention between convert and Canadian, however, when a new generation of Christians baptized in the fires of 1919 seriously questioned the role and motives of the missionaries in the 1920s, it did. And, there should be no surprise that in the midst of this conflict, Scott's influence increased and the pioneers were silenced.

Women's Work

As in every mission field, male missionaries in Korea-Gando could do little in the way of "women's work" because of the traditional taboos regarding the formation of close associations between men and women who were not related to one another. Attitudes did eventually change, but even when this occurred, the bulk of "women's work" remained in the hands of female missionaries. The pioneering wives played a large part in founding this work. In addition to starting the girl's schools in Wonsan, Hamheung and Seongjin, Edith Foote, Edith MacRae, and Lena Grierson supervised the Bible women and helped organize Bible training classes.[415] Of the three, Lena was the least interested in itinerating and remains the most mysterious.[416] Edith MacRae on the other hand was adventurous and accompanied Duncan on many of his itinerating trips. Bessie Robb, who arrived in 1901, and Rebecca Barker, one of the first missionaries sent out by the Western Board in 1911, shared many of the same qualities as Edith. Rebecca was

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[415]All three had attended university – only Edith MacRae did not graduate. Lena Grierson had a B.A. and Edith Foote was a registered nurse. Most of the wives had university degrees.
[416] There is hardly any reference to her in the archival record.

instrumental in establishing the girl's schools at Hoeryeong as well as Yeongjong and made mission work the center of her life. After her husband Archibald died in Toronto in 1927, she returned to Korea and remained there alone until 1938. The creed to which many of the wives adhered was brilliantly encapsulated by Bessie Robb in an article she wrote for the *Korea Mission Field* in 1922. She asserted, "First and most important, she [the missionary wife] must be heart and soul in sympathy with work – If not better for her husband's happiness and the work's sake if she had never come to the foreign field … To be a success as a missionary's wife, one must at least regard oneself as also a missionary."[417]

All members of the mission were appreciative of the work that the wives performed and in 1914 wanted to extend their gratitude by giving them a greater say in the affairs of the mission. They decided that any wife who had a regular share of the work, been in the field for a year, and passed the first-year language exam, should have the right to vote at meetings.[418] The wives could only do so much, however; they had to devote much of their time to the domestic sphere and they sometimes left the mission altogether. Some like Edith Foote, Edith MacRae, and Bessie Robb, returned home so that their children would receive a suitable education. There were no schools for the children of missionaries in Korea until the 1910s.[419] Single female missionaries posed much less of a conundrum.

Before the Western Board's involvement in the Korean mission, the W.F.M.S. and a few of the local Churches in the Maritimes funded and equipped the first single female missionaries destined for Korea. Besides Dr. Kate MacMillan, the W.F.M.S. sent out Maud Rogers in 1909

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[417] Mrs. B.C. Robb, "The Missionary Wife and Her Task," 4. "In Relation to the Work" *Korea Mission Field*, vol. xviii, no. 10, (October, 1922), 222, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2288 #6.
[418] "A Synopsis of Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of Council of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1914," pp.4-5, UCCA, Acc. 79.204C, box 9, file 151.
[419] The only missionary school for children was in Pyeongyang.

while Jennie Robb was supported by St. David's Church (St. John, New Brunswick), Katherine Mair was the responsibility of the First Presbyterian Church (New Glasgow, Nova Scotia) and the McCully sisters were funded by the Berachah Mission (Truro, Nova Scotia).[420] In this we see the initial enthusiasm that the Korean mission garnered among the female parishioners in Atlantic Canada in the 1890s had not diminished but grew, and it would continue to grow. Much of the money for women's work in Korea and the majority of the single female missionaries that went there during the first few decades of the twentieth century originated from the Maritimes.

Between 1910 and 1927, twenty-two single female missionaries were dispatched to Korea by the W.F.M.S. (Eastern and Western Divisions). The majority were teacher-evangelists. Florence Murray and four registered nurses: Jessie G. Whitelaw, Miriam Fox, Maud Mackinnon and Ada Sandell cared for the medical side of the mission.

Elizabeth McCully was the dominant figure in the women's work of the mission. McCully originally believed she would start this work after getting married to W.J. MacKenzie – the wedding was set to take place in Korea.[421] With his death, however, she concluded that going to Korea would not be possible, so she set her sights on China and joined the non-denominational "Missionary Alliance."[422] Her stay was short. McCully, like so many other missionaries in 1900, fled from her station to escape the Boxers and evacuated to Japan. Soon thereafter she applied to the F.M.B. in Halifax. She saw nothing but a dark future for the missionary cause in China and thought her misfortune was a providential sign from God telling

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[420] The McCullys started this mission when they were young. It still exists but is now called the Truro Alliance Church.
[421] Bessie C. Robb, "Miss Louise McCully, A Tribute," *Missionary Monthly* (November, 1945), 498, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2339 #12.
[422] The Christian and Missionary Alliance set up stations in Shanxi, Jiangxi, and Gansu in the 1890s. John D. Meehan, *Chasing the Dragon in Shanghai: Canada's Early Relations with China, 1858 – 1952* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2011), 19.

her to get involved in the work that MacKenzie had started. The men on the Board quickly accepted McCully's application. The missionaries in Hamgyeong had been hounding them to send reinforcements; they did not have to cover expensive travel costs since McCully was already in Japan; and the Berachah Mission promised to pay her salary.

Among McCully's greatest contributions to the mission and to Korean Christian women, was her founding of the Women's Missionary Society and the Martha Wilson Memorial Bible Institute. The W.M.S. that McCully created in Hamgyeong in 1909 was modeled on that of the W.F.M.S. therefore many of the activities the Korean female Christians participated in were similar to those of their Canadian counterparts.[423] They pooled their resources together to pay the salaries of evangelicals that carried the gospel message in the countryside, presented reports of their local districts, and learned of other mission fields. The atmosphere of their meetings though was very different. A large number of the members of the W.M.S. in Hamgyeong came to the gatherings with babies strapped to their backs and sat cross legged on mats while their sisters in the Maritimes went unburdened by children and sat upright in pews.

McCully's short-term objective in creating the W.M.S. was to facilitate the spreading of the Gospel message within Korea proper. Her long-term goal was to send female missionaries abroad – something that the men had already done. In 1907, the first Korean missionary was dispatched to Jeju Island by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea.[424] McCully and her colleagues only did the same after they united to form the Women's Missionary

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[423] Elizabeth McCully, "Letter from Elizabeth McCully to Miss McCullich," *Message*, vol. xviii, no.11 (August, 1909), 4, NSARM, MG.1 vol. 2339 #12; Bessie C. Robb, "Miss Louise McCully, A Tribute," *Missionary Monthly* (November , 1945), 499, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2339 #12. Young Hee Lim, "Maegkeoli ui seongyo hwaldong e gwanhan yeongu,' [A Study of the Life and Theology of Louise Hoard McCully," (master's thesis: Methodist Theological College: Seoul, 2008), 27 – 28. A copy of this thesis is located at the University of Toronto Library.
[424] In 1909 a second Korean missionary was sent to Siberia and three years later another was dispatched to Shandong, China. Rebecca Y. Kim, *The Spirit Moves West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 28.

Society of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. McCully was chosen to be its first president.[425] Within a few years, the society's first missionaries were working in Manchuria and China. According to McCully's biographer, Lim Young Hee, the branches of the W.M.S. in Hamgyeong were among the strongest in Korea. In the early 1930s, approximately one quarter of its members and one sixth of its donations emanated from the Northeast.[426] Lim attributed much of this strength to Louise McCully.[427]

Many members of the W.M.S. would have graduated from the Martha Wilson Memorial Bible Institute. The primary reason why the McCullys[428] founded it in 1911 was to provide a sound biblical education for female leaders. In over a decade of work, Louise McCully came to understand more clearly than ever that a knowledgeable and dedicated Bible woman or deaconess was in a much better position to spread the gospel among women (especially those who asked difficult theological questions) than any missionary, no matter how intelligent she may be. When elaborating on this notion in an article for the *Message* McCully wrote, "The time is past when a woman who knows the simplest rudiments of the story of salvation and can read a native script is acceptable to new believers. The Korean woman wants to be taught and it is useless for us to think that missionaries can at all overtake the work."[429]

From its inception, the Martha Wilson Bible Institute offered courses for three months out of the year and to graduate, students had to take these courses over a five-year span. The disjointed nature of the school's program was the result of the mission's inability to allow the

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[425] Bessie C. Robb, "A Tribute," 499.
[426] Young Hee Lim, "Maegkeoli ui seongyo," 28.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Elizabeth McCully also played a prominent role in founding the Institute.
[429] Louise McCully, "Miss Louise McCully's Report of Work for Year Ending in October 1911," *The Message,* vol.xxi, no.8 (May, 1912), 8.

McCullys and their students to free themselves from the many other duties they performed. Most of the students were Bible women that itinerated more than the missionaries. Hannah, one of the most respected of all the Bible women, and the first "matron" of the Martha Wilson Bible Institute, had been in Vladivostok evangelizing a little while before the school first opened its doors in 1911.[430] Besides spending many hours studying scripture, the students at the institute took writing, hygiene, geography and singing classes.[431] When the term of study was completed these students would then teach what they learned to women in the cities and villages throughout the far reaches of Hamgyeong, Gando and Siberia – usually unaccompanied by the Canadians.[432] Their mission was to, "…go into all the out - of the - way places where new Christians are to be found and teach the new wonderful truths of God's word…."[433]

Influenced by Yi Kyun Yung, a graduate of both the Bokwong Boy's Middle School in Wonsan, and the McCormack Seminary in Chicago, the McCullys turned their institute into a seminary.[434] Yi, who started teaching at the institute in 1931, was unimpressed with the low level of education offered to the girls he taught.[435] Elizabeth and Louise McCully were traditional evangelicals, not cutting edge educational specialists. Kim Maria,[436] a famous nationalist and a well known advocate of women's rights was an educational specialist, and when she expressed an interest in teaching at the seminary in the early 1930s, the McCullys quickly accepted her

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[430] Ibid, 9.
[431] The singing of hymns was an essential part of Church life in Korea.
[432] The vast majority of the male lay preachers also spent much of their time itinerating without being accompanied by the Canadians as well.
[433] Ibid, 8.
[434] Bessie C. Robb, "A Tribute," 499.
[435] Reverend Yi Kyun Yung interviewed by Helen MacRae, 12 June 1972, Seoul, South Korea, NSARM, MG.1. vol. 2342, tape.16.
[436] Her Korean name was Kim Jin Sang.

offer.[437] They saw in Kim a person who could help lead the many intelligent, young, and motivated Christian women that were not satisfied with their subordinate position in the Church. In 1933, a large group of these women demanded first of the South Hamgyeong Presbytery, and then of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, to sanction the ordination of female elders and deacons. Their own Presbytery answered in the affirmative; the General Assembly in the negative.[438] Korean Presbyterian women would have to wait another 23 years until they realized their dreams.[439]

When working side by side with Kim Maria, Louise McCully must have thought of her deceased fiancé. Maria was the sort of Christian woman W.J. MacKenzie hoped would come into being and she was born in Sorae (an almost sacred place that Louise, and her sister Elizabeth, cherished).[440] Louise had come to Korea determined to carry on the work MacKenzie began and did whatever was needed to make it prosper. Rather than get married, McCully wedded herself to Christ, the mission, as well as to the women with whom she worked. And she would have continued working for the mission if her peers did make her retire in 1934. Like the

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[437] Choi Hyaeweol, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women: Old Ways* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), 155 – 157. Choi called Maria, "Korea's Joan of Arc." Maria earned an M.A. in Sociology in 1928 and studied theology at the Biblical Theological Seminary in New York. Kim was forced to leave Korea in the early 1920s to evade the Japanese. She had been arrested and tortured for participating in the anti-Japanese demonstrations during 1919. For more on Kim see, Young Lee Hertig, "Korean Women's Resistance, 'If I Perish, I Perish,'" in *Resistance and Theological Ethics*, eds., Ronald H. Stone and Robert L. Stives (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 223 – 225.

[438] Young Hee Lim, "Maegkeoli ui seongyo," 29. Kukheon Lee and John Han bong, "Discussion on Women's Ordination in the History of Korean Protestant Churches," *Asia-Africa Journal of Mission History*, vol.9, no.23 (2014): 9 - 10.

[439] The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea ordained its first female Elder in 1956. Kuk Heon Lee and John Hanbong, "Discussion on Women's Ordination," 12.

[440] In 1920 Elizabeth McCully wrote the following about Sorae in the *Korea Mission Field*, "If one place above others is of sacred memory in Korea, it is "Sorai by the sea," the lovely, leafy village that still is fragrant with perfume of a life poured out, as Mary's ointment upon the Master's head in rare and unstinted service by the brave founder of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, William J. MacKenzie." Elizabeth A. McCully, "Where the Saint's Feet have Trod," *Korea Mission Field*, vol.xvi, no.12 (December, 1920), 247 – 249, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2287 #150.

male pioneers, she was seen by the younger generation of Canadians as a relic of the past. With her creation of the W.M.S. and the Martha Wilson Bible Institute (Seminary), Louise McCully can be counted among the many other women, Korean and missionary, who, during the first few decades of the twentieth century, contributed to radically altering gender relations in Korea.

Propaganda

Doing God's work required money, and a lot of it. To secure the financial resources needed to run the mission, the Canadian missionaries in Northeastern Korea and Gando tried to convince parishioners back home that their cause was worthwhile by engaging in propaganda. Drumming up funds for any mission was not simply a matter of passing around a collection plate on Sundays; it demanded a well orchestrated campaign on the part of missionaries to keep the home front informed by writing articles for the religious press, letters to individual churches/sponsors, and giving furlough talks. Each aspect of this propaganda will be dealt with in the next section as they were all of equal importance.[441]

Some of the most common tropes in the articles written by the missionaries in the early 1900s were exactly the same as the ones elaborated on by MacKenzie and the Korea boosters of the 1890s. There was always much emphasis on the heroic qualities of the missionaries, the Korean penchant for self-support, the potential of Koreans to lead their own Church, and the continuous growth of the Church. Over the course of a few years, though, some new themes

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[441] Geoffrey Johnston was the first scholar to discuss the propaganda of the missionaries; Geoffrey Johnston, "Korea for the Record: A study in missionary literature from the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1898 – 1925," in *Canadian Missionaries and Korea: Two Case Studies in Public Opinion*, Working Paper Series, no. 52, Geoffrey Johnston and A. Hamish Ion (Toronto: University of Toronto – York University, Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1988), 10 – 33. In his publication *Missionaries for the Record* he also discussed Korean propaganda; 373 – 412.

started to appear in the articles. More was written about Korean heroes and the potential of the Korean Church to be a shining light to its immediate neighbors and the Canadian Church – the underlying intention of stressing both themes being to shame the apathetic home audience into parting with some of its surplus cash. If impoverished Koreans were willing to sacrifice their very bodies for the gospel and were the vanguards of a new and vigorous Church, why could not the people sitting in the "comfortable pews" come to their aid?

Stories of Christians suffering persecution were particularly prevalent during the opening decade of the twentieth century. In one of his first articles for the *Witness*, Alex Robb told of a Christian named Han Schang in Hongwon County who remained true to his faith even though he had been beaten by his fellow villagers and suffered indignities at the hands of the women in his family. Robb wrote, "At times when he has bowed his head to ask a blessing his mother has given him a box on one ear and the wife on another."[442] John Grierson, when back home, spoke of two men that willingly bore their crosses for the Church. One was beaten by relatives and "left as dead," but after he recovered, his father and four other members of his family converted to the faith. The other man received a "severe thrashing" by 30 assailants when they discovered he had desecrated some "devil posts," and all the while, the victim, although a boxer by profession, refused to defend himself. Instead, he preached the good news.[443] In 1905, Rufus Foote sang the praises of his students at the Pyeongyang Theological College, many of whom had been persecuted. One of them was among those condemned to die by the governor of Pyeongyang in

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[442] Alex Robb, "Letter from Korea," *Witness*, vol.lv. no.32 (9 August, 1902), NSARM, Mf. 8409.
[443] John Grierson, "Korea," *Witness*, vol. lvl, no.39 (26 September, 1903), 308, NSARM, Mf. 8409. Almost immediately after arriving in Nova Scotia, John Grierson carried out a vigorous publicity campaign on behalf of the Korean mission.

the 1890s. Nearing the end of his article Foote stated, "I felt as I taught him, with others, that in deep experience he could have taught me."[444]

Some of the key protagonists in the heroic tales were women. Hannah, the Bible woman mentioned earlier, was one of the first to be discussed at some length.[445] In the October, 1903 issue of the *Message* Louise McCully gave a brief synopsis of her life and faith. Her readers, most of whom were women, learned that Hannah had an extremely troubled time before becoming a Christian. Her mother died when she was eight years old, her husband abandoned her, and she lived with another man while not married. Once learning of the gospel and meeting Edith Foote in Wonsan, however, Hannah confessed she was "living in sin" and separated from her partner. From that point on she became an extremely valuable and faith filled Bible woman. Before leaving the story of Hannah, McCully made sure to note her generosity, zealotry and physical toughness. Hannah donated two silver rings to the Church, destroyed "idols" of various kinds, and covered vast distances preaching the gospel to hundreds of people.[446] She was a Christian woman of the highest caliber.

The events that occurred in the Northeast during the Russo-Japanese War, a topic of great interest to the Canadian public, provided the missionaries a valuable opportunity to extol the virtuous/heroic qualities of the native converts. In articles for the *Witness* and *Presbyterian Record*, Robert Grierson told the stories of Christians at Seongjin that protested the seizure of the

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[444] Rufus R. Foote, "Korea," *Witness*, vol. lviii, no.80 (29 September, 1905), NSARM, Mf. 8410.
[445] Geoffrey Johnston discussed the missionary portrayal of women in "Korea for the Record;" 17 – 24, and *Missionaries for the Record*, 391 – 397.
[446] Louise McCully, "A Letter from Louise McCully," *Message*, no.1, vol.xii, (October, 1903), 4-5, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2314.

Church by the Russians and remained faithful even though they were imprisoned and beaten.[447] In the same issue of the *Presbyterian Record*, Kate MacMillan, writing about the faithful in and around Hamheung, explained that they "stood firm and steadfast" in the midst of the dangerous threats posed by the Russians, Japanese, and "rebels."[448] Using similar language, Edith MacRae, desiring to entice her female audience, related the story of Mary, a Bible woman who, "ha[d] stayed [at Hamheung] during the whole of the past year, standing bravely at her post, even when other women fled in fear of the troops, Russian and Japanese, which in turn have occupied the city."[449] Mary continued to "stand at her post" even after the war ended. The author, perhaps to bring some levity to her article, related an amusing story in which Mary hit a Japanese soldier with a wooden shovel. He had opened the door of her house hoping to get a glimpse of a female missionary. Edith was visiting her.

In their war stories, the missionaries often stated that they believed the calamities which had befallen the Koreans would prove to be a boon to the Church. They were right. From 1903 until 1908, the total Christian population in Hamgyeong went from 1,501 to 3,312. Attempting to explain this interest in the Church, Katherine Mair wrote, "The Koreans to-day are crushed, they say themselves that they have no country, no king, no one cares for them, and they are coming by droves every day to find out about the new religion if it will help them."[450] Speaking of Hamheung in particular, Duncan MacRae reached an identical conclusion. He wrote:

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[447] Robert Grierson, "Song Chin Station Report, 1905," *Presbyterian Record,* vol. xxxi, no.2 (February, 1905), 59. Robert Grierson, "Letter from Dr. Grierson, Korea," *Witness*, (20 May, 1905), no.20, vol. lviii, 154, NSARM, Mf. 8410.
[448] Kate MacMillan, "Hamheung Station, Korea, For 1904," *Presbyterian Record*,' vol. xxxi, no.2 (February, 1905), 68.
[449] Mrs. D.M. MacRae, "Rallying Round a Bible Woman," *Message*, vol. xv, no.5 (February, 1906), 14, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2314.
[450] Katherine F. Mair, "Letter from Korea," *Witness*, vol. lix, no.8, (24 February), 1906, 58, NSARM, Mf. 8410.

> The war has not been without its effect on Hamheung City, doing away with many of its old prejudices and giving us opportunities as never before to preach the Gospel to listening ears, indeed, this city is rich in opportunities for the missionary, and I look back with keenest regret to the months when no one was here to take advantage of them, not the least of these is afforded by the great markets which we easily sold from 100 to 200 Christian books in a few hours, the entire city looks upon us with favour and studies the doctrine keenly.[451]

In early 1906, Robert Grierson, the most captivating of all the missionary propagandists, personally brought the message of how the battles between the Russians and Japanese in Hamgyeong were providential gifts from God. Speaking to the congregation of Chalmers Church in Halifax he declared, "The Missions in the Western portions of Korea have lately been much more prosperous than on the Eastern Coast, for the West had been torn up by the ploughshare of war ten years ago. And now, the East has had the same kind of experience and the results promise to be exceedingly great."[452] Grierson started his talk by breaking one of the fundamental rules of decorum that missionaries were supposed to abide by. He highlighted the positive features of his own mission and denigrated others. He proclaimed that the Korean mission in Hamgyeong, although understaffed and relatively new, cared for 492 fully fledged communicants while the other missions of the Presbyterian Church, which had been in operation far longer (on average for 31 years), and included 39 missionaries in total, could count a mere 4,600 adherents. The Henan mission was especially targeted by Grierson. He disclosed that in sixteen years, the 12 missionaries who worked in Henan had baptized a meager 371 Chinese. And, he went on, the Henan mission spent more money than did his own.[453] Judging from the

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[451] Duncan MacRae, "Ham Heung Station Report, 1905," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxi, no.1 (January, 1906), 61. Quoted in part in Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 115.
[452] Robert Grierson, "Our Korean Mission," *Witness*, vol. lix, no.4 (3 February 1906), 42, NSARM, Mf. 8410.
[453] Grierson stated, "The work in Korea cost[s] very much less than in Honan, - about one-fourth as much per communicant." Ibid, 37.

comments of the journalist present at Grierson's speech it would seem that his remarks did not fall on deaf ears. He wrote, "Mr. Grierson's hearers were deeply impressed with the facts."[454]

If Grierson and his colleagues could not convince the home audience that the spirit was at work in Korea, the reports written by R.P. MacKay and Jonathan Goforth might have. By sheer coincidence both men just happened to be in Korea[455] when the Protestant Churches were in the midst of a massive Revival in 1907 brought on by the loss of Korea to the Japanese. Thousands of believers publicly repented of both their personal sins and that of their nation with the hope that God would listen and help them gain independence from the imperialists.[456] There were smaller, more localized revivals before, but the Revival in 1907 (starting at Gil Seon Ju's Central Presbyterian Church in Pyeongyang) expanded to the rest of Korea[457] and contributed to bringing a huge influx of Koreans into the Church. By the time that Japan annexed Korea in 1910, there were approximately 215,000 Protestant catechumens and adherents.[458]

MacKay and Goforth visited Seoul, Pyeongyang, and Wonsan.[459] Writing for the *Record*, Goforth related how the Revival spread from the Central Church in Pyeongyang to the other churches in the city and then onto the schools. He was deeply moved by the confessional nature of the Revival and excitedly made known some of which he heard in Pyeongyang.[460] Seeing an opportunity to use the "wonders in Korea" he witnessed to shame what he considered to be the

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[454] Ibid, 42.
[455] MacKay was asked by the F.M.B. (Eastern Division) to visit Korea during his tour of the Asian missions operated by the Western Division. Jonathan Goforth was a famous missionary from Henan.
[456] Sung Deuk Oak, "Major Protestant Revivals in Korea," 271 - 272.
[457] Ibid. Gil Seon Ju sparked off the Revival by confessing that he had stolen money.
[458] Chung Shin Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2003), 40.
[459] Jennie Robb to her sister, 21 June 1907, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2275 #12.
[460] One man confessed that he had overcharged the missionaries when buying property for them. Another man admitted to killing his younger brother, and a woman revealed that she had killed her husband. Jonathan Goforth, "Wonders in Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxii, no.11 (November, 1907), 501.

spiritless theological students in his homeland, the fundamentalist Goforth opined, "As I pen these lines my heart goes out to an irresistible longing for our Canadian Theological Halls. If the Holy Spirit were sought for there as in Korea what rivers of living waters would flow over it!"[461] In a pamphlet he wrote about the Revival he once again juxtaposed the Korean Christians with their counterparts in Canada. He wrote, "The saddest of all things is this, that the Almighty Spirit is as willing to let Christ Jesus see of the travails of His soul in Canada and the United States as in Korea, but He does not get the yielded results."[462] Profoundly affected at what he saw in Korea, Goforth began a series of Revivals in Manchuria in 1908.

R.P. MacKay was even more exuberant than Goforth. He stated in one article for the *Witness*, "The atmosphere is electric; there is a spiritual buoyancy and responsiveness rarely felt in Christian work and it is inspiring."[463] He described the attendance at the weekday and Sunday services in Wonsan as "phenomenal." MacKay had spoken to an audience of 400 at a Wednesday night prayer meeting and recounted the "confessing of sin" which broke out in the middle of a helper's class. Subsequent to this, MacKay then strove to convince the F.M.B. in the Maritimes to provide more support for the missionaries in Korea by intimating that it would be beneficial to their own Church. He wrote:

> Can the Eastern Church not send several live men? Be sure they are live men. The Eastern Church never had such an opening – not in the New Hebrides, nor in Trinidad. Can you not measure up to this – the opportunity of your history as a Mission Church? Of course you can. That goes without saying, but will you? You have a dozen congregations

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[461] Ibid, 500.
[462] Jonathan Goforth, *When the Spirit's Fire Swept Korea* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1943), 25. Date of original publication of the pamphlet is unknown.
[463] R.P. MacKay, "Letter from Rev. Dr. R.P. MacKay," *Witness*, vol. lx, no.37 (14 September 1907), 289, NSARM mf. 8411.

> whose temperature spiritually would run up, who would share this blessing, if they would say "we will." Invite them![464]

The Eastern Division proved unable to come to the aid of the missionaries. MacKay did. In the summer of 1909, he convinced his own Western Board to cooperate with their partners in the East. This was an unprecedented act. Getting involved in Korea was an extremely enticing prospect for MacKay. The Christians had proved their mettle to him and he presumed that they might be capable of improving the fortunes of the Church not only in Canada but in Japan too. When referring to the possibility that the Koreans could bring about the Christian transformation of the very nation which so recently subjugated them, MacKay asked the question, "Is it [Korea] not like the leaven in three measures of meal, and may it not be that this Christian activity in the centre [of the Japanese Empire] will operate until the whole is leavened?"[465]

Laudatory as most of the articles about the Korean Christians were, the missionaries, on occasion, depicted them in a negative fashion as well. This was, no doubt, a consequence of their inability to completely mask their "true feelings"[466] regarding the Christian population, however, it was also the result of their desire to remind the folks at home that the Korean Church did not have deep roots. Hence, they (the missionaries) were still badly needed. The faithful Christian of today could easily revert to their "heathenish" ways tomorrow without their guidance. Korea was still, in the end, a predominantly "dark land." It was full of demon worshipers, idolaters, polygamists, loveless marriages, heartless elites, corruption, political agitators, and innumerable temptations.

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[464] Ibid.
[465] R.P. MacKay, "The Awakening of Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxiv, no.12 (December, 1909), 566.
[466] More will be said about this in Chapter Five.

Writing for the *Witness* in 1903, Duncan MacRae, intending to demonstrate in a rather dramatic fashion why missionaries were crucial in the life of the Korean Church, portrayed the Christians of Hamheung in a very unflattering light. In "A Plea for Korea" he professed, "The Koreans are not an easy people to lead. They have minds and tempers of their own," and are "often like angry children quarreling with one another…" hence, he added, "each group needs constant attention and loving guidance." After this, MacRae implored the F.M.B. to send another worker to Hamheung.[467] Close to one year later, he revealed that when he was teaching classes in Seongjin and Wonsan, the Hamheung Church had split into two factions. The animosity on both sides was so intense that they even began worshipping separately and were contemplating sending their children to separate schools. But then, thankfully, MacRae returned and brought calm to the potentially incendiary situation. He, acting as the rational, dispassionate, and caring missionary, reconciled the irrational and immature disputants in the Church. Order was restored and chaos averted.[468]

Rufus Foote, usually the most vocal of the missionaries regarding the capacity of Koreans to understand the gospel and be self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting, admitted in 1905 that among the throngs of people wishing to join the Church after the Russo-Japanese War were many who were either ignorant of the faith, or had non-spiritual motives which compelled them to seek him out. He asserted, "… I found it quite common for men to call themselves Christians and attend service but have little idea what it means. They know they are dissatisfied with the oppression of the officials and with the religion they know, viz., sacrificing

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[467] Duncan MacRae, "A Plea From Korea," *Witness*, vol.lvi, no.10 (7 March 1903), 74, NSARM, Mf. 8409.
[468] Duncan MacRae, "Report of Ham Heung City and Northern Circuit," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxix, no.1 (January, 1904), 17 – 18.

to evil spirits. They think the church is popular and they wish to be connected with so influential a body."[469] In his Eighth Annual Report, Foote once again discussed the influx of new inquirers, but this time he warned that they "may soon fall away" if they were "not looked after."[470] Archibald Barker spoke of this very same problem in Gando in 1917 and used almost the identical language as Foote. He noted that some Christians "drift[ed] back into unbelief" when they went north because they could not find other Christians, or were, "not being looked after [by the missionaries]."[471] The only solution to this problem according to Barker was to have a larger missionary staff. He avowed:

> A staff of one minister, or two, is utterly inadequate in this field. The harvest is ripe and waiting to be reaped. But the reapers are few. I know you [he was writing to R.P. MacKay] are doing what you can but, if possible send us some men. Every one of our stations is crying out for more workers. We want men and women, strong in body, with a personal knowledge of Christ, with lots of wisdom and knowledge and good common sense.[472]

Excepting Grierson, Foote, McCully, and Duncan MacRae in the early days, very few of the missionaries consistently wrote articles for the religious press in Canada. Nearly all of them were far too preoccupied with their many other responsibilities, including the writing of letters to the churches, organizations of various kinds, and individuals that were contributing to their work. Each missionary was connected to at least one specific congregation. Prior to the involvement of the Western Division of the F.M.B., the linking of the two was a natural outgrowth emanating from the long-term associations that the missionaries had with their fellow parishioners. These were hometown churches helping hometown missionaries. And, it was the members of these

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[469] Rufus Foote, "Sketches from Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol.xxx, no.7 (July, 1905), 310.
[470] Rufus Foote, "Eighth Annual Report of Rev. W.R. Foote, M.A., B.D.," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxii, vol. 4 (April, 1904), 161.
[471] A.H. Barker, "Letter from Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xlii, no.3 (March, 1903), 70.
[472] Ibid.

churches who were the first Canadians to sponsor Korean Christian students and Church workers.

The missionaries sent out by the Western Board, starting with J.M. Macleod in 1909, often had no personal connection with their supporters or to the parishioners who donated money to the Koreans under their care. Macleod, originally from Scotland, was joined to the Lingwick Missionary Circle, Hampden, Scotstown and Marsboro parishes (all in Quebec),[473] D.A. Macdonald, to St. Paul's Church in Peterborough, Ontario,[474] the Barkers to St. John's Church in Vancouver,[475] and E.J.O. Fraser to Grace Church in Calgary [476] – just to name a few. The last four missionaries were all from the Maritimes. Some of these matches were made by A.E. Armstrong while others were made at the request of the churches themselves. The members of St. Paul's Church, for example, were extremely interested in advancing the cause of Korea and promised to give $1,200 towards the salary of a missionary.[477]

Locating the actual letters exchanged between the missionaries and the benefactors of the mission would be an almost impossible task since the parties involved seldom donated them to an archive. We have to rely on the fragmentary evidence available in the form of the correspondence between the missionaries and A.E. Armstrong to learn of their contents. In assessing this material, it is evident that the missionaries had three aims: to keep the sponsors

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[473] A.E. Armstrong to J.M. MacLeod, 17 September 1910, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 4. A.E. Armstrong to J.M. MacLeod, 15 November 1910, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 4.
[474] Rev. Robert Pogue, pastor – St. Paul's Church, Peterborough, to A.E. Armstrong, 6 November 1911, UCCA, Acc. 79.204C, box 1, file 6.
[475] Rebecca Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 12 December 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 9.
[476] A.E. Armstrong to E.J.O. Fraser, 7 April 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 5, file 73.
[477] Rev. Robert Pogue, pastor – St. Paul's Church, Peterborough, to A.E. Armstrong, 6 November 1911, UCCA, Acc. 79.204C, box 1, file 6.

informed of the work they were undertaking, to detail the lives and work of the Koreans that they, (the sponsors) were funding, and outline the specific needs of their particular station. Based on a letter sent by Rebecca Barker to Armstrong in 1912, it would seem that some missionaries were not the least bashful about making known their wants. She told the Under-Secretary that when writing to St. John's Church in Vancouver, she asked them to sponsor some bible women, teachers, as well as students, and help pay for the construction of a girl's school.[478]

Awakening the charitable instincts of the parishioners in Canada was no easy task, to maintain them, laborious. The missionaries spent much of their leisure time writing to the patrons back home and translating the letters written by the Koreans sponsored by these patrons. They knew that those supplying the funds expected to be in regular contact with their clients and feared that if they were not, would lose interest; an outcome that could prove disastrous. The success of the mission was considerably dependent on the "gifts" provided by individual sponsors. They paid the salaries of more than a few missionaries as well as a great many Church workers and teachers; helped students pay tuition; and contributed toward the building of the mission's institutions. This private propaganda takes on an even greater significance when bearing in mind that it established the first inter-personal links between Canadians and Koreans.

Furlough talks, yet another crucial weapon in the arsenal of the missionary propagandist, were given frequently by the majority of the Korean missionaries when at home. They visited as many congregations, W.F.M.S. meetings, Presbyteries, and various other Church organizations as possible in effort to bring more attention to their work. In the official correspondence between the missionaries and the Foreign Boards, there is not much mentioned about the specific nature

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[478] Rebecca Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 12 December 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 9.

of the missionary tours, therefore, we have to rely on the newspaper/journal articles, diaries, and personal letters written by the pioneers. In these we see how they depicted Korea to the hometown audience and how their lives in Canada were not too different from the ones they led in Korea. The missionaries, while at home, continually roamed from place to place.

The 1905 summer issues of the *Message* included two articles which extensively covered Louise McCully's campaigns in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. [479] In May, she gave talks in Pictou County and Halifax, where the W.F.M.S. auxiliaries proved to be receptive audiences. In Pictou alone she visited nine places between 7 May and 14 May. At one of these gatherings McCully displayed Korean "curios" and had children wear Korean costumes – which, according to the author, provided "distinct help" [to McCully's listeners] "in picturing the land [and] the people from which they came."[480] In Kentville, the missionary dressed up a little Syrian girl in Korean dress.[481] When lecturing, McCully, never reluctant to talk of the financial and personnel shortages of the mission, pleaded for more workers and money. In the fall of 1905 her prayers were answered. The W.F.M.S. decided to send Katherine Mair to Korea.

Rufus Foote did much more extensive travelling than McCully on his tour in 1907. In May he spoke at 20 different churches, some of which, like in Korea, could not be accessed by railway.[482] In June, one of his stops included the Canadian Presbyterian Church in Canada Assembly that was held in Montreal (he discussed Korea related matters).[483] Soon thereafter he went to St. John, Springhill, Acadia Mines as well as New Chalmers Church and Fort Massey in

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[479] "Report of Miss McCully's Tour Among the Auxiliaries," *Message*, vol.xiv, no.10 (July, 1905), 4-7, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2314.
[480] Ibid, 4
[481] Ibid, 6
[482] Rufus Foote Diary, Jan 1, 1907 – March 25, 1911, date of entry, 24 April 1907. NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273 #4.
[483] Ibid, date of entry, 7 June 1907.

Halifax. A reporter from the *Halifax Herald* wrote of his talk at Cobourg Road Presbyterian Church: "no foreign missionary could tell the people a more fascinating story of the progress in Christianity than that which Rev. W.R. Foote of Corea unfolded."[484] The journalist went on to write that one man in the audience exclaimed after Foote finished his talk that, "Corea would be evangelized before Nova Scotia – evangelized in the sense of all who call themselves Christians being such in reality and not merely in title."[485] August and September were also extremely busy months for Foote. In September alone he spoke about Korea and preached in over 15 various churches and meetings. Throughout this whole period, he hardly spent any time with his wife and children, and he believed he would not see them for quite some since he was going back to Korea alone. In his diary entry of 29 October he wrote, "slept with Ruth [his daughter] (2 ½ years of age) and had a long talk with her this A.M before we got up. Then I dressed her and combed her hair for the last time, said good bye to her not expecting to see my dear little girl again for eight years – sorry but I am obeying the call of duty."[486]

In 1909, Duncan and Edith MacRae left their child Pearl in Nova Scotia while they took the unprecedented step of going to Newfoundland. They remained there for two weeks meeting some of the most influential figures in the Church and giving talks at St. John's, Harbour Grace, Grand Falls, and the Bay of Islands.[487] They too used human models to display traditional Korean garb with the intent of stirring up the generosity of their listeners. Edith MacRae was

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[484] "Reverend W.R. Foote's Thrilling Story: Korea Missionary Tells of the Progress of the Gospel in the Hermit Kingdom," 17 June 1907. *Halifax Herald.* Foote attached a clipping of this article in the middle of the diary entries her wrote in late June 1907. Diary number 4, January 1, 1907 – March 25, 1911 (p.56), NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273.
[485] Ibid.
[486] Date of Diary entry, 29 October 1907, Diary number 4, January 1, 1907 – March 25, 1911, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273.
[487] Edith MacRae to her mother, 2 April 1909, 8 April 1909 and 18 April 1909 (circa), NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 #14.

certain that through their work, she and her husband had convinced the people of the Newfoundland Presbyterian Churches to send out a missionary. One did eventually come – Stanley Haviland Martin.

Robert Grierson's furlough tours produced the greatest results for the mission. In 1906 and 1913 he campaigned furiously by using the press and his very charismatic nature as a means to compel the people of the Atlantic Provinces to answer the Korean call. According to Grierson himself, on his first furlough, he was treated by the people in Summerside, Prince Edward Island as if he was a star. His listeners were so eager to hear what he had to say, he talked to them until midnight.[488] Aspiring to further make plain his feelings about Korea and the mission, Grierson self-published a pamphlet entitled, *An Earnest Appeal to the Church for Expansion in Korea*.[489] He included a map, simple statistics about the mission, and a loud cry for more generosity on the part of the Maritime Churches. The pamphlet and his talks did indeed compel some people to give more. A man from Wolfville, Nova Scotia, who wished to remain anonymous, and the owner of Springhill Mines, pledged to help pay the salaries of new missionaries. Buoyed by this success, the F.M.B. appointed Luther Lisgar Young and A.R. Ross to the Korean Mission.[490]

In 1913, Grierson's efforts were just as fruitful as they were in 1906. He and Young went to Pine Hill in search of recruits, and after delivering their lectures on Korea, E.J.O. Fraser, a member of the Student Volunteer Group, pledged to join the mission. He was followed by Grover Livingstone, but the Board refused to appoint him on account of his blindness.[491] Soon thereafter, Grierson convinced the reverend D.W. McDonald to leave behind his life and work in

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[488] Robert Grierson, "My Life,"50.
[489] Robert Grierson, *An Earnest Appeal to the Church For Expansion in Korea*. Circa 1905 – 1906, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2239 #22.
[490] Grierson, "My Life," 51.
[491] Ibid, 51-52.

Bridgewater, Nova Scotia and become a missionary to the Koreans.[492] This was the last time Grierson took it upon himself to actively recruit missionaries in person. From the mid-1910s onward he left this job to A.E. Armstrong and R.P. MacKay. He put his faith and his trust in them so that he could better tend to the needs of the continually expanding Church in Hamgyeong and Gando.

Most of the missionaries undoubtedly basked in the admiration of their listeners as they spoke about Korea. The success of their work had earned them a "star power" of sorts, at least in Atlantic Canada. Korea was for some, the "romance of missions."[493] R.P. MacKay, a man who had one of the most prestigious jobs in all of Canada, believed that Korea could serve as "leaven" to Japan and maybe his own country too. Compared to most missions in the world, the mission in Northeastern Korea and Gando was extremely prosperous. During its first two decades, the Christian population grew by the thousands, there came into being a native leadership (that seemed docile), three hospitals, schools on every compound, and expanding work among women. But, this success came with a price. Korea and Gando were unforgiving. In the process of trying to build the mission, the Canadians sacrificed and suffered much. Many of them got dangerously ill, a few died, others lost children, most were overworked, some were exposed to war and all were witness to cruelty. Any assessment of the missionary experience in the formative period would not be complete if only taking into account their triumphs. It must also include their tribulations.

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[492] Ibid, 53.
[493] "Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxiv, no.4 (April, 1909), 183.

CHAPTER FOUR: TO SERVE AND PROTECT

Between 1907 and 1910 the Robb Family faced two crises. The first occurred as a consequence of Alex's heavy workload during the spring-summer in the midst of the Revival; by his own admission he came dangerously close to having a "nervous breakdown,"[494] and the second stemmed from the loss of Marion, the Robbs' five-year old daughter. She died after a sudden illness.[495] Yet, the parents carried on and even went beyond the "call of duty." Alex and Bessie passed up an opportunity to take their furlough at the time it was due, and when they finally did leave Korea, kept very busy with mission work. They attended the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh and then, when home in Atlantic Canada, campaigned on behalf of their mission at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the W.F.M.S. held in late September, 1910 in Moncton, New Brunswick. Bessie and Alex made no mention of Marion in their talks. They concentrated on discussing their work in glowing terms. Alex portrayed Korea as having the potential to be the leading Christian superpower in Asia. He declared:

> Korea will be, give every promise of being, the first of modern heathen nations to become Christian. That day is not very far distant. If the churches at home will only arouse to the opportunity God has given them of sharing in this great work, what mighty work can soon be done. Little Korea will be a mighty spiritual force in the far East, will be a mighty

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[494] "Our Work in Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxv, no.7 (July, 1910), 302. Robb admitted this to R.P. MacKay in his correspondence to him and MacKay subsequently had a section of Robb's letter printed in the *Record*. Near the end of this letter Robb wrote, "We remember with pleasure your visit to Korea. As you may remember I was on the verge of a nervous breakdown at the time of your visit...." MacKay most likely included this in the article to illicit sympathy (and funds) from the readers. Perhaps the most famous case of a missionary "breaking down in the field" was the wife of William Carey. He is often referred to as, "the father of the modern missionary movement;" Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol.II, 253. When discussing the plight of Carey's wife, Moffett stated: "His dear wife, Dorothy, who only with great reluctance left England, was never able to adjust to India and the rigors of missionary life. Three years after their arrival [Carey's mission began in 1793] she began to lapse into severe and mental instability. She embarrassed the mission and made a public shame of herself by repeatedly denouncing her husband as a "whoremonger," all without cause as everyone knew. Twice she even threatened his life." Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, vol. II, 256.

[495] Marion died on 14 March 1910.

> factor in the evangelization of China. Already she is sending out her missionaries of the Cross.[496]

Bessie and Alex might not have explicitly said anything about their feelings regarding Marion's passing but the latter's references to the emotional turmoil experienced by non-Christian Korean mothers upon losing a child made them plain for all to see. Alex Robb argued that the grief of "heathen mothers" was much deeper than that of their Church going counterparts because they did not believe in a Christian afterlife. Unlike the followers of Jesus, they held out no hope of being reunited with their children beyond the grave.[497] Privately, Alex Robb and his wife expressed similar thoughts. Writing to his mother Alex asserted, "How great our cause for praise that we sorrow not as those without hope [like the non-Christians]."[498] One of Bessie's letters to her in-laws is much less upbeat initially; she began by confessing that it was hard for her to think of anything else except Marion, and wished she could truly appreciate her daughters' joy of being in heaven. But, like her husband, she comforted herself by juxtaposing her beliefs with the "unbelieving" women of Korea. She declared, "I think I never realize[d] the misery of heathenism so much as when it came to how these poor women here think some demon has snatched away their children because, perhaps, they have not thrown enough rice or made enough spirit clothes for him."[499]

Given the Robb's penchant for masking their true feelings we will never know the depth of their grief regarding the loss of Marion. What we do know for sure is that Bessie Robb wore

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[496] "Thirty – Fourth Annual Meeting, W.F.M.S. (E.D) St John's Church. Moncton New Brunswick Mr. Robb's Address," *Message*, vol.xx, no.2 (November, 1910), 6. A condensed version of his talk was printed in the, *Thirty Fourth Annual Report of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (E.S.),* (*1909-1910*), 8, PCCA, File no. 1988 – 7005 – 1 – 6, 1905/06 – 1909/10, Annual Reports, W.F.M.S. (E.S).
[497] "Mr. Robb's Address," 5.
[498] Alex Robb to his mother, 17 March 1910, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2275 #21.
[499] Bessie Robb to Will and Nina, 17 April 1910, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2275 #23.

mourning garb for many months after her daughter's death. Her black dress was alluded to by one of the authors of the *Message*.[500] Two more of the Robb's children were to die. Their infant son Alexander Gordon passed away in 1912, and Marjorie, their eight-year old daughter, drowned in the ocean off Wonsan beach in 1921. However, as in 1910 with the loss of Marion, these tribulations did nothing to deter Alex and Bessie from practicing their vocation. Neither of them considered leaving the mission. In fact, they were among its longest serving members. Alex died a missionary in 1935 and Bessie retired in 1942.

Missionary hagiographers would see the perseverance of the Robbs as emanating from their Godliness while scholars sympathetic to missionaries would view their actions as driven by a desire to serve the Koreans, and both would be right in their presumptions, but only to a point. Bessie and Alex Robb were indeed devoted to Christ and they most certainly wanted to help improve the lives of the Koreans (first and foremost by converting them), however, it would stand to reason that they were also motivated by fear. How could a missionary who had written articles and given furlough talks describing the continuous progress of the mission face their audience again if they quit when still being of sound mind and body?[501] And, much more importantly, the mission had become for them, something akin to an "idol." Alex Robb admitted as much to R.P. MacKay in 1917. He stated, "You asked me if I was keeping in touch with God … if you asked me three months ago I would have had to say I was not keeping in touch with my

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[500]"Korean Children," the *Message*, vol. vol. xx, no.2 (November, 1910), 14.
[501] The missionaries always had "one eye on home" so to speak. They were avid readers of newspapers and periodicals such as the *Witness* and the *Presbyterian Record*. Rufus Foote kept clippings of articles which concerned his work and that of the mission in his diaries.

own soul. My own vineyard was not being kept. I was so busy with the Lord's work [mission work] that I had lost communion with him."[502]

The Robbs were not anomalies. Nearly all the Canadians venerated the mission. It was, for most, "an idol," and because of this they did everything in their power to serve and protect it, worked to the point of exhaustion and died for it, were reluctant to part from it, struggled with their fellow missionaries because of it, and were ever fearful of losing it. The mission took precedence over and above all else – even God at times seemed to be of secondary importance. To shed light on the "idolatrous ways" of the missionaries in the formative period an analysis of their working lives, responses in relation to the death of loved ones, willingness to stand their ground during the Russo-Japanese War, reaction to the Japanese takeover of Korea, and the fights they had with one another over resources will be conducted in this chapter.

Overwork

The second generation missionary William Scott may have disagreed with the theological views of the pioneers but he shared their passionate dedication to the work. From the time he arrived to the field in the fall of 1914 until he went on his first furlough in the summer of 1920 he learned to speak Korean fluently, itinerated for thousands of kilometers, taught in the mission schools, organized churches, trained leaders, and penned articles for the religious press. A letter he wrote to A.E. Armstrong in February, 1920 affords us a glimpse into the amount of work he regularly performed and the affect that it had on him. When reviewing his recent five-week journey in the Gando field, Scott apprised Armstrong of the typical itinerary he followed. He travelled from village to village either on foot or by ox-cart, spent, on average, three or four

[502]Alex Robb to R.P. Mackay, 27 February 1917, UCCA, Acc.79.204, box 3, file 42.

hours in the afternoons baptizing and examining candidates, had supper, and then conducted services late into the night. Besides this, Scott also needed to participate in the annual meetings of the local churches, W.M.S. gatherings, and be present as the native Christians elected Church officials. Upon completing this last particular itinerating journey, Scott told the Under-Secretary that he was "washed out" and later confessed of harboring a fear of not having the physical stamina to remain a missionary in Korea-Gando. He stated, "This [the work] takes an iron constitution and you know this is what I lack. I am afraid that I will not be able to carry on the work unless I manage to pull myself together very materially during furlough."[503]

William Scott subsequently had a very long and eventful career. In the 1920s he became the de facto leader of the Canadians and was a key supporter of the "liberal" wing of the Presbyterian Church in Korea during the late 1940s and early 1950s.[504] J.M. Macleod, the first missionary sent out by the Western Board in 1909, unlike Scott, could never adjust to Korea or the working life of the mission. His troubles began while on his inaugural itinerating trip in the North when he began fearing for his safety – which prompted him to question his decision to take up the missionary vocation. His next experiences only served to sow even more doubts in his mind. He often worked without the accompaniment of a more seasoned missionary to guide him, trekked through areas where few other Westerners had ever been, and found himself caught in the middle of the militant Protestant nationalists in Gando and the Japanese (who watched every movement that he and his fellow missionaries made). In early 1911, he confessed to R.P.

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[503] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 20 February 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 5, file 71.
[504] Kyoung Bae Min, *A History of Korean Churches in Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2005), 546.

MacKay that Korea had become, "a place of torment" for him.[505] And all of his compatriots knew it.

In February, 1911 Robert Grierson advised R.P. MacKay that MacLeod should be allowed to leave the mission if he so desired. He, Grierson, and his colleagues, thought that MacLeod was not cut out for the missionary life.[506] It was apparent to them that he could not compete in the Darwinian world that was Hamgyeong and Gando. One month later, without giving much of a formal notice, MacLeod did leave the mission and headed back home to his native Scotland. He simply disappeared into the night and was not heard from again. MacKay theorized that the origin of MacLeod's problems was at least partly attributable to his "gifted imagination," something he believed was a product of his being a "Highlander."[507] He did not understand something that Alex Robb did. In a letter to MacKay in late 1915, the veteran missionary told the Secretary, "Life in the foreign field searches out any weakness."[508]

MacLeod's sudden departure caused a certain amount of disarray to the mission's affairs. The Canadians had no record of his correspondence with the Western Board, did not know how his native workers were getting paid, and were in a legal bind with the Japanese over a piece of land that he had purchased.[509] Fortunately for the mission, his successors, Archibald Barker and his wife Rebecca brought order to the chaos. They shared the pioneering spirit of their older

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[505] J.M. Macleod to R.P. MacKay, 18 February 1911, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 5.
[506] Robert Grierson to R.P. MacKay, 17/20 February 1911, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 5.
[507] R.P. MacKay to D.T. Mansfield, 24 March 1911, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 5.
[508]Alex Robb to R.P. MacKay, 6 December 1915, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 30.
[509] D.T. Mansfield to A.E. Armstrong, 10 April 1911, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 5. Mansfield to A.E. Armstrong, 5 September 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 9. MacLeod had bought the land in his name and the Japanese wanted the Canadians to provide them with a declaration of ownership (which they did not have).

colleagues and as a result, excelled where Macleod had failed.[510] They were key figures in the founding of the Hoeryeong and Yongjeong stations, built homes and schools, conducted leadership and Bible classes, did "women's work," and itinerated.[511] Doctor Thomas Mansfield and his wife Mabel, dispatched by the Western Board in 1912, played a much lesser role in the North. They spent most of their missionary careers in Seoul. Mansfield worked at the Severance Hospital on behalf of the mission. The Severance Hospital and the Joseon Christian College were cooperative ventures undertaken by the Presbyterian missions in Korea.[512]

The Barkers rarely acknowledged the difficulties they encountered while doing the work. D.A. Macdonald, one of their close associates, was less inclined to gloss over the challenges he and the mission confronted. Writing to the F.M.B. in 1914, Macdonald revealed that the progress in and around Hoeryeong had either stalled or regressed. Many of the churches which had been bustling with activity just a few years previously had lost a great deal of members. Macdonald said that in the Southern portion of the field the work seemed as if it was, "apt to cease."[513] He surmised that in some areas such as Musan County[514] the intimidation tactics employed by Japanese gendarmes against the Christians were to blame for the losses of the Church, yet it would seem that the main reason for this phenomenon was that tens of thousands of Koreans from Hamgyeong were migrating to Gando. Macdonald's letter is a significant document not only because it contains an honest assessment of the problems facing the native Church in the Northeast; its value also stems from Macdonald's candid admission that practicing the

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[510] It is highly likely that a key reason why MacLeod did not share the "pioneering spirit" was a result of his not having a strong link to the Maritimes. He was born and raised in Scotland and educated at Knox College in Toronto.
[511] Archibald Barker did most of the itinerating.
[512] All of the Presbyterian missions were obligated to supply funds and personnel to these institutions.
[513] D.A. MacDonald to A.E. Armstrong, 3 June 1914, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 21.
[514] Musan is located south of Hoeryeong.

missionary vocation in Korea-Gando was not nearly as simple or facile as it was advertized to be in Canada. He declared:

> When I came out here first, having been fed up on all the current conceptions or misconceptions at the time going the rounds of the missionary meetings re Korea, I rather regretted having been given my life to such an easy proposition, but after having been here for two years I find it is by no means as easy or as rapid as I was led to suppose and I feel a real old time missionary.[515]

By the mid-1910s two of these "old time missionaries," Rufus Foote and Duncan MacRae, were so worn down by the stresses and strains of the work in Korea, that R.P. MacKay began to worry about the possibility they would, to use the parlance of the day, "break down." MacKay visited Duncan MacRae in Baddeck in 1915 and seeing that his missionary did not "look well," chastised him for over exerting himself in the field. In his opinion, missionaries like MacRae who did not take care of their bodies were, "sinning." He told Robert Grierson, "…God intends that we should be in health, and to impair this instinct by neglect or overstrain is a crime."[516] MacKay was just as upset with Foote. He met him in Truro, Nova Scotia and when telling MacRae about this encounter wrote, "He did not look the strong man I had in mind. I think he has been over worked, and needs the lecture I gave you."[517]

Duncan MacRae had many of the same worries as did MacKay. He realized that he could no longer exert himself the way he could in the early days and panicked when he learned of the mission's decision to transfer Luther Lisgar Young to Seongjin. If Young went to Grierson's station he would be left alone with the inexperienced missionary Samuel Proctor and that meant having to do most of the heavy work on his own. Newcomers to the field could not speak Korean

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[515] D.A. MacDonald to A.E. Armstrong, 3 June 1914, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 21.
[516] R.P. Mackay to Robert Grierson, 2 November 1915, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 30.
[517] R.P. Mackay to Duncan MacRae 2 November 1915, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 30.

well, or efficiently conduct the numerous tasks that missionaries needed to undertake. MacRae was convinced that if he continued to work as much, or even more than he did in the past, he could die. He wrote to Dr. Stewart, a member of the Eastern F.M.B., and threatened to resign if Young was transferred. To make his feelings perfectly understood he wrote, "I assure you to return to Korea would be suicidal for me, [and] unfair to my family and my Church."[518] Much to the annoyance of Robert Grierson, it was decided to cancel Young's transfer to Seongjin. The F.M.B. could not afford to lose a veteran Korea hand like MacRae.

Once the crisis over MacRae was resolved, MacKay tried to use it as a means to convince Samuel Proctor of the necessity for missionaries to rest.[519] However, Proctor, like most other missionaries, failed to heed MacKay's advice. He continued to "sin" with the same fervor as the pioneers – as is evident from a description that Maud Rogers gave of one of his itinerating experiences in 1919:

> Mr. Proctor's journey into Kapsan and West Gando recently was not what would be ordinarily termed a nice, quiet, easy time, when he walked from church to church, from early morning till far into the night, over passes 200 to 400 feet high, through mud nearly up to his knees at times, his wet clothes freezing as night came on. Nor was he enjoying the comfortable home generally provided by the self-sacrifice of many friends at home when he was without foreign food for three weeks or more and when he slept peacefully in a house where even his Korean companions questioned they should abide for the night.[520]

Less than a decade later, because of itinerating trips such as the one outlined above and a multitude of other stressors, including watching his infant son die, witnessing the Japanese

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[518] Duncan MacRae to Dr. Stewart, 23 August 1915, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2252 #6.
[519] R.P. MacKay to Samuel Proctor, 4 November 1915, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 30.
[520] Maud Rogers to A.E. Armstrong, 17 April 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 61.

brutalize Koreans in 1919, and being physically threatened by the Christians in Seongjin,[521] Proctor reached a breaking point. He returned to Canada in 1927.[522] He considered going back to Korea in 1928, but his colleagues thought it would best for him and his family that he remain at home. They knew full well that their field was unforgiving and even the strongest among them could, at any moment, become its victim.

Between the founding of the Canadian mission in 1898 until 1927, of the 75 Canadians that went to Korea, 10 had to leave on account of an illness of one kind or another and five died. And, of these five, at least two, Alex Robb and Kate MacMillan, quite literally worked themselves to death, while Archibald Barker, prior to his passing in 1927, became preoccupied with the notion that he had failed in his work. Barker was so distraught over his seeming incompetence and lack of faith that he did not believe it proper for the F.M.B. to continue paying him.[523] At the time of his death there were two Presbyteries, 15 ordained Korean ministers, over 150 churches, and more than 8,000 Christians connected to the Hoeryeong and Yongjeong stations[524] – the very same stations he had played such a big role in founding. And still he thought he could have done more.

Deaths

The first fatality in the mission's history occurred in August, 1909. Rufus and Edith Foote's seven-year old son, John, died of typhoid meningitis in Musquoboit, Nova Scotia. The

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[521] Thomas Hallam Proctor was born on 24 May 1924 and died on 27 May 1924. In 1923, Proctor, a resident of Seongjin, voted in favor of locating what was to be the mission's flagship boy's academy, in Hamheung. A mob of angry Christians went to his home and probably would have stormed into it if the police had not arrived. D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 5 April 1923, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 109.
[522] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 21 April 1928, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 35.
[523] Rebecca Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 4 January 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 118.
[524] "Reverend Archibald Harrison Barker, B.A., in "Minutes and Reports, 30th Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada, 1928," p.6, UCCA, Acc. 83.001C, box 19, file 4.

Foote's had left their children in the care of relatives when they went back to Korea after their last furlough.[525] Since much of Edith's correspondence has been lost to time, her reaction upon learning of John's death is obscure. Rufus's response is known. His diary entries show that he was devastated. He wrote the following lamentation on the day he heard about John's passing:

> Good bye our dear John: we shall never see you again in the flesh, but we shall meet you in heaven. God keep us until then. As I write I see you plainly as we played in the yard and climbed the trees before my study window. I see you as you used to go with me to church or on short trips to the country with me. I see you as you and Jean played on the boat on the way home, the joy of all the passengers. I see you in Edinburgh where our family was to gather as never before or since…[526] I remember your happy joyous ways – your going to and coming from school. I remember how you daily knelt by your bedside in prayer and how you attended services with both momma and me. Then I remember you at home in Nova Scotia – and the day I said goodbye to you. Little did I know then it was our last good bye – our final parting – our farewell kiss.[527]

In another entry made on New Year's Eve in 1909 we see that the anguish Rufus Foote was feeling had not in the least abated. He noted: "there are some days when that last week in August comes back so plainly and at times yet I cannot think that John has gone forever. Poor little soul, how I miss him. I can see his sparkling eye and hear his happy laugh."[528] On the one year anniversary of John's death, Foote stated, "It has been a long sad year when we think of him. However, we know he is happy in the presence of Jesus."[529] At the risk of delving too deeply into psycho-history, it would seem that compounding Foote's grief was a profound sense

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[525] They wanted their children to receive a proper education.
[526] The Footes lived in Edinburgh for a time between 1906 and 1907. Rufus Foote took advanced theological classes as the university.
[527] Date of diary entry, 5 October 1909, Foote Diary, Number 4 – January 1, 1907 to March 25th 1911, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273.
[528] Date of diary entry, 31 December 1909, Foote Diary, Number 4 – January 1, 1907 to March 25th 1911, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273.
[529] Ibid, August 20th, 1910.

of guilt. He desperately wanted to be a father in the fullest sense of the word and provide a stable and peaceful life for his family in Nova Scotia. In the late fall of 1907 this impulse had become so powerful that he briefly contemplated retiring from the mission early. Expressing this idea to his mother he proclaimed, "I fully intend to return to N. Scotia for good at the end of 7 years. That will mean fifteen years of service in the foreign field; and I will feel that I have done my duty, and will look forward to gathering up my family and making a home for them."[530]

In 1912, Foote pondered the possibility of leaving his vocation once more, only this time the drawbacks to remaining a missionary would have much more serious consequences for him than in 1907. Edith would not allow her surviving children to spend their lives in Korea and had no intention of being away from them again[531] therefore Foote understood that he had to choose between his family and the mission. He opted for the latter, but judging from a letter he wrote to his mother it is evident that he could not adequately articulate why he decided to take this course of action. When describing the feelings he had when making this decision he stated, "There is a fascination with living in this country that is hard to explain."[532]

In reviewing Foote's diaries, personal correspondence, and the trajectory of his career, it is clear that the origin of this "fascination" was not necessarily Korea – he had almost no interest in its culture, religions, literature, art, history, or anything else outside the native Christian community, but rather his vocation. His diary entries and letters to family and friends mostly

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[530] Rufus Foote to his mother, 13 December 1907, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272 #10. His wife eventually returned to Korea to help Foote in his work. The next day Foote conveyed a similar sentiment. He stated, "Next time I go home I hope to feel that I have finished my foreign duties and to make a home for my family not too far away from either you and Edith." Rufus Foote to his mother, 14 December 1907, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272 #10.

[531] In 1912 Edith wrote to her mother in-law, "I really could not leave these little helpless children and come back here so far from them for another 8 years." Edith Foote to mother in law, 7 June 1912, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272 #15.

[532] Rufus Foote to his mother, 2 March 1912, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272 #15.

dealt with "the work."[533] His whole life was centered almost entirely on the work, even after learning of his son's death. It is highly possible that the loss of John and his family (Edith and the children remained in Canada from 1914 onward), actually contributed to his decision to remain a missionary and to expend even more effort for the mission than he had before. From 1914 until the early 1920s, the previously unadventurous, cautious and introverted Foote, moved from his beloved home in Wonsan to Gando, mentored the younger missionaries, helped build the educational work from the bottom up in Yongjeong, and made frequent trips to the often dangerous and always turbulent Siberian field to lay the groundwork for the founding of a station at Vladivostok.[534] Like Bessie and Alex Robb, Foote seemed bent on turning his own personal tragedies into triumphs in the name of the mission and what greater triumph could there be than expanding the mission's influence into Russia? Foote was a great proponent of this quixotic notion and was very disappointed when the mission concluded that it was necessary to abandon Siberia altogether in the early 1920s.[535]

Most of the spouses who lost their partners were as, or more, determined to hold their ground and make the mission a success as was Foote.[536] L.L. Young, Robert Grierson, Rebecca

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[533] The missionaries referred to all the duties they performed as, "the work." It was a very common phrase they used.
[534] Foote, as with most of the missionaries, hoped the mission could establish a station in Vladivostok. He took his first trip to Siberia in 1908. Korean Presbyterians built a Church in Vladivostok in 1906. In 1915 Foote told his mother that the prospects for the Church in Russia were promising. At the time of his first visit there were 120 Korean Presbyterians in Vladivostok. Rufus Foote to his mother, 10 June 1915, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272.
[535] Apart from the chaos that ensued in Siberia as a result of the Russian Revolution and subsequent Civil War, the lack of resources and the determination of the Methodists to commence work in the region compelled the Canadians to give up their Siberian dreams. The Methodists aggressively pursued their goal of establishing a base in the Far East and refused to listen to the protests of the Canadians. For more on the Methodists in Siberia see, S.T. Kimbrough, Jr., "The Siberia – Manchuria Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS) During the Years 1920 – 1930 – with Particular Interest in the Contributions of Methodism in Korea," *Missiology: An International Review*, vol. xxxix, no. 4 (October, 2011): 429 – 444.
[536] The exceptions to this rule were Edith Foote and D.W. Macdonald. Edith never considered returning to the field and D.W. Macdonald, who lost his wife Iris and daughter Jean in 1924, was not allowed to return to the mission because he would not join the United Church of Canada.

Barker, and Bessie Robb all had productive careers after their wives/husbands died. The first to experience the death of a spouse was Young. His wife of ten years, Katherine Mair, died of tuberculosis in early April, 1919. She had suffered for a year.[537] Luther mourned far longer. In 1922 he confessed, "No one will know what I have passed through apart from the children."[538] Three years before, while still dealing with the shock of his wife's death, Luther acknowledged to R.P. MacKay that without the promise of heaven, "life would indeed be dark."[539] Nevertheless, in the months following Katherine's passing he continued to diligently fulfill his obligations and in doing so gave Younghill Kang, a student who first caught his attention when he was the principal of the boy's academy in Hamheung, the opportunity to leave Korea with him (Young was to go on furlough).[540] He believed Kang would make an excellent minister or teacher for the mission. As the two of them sailed on the *Empress of Russia* in September, Kang thought of his friends, family, the Japanese, the passengers on the ship, his teachers, and "America."[541] Luther Lisgar Young no doubt reflected on the times in which he and Katherine had traveled with one another to and from Korea.

Back in Nova Scotia, Young found Kang a place to stay before he was to start studying at Pine Hill[542] and gave talks on behalf of the "Forward Movement"; a campaign initiated by the Presbyterian Church to raise funds for both the Church at home and the missions.[543] In early

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[537] Robert K. Anderson, *My Dear Redeemer's Praise,* 80.
[538] Luther Lisgar Young to Edith MacRae, 14 March 1922, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2257 # 57. All of his children were less than ten years old: George was nine, Ruth was seven, John was six, and Ernest, the youngest child, was twenty-three months old.
[539] Luther Lisgar Young to R.P. MacKay, 22 July 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 64.
[540] According to Kang, Young became interested in him after listening to a speech he gave on the subject of heroes. The title of the talk was, "Does the hero make the time or does the time make the hero?" Younghill Kang, *East Goes West*, 92.
[541] Kang, *The Grass Roof*, 371 – 377. Kang never differentiated the United States from Canada.
[542] Kang stayed with Luther's brother in-law; *East Goes West*, 93.
[543] Robert Anderson, *My Dear Redeemer's Praise*, 87.

1920, Young then went to Ontario and spoke about Korea to various audiences for a month.[544] He returned to Korea in December of 1920, with only his son's Douglas and John in tow.[545] Young remained a member of the mission until the United Church of Canada assumed control of the work in Korea in 1925. Young refused to join the new Church because he believed it was too theologically liberal.[546] However, having no desire to lose touch with Korean Christians (and give up his vocation), Young moved to Japan in 1927, at the age of 52, to work with the Korean migrants there (under the auspices of the Canadian Presbyterian Church).[547] He died a "Korean missionary" in Kobe in 1950.

Lena Grierson was the second wife to succumb to an early death. She passed away in December of 1920 in Los Angeles. The Grierson's went to California the year previously with the hope that the warm climate would help Marjorie, one of their teenage daughters, recover from tuberculosis.[548] When he learned of Lena's demise Robert Grierson immediately booked passage for a ship headed to California (he had left his family in Los Angeles to commence his work again in Korea), and searched for solace in his faith. He wrote to Armstrong:

> God had answered your prayers and the prayers of many other friends, and, after the first shock, when the very world seemed at an end for me, has come the Peace of the Blessed Hope. There are few to whom such an event can be so small a sorrow as to me: to whom the Heavens are ever the drop curtain of a great glad drama, and may roll aside at any moment

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[544] Ibid, 90.
[545] He decided to leave Ruth and Ernest with his mother in Millsville, Nova Scotia. Ibid, 91.
[546] Approximately one-third of all Presbyterians refused to join the United Church. Many dissented because, like Young, they disagreed with its theological orientation.
[547] There were about 400,000 Koreans in Japan in 1927. For more on Young's work in Japan see, Robert K. Anderson, *Kimchi and Maple Leaves Under the Rising Sun: The Story of the Involvement of the Presbyterian Church in Canada with the Korean Christians in Japan* (Belleville, Ontario: Guardian Books, 2001).
[548] They were originally headed to New Mexico. It was known to be a particularly good environment for those who suffered from tuberculosis. However, A.R. Ross suggested to Grierson that Marjorie be treated by a specialist he knew in Los Angeles. According to Grierson, Lena was, "frantic about her [Marjorie] and insist[ed] that they "take some radical steps toward climatic treatment." Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 3 January 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 60.

> as the Lord comes to call, and change, and resurrect, and reunite his People. Lena was, is, a saint of the Lord, and will be in His train, and near His side.[549]

Robert Grierson went back to Seongjin in March, 1921 and continued to direct the work there until 1934. He officially retired from the mission one year later.

Young and Grierson were afforded the opportunity to re-dedicate themselves to the mission after their spouses died because they got remarried to co-workers (in a relatively quick fashion). In 1922, Young was betrothed to Miriam Fox and Grierson to Mary Fingland. Their second wives, because they cared for the children and the home, freed them to concentrate on their work – a vital factor that must have contributed to their decision to propose.[550] They had no interest in dividing their loyalties between family and their vocation. This is not to insinuate that Young and Grierson were not loving fathers and husbands, by all accounts they were,[551] but, the mission was their primary interest and the only means through which they could continue consecrating themselves to it was by finding new partners.

Rebecca Barker and Bessie Robb did not have to worry about children when they resolved to remain members of the mission after their spouses passed away. The former had none and the latter's were at an age at which they could care for themselves. From the evidence available, it is clear that one of the reasons why they decided to stay with the mission was that their fellow missionaries badly needed their services, but it is also probable that other key factors included: the chance to be independent (they received a salary from the W.M.S. of the United

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[549] Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 3 January 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 60.
[550] Robert and Lena Grierson had four daughters. Dorothy was born in 1899, Marjorie in 1902, Vivien in 1908 and Hazel in 1912.
[551] Florence Murray revealed the closeness of the Grierson family in one of her letters in 1921. She wrote to her mother that Grierson's daughters, Dorothy and Vivian, in the dead of night, waited for their father at a mountain pass which they knew he would use while coming home from an itinerating trip. They got home at 4:30 a.m. Florence Murray to her mother, 19 December 1921, NSARM, MG.1, 2276 # 1.

Church of Canada),[552] a desire on their part to continue doing the only work they knew how to do, and to preserve the legacies of their husbands. Both women were devoted wives.[553]

As single missionaries, Rebecca Barker and Bessie Robb took on more responsibility than they had when they were married. Rebecca was, on different occasions, principal of the girl's school in Wonsan and the Martha Wilson Bible Institute. She also sat on one of the mission's school boards. In 1938, after 27 years of service to the mission, Rebecca finally resigned. An illness incapacitated her. Bessie Robb too was active in female education. From 1936 until 1940 she held posts as principal at the Youngsaeng Girl's High School in Hamheung, the girl's school in Seongjin and the Martha Wilson Bible Institute. She would have continued to serve the mission if not for the rising hostilities between the Japanese and the United States. In the spring of 1941, she, along with most other Korean missionaries, was evacuated from the peninsula.

Bessie Robb never set foot on Korean soil again but it remained in her psyche. Well into her maturing years she endeavored to keep the people in Atlantic Canada informed of Korean related matters. In 1950, she gave a talk to the Kiwanis Club about the history of the mission, the state of the Church in Korea, the anti-Christian nature of Kim Il Sung's government, and the tribulations of the Korean people.[554] One of Bessie's son's, Ian, born in Hamheung in 1916, did return to Korea. He worked as a doctor for the United Church of Canada Mission in South Korea between 1953 and 1961. For the rest of his life he practiced medicine in Nova Scotia and similar to his mother, reflected on his, and his family's experiences in Korea. He also gathered together

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[552] This would have been the first time they ever received a salary to work for the mission.
[553] Rebecca Barker had attempted to nurse her husband back to health between 1923 and 1927.
[554] Bessie Robb, "Korea, A Talk by Mrs. Robb at the Kiwanis Picnic," 15 June 1950, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2275 # 35.

the letters written by his parents and his aunt Jenny – which he donated to the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.[555] Ian wanted to ensure that their experiences, including their tragedies and sacrifices, would be recounted by future historians.

The Russo-Japanese War

Prior to 1904, the greatest threat to the physical well being of the missionaries was illness. Dissimilar to their colleagues in China and elsewhere, they rarely worried about the potential of meeting a violent end. The only instance in which they had a serious cause for alarm before the Russo-Japanese War was in late 1900 when "orders" went out to all the governors and mayors in Korea directing them to slaughter missionaries and Christians.[556] It was soon learned that someone in the government in Seoul had found an official seal and sent out the decree without the knowledge of the now, "Emperor" Gojong.[557] No missionaries or Christians were hurt. With the commencement of hostilities between the Japanese and Russians in early February 1904, however, the peaceable and safe environment that the Canadians had enjoyed since 1898 had come to an end. From the spring of 1904 until the winter of 1905 the missionaries found themselves in the middle of a war zone just as W.J. MacKenzie had ten years previously.

Control over Korea and Manchuria was at the heart of the rivalry between the Russians and the Japanese in the late nineteenth and first few years of the twentieth century. Until 1904 however, they were not willing to risk going to war. Instead, they tried to find more peaceable

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[555] The letters were amalgamated into the Helen MacRae Collection.
[556] Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 6 – 7.
[557] Gojong proclaimed that Korea was an "Empire" in 1897; partly to show his independence from China. It was the first time in Korean history in which this was done. Gojong then set about making a series of half – hearted efforts at reform (all of which failed). For more on this period see, Dong No Kim, John B. Duncan and Do Hyung Kim, *Reform and Modernity in the Taehan Empire* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2006).

solutions to their impasse. In 1900, the Russians suggested that Korea be partitioned; they were to control the Northern half and the Japanese were to dominate in the South.[558] The latter balked at the proposal. Some in Tokyo then championed a policy whereby Japan would recognize Russian claims to Manchuria if the Russians recognized Japan's claims to Korea.[559] It was quickly abandoned. A third option discussed was "neutralization of Korea by international guarantee."[560] Gojong was a great proponent of this option since it would ensure Korean independence, but as with the other two proposals it failed to illicit any serious positive response. Ultimately, no solution could ever be found as both Russia and Japan did not want to "share" Northeastern Asia. Finally, in early 1904, diplomatic relations were cut off and on 8 February Japan launched a surprise attack on the Russian forces at Port Arthur (Lüshun), Manchuria.

The military operations in Hamgyeong have not received much attention by historians since the decisive battles were fought in Southwestern Manchuria and Northwestern Korea.[561] They were however no sideshow. The struggle for supremacy fought between the Russians and the Japanese in Northeastern Korea caused much misery, fear and, chaos. Seongjin was the first town in Hamgyeong to be affected by the war. On 16 April 1904, the Russians burned the Japanese settlement to the ground and then retreated. The Korean section of Seongjin and the mission station were untouched and the two remaining missionaries, Robert Grierson and Alex Robb were unharmed. Jenny Robb, Bessie Robb and her two children had left for Wonsan onboard the H.M.S. Phoenix in early March. The British Consul ordered all female British

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[558] Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword*, 173.
[559] Ibid.
[560] Ibid.
[561] The Battles of Port Arthur, the Yalu River, Sandepu, Mukden and the Tsushima straits are the main focus of most historians. See, Richard Connaughton, *Rising Sun and Tumbling Bear: Russia's War with Japan,* 3rd ed (London: Cassell, 2007).

subjects along with their children to evacuate from Seongjin and Hamheung.[562] Although not obliged to leave, Duncan MacRae went to Wonsan as well because the situation in Hamheung was ominous. A Russian assault seemed imminent and a sizable band of Donghak followers[563] had gathered together – many of whom were discussing plans to murder the Japanese, Christians and missionaries. One of them told MacRae, "We are going to kill all you Christians and as for the *Moksa* [minister, i.e., MacRae] he is easily killed as he carries neither gun nor sword."[564]

Wonsan, the furthest point to which the missionaries were prepared to retreat,[565] was not the safe haven they had thought it would be. The Russians attacked it three times. The first two assaults came by sea.[566] The only major land battle occurred on the outskirts of Wonsan in early August. The Russians, greatly outnumbered and no match for their more technically proficient opponents, retreated. Wonsan was, to a great extent, spared from the ravages of war. Hamheung, Seongjin and most other places in Hamgyeong were not as fortunate.

On 19 May the Russians breached the walls of Hamheung and on the following day set fire to 300 houses as well as the revered "Mansei Bridge."[567] They then headed to nearby

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[562] The plan to evacuate the Robb's did not emanate from the British Consul in Seoul but rather Robert Grierson. He contacted his brother Frank, a civil servant in Ottawa, and he (Frank) in turn discussed the situation of the missionaries in Seongjin with W.S. Fielding – the Minister of Finance. Fielding contacted London and soon thereafter the Phoenix was dispatched to Korea. Robert Grierson boarded it at Wonsan so he could return to Seongjin. His family stayed. Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 19.

[563] MacRae stated that most inhabitants of Hamheung were "Tonghak." Duncan MacRae, "Letter from Korea," *Presbyterian Witness*, vol. lvii, no.22 (28 May, 1904), 176, NSARM, Mf.8410. The Donghak were very active during the war, especially in and around Pyongyang. The Donghak faith was renamed Cheondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly way) in 1905. The center of Donghak/Cheondogyo activity moved north after its defeat in 1895. Charles K. Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution, 1945 – 1950* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 15.

[564] Duncan MacRae, "Letter from Korea," 176.

[565] None of the missionaries considered leaving Hamgyeong during the war because they worried that the British consul would not allow them to return.

[566] "The Wonsan Incident," *The Korea Review*, vol.4 (May, 1904), 204 - 207. "The Russo-Japanese War," *The Korea Review*, vol.4 (July, 1904), 302 – 305.

[567] *Mansei*, meaning 10,000 years, is used to denote something great and long lasting in Korean. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 112. "The Russians burn the Hamheung Bride," *The Korea Review* (May, 1904), 214.

Changjin County.[568] Approximately one week later a Russian force of over 1,000 strong, starting from the Northwestern city of Ganggye, headed to Hamheung and on the way there wreaked havoc in the countryside. One writer for the *Korea Review* reported:

> … they stole and pillaged on every side and lived almost entirely off the country paying nothing for cattle, pigs, poultry, rice or fodder. They insulted the women both old and young and acted generally as common brigands. They killed four Korean civilians on the way across and forced upwards of a hundred natives into their service.[569]

A small number of Russian cavalrymen easily took Hamheung on 30 May since the city was nearly deserted. Many of its inhabitants had fled to the mountains in Gangwon Province. Other squads of Russian soldiers skirmished with the Japanese elsewhere in Hamgyeong and continued to spread terror wherever they went. They destroyed homes, stabbed a Korean government official in Gowon County, and interrogated anyone who they suspected of spying for the Japanese.[570] One journalist reported that the Russians in Gyeongseong were so paranoid of being surrounded by spies that they "examined" every traveler entering the city's gates.[571]

When Seongjin was taken by the Russians in the summer, Robert Grierson and Alex Robb had already vacated the mission station. Grierson went to Wonsan in May when he heard a rumor that an outbreak of small-pox had occurred there, and Robb left as the Russians were making their advance on the city. A critical reason why Robb had remained in Seongjin for so long was that the Korean Christians had told him they would scatter to the hills if he left them alone. They believed their safety could not be guaranteed in lieu of Robb and his extraterritorial

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[568] Ibid.
[569] "The Russo – Japanese War," *The Korea Review* (June, 1904), 242.
[570] Ibid.
[571] Ibid. According to Helen MacRae, the Japanese were also suspicious of the missionaries. While discussing her father's decision to remain in Hamheung (although ordered to leave by the Japanese), she noted that he could have been arrested on the grounds that he was spying for the Russians. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 112.

rights. Jenny Robb thought the Koreans were naïve – she stated, "I do not see what protection they think one or two foreigners would be…."[572] And based on the actions of the Russians it would seem that her assessment was apt. It is difficult to believe that the Russians would have taken into account the protests of a few missionaries. In August, the Russians attempted to force the Koreans in North Hamgyeong to build roads, destroyed homes in Hamheung, Gowon County, as well as Muncheon, and killed at least five non-combatants.[573]

No missionary was immune from fear during the war, however, few spoke of it in their letters home. Edith MacRae was one who did. Writing to her mother after the shelling of Wonsan in June she asserted, "The sight of helpless women and children running helter skelter will remain with us to our dying day."[574] In his memoirs, Robert Grierson remembered the bombing very differently (as he would be wont to do). According to him, "It was all very interesting and not at all frightening…."[575] Duncan MacRae too concluded that the war was exciting (after fleeing from the Donghak and Russians in Hamheung earlier), and when the struggle between the Russians and Japanese was in full swing near Wonsan in August he grew excited at the prospect of getting into the thick of it (from a distance). He, accompanied by Grierson, took pictures of the battle. Over five decades later, Grierson reminisced about this experience:

> As we went, sometimes on the hillside to the right, and sometimes on the hillside to the left, concealed by bushes and trees, were squads of Japanese soldiers. MacRae paused [sic] by each squad, pointed his camera down, now to the right, now to the left, and snapped. So, we

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[572] Jenny Robb to Maggie and Jack, 16 March 1904, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2275 # 9.
[573] "News Calendar," *Korea Review*, vol.4 (August, 1904), 368. The Russians burned 135 houses in Hamheung, 59 in Gowon County, and eight in Muncheon County.
[574] Quoted in, Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 109.
[575] Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 24.

> strolled along, snapping views constantly, the sounds of cannon becoming louder all the time, with rifle shot now mingling in the din.[576]

Catching sight of the missionaries, a group of Japanese soldiers forced MacRae and Grierson to leave the scene of the battle (under armed escort) and destroyed most of the photographs.[577]

The juvenile quest for adventure on the part of MacRae and Grierson provided but a brief respite from their main worry – the fate of their stations. Of the two, Duncan was the first to be relieved of this anxiety. He and his wife went back to Hamheung almost as soon as it was freed by the Japanese in November.[578] Grierson had to wait a few months longer to return to his station and all the while he grew more and more perturbed. When, in early 1905, he was apprised that some Christian Church workers from Seongjin were arrested on the suspicion of being spies for the Japanese, he became hysterical. The lives of his associates and the existence of his station seemed to be at stake. He tried to convince C.E.S. Wakefield, the representative of the British Consul in Wonsan, to permit him to travel to Seongjin, but the request was denied. He then made an earnest and rather heart wrenching appeal to the British Minister-Resident in Seoul, John Gordon. Pleading his case in the most emotional manner possible he asserted, "You can imagine the anxiety and sorrow of my mind when hearing this [that some of his comrades had been arrested]. I was a shepherd whose sheep were being ravaged by wolves; a father whose family was being scattered and ill treated. And all this was due to one thing – my absence from Song Chin and to be remedied by one thing – my return there to remove suspicion of having

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[576] Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 25. Grierson remembered Duncan fondly and in a jocular manner laid all the blame for his own risky behavior during the battle on his friend. He wrote, "I was like putty in the masterly hands of the giant Duncan, the fearless, and followed on, not knowing whither I went. Of course it was absurd to venture uninvited into a scene like this, and especially take photos of troops in concealment and in action," *My Life*, 26.
[577] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 111. She noted that her father was able to save some of the pictures. They are located in the Helen Fraser MacRae Collection at the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
[578] Ibid, 112.

illicit relations with the Japanese."[579] Unmoved, Gordon gave Grierson the same response as his subordinate had earlier.[580] Neither he nor Wakefield were at all interested in allowing one of their subjects to put himself in harm's way and potentially cause friction between the British and Japanese governments. Grierson eventually stopped asking for help and waited for the Russians to vacate Seongjin. He returned in late March.

First Glimpses of Japanese Imperialism and the Canadian Reaction

In the spring of 1902, Duncan MacRae expressed his wariness of the Japanese to his father in-law. After the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was formed he stated, "Japan is Japan still. Just when to trust her is hard to say."[581] By 1904 however he had a change of heart and in his "Personal Report" he characterized the Japanese troops stationed at Wonsan as "brave and sturdy."[582] His colleagues were of the same mind. All the missionaries became "pro-Japanese" during the war because they surmised that the future of the mission would be more secure if imperial Japan gained control over Korea. They reasoned that the Japanese would not interfere with the mission for fear of jeopardizing their relationship with Britain, the only ally they had in the West. And if they did, the missionaries believed they could call on the "mother country" to make the Japanese see the error of their ways. Conversely, the Canadians detested the Russians

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[579] Grierson was accused by the Russians of being a spymaster for the Japanese. Robert Grierson to J.N. Gordon, 1 February 1905, IV – Public Records Office, Foreign Office Records, Reference, CO 42, no.11278. NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2285 #1.
[580] J.N. Gordon to Robert Grierson, 10 February 1905, V – Public Records Office, Reference, CO 42, no. 11278, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2285 #1.
[581] Duncan MacRae to his father in law, 3 April 1902, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2257 # 7. Quoted in Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 107.
[582] Duncan MacRae, "Personal Report, 1904," *Presbyterian Record*, vol.xxx, no.2 (February, 1905), 69.

for as Edith MacRae stated in 1903, "… should Korea fall into the hands of Russia all the missionaries will either have to join the Greek church or walk."[583]

In 1904, Edith MacRae was one of the most ardent supporters of the Japanese imperial forces. In an article entitled, "Good News from Korea," she proclaimed, "We cannot say too much in praise of the Japanese troops who are in the city." She then pointed out that one of the officers she met was particularly kind. He told her that if any of his soldiers misbehaved she should not hesitate to inform him.[584] As for the unbelieving Koreans, Edith believed that a sort of divine justice had been meted out to them. She wrote, "Perhaps several good sound thrashings were necessary to complete the work, but in any case a meek, quiet, respectful Korean is the rule in Ham Heung where it was formerly the exception."[585] Edith seemed to revel in the knowledge that the Koreans were terrified of the occupying force, not only because it contributed to their docility, but also to the diminishment of "devil worship" among the female population. She asserted, "Even the women have to submit to the new order, for instead of sacrificing on the hillsides or beating clothes by the river, they are obliged to stay quietly at home, those, indeed, who have not fled to the mountains. The dogs, too, seem to have forgotten how to bark and the magpies to chatter."[586]

Robert Grierson too was hopeful for the prospects of the mission when the tide of war swung in favor of Japan. He was especially excited when the Japanese military announced its plans to build a railway to Wonsan because it would be a great aid to the work. Writing for the

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[583] Edith MacRae to her mother, 24 August 1903, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 #8. The Canadians made no distinction between the Greek Orthodox and Russian Orthodox Churches. Most of the American and Australian missionaries were anti-Russian too. All feared that their work might come to an end if the Russians won.
[584] Edith MacRae, "Good News from Korea," *Presbyterian* Record, vol.xxx, no.4 (April, 1905), 153.
[585] Ibid.
[586] Ibid.

Presbyterian Witness in early 1905 he professed that it "caused much rejoicing in our mission, since this will mean greatly increased prosperity for our part of this land, and an easier and quicker way for us to travel in this country."[587] Alex Robb thought Japan's victories were advantageous to the mission as well. He believed they showed Koreans that the West was "superior" to the East in "material things" and because of this could lead them to conclude that "the religion of the Westerners may possibly be better than their own."[588] Jenny Robb was delighted that the military authorities were improving the roads and surmised that "in some ways it [would] be good for the Korean people to rub up against and come into contact with the more enterprising Japs." Unlike her brother though, Jenny expressed some misgivings about the new rulers of Korea. She wrote that "unless the latter [the Japanese] act differently in many ways from what they have begun in their connection with and dealings with these people I am afraid the poor Koreans will come out second best."[589]

Jenny Robb gave no explanation to substantiate the above mentioned claim, but she did state that it was the Koreans and not the Japanese who provided the labor on the road gangs in Wonsan, and would have known, primarily because of articles in the *Korea Review*,[590] that the Japanese, emboldened by their victories and domination of the government in Seoul,[591] began to enact oppressive measures against the Koreans and treated them with disdain.[592] Throughout Korea the imperial authorities arrested members of the Confucian literati for sending in

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[587] Robert Grierson, "Retrospect of 1904 in Korea," *Presbyterian Witness*, vol. lvii, no.7 (February, 1906), 58. NSARM, Mf.8410.
[588] A.F. Robb, "The Effect of the War on Missionary Effort," the *Message*, vol.xiv, no.11 (August, 1905), 13. Robb wrote this letter in late May, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2314.
[589] Jennie Robb to Will, 24 July 1905, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2275 #10.
[590] She mentioned that she read the *Korea Review* in her letters.
[591] The Japanese took control of the Korean government in 1904.
[592] During the war the Japanese troops were ordered to be disciplined and respectful to illicit the sympathy of the Koreans. When the Japanese realized they would defeat the Russians this order was no longer in effect.

memorials denouncing the appeasement policy of the Korean government, seized land without consent, pressed Koreans to work for them (the railroad from Pyeongyang to Seoul was built through the use of forced labor), and provided little justice to Koreans assaulted by Japanese citizens. One writer for the *Korea Review* asserted, "The Japanese know that they can ill-treat Koreans with impunity" and when wronged, "the Korean has no court to which to appeal."[593]

F.A. MacKenzie, a Canadian journalist in the employ of the *Daily Mail* and a great defender of Koreans, like most of the missionaries, blamed the "Japanese coolies" for much of the violence. In his book *The Tragedy of Korea* he claimed (somewhat hyperbolically no doubt):

> They [the Japanese unskilled laborers] went through the country like a plague. If they wanted a thing they took it. If they fancied a house, they turned the resident out. They beat, they outraged, they murdered in a way and on a scale of which it is difficult for any white man to speak with moderation. Koreans were flogged to death for offences that did not deserve a sixpenny fine. They were shot for mere awkwardness. Men were dispossessed of their homes by every form of guile and trickery.[594]

If descriptions such as this could not persuade the public at large in the English-speaking world to question the positive portrayal of the Japanese commonly found in the mainstream press, MacKenzie's revelation that the Japanese authorities were allowing the sale of opiates in Korea might have. By 1906, morphine was widely available, particularly in the Northwest, and it caused, according to MacKenzie, "quite a wave of morphia-mania."[595] His outrage was shared by the staff at the *Korea Review*. They condemned the Residency-General for allowing Japanese

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[593] "What Korea Owes to Japan," *Korea Review*, vol. 4 (August, 1904), 355. The author continued, "The number of cases of assault upon entirely innocent Koreans is so great that no consul could begin to attend to them all even if he wished…"
[594] F.A. MacKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co, 1908), 113. He also wrote a gripping account of the Japanese atrocities committed against the Koreans in 1919; *Korea's Fight for Freedom* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company; reprint, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1969).
[595] Ibid, 114.

"druggists" to administer "morphine injections" in Pyeongyang.[596] Itō Hirobumi and his successors disregarded all such criticism, and illicit drug use increased during the colonial period. Korea came to be a leading producer of opium and other narcotics.[597]

The residents of Hamgyeong only began to feel the heavy hand of the Japanese when the Russians retreated north. In early 1905, the military in Hamheung started to involve itself in the issue of land taxation and the governor of South Hamgyeong was forced to resign. A magistrate in Gowon County was compelled to do the same. In Wonsan, a plan was put in place (without consulting the local population) to locate railroad tracks within the confines of the business district (the most valuable property in Wonsan), and a proportion of land was especially earmarked for use by Japanese nationals only. The Korean owners of this land were prohibited from selling it to either their own compatriots or the Western residents of the city and some of those who tried were arrested.[598] In nearby Muncheon the situation was no better. The Japanese seized a large rice field and made its owners accept a pittance for what it was worth.[599]

Malcolm Fenwick, a longtime resident of Wonsan and a key source of information concerning the conditions there, was enraged at the offenses committed against the Koreans. In an article for the *Korea Review* written under a pseudonym he thundered, "I am not sure that the extinction of the Korean race would not be better than to be left under Japanese tutelage. Koreans have a phrase which is equivalent to the English, 'The word of a gentleman.' To cast such a standard of morality aside and accept the Japanese watchword, Get there or commit

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[596] John M. Jennings, "The Forgotten Plague: Opium and Narcotics in Korea under Japanese Rule, 1910 – 1945," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol.29, no.4 (October, 1995), 798.
[597] Ibid, 795.
[598]Buford [aka] Malcolm Fenwick, "Incubative Warmth," *Korea Review*, vol. 5 (April, 1905), 135 – 138.
[599] "News Calendar," *Korea Review*, vol.5 (August, 1905), 311.

suicide, would be worse than extinction."[600] In seeing the injustice done to the Koreans, Fenwick's close friend, Edith MacRae, came to share similar opinions. She wrote her mother the following frenzied lines in October, 1905 – "Those little slant-eyed monkeys that the whole world seems to be going crazy over, if they only knew them! They are not more civilized and just as much barbarians as any other country who knows not God, only they have coated it with a veneer of civilization that makes them like sugar-coated pills."[601]

Edith was not alone in her re-assessment of the Japanese. By the end of 1905 antipathy toward the new masters of Korea was widespread among the Canadian missionaries. Even the a-political Rufus Foote was repulsed at the policies of the imperial power and the behavior of the colonists. His sympathy for the Koreans is evident from a diary entry he made in June, 1906: "I am sorry to hear of the burdens the Japanese are laying upon the Coreans. In Anpyon they are demanding straw from every house. Poor women carry [the straw] on their heads to Wonsan walking in some cases a distance of 60 miles and receive not a cent of remuneration. I have never yet seen one instance of the Japanese helping the Coreans. All oppression."[602] Earlier in the year Foote was besieged with requests from fisherman to help them recoup the fishing grounds that had been given to their Japanese competitors. He refused. Foote believed their struggles were outside the mission's purview.[603] His sympathy only ran so far.

In 1906, Duncan MacRae took a much different approach than Foote and got involved in two physical altercations with the Japanese. The initial confrontation between him and his new-

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[600] Malcolm Fenwick, "Incubative Warmth," *Korea Review*, 137.
[601] Edith MacRae to her mother, 14 October 1905, UCCA, Acc. 86.274C, box 1, file 5. Helen MacRae used this quote in her book but left out her mother's remark concerning the Japanese being, "slant-eyed monkeys." Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 125.
[602] Date of diary entry, 9 June 1906, Foote Diary, 3A, 1906, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273.
[603] Dates of diary entries, 12, 16, 26 March, Foote Diary, 3A, 1906, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273.

found enemies occurred in the winter. While attempting to defend a silversmith and companion named Yi Chu Han against the charge of theft, Duncan, when provoked by the police officer in charge of the case, assaulted him. The gendarme fought back but was completely overwhelmed.[604] The second skirmish happened in the summer – the details of which were revealed in the *Korea Review.* Six soldiers attacked MacRae soon after he started protesting against the attempt by the military government in Hamheung to stake a claim to a portion of the mission's property. One soldier pistol whipped him.[605] The fight quickly ended with MacRae fending off his assailants. His land disputes with the Japanese lasted for many years.

Helen MacRae, in her biography of her father, proudly deliberated on the struggles he waged against the Japanese. She depicted him as not only muscular in every sense of the word but also wise as a serpent and innocent as a dove. His adversaries, needless to say, were the wolves and the Koreans the sheep. To provide further proof that Duncan was a fearless crusader fighting the powers of darkness in the name of justice, she quoted from a letter he wrote in the summer of 1907 in which he denounced the ruthless suppression of the residents living in Yonpo, a village located near Hamheung. The troubles ensued when the villagers protested against the arrest of a group of salt miners who refused to pay the newly instituted salt tax. The next day a small Japanese force descended on Yonpo and exacted vengeance on the belligerent inhabitants. The section of the letter Helen MacRae quoted from is as follows:

> The night is far spent. My heart is heavy because the Koreans are being outraged … [Yunpo] … was laid waste a few days ago by Japanese cavalry, artillery, infantry, and a police force … When the guns ceased firing and the swords clotted with blood had been sheathed, those who

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[604] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain,* 126 - 127.
[605] "Japan in North-east Korea," *Korea Review,* vol. 6 (September, 1906), 338 – 339. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain,* 129.

> were able to walk were marched to the city, the wounded were left to wallow in their blood … No wonder missionaries are not wanted. As we cannot side with such brutal carnage we must suffer with them. Tell it out. Tell it out until the heavens shall echo back the cry of the oppressed and Roosevelt chained to [Landsdowne] shall tremble at the bar of justice at the mouth of ___! It seems as though blood were dripping from my pen. My heart is heavy, one is helpless to do anything.[606]

If only taking Helen MacRae's depiction of Duncan into consideration one would get the sense that his abhorrence of the Japanese was motivated by an almost uncontrollable impulse, originating from an inexhaustible wealth of benevolence and righteousness, to fight on behalf of the Koreans. Yet, he also fought to ensure the survival of the mission. MacRae knew that the Japanese saw the missionaries as a fifth column allied to the nationalists and could, in an instant, shut down all mission work on the peninsula. This was his greatest fear and one he ruminated on in his letter about the situation at Yonpo. In point of fact, he discussed his consternation at the Japanese actions against the mission before he elaborated on the suppression of the villagers.

Duncan MacRae opened the letter by giving an overview of the progress he was making on the construction of his house and comparing the growth rates of the Church in Pyeongyang, Seoul, Wonsan, and Hamheung. He then expressed his belief that the colonial authorities intended to destroy the mission and divulged that missionaries in Wonsan were assaulted:

> The Japanese are attempting to kill our work and influence, if they possible [sic] can: At present they are trying to rob us of our mission property, with a high hand they have been robbing the people of their houses, lands and timber. Now they have turned on us. They have

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[606] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 134. Duncan MacRae to Loved Ones at Home, 11 July 1907, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 #12. Excerpts of the letter were published in the *Presbyterian Witness* under the title, "Outrages Against the Koreans," *Presbyterian Witness*, vol. lx, no.37 (14 September 1907), 289. NSARM, Mf. 8411.

> attacked mission property in Wonsan as well, and a number of Japanese stoned Mrs. Robb and Dr. McMillan on their own compound.[607]

The prioritizing of the mission over that of the plight of the Koreans in this letter is strong evidence that MacRae's prime concern was "the work." His defense of Yi Chu Han and his prompting of R.P. MacKay to publicize the oppressive measures employed against Koreans under the imperial regime[608] can also be seen as indicating the prominent place that the work had in MacRae's mind. He did both, in large measure, to demonstrate to the Koreans in Hamheung that the missionaries could protect them and that they had a friend in Canada. Most assuredly, Duncan would have shown MacKay's articles to his Korean colleagues,[609] some of whom might have questioned the allegiance of the "British" missionaries to them because of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Most within the congregation in Hamheung were not ignorant of its existence. Koreans kept abreast of the games played by the super powers since they had an immediate impact on their lives.

In a letter written to his mother in-law just a few months prior to Japan's annexation of Korea in August, 1910, MacRae once again spoke of the work before describing the struggles of the Koreans in Hamgyeong. He began the letter, "It is nothing but Koreans and church work from Sunday to Sunday, every day, seems to be an endless chain of work, work, work, with all

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[607] Duncan MacRae to Loved Ones at Home, 11 July 1907, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 #12. This part of the letter was quoted in the *Presbyterian Witness*. Jonathan Goforth, when he returned to Canada from his trip to Korea, mentioned the attack on Bessie Robb and Kate MacMillan in an article he wrote for the *Globe*. The article was a diatribe against the Japanese; Jonathan Goforth, "Has Success in War Spoiled the Japanese?" *The Globe* (12 September 1907), 1-.2; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The *Globe and Mail* (1844 – 2011).

[608] In of these articles, published in the 11 November 1907 issue of the *Montreal Daily Star*, entitled, "Missionaries in Corea in Trouble" with the subheading, "Japanese it is Said, Will Expel Canadians From Korea For Too Frank Criticism," MacKay reviewed the offences committed against the Koreans and claimed the colonial authorities were "preparing to rid themselves" of the Canadians. Duncan MacRae had no doubt planted this thought in his mind. Article located at NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2339 # 65. Helen MacRae discussed this article in her, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 134 – 135.

[609] The MacRae's received a copy of the article that was printed in the *Star*.

sorts and conditions of Koreans."[610] Following this he discussed the rise in sales of Mark's Gospel, the proselytizing efforts of the Koreans in Hamheung, and the rewards reaped by the Church because of the Japanese occupation. He stated, "Dark as the tragic scene of the Koreans may appear, it can truly be said of them that they are ready to listen to the message of life … they are pleading for light and instruction in the word of God."[611] It is only on the sixth page of the letter that MacRae mentions something about the Japanese oppression of the Koreans, and it should not go without noting that the specific victims he mentioned were Christians. The Oriental Development Company seized the grain fields that they used to support a boy's school.

The emphasis on work rather than the plight of the Koreans is readily seen in Rufus Foote's diaries and the correspondence of all the other missionaries as well. On the day prior to Japan's annexation of Korea, Foote, in a matter of fact manner simply wrote, "This a.m. we were informed by the Japanese that the annexation of Korea to Japan will be proclaimed to-morrow."[612] On the day of the annexation he noted, "Attended mission meeting and wrote some letters."[613] That was it. One week later, Jenny Robb did not make any remark with respect to the annexation of Korea in her correspondence. She deliberated on Luther and Katherine Young's son, the possibility of opening up a station in Gyeongseong, the need for more medical personnel, and the annual meeting.[614] In their letters to the F.M.B. after the annexation of Korea until the March First Independence movement the missionaries hardly ever discussed the

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[610] Duncan MacRae to his mother in law, 11 May 1910, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 #15.
[611] Ibid.
[612] Date of diary entry, 28 August 1910. Foote Diary # 4, 1 January 1907 to 21 March 1911, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273.
[613] Date of diary entry, 29 August 1910. Ibid.
[614] Jenny Robb to Annie, 6 September 1910, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2275 #15.

Japanese. The same holds true regarding the articles the missionaries wrote for the religious publications in Canada.

Why then did the Canadians not spend much time discussing the oppression of the Koreans in their correspondence? One reason was most certainly a fear that their letters would be read by the censors, however to say that this is the only reason would be a misnomer.[615] The central factor which accounts for this phenomenon is the Canadian obsession with their work. It, not the Japanese or the situation of the Koreans was the main subject of which they wrote.[616] The mission was the pivot around which the lives of the Canadians revolved. They gave up what would have been a comfortable, safe existence back home, travelled incessantly, got ill, sometimes seriously so, lost loved ones, went through a war, lived under the gaze of the colonial authorities, and died doing its bidding. Hence, the ways in which they served the mission was bound to be the focus of their communications.

Inter-Station Rivalry

The chronic underfunding and lack of personnel produced much anxiety and frustration among the missionaries as both limited the type and amount of work they could do. When particularly exasperated by this state of affairs, they usually directed their anger at the Foreign Mission Boards. In 1907, some of the missionaries turned on each other. The main protagonists

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[615] The missionaries were indeed worried about the Japanese reading their mail. Edith MacRae gave the letter in which she described the Japanese as "slant – eyed monkeys" to Robert Grierson before he went on furlough to avoid the possibility of it being seen by the colonial authorities. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 125. That said, it is important to point out that the letters the Canadians wrote while at home were little different than those they penned when in Korea. The oppression of the Koreans was not a much discussed topic unless it directly affected the mission.

[616] The tragedies that befell the Koreans during the colonial period were placed in the background by the Canadians who wrote accounts of the mission after they retired as well. In Robert Grierson's, *My Life*, William Scott's, "Canadians in Korea" and Florence Murray's *At the Foot of Dragon Hill*, there is no serious or detailed examination of the Koreans under Japanese rule. They concentrated, for the most part, on the work.

in this conflict were Robert Grierson and Rufus Foote. Grierson wanted the mission to abandon Wonsan and concentrate its resources on Northern Hamgyeong and Gando while Foote, ever attached to the station he founded – he once stated, "I would rather go home than give up the Wonsan Station, and I would rather do almost anything else than go home,"[617] dug his heels in and fought back. Foote did agree to the ceding of a portion of territory south of Wonsan to the Methodists in 1908 (which meant a loss of 27 Christian groups, 97 baptized members, 171 catechumens and approximately 1,000 adherents)[618] but he would give way no more ground. Grierson, underestimating his opponent, persisted in his attack on Wonsan for a number of years and by doing so contributed to producing factionalism within the mission.

The first salvo in the war of the stations was fired by Grierson in 1907. He contended (while Rufus Foote was away on furlough), that it would be best for the mission to hand all of the Wonsan area over to the Southern Methodists. When the vote on this proposal was taken (after Foote got back from Nova Scotia), the missionaries unanimously rejected it. Foote had informed his fellow missionaries that he was promised by the F.M.B. (Eastern Division) that recruits would soon be sent. Grierson, having lost all faith in the men from the East, pressed on and convinced his fellow missionaries in Seongjin of the justness of his conviction. They formed what Grierson termed the, "Concentration Party."

Having failed to win over the majority of the missionaries in Korea, Grierson attempted to use his powers of persuasion on A.E. Armstrong and R.P. MacKay. In January, 1910 he told the Secretary that, "Our keeping Wonsan open is a missionary sin for which the Master will hold

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[617] This was part of a letter to the Convener Dr. Millar that Foote copied in his diary. Date of letter, 27 May 1908, Foote Diary # 4, 1 January 1907 to 21 March 1911, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273.
[618] "Wonsan Station for 1908," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxiv, no. 3 (March, 1909), 106.

someone to account."[619] Foote, knowing the tactics of his enemy, countered Grierson's claims by informing MacKay that Wonsan had the largest boy's academy in the mission, the only girl's academy, and was the home of the largest number of communicants and students preparing for the ministry at the Pyeongyang Theological College. In effort to illicit more sympathy from MacKay, Foote notified him that when the Christians at Wonsan learned of Grierson's desire to close down the station they asked him (Foote) if they were going to be, "thrown away."[620]

Neither Armstrong nor MacKay had much of a heart to weigh in on the matter since they had little knowledge of the Korean situation. MacKay did suggest to Foote that it might be beneficial to hand over the work in Wonsan to the Methodists but he remained non-committal.[621] Grierson, not finding any allies in Toronto, began looking for some among the American Presbyterians at the annual council meeting in 1910. He asked the missionaries on the council if the Canadians could be permitted to enter into negotiations with the Methodists regarding Wonsan. He was told in no uncertain terms that the council could not get involved since it was only an advisory body.[622]

Caught in the middle of the feud were the newest members of the mission sent by the Western Board. And they were not in the least amused about it. Archibald Barker was so unimpressed with the ugly situation that he did what most missionaries rarely ventured to do – speak negatively about their associates to Toronto. When reporting on the mission meeting that was held in March, 1911, Barker revealed that Grierson refused to allow J.M. Macleod to reside at Hoeryeong because he wanted him to remain at Seongjin and then withdrew five colporteurs

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[619] Quoted in, William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 72.
[620] Ibid.
[621] R.P. MacKay to Rufus Foote, 26 May 1910, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 4.
[622] "A Statement of Views of the 'Party for Concentration" in Regard to the Remit of the Mission Council Voting Members on the Problem of Manning the Field," UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 7.

who were working in the far north (which hindered the work being done by the missionaries of the Western Board). Barker believed that Grierson was motivated by pride. He stated, "Dr. Grierson will have nothing to do with the work unless he can have all of it and bring it fully under Song Chin station."[623]

In 1913, the mission decided, once and for all, to keep Wonsan open – the main reasons being that the staff was expanding (thanks to the efforts of the Western Board), and Foote and Grierson became cognizant that their feud was detrimental to the proper functioning of the mission. In the end, both men were much more interested in bringing stability to the mission than they were in waging a war that could, potentially, tear it apart. They had travelled too far, sacrificed too much, and worked too hard to let that happen.

Conclusion

The mission held a very prominent place in the hearts and minds of an overwhelming majority of the missionaries in Hamgyeong and Gando. In fact, the mission was so important to them that one could say that they "idolized it." And, from 1905 onward, all began to fear that their "idol" could be taken away from them by the Japanese colonial authorities. The Canadians also began to feel a strong sense of foreboding concerning the members of their own flock. Anti-Japanese sentiment and an intense form of nationalism swept through the Korean Churches, especially those in Gando.

The rise of Protestant nationalism was the single most perplexing problem that the Canadians had to face in the formative period. If they seemed to favor the nationalists, the imperialist authorities would have every excuse to, at the very least, make their lives and those of

[623] Archibald Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 1 May 1911, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 5.

their parishioners extremely difficult and the functioning of the mission a near impossibility, while if they chastised the nationalists or excommunicated them, there would be very few people in the pews and they, the missionaries, would lose all of the trust they had gained. The Canadians eventually opted to work with the nationalists and in doing so began treading on very dangerous ground.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CANADIAN RESPONSE TO THE NATIONALISTS

In July, 1901 Rufus Foote bitterly complained that the Protestants in Wonsan were "not at all submissive" and because of this thought that they should not "be trusted with church affairs."[624] Five years later his opinions had not changed much. It seemed to him that his absences from Wonsan routinely, "start[ed] bad work in the Church because of lack of judgment on the part of some young men."[625]

Foote's criticisms of the Koreans were mild compared to Robert Grierson's in 1909. In an article he wrote for the *Presbyterian Witness* he quite plainly revealed why he felt the missionaries, not the Koreans, had to be in charge of the Church. He began his appraisal by stating that one did not have to look much further than the testimonies of the Koreans during the Great Revival of 1907 to see the depravity that existed within the flock since at this time they "confess[ed] of the most horrible and humiliating faults."[626] He then discussed, in damning detail, the character of some of the Protestants in Canadian mission territory:

> There is a great deal of pride among them, of backbiting, of hypocrisy, and the greatest of all sins – lying … It is a very choice Korean whose word you believe just at it is spoken, at its face value. It is a very choice Korean who will not make it easy for his left hand to know what his right hand doeth, and put it in the newspaper if he can. They love power and office so; that it just swells them up to have any little place. I just had to make a class leader in one of our out-stations take down from over his front gate the placard carved in appropriate Chinese characters … 'This is the official residence of the Director of the Christian Church' … They are not loyal and obedient – few of us pastors who have not seen little

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[624] Date of diary entry, 31 July 1901, Rufus Foote Diary, Number 3, 1901, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273. Foote did not specify any reasons why he felt this way.
[625] Date of diary entry, 3 March 1906, Rufus Foote Diary, Number 3A, 1906, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2273. While he was away on this particular occasion someone began to complain about a male teacher living in the girl's school.
[626] Robert Grierson, "Letter from Dr. Grierson," *Presbyterian Witness*, vol. lxii, no.14, (3 April, 1909), 106. NSARM, Mf. 8411.

> rebellions in the church, sometimes, as lately as in Hamhung, the one most trusted proving the least loyal of all.[627]

In reading the Seongjin station report for 1912, we see that Grierson continued to view the Protestant community negatively. He called on the F.M.B. to send more missionaries to Seongjin because, to his mind, the native ministers were of dubious quality. He wrote:

> With the highest of respect for the Korean pastors, we feel that they have not been tested sufficiently to know whether they can succeed in the 'generalship' of dioceses, and whether they can keep their heads unturned with the access of authority; and whether they have the firmness and courage for the necessary discipline of forming a church…we think that there is still need, until the Korean church is much further developed, for a better leadership than they themselves are able to give.[628]

The distrust that Foote and Grierson had of the Koreans was shared by their colleagues hence few gave much thought to relinquishing the control they had over the Church and the mission institutions during the formative period. Why then did the Canadians work so closely with the nationalists? Certainly, if the Koreans were not deemed fit to be the masters of their own Church, the Canadians could not (and indeed they did not) believe they could rule their own country effectively. To adequately answer this question an excellent place to start are the interviews that Helen MacRae conducted. During one of these, Kim Sang Pil, one of the mission's former educators, said:

> It is my opinion that Dr. Grierson and Rev. MacRae helped many nationalists and patriotic youths such as Lee Dong Whee and Oh Young Sun. Dr. Grierson employed Lee Dong Whee in the church as a lay preacher to protect him from the Japanese Polices [sic] even if Lee did

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[627] Ibid. No description of this "rebellion" was provided. Geoffrey Johnston quoted extensively from this letter in his work on the missionary letters/articles written for the religious press in Canada. Throughout his discussion of the Korean missionary propaganda he showed that they almost always portrayed Korea in a positive light and wanted to point out one of the exceptions to this rule. Geoffrey Johnston, *Missionaries for the Record*, 399 – 400.
[628] "Song Chin Station Report of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Korea Report for 1912," UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 9.

> not know much about Church work. Dr. Grierson gave him a chance to participate in the independence movement and to enlighten Korean people about nationalism through much travel.[629]

Kim Sang Pil was a child when Robert Grierson and Lee Dong Hwi were working together therefore it stands to reason that the knowledge he gained about their partnership was gleaned mostly through conversations he had with friends and associates (perhaps even with Grierson) later in life.[630] Indubitably, stories of the relationship between the missionaries and Lee would have circulated widely throughout Hamgyeong and Gando, and because of this, they would have earned much respect and trust – as they had with Kim Sang Pil. This was no small thing for the missionaries. In fact, it was their aspiration to gain the admiration of their constituency that compelled them to work with Lee and acquiesce to the nationalists. Their primary goal was to build their own "Jerusalem of the East"[631] and they deduced that working with Lee and dealing gently with the nationalists could aid them in their endeavor of reaching it.

To a great extent, the Canadians had no other option but to work with the nationalists if they wanted the mission to prosper. The nationalist spirit was so strong in Hamgyeong and Gando that the work most assuredly would have stagnated if they took a strong stand against it as the Americans had done. Dissimilar to the Canadians, they fully adhered to the long-standing policy of ensuring that the Church would not be used for "political purposes" and attempted to stamp out the nationalists. To do so the Presbyterians excommunicated radicals and banned the

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[629] "Translation of taped discussion, the Impact of Canadian Mission Work on Life in Korea," 10 June 1972, YMCA, Seoul, Korea, (p.3), NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2324 #37.
[630] Kim was born in a village near Seongjin in 1901 and would have known much about Grierson as he had become a member of the church at a very young age.
[631] By the early twentieth century Northwestern Korea was often referred to as "The Jerusalem of the East."

topic of politics from being spoken about in the churches[632] while the Methodists disbanded the politically charged Epworth League in 1905.[633]

In this chapter an examination of the partnership the Canadians formed with Yi Dong Hwi, their expansion into Gando, and the relationships they had with the Christians there from the early 1910s until 1919 will be conducted to demonstrate that they responded to the nationalists in the manner they did because of their aspirations to make the mission a success. It will also show that this response was both advantageous as well as disadvantageous for the mission. Their "nationalist policy" allured many people to the Church, and garnered them acclaim, however it inadvertently contributed to the rise of communism on the peninsula as well as Manchuria, and radicalized the Protestant population, at least to some degree. In 1918, Lee formed Korea's first socialist party and because the Canadians worked with Lee, and did little to stem the power of the nationalists, many of the native believers came to believe that they (the Canadians) were sympathetic to their struggle against the Japanese, which further emboldened them. Since the Protestant nationalists themselves are such an integral part of this story much attention will be given to them in this chapter as well, especially to Lee Dong Hwi and those in Gando – which was, by the 1910s, *the* hotbed of Korean militancy.

Before commencing our examination of the Canadians and the independence activists in the formative era, it would be pertinent to first provide a brief history of the Northern region of

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[632]Motokazu Matsutani, "Church over Nation," 194. In 1912, Arthur Judson Brown, the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, when speaking of the stance taken by his missionaries in regard to the nationalists asserted, "Some Christians who were suspected of activity in political movements were not permitted to hold office in the Church, and in some cases were excommunicated;" *The Korean Conspiracy Case* (Northfield, Mass: Northfield Press, 1912), 6.

[633] Motokazu Matsutani, "Church over Nation," 199. In the annual report of the Methodist Episcopal Mission in 1906 it was stated, "*The Epworth League* was disbanded by the superintendent during the year. The reasons for this action are that the League had changed in many places the purpose of the church, and had become a political organization." In, *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Korea Mission: 1884 – 1943* (Seoul: The Korean Christian History Research Centre), 322.

Korea since it is only through gaining an understanding of its past can we comprehend why so many of those living there were drawn to the nationalist movement in the early twentieth century. Radicalism in the North was nothing new, as will be shown below.

In the summer of 1904, Robert Grierson wrote in the *Korea Review*:

> Those who live in southern and central Korea often have an erroneous conception of the physical characteristics and the social conditions in the north. Most foreigners think of it is as a sparsely inhabited, heavily wooded and largely uncultivated wilderness where the scattered population is poor, rude, ignorant and unmannered. The climate is thought to be bleak and inhospitable and agriculture of a primitive character.[634]

He then tried to dispel the "erroneous conceptions" by explaining that the population of Hamgyeong was large, farming extensive, commercial activity vibrant, and the people, "by no means the ignorant boors that they have sometimes been painted."[635] He stressed, "So as far as book learning goes they average very well with Koreans in other parts, and as for manners they are no whit behind the dwellers in the districts near the capital."[636] Further on in the article, he argued that in some ways the people in Hamgyeong had more admirable qualities than the inhabitants in the southern provinces: "They have more pluck, more independence of character and a greater readiness to resent insult or injury."[637]

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[634] Robert Grierson, "Northeast Korea and the War," *Korea Review* vol. 4 (August, 1904), 394. By writing this article Grierson quite obviously had hoped to not only "enlighten" the missionary readers about the North, but to compel them to see it in a more positive light. Judging from an article written by Bessie Robb for the *Korean Mission Field* in 1914 it would seem that most American missionaries remained quite ignorant of the Northeast well into the 1910s. She stated that one particular missionary had informed her that no one she knew had any idea concerning how they could travel to Hamheung. Bessie Robb, "Hamheung Happenings," *Korea Mission Field*, vol. x, no.6 (June, 1914), 175, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2289 #30. Hamgyeong remained a relatively isolated and "mysterious" area until it became known as a growing industrial center in the 1920s – of which Hamheung played a leading role.
[635]Robert Grierson, "Northeast Korea and the War," 398.
[636] Ibid.
[637] Ibid., 400.

The editor of the *Korea Review* was very impressed with Grierson's work, so much so that he could not help but make a few comments about it in the same issue in which it was printed. He proclaimed:

> We feel sure that our readers will be deeply interested in Dr. Grierson's article on north-east Korea in this issue of the *Review*. We confess that the facts here given were, many of them, a surprise. It appears that northern Korea contains a large population of hardy and independent people, that the soil is well cultivated, that the stories of swarming tigers are a myth, that the country is not an almost unbroken forest, that wealth and intelligence and courtesy are not the exception.[638]

Koreans living in the South would have been surprised by Grierson's article as well. In the South Korean imagination, Hamgyeong and the two other Northern provinces, Hwanghae and Pyeongan, were desolate places inhabited by wild, uncultured, and dishonest people; ideas which first gained credence soon after the founding of the Joseon Dynasty in the late fourteenth century. The elite Confucian literati-bureaucracy in the metropole, who were the power brokers in Joseon,[639] did the most to create and disseminate this image of the North and its people. They perceived the region in such a negative light primarily because of their rigid adherence to Confucian principles.[640] Historian Kim Sun Joo has shown that the distance between the North and Seoul, the heart of culture and learning in Joseon, was proof enough to them that the residents of the Northern region were uncultured since, "According to Confucian cultural discourse, any land far from the center was deemed to be less civilized than the center itself."[641]

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[638] "Editorial Comment," *Korea Review*, vol. 4 (August, 1904), 407.
[639] Throughout the history of the Joseon Dynasty, the bureaucrats in Seoul exercised as much or more authority, as the kings.
[640] The Confucian ruling elite during the Joseon Dynasty was, arguably, much more steadfast in following Confucian decorum than were their counterparts in China.
[641] Sun Joo Kim, "Introduction: Thinking Through Region," in, *The Northern Region of Korea, History, Identity, and Culture*, 10.

The Confucian belief that those who lived by the sword were inferior to those who used the brush was another key factor which contributed to the negative appraisal of the region by the bureaucrats in the capital. The North had a rich militaristic past. The kingdom of Goguryeo (37 B.C.E. – 668 C.E.) engaged in constant warfare, and at the height of its power, controlled much of Manchuria and Southern Korea. Its greatest victories were won against the Chinese. In 313 C.E., it put an end to their rule over the Northern part of Korea by conquering the Lelang Commandery (based in the Southwestern part of Pyeongan Province and Hwanghae Province),[642] and in 612 C.E., it defeated a Sui force which consisted of over 300,000 men at the Battle of the Salsu River. The Goryeo Kingdom (935 C.E. – 1392 C.E.) dominated most of the Korean peninsula and was a successful martial power too. It withstood the persistent attacks of its Northern enemies, the Khitans and Jurchens, and was one of the few states that offered up a prolonged resistance to the Mongols.[643]

Control over the Northeast was a major source of conflict between Goryeo and the Jurchens as both sides claimed it for their own. Ultimately however, it was the Joseon kings, not the Goryeo kings, who decided the matter. After a series of battles in the first half of the fifteenth century, the Jurchens were defeated and Hamgyeong was incorporated into Joseon. In effort to preserve its hold on the region and defend it against the ever-present Jurchen threat, the kings then ensured that there would be a heavy military presence in the region. This, and the questionable ethnic background of the inhabitants of Hamgyeong, impelled the Confucian literati

[642] The "Commanderies" were founded by Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty four hundred years earlier.
[643] Goryeo fended off the Mongols for almost three decades. It finally fell in 1259.

in Seoul to presume that the Northeast was simply beyond the pale.[644] The rebellions led by Yi Ching Ok in 1453, and Yi Si Ae in 1467,[645] as well as the disloyal actions of the populace in Hoeryeong when Korea was under threat by the Japanese in the late sixteenth century, only served to reinforce their negative assessment of the area. During the Imjin War[646] the residents of Hoeryeong captured a prince as well as a few government officials, and handed them over to the invading forces.[647] They were scandalized by the decision of the elite in Seoul to flee and head north rather than resist the Japanese.

Kyung Moon Hwang, one of the few scholars to do research on Northern culture during the Joseon era, has argued that the lack of a rigid hierarchical social structure, and the development of a strong class of merchants in the North (both of which were to a great degree the ramifications of the policies enacted by the government), reinforced the prejudices of the Confucian literati. When discussing the former notion, Moon concentrated on the forced relocation of tens of thousands of Southerners to the North, a policy initiated by the Joseon kings in the fifteenth century to solidify their claims to the region and better protect its borders.[648] Given the harsh conditions that existed there – it had very little arable land (80 percent of the area was mountainous), the weather could be harsh, floods and droughts common, and famine

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[644] Historian Kyung Moon Hwang has noted that "The presence of Jurchen descendents among the northerners … invited condescension" on the part of the literati in the South; *Beyond Birth, Social Status in the Emergence of Modern Korea* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2004), 257.
[645] The Committee for the Study of the History of the Church North Korea, *Bukhan Gyohoe Sa* [The History of the Church in North Korea] (Seoul: Centre for the Study of Korean Christian History, 1996), 28 - 29. Yi Ching Ok, a government official, was angered at being dismissed from office and Yi Si Ae rose up because of the discrimination that he and the elite in Hamgyeong experienced at the hands of the central government. Both rebellions were quickly crushed.
[646] This is the name given to the war fought between the Koreans, Chinese and Japanese between 1592 and 1598. Ming troops came to the aid of the Koreans soon after Japan invaded.
[647] National Museum of Korea, *Joseon Ileukin ttang Hamheung* [Hamheung, the Hometown of the Joseon Royal Family] (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2010), 20.
[648] Kyung Moon Hwang, *Beyond Birth*, 253 – 254. Among the migrants were criminals as well as government slaves. To entice them to move to the North the state granted them freedom.

not unknown, as well as the common perceptions of the North as a land of beasts and savages, very few from the South would ever think of moving to Hwanghae, Pyeongyan or Hamgyeong voluntarily.

In his examination of the consequences of this forced relocation, Moon proposed that the rootless nature of the population forestalled the emergence of a powerful aristocratic class, and contributed to the creation of a society in which family background and place of birth were of much less importance in demarcating one's social status than in the South. According to Moon, "the people of the northern provinces from the early Chŏson, whatever their origins, melded into a great mass of commoners."[649] This was abhorrent to the Confucian faithful in the South since their ideal society was one in which a rigid hierarchy existed that did not allow for any kind of fluidity.

The existence of an energetic commercial society in the North further distinguished it from the South. When peace finally came to Hamgyeong, a lively cross-border trade developed which created much wealth. One official from the metropole in the eighteenth century claimed that there was "unseemly opulence" in the Northeast.[650] The amount of trade in Hamgyeong though, paled in comparison to that which took place in Pyeongan and Hwanghae as they "served as the natural staging ground for tributary and trade networks connected to China."[651] The commercial activity in the Northern provinces was also the result of the "special tax status"[652] that they enjoyed (the central government allowed most of the revenue generated in the North to stay within the region to cover the costs of the military and local government), as well

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[649] Kyung Moon Hwang, *Beyond Birth*, 257.
[650] Ibid, 259. The official most likely had the merchants and traders in mind. Most of the peasants were subsistence farmers.
[651] Ibid.
[652] Ibid.

as the willingness of the Northern elites to become merchants; a course of action which was unimaginable to their peers in the South. Being orthodox Confucians they would never make the pursuit of profit their life's work.

The negative perceptions of the Southerners had profound repercussions for the North – the most discussed being their refusal to allow members of the Northern literati to positions of authority in the central government even after they had proved themselves worthy of such positions through their success in the civil service exams.[653] This of course led to much resentment on the part of the "marginalized elite," the greatest manifestation of which was the Hong Kyoung Nae rebellion in Northwest Korea in 1812.[654] No less important was the relative neglect of the region by the authorities in the South. Aside from its strategic value, the North was seen as insignificant by the central government because its land produced very low yields and most of the taxable revenue did not flow to the coffers in Seoul. The light presence of the state combined with the lack of a dominant aristocratic land holding class meant that the Northern residents had, generally speaking, more freedom than their counterparts in the South – and the farmers in North Hamgyeong were the most free of all. The tenancy rates there were the lowest in Korea.[655]

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[653] Ibid, 262. In the seventeenth century only 7.5% of those who passed the *munkwa* (the highest civil service exam) were from the North. By the nineteenth century this rose to 15.4% and under Gojong it went up to 23%. Northerners accounted for about 25 to 30 percent of the Korean population at the time. Few of the successful candidates ever rose to the upper echelons of the bureaucracy.

[654] Hong Kyoung Nae, a member of the Northern literati who had become frustrated at the discrimination he faced while a bureaucrat in Seoul, led a large group of farmers and merchants in a rebellion against the authorities in the Northwest. The farmers were grieved at being forced to pay taxes during a period of famine and the merchants were angered at the state's intrusion into their affairs. The rebellion was quickly crushed by the king's troops. For more on the rebellion see Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyŏngnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013).

[655] By the early twentieth century approximately 50 percent of the farmers in North Hamgyeong owned their own land. South Hamgyeong had the second highest percentage of "owner-proprietors" in Korea at just over 30 percent. Charles K. Armstrong, *The North Korean Revolution: 1945 – 1950*, 14.

Based on accounts written by Robert Grierson and Bessie Robb at the turn of the twentieth century, it would be fair to say that the farmers and townsfolk in Hamgyeong jealously guarded their independence and would at times resort to force in order to protect it. Grierson described an incident that occurred in 1901 when the residents of Gilju, a town near Seongjin, imprisoned a group of soldiers sent from Seoul to carry out the task of imposing what he called the, "Imperial will"[656] and Robb divulged that the inhabitants of Wonsan, "sometimes drive an obnoxious [corrupt] official out of town."[657]

The distinct nature of the North was a great boon to the missionaries in the late nineteenth and first few years of the twentieth century. Farmers who owned their own land and independent merchants could join the Church without having to face the same sorts of reprisals as did the residents in the South.[658] The wealth of the Christians in the Northwest allowed them to be self-supporting, and commoners as well as members of the literati, embraced the new learning provided by the Westerners as the Confucian order was collapsing. A Western education was seen by many as the gateway to a better life. With the coming of the Japanese, though, the uniqueness of the people in the North caused the missionaries much anxiety.

The Northerners may have harbored resentments against the Joseon government but they loathed the Japanese. At least the elites in Seoul were Koreans like themselves and they rarely intruded into their affairs; the Japanese were foreign interlopers who were intent on setting up a modern bureaucratic state that would control every aspect of life. Not surprisingly then, when the

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[656] Robert Grierson, "Northeast Korea and the War," 400.
[657] Bessie Robb, "Glimpses of Mission Work in Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol.xxviii, no.10 (October, 1903), 452.
[658] Roy E. Shearer noted that in an area such as Gyeongsang Province where the strength of the aristocrats (*yangban*) was strong, there were fewer adherents. He stated, "… through their economic control over the tenant farmers, the *yangban* were often able to keep these farmers from becoming Christians"; *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea* (Grand Rapids MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), 94.

Japanese set up a protectorate over Korea, the Northern region became a hotbed of anti-Japanese activity, especially at first, in Pyongan Province. Ahn Chang Ho, a native of Pyongan, was one of the most influential of all the nationalists and the organization he founded, the clandestine *Sinminhoe* (the New People's Society), was the flagship organization of the independence movement until the early 1910s.[659]

The members of the *Sinminhoe*, many of whom were Protestant, directed most of their attention to promoting "patriotic enlightenment," the objective of which was to equip Koreans with the knowledge and love of country they would need to create and sustain an independent nation based on republican principles. Emperor Gojong was forced to abdicate by the Japanese in 1907 because he had sent envoys to the Hague Peace Conference to advocate for Korea's independence, therefore the *Sinminhoe* gave no thought to establishing a constitutional monarchy. To foster this "patriotic enlightenment" the *Sinminhoe* advocated for Korean participation in industry, championed education for all people regardless of their station in life, and organized meetings and lectures where people could speak freely. As a means to "speed up" Korean independence, the leaders of the *Sinminhoe* also concerned themselves with military affairs. They planned to create an army based in Manchuria that would, when strong enough, sweep into Korea proper and drive the Japanese out of the peninsula.[660] They were highly influenced by the Righteous Armies, or *Uibyeong*, that rose up in 1907 after Gojong's

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[659] Jacqueline Pak argued that Ahn was influenced by the Koreans in Hawaii. They had founded the "Korean – American *Sinminhoe* in 1903. Ahn had fled from Korea after the destruction of the Independence Party in the late 1890s. While in the United States he founded the United Korean Association in 1905. Jacqueline Pak, "Cradle of the Covenant: Ahn Changho and the Christian Roots of the Korean Constitution," in *Christianity in Korea*, eds., Robert Buswell Jr. and Timothy S. Lee (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 133.
[660] Yong Ha Shin, *Modern Korean History and Nationalism*, trans. N.M. Panka (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2000), 216

abdication.[661] Unlike the *Uibyeong* however, the *Sinminhoe*'s Army remained a paper tiger. A handful of military schools were founded but there were too few soldiers and an inadequate amount of resources at its disposal to mount any sort of campaign against the Japanese.

The *Sinminhoe* failed to create a viable military force in Manchuria but it succeeded in promoting education throughout Korea. By 1909, the members of the *Sinminhoe* and their peers in the many other organizations that promoted the "enlightenment" of Koreans, helped to build approximately 720 schools, which together, had a student population of 17,656.[662] The most famous and highly respected of these schools included: the Hanyeong Seoweon for Boys in Gaeseong, Daeseong College in Pyeongyang, Osan College in Cheongju (in North Pyeongan Province) and the Bochang School on Gangwha Island.

Most of the American missionaries looked upon these schools with much consternation. Some of them were particularly troubled by Daeseong College, founded by Ahn Chang Ho in 1908. Samuel Moffett and Arthur Becker, a Methodist (North) missionary, two of Ahn's fiercest critics, took the liberty of vilifying him during interviews they had with the Japanese police in 1909. Moffet told them that Ahn was using his school as a front to advance his political agenda, and Becker said he was "anti-Japanese" and "anti-foreign."[663] Lee Dong Hwi, one of Ahn's closest associates, and the Protestant nationalist "par excellence" in Hamgyeong, was never denounced by the Canadians. On the contrary, he was praised by them. In 1910, Maud Rogers, a

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[661] Yong Ha Shin has shown that from 1904 until the early 1910s approximately 142,000 served in the Righteous Armies; 189.
[662] No Chi Jun, *Iljeha Hanguk Gidokkyo Minjokundong Yeongu* [Research on the Christian Democratic People's Movement during the Japanese Colonial Period (Seoul: The Research Centre for the Study of Korean Christian History, 1993), 48.
[663] Motokazu Matsutani, "Church over Nation," 255 – 256, 259. Matsutani has shown that the Americans were also suspicious of the activities that were occurring at the Osan School and that when its founder Yi Seung Hun was arrested in the early 1910, they took it over.

recent arrival to the Seongjin station, described him in the *Presbyterian Record* as, "a humble ambassador of the King of Kings" and "a Paul like man strengthened by the God of Paul."[664] And like Paul, according to Rogers, wherever he went, victories for Christ were won. She opined, "Since his coming, new life, new spiritual zeal, new love, have characterized our whole field and work."[665]

Lee Dong Hwi, Robert Grierson, and the Canadian Mission

Lee Dong Hwi attracted so much attention to the Church because of his reputation as being a "man of the people." He had spent much of his adult life working on behalf of the powerless, the marginalized, and the nation. Kim Bang, in a recent biography of Lee, has proposed that his radical politics originated in the discrimination his father encountered, and the injustice he was witness to as a young man while living in his hometown of Dancheon (located approximately 50 kilometers south of Seongjin). His father, Lee Seung Gyo, although educated, could never even conceive of obtaining a position in the metropole because of his origins; the furthest up the ladder he got was a job in the local administration,[666] and Lee, when serving as a minor official in Dancheon, watched in horror as the mayor, Hong Jeong Hu, sold government offices, neglected the needs of those who had little, and engaged in a hedonistic lifestyle.[667]

Hong ultimately became the target of Lee's first act of civil disobedience. In 1895, Lee grew so enraged at Hong's treatment of the *Gisaeng* (better known as *Geisha*), who were

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[664] Maud Rogers, "Notes from Songchin Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xxxv, no.10 (November, 1910), 494.
[665] Ibid. Rogers was not the first missionary to characterize Yi as a Paul-like figure. E.M. Cable, a Methodist missionary who had worked in Gangwha referred to him as such in 1905. He was astonished at the influence he had in the region. Seo Jeong Min, *Yi Dong-Hwi wa Gidokkyo*,128.
[666] Yi Seung Gyo was a farmer. Kim Bang, *Daehan minjok*, 13.
[667] Ibid, 14.

enlivening his (Hong's) birthday party, that he assaulted him. Lee then ran away to escape from being punished. Fortunately for him, at around the same time, riots had sprouted up, and the central authorities, hoping to appease the populace, chose the progressive minded Lee Gye Seon to replace the much despised Hong. Lee Gye Seon would have a profound effect on Lee Dong Hwi's life. He first pardoned, and then allowed him to remain working as a civil official. Following this, Lee Gye Seon, who had been impressed with Dong Hwi's performance, invited him to Seoul when he completed his term as mayor.[668] Lee readily agreed and soon thereafter embarked on a military career, rose steadily in the ranks, and became a household name.

Lee decided to join the military since unlike the civil bureaucracy, it welcomed Northerners. Men from the North, especially those from Hamgyeong, were seen as possessing a natural talent for war. Lee's initial encounter with military life was as a student at the newly opened officer training school in Seoul. After graduating in 1897, Lee spent the next few years serving in the prestigious imperial guard in the capital, and in an elite unit in charge of providing protection for Min Yeong Hwan, a nephew of the Queen, and a reformer in Gojong's government. Lee advanced so quickly because his talents and personality inspired confidence in his superiors, the most important of these being Gojong. While reviewing the troops the emperor was captivated by Lee's commanding presence as well as his booming voice, and from that time onward, held him in high regard.[669]

Lee first came to the attention of the public in consequence of his drive to root out corruption in the military while working as an inspector for the prosecutor's office; a position he was appointed to in 1901. Through his examinations he found that some of the senior officers in

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[668] Ibid, 16.
[669] Ibid.

Pyeongyang were embezzling funds and instead of taking the bribe offered to him by the offenders, Lee had them punished.[670] His uprightness and honesty earned for him much renown all over the peninsula, and a promotion. Lee was given the responsibility to lead an investigation into the affairs of the municipal governments in Jeolla, Chungcheong and Gyeongsang Provinces. And, as he did in Pyeongyang, he brought corrupt officials to justice. He had 14 magistrates dismissed and forced 50 civil servants to pay back the money they had stolen from the central government.[671]

In 1903, Lee was transferred to Gangwha Island and it was there that he turned to Christianity. He was deeply impressed by the native Methodists he met and saw the churches and schools they built as vehicles that could be used to promote "enlightened patriotism" – a subject he had discussed with Min Yeong Hwan a few years earlier.[672] In 1905, Lee converted to Methodism[673] and started to devote most of his energy to education. Within a short time he and his colleagues helped to establish schools in every part of Gangwha. Lee's greatest accomplishment was the creation of the Bochang School. It was completely independent of the missionaries and the curriculum was much more varied than that of most mission schools. Students learned English, Japanese, chemistry, physics, mathematics, economics, Korean history, Korean geography and the art of war. For one hour every afternoon boys received military

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[670] Ibid, 18.
[671] Ibid, 19.
[672] Min Yeong Hwan committed suicide in the late fall of 1905 as an act of protest against the Protectorate Treaty.
[673] There is some dispute concerning the specific year in which Yi converted. Some say he entered the Methodist Church in 1907.

training.[674] There was no religious instruction. The objective of the school was to develop the future leaders of an independent Korea, not ministers for the Church.

As Lee was occupied building schools in Gangwha in the summer of 1907, Itō Hirobumi, the Resident-General of Korea, was preparing to assume more control over the peninsula. In late July, he, after forcing Gojong to abdicate, installed his son Sunjeong on the throne and compelled him to sign the Japan-Korea Treaty. According to its stipulations, the Resident-General assumed virtually complete authority over all Korean affairs and only Japanese officials could occupy high positions in the central government. The treaty so enraged Lee that he began to organize the residents of Gangwha to protest against it. The atmosphere on the island became even tenser when soldiers in the local regiment refused to follow the order to lay down their weapons and leave their posts. On 31 July, the government, now entirely dominated by the Japanese and their Korean sympathizers, passed an edict which disbanded Gojong's army. Knowing that Japanese troops would inevitably descend on Gangwha, Lee immediately tried to prepare both the soldiers and the civilian population for battle. His efforts proved futile. A few hundred soldiers equipped with out-of-date weaponry and a rag tag group of partisans were no match for the well trained imperial army. The Koreans were able to fend off the Japanese in an initial skirmish but they were eventually annihilated.[675] Among the casualties were a few of the leaders of the resistance.[676] Lee Dong Hwi was arrested and imprisoned.

His confinement was of a short duration. The Japanese decided to release Lee in December rather than run the risk of making a martyr out of him. Later, they actually tried to co-

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[674] Seo Jeong Min, *Yi Dong-Hwi wa Gidokkyo*, 141 -142, 144 - 146. Seo argued that there was a Christian influence at Bochang since many of the teachers were believers.
[675] Ibid, 196 – 199.
[676] Three brothers, Kim Dong Su, Kim Nam Su, Kim Yeong Gu were shot to death.

opt Lee by offering him the governorship of Hamgyeong. He refused. Once free, rather than return to Ganghwa where his work was in tatters, he headed to the Northwest, joined the *Sinminhoe* and vigorously spread the gospel of the Church, education, and the nation. He began his partnership with the Canadians in 1909 when Robert Grierson hired him to be a colporteur for the mission.

Some confusion exists concerning which one of them initiated the relationship. Grierson, in his memoirs, stated that Lee sought him out in Seongjin,[677] but historian Seo Jeong Min, using a letter from one of Lee's friends, and a Japanese government report, suggested that Grierson pursued him.[678] Knowing Grierson's fierce determination to build a prosperous mission it is likely that he was the one who approached Lee. The linking of the mission with such a luminary in the minds of the Hamgyeong populace must have been a very inviting proposition to him. It should be kept in mind, however, that Lee too would have relished the possibility of working closely with the missionaries as he presumed that there could be benefits from being associated with them. He was correct. The Canadians provided him and his family a residence in Seongjin, protection from the authorities, and a golden opportunity to spread his message of patriotic enlightenment in Hamgyeong and Gando.

Lee itinerated to as many cities, villages, and hamlets as he could (often accompanied by Grierson), and everywhere he went, large gatherings of people flocked to him as they were extremely eager to hear what the famous patriot and hometown boy had to say.[679] His exploits

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[677] When discussing Yi's motivations for coming to see him Grierson wrote, "His visit to me was based on his desire to work for the advance of the Church of Christ. He had based a great hope, like others, in educational uplift of his nation, but now felt that only Divine Grace and Divine aid could save his country." Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 36.
[678] Seo Jeong Min, *Yi Dong-Hwi wa Gidokkyo*, 345 – 346. The authors of both these documents state that when Grierson heard Yi was in Wonsan he left Seongjin to meet him.
[679]Kim Seung Tae, *Hanmal ilje Gangjeomgi Seongyosa Yeongu*, 133-135.

were known to all of his listeners and many if not most of them were just as opposed to the imperialists as him. The new regime was far more odious to them than that of the Joseon kings had ever been. They were treated with disrespect in their daily interactions with the Japanese, were assaulted by soldiers/gendarmes, and they could not protest (as they had so often done in the past) without having to suffer severe repercussions.[680] By the time that Lee had come back home, the people in the Northeast had learned that there was no escape from the cold, rational, despotic state being fashioned by the Japanese – unless they were to migrate to Gando.

When addressing the crowds that came to see him (sometimes they numbered in the hundreds), Lee Dong Hwi stressed the same sorts of ideas as his fellow Protestant nationalists in the *Sinminhoe*. He told his listeners that the Church could lift up and preserve Korean civilization in its time of need, therefore, it was incumbent upon them to work selflessly and tirelessly on its behalf. The goal of the Church was to enlighten every Korean, even the "heartless," so that they could help build a new nation based on modern, rather than feudal principles. Lee stressed at one particular meeting that the Japanese may be in control of Korea at the present moment, but the Church could, and was, already, in the process of recovering it. In this we see that he barely disguised his nationalist rhetoric.[681]

Lee's impassioned speeches and his ceaseless work (he itinerated as much or more than the Canadian missionaries), aided in the ushering in of a new era in the mission's history. For the first time since the Canadians arrived in Korea, the Church started to expand at a phenomenal rate. One year before Lee went to Hamgyeong, there were: 3,312 Christians, 26 outstations, 59

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[680] As shown in Chapter Four, the salt farmers near Hamheung were brutalized by the Japanese authorities for refusing to pay taxes. Others who did not pay the tobacco and liquor taxes suffered a similar fate; Kim Seung Tae, 130.
[681] Seon Jeong Min, *Yi Dong-Hwi wa Gidokkyo*, 339.

congregations and 472 students in the day schools. By the time he left the mission in 1913, these numbers had risen dramatically. The number of adherents in Canadian mission territory (which now included Gando) grew to 8,399 and there were 204 outstations, 216 congregations and 1,372 students in the day schools.[682] In sum, the early 1910s was a turning point in the history of the mission.

The Japanese authorities in Hamgyeong, although well informed of Lee's speeches and activities,[683] did not do much to interfere with him during the first few years he was working for the mission because of his close connection with Grierson and the Canadians. But in 1911, he along with many other leading figures in the Protestant nationalist movement, mostly from Northwestern Korea, were arrested on the trumped-up charge of planning to assassinate the Governor-General Terauchi Masatake. Since his predecessor Itō Hirobumi had been killed by the Catholic Ahn Jeung Gun just a few years earlier, it seemed to Masatake that implicating the Protestant nationalists in a plot to kill him was a perfect excuse to use in order to justify an attempt to destroy them.

The "Conspiracy Case" or the "105 Incident" (of the 123 brought to trial, 105 were Protestants), was roundly criticized by the American missionaries, some of whom were accused of conspiring with the nationalists. They denounced the colonial government for persecuting innocent men, conducting trials entirely in Japanese (a language most of the defendants did not understand), and using torture to illicit confessions.[684] Cognizant that their criticism would most likely not evoke any change of mind on the part of the Japanese, the missionaries went a step

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[682] "Comparative Statistics 1899 - 1937," UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 4, file 90.
[683] Spies took notes of what he said and did.
[684] Arthur Judson Brown provided a detail examination of this in his, *The Korean Conspiracy Case*.

further and asked their home boards to exert whatever influence they had in Washington to help them in their fight. Their pleas were answered. The heads of the Presbyterian North Mission, U.S.A., the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions, and the Board of the Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church (South) met with the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, President Taft, the Secretary of State, and the Chief of the Bureau of Foreign Affairs to discuss the situation in Korea.[685]

The pressure tactics of the missionaries worked. Masatake freed all of the prisoners rather than run the risk of his administration receiving even more negative publicity and sparking a potential diplomatic controversy between his home government and the United States. He had, however, accomplished his main goal. The Conspiracy Trial and the subsequent strict enforcement of the laws which prohibited freedom of speech and freedom of assembly shattered the nationalist movement in Korea proper. The once vibrant *Sinminhoe* and its sister organizations ceased to function and many of the nationalist leaders fled abroad. Ahn Chang Ho continued the fight for Korean sovereignty within the much safer confines of the United States. Historian Kenneth M. Wells, an expert of Korean Protestant nationalism, has described the 1910s as the "Dark Ages" for both Korea and the independence activists who remained there.[686]

Lee Dong Hwi was rehired by the Canadians upon his release and for a time continued to itinerate and give talks, however, he was not as free as he had been in the past. Japanese spies closely monitored him. Some of Lee's companions convinced him that because of this ubiquitous surveillance, it would be best for him and the movement if he left Korea altogether. Robert

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[685] Wijo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and* Politics (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 48.
[686] Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation, Protestants and Self – Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896 – 1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 71.

Grierson concurred and in the winter of 1913 he helped Lee cross over the border into Gando without being noticed by the ever watchful eyes of the Japanese gendarmes. Their partnership had come to an end and it seems that they never saw one another again.[687]

The decision of the Canadians to work with Lee and allow him to spread the nationalist message paid great dividends for them in the short term, but in taking stock of the long term implications of this decision it would seem they had, "made a deal with the devil." Lee spent much of the 1910s in Gando and Siberia working toward establishing a liberation army that could, unlike the Righteous armies, defeat the Japanese imperialists – a dream he had harbored for some time. And, within a few short years of being in exile, he forsook Christianity for communism. He first learned of it after he was imprisoned by the Russians in 1914 for his anti-Japanese activities.[688] The Tsar's jails were among the best places in Russia to learn of communism as they were usually teeming with Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and Socialist Revolutionaries.

Lee could so quickly abandon Christianity (and the missionaries) because his one true object of worship was the nation, not God. He lost faith in the possibility that the Church could help Koreans win back their freedom. After a decade of struggles the Protestant nationalists were no closer to reaching their objective than they were in 1905, and it seemed to him that they never would obtain it if they did not take up arms against their oppressors. Most within the Protestant nationalist movement did not advocate the use of violence. Conversely, at the heart of the communist message was the notion that force had to be employed by the oppressed in order for

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[687] The author has not found any evidence that the two communicated with one another after Yi went into exile.
[688] Bang Kim, *Daehan minjok*, 81. With the outbreak of the war in 1914 the Russians incarcerated many Korean nationalists to appease the Japanese.

them to conquer their masters. Lee's understanding of communism may only have been as deep as his understanding of Christianity, but he did fully comprehend this idea – and it greatly appealed to him. His appreciation of communism also derived from the readiness of the Bolsheviks to financially support any people or nation suffering under the imperialist yoke. As a means to receive these funds and to draw radical nationalists to his cause, Lee founded the Korean People's Socialist Party in the summer of 1918 in Siberia[689] – a full three years before Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao were to found the Chinese Communist Party. Japanese communists followed suit in 1922. With the creation of the K.P.S.P. we see that Koreans were once again in the vanguard of a movement which embraced a "Western religion."

The communists proved to be a curse to the Canadian missionaries. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s they were the foremost critics of the missionary movement (missionaries were routinely charged with being racists, imperialists, anti-Korean, as well as pro-Japanese), and in time, their criticisms had the desired effect. Anti-missionary attitudes became prevalent all over Korea and Manchuria. Rather than see the missionaries as "liberators" as many had in the past, more and more Koreans came to see them as oppressors. The violent tactics of the communists were even more dangerous than their propaganda, especially in Canadian mission territory. The Christians were often threatened by the communists and their raids served to not only provoke the Japanese, but to deepen the enmity that they (the Japanese) had of the Koreans. The communist menace was a much discussed topic in the missionary correspondence of the 1920s.

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[689] Chong Sik Lee, *Korean Worker's Party: a short history* (Stanford University: Hoover Institution Press, 1978), 5-6.

Lee Dong Hwi was not. None of the Canadians wanted to be associated with the "father of Korean Communism."[690]

Gando

During the 1920s, Gando was at the center of communist activity in Manchuria. By 1930, there were approximately 3,800 Korean communists in the area.[691] Their foremost goal was indistinguishable from that of the Korean Christian nationalists who first started arriving to Gando just a few years earlier. With the destruction of the nationalist movement in the early 1910s on the peninsula, some of the most militant of the independence activists, many of whom had been members of the *Sinminhoe*, migrated there in effort to avoid the Japanese gendarmes and renew the struggle for national liberation. They were very warmly received by many of the Christians who had moved to Gando in the late nineteenth century since they had the same desire. The Christian nationalist movement had been strong in Gando for quite some time and one of, if not the most influential leader of this movement, was Kim Yak Yeon.

In 1899, Kim left behind his village in Hoeryeong County and led a few clans, including his own, across the Tuman River into Gando with the purpose of establishing an "ideal village."[692] The land in Gando was more fertile than in Hamgyeong and the chances of having a

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[690] Robert Grierson, in his memoirs, made no mention of Yi's turn to communism. He simply called him a, "great patriot." *My Life*, 36.

[691] Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed: Empire, Social Life, and the Origins of the North Korean Revolution in Manchuria* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), 216. Chong Sik Lee, *Revolutionary Struggle in Manchuria: Chinese Communism and Soviet Interest, 1922 – 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 111.

[692] Seo Dae Su, *Gando Minjokdokripundonggei Jidodja Kim Yak Yeon*, 26– 29. Kim Yak Yeon's household consisted of 31 people. Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa*, 46. For an overview of the Christian community in Gando written in English see, Hansung Kim, "Myungdongchon: A people movement among Diaspora Koreans in the early 20th century," *Missiology: An International Review*, vol.43 no.3 (2015), 270 – 285.

better life seemingly greater. Joseon was in complete disarray and the possibility that its leaders would try, or even could, reform the socio-political system, remote. Soon after arriving, Kim and his clan purchased a plot of land in an area called Myeongdong and immediately started to work it. The members of the other clans did the same. In Myeongdong, everyone, including the elite, would pull weeds and till the land. And, all were expected to help one another. Myeongdong could only succeed if the community was unified.

Once land was secured, Kim and the other leaders in Myeongdong, namely Kim Ha Gyu and Gyu Ang Jae, set out to build schools as they all believed that education was central to the construction of a harmonious and productive society.[693] Since Kim and his peers were Confucians, the pupils studied the Chinese classics. In nearby Yongjoung, the first ever "modern school" in Gando was founded by the nationalist Lee Sang Seol in October, 1906.[694] Students took classes in history, geography, morals, calligraphy, mathematics, law, as well as politics, and of course the teachers tried to instill in them a love of country and a hatred for the Japanese. From the beginning, though, the possibility that the school could remain open was slim. There were too few students and both the Chinese and Japanese authorities hindered its operation. Neither side wanted the Korean youth of Yongjoung to become radicalized. The school was eventually closed in 1907 when Lee was chosen by Gojong to be one of his delegates to the Second Hague Peace Conference. It never reopened, however, other schools based on similar

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[693] Seo Dae Su, *Gando Minjokdokripundonggei Jidodja Kim Yak Yeon*, 33.
[694] Ibid, 98. Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa, 58-59.*

principles would be founded by Korean nationalists in Yongjoung during the 1910s.[695] The city was a magnet for the subversive element in Gando.

Although a failure, Lee's school had a profound effect on Kim Yak Yeon. Japan's deepening hold over Korea had kindled within him a profound sense of patriotism and he concluded, like Lee and the other nationalist leaders, that modern education was the panacea for his nation's ills. Thus, he established the Myeongdong School in 1908 and invited all the parents in the region, regardless of their station in life, to allow their children to attend.[696] For the first year it was in operation, Myeongdong was not a Christian school but this changed in 1909 with Kim's hiring of Jeon Jae Myeon. Jeon stipulated that he would only work at the school if he could teach the Bible and hold prayer meetings.[697] Lee agreed because Jeon was a talented teacher, however he was suspicious of Christianity, until that is, after having conversations with the nationalists, he came to believe that the Christian message, as well as its institutions, could contribute to the liberation of Korea.[698] Soon thereafter, Lee employed more Christian teachers, all of whom were nationalists. Lee Dong Hwi's daughter, Ui Sun, taught music.[699] In the 1910s, Myeongdong became one of the central nerve centers of the anti-Japanese movement in Gando.

The student population at Myeongdong rose steadily from 42 in 1909, to 180 in 1912, and it continued to grow.[700] So too did the Christian population. In 1915, Kim Nae Beom, a Presbyterian minister from Hamgyeong, reported that there were 5,000 adherents (including 500

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[695] Nationalists founded the Gwangmyeong High School and the Dongheung High School. Both were eventually taken over by the Japanese. Dae Sook Suh, "The Dragon Village: Longjincun in Yanbian," in *Koreans in China*, 165.
[696] Seo Dae Su, *Gando Minjokdokripundonggei Jidodja Kim Yak Yeon*, 63, 69. Seo Geong-il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa*, 46.
[697] Seo Dae Su, *Gando Minjok dokripundonggei Jidodja Kim Yak Yeon*, 74.
[698] At around the same time Kim Yak Yeon also met Robert Grierson. He formed a relationship with him and the other Canadian missionaries soon thereafter.
[699] Ibid, 75.
[700] Ibid, 70 and 72.

who had been baptized) in Gando.[701] Most of the Christians, as with the vast majority of the other Korean migrants, came solely to work the rich soil and escape from the chaos that had enveloped Korea, but a significant portion of them were nationalists. And many of these nationalists came to revere Kim Yak Yeon and Lee Dong Hwi. They also emulated them. "Patriotic enlightenment" was a core part of the curriculum in the 20 or so schools they built[702] and a much discussed topic in the churches they attended. By 1915, the Christians in Gando had constructed approximately 34 of them.[703]

To further their work, the nationalists formed a wide variety of associations, the most significant of them being the "Gando People's Educational Association" and the "Gando People's Association." Needless to say, the former concentrated its efforts on education while the latter centered its attention on political matters. The K.P.E.A. organized night schools so that everyone in Gando could have an opportunity to learn, promoted self-help, frugality, thrift, basic literacy, and tried to help farmers by creating production and marketing associations.[704] It also advocated for the teaching of East Asian history in the Korean schools and established an educational research centre. The members of the Korean People's Association spent much of their time working on behalf of Koreans who were having difficulties in their dealings with the native population.[705] Most of the problems stemmed from land disputes. The K.P.A. had few successes. Chinese officials were uninterested in hearing of the plight of Koreans and they worried that the K.P.A. would arouse the suspicions of the Japanese and thus upset the delicate

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[701] Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa* , 69.
[702] Ibid. In 1913, D.A. Macdonald thought there were between 20 – 40 schools in Gando. D.A. Macdonald, *Presbyterian Record*, "A Loud Call from Gando," vol. 38, no.6 (June, 1913), 259, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2316.
[703] Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa* , 69.
[704] Seo Dae Su, *Gando Minjokdokripundonggei Jidodja Kim Yak Yeon* , 99-103.
[705] Ibid, 103 – 106.

balance of power in the region.[706] Authority over the Koreans in the area had been a contentious issue between Meiji Japan and China for a number of years.

While promoting "enlightened patriotism" and struggling for the rights of Koreans, many of the nationalist leaders were also at work trying to create a viable military force. Unlike most of their comrades in the South, a large percentage of the independence activists in Gando were willing to shed blood in the name of the Korean nation – and the rank and file members of the Church supported them. Christians in Gando donated money for the cause when called upon to do so by their leaders.[707] The funds were used to purchase weaponry, build a military training school (set up by Lee Dong Hwi),[708] and support the future soldiers of an independence army – many of whom were to be from Myeongdong. Kim Yak Yeon was a fervent supporter of the military option and he expected his students to be of the same mind as him.

As tensions mounted between Japan and China over the "21 Demands"[709] in 1915, the militants in Gando began to double up on their efforts to gather money to raise an army. They believed that if war broke out the Koreans and Chinese could form an alliance and drive the Japanese out of Manchuria.[710] Yet, all of their hopes were soon dashed. The two sides came to an agreement and the Chinese, rather than wedding themselves to the Koreans, cracked down on them in effort to appease the Japanese. The nationalist movement in Gando was forced to go underground, at least for a brief time.

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[706] Ibid, 106.
[707] Ibid, 112. Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa*, 99, 102-103.
[708] The school was located in a village named Waryong. It was never fully operational.
[709] The legal status of Koreans and their rights to own land were subjects of much debate during the negotiations between the Japanese and Chinese governments. The Chinese eventually agreed to recognize the Koreans as Japanese subjects however the question of land ownership remained fraught with difficulties. According to the agreement reached in 1915, Koreans were to pay taxes to the Chinese government and abide by Chinese laws, but Japanese consuls would be responsible for all court cases involving Koreans, unless they dealt with issues of land. Hyun Ok Park, *Two Dreams in One Bed*, 74 – 77.
[710] Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa*, 202 – 203.

The Canadians in Gando

Gando "was only a name" to the Canadians during the first decade they were in Korea.[711] As the Japanese were in the process of taking control of the peninsula, however, the missionaries could not help but become aware of it because thousands from Hamgyeong were migrating there every year. And the number of migrants continued to rise dramatically until the 1920s.[712] In the 1910s approximately 20,000 Koreans moved to Manchuria annually. By 1919, the Korean population in Gando alone stood at 279,140.[713] The Methodists were the first Protestants to take an interest in Gando, but Robert Hardie, a pioneer who commanded respect, suggested to his mission that the Canadians be given responsibility for the region. It was within their sphere of influence and he wanted to avoid any possible conflicts. Questions concerning territorial boundaries could, and did cause the various missionary groups in Korea to quarrel with one another. Each mission jealously guarded its borders and fended off interlopers.

Hardie first proposed his idea to the Canadians in Wonsan in February, 1909. None were interested.[714] He found a much readier audience in the person of Robert Grierson. In June, Hardie informed him that he had been to Gando recently and was so swamped with work he had to postpone a trip he had planned to take to Vladivostok. In one particular village named Waryong, he, Frederick Vesey and their Korean helpers held five days of classes in which 75 students regularly attended. He subsequently told Grierson that his mission was willing to completely

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[711] Quoted in Hamish Ion, "Across the Tumen and Beyond," in, *Canada and Korea, Perspectives 2000*, 49. Quoted in William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 74. The letter in which this statement was first made is, Rufus Foote to A.E. Armstrong, 21 September 1910, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file, 4.
[712] Edward Taehan Chang, "Korean Migration to Northeast China (Manchuria) 1869 – 1945: The Resistance Against Japanese Colonialism," in *Korean Diaspora: Central Asia, Northeast Asia and North America*, eds., Hesung Chun Koh (New Haven, Conn.: East Rock Institute, 2008), C49.
[713] Ibid. In 1919, 279, 150 Koreans lived in Manchuria. By 1927, the number had risen to 368, 827. The total population in Manchuria was 577, 052; *Korean Diaspora*, C50.
[714] Robert Hardie to Robert Grierson, 29 June 1909, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1 file 1.

withdraw from the field if the Canadians agreed to take it over.[715] This prospect seemed like a godsend to Grierson and he set upon trying to convince the Board in Toronto that the mission had no choice but to stake a claim in Manchuria.

Grierson started his campaign for Gando in earnest at the beginning of 1910. Writing to R.P. MacKay in January he stated, "Words fail me to tell about Gando, across the Tuman River."[716] He then provided some background information about the massive number of migrants pouring into the region and to entice MacKay, compared the situation in Gando with what occurred in the Canadian West just a few decades before. He wrote, "It is so appropriate that the Western Committee has taken up this work for Gando is our North-West all over again, including its fertility. Not mountains like Korea proper, but like the foot-hill country, with soil black with loam. A goodly heritage for the coming settler, and the coming missionary." Continuing, Grierson mentioned that the Catholic missionaries in Gando were antagonistic to Protestantism (seemingly to goad MacKay into action). And to emphasize the hatred that the Catholics had of their opponents he put words in their mouths: "They say: – Our Holy Church flourished in Korea proper till you heretic missionaries came, since which the cause has declined. And now, though we came first here, and hold the field you are presuming to come in too to try and destroy us as you have in Korea. We will see about that." Ending his discussion of the

[715] Ibid.
[716] Robert Grierson to R.P. MacKay, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 4.

Catholics Grierson exclaimed, "Look here you have the equivalent even of your French Evangelization Work[717] so it is more and more appropriate that the West should have this field."

The missionaries sent out by the Western Board were just as determined as Grierson to expand into Gando, and like their mentor, they described it as being a land of great opportunity for the mission. Archibald Barker wrote to Armstrong: "We have now in Gando alone 7 churches with church buildings, besides many groups of xns [sic] all over the country. In writing to the north one feels something like an apostle writing to his churches. The case is something similar to Paul writing to Rome which he has never visited, or to John the Evangelist writing to the 7 churches of Asia."[718] One year later, Barker, impatient with the Western Board for its cautious approach concerning the setting up of a station in Gando[719] declared, "The time could not be more ripe than it is now. This is the psychological moment in the history of Gando and we must have workers."[720] Thomas Mansfield was a little less animated in his correspondence with Armstrong in regard to Gando, but his message was just as clear, "To the North our territory extends to somewhat vague boundaries and the possibilities of this district are unknown to us."[721] He then argued that Yongjeong was the most suitable place in Gando to build a station since 40 or so villages were nearby and it would, in his opinion, become the commercial centre of the region.

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[717] The Presbyterian Church in Canada carried out mission work among the Catholics in Canada. MacKay believed that Canada could only succeed as a nation if its citizens embraced Protestantism, something which Grierson would have known. MacKay when discussing this subject wrote in 1911, "Three hundred thousand immigrants are coming to our shores annually. There are in Canada to-day people speaking from sixty to seventy-five different languages, and professing about a hundred and fifty different faiths…." "National evils are to be combated and national righteousness to be established. The whole future of Canada depends on how our church and the other churches meet their responsibilities now." R.P. MacKay, *Presbyterian Church in Canada Missions* (Toronto: R. Douglas Fraser, 1911), 41.
[718] Archibald Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 19 May 1911, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 5.
[719] The F.M.B. was more than a little apprehensive about supporting a mission in a region of which it knew nothing.
[720] Archibald Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 22 March 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 7.
[721] Thomas Mansfield to A.E. Armstrong, 20 July 1911, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 6.

The Reverend J. McPherson Scott, pastor of the St. John's Presbyterian Church, upon returning home from Korea (he had taken a tour of the missions for the F.M.B.), tried to persuade MacKay to get involved in Gando too. He avowed, "The whole Territory offers a great opportunity for work, the Gando country being one of the strategic points at the present time in the whole work of Korean Missions."[722] He also, like Mansfield, insisted that Yongjoung should be at the center of this work as it was located near a burgeoning Korean population in the countryside and the congregation there was strong. He asserted that it had "practically started itself…." In effort to press his case even further, Scott attached a petition signed by Korean Church leaders requesting that the F.M.B. allow the missionaries to commence work in Gando as soon as possible. Interestingly, the petition was very similar in content and tone as the "Sorae letter."

The first paragraph of the "Gando petition" reads:

> God, desiring to save the heathen, according to that which is written in the Book of Acts, 13th Chapter, 1st to 3rd verses commanded the Canadian Church and sent forth to this country missionaries like apostles for the saving of our people. In the midst of our thanksgiving for this we present this petition.[723]

The remainder of the petition dealt mostly with why the Canadians should get involved in Gando, and described the needs of the Christian community. The petitioners asserted that because "the Missionary is too far away to be consulted many things go wrong." No detailed explanation was given, however it was mentioned earlier that the number of Christians "break[ing] God's law was gradually increasing" because they were influenced by the Catholics and "some Chinese Protestants" who "do not keep the Sabbath very well and drink liquor."

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[722] J. McPherson Scott to R.P. MacKay, 20 November 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 9.
[723] "Petition" [to the F.M.B.] 4 November 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 9.

When elaborating on the positive side of the Christian community, the petitioners stated that believers everywhere in Gando had a deep desire to be properly instructed in the faith.

The authors of the petition (who were most likely the missionaries) made very specific demands and they wanted them to be satisfied immediately. They asked the F.M.B. to send them one ordained male missionary as well as one female missionary and stipulated that both a boy's academy and a hospital in Yongjoung needed to be built. The petitioners maintained that the school was needed because it "would aid in the wide preaching of the gospel" and they desired a hospital because, "a Christian patient in a heathen hospital suffers hardship." According to them, Korean Christians at the Japanese hospital were ill treated. Nowhere in this petition did the authors mention the political situation in Gando, Japanese imperialism, or the desire of the Christians to build an independent nation. And nothing was said about how they, the "petitioners," hoped the missionaries could shield them from the authorities in Gando as they had done for Lee Dong Hwi in Hamgyeong. Kim Yak Yeon, one of the petition's signatories, was well aware of the relationship between Lee and the Canadians. They had been close associates.

The men at the F.M.B. knew very little about Lee and mostly likely nothing about Kim. No missionary wanted Toronto to think they were aligned with radical leaders who could bring them into conflict with either the Japanese or Chinese.[724] However the missionaries did sometimes discuss, usually in a general way, the nationalist passions of the faithful in Gando. By

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[724] The F.M.B. was not provided much information about the infamous "Conspiracy Case" either. A.E. Armstrong told D.A. Macdonald that he had not heard much about it from the missionaries. He seemed to have learned of it from his colleagues in the United States. A.E. Armstrong to D.A. Macdonald, 18 April 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 8. In October D.A. Macdonald wrote him back and stated, "No one cares to prophecy as to what the meaning of it [the Conspiracy Case] all is nor what the outcome will be. It has been a severe trial to the Korean church but had been endured bravely." D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 12 October 1912, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 9. The only person related to the mission to publicize the Conspiracy Trial was J. McPherson Scott. He roundly criticized the Japanese authorities in the *Globe*. J. McPherson Scott, "Evidence Hastened by Torture in Korea," *Globe* (9 January 1913), 9.

telling MacKay and Armstrong of them, the missionaries hoped to provide further proof that their presence was needed in the region. One of the first to discuss the nationalists was J.M. Macleod. When describing the state of Church affairs in Gando to Armstrong he wrote:

> …in the middle of this multitude [of Christians] can be seen the political malcontent who finds Gando a choice field to preach his doctrines without restraint to an ever ready audience. From these facts you can see there is not only the problem of evangelizing the heathen in that field but also that of preventing the church from becoming a political society fostering anti-Japanese feelings and breeding revolution.[725]

Archibald Barker's characterization of the Church in Gando was a little more discrete, but perhaps more effective. In 1911 he asserted, "There is much need for prayer in our work. It is the center of the political situation. Gando is full of political refugees. We will need Divine wisdom in guiding the Church just now particularly for many will seek to use the Church for the interests of Korea."[726] D.A. Macdonald, often the most forthright of the missionaries, provided Armstrong with a much more detailed analysis of Gando, and without any inhibition told him directly that a human catastrophe could occur there if the Canadians were not sent to guide the Christians.

Macdonald's letter is quite a significant document because unlike so many of those written by his comrades, it reveals, very clearly, the quandary that the Canadians faced. After examining the highly politicized nature of the Church in Gando he confessed:

> So we are on the horns of the dilemma, we cannot encourage the progressive party in Gando in all that they do or want to do for fear of impairing our work as a whole and incurring Japanese suspicions and on the other hand, we don't want to lose touch with this great movement for it has infinite possibilities for good and evil.[727]

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[725] J.M. Macleod to A.E. Armstrong, 15 November 1910, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 4.
[726] Archibald Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 19 May 1911, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 1, file 5.
[727] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 4 February 1913, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 2, file 10.

Following this, Macdonald argued that the mission had no other alternative than to get involved in Gando if not for any other reason than to try and help the Koreans avoid a tragedy when the Japanese took over Manchuria – which he believed would inevitably occur in the future. He stated, "Then what will be the fate of these political Christians who are at present showing such an anti-Japanese spirit, we feel it our duty to protect them against what they may be ignorantly preparing for themselves."

The Western Board was reluctant to enter into the Gando field at first (no one in Toronto thought the mission would expand into Manchuria when they decided to get involved in Korea). But the arguments put forward by the missionaries convinced R.P. MacKay and A.E. Armstrong that it was a worthwhile and important endeavor. In the fall of 1913, the Board authorized the missionaries to begin laying the foundations for a station at Yongjoung. Throughout the remainder of the decade the Church in Gando continued to prosper. By 1917, the Christian population had become so large that the Canadians needed to form a second Presbytery. And all the while, the nationalist impulse in the Church in Gando did not abate.

The missionaries were extremely worried about the militancy of the Church and they continued to try and steer it in a more spiritual direction, but they made no serious efforts to take a strong stand against the nationalists. In fact, they continued to work with, rather than against them throughout the 1910s. The Canadians understood that in order for them to succeed they needed to have a harmonious relationship with the Koreans, therefore they would not dare risk overtly challenging the nationalists in the Church as the Americans had done. One could argue that the Canadians actually helped to foster the growth of the nationalist movement in Hamgyeong and Gando. Their associates Yi Dong Hwi and Kim Yak Yeon drummed up an

intense yearning for independence among the believers, and the soft-stance of the Canadians in regard to the nationalists made the Church a sanctuary for radicals and led many within the Church to conclude that they, the Canadians, were, "on their side" in the struggle against the Japanese imperialists.

Preparing for an Uprising

In early 1919, Korea proper replaced Gando as the epicenter of nationalist activity (at least for a short period). In February 1919, adherents of Cheondogyo (the religion of the heavenly way) and Protestant nationalists began preparing for an uprising against the colonial government. They were inspired by President Woodrow Wilson's speech regarding national self-determination and a hope that Korea would get a fair hearing at the Versailles Conference. On 18 February a "Declaration of Independence" was written by the historian Choe Nam Son and signed by the 33 members of the hastily formed Independence Committee. It was composed of 16 Christians, 15 adherents of Cheondogyo, and two Buddhists.[728] The leaders of the Committee decided to hold the demonstration in Seoul on 1 March. Large numbers of people were expected to be in the capital to attend Gojong's funeral that was to take place on 3 March. He had died on 22 January under what some believed were, mysterious circumstances.[729] Over 21,000 copies of the Declaration of Independence were printed in Seoul and distributed to every part of Korea. Students from mission schools were among the couriers.[730]

The Protestants in Canadian mission territory were stirred into action, unintentionally, by Rufus Foote and Stanley Martin. On Christmas Day, at a meeting of the newly formed United

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[728] Dae Yeol Ku, *Korea under Colonialism*, 51 - 63.
[729] Many Koreans thought Gojong had been poisoned by the Japanese.
[730] Dae Yeol Ku, *Korea under Colonialism*, 62.

Christian Association in Gando, Foote stated that Korea would be granted a hearing at Versailles and Martin said that Korea could be given its independence.[731] Soon thereafter, the Koreans in Gando began to discuss sending representatives to France, started a fund raising drive in the churches to gather the money needed to pay for their travel expenses, and formulated plans with their counterparts in Hamgyeong to hold demonstrations.[732] By late February the stage was set, and soon tens of thousands in Canadian mission territory would take to the streets to demand the end to Japanese rule. Hundreds of thousands would do the same throughout the rest of Korea.

[731] It is not known for certain why they made such pronouncements. It is difficult to believe that they could have been so naïve to think that the Western powers would consider pressuring Japan to give Korea its independence. Perhaps the missionaries simply wanted to tell the Koreans what they wanted to hear.
[732] Ibid, 205 – 213.

CHAPTER SIX: TRIBULATION UPON TRIBULATION: THE MARCH FIRST INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT AND THE GANDO MASSACRES

In the early afternoon on 1 March 1919, Chung Jae Yong, a Sunday school teacher,[733] read the Declaration of Independence to the thousands who had gathered in central Seoul at Pagoda Park and soon thereafter the crowd marched en masse through the streets of the capital shouting *Mansei* (Long live Korea) and demanding the end to Japanese rule.[734] In Pyeongyang, the protests commenced at a memorial service held for Gojong by the members of the Presbyterian Church. Kim Sun Du, the Moderator of the General Assembly, upon closing the service with a prayer, sparked off the demonstrations by reading the Declaration to the 3,000 in attendance.[735] On the same day, protests were held in seven other cities[736] and in a short period of time, hundreds of others occurred in nearly every corner of the country involving hundreds of thousands, if not millions of participants.[737] The events of 1919 constituted the largest mass uprising against the Japanese colonial administration to ever take place on the peninsula.

The leaders of the March First Independence Movement had originally intended for the demonstrations to be peaceful but some of the participants quickly turned to violence. Historian Frank Baldwin has shown that in March and April, Koreans attacked police stations, post offices,

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[733] Hee An Choi, *A Postcolonial Self: Korean Immigrant Theology and Church* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2015), 48. Chung's religious affiliation is not mentioned in many accounts of this event.
[734] Dae Yeol Ku, *Korea under Colonialism*, 65 - 68.
[735] Samuel H. Moffett, "The Independence Movement and the Missionaries," *Transactions* [Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch] vol.54 (1979): 15
[736] Dae Yeol Ku, *Korean under Colonialism*, 69.
[737] According to statistics compiled by the colonial administration in May 1919, 577 demonstrations had taken place since 1 March; The Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America, *The Korean Situation: Number 2* (New York: The Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America, 1920), 4. Frank Baldwin, an expert on 1919 has shown that the total number of people who took part in the demonstrations is disputable. Various sources have estimated that anywhere from 452, 786 to 2,023,098 Koreans participated in the protests. Frank Baldwin, "Participatory Anti-Imperialism: The 1919 Independence Movement," *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol. 1 (1979): 135.

and County magistrate offices. They also cut telephone lines.[738] All told, 159 government buildings of one kind or another were damaged.[739] During these attacks and in other related incidents, eight members of the gendarmerie/police force were killed while 153 were wounded. Japanese civilians were spared for the most part. One was killed and 30 were wounded.[740] The number of Koreans killed and or wounded in 1919 by the colonial forces was astronomically higher. Governor-General Hasegawa used the full force of the state to terrorize the entire Korean population, not just the protestors.

Throughout Korea, the gendarmes fired indiscriminately into the crowds killing scores at a time.[741] They were often accompanied by firemen who, armed with pike poles, hooked, dragged, and bloodied as many demonstrators as they could catch. The Canadian journalist F.A. MacKenzie, an ardent proponent of the Koreans, when describing the effectiveness of these weapons stated, "A single pull with one of these hooks meant death or horrible mutilation for any person they struck."[742] A very large percentage of those who survived these attacks were immediately arrested and imprisoned whereupon they were subjected to beatings and torture. According to Timothy Lee, a scholar of Korean Christianity, approximately 7,645 Koreans were killed and 15,961 "injured" in 1919.[743] Around 46,000 were detained and jailed.[744] By year's end, 19,525 remained behind bars.[745]

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[738] Ibid, 138 - 145.
[739] Ibid, 139.
[740] Ibid, 138.
[741] The authorities reported that firearms were used against protesters in 185 villages and cities. The Commission on Relations with the Orient, *The Korean Situation: Number 2*: 4.
[742] F.A. MacKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, 253. MacKenzie suggested that Japanese civilians also took part in brutalizing the Koreans.
[743] Timothy Lee, "A Political Factor in the Rise of Protestantism in Korea: Protestantism and the 1919 March First Movement, vol. 69, no.1 (March, 2000):134.
[744] Korea Institute for Advanced Theological Study, *Uri ui Chingu Seukofielde*, [Our Friend Schofield], 105.
[745] Ibid.

About 17 percent of these political prisoners were Protestant.[746] Given that the entire Christian population in Korea in 1919 was at a mere one percent, this is a significant number. The incarceration rate of Church officials was extremely high. The Presbyterian Mission (North) reported in October of 1919, that 134 pastors and/or elders as well as 202 of their leaders were in jail.[747] The Methodist Church fared no better. In the Pyeongyang district alone, 160 of its pastors, preachers, teachers and various other workers were detained by the authorities.[748] When remarking on this state of affairs one Korean Methodist minister told his missionary counterparts, "I think the best place to hold our District Conference this year would be the prison."[749]

The persecution of the Church continued unabated during much of 1919. The adherents of Cheondogyo were targeted by the colonial government too and in April, a group of them, together with a number of Protestants, were massacred by Japanese soldiers in Cheanmi, a small village located approximately 60 kilometers south of Seoul. According to eye-witness accounts, on 15 April, the Japanese rounded up all the adult male Cheondogyo and Protestant believers, forced them to enter the local church and proceeded to fire upon them. A total of 29 were killed.[750] The soldiers then burnt the church to the ground. Two women were also killed: one was shot, the other stabbed.[751] They had been pleading with the Japanese to release their husbands as

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[746] Ibid.
[747] Jae Keun Choi, *The Korean Church under Japanese Colonialism*, (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2007), 82,
[748] "Foreign Mission Report, 1919, Korea Conference, Pyengyang District," *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Korea Mission: 1884 - 1943*, 602.
[749] Ibid.
[750] Henry Chung, *The Case of Korea: A Collection of Evidence on the Japanese Domination of Korea, and on the Development of the Korean Independence Movement* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1921), 235.
[751]Ibid.

the church was going up in flames. Both of the women were Christians. Before leaving Cheanmi, the soldiers set the village ablaze.[752]

The "Massacre at Cheanmi" became the best-known instance of Japanese brutality in 1919, thanks in large measure to the missionaries. In effort to put pressure on the colonial government to cease its fierce suppression of the Koreans (as well as the Church), and to compel it to implement reforms, the missionaries carried out a publicity campaign detailing the egregious actions of the gendarmerie/soldiery in both the religious and secular press. Coordinating much of this campaign were the foreign mission boards in North America and the Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Their main objective was to compile the information given to the boards from Korea and establish a channel of communications with prominent Japanese statesmen in the United States and Japan proper. The heads of the Commission were especially eager to make contact with Prime Minister Hara Takashi, and when they did, he took them quite seriously. In mid-May, Schichitaro Yada, the Japanese Consul-General in the U.S., informed the Commission:

> Premier Hara has for some time past been most deeply concerned in regard to the introduction of reforms into the governmental administration of Chosen [Joseon]. He is now in the midst of special investigations as to the best methods for the realization of these reforms, which might be seriously interfered with and made more difficult were the press of foreign countries rashly at this time to incite additional excitement.[753]

Although Yada's communiqué gave the men at the Commission cause to be optimistic, data concerning the inhumane treatment of Koreans continued to be collected

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[752] Ibid. Similar scenes unfolded in nearby villages. Ibid, 236 – 238.
[753] The Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America, *The Korean Situation: Authentic Accounts of Recent Events by Eye – Witnesses* (New York: The Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America, 1919), 4.

(amounting to nearly 1,000 pages), and when Hara proved slow to revamp the colonial system, they decided to send a cablegram to him in late June threatening to "go public." It read …"Cannot withhold facts. Urgently important you publish official statements that abuses have ceased and reasonable administrative reforms proceeding."[754] In July, the Commission followed through on its threat by publishing a pamphlet entitled, *The Korean Situation: Authentic Accounts of Recent Events by Eye – Witnesses*. It was an absolutely damning examination of the crimes committed against the Koreans. The first-hand stories of the victims were particularly disturbing, especially those provided by young women. In one such account a girl who was arrested in Seoul in early March described the interrogations she endured at the hands of the police:

> I was made to kneel down with my legs bound together, and each question and answer was accompanied alternately by blows in the face. They spit in my face. This with curses and invectives of the worst kind. He [one of the interrogators] said, "You prostitute, you vile, pregnant girl!" I was ordered to expose my breasts, but refusing, they tore my upper garment from me and I was told all sorts of inhuman things which shocked me terribly. They tied my fingers together and jerked them violently. This made me feel as if my fingers were being torn from my hand. I shut my eyes and dropped to the floor. Thereupon the examining officers uttered a loud, angry roar and ordered me to kneel down as before, then rushed at me, seizing me by the breast, and struck me violently. Is there anything to be compared with this inhuman treatment?[755]

Just prior to the printing of *The Korean Situation*, Hara had cabled the Commission to inform it of his intentions to implement reforms in Korea.[756] He waited to do so because of his

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[754] Ibid, 3-4.
[755] Ibid, 46.
[756] Ibid, 3.

belief that it was necessary to first crush the independence movement.[757] Hara did not want to be seen as succumbing to the nationalists. Charged with carrying out these reforms was Baron Admiral Saitō (Hasegawa had resigned in disgrace) and once assuming his new position, he carefully cultivated an image of himself as a reformer and a friend to the Koreans. In late August Saitō told the Associated Press that he, "… wished the American people to feel that his administration, backed by the home Government and unequivocally recognizing any mistakes in the past, would in the future be based on the principle of governing Korea in the interest of Koreans and keeping progress with the age."[758] He then asserted, "I have a sincere desire to eradicate evils and correct blunders. Especially the Koreans must feel they have the right to speak out. The poorest, as well as the richest, Korean can always come [to] my door and tell me his troubles and desires."[759] After narrowly escaping an assassination attempt when he arrived in Korea in early September, Saitō continued his charm offensive and held meetings with leaders of both the missionary and Korean communities.[760]

During his first few years in office, Saitō busily enacted his reform program (also known as the "Cultural Policy") which included: the abolishment of flogging; the establishment of an advisory council consisting of representatives from the provinces; the creation of a more equitable pay scale to benefit Korean civil servants; a promise to establish more schools for

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[757] In early April, Hara dispatched six battalions and 400 gendarmes to Korea to quell the uprising. Dae Yeol Ku, *Korea under Colonialism*, 107.
[758] "Saito Promises Reforms in Korea," *New York Times* 5 September 1919, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9500EEDF153AE03ABC4D53DFBF668382609EDE.
[759] Ibid.
[760] The Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America, *The Korean Situation: Number 2*: 9, 13. The missionaries then gave Saitō a list of demands, most of which dealt with Church/mission related affairs and moral reform.

Koreans; greater freedom of association; changes to the burial laws;[761] the allowance of Koreans to set up their own businesses without having to receive official permission; and the creation of a civilian police force. The gendarmerie was dissolved. With the aim of earning the goodwill of the missionaries, Saitō put an end to some of the discriminatory laws put in place by the previous regime which obstructed the activities of Christians. As of 1920, churches no longer had to supply the authorities with a list containing the names of "religious propagators," and anyone wanting to build a church or "preaching house" no longer had to be sanctioned by the state. They simply had to inform the government of their plans.[762]

Saitō's reforms had the desired effect. Nearly all of the missionaries (including the Canadians in Hamgyeong and Gando) ceased their protestations against the colonial government. A.E. Armstrong became quiescent as well. During the spring, he had played a pivotal role in publicizing the atrocities of the Japanese. In the fall of 1920 however both he and the missionaries from Manchuria would once again denounce the authorities. In October, imperial troops began laying waste to villages and killing innocent Koreans in Gando. Interestingly, the missionaries in Hamgyeong made few comments regarding the situation. Throughout the period of tribulations the only missionary to never stop waging a struggle against the Japanese was Frank Schofield.

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[761] In 1912 the colonial government enacted a law stipulating that Koreans had to bury their dead in public graveyards. For centuries Koreans had buried their dead in private familial plots. This was conducive to the enactment of ancestral veneration – the core ritual in which all males were expected to take part. Hence, the changes to the burial customs struck at the very heart of Korean values. Hyang A Lee, "Managing the Living through the Dead: Colonial Governmentality and the 1912 Burial Rules in Colonial Korea," *Journal of Historical Sociology*, vol.27, no.3 (September, 2014): 402 - 422.

[762] The Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America, *The Korean Situation: Number 2*: 15.

The goal of this chapter is to show that of the three main actors, the Canadians in Hamgyeong and Gando, A.E. Armstrong, and Frank Schofield, only Schofield placed the plight of the Koreans foremost in his mind throughout the entirety of 1919 and 1920. This is by no means to imply that Armstrong and the rest of the missionaries were not humanitarians, yet unlike Schofield, the aim of their protests was not solely to safeguard the lives and interests of the Koreans but to protect their mission as well.

The Uprising in Hamgyeong and Gando

The Canadians in Wonsan were among the first missionaries in Hamgyeong to witness the uprising against Japanese authority. On 1 March approximately 3,000 demonstrators marched down the streets of the city shouting the same slogans as their compatriots in Seoul and Pyeongyang.[763] The following day, the missionaries in Hamheung saw much the same thing only on a grander scale. Perhaps as many as 10,000 people participated in the demonstration.[764] Protests then occurred in Seongjin on 10 March and in Hoeryeong on 26 March.[765] The demonstrations at the mission stations were in no way isolated events. According to Korean sources, from the beginning of

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[763]Korean History Database; "The History of the Korean Peoples Independence Movement: South Hamgyeong Province in 1919" [Hanmin Jok Dongnip Undongsa; Hamgyeong Namdo, 3.1 Undong] http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?sort=levelId&dir=ASC&start=1&limit=20&page=1&setId=9&prevPage=0&prevLimit=&itemId=hdsr&types=&synonym=off&chinessChar=on&levelId=hdsr_003_0030_0020_0050&position=. This website is an excellent source of information concerning the events of 1919 and 1920, not just in Hamgyeong and Gando, but throughout Korea.

[764] Ibid. Gowon was the only other town in Hamgyeong in which 10,000 or more participated in the demonstrations. Michael D. Shin (ed), *Korean History in Maps: From Prehistory to the Twenty –First Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 117. The book contains a map demarcating the locations of all the major and minor uprisings that took place in Korea during 1919.

[765]Korean History Database, "The History of the Korean Peoples Independence Movement; North Hamgyeong Province in 1919" [Hanmin Jok Dongnip Undongsa; Hamgyeong Bukdo,3.1 Undong] http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?sort=levelId&dir=ASC&start=1&limit=20&page=1&setId=9&prevPage=0&prevLimit=&itemId=hdsr&types=&synonym=off&chinessChar=on&levelId=hdsr_003_0030_0020_0060&position=-.

March until the end of May, 101 protests broke out in Hamgyeong in which 59,850 (about five percent of the population) took part.[766]

The Japanese in the Northeast, like their comrades in the rest of Korea, used violence as a means to quell the demonstrations. In a two-day period alone, the gendarmes in and around the town of Dancheon killed 24 and injured 20,[767] while at around the same time in Gilju, a town approximately 100 kilometers north of Seongjin, six were killed and ten injured.[768] Scores of other cities and towns throughout the province were witness to similar scenes. The firefighters were particularly prominent players in putting down the uprising in the region. Their services were in high demand since many of the gendarmes in the North had been transferred to the South after the protests in Seoul broke out. One of the most vivid depictions of the carnage the firemen wrought was written by Duncan MacRae. When elaborating on what he saw in Hamheung he stated:

> On March 4th, about 12.30, noon, loud cheering was again participated in by the Koreans. With this cheer the Japanese fire brigade was let loose among the crowds with clubs; some carried pick-axe handles, others their long lance fire-hooks, some iron bars, others hardwood and pine clubs, some short handled club hooks. They rushed in the crowds clubbing them over the heads, hooking them here and there with their long lance hooks, until in a short time many had been seriously wounded, and with blood streaming down their faces were dragged to the police station by the fire brigade.[769]

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[766]Ibid. Korean History Database, "The History of the Korean Peoples Independence Movement: South Hamgyeong Province in 1919" [Hanmin Jok Dongnip Undongsa; Hamgyeong Namdo, 3.1 Undong] http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?sort=levelId&dir=ASC&start=1&limit=20&page=1&setId=9&prevPage=0&prevLimit=&itemId=hdsr&types=&synonym=off&chinessChar=on&levelId=hdsr_003_0030_0020_0050&position= .

[767]Korean History Database, "The History of the Korean Peoples Independence Movement: North Hamgyeong Province in 1919" [Hanmin Jok Dongnip Undongsa; Hamgyeong Bukdo,3.1 Undong] http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?sort=levelId&dir=ASC&start=1&limit=20&page=1&setId=9&prevPage=0&prevLimit=&itemId=hdsr&types=&synonym=off&chinessChar=on&levelId=hdsr_003_0030_0020_0060&position=1 .

[768] Ibid.

[769] Statement of Duncan McRae, of events in Hamgyeong, VII – Public Records Office, Foreign Office Records, Reference FO 371, no.68041, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 # 22.

In the first three months after the demonstrations began in Wonsan, over 100 were killed, 600 wounded, and 7,000 arrested in Hamgyeong.[770] And, as occurred elsewhere, Christians were especially targeted by the colonial authorities, as is to be expected since they were among the most influential leaders of the uprising. They helped plan the demonstrations in a great many cities and villages in the Northeast. Students at the mission schools were particularly instrumental in helping to ignite the demonstrations. Jeong Chang Sin, the woman discussed in Chapter Three for example, at the age of 16 years old, was one of the forty-two leaders of the Independence Movement in Hamheung.[771] She was arrested soon after the demonstrations began and spent the next nine months in prison. No doubt, she would have shared a cell with many others who were connected to the Canadian mission. In 1919, nearly every teacher and a large percentage of church workers had been incarcerated at one time or another.

The first demonstration in Gando occurred on 13 March in Yongjoung. William Scott watched the events unfold. He provided an arresting account of how it got started during an interview he had with Helen MacRae. Scott remembered seeing thousands of people coming down from the surrounding hills kicking up a huge cloud of dust as they descended on the city.[772]

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[770]Korean History Database, "The History of the Korean Peoples Independence Movement: South Hamgyeong Province in 1919" [Hanmin Jok Dongnip Undongsa; Hamgyeong Namdo, 3.1 Undong] http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?sort=levelId&dir=ASC&start=1&limit=20&page=1&setId=9&prevPage=0&prevLimit=&itemId=hdsr&types=&synonym=off&chinessChar=on&levelId=hdsr_003_0030_0020_0050&position=-1.

[770] Korean History Database, "The History of the Korean Peoples Independence Movement; North Hamgyeong Province in 1919" [Hanmin Jok Dongnip Undongsa; Hamgyeong Bukdo,3.1 Undong] http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?sort=levelId&dir=ASC&start=1&limit=20&page=1&setId=9&prevPage=0&prevLimit=&itemId=hdsr&types=&synonym=off&chinessChar=on&levelId=hdsr_003_0030_0020_0060&position=-1.

[771] Jeong Chang Sin interviewed by Helen MacRae, Seoul, South Korea, 24 April, 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2341, tape 10.

[772] William Scott interviewed by Helen MacRae, Brantford, Ontario, 17 December 1971, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2344, tape 17.

Once inside the confines of Yongjoung the crowd quickly made its way to the center of town whereupon the Declaration of Independence was read amid shouts of *Mansei*.

As the afternoon progressed and the demonstration showed no sign of ending, staff at the Japanese Consulate became convinced that force had to be used to bring order back to Yongjoung. Therefore, they called upon the Chinese troops, who were, in theory, in charge of preserving the peace in Gando, to disperse the crowd. They complied and in the process killed 19 demonstrators and wounded many more. The latter were treated at the mission hospital and the former were buried by the missionaries on 17 March.

Undeterred from their losses in Yongjoung, the independence activists in Gando led demonstrations in nearby Hunchun on 20 March and continued to ignite many others.[773] The more militant among the nationalists, many of whom were Christians, hoped to spark off a general armed uprising and to do so they assembled an independence army, gathered as many firearms as was possible, and held meetings to plan their strategies. In early 1920, they started to put some of these strategies into effect and began to conduct operations against Japanese troops stationed along the Korea/Gando border.[774] Some of the larger skirmishes that took place between the two sides resulted in hundreds of casualties.[775] During this whole time, the Japanese Consulate in Gando had been calling on the government in Seoul to send reinforcements. The

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[773]Korean History Database, "The March First Independence Movement in China and Manchuria, Outbreak" [Jungguk.Manju ui 3.1. Undong, Bal Bal] http://db.history.go.kr/item/level.do?sort=levelId&dir=ASC&start=1&limit=20&page=1&pre_page=1&setId=9&prevPage=0&prevLimit=&itemId=hdsr&types=&synonym=off&chinessChar=on&brokerPagingInfo=&levelId=hdsr_003_0030_0050_0030&position=-1.

[774] Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando Gidokkyo Minjokundongsa*, 237- 239.

[775775] Ibid. Seo Dae Su, *Gando Minjokdokripundonggei Jidodja Kim Yak Yeon*, 146 – 164. Seo shows very clearly that the putting down of the demonstrations had a radicalizing effect on the nationalists in Gando.

19th Division was dispatched to the region in late August.[776] The stage for the massacres that would take place a few months later was set.

Missionary Reactions

The missionaries were understandably shocked and horrified at the suffering they witnessed or heard about from their Korean companions. Few could have imagined when embarking on the missionary vocation that they would ever see such a humanitarian nightmare unfold before their eyes. Edith MacRae stated as much in a letter to her mother in late April. Following her description of the carnage wrought by the Japanese firefighters in Hamheung (of which she had personally seen), Edith asserted, "I never was in such a position in my life."[777] She then continued by telling her mother about the atrocities that were committed in the surrounding villages,[778] the torturous interrogations endured by the Koreans,[779] the persecution of the Christian community, and the dishonesty of the Japanese. She wrote:

> Whole villages have been burned to the ground. People are still being arrested night and day. Japanese reports are unreliable. A Korean official said to me the other day, "Where two are reported killed mark ten." A Japanese paper reports 150 killed in Korea." Within range of Ham Heung we can count that many, and we have nothing here compared to the west coast, that is where the massacres have been …."[sic][780] The

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[776] Seo Geong Il, *Iljeha BukGando*, 241.
[777] Edith MacRae to her mother, 25 April 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 61.
[778] She claimed that seven Koreans were killed in Hongwon and eight more in the nearby villages of Sandok and Sinheung.
[779] During the interrogations in Hamgyeong, the Koreans were routinely asked about the missionaries. The Japanese were certain that they helped to plan the demonstrations. According to Edith, the police were particularly suspicious of her husband.
[780] Edith MacRae did not begin the sentence using quotation marks, therefore "sic" has been inserted. She did not go into any detail concerning where the massacres took place and or how many Koreans were killed, injured, or wounded.

> Koreans never lift a hand, they are like the Lord so many of them love. "Led like Lambs to the slaughter."[781]

Edith MacRae channeled her anger through writing. Her husband expressed his openly. On 4 March, enraged at the work of the firemen in Hamheung, he screamed at one of them, "Do you think you can put out the fire in their heads by splitting them open?"[782] A few days later, his rage turned to wrath when a Christian was killed. When learning of the death, Duncan marched to the police station, lashed out at the officer in charge, and informed him that he was "ashamed" that his country was allied to Japan. Then, he promised to expose the recent events in Hamheung to the wider world.[783] He remained true to his word. An account of his was included in the *Korean Situation* where he told of not only the suppression of the demonstrators, but also the attempt of the Japanese to "… intimidate the foreigners by saying that their lives were in danger."[784]

In late May, Stanley Martin forthrightly described the plight of the Koreans in Manchuria as well as his feelings about it to the F.M.B. The title which he gave to the letter, "Japanese Military Terrorism in Manchuria," set the tone for what he was about to say. He began by explaining that he had "authentic news" that 15 Korean villages were burned and some of the

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[781] It would seem that Edith MacRae intended this article to be used in a religious publication back in Canada, hence, her insistence that the Koreans were non - violent. The frank views she presents in the letter can be attributed to the fact that she did not mail it (to avoid the censors) but gave it to Hazel Kirk – she was about to leave on furlough. A portion of the letter was eventually published in the *Presbyterian Record* in November (without attributing it to Edith) – "Extract of Letter By One Our Missionaries in Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. lxiv, no.11 (November, 1919), 340. Hazel Kirk published an account of what occurred in Hamheung and its environs in the *Presbyterian Record* a few months earlier. Her identity was also concealed. The author was described as a "Nova Scotia girl"… [who] just returned on furlough;" "Japan's Cruelty in Korea," *Presbyterian Record*, vol. xliv, no.8 (August, 1919), 238.
[782] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 152.
[783] Ibid.
[784] *The Korean Situation*, 16. Details about the atrocities appear on pages 16, 30-31. There is no evidence that Koreans were hostile to the missionaries. Duncan MacRae also sent his report to the British consul in Seoul. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 152.

inhabitants were shot when they attempted to escape.[785] Further on he noted that Korean members of the hospital staff "had to flee for their lives" and "all [the] Christian school teachers … [were] either dead [or] in prison." He concluded by remarking on the treatment of female prisoners: "We are certain that women have been violated [and] we have heard from one of the American pastors that Christian school girls have been stripped, made to walk on all fours in the prison before Jap Police … [and do] other things which are not mentionable."[786]

Martin and his colleagues desperately wanted to bring about the cessation of the Japanese suppression of the Koreans therefore they turned to the British consuls in Seoul and Mukden. Duncan MacRae was the first to write to the consul in Seoul and he recounted many of the same grizzly scenes as his wife had in her letter to her mother. When describing the slaughter that occurred in Sinheung, a village north of Hamheung he wrote, "The police opened fire on the defenceless crowd and four were killed and four were wounded. Among the killed was a woman who at the time was passing by with a jar on her head. The sight of the dead and the wounded wallowing in their blood so exasperated the Koreans that they stoned the gendarmes."[787] MacRae's longtime confrere in Hamheung, Kate MacMillan, informed the consul of the stories related to her by the patients she treated. One man said that 24 were killed in his village, 50 or so arrested, and many beaten.[788]

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[785] Stanley Martin to the Members of the Board of F. Missions, per. Mr. Armstrong, 29 May 1919, UCCA, Acc. 79.204, box 4, file, 62,
[786] Ibid.
[787] Statement of Duncan McRae, of events in Hamgyeong, VII – Public Records Office, Foreign Office Records, Reference FO 371, no.68041, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #22.
[788] Extract from Letter Dr. Kate McMillan of Canadian Presbyterian Hospital, Hamheung, Korea, dated May 29th, 1919, VII – Public Records Office, Foreign Office Records, Reference FO 371, no. 7413, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #41

A.R. Ross provided a detailed description of the very serious anti-Christian crusade waged by the Japanese near Seongjin. In Dancheon County for example, the Christians were threatened with death if they did not relinquish their control of the local church. The prefect in the area wanted to continue using it for his own purposes.[789] At another town, two gendarmes told the Christians that they were not allowed to "believe" anymore and compelled them to turn over their "Christian books" to the authorities.[790]

In April, William Scott complained to the British consul in Mukden that Japanese policemen had trespassed on the mission compound to spy on the hospital staff – who Scott believed were in jeopardy of getting arrested.[791] He also went into some detail concerning the torture methods used by the gendarmes in Gando:

> One man's hands were tied high behind his back and bound tightly by a rope around his throat. Another poor wretch was thrown on the ground after a severe beating, his arms twisted behind him till his elbows were almost level with his shoulders and then two policemen stood on them. His shoulders were badly swollen and narrowly escaped dislocation. Still another man, whose pounding of failed to elicit the information these bullies desired, had his two first fingers tied tightly with twine and a pen inserted between and turned in a gouging manner.[792]

In concluding his letter, Scott forthrightly spoke for himself and on behalf of his fellow missionaries: "I am writing thus that you may know that though we keep free from political affairs … our sympathies are decidedly on the side of the Koreans."[793]

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[789] Extract from letter of Rev. A.R. Ross, Canadian Presbyterian Mission. Joshin, 27th May, 1919, IX – Public Records Office, Foreign Office Records, Reference FO 371, no.7413, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #41.
[790] In his discussion of this letter, Hamish Ion showed that the Christians were forced to sign statements renouncing Christianity. Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 191.
[791] William Scott to P.E. O'Brien Butler, esq., British Consulate General, Mukden, China, 14 April 1919, V – Public Records Office, Foreign Office Records, Reference, FO 371, no. 7413, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #40.
[792] Ibid.
[793] Ibid. Hamish Ion noted that the Japanese believed the Canadians allowed the Koreans to print an independence newspaper on the premises of the hospital. The veracity of this belief is not known. Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 192.

Harold Porter, the acting British High Commissioner in Mukden, responded quickly to Scott's complaint. He wrote to his Japanese counterpart, A. Akatsuka, and "requested" that he inform the consul in Yongjoung that, "steps should be taken to prevent further trespass."[794] William M. Royds, the acting British Consul-General in Seoul, took A.R. Ross's protest seriously as well and contacted the governor-general asking him to use his authority to persuade the officials in Dancheon to relinquish their control of the church.[795] The swift reaction of both Porter and Royds can most certainly be contributed to their desire to come to the aid of the Canadians, but it was also the result of their disgust with the Japanese. Both were aghast at the reports they read of the beatings and imprisonments sent to them by the missionaries. Royds ultimately told his superiors in Tokyo that the colonial government needed to enact reforms.[796]

In July, at their annual council meeting, the Canadians drew up a memorial to Governor-General Hasegawa in which they denounced his government's response to the uprising. It began:

> We, the members of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in Annual Council Meeting at Wonsan, July 10th, 1919, feel compelled by the common dictates of humanity to record our emphatic protest against the unjust and inhuman methods that have been employed by the Japanese administration in their suppression of the present political agitation in Chosen and do hereby respectfully submit the same to your Excellency.[797]

In the body of the memorial, the Canadians listed what they described as the "atrocities" committed against the Koreans, some of which included the killing of innocent men, women, and

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[794] Harold Porter to Consul – General Akatsuka, 15 May 1919, VII – Public Records Office, Foreign Office Records, FO 371, no. 7413, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #40.
[795] Extract from letter of Rev. A.R. Ross, Canadian Presbyterian Mission. Joshin, 27th May, 1919, IX – Public Records Office, Foreign Office Records, Reference FO 371, no.7413, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #41. At the bottom of Ross's letter Royds wrote a brief synopsis of the action he undertook.
[796] Dae Yeol Ku, *Korea under Colonialism*, 148.
[797] "A Synopsis of the Twenty – First Annual Meeting of the Council of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1919," p.55, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 9, file, 151. The missionaries sent their proclamation to the British consul-general in Seoul as well. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 155.

children, the burning of villages, the use of torture, the targeting of Christians, and the "Ferocious methods of terrorizing whole communities." To justify their boldness in drawing up the memorial and to protect themselves from any possible backlash in the future, the missionaries concluded by reminding Hasegawa that they were "British subjects in special treaty relationship with Japan."

Supporting the missionaries all along in their endeavors was the Foreign Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The Board felt that the only way in which to stop the atrocities and the persecution of the Church was to bypass its policy of not getting involved in politics. The catchword of the day was "no neutrality for brutality."[798] The members of the General Assembly refused to remain silent as well. They issued a resolution condemning the actions of the Japanese colonial government at their annual meeting in June:

> The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada whilst giving due recognition to much that is commendable in the Japanese administration of Korea, including many wise economic and judicial reforms regrets the necessity of recording strong and earnest protest against the uncalled for cruelty and brutality with which the Japanese police, gendarmerie, and military forces in many places have treated the Korean people during the recent political disturbances in Korea.[799]

A.E. Armstrong

The man most responsible for shaping the judgments of the F.M.B. and the General Assembly on the Korean situation was A.E. Armstrong. His involvement in the drama of 1919 began through mere happenstance. As the demonstrations were entering their second week, Armstrong, after completing a ten month tour of the Canadian Presbyterian missions in Asia, was waiting to set sail for Canada from Yokohama when O.R. Avison sent him a telegram requesting

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[798] This phrase was used by Canadians and Americans alike.
[799] "The General Assembly," *Witness*, vol. lxxii, no.25 (21 June 1919), 5, NSARM, mf. 8414.

that he return to Korea.[800] Avison and some of the more senior missionaries in Seoul, including his fellow Canadians James Scarth Gale and Robert Hardie, wanted to apprise Armstrong of the situation in Korea so that he could, once back in North America, inform his counterparts of what was occurring and ignite a publicity campaign exposing the Japanese suppression of the Koreans. Armstrong, soon after arriving in the capital, readily agreed to comply with their wishes. He, like them, was thoroughly revolted at the government's response to the demonstrations. He was also deeply angered by its accusation that the missionaries were complicit in stirring up the Independence Movement.[801] Armed with a dossier of firsthand accounts of Japanese brutality, Armstrong went to Tokyo and held meetings with a few members of parliament as well as members of the "Democratic Club"[802] to enlighten them of what he knew and gain allies for his cause. Then, he quickly proceeded to the headquarters of the Commission in New York and handed over all of the papers he had brought with him from Seoul.

While back in Toronto in the spring, Armstrong continued to be in contact with the Commission and by late May had grown frustrated with its decision to withhold from the public what it knew of the Japanese atrocities.[803] The Commission did not want to unnecessarily embarrass the government in Tokyo and thus jeopardize the work of Prime Minister Hara.[804] Certainly much of Armstrong's impatience can be attributed to his strongly held belief that the

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[800] A.E. Armstrong to A.F. Robb, 23 April 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file, 61.
[801] There is no evidence that can substantiate this assertion.
[802] A.E. Armstrong to William Scott, 16 May 1919. UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 62.
[803] A.E. Armstrong to Nolan Best, 2 May 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 62. A.E. Armstrong to Sidney Gulick, 3 May, 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 62.
[804] In May, Sidney Gulick, the Secretary of Commission on Relations with the Orient, told Armstrong that he and his colleagues thought it would be best to not publish the information that the Korean missionaries had been submitting to them since the outbreak of the March First Independence Movement, which was, as previously noted, quite a substantial amount of material. A.E. Armstrong to Nolan C. Best, 23 May 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 62.

Japanese would only change their policies in Korea if they felt pressured to do so because of bad publicity, but, this was not the sole reason. He also did not want to be the only senior missionary bureaucrat to have had his views of the Japanese aired in the mainstream press. In the 23 April edition of the *New York Times* they had been made plain for all to see without his foreknowledge. The editor of the *Sacramento Bee* and member of the Associated Press, V.S. McClatchy, leaked a "memorandum" that Armstrong had given to him.[805] Armstrong, who had met McClatchy while in Korea and had apparently come to trust him, thought it would remain confidential.[806]

Armstrong's memorandum was a blistering diatribe against the Japanese.[807] He described the colonial government as a "German Machine" and stated that he had "sympathy for an oppressed and defenseless people crying out for justice."[808] To remedy the situation, Armstrong called for an almost complete overhaul of the entire colonial apparatus by granting Koreans freedom of speech, press, and assembly, the right to petition, more self-government, the ending of all assimilation policies, and a more just economic system from which Koreans would derive the same benefits as the Japanese.[809]

To carry out these reforms, Armstrong, as with his colleagues at the Commission, pinned his hopes on Prime Minister Hara and the liberals in the Diet. There were "two Japans" in Armstrong's mind – the Japan mired in the feudalistic past ruled by militarists and bent on

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[805] A.E. Armstrong to Rev. Charles S. Deming, 2 May 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 62.
[806] McClatchey was obsessively "anti-Japanese." In 1920 he wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Germany of Asia: Japan's Policy in the Far East, Her "Peaceful Penetration" of the United States, How American Commercial and National Interests are Affected*. A rare copy of it can be found in the Helen MacRae Collection; NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2332 #62.
[807] The editors entitled the article, "Uncensored Account of Korea's Revolt: Official of Presbyterian Foreign Missions Board Tells of Conditions He Found," *New York Times*, 23 April 1919, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9A05E1D71238EE32A25750C2A9629C946896D6CF.
[808] Ibid.
[809] Ibid.

dominating its weaker neighbors by any means necessary, and the Japan that could be, which for Armstrong meant, a modern Japan presided over by democrats such as Hara. He envisioned these men as being, or having the potential of becoming, like the statesmen of Britain who, in his opinion, wisely and justly ruled their empire bringing enlightenment to the four corners of the earth.[810]

Armstrong believed that if the liberals were in control of Japan they could, "win Korea as a partner in a great Japanese Empire which would lead the Orient out into civilization and democracy and freedom."[811] This "partnership" however would have to remain an unequal one since in Armstrong's eyes the Korean people had not proven themselves capable of governing their own country – a notion he expressed to George Paik, the President of the Korean Student's Missionary Society. Paik had written Armstrong after reading his memorandum in the *New York Times* thinking that the Under-Secretary was sympathetic to the Korean fight for independence. To dispel Paik of harboring this notion Armstrong responded:

> I most earnestly hope that reforms will be granted in the government of Korea, and that if in due time the Koreans give evidence that they can establish a stable government – such as they certainly did not have prior to 1910, under their own regime – they may be granted the privileges of governing their own country, perhaps under oversight of Japan. In the meantime, among the reforms that ought to be granted, is a share in the administration of their own country by their own people. This may lead to their showing ability that the old government did not have.[812]

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[810] According to Ion, Armstrong and his colleagues "saw themselves as the champions of democracy fighting against the evils of imperialism." *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 189.
[811] A.E. Armstrong to E.J.O. Fraser, 15 May 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 62.
[812] A.E. Armstrong to George Paik, 12 May 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 62. In his discussion of this letter, Ion noted "…it was clear that Armstrong was not an advocate of Korean independence." Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 189.

Armstrong expressed similar opinions to Philip Jaisohn (Seo Jae Pil), a founding father of the Korean Protestant nationalist movement.[813] Jaisohn, like Paik, thought he had found an ally in Armstrong when reading his memorandum and asked for his opinion about setting up a chapter of an organization called the "League of the Friends of Korea" in Toronto. The purpose of the League according to Jaisohn was to educate Canadians on issues related to Korea (which he hoped would drum up support for Korean independence).[814] Needless to say, Armstrong was lukewarm to the idea however he treaded lightly and gave Jaisohn a rather evasive response. He replied, "I do not know that we should form a league in the interests of Korea here, but we [the F.M.B.] have agreed to see how things are in August…."[815]

Well over a year later Armstrong was much more forthright. He had grown frustrated with Jaisohn's persistent attempts to convince him of the importance of the "League of Friends."[816] In early January, 1921 Armstrong told him, "I doubt … whether we would help the cause of justice for Koreans by encouraging the organization of a League, which might lead the Japanese authorities to feel that we were so prejudiced in favour of the Koreans that we could not be looked upon as fair minded towards Japan."[817] When speaking specifically on the matter of Korean independence he asserted that although he was, "as eager as anyone for Korea to attain that status which Canada has in the British Empire, or which Egypt now has in the British

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[813] Seo, as a young man, took part in the "Gapsin Coup" in 1884 then fled to Japan after it failed. He subsequently went to the United States and became a medical doctor. In the 1890s he went back to Korea and helped to found the Independence Club and started the first newspaper in Korea using *Hangul*. Seo was forced to leave Korea when the Independence Club was crushed by Gojong. He spent the remainder of his life in the United States.
[814] Philip Jaisohn to A.E. Armstrong, 23 June 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 63.
[815] A.E. Armstrong to Philip Jaisohn, 17 July 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 64.
[816] In early January, 1921 Jaisohn tried to assure Armstrong that the "League" was not a political organization. He wrote, "It [the League] is more educational than anything else. I presume there is no propriety for the Canadian people to form such an organization, because it is not intended to be anti-Japanese, but to organize public opinion upon the foundation of truth." Philip Jaisohn to A.E. Armstrong, 6 January 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 82.
[817] A.E. Armstrong to Philip Jaisohn, 31 January 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 82.

Empire, and the status to which India is gradually attaining," he believed Koreans needed to accept, "for the present moment the over-lordship of Japan."[818]

The letter which Jaisohn wrote in response is worth quoting at some length because he quite brilliantly dissected Armstrong's notions concerning the sameness of the British and Japanese Empires and by doing so revealed what all die-hard Korean nationalists would have thought about them. He declared:

> The Christian people in this country [the United States] and Canada … hope that Korea and Japan will live in the same way that Canada, Scotland and Wales are living under the British Government. That is impossible. Japan will not use the methods the British Government uses over her colonies. Besides, the Koreans could not accept any such treatment even if the Japanese offered it. It is the psychology of the people and we cannot change it …. As far as the Koreans are concerned they will carry out their motto, "Freedom or Extermination." I do not believe you or any other country can help that. As long as I live I must stand by the Koreans. In the first place, I know their claim is just and second, I have sentiment that cannot be taken away from me. Therefore, I will continue to help them all I can in their effort to carry out their determination either to be free or to be exterminated.[819]

Jaisohn seems to have written only one more letter to Armstrong after this last exchange.[820] He might not have ever contacted him again if he had seen an article Armstrong wrote for the *Globe* in early March 1920. In this article, entitled, "Be Fair to Japan," Armstrong stated "though some disturbing reports have come recently [which detailed the continued suppression of the Koreans][821] we are inclined to think that these are but isolated remnants of the old regime and that the Government will speedily get full

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[818] Ibid. Quoted in part in, Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 203.
[819] Ibid.
[820] Philip Jaisohn to A.E. Armstrong, 11 July 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 88.
[821]One of the most well known cases of this "suppression" was the disbanding of the "Korean Women's Patriotic Association" and the arrests of its members in January. The Commission on Relations with the Orient published an account of this. See, *The Korean Situation No.2*, p.19.

control and be in a position to manage the soldiers and the police….”[822] He predicted such an outcome because he had full confidence in Admiral Saitō and the “the great host of Japanese” who he believed wanted to create a democratic Japan and “uplift” Korea. One of those who wanted to uplift Korea, according to Armstrong, was Dr. Ibuke, the President of a Christian college in Tokyo. Armstrong pointed out that in a recent letter to the Commission on Relations with the Orient, Ibuke maintained:

> In annexing Korea it was our purpose to better the condition of the people without any idea of discrimination. To my thinking, it is wrong to use the word colony for Korea, since it is a country with its own special historical development. The recent disturbance in Korea, which was due to a lack of understanding, will turn out to be a great blessing to us, because it has aroused in us a renewed purpose to do our best for the improvement of Korean affairs. I assure you there will be a remarkable change in the administration of Korea.[823]

Armstrong insisted that sentiments such as these and Saitō’s reforms called for a new way of thinking about Japan on the part of Canadians in particular and the Western world in general. Now was the time he stated, to look beyond the events in Korea, cease calling Japan “the Germany of the East” (as he had so recently done) and cultivate “the Christian spirit of understanding and sympathy for the Japanese people in their struggle for democracy and national development.”[824]

Armstrong wrote no more articles for the mainstream press and tried to spend the remainder of 1920 tending to his routine work, something he had begun to do in the fall of 1919. By the time he wrote “Be Fair to Japan” he considered that his extraordinary tasks had been completed. He did his part to bring about the reforms in Korea and did not want to do any more.

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[822] A.E. Armstrong, “Be Fair to Japan,” the *Globe* (6 March 1920), 6. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The *Globe and Mail* (1844 – 2011).
[823] Ibid.
[824] Ibid.

He was after all not a statesmen but a bureaucrat. By the fall of 1919 Armstrong's missionaries in Hamgyeong and Gando were of the same mind as him. They simply wanted to "get back to work."

A Return to Ordinary Time

The Canadians in the Northeast and Manchuria, after issuing their memorial to Hasegawa, refrained from making any more public pronouncements about Japanese rule until the fall of 1920. Most assuredly, the majority of them did not forget about the plight of the Koreans, were still "anti-Japanese" in outlook, and doubted Saitō's sincerity however they did not want to jeopardize either the well being of the Koreans or their work. And more importantly, they aspired to do what they had always done previously; focus their energy on practicing their vocation. Two of the missionaries most desirous of continuing on with their work were the pioneers Rufus Foote and Robert Grierson. In point of fact, both had their minds on the work even amid the chaos that was erupting around them in the spring. Foote, in the letters he wrote to his mother, only made slight allusions to the tragic situation of the Koreans and instead discussed the itinerating trips

he took, the history textbook he was writing, and how he was not going to teach at the seminary in Pyeongyang because it was closed by the authorities.[825]

Meanwhile in Seongjin, Grierson complained of being overburdened as a result of the unexpected resignation of a Korean doctor and the arrests of two valuable hospital workers. He also lamented having to take his furlough leave on account of his daughter's illness. He considered this a tragedy since his hospital had finally seemed to become a success. His main competition, a doctor that he had trained (and who he did not seem to have any liking for) was imprisoned hence everyone in Seongjin now had to go to the mission hospital.[826] The tragedies experienced by the Koreans seemed to be of secondary importance to him and he explained to A.E. Armstrong that they could have been avoided "had they asked our opinion or advice on the matter [of holding demonstrations]."[827] Interestingly, he failed to inform Armstrong that he had actually given such advice to some of the leaders of the Christian community in late February. They had heard rumors that some sort of uprising was planned against the Japanese and asked Grierson if they could use a room at the hospital to discuss what they could do in response. Grierson allowed them to have the meeting at his

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[825] On 18 March he told his mother, "12 men, who through some blunder had been shot by Chinese soldiers." Rufus Foote to mother, 18 March 1919, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272 #22. Nearly one month later he informed her that he was about to embark on a 10 day itinerating trip, Rufus Foote to mother, 12 April 1919, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272 #22. On 9 May he wrote that the Pyeongyang Seminary was closed, "on account of the Independence Movement among the Koreans." Further on in the letter he asserted in a matter of fact manner that out of the 40 Koreans who were shot by the Chinese 17 were recovering and three remained in critical condition. He then stated that he and his colleagues, "never leave the women and children alone." No details concerning why they took this course of action was provided. Rufus Foote to mother, 9 May 1919, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272 #22. Near the end of May he asserted, "There is not much new to write about just now. Partly on account of the political agitation, and partly because I am anxious to finish a textbook on history for the Theological Seminary. I find great pleasure in literary work of this kind, but do not feel like leaving the Koreans without a missionary to follow this line." Rufus Foote to mother, 26 May 1919, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2272 #22.
[826] Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 30 May 1919, UCCA, Acc. 79.204C, box 4, file 62.
[827] Ibid.

residence because he did not want the hospital to be implicated in any sort of "political plot."[828] The Koreans decided to send two men to Seoul to make further enquiries.

In one of his first letters to Armstrong written after he reached Los Angeles in the summer, Grierson spoke of the recent events in Korea again[829] but most of his discussion was about mission related concerns, including his new found obsession – a motorcycle he impulsively bought before consulting the F.M.B. To explain himself he told Armstrong that it would be a great aid to the mission since he could, "travel with an evangelistic missionary, a Korean preacher, and a medical assistant, to hold Emmanuel movements and medico-evangelistic campaigns,"[830]

In the spring of 1920, Grierson was contemplating learning Japanese[831] and becoming the foreign editor of the *Christian Messenger*, an organ of the Union Newspaper Committee of the Federal Council of Missions in Korea. He was offered the job by the Committee because his talents as a writer were well known within the Korean missionary community. Although much enthused about taking up this new position Grierson eventually had to decline. The medical work of the Seongjin station would have suffered in his absence. Quite tellingly, in the letters he wrote to Armstrong about the possibility of his taking up the editorship of the *Christian Messenger*, Grierson made few remarks about the suffering of the Koreans at Seongjin. He was so absorbed in the

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[828] Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 57.
[829] In his discussion of the situation in Korea he stated, "You ought to know … that the Koreans are not likely to be satisfied with the various reforms promised. Unless these go so far as to grant amnesty to the patriots where rising has brought a sudden change of heart Korea will not accept them. But if amnesty is given these patriots, and they come freely from prison, they will undoubtedly be emboldened to agitate for the whole programme of full independence which is the only ideal of these agitators." Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, September [no specific date given], UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 66.
[830] Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 28 October 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 67.
[831] Robert Grierson to A.E. Armstrong, 10 May 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 5, file 74.

business of mission he had seemingly pushed back the memories of the violence he had observed just a few months previously.

In early August of 1919, Rufus Foote was most concerned about the educational facilities of the mission, the state of the Korean schools in Gando, and the opportunities for the missionary endeavor in Siberia.[832] In March of the following year, he worried about the competition the mission would face when the Methodists entered the Siberian and Gando fields.[833] When reviewing the entirety of Foote's correspondence during 1919 and the first half of 1920, one is at pains to find any reference to the tribulations experienced by the Koreans – the one main exception being a few letters he wrote to his daughter Jean in March, 1920. He discussed the arrest of a group of students and a handful of teachers from the boy's school in Yongjoung.[834] Rather than continue to write about these matters however, Foote asserted that it would be wise to not mention them any further since they were depressing and dark. He wrote, "It seems as though lately we have only talked about prisons and arrests and beatings, all of which is very different from the nice things we see and hear at home. I shall try not to write any more letters like these."[835]

Of the three pioneers, Duncan MacRae seemed to have been the most affected by the tragedies that befell the Koreans in 1919. While attending the General Assembly in Pyeongyang in the fall he started crying as he listened to the reports of the atrocities that were committed

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[832] Rufus Foote to A.E. Armstrong, 2 August 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 65. Since the missionaries were very worried about their letters being read by the Japanese authorities one could suspect that they were self censoring to a certain degree, and no doubt they were, however, this line of reasoning should not be pushed too far. As shown, Grierson wrote many of his letters in 1919 and 1920 from outside of Korea, and Foote's aforementioned letter was written from Gurazawa, Japan. He was attending a missionary conference.
[833] Rufus Foote to N.C. Whittemore 17 March 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 5, file 72.
[834] Rufus Foote to Jean Foote, 18 March and 26 March 1920, NSARM, William Rufus Foote fonds, 2009 – 045 #9, Notebook no.7.
[835] Rufus Foote to Jean Foote, 26 March 1920, NSARM, William Rufus Foote fonds, 2009 – 045 #9, Notebook no.7.

throughout the year.[836] By the spring of 1920 though, his thoughts returned to the mission. He wrote to his mother in-law, "The work is looking up very promising in many places. This great movement that has swept over the land had opened the hearts of the people."[837] MacRae was just as optimistic about the future of the work in a letter to A.E. Armstrong. He stated, "The young men in Korea are passing through a serious time of their lives, leaving behind the old fables, and traditions and launching out into something new. The hearts of the young people are wide open, they crave for sympathy and their hearts yearn for someone to lead them in the right way."[838] Duncan would not however be in a position to guide them until he returned to Korea in 1922. He left in the fall of 1920 to be with his wife Edith at the Colonial Hospital in Rochester, Minnesota.[839] Her health began to deteriorate in July, 1919 and showed no signs of improving.[840] Edith thought her condition was brought on by the recent stressors in her life. She watched her best friend Katherine Mair "die slowly before [her] eyes" and the Koreans in Hamheung butchered in the streets.[841]

The majority of the younger missionaries exhibited the same sort of yearning to concentrate on their vocation as did the pioneers; the proof of which is found in their correspondence with A.E. Armstrong. In the early fall of 1919, William Scott deliberated upon the same notion MacRae had concerning a potential explosion of interest in the

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[836] Duncan MacRae to his mother, 10 October 1919, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 #21, letter #14.
[837] Duncan MacRae to his mother, 21 April 1920, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2252 #22, letter #7.
[838] Duncan MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, 18 May 1920, UCCA. Acc.79.204C, box 5, file 74.
[839] Thomas Mansfield suggested that Edith go to Rochester. He was certain that the doctors there would be able to provide her with the sort of medical care that she would need in order to make a successful recovery. She remained at the hospital for six months. Her husband was by her side during the whole period. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 157.
[840] Edith MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, 16 January 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 5, file 70.
[841] Ibid. Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 154. Her motherly cares contributed to her stress as well. The educational possibilities for her children were extremely limited in Korea and she believed it would be best for them to go to school back home.

Church because of the trials experienced by the Koreans.[842] Scott's colleague in Gando, Stanley Martin, as he often did, expressed his disappointment at the state of the medical work of the mission.[843] Maud Rogers discussed the mission's desire to help a student receive an education in Japan, affairs at the hospital in Seongjin, and the activities of the other missionaries at the station.[844] Samuel Proctor, also of Seongjin, dealt with the salaries of the Korean medical personnel, the character of a certain "doctor Yang," and the machinations of the doctor who Grierson had mentioned in his letters.[845] Once released from prison, he started up his practice again.

Not every Canadian missionary placed, or tried to place the work uppermost in their thoughts in 1919. In every group no matter how small there are outliers, and the most outstanding of these in the Canadian camp was Frank Schofield. He was the one missionary who came closest to advocating for Korean independence and continued to criticize the Japanese regime when most others resolved to keep quiet. Indubitably, his being situated in Seoul rather than Hamgyeong or Gando was a very influential factor that contributed to his uniqueness (unlike his peers he did not feel duty bound to the mission), however there are others. Perhaps his aspiration to fight for the Koreans stemmed from the fascination he had come to have of them

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[842] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 28 September 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 50. Scott was also hopeful that he could persuade the Chinese to release Kim Yak Yeon from prison. Scott was requested to do so by the Korean Presbytery in Manchuria. He did not tell Armstrong that Kim was perhaps the most influential nationalist in the region. Kim was arrested because he had been collecting funds to support the independence army; Seo Dae Su, *Gando Minjokdokripundonggei Jidodja Kim Yak Yeon*, 146.
[843] Stanley Martin to A.E. Armstrong, 15 March 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.203C, box 5, file 72. Stanley Martin to Dr. Van Buskirk, 17 April 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 5, file 73. In the latter letter he also mentioned that he facing competition on account of the other hospitals in the region.
[844] Maud Rogers to A.E. Armstrong 17 November 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 68.
[845] Samuel Proctor to A.E. Armstrong, 3 November 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 68.

since meeting Yo Byung Hun, a student he knew as a child growing up in England.[846] His father, a teacher at Cliff College in Derbyshire, was an active supporter of missions and regularly invited Asian students to his home. Undoubtedly, we will never truly know all the reasons which can account for Schofield's actions during the period of tribulations but what is clear is that he stands out as one of the few missionaries, Canadian or otherwise, who fully identified with the people who he had come to serve.

Frank Schofield

Frank Schofield decided to become a missionary soon after graduating from the Ontario Veterinary College. In 1916, O.R. Avison convinced him to take up a position as a lecturer of bacteriology and sanitation at the Severance Hospital in Seoul.[847] Within a short period of time he immersed himself in the Korean language,[848] Korean culture, as well as Korean history. He also, after becoming acquainted with the struggles of the Koreans under the Japanese, grew sympathetic to their fight for independence.[849] Schofield's "pro-Korea" stance earned him the trust of the Koreans. In fact, it seems that he might have been the most trusted of all the missionaries since he was the only one to have been told by them that demonstrations would take place in Seoul.

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[846] Jang Nag Lee, *I Shall be Buried in Korea: A Biography of Dr. Frank William Schofield*, trans. Jin-Young Choi (Seoul?: Jang-nag Lee, 198?), 3- 4.
[847] Ibid, 14
[848] Ibid, 16. Lee stated that by 1918 Schofield could lecture in Korean.
[849] Ibid, 16 – 17. For an excellent account of Schofield's acculturation to Korea see, Wei Nam Oh, "The transformation of Frank Schofield (1889 – 1970) Opening Korea, a hermit nation in East Asia," *Social Identities*, vol. 14, no.2 (March, 2008): 233 – 251.

His friend Yi Kap Sung asked Schofield to take pictures of the events that were about to unfold.[850] Schofield attempted to convince Yi to cease his activities since any demonstrations against the authorities were doomed to fail, however knowing that his arguments were falling on deaf ears, he abided by Yi's wishes. The suppression of the protestors that Schofield witnessed on 1 March kindled within him an intense desire to assume the mantle of "protector of the Koreans."

During the early days of the uprising he helped students avoid arrest, offered sanctuary to those wanted by the police,[851] and documented the inhumane treatment meted out to the Koreans in Seoul. In April, he went to Cheanmi and its neighboring villages with camera in hand and interviewed the survivors. Some of the information he gathered was used by the nationalist activist Henry Chung in his book, *A Case for Korea.* Included were pictures of some of the villages destroyed by the Japanese. It is not known if they were given to him by Schofield.[852] If Schofield had supplied Chung with the photos, he would have broken a fundamental policy of his fellow missionaries and the mission boards. The pictures that the missionaries took were not intended for publication. They were given to the consuls in Japan, Korea and Manchuria as well as the Boards back in North America to be used for one purpose only – to prove the veracity of atrocities in the case that they were denied by Japanese officials.[853] No mission board and no missionary in Korea (with the exception of Schofield

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[850] Barbara Legault and John F. Prescott, '"The arch-agitator': Dr. Frank W. Schofield and the Korean independence movement," *Veterinary History/Histoire vétérinaire* , vol.50 (March 2009): 866.
[851] Jang Nag Lee, *I Shall be Buried in Korea*, 24.
[852] Henry Chung, *A Case for Korea*. The pictures are found on the page opposite page 238. Chung also included information provided to him by other missionaries as well.
[853] Ku Dae Yeol, in his, *Korea under Colonialism*, noted that Lord Curzon, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs received pictures of Korean victims in his dispatches from Tokyo in August. Curzon was holding meetings with the Japanese Ambassador; 159.

perhaps) was interested in creating a movement such as that which came into being after the publication of the Congolese atrocity pictures. The ultimate goal of the boards and their missionaries was to establish a good working relationship with the colonial government, something which could not be done if the pictures were made public.

The burned-out villages Schofield saw and the stories of the beatings and killings he heard from the villagers made him even more determined to struggle on behalf of the Koreans and as means to do so he embarked on a writing campaign denouncing the Japanese authorities. In one of his first articles for the *Seoul Press*, in which his identity remained secret,[854] Schofield stated, "The Japanese government must realize the reason as to why the Korean people have risen up against it with what seemed like foolish courage. The Japanese government must do deep soul searching and recognize that what the Korean people want is not material things but real freedom."[855] Writing for the *Presbyterian Witness* in July, Schofield reviewed the burning down of Suchon, a village near Cheanmi, and in a section entitled "Remarks," proclaimed:

> This was an action of their conquerors, they could not interfere; what right had they to ask why such brutality had been meted out? They were but slaves, dogs, what right had they to live save by the kind benevolence of those who ruled them with a rod of iron. They said, "This is Japan our Mother who tears us thus; then we with our souls wage an eternal war on her, till we shall either die or gain our liberty"[856]

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[854] To ensure Schofield's safety, Yamakada, the president of the *Seoul Press* and a friend to Schofield, did not reveal his identity. Jang Nag Lee, *I Shall be Buried in Korea*, 25.
[855] Ibid.
[856] Article in, *Ganghan Jaenin Holangi Cheoleom Yakhan Jaenin Bidulgi Cheoleom* [Like a Tiger to the Strong and a Dove to the Weak], 540.

In some of the other articles Schofield penned in the spring and summer he condemned the conditions in which the prisoners lived at the Seodaemun Prison in Seoul,[857] the efforts on the part of politicians in Japan to cover up the atrocities committed in Korea,[858] the assimilation policies of the colonial government, the failure of the Japanese to understand the "Korean Mind,"[859] and the predatory policies of the Oriental Development Company.[860] Schofield was no less reluctant to speak his mind with high government officials. He directly criticized the colonial regime during the meetings he had with Prime Minister Hara and Governor-General Saitō in September.[861] And he would continue to criticize it after the reform program was announced.

In a series of articles written for the *Japan Advertiser* between late August 1919 and March 1920, Schofield argued that the reforms were cosmetic in nature or were not carried out, and that more radical reforms were needed. He stated that the civil police force was little more than the gendarmerie in new uniforms,[862] the promise that the Koreans in the civil service would receive the same pay as the Japanese had not been fulfilled,[863] and that the pledge made by Hara to investigate the crimes committed against the Koreans in 1919 had been broken.[864] While musing over this last point Schofield declared, "I have made many enquiries and the men who

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[857] Jang Nag Lee, *I Shall be Buried in* Korea, 30 - 31.
[858] Frank Schofield, "Readers in Council: An Imperial Commission of Inquiry for Korea," *The Japan* Advertiser, (1 July 1919), 541 – 544, in *Ganghan Jaenin*.
[859] Frank Schofield, "The Discovery of the Korean Mind: Japan's Greatest problem and the Cause of Her Failure," *Japan Advertiser* (2 August 1919), in *Ganghan Jaenin*, 545-553.
[860] Ibid, 549 -550. The Oriental Development Company was first established in Korea in 1908. It took control over much of the farmland owned by Koreans and transferred it to Japanese immigrants.
[861] Jang Nag Lee, *I Shall be Buried in Korea*, 36 – 37.
[862] Frank Schofield, "The Korean Reforms: A Critical Survey – II – The Passing of the Gendarmes," *Japan Advertiser* (13 March 1920), in, *Ganghan Jaenin*, 586-588. Frank Schofield, "The Reforms in Korea III, Some Cause of Failure: Genuine Ameliorations Have Failed of Effect Because of Harsh Administration" (14 March 1920), in *Ganghan Jaenin*, 595 – 597.
[863] Frank Schofield, "The Korean Reforms: A Critical Survey – II, in *Ganghan Jaenin*," 588-592.
[864] Frank Schofield, "The Reforms in Korea III, Some Cause of Failure," in *Ganghan Jaenin*, 602-603.

allowed some of the worst atrocities either remain at their posts, or have been transferred to better or equally good positions."[865] Some of the reforms he wanted implemented concerned the office of the governor-general, education, and the treatment of prisoners. He called on Tokyo to make Saitō responsible to the Diet rather than the crown,[866] advocated for more educational opportunities to be given to the Koreans, the right of Koreans to study in their own language as well as learn their own history,[867] and through exposing the living conditions of the incarcerated, implicitly suggested that prison reforms were badly needed.[868]

The most radical change Schofield promoted regarded the self-determination of Koreans. In late August he maintained that "Self-Government for Korea is the only reasonable solution of the problem."[869] He did not give any definite time frame concerning when the Koreans should be given their independence, however, he did infer, by using the troubled relationship between England and Ireland as an example, that it would be in the best interest of Japan to grant it to them in the not too distant future. He wrote:

> England someday will have to satisfy Ireland in most of her demands. It would have been much wiser policy to have granted Ireland her demands earlier, and in so doing have retained the friendship of Ireland. Korea during the last ten years has gained tremendously,[870] in fact she has become a new nation, but what has Japan gained? - nothing but a revolution. At the close of another ten years Korea will most likely have made another tremendous advance. Will Japan's present policy reward her with anything more than a second

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[865] Ibid, 602.
[866] Frank Schofield, "The Korean Reforms: A Critical and Constructive Survey of the New Regime," *Japan Advertiser* (12 March 1920), in *Ganghan Jaenin*, 578. Schofield seemed to think that the liberal element in the Diet could limit the power of the governor-general.
[867] Ibid, 582 – 585.
[868] Frank Schofield, "The Reforms in Korea III, Some Causes of Failure," in *Ganghan Jaenin*, 599 - 601. Schofield argued that the ill-treatment of prisoners was a factor that explained why the "reforms fail[ed] to appeal to them [the Koreans]."
[869] Frank Schofield, "Reforms in Korea II: Canada or Ireland? Need for an Investigation," *Japan Advertiser* (27 August 1919), in *Ganghan Jaenin*, 565.
[870] Many, if not most missionaries thought the Japanese brought great improvements to the infrastructure of Korea.

> revolution? With regard to independence Japan is surely big enough to see that just as she herself has a moral right to independence so has Korea or any other country, the inherent moral right.[871]

Aside from criticizing the reforms and advocating for Korean independence (in an admittedly roundabout fashion), Schofield also wrote about the continued use of torture by the police[872] and accused the Japanese of trying to "syphilize the Koreans" through introducing licensed prostitution.[873]

During his first few months as Governor-General, Saitō, intent on cultivating a peaceful working relationship with the British, allowed Schofield to write and act with impunity. But, in December he had lost his patience with the missionary and publicly accused him of being in league with the nationalists.[874] Schofield's relentless pursuit to work on behalf of the Koreans was looked upon with disfavor by the members of the British Consulate and his colleagues at the Severance Hospital as well. Both groups worried that he could draw them into yet more confrontations with the colonial government.[875] The F.M.B. in Toronto too was displeased with Schofield and they recalled him in the spring of 1920. Barbara Legault and John F. Prescott, the two scholars who have done the most work on this topic, have convincingly argued that Saitō's accusations against him and his not too subtle critiques of British colonialism sealed his fate.[876] Armstrong and Mackay however, rather than candidly explaining to Schofield the real motives at work that compelled them to recall him (which they seemed to have believed would not be

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[871] Frank Schofield, "Reforms in Korea II: Canada or Ireland? Need for an Investigation," in *Ganghan Jaenin,* 566.
[872] Frank Schofield, "Readers in Council, Torture in Korea: A Matter of Dr. Midzuno," *Japan Advertiser* (29 November 1919), in *Ganghan Jaenin,* 570 – 572. Frank Schofield, "Torture of Prisoners in Korea: Evils Under Japanese Rule," *Current History,* vol. XI, II (January, 1920), in *Ganghan Jaenin,* 573-576.
[873] Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising* Sun, 195,
[874] Barbara Legault and John F. Prescott, "The arch-agitator," 869. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun,* 194.
[875] Ion argued that the British were perturbed at Schofield's critical analysis of their colonial policies, *The Cross and the Rising Sun,* 195. Jang Nag Lee discussed the attitudes his colleagues had of him in, *I Shall be Buried in Korea,* 33 - 34.
[876] Barbara Legault and John Prescott, 'The arch-agitator," 869.

persuasive) told him that the plight of his wife and child necessitated his return.[877] As Schofield was obsessively waging a struggle against the Japanese, his little family was living on the margins in Toronto and depended on the good graces of the F.M.B. to survive.

Alice Schofield, who had accompanied her husband to Korea in 1916, went back to Canada just one year later to receive the medical treatment she needed. She had been suffering from a pre-existing mental illness prior to going to Korea (of which the Board was unaware) and it became much more acute while in her new surroundings.[878] Soon after her arrival back home, Alice then gave birth to a son (it is not known if either she or her husband knew she was pregnant prior to her departure), and the two of them lived a precarious existence. The money that Frank Schofield sent home every month simply could not cover the cost of the daily necessities and the medical care she and her newborn required. To make ends meet, Alice Schofield often had no other option but to ask the F.M.B. for extra financial support. It complied on more than one occasion, yet only grudgingly – as is seen in a letter written to her by R.P. MacKay in November, 1918. He stated:

> The executive feels sympathetic and yet feels itself unable to undertake the responsibilities that are not included in the ordinary estimates. They decided however cordially to make a grant of $100.00 towards your expenses. This will bring some relief, and I hope health will be so completely restored that further medical expenses will not be incurred … I recognize the difficulty of your situation, and yet at present see no way out of it, but to endeavor to live within the usual allowance per child.[879]

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[877] Ibid, 868 – 869. Legault and Prescott have stressed this point in their article.
[878] In late November, 1918 for example, Alice Schofield told R.P. MacKay that she needed money to cover her monthly costs. At the time, she could not find any means to pay for the $70.00 hospital bill she had recently incurred. Her son had been suffering from an illness (which she did not specify).
[879] R.P. MacKay to Alice Schofield, 18 November 1918, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 59.

When back in Canada, Frank Schofield incessantly tried to convince the F.M.B. to allow him to return to Korea. In March, 1921 he informed R.P. MacKay, "I feel more convinced than ever that my life should be spent in Korea if it is possible. My heart is in Korea."[880] To further press his case, Schofield claimed that he was in the process of finding a solution to his family's dilemma and that there was little chance he would get involved in politics once in Korea. When elaborating on the former solution Schofield stated he was trying to find someone who could care for his son while he was in Korea.[881] He ended his discussion of the latter solution with a subtle caveat:

> As to my getting into politics in Korea when I return there is little danger. I have received such as shock from observing the worldliness of the church and the paganism of the State in our so called Xian land that my enthusiasm for political reform as a means of bringing in the Kingdom of God has a received a – well almost death blow. However should the Japanese do something very bad – worse than the Black and Tan in Ireland – then I might also do something bad, but there need be little fear on this account.[882]

Needless to say, this letter did nothing to allay MacKay's fears, and the petition was declined. The many subsequent requests Schofield made to MacKay and the members of the F.M.B. asking them to allow him to return to Korea during the next few years were denied too. Everyone at the Board believed he was a potential liability to the mission. Eventually, Schofield resolved to concentrate on his career and family once he finally accepted that the Board was never going to send him back to Korea. He became a professor at the Ontario Veterinary College, tried to care for his wife (she spent most of her adult life in psychiatric institutions) and raised his son Frank on his own. Korea was however never far from his mind, and when the

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[880] Frank Schofield to R.P. MacKay 7 March 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 84.
[881] Alice Schofield's psychological condition prevented her from providing the sort of care her son needed. Frank Schofield did not specify how exactly he could provide the care his wife needed while he was away.
[882] Ibid.

South Korean government asked him to attend the celebrations to mark Korea's liberation from Japan and the birth of the Republic of Korea in 1958, he eagerly accepted. His wife Alice had passed away in 1957 and he had retired a few years earlier, so he was free to finally "go back home." Schofield then accepted the position offered to him by the veterinary faculty at Seoul National University and remained in Korea for most of the next 12 years.

Upon his death in 1970 Schofield was buried in the "Graveyard for Patriots" in the National Cemetery in Seoul. In 1960 he was given the Republic of Korea Medal and in 1968 the Order of Merit, an extremely prestigious award bestowed upon a select few – including Robert Grierson, Archibald Barker, and Stanley Martin.[883] Grierson was known to have contributed to the nationalist movement. Barker and Martin helped the Koreans during their period of tribulations. Martin was the more active of the two, especially in the fall of 1920 when the "punitive expedition" sent by Governor – General Saitō committed massacres in Gando.

The Gando Massacres

In the summer of 1920, the F.M.B. and the missionaries could have justly assumed that their struggles with the Japanese were finally at an end. Schofield had been recalled, the violent oppression of the Koreans had ceased, and the future of the Church seemed secure. Yet, in the fall, the atrocities committed against the Koreans in Gando drew Armstrong and the Canadians into battle once again. Approximately 6,000 troops

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[883] Seo Jeong Min, in his, *Yi Dong-Hwi wa Gidoggyo: Hanguk sahoejuui wa Gidoggyo Gwanggye Yeongu* mentions the awards that the Canadians received, 249. Archibald Barker took pictures of the Korean victims of the Japanese in 1919.

were sent there by Governor – General Saitō after Hunchun was attacked by a few hundred "bandits" on 2 October.[884] In the midst of the assault, the Japanese Consulate was burned down and 14 police officers as well as 40 Japanese civilians were killed.[885] As historian Ku Dae Yeol has shown, the colonial government had been planning to raise an expedition against the nationalist partisans for some time and used the Hunchun raid as a pretext to justify launching it.[886] The other main goal of the Gando expedition was to wage a war of terror on Korean civilians to punish them for supporting the rebels and or deter them from furnishing this support. According to Korean sources (which are probably exaggerated to a certain extent), approximately 3,128 Koreans were killed, while 2,404 homes, 31 schools, and 10 churches were destroyed by the imperial troops between October and January.[887]

The missionaries at Yongjoung immediately left the confines of their compound to investigate the veracity of the stories they heard from the Koreans concerning the actions of the Japanese. Within hours of performing these investigations, it became quite clear to them that yet another tragedy was unfolding. Stanley Martin, during one of his preliminary examinations of the situation, which included speaking with eye-witnesses and making his own personal observations, discovered that in the vicinity of Yongjoung alone, at least 21 were killed, even more were injured, and one church, scores of houses, three schools, as well as two academies

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[884] The exact identity of the "bandits" is unknown however, most seemed to have been Chinese. This was not an attack prepared by the Korean nationalists.
[885] Dae Yeol Ku, *Korea under Colonialism*, 270.
[886] Ibid, 269-270.
[887] Ibid, 275. Hyun Ok Park claimed that 6,000 Koreans were killed; *Two Dreams in One* Bed, 102. Dae Yeol Ku has shown that the numbers are much lower in the Japanese sources - According to these, 375 Koreans were killed, 193 homes, two churches and five schools were burned. Ku, *Korea under Colonialism*, 274.

were burned down. One of them was the academy at Myeongdong founded by Kim Yak Yeon.[888] The Japanese knew that it was a hotbed of sedition.

By the time that Martin arrived in the village of Myeongdong, it had long been deserted. The inhabitants were fearful that the Japanese would return. Rufus Foote learned of, and saw, similar scenes in the villages he visited. In a letter to Dr. Albert Oltmans, a missionary he met while in Japan, he wrote at length of one of them:

> At Chang Am there are poor women left at the approach of a cold winter without a thing to support themselves and their children. The men of the family were shot, the houses and all contents burned, and the crops which had been gathered and stored about their houses burned too. Some women and children are even shoeless. The soldiers entered the village after sunrise bringing six men with them from the neighboring village. These and the young men of Kan Chang Am were shot down. From one house were a father and son, from another two brothers and a son, twenty-five in all. Then they were heaped in two piles, covered with wood and burned. While the fuel was being placed on them some of the wounded were still able partly to rise, but they were bayoneted to the ground, and met their death in flames.[889]

According to statistics compiled by Emma Palethorpe, from the beginning of the invasion until late October, the Japanese had had set fire to Korean property and killed well over 100 in 31 villages around Yongjoung.[890] In early November, Stanley Martin claimed that massacres were commonplace and in one particular village (which he did not identify) 148 Koreans had been killed.[891] Martin seems to have been the most distraught at the cataclysm the Koreans in Gando were experiencing, as is apparent in a letter he wrote to the British consul in Mukden

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[888] Dr. Martin to Consul-General Wilkinson, 24 October 1920, Enclosure no 2 in no.1., V – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference, CO. 42, no.7465, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2286 #85.
[889] Rufus Foote to Albert Oltmans, 30 October 1920, Enclosure 3 in No.1., XIII – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference, CO.42, no. 7465, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2286 #85.
[890] List of Damages done in Various Villages by Japanese Soldiers, Enclosure 6 in No.1, XIII – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, CO 42, no. 7465, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #15.
[891] Memorandum by Dr. Martin on the Norapawie Massacre, Enclosure 4 in No.1, XIII – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference, CO 42, No. 7465, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #85.

describing his reaction to the tragedy that had occurred at Norubawie, a village not far from Yongjoung. After explaining to the consul that 30 or more men had been shot and 19 buildings burned down, Martin exclaimed "… so many women were crying, and I was so angry at what I had seen, that I could not hold my camera steady enough to take a time exposure which was necessary on account of the smoke being so thick."[892]

Martin had written to the consul (with the pictures he took attached) in effort to enlighten him of the tragic situation in Gando and thus elicit his help to protect the Koreans and the mission. Rufus Foote and Emma Palethorpe had done the same. They had a measure of success. Their claims were taken seriously and reports about the Gando situation were sent to Tokyo and London. Gando subsequently became a matter of interest in British governing circles and was even discussed in Parliament.[893] Some worried that the punitive expedition might be Japan's first step toward assuming control over all of Manchuria.[894] Sir Charles Eliot, the Ambassador to Japan, however, was inclined to believe that Saitō had every right to send a punitive expedition to Gando and that the reports of the missionaries were over exaggerated.[895] To him, the Canadians in Yongjoung were overly sympathetic to the Koreans and a nuisance. Their reports to the consuls and their attempted publicity campaign against the Japanese in the late fall became a potential political liability. Unlike in 1919, the colonial government in Korea refused to allow the missionaries to gain the upper hand in the realm of public opinion.

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[892] Ibid.
[893] Hamish Ion asserted that "the Canadians were well served by the British in the Chientao intervention [the Gando massacres]." He then showed that Winston Churchill had taken an interest in the Canadian situation and kept the Canadian government informed of it; *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 204.
[894] Ku Dae Yeol provided an excellent account of the British reaction to the Gando Massacres in his, *Korea under Colonialism*, 282 – 291.
[895] Ibid, 285 - 286.

The articles the missionaries wrote describing the war waged against the civilians in Gando (which appeared in the *Peking Times*, the *Tientsin Times*, and reprinted in the *Japan Advertiser*), were quickly denied and or justified by both the civil and military authorities. Worse still, the Canadians were depicted as liars and troublemakers. Blinded by their desire to expose the atrocities, the missionaries could not understand what was very clear to their opponents. They were in a position of weakness. Gando was a peripheral area that few could even find on a map and their fellow missionaries in Korea (including most of their own compatriots) were too busy doing their own work to take much notice of what was happening outside their particular stations.[896] There would be no public outcry on behalf of the Koreans in Gando other than that of the Canadians in Yongjoung.

The first Japanese rebuttal of the allegations made by the missionaries came from the "War Office" and was printed in the *Japan Advertiser* on 1 December. To start, the military officials thought it prudent to correct missionary claims regarding the number of soldiers conducting the operations in Gando. The Canadians contended that 15,000 troops were in the region – the War Office asserted that there were only 5,000. The officials then explained why the Canadian allegation that they were targeting innocent civilians and Christians could not have

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[896] The two exceptions were Thomas Mansfield and Duncan MacRae. Mansfield, who was returning to Korea via Manchuria, was asked by his colleagues in Gando to inform the British Consul in Seoul of the situation in the region. In his subsequent memorandum he wrote, "There was abundant evidence on all sides to verify the main outline of the accounts of the tragedy as told by Dr. Martin and Mr. Foote…." Memorandum from Dr. Mansfield as regards the Village of Norubawie, Enclosure 2 in no.1, XIII – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference, CO. 42, No. 7465, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2286 #15. Duncan MacRae took an interest in Gando because he saw the "punitive expedition" and the subsequent accusations against the missionaries that the Japanese made as part of a conspiracy to destroy missionary work in both Korea and Manchuria. In a letter to Armstrong in late December he asserted, "Wake up Mr. Armstrong as to whether Japan has or has not any intention of ousting missionaries out of Korea and push us out of China, good name or no good name, Japan does not give a rap for that." Duncan MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, 24 December 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 5, file 81.

been further from the truth. They argued that all of those killed were either insurgents or civilians who had provided aid to the insurgents. And, as for the accusation that the soldiers had engaged in wonton savagery and murder, the journalist who conducted the interviews with the staff at the War Office, paraphrasing Colonel Mizumachi, wrote:

> The officer, while admitting that harsh measures had been adopted, pointed to the bad conditions that had existed in the district for a long time owing to the unchecked activities of Chinese bandits, Korean outlaws and Russian Bolsheviks, and expressed his confidence that the Japanese soldiers, who were well disciplined and humane, as the experience of all their wars had shown, had not been guilty of the barbarities with which they were charged.[897]

Mizumachi was the head of a "commission of enquiry" that was sent to Gando ostensibly to investigate the charges of the Canadians. A letter he gave to them in late November was printed in full in the *Japan Advertiser* on 3 December. As with the article above, the letter completely whitewashed the activities of the Japanese soldiery, and justified the decision of the colonial government to send the punitive expedition to Gando. Mizumachi also, quite brazenly and openly, told the Canadians that the future of their work depended on the extent to which they would cooperate with the colonial government:

> If, for instance you will refrain from interfering with any political matters, and wholly devote yourselves strictly to religious works, to efforts of co-operation with the Japanese authorities, in educating the Koreans to be loyal subjects, I am sure that both the Japanese Government and the Japanese people will heartily express their thanks to you … If your acts be contrary to the above, there will be hardly hope for the future of development of your work … The rise or fall of your work in and out of Korea depends solely upon whether you will cooperate with the Japanese government.[898]

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[897] "Extract from the "Japan Advertiser" of December 1, 1920, Enclosure 13 in No.1, VIII – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference, CO 42, no. 7465, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #85. Hamish Ion has shown that Mizumachi's letter caused the missionaries much consternation, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 201.
[898] Extracts from the "Japan Advertiser" of December 3, 1920, Enclosure 14 in No.1, VIII – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference CO. 42, no.7465, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #85.

Less than a week later, Governor-General Saitō denied that that any of the soldiers in Gando "resorted to numerous kinds of inhumanity," rationalized the singling out of the Christians on the grounds that "mission schools [were] the headquarters" of the "insurrectionists" and accused the Canadians of "[giving] encouragement to the insurgent bands."[899] It was well known among all within the colonial government that the Protestant nationalists in Gando used their schools as recruitment centers for the independence army. Saitō, to make his position on the Canadians perfectly understood, stated:

> The missionaries who accuse the Japanese army of committing inhumanities and spread such reports abroad, and take photographs to substantiate what they say, are themselves the cause of the tragedy which has befallen the insurrectionists. We regret that the Korean insurrectionists are not awake to the fact that it is toward these mischief-making missionaries they should really feel aggrieved. Japan grants freedom of religious belief to their subjects. No restrictions are put upon them whatsoever. But she cannot allow treason that threatens to undermine the foundation of the empire.[900]

The Japanese Consul-General in Ottawa, S. Shimizu, went on the offensive against the Christians and missionaries in Gando as well. In an editorial published in the *Globe* in early December he argued that if churches and schools were burned down, "as alleged"[901] it was due to their being the meeting places of "outlaws." Prior to this, Shimizu had provided for his readers a short history lesson on how Gando had become a base of operations for "insurrectionists" from

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[899] Extracts from the "Japan Advertiser of December 8, 1920, Enclosure 15 in No.1, VIII – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference CO 42, no. 7465, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #85. Hamish Ion quoted Saito's statement in full, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 200 – 201.
[900] Ibid. Dae Yeol Ku "The Chientao Incident (1920) and Britain," *Transactions* [Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch], vol. 55 (1980), 18. Ku used part of this quote. He was the first scholar to investigate the attack that the Japanese waged against the Canadians in the press.
[901] S. Shimizu, "A Japanese Denial," *The Globe* (8 December 1920), 4. Shimizu was responding to an article that appeared in the *Globe* on 30 November which described the Gando massacres. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Globe and Mail* (1844 -2011).

which they launched their attacks on the Japanese in Northern Korea. As he neared the end of his editorial, Shimuzu, in a not too unsubtle fashion, insinuated that the Canadians were renegades: "It would seem strange that any Christian missionary should be complicated more or less in the Korean movement against the lawful Japanese administration."

The counter-attack of the Japanese had a chilling effect on the Canadians in Yongjoung and they virtually ceased their public denunciations of the colonial administration.[902] William Scott, however, who had spent much of his missionary career at Yongjoung, could not hold his tongue. He was enraged by Shimizu's editorial and responded by promptly writing one of his own for the *Globe*. He asserted that the Canadians in Yongjoung would have been recalled by the F.M.B. if they showed any signs of being political[903] and that the Christians in Gando were completely innocent of the accusations leveled against them. To substantiate this last notion he avowed:

> I know that the Korean Christians were more than exceptionally careful to keep their church property free from any implication in the political movement. Again and again I made enquiries on my rounds as to whether any political work was carried on in church or school. And invariably the answer was "Why should we? These buildings are kept for public worship only, and we know that our only chance of saving them should the Japanese come in here is by keeping them absolutely free from suspicion.[904]

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[902] Some of Stanley Martin's statements about Gando however did come out in the Associated Press in late December. They appeared in the *Globe* in the 20 January 1920 issue under the title, "Say Japs Slew Wantonly and Fired Villages." ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Globe and Mail* (1844 – 2011). Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 200.

[903] Scott asserted, "If Canadian missionaries have been involved in Korean political intrigue, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions should immediately take steps to see that such actions cease at once." William Scott, "The Japanese in Korea," *The Globe* (23 December 1920), 4. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Globe and Mail* (1844 – 2011).

[904] Ibid.

Scott was of course only telling half truths at best. There can be no doubt that an intelligent and perceptive man like him would have been fully cognizant of the militant nature of the Church in Gando. Surely all of his compatriots in Yongjoung and Korea proper were in no way blind to it. Hence, it would seem then that the main purpose of his editorial was simple – to clear the name of the missionaries and Christians. And, he was unabashed at omitting certain facts about them in order to reach this goal.[905] In sum, the reputation of the mission was at stake and Scott came to its defense, something he was much freer to do than his comrades at Yongjoung. He was on furlough.

A.E. Armstrong came to the aid of his missionaries and the Koreans in Gando soon after learning of Colonel Mizumachi's letter. Extracts of it were printed in the *Globe* on 4 December.[906] His immediate reaction was to make contact with the British Embassy in Tokyo asking for it to intervene on behalf of the mission.[907] Ambassador Eliot, already perturbed at the Canadians, refused. James L. Dodds, the third secretary at the embassy, explained to Armstrong in January that Eliot saw no reason why he should offer any assistance since "the Japanese operating in the districts in question have [not] in any way endangered the lives of British subjects or have caused injury to British lives or property, which did not appear in danger."[908]

Armstrong's attempt to illicit the assistance of Newton Rowell, a Member of Parliament and advocate of missions, was equally unsuccessful. He and the Executive of the F.M.B. wanted

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[905] Hamish Ion, in his discussion of Scott's editorial, wrote, "Scott must have been either willfully blind or unusually insensate not to have known what was going on in his mission area." Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 199.
[906] The article in which the extracts appeared was entitled, "Must Not Plot With Koreans, Japanese Military Chiefs at Chientas [sic] Warn British Missionaries," *The Globe* (4 December 1920), 5. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: *The Globe and Mail* (1844 – 2011).
[907] Rev. A.E. Armstrong to Sir C. Eliot (Tokyo), Enclosure 1 in No.1, I – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference, CO.42, no. 15899, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2286 #87.
[908] Mr. Dodds to Rev. A.E. Armstrong (Toronto), Enclosure 2 in No1, I – Public Records Office, Foreign Records Office, Reference, Reference, CO.42, no. 15899, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2286 #87.

to publicly counter the allegations made by the Japanese against the Canadians in Yongjoung and tried to attain Rowell as their counsel.[909] He speedily declined the offer and to account for his decision asserted, "It [the situation of the missionaries in Gando] is a question in which the [Canadian] Government and the British Government may be called upon to take some part, and so long as I am a Member of the House I do not feel that I should act as Counsel in any matter in which the Government is or may be interested."[910] In 1919, Rowell showed a similar reluctance toward helping the mission and the Koreans. In July, R.P. MacKay asked him if the Canadian government could make a public protest against the actions of the Japanese in Korea.[911] Nothing was done. Rowell and every other Canadian politician would never dare risk the possibility of causing a rift between Japan and Britain in the name of a people of which they were entirely unconcerned.

The heads of the American mission Boards, as with their missionaries in Korea, were not overly solicitous about the Koreans in Gando or the Canadians either. They had engaged in two major struggles with the colonial government in less than ten years[912] and they were not in the least interested in getting caught up in another one. Nevertheless, they did, at the request of Armstrong, invite Rufus Foote to New York to discuss Gando with them. They also arranged for Foote to meet with the Japanese Consul-General to the United States and Saitō's secretary as well.[913] According to Sidney Gulick, the Secretary of the Commission on Relations with the

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[909] A.E. Armstrong to Duncan MacRae, 15 January 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 82. It is unclear how Armstrong and the F.M.B. thought Rowell should proceed to work on their behalf.
[910] Newton Rowell to A.E. Armstrong, 17 February 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 83. Hamish Ion, in his discussion of this letter, asserted that Rowell actually took the matter of Korea seriously; *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 202.
[911] R.P. MacKay to Newton Rowell, 12 July 1919, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 4, file 64.
[912] Their first major conflict with the Japanese occurred during the "Conspiracy Case" of 1911 and 1912.
[913] Foote had begun his furlough.

Orient, Foote was no match for the Japanese officials. They asserted that it was "contrary to Japanese nature" to commit atrocities, spoke of the radicalism of the churches and schools in Gando (which Foote could not deny), and claimed that since Foote's testimony was based on the eye-witness accounts provided to him by Koreans, they were unreliable. Foote apparently said little in response.[914]

Armstrong, although disappointed with the news, hoped Foote would do better during the meeting he had set up for him with Consul-General Shimizu in May. He was far too optimistic. Foote had as much success in Ottawa as he did in New York. Armstrong himself, after numerous attempts, had failed to compel Shimuzu to change his mind concerning the actions of the imperial army in Gando. Armstrong did not seem to understand that he was bound to fail. Shimuzu's mission was to advance the interests of Japan and he would not allow either Armstrong or Foote to impede his work. By the summer of 1921, Shimuzu had apparently become tired of Armstrong and attempted to (in a very diplomatic fashion) bring the discussion of Gando to a conclusion. He wrote to the Under-Secretary:

> …we [the Japanese government] appreciate your splendid work toward elevating the material as well as the spiritual welfare and happiness of the Korean people … In my humble opinion, efforts should now be made directed toward removing the causes of misunderstanding, if both are to work in harmony with the same objective in view, and any suggestions in this regard will be much appreciated.[915]

Armstrong seemed to have gotten the hint. In one of his last letters to Shimizu, he did not make any references to the problems between the missionaries and the Japanese in Gando, but rather

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[914] Sidney L. Gulick to A.E. Armstrong, 22 March 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 84. Hamish Ion, in his discussion of Foote's meeting with the Japanese wrote, "In simple terms, Foote had come off badly in his interview in New York with the Japanese, and far from believing him, they probably viewed his remarks and attitudes as perniciously anti-Japanese." Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 203.
[915] S. Shimizu to A.E. Armstrong, 6 June 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 87.

asked him if he could use his influence to lower or remove the high tariffs that the mission would have to pay for equipment that was purchased overseas.[916] In this we see that A.E. Armstrong's "extraordinary work" had finally come to an end. The same could be said for his missionaries in Yongjoung.

The actions of the missionaries and A.E. Armstrong in 1919 and 1920 are without precedent in the annals of Canadian missionary history. No other group of missionaries and no other missionary bureaucrat ever so boldly condemned an imperial power – and to some effect. Their response to the brutality of the colonial government during both the Uprising in 1919 and the Gando Massacres most certainly saved Korean lives and, in the case of the former, impelled Prime Minister Hara and Governor-General Saitō to implement reforms. And, it should be pointed out, the Canadians carried out this enterprise at some risk to their own personal safety. As Duncan MacRae related to A.E. Armstrong in late December, 1920, "The Japanese hate the missionaries in Korea with a bitter hatred, the missionary is a sort of thorn in his side…."[917] Yet, one must acknowledge that the radicalism of MacRae, his colleagues in Hamgyeong and Gando, as well as A.E. Armstrong was not only the result of their desire to protect Koreans. They were also trying to protect the Church and the mission. Both were never far from their minds. Frank Schofield on the other hand prioritized his struggles on behalf of the Koreans over both the work and his family. He was *the* outlier.

The year 1920 would mark the last time in which the Canadian missionaries would seriously challenge the colonial government. In point of fact, many of them would, in the 1920s, come to have a grudging respect for the Japanese because they began to contend with the

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[916] A.E. Armstrong to S. Shimizu, 12 August 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 89.
[917] Duncan MacRae to A.E. Armstrong 24 December 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 93.

communists – an ever-present threat to the mission and Christian community. The tribulations of the Canadians, however, were by no means over. Throughout much of the 1920s, some of the very same people whom the Canadians had tried to protect in 1919 and 1920 would turn against them.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BRINGING ORDER OUT OF CHAOS: REINVENTING THE MISSION

On 18 January 1922, student leaders from the Youngsaeng Boy's Academy in Hamheung informed the Canadian missionaries that they would go on strike if their demands for drastic changes were not met.[918] They wanted a principal to be employed on a full time basis (the missionaries never had the time needed to devote all their attention to the schools), the acceptance of more applicants, and modern school equipment. Luther Lisgar Young, the principal of the academy, told the students that he and his colleagues had similar desires and would act upon them when the necessary funds were sent from the F.M.B. in Toronto. Unsatisfied with this response, the students boycotted their classes. The missionary school committee took a strong stand and decreed that only those students who admitted in writing that they had "done badly" and pledged to never strike again would avoid expulsion. This ultimatum, instead of silencing the dissent, fomented greater antipathy. On 6 February, some of the more radical students displayed their anger by burning down the academy.[919]

This violent episode was the catalyst that compelled many in the Christian community to voice their displeasure with the missionaries. Other than the students, Church leaders were the most vociferous – they demanded a greater say in mission affairs and more resources to be put at the disposal of the native Church. No matter how much the Christians were spending (and the amount kept growing in the 1920s), they could never adequately fund their schools and churches or pay church workers. In their efforts to force the missionaries to satisfy their demands, some

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[918] Sections of this chapter were published under the title, "Friends, Foes and Partners: The Relationship between the Canadian Missionaries and Korean Christians in Northeastern Korea and Manchuria, 1898 – 1927," in *Studies in World Christianity*, vol. 23, no.3 (November, 2017): 194 – 217, Copyright © Edinburgh University Press. The author received permission to use this material by the publisher. See Appendix.
[919] Luther Lisgar Young to R.P. MacKay, 28 March 1922, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 96.

resorted to intimidation while others ignored missionary directives. More than a few became impatient with the Canadians and joined the Methodists. Rather than resist this pressure from below and thus potentially lose their credibility with the Church altogether, the Canadians acquiesced. They built schools at great expense both in terms of cost and principles – the boy's and girl's academies in Hamheung became almost entirely secular institutions. And, they created a Joint Board in which missionaries and Church officials, would, as co-equal partners, determine all policies excepting those related to medicine.

The 1920s clearly signaled the beginning of a new era, and in it, the pioneers played an insignificant role. The second generation of missionaries, the most important being William Scott, although having a profound respect for what Foote, MacRae, and Grierson had accomplished in the past, viewed them as being ill-equipped to contend with the new set of challenges faced by the mission. Foote was transferred to the Pyeongyang Theological Seminary on a permanent basis in 1927 while MacRae and Grierson were prompted to take an early retirement in the 1930s. Both had earned the enmity of their colleagues.

MacRae opposed the institutionalization of the mission, the creation of the joint board, and student attendance at Shinto shrine ceremonies during the 1930s. The Japanese colonial government made participation at these ceremonies mandatory for all students regardless of their religious affiliation. MacRae and a few others in the Canadian missionary camp, like the American Presbyterians, believed that all who attended these ceremonies were effectively committing the sin of idolatry.[920] Because of this they were willing to risk the closing down of

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[920] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 200. Hamish Ion, *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 99. Ion provided a detailed discussion of the Shinto shrine controversy in this work; 92 – 100.

their schools by the authorities by not complying.[921] All educational institutions that did not comply would have their educational licenses nullified. The majority of MacRae's compatriots, led by the theologically liberal William Scott, similar to the Methodists, held that the Shinto shrine ceremonies were merely civil ceremonies and allowed their students to participate in them.[922]

Robert Grierson's troubles began in 1929. A teacher who had left the Bosin Boy's School without giving much notice, on return to Seongjin, physically accosted Grierson after the missionary refused to give him his last paycheck. Grierson, in retaliation, punched back. The following day the teacher returned with some friends and, according to D.A. Macdonald, "attacked the Dr. and manhandled him for some twenty minutes."[923] Although many of the Protestants at Seongjin sided with Grierson, a large percentage did not. The Presbytery, having to take into consideration the animosity that many felt toward Grierson, disciplined him.[924] Eventually, some of the Koreans in the "anti-Grierson camp," or the "rebel-party,"[925] formed their own church. Soon thereafter, the missionaries found themselves in the middle of a power

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[921] In 1935, the Union Christian College in Pyeongyang and the Sungui Girl's High School, both operated by the American Presbyterian (North) Mission, had their licenses revoked because the missionaries would not allow students to take part in the Shinto shrine activities; Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar*, 62 – 63. In 1938 all schools in Pyeongyang were closed. In 1939 the mission reversed its decision and complied with the Shinto shrine regulations – primarily because of the heavy pressure put upon them by the Japanese authorities. Prior the Annual Meeting of the Presbyterian Assembly, every delegate was brought to a police station and told they simply had no choice but to abide by the Shinto shrine regulations. Then, during the Assembly, attended by the police, no dissenting voices were allowed; Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar*, 66.

[922] The Korean Presbyteries in Canadian mission territory supported the missionary decision to allow the students to participate in the Shinto shrine ceremonies. William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 130.

[923] D.A. Macdonald to A. E. Armstrong, 11 March 1930, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 2, file 40. Hamish Ion discussed the "Grierson controversy" in *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, 61.

[924] Ibid. Macdonald told Armstrong that the members of the Presbytery decided to "relieve" Grierson of his "Presbyterian powers for one year."

[925] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 27 April, 1931, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 2, file 45.

struggle between the "rebel party" and the members of the flock who supported Grierson. It became so heated at one point that every missionary in Seongjin threatened to resign.[926] Robert Grierson, when remarking on the altercation that he had with the teacher which sparked off the controversy wrote: "My missionary colleagues, whom I love and greatly respect, looked on the incident with great sorrow and distress."[927] And, he was banished by them because of it.

The aim of this chapter is to account for why Grierson and his colleagues lost the confidence of the Christian community during the 1920s, the revolt that occurred as a result, and the revolutionary means that the missionaries employed to quell it. By the 1920s, nearly all of the Canadians recognized that it was the missionized that controlled the fate of the work, therefore, they deemed it imperative to go to any lengths necessary to appease them, even if doing so meant transforming the mission. Few however, could have foreseen prior to the 1920s that they would ever need to take such drastic action. From the time that the mission was founded in 1898 the relationship between the Canadians and the Koreans was an amicable one. There were no student strikes or serious challenges to missionary authority by either the laity or the native leaders of the Church. It would be fair to presume then, that the majority of the Christians viewed the Canadians in a positive light. To understand why their perceptions so drastically changed in such a short period of time and thus begin our investigation of the turbulent decade of the 1920s, it is vital to first explore their thoughts and feelings concerning the Canadian decision to remain neutral in political affairs during the period of tribulations. It was the source of much of their hostility.

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[926] Ibid.
[927] Robert Grierson, *My Life*, 84.

Changing Perceptions of the Canadians

When keeping in mind that the Canadians vehemently protested against the colonial regime for its brutal suppression of the Koreans in 1919 and 1920, it seems incongruous that just a few years later the mission school students and the Christian community would rise up against them. The turbulence of this period appears more paradoxical still when considering some of the interviews that Helen MacRae conducted in the early 1970s. Several of her interviewees proudly recounted how some of the Canadians assisted them and or their community in 1919. Three of them told Helen about how her father rushed to the Hamheung police station to lodge a protest soon after seeing Japanese policemen, firemen, and peddlers brutalizing Koreans on the streets.[928] Kim Do Jun, the "Mayor of Hamheung" at the time of his interview,[929] said that he believed MacRae was deserving of recognition by the South Korean government.[930] He was told of MacRae's confrontation with the police by his parents. Jun Jang Nim, a former student of the Youngsaeng Boy's Academy and assistant to Emma Palethorpe, said he heard rumors that some of the missionaries hid Koreans so the Japanese could not find them.[931] And Jeong Chang Sin noted that her teacher and mentor Ethel B. MacEachern had always argued against Christians taking part in political activities, but put these feelings aside in 1919 and helped the Koreans who

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[928] Neun Keun Kim interviewed by Helen MacRae, Seoul, South Korea, 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2343, Tape 4. Reverend Jae Il Bak and Jang Hyun Hong interviewed by Helen MacRae, Seoul, South Korea, 30 June 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2344, Tape 8.
[929] The former residents of Hamheung in South Korea continued to elect officials for their city. It would seem that this was done to ensure that their candidates could assume office in the event of unification.
[930] Kim Do Jun interviewed by Helen MacRae, 14 July 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2343, Tape 3. He was only five years old in 1919. Kim also noted that MacRae was well known for his toughness and bravery in Hamheung.
[931] Jun Jang Nim interviewed by Helen MacRae, Toronto, Ontario, 26 February 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2341, Tape 13. MacRae did this and see Mowry too.

had been beaten and attacked by the Japanese.[932] None of them said anything negative about the missionaries.

Certainly stories such as those mentioned above were widely known among the Christians in Hamgyeong and Gando and there can be little doubt that a large segment of these Christians would have held the Canadians in high esteem because of what they did. Yet, it is evident that a great many others were disappointed in them. The missionaries, especially Grierson and MacRae, had earned a reputation for being "anti-Japanese" and because of their close relationship with some of the leaders of the nationalists and or willingness to turn a blind eye to their machinations, were seen as being "pro-Korean," but during 1919 and 1920, none of them made any public pronouncements regarding the possibility and or desirability of Korea acquiring its independence. Similar to the American and Australian missionaries, the Canadians (aside from Schofield of course), demanded reforms to the imperial system, not its destruction. Granted, the tangible evidence which can substantiate this assertion is less than desirable nevertheless in analyzing the sources that do exist we find that after the period of tribulations more than a few Koreans suspected the Canadians of secretly harboring good will toward the colonialists, which was for them, a complete betrayal of their trust. In 1924, Edith MacRae related the story of an inexperienced missionary who was shunned by all the Christians in Hamheung because he had been friendly to Japanese officials,[933] while Kim Sang Pil, an active participant in the March First Uprising, in his interview with Helen MacRae, stated in no

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[932] Jeong Chang Sin interviewed by Helen MacRae, 24 April 1972, Seoul, South Korea, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2341, Tape 10.
[933] Edith MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, UCCA, 12 January 1924, Acc. 79.204C, box 8, file 118.

uncertain terms that he detested all "pro-Japanese missionaries." Unfortunately, he did not name any of the Canadians he had in mind.[934]

Historian Kim Seung Tae, in his study of the missionaries, rightly insisted that none of them were sympathetic to the imperial administration,[935] however, given that they took an apolitical stance in 1919, and their country was allied to the Japanese, the perceptions of Christians such as Kim Sang Pil and others in Hamheung are comprehensible. By the early 1920s the Canadians could not help but be aware that this alliance brought discredit to their mission in the eyes of the Koreans and it would seem that their opinions concerning what should be done about it in the future would have been in accord with those expressed by Duncan MacRae in late 1920. He pleaded with A.E. Armstrong to use whatever influence he had to prevent its renewal.[936]

Hamish Ion has argued that MacRae's opposition to the alliance was based on his humanitarian impulses and worry that it had tarnished the reputation of Britain among East Asians.[937] In using the same evidence as Ion, Helen MacRae focused on her father's fear that the alliance could, sometime in the future, weaken the resolve of the British government to safeguard the interests of the native Christians and missionaries.[938] Now, Ion and Helen MacRae were surely correct in their analysis to a great degree, but, when considering that the loyalty of the

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[934]Kim Sang Pil, "Answer to Questionnaire," (in translation), NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2347 #8.
[935] Kim Seung Tae, *Hanmal Ilje Gangjeomgi Seongyosa Yeongu* [A Study of Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1884 – 1942], 77-139.
[936] Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, 202 and Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon* Mountain, 159. Duncan MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, 24 December 1920, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 81. Armstrong and the leaders of the Presbyterian Church refused to bring up the matter of the alliance at their General Assembly since, according to Armstrong, "they considered it wise to not say anything about the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, for it would not do any good for a church to enter into a political matter, and would probably hinder the cause of the Koreans by further arousing Japanese resentment." A.E. Armstrong to Duncan MacRae, 15 June 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 87.
[937] Ion, 202.
[938] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 159.

Korean Christians to the mission was greatly dependent on the impression that the Canadians were, for wont of a better term, "on their side," MacRae's disdain for the alliance takes on a different meaning. He recognized that after 1919, the Koreans were skeptical of the Canadian allegiance to them and the Anglo-Japanese alliance only served to strengthen their doubts. Duncan MacRae most plainly expressed his concern about this matter in May, 1921. He wrote to Armstrong, "I do not know anything that has done Great Britain more harm. Politically, Communally, and I might add above all the loss in moral prestige. I know how the Koreans feel about it, especially the students, teachers and Christians… I have been up against it in Korea, and no man can defend the Anglo-Japanese Alliance from a moral standpoint. It is going to be a tremendous handicap to us Britishers in our mission work if renewed."[939]

The Uprising in the Schools: A Youthful Revolution

Duncan MacRae and the rest of his colleagues knew that some of the antagonism they encountered in the 1920s was the result of a mistaken belief among the Koreans that they had "pro-Japanese" leanings, but they realized it was not the sole source of their troubles. In their correspondence with the F.M.B. they deliberated upon a great many others as well – some of the most frequently mentioned being the rise of cultural nationalism, the growing popularity of communism/socialism, the influx of new ideas from Japan, a growing generation gap, and Japanese propaganda. In a word, what they described was a society that was going through a social revolution. The Korea that they had known was quickly disappearing and a new Korea was in the process of coming into being. Nowhere was this transformation more evident in the

[939] Duncan MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, 21 May 1921, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 6, file 86. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was officially severed in August, 1923.

early 1920s than in the schools. Student strikes frequently occurred on school campuses throughout Korea during the 1920s and as in Hamheung, they often turned violent.

In 1922, E.M. Mowry, the veteran missionary of the Presbyterian North Mission, reported that 40 students from the Soongsil Boy's Academy in Pyeongyang "immediately began to smash things up in general" after petitioning the assistant principal to dismiss seven teachers, build another dormitory, and give more freedom to the student association. Intriguingly, he stated that six students from Hamheung were among the ring leaders of the uprising.[940] In March, 1924 Samuel Moffett, the principal of Soongsil, simply closed the school when a strike was threatened. The following month, a few of the students attempted to retaliate by burning the school building down.[941] At the John D. Wells School in Seoul, also run by the Northern Presbyterians, strikes had become so ubiquitous that in 1925 the author of its annual report felt inclined to mention that none had broken out during the previous year.[942] He did note, however, that some had materialized at academies in Pyeongyang, Daegu, and Seongdo.[943] The Australians too had to contend with rebellious students and like Moffett were unafraid to take a strong stand against them. In 1928, they expelled all of the students who participated in the strike at the D.M. Lyall Boy's School in Masan and then shut its doors.[944] The following year when it

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[940] Report of the Presbyterian Boy's Academy in Pyengyang, 1922. Record Group 140 – 7-39. Series 1: Korea Mission Reports, 1911 – 1954, Microfilm roll #2. Korea Mission Records, 1903 – 1975. Film Ms114. Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library.
[941] Report of Boy's Academy. (Pyengyang), 1924. Record Group 140 – 7-41. Series 1: Korea Mission Reports, 1911 – 1954, Microfilm roll #2. Korea Mission Records, 1903 – 1975. Film Ms114. Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library.
[942] Annual Report of the John B. Wells School. Record Group 140 – 7-42. Series 1: Korea Mission Reports, 1911 – 1954, Microfilm roll #2. Korea Mission Records, 1903 – 1975. Film Ms114. Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library.
[943] Ibid.
[944] "Extracts From the Records of the Australian Mission in Korea, Meetings of the Council, June and October 1928 and Important Minutes of the Executive Committee (vol.15), 63, 78, in, *Australian Presbyterian Mission in Korea, volumes 15 – 20 (1928 – 1933).* Day Missions Library, Yale Divinity School.

reopened, the Australians as well as all the other missionaries in Korea were witness to the most massive student strike to take place during the colonial period. It originated in the town of Naju in the southwest and spread rapidly throughout the peninsula. Approximately 10 percent of the student population in Korea participated (including those attending government schools).[945] Over 1,600 students were arrested by the colonial authorities.[946]

The immediate cause of the student uprising in the 1920s was the changes made to the educational regulations by Governor-General Saitō. According to the new rules he put in place, all mission schools could be "designated" (or in other words, recognized as equal to Japanese schools) so long as they conformed to the standards prescribed by the colonial authorities regarding the equipment used in classrooms, school size, quality of teachers, language of instruction – which was Japanese by and large, running costs, and curriculum.[947] Prior to this, the colonial administration, in its endeavor to minimize Christian influence, only recognized the mission schools that abandoned the teaching of the gospel and the holding of religious ceremonies during class hours and in 1915, stipulated that all schools which continued to do so would be closed by 1925. Only a few of the Methodist schools complied with the regulations.[948] The much more theologically conservative Presbyterian missions decided to not seek recognition with the hope that the government would revise its policies.

Sāito's educational reform contributed to arousing such an "education fever" that the missionaries were only able to accommodate a fraction of the applicants to their schools and as

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[945] Government schools also experienced strikes.
[946] Deborah B. Solomon, '"The Empire is the Enemy of the East,' Student Activism in 1940s Colonial Korea," *Journal of Korean Studies*, vol.20, No.1 (spring, 2015): 150 – 151.
[947] For a full discussion of the changes to the educational polices see, Horace Horton Underwood, *Modern Education in* Korea.
[948] Horace Horton Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, 203. The first to do so was the Baejae Boy's Academy in Seoul.

seen, often found themselves at odds with those who had been accepted. The students first demanded that the missionaries seek "designated status," and then they called on them to go one step further and apply for "registered status" – which entailed being in full compliance with the government's regulations, including the exclusion of religious instruction.[949] They pushed for this "maximum program" primarily because the authorities made it extremely difficult and time consuming for the mission schools to receive designated status and the students who graduated from the designated schools were routinely discriminated against when applying to post-secondary institutions.[950] The American Presbyterians refused to exclude religion from their curriculum hence they did not register any of their schools. They did however have a few of them designated. The Canadians decided to get some of their schools registered – a subject which will be given much more treatment shortly.

In one of the first studies done on modern Korean education, James Earnest Fisher, a professor at the Joseon Christian College in Seoul, maintained that the radicalism of the students originated in their desire to improve their station in life. A recognized diploma was essential for graduates who wanted to get a job in the civil service and prestigious schools or continue their education in the elite colleges and universities of Japan.[951] Kenneth M. Wells, an expert in the field of Korean Christianity, on the other hand, put forth a much different argument to explain

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[949] Obtaining registered status was an extremely expensive proposition. It cost tens of thousands of dollars to build the types of schools as those operated by the colonial authorities.
[950] William Scott stated that the students from Hamheung had a difficult time gaining acceptance into the colleges and universities in Japan; "Canadians in Korea," 121.
[951] James Earnest Fisher, *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928), 6. When elaborating on this point Fisher asserted, "It was soon recognized [after 1919] that the government controlled the whole system, and if one wanted an education which would lead to the Imperial University, one which would lead to a position of honor and a good salary, and to professional practice in medicine and law without the students' having to stand difficult qualifying examinations, then he must get into the government system [Koreans flocked to the government schools too] or into a school which was fully recognized by the government department of education."

the passion for education during this era. According to him, because of the failure of the Uprising in 1919, Protestant nationalists came to believe that the only way in which they could truly resurrect their nation was to stop waging a political struggle (which they would inevitably lose), and concentrate on equipping themselves and their compatriots with the knowledge and skills they would need to bring Korea in line with the modern era and direct the affairs of the state after the departure of the Japanese.[952] In sum, their immediate goal after 1919 was to change Korean culture and they, like their predecessors in the 1910s, held that education was one of the keys that would enable them to accomplish this task.

D. A. Macdonald, based in Wonsan at the time of the student unrest, and many of his compatriots, would have been much more inclined to side with Wells rather than Fisher. While commenting on the cultural nationalist spirit of the young he wrote, "After the Independence Movement had proved abortive, and the Patriots realized that their lost Independence could not be recovered by any sudden coup, the whole nation, with an unanimity that revealed an intense and deep seated national consciousness, flung itself at any and every available portal for education."[953] Going further, he also blamed what he called the, "materialistic" and "antagonistic" literature that had been flooding into Korea ever since Governor-General Sāito's reforms for the disturbances at the missionary schools.[954] He stated that the first generation of Korean Christians was exposed mainly to the New Testament and related Christian literature, therefore they rarely questioned gospel tenets. The second generation however had access to a

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[952] Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation*, 107-111. It would seem fair to say that there is much truth in what both Fisher and Wells have contended. For a detailed discussion of cultural nationalism from a more secular point of view see Michael Robinson's *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea*, 2nd ed (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014).
[953] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 11 April 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 121.
[954] Ibid.

bewildering array of information that served to throw doubt on what they and or their parents believed. Their reading of Western novels, philosophy, communist/socialist propaganda, political treatises, Darwin and popular magazines all contributed to undermining their faith. This state of affairs, according to Macdonald, made evangelizing the second generation, "the real test." He was to echo these sentiments a few years later in an article he wrote for the *Korea Mission Field*. He put forth, "I envy the new missionary; he faces a task far greater and more difficult than that of the pioneers. If he is true to his charter he has hardships and dangers compared to which the pack pony and the verminous [sic] mud floor were a passing picnic."[955]

Many other missionaries insisted that the communist/socialist ideas that were spreading quickly into northern Korea after the Russian Revolution was the source of youthful petulance. In a letter to Armstrong in December 1924, William Scott of Yongjoung wrote that Marxist thought had become incredibly influential and because of this many young people were abandoning Christianity, and those who remained within the fold were aggressively taking over the leadership positions in the Church in order to steer it in a more radical direction.[956] Scott was deeply troubled by the quickly changing socio-political environment in Manchuria, but he believed it was of the utmost importance to adjust to it. His much older and far more conservative colleague, Duncan MacRae, held fast to the pioneering spirit of a bygone era and refused to align himself with the times. To him, the past was a golden age, the present, a tragedy – a turn of mind which is discernible in much of his correspondence.

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[955] D.A. Macdonald, "Practical Evangelism and the Missionary," *Korea Mission Field*, vol.xxii, no.12 (November, 1926), 235. NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2287.
[956] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 14 December 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 117.

Just before the destruction of the school in Hamheung, MacRae told R.P. MacKay that the evangelical meetings he had attended were dominated by young people and warned of an impending crisis.[957] Two years later his views on the Korean youth and the future of the mission/Church had become bleaker. He argued that the "isms" (such as communism, bolshevism and socialism), "[were] sweeping Korea like cyclones, uprooting trees, churches, and schools and it [appeared] as though only desolation like that left behind by the earthquake [the Kanto earthquake of 1923] would remain."[958] Communism had indeed made much headway in the early 1920s in Hamgyeong Province and continued to do so into the 1930s. Red farmer's unions were formed in Muncheon, Gowon and Yongheung[959] while red labor unions were founded in Heungnam, Hamheung and Wonsan – the site of a General Strike in 1929.[960]

MacRae was greatly worried about the growing popularity of these isms, but he was absolutely shocked at the war which was happening between the generations. He had been in Korea since 1898 and until the 1920s had rarely seen the young treating their parents or elders with disrespect. At the time he was writing his letter, it had become a common occurrence. When describing this revolution in customs he declared, "Koreans tell me that it is not only in the church and school that the young men are making trouble, they are at it in their homes, the children against the parents and the parents against the children. Youth has raised its hand against the actions of their fathers and says you have sold our birthright."[961]

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[957] Duncan MacRae to R.P. MacKay, 1 February 1922, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 107.
[958] Duncan MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, January 25, 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file, 118.
[959] Chong Sik Lee, *Korean Workers' Party: a short* history, 39.
[960] Park Soon Won, *Colonial Industrialization and Labor in Korea: The Onoda Cement Factory* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass., 1999), 122-123.
[961] Duncan MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, 25 January 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 118.

While reflecting on this generational strife after he retired from missionary work, William Scott too explained that by the 1920s young Koreans began to "[ignore] the old social order based on the Confucian system" by not adequately displaying respect for their elders, walking hand in hand with their romantic partners and openly discussing the "subject of love, which had [in the past] been taboo in polite circles."[962] James Scarth Gale, one of the leading missionary scholars of Korea, blamed the West for the tremendous changes that were occurring. In his book, *The History of the Korean People* he proclaimed:

> We have unwittingly brought about the destruction of East Asia, in which Korea is involved. To her the west evidently does at it pleases, why should she not? The west does not bother about father and mother, why should she? The west has no barriers between the sexes, why should she have? In everything that she has seen from the west, religion counts as nothing: why should she bother about it? Labour-unionism, communism, socialism, bolshevism, and anarchism express the real mind of western nations; why should she not take them up and be the same? [963]

Missionaries undoubtedly agreed with much of what Gale wrote, but they emphasized that the Japanese were the ones primarily responsible for the transformation of Korea. They most definitely accused the Japanese for drumming up anti-missionary sentiment among the Koreans. The Canadians held that much of the enmity they faced stemmed from the pervasiveness of the anti-Western (Christian) message found in Japanese language newspapers and books. They were particularly distressed at the stories depicting them as thieves or hoarders who used all of the money they received from abroad and Korea for their own benefit rather than to help the native Christian community through the building of schools and hospitals.[964] Making matters worse for

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[962] Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 115.
[963] Richard Rutt, *A Biography of James Scarth Gale and a New Edition of His History of the Korean People*, 319.
[964] L.L. Young to A.E. Armstrong, 14 February 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 119.

the Canadians were the students who they had sent to study in Japan. Upon their arrival back to Korea, many of them told their peers that the schools they had attended were much more advanced than on the peninsula, something which only served to deepen the suspicion held by young Korean Christians that missionaries deemed them an inferior people.[965]

The interviews which Helen MacRae conducted provide ample evidence that many in Hamgyeong and Gando did most assuredly believe that some Canadians considered both them and their culture with disdain. Their overall assessment of the mission as a whole was positive, but even a few of the most decidedly "pro-Canadian" interviewees such as Lee Sang Chul, Chun Chang Nim, Chun Taek Kyun and Moon Jae Lim asserted that certain missionaries (specific names were not provided) had little regard for Korean culture and behaved as if they were superior to Koreans.[966] Moon was particularly aggrieved at those who had treated him in a derisive fashion and ignored the wants and needs of his fellow Christians. The survey that Bak Hak Kyu did with Korean immigrants in Toronto during the late 1960s and early 1970s revealed the same sorts of grievances against the missionaries. According to Bak, the consensus among his interviewees was that the Canadians demeaned Korean civilization and did not consult native Christians on mission matters.[967]

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[965] Ibid.

[966]Reverend Moon Jae Lim interviewed by Helen MacRae, Toronto, Ontario, 10 February 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2343, Tape 16. Reverend Lee Sang Chul interviewed by Helen MacRae, Toronto, Ontario, February 3 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2343, Tape 12. When discussing the talks he gave in Canada while a student Lee asserted, "I appreciated all the positive things that missionaries have done for my country, and for me personally. But I had no intention of singing their praises without qualification. I felt then as I do now, that the Christian Church needs to develop a new missiology which recognizes the value of indigenous cultures and traditions." *Nageunae* [The Wanderer], 86. Chun Chang Nim interviewed by Helen MacRae, Toronto, Ontario, 26 February 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2341, Tape 13. Chun Taek Kyun interviewed by Helen MacRae, Toronto, Ontario, 27 January 1972, NSARM, MG.1, vol.2345, Tape 11.

[967]Bak Hak Kyu interviewed by Helen MacRae, Toronto, Ontario, 4 March 1972, NSARM, MG.1 vol. 2342. The perception of the Canadians was in no way entirely negative. Bak stated that his respondents also told him that they respected the Canadians for what they did in 1919 and the contributions they made in the area of education.

The Growing Crisis and a Dramatic Shift in Educational Policy

It is somewhat difficult to say with any certainty the extent to which the negative perceptions of the Canadians as expressed by MacRae's interviewees contributed to the crisis of the 1920s, yet it would be fair to say that it was not negligible. What is undeniable is that after 1919 not only Korean students, but adult members of the laity and Church leaders were no longer satisfied with the status quo and desperately wanted the missionaries to reform their policies. The burning of the school in 1922 caused the Canadians much anxiety. When large numbers of lay people as well as clerics championed the cause of the students and advocated for changes to the mission's financial and educational stratagems, the missionaries panicked. They knew the existence of the mission itself could be put into jeopardy if their allegiance was lost. Therefore the Canadians did everything within their power to try and quell Korean frustration, something which, as they were to find out, was almost impossible to accomplish.

In the spring of 1922, the missionaries resolved to build new academies for boys as well as girls in Korea proper and seek either approved (registered) or designated status from the colonial authorities. When the Christians in Wonsan and Hamheung learned of this, they sent delegations to the annual council meeting in the summer and presented arguments on why their respective cities should have the new schools.[968] Not wanting to make any rash decisions and knowing that a more inclusive gathering should take place to discuss mission policy, the Canadians decided to have a meeting with the Koreans in September.[969]

As problems were mounting in Northeastern Korea, William Scott and Archibald Barker in Yongjoung had to contend with members of the flock who joined the Methodists. Scores of

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[968] Before this time Koreans rarely attended the annual meetings.
[969] A.H. Barker to R.P. MacKay, 18 July 1922, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 100.

Presbyterians, including two elders, broke ranks because they were promised by a few Korean Methodist ministers that they would finance the building of a new school and church. Barker felt betrayed. He had tried his best to ensure the safety of the former in 1919 and the latter had promised to not work in too close a proximity with the Canadians. Many months later when Barker resolved to hold a meeting with the now ex-members of the Presbyterian Church, he was abused and threatened. Not satisfied that they had made their feelings fully known, his tormentors went to his residence after the meeting and "caused a great deal of trouble."[970]

Barker soon left the field after this incident and returned to Canada shattered and disillusioned. In one of his darker moments in early January, 1924, he asked his wife to "write the Board and say he never was a Christian and to tell them to stop sending the salary."[971] In April he had concluded that he would never feel better[972] and by November still could not bring himself to enter a church.[973] The mission fields of Northeastern Korea and Gando were always difficult – in 1919 and during the 1920s they became merciless. Barker remained in Canada and died in Toronto in December, 1927. Details regarding the last few years of his life are obscure. Interestingly, when the leaders of the Eastern Manchurian Presbytery learned of his death, they offered their condolences, and asked Rebecca Barker to return.[974]

In 1923, the Methodists in Wonsan, like those in Yongjoung who had caused Barker so much consternation, attempted to use the growing hostility of the Koreans toward the missionaries to their advantage. Without Canadian knowledge, they secretly aligned themselves with a group from the non-Christian, "Young Men's Association." Soon after forming this

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[970] A.H. Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 17 January 1923, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 106.
[971] Rebecca Barker to A.E. Armstrong, 4 January 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 118.
[972] Rebecca Barker to R.P. MacKay, 26 April 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 121.
[973] Rebecca Barker to R.P. MacKay, 10 November 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 128.
[974] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 12 May, 1928, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 25.

alliance, members of the Y.M.A. asked the Canadians if they would be willing to relinquish their control of the boy's academy, which as the missionaries were to learn afterward, they would have handed over to the Methodists. The Canadians refused the offer. While describing this clandestine activity to the F.M.B. in Toronto one missionary wrote, "In the present temper of the Koreans, most of them and not the least worthy ones, would…give allegiance to the church which was giving what they feel, they need most in the present crisis."[975]

The conference in September that the missionaries hoped would bring a semblance of peace produced more tension than had existed previously. The attendees from Wonsan and Hamheung viciously argued with one another. The men from Hamheung, being numerically superior, forced a vote whereby all the ballots were marked in their favor because the Wonsan people refused to participate. As frustrations increased the Koreans then turned on the Canadians claiming that they were "morally responsible" for the burning down of the school because they had not, in their opinion, put forth a concerted effort to satisfy the desires of the students.[976] Since the meeting was a complete catastrophe, the missionaries called for another one to take place in Seongjin in January of the following year.

The time that lapsed in between the negotiations did little to stem the resentment of the Koreans. Their ill will toward the missionaries became readily apparent during and after the Seongjin Conference. None of the Koreans were content with the Canadian decision to seek from the Japanese authorities "designated" rather than "registered status" for the new school, and a group representing Seongjin strongly proposed that the mission should build and register two

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[975] D.A. Macdonald, "Open Letter to the Members of the Mission, r.e. Wonsan Station, 11 May 1923, UCCA, 79.204C, box 7, file 110.
[976] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 14 September 1922, UCCA, 79.204C, box 7, file 102.

academies, one of which would of course be located in their city. When it was decided that there would only be one boy's academy in Hamheung, the atmosphere in Seongjin grew extremely tense. A mob of close to 100 people stormed into the home of missionary Samuel Proctor when they found out that he had voted in favor of Hamheung. They only dispersed after the police arrived. At the worship service on the following day, Korean passions had not died down. A local teacher ordered the missionary officiant off the stage and no one sitting in the pews came to his aid. Robert Grierson was so shocked and enraged at this flouting of missionary authority that he resigned as principal of the boy's school and advised that the Seongjin station be closed down.[977] There is very little evidence to suggest that he was in any way truly considering terminating his life's work; he did go to Yongjoung after the disturbance to protest the behavior of the Koreans, but he spent the remaining years of his missionary life in Seongjin. Samuel Proctor went back to Canada in 1927 and never returned. He had seemingly lost the capacity to endure the heavy workload and the persistent tension that existed at the Seongjin station.[978]

The boys from the Wonsan Academy immediately went on strike when they learned that their fellow students in Hamheung would be the recipients of a new school. The principal D.A. Macdonald quickly responded in turn by expelling them. Believing that the students had a just cause for their protest, the laity demanded that they be allowed to resume their studies, but Macdonald refused because he thought a dangerous precedent would be set if he consented. Nevertheless, his colleagues, fearing a total rebellion, outvoted Macdonald and capitulated to Korean entreaties. Angered at this decision Macdonald resigned from his post and soon after

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[977] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 5 April 1923, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 109.
[978] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 21 April 1928, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 25.

frankly told the Board in Toronto that if the mission did not start doing "real institution work" in Wonsan they should leave.[979]

The sense of urgency the missionaries felt in regard to pleasing the Christians in 1923 is evident in a cable they sent to Toronto after the annual summer council meeting. They unequivocally demanded that the Board immediately provide them with $25,000 so that they could start building the boy's academy in Hamheung.[980] The consensus among the missionaries was that once the Koreans saw that the school was under construction, they would inevitably discontinue their belligerent protests and thus peace would return to the mission compounds. The leaders of the F.M.B., who had for quite some time resisted sending money for the academy, fearing a revolt of the missionaries after reading the cable, promptly complied with their desperate appeal. Once received, the missionaries put the funds to work and in the fall of 1925, the first classes were held in the new school.

After the issue of the boy's school was settled the missionaries focused on the building of a new girl's school in Hamheung. In March, 1925 their patience with Toronto's lack of response respecting the need for this school had reached its lowest ebb. D.A. Macdonald stated, "The Koreans have been very patient in regard to the Girl's School but they have almost reached the breaking point as has also the principal [Ethel MacEachern]."[981] Continuing on he disclosed that the school, which was comprised of one brick and mortar building as well as several mud huts, "had fallen so below standards that it (or they), could be closed by the authorities at any time."[982]

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[979] Ibid.
[980] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, UCCA, 6 August 1923, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 113.
[981] It seems that MacEachern had been extremely stressed for quite some time. D.A. Macdonald told Armstrong in September, 1924 that her "Medical advisor" had told her to take a vacation in Japan. D.A. Armstrong to A.E. Armstrong, 30 September 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 126.
[982] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 21 March 1925, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 132.

A.E. Armstrong remained unmoved by the predicament of the missionaries and reiterated he could do nothing to help, therefore, D.A. Macdonald and A.F. Robb tried to coerce him to take action by revealing that the second floor of the school building, which was built 13 years previously, might collapse, and that the make-shift hovels which were being used as classrooms, "discredit[ed] the Mission in the eyes of the heathen parents whose children attend the school."[983] Believing that even this description of the situation might not compel Armstrong to action, Macdonald and Robb threatened to take out a loan at a high rate of interest if the Board did not send $8,000 immediately.[984] Feeling that it had no other alternative, the F.M.B. acquiesced.

The Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada

Adding to the tense atmosphere that was enveloping the mission in the 1920s was the uncertainty caused by the unification of the Canadian Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in 1925. Most of the missionaries unhesitatingly joined the United Church primarily because they believed it would benefit the mission (they presumed that the new Church would be able to provide them with a plentiful amount of resources). However a few, namely Luther Lisgar Young, Frederick Vesey, and D.W. Macdonald, dissented. Unlike Duncan MacRae, they would not compromise and join a church which seemed to be founded upon liberal theological principles. They had hoped to remain members of the mission – which was a welcomed idea by the rest of the Canadians.[985] But, the United Church would not allow them, or any other anti-

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[983] D.A. Macdonald and A.F. Robb, 28 March 1925, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 132.
[984] Ibid.
[985] For a brief time the missionaries and Armstrong considered leaving Gando in order to use the extra funds that doing so would have provided to pay for the schools in Hamheung.

unionist missionaries to remain in any of their mission fields. The loss of Luther Lisgar Young was a great blow to the mission. The departure of Vesey and Macdonald might have proved beneficial to it. Both seemed to have had little compassion for the Koreans. The loss of the conservatives might have also been a boon to William Scott, the leading liberal among the Canadians. To replace the dissenters, the United Church sent a few young male missionaries to Korea in the mid to late 1920s that were well versed in modern theology.

The members of the newly constituted "Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada," believing that the doctrine of the United Church and its system of government was essentially the same as the Presbyterian Church of Korea, sought recognition by the General Assembly.[986] It was duly granted. The missionaries also retained their membership in the Council of Presbyterian Missions, yet, dissimilar to the past, the relationship they had with their peers, especially those from the ever powerful and influential Presbyterian North Mission, was often fraught with difficulties. The rise to the fore of the liberals in the Canadian mission in the 1920s and the solutions they formulated to bring an end to the crisis in Hamgyeong and Gando were not in the least welcomed by the Americans.

The first major rift between the two occurred in 1926 soon after the Northern Presbyterians sent a memorial to the Korean Presbyterian churches "urging their strict adherence to the fundamental doctrines of the church." They subsequently called on the other Presbyterian

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[986] Minutes and Reports, 28th Annual Meeting, Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada, 34, UCCA, Acc. 82.011C, box 19, file 19 – 4. In effort to secure the acceptance of the United Church by the General Assembly the missionaries informed it that: "The United Church of Canada is in essential harmony with the twelve articles of doctrine of the Presbyterian Church in Chosen; the system of government of the United Church is essentially Presbyterian in form; and, the United Church of Canada is a constituent member of the 'Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian system.'"

missions to do the same.[987] Seeing this as an affront to their autonomy and unhelpful in regard to solving the very serious difficulties confronting the missionary movement in Korea, the Canadians replied:

> While we heartily agree that [in] view of the present intellectual unrest prevalent in Korea, as elsewhere in the world, we need a more adequate and reasoned apologetic for the Christian faith we feel that rather than simply reiterating historic creeds to which our various Churches subscribe we should devote ourselves earnestly to the task of giving a constructive and aggressive presentation of the Gospel which shall better commend it to the life and thought of to-day.[988]

William Scott, when discussing this rebuttal in his history of the Canadian mission, argued in a not too subtle way, that by the 1920s the position he and his compatriots took, unlike the American Presbyterians, was in accord with an ever increasing number of Korean Christians and John R. Mott, the General Secretary of the YMCA, the Chairman of the World Student Christian Federation; and one of the most influential figures in the global missionary movement during the first half of the twentieth century. Mott had come to Korea in late 1925 in preparation for the Jerusalem Mission Conference that was to take place in 1928, and as with the other organizers of this conference, "acknowledged that the once great vision of the world evangelized by Christian missions was no longer appropriate and that the church and mission alike had entered a new era of religious plurality"[989] (a turn of mind which was brought about to a great degree by the strength of Asian nationalism during the 1920s). Secular nationalists advocated for

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[987] William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 119.
[988] Ibid. Minutes and Reports, 28th Annual Meeting, Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada, 34. UCCA, Acc.82.011C, box 19, file 19 – 4, 33. Quoted in, William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 119.
[989] Robert Wright, *A World Mission*, 165.

political emancipation from the Western imperialists and Christian nationalists struggled for control over the Church.[990]

Some of the questions that the Korean delegates at the "Mott Conference" deliberated upon dealt with how the church and mission could improve the living conditions of the populace as well as how the church could "become an agent for saving society rather than occupying itself with perpetuating its own organization"; and some of the steps they believed had to be taken in the near future were for the Korean Church to formulate, "a clear statement of essential Christianity" and "better equip young people to meet anti-Christian propaganda." As for the missionaries, the Koreans stated that they had "to become more Koreanized."[991] In other words, what they wanted was for the missionaries to radically re-think their policies and practices. So did William Scott, hence his animosity toward the American Presbyterians. It would be fair to presume that his close personal friend D.A. Macdonald felt the same way about them. He held that missionaries who concentrated solely on the otherworldly aspects of the Christian message were not only irresponsible but dangerous since they opened the door to the communists. In 1922 he wrote in the *Korea Mission Field*:

> The missionary who has not the social note in his preaching and who fails to open up the glories of the social content of Christianity is not only repelling the best type of educated, forward looking, young Korean from the church but is deliberately making him a victim of the false, unbaked and unchristian social doctrines which are being spread and will continue to be spread in this part of the world for some time to come.[992]

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[990] Ibid, 144 – 145.
[991] William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 118.
[992] D.A. Macdonald, "The Christian Message for the Korean of To-day," *Korea Mission Field*, vol. xviii, no.10 (October, 1922), 232. NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2288. Scott made reference to this article in his history of the mission; 153. He also remarked upon Macdonald's "practical evangelism" and praised him; "Wherever he went, his manly bearing, his friendly attitude, his personal devotion and integrity of character, together with his emphasis on the

The School Question and a Growing Divide

The chasm that was developing between the Canadians and Americans widened in 1927 when the former resolved to register their schools – mostly as a result of the belligerency of their constituency. In the spring of 1926, the boy's at the Hamheung Academy orchestrated a walkout with the full support of the Church. The students had heard a rumor that the government was planning to either not designate any more schools or make the process of getting a school designated laborious and time consuming.[993] To bring calm to the situation, William Scott, the principal of the Academy, tried to convince the Church of the "wisdom of fighting for a 'Designated School,'" and attempted to strike a certain amount of fear into the students. He told them that the mission would not register their school because: the government allowed the teaching of religion in designated schools; their demonstration would not compel the missionaries to change their opinions; and that the mission board in Canada fully supported their position on the matter.[994] Scott ultimately failed. In 1927, E.J.O. Fraser, the principal of the Boy's Academy in Yongjoung, faced a much more threatening and serious rebellion.[995]

The crisis began in the spring after a student in his senior year was suspended for slandering one of his teachers. Soon thereafter, his classmates, considering this to be an unjust punishment, expressed their anger by disrupting the school's convocation services. When discussing this incident E.J.O. Fraser stated that, "they rushed into the church, tore down the big sign that announced the graduation ceremony, and made some attempts at hot speeches."[996]

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practical rather than the doctrinal aspects of the faith, endeared him to a wide circle of friends, Korean and missionary." "Canadians in Korea," 152.

[993] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 14 June 1926, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 9.

[994] Ibid.

[995] E.J.O. Fraser to A.E. Armstrong, 9 May 1927, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 20.

[996] Ibid.

Just a few days after the ceremony was disrupted, the lowerclassmen demanded that the school dismiss three teachers and refused to attend class. All were promptly suspended for two weeks. They quickly retaliated. The students first attempted to "forcibly prevent" Fraser from going to the train station (he managed to elude them),[997] then, upon his return, 40 or more students went to the school and presented him with their "withdrawal notice." Soon thereafter they assaulted two teachers and committed acts of vandalism.[998] The melee only subsided with the arrival of the police and since Fraser's safety seemed to be in jeopardy, the authorities provided him with a security detail for a few days. Fraser's fortunes further deteriorated when the students were notified that their suspensions would be upheld by the school. In his account of what happened next he stated, "…there was a wild scene in my house, and had not Mrs. Fraser locked the door a large number of boys would have been in and some more smashing would have taken place." The police were once again called to disperse the intruders. A little while later, a group of students attacked a coal merchant that had recently met with Fraser. Everyone who was associated with him seemed to be a target.[999]

When the new semester began only 70 or so students returned. The head teacher resigned and Fraser was in a conundrum over how he should deal with all of those that were suspended. The root cause of the rebellion, as Fraser rightly presumed, was that many of the students had become attracted to communism and because of this, grew hostile toward Christianity.[1000] The missionaries were seen as imperialists; the believers, dupes; and the Protestant leaders of the

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[997] He was planning to audit the mission's treasurer's books at the station.
[998] They broke down a door and smashed a window.
[999] Fraser stated that they assaulted him because he refused to allow them to take his bicycle.
[1000] Fraser argued that that the students, "[had] gradually been infected with the Communistic, anti-Christian virus." After the students beat up the coal merchant they distributed communist propaganda tracts.

cultural nationalist movement, reactionary.[1001] For the student radicals, Marxists tenets, not the Gospel, provided the direction needed for national liberation.

In light of the disturbances at Yongjoung, the persistent pressure put on the mission by the students and Christian community, and the cool reception they received by the educational authorities when they spoke of getting their schools designated,[1002] the Canadians voted at the annual council meeting in the summer of 1927 to register the boy's and girl's academies in Hamheung as well as the girl's primary schools at all the mission stations in Korea proper.[1003]William Scott held that although the Canadians would no longer be able to teach religion during the school-day they could, "still maintain the objective which our home church holds in all its missionary enterprise" because, as he stated, "The experience of the Methodists schools [pointed] to that conclusion."[1004] The Methodists had simply held services for the students outside of their campuses and conducted bible classes in the afternoons or evenings.[1005] James Endicott, the Moderator of the United Church, and Alfred Gandier, the longtime principal of Knox College and professor of missions, both of whom were in attendance at the annual

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[1001] Donald N. Clark discussed Fraser's plight in his work, *Living Dangerously in Korea: The Western Experience, 1900 – 1950* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2003)100 – 101. He noted Fraser's belief that the disturbances were the result of the anti-Christian attitudes of some of the students.

[1002]The missionaries had discussed getting the schools designated with Japanese officials at the educational offices at Hamheung as well as Seoul. According to Scott they, "left the impression that the Government has little sympathy with our desire to establish, '"Religious Schools."' "Boy's Academy – Hamheung, Statement prepared by Rev. Wm. Scott, Principal. Statement re Education in Korea, prepared in view of visit of Deputation," UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 23.

[1003] Gando was outside of Japan's jurisdiction until 1931 hence the omission of the girl's school in Yongjoung. Minutes and Reports, 29th Annual Meeting, Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada, 1927, UCCA, Acc.83.011C, box 19, file 19 – 4, pp. 18, 31.

[1004] "Boy's Academy – Hamheung, Statement prepared by Rev. Wm. Scott, Principal. Statement re Education in Korea, prepared in view of visit of Deputation," UCCA, Acc. 83.006C, box 1, file 23.

[1005] Horace Horton Underwood, *Modern Education in Korea*, 203. According to Underwood, the Japanese knew the Methodists were circumventing the rules but turned a blind eye to what they were doing. What mattered to the authorities was that the missionaries and Christians use discretion and be seen as obeying the letter of the law.

council meeting, wholeheartedly agreed with the resolution of the missionaries.[1006] They had received an assurance from the Japanese minister of education that although religion could not be taught as part of the curriculum, the missionaries could teach it outside of class hours.[1007] The American Presbyterians and their Korean allies were not at all pleased with the new Canadian policy.

In September, 1927 William Scott arrived at the Annual Meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea confident that the delegates would approve of the decision made by the mission to register its schools. He was far too optimistic. The Northern Presbyterians, led by Samuel Moffett and Charles Allen Clark, stirred up opposition to it.[1008] They were dead against removing religion from the curriculum and did not want a dangerous precedent being set.[1009] If the Canadians registered their schools, surely the Koreans in their territories would push even harder than they had been for them to do the same. Scott of course was deeply upset and so were the Korean delegates from the Presbyteries in Hamgyeong and Gando. Unafraid to challenge the Northern Presbyterians, they pushed for the Assembly to reconsider the matter, however, when another vote was taken they lost once again. In order for the motion to pass a two-thirds majority was needed; 97 delegates voted in favor of their

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[1006] Minutes and Reports, 29th Annual Meeting, Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada, 1927, UCCA, Acc. 83.011, box 19, file 19 – 4, pp. 18. William Tate, "From the Sidelines of Empire," 79. Gandier was instrumental in the creation of the Canadian mission in Korea in the 1890s. While a minister at Fort Massey Church in Halifax and member of the Foreign Mission of Board of the Presbyterian Church (E.D), he strongly advocated for the Church to send missionaries to Korea to carry on W.J. MacKenzie's work. He spent much of his life as the principal of Knox College. Under his leadership the college created a "department of practical training in 1907," and in 1908 started delivering courses "on the social teaching of the Bible," as well as "Christian ethics." John Moir, *Enduring Witness*: *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*," (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1975), 190.
[1007] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 13 July 1928, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 25.
[1008] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 10 October 1927, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 25.
[1009] One other reason was the expenses involved in creating and operating such schools.

proposal and 58 voted against it, including a group of Canadians.[1010] Scott believed that the "strong and dominating personalities"[1011]of Moffett and Clark were responsible for their decision to speak out against the registration of the schools – something they had not done at the annual council meeting in the summer.[1012]

Following the Assembly, Scott remained furious at the Americans. He wrote to Armstrong, "It [not seeking registration] means that our school is being sacrificed for the other missions' determination to adhere to a policy which will result in either our schools carrying on in a half dead state, or in their being forced to close for lack of interest."[1013] He was just as angry with his compatriots who did not support him in his struggle with the Americans and handed in his resignation as principal of the boy's academy in Hamheung. A short time later, however, when in a more rational state of mind, he reconsidered his decision and stayed at his post. Scott was certain that only he could steer the boy's academy through the troubled waters and prevent, "an open rupture between the Koreans and the missionaries."[1014]

Since the Assembly was an advisory body only[1015] Scott and his supporters[1016] resolved to bypass it altogether and continued their drive toward registering the schools, notwithstanding the opposition of a small coterie of their compatriots. The issue of the schools was finally settled at the annual council meeting in the summer of 1928 – but only after a great deal of fiery deliberations, as was noted by William Scott:

[1010] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 10 October 1927, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 25.
[1011] Ibid.
[1012]It would seem that those who opposed the registration of the schools remained silent at the annual council meeting because Gandier and Endicott were in attendance. As noted, both men wanted the schools to be registered.
[1013] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 10 October 1927. UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 25.
[1014] Ibid.
[1015] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 20 March 1928, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 25.
[1016] Including A.E. Armstrong and the Foreign Mission Board of the United Church of Canada.

> The debate opened one afternoon, was continued through the following morning and only terminated that afternoon. Perhaps it was the presence of Dr. and Mrs. Mackinnon [the former being the Principal of the Pine Hill Divinity School] which accounts for this full discussion. It may be that the opponents of registration were eager to show there were two sides to the question. Perhaps it was that they had received orders from the other missionaries – of other Boards – to fight it to the end. Be that as it may, Dr. Robb, Mr. McRae and Mr. Ross put up a strong fight and brought forward every possible argument in opposition to the motion for registration.[1017]

The anti-registration side ultimately failed to win the support they needed – fifteen missionaries voted for registration and only five voted against it. Only Duncan MacRae wanted his "dissent recorded,"[1018] and he seemed to have been the sole missionary to have never accepted the decision. In 1934, he was extremely perturbed that cuts had been made to the salaries of the missionaries while the budgets of the registered schools remained untouched. When complaining to Armstrong about the matter he asserted, "In 1928 I registered my protest in Presbytery in face of the Koreans. I registered my protest in the mission Council against the mission undertaking to run government institutions…" I find myself crushed against a financial wall [and] wonder if I am astride 'Balaam's Ass.'"[1019]

The girl's academy in Hamheung was registered in 1929 while the boy's academy was registered two years later. The reasons for the delay were mainly the result of the obstinacy of the colonial bureaucracy and the time the missionaries required in order to amass the tens of thousands of dollars they needed to properly set up and run a modern well equipped school.[1020]

[1017] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 7 July 1928, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 1, file 25.
[1018] Minutes and Reports, 29th Annual Meeting, Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada, 1928, UCCA, Acc. 83.011, box 19, file 19 – 4, p.15.
[1019] Duncan MacRae to A.E. Armstrong, 4 February 1934, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 3, file 72.
[1020] This was a stipulation of the authorities.

The missionary most responsible for getting the schools registered was William Scott. He worked tirelessly to find the ways and means to satisfy the colonial government's demands.

The Formation of the Joint Boards

During the crisis of the 1920s, the main priority of the Canadians was to solve the school question, but they realized that to bring long term stability to the mission, changes would have to be made regarding their financial policies and control over the academies since they had become the sources of a tremendous amount of anger within both the lay community as well as among Church officials. Although the Christians in Canadian mission territory had gathered the impressive sum of $78,604 in 1923[1021] and would continue to collect much more, it would appear that some did so grudgingly. Members of several churches in the vicinity of Wonsan had become weary of the missionaries telling them that they had to be more financially independent. They wanted the Presbyterians to be more like the Methodists who were much less steadfast in adhering to the notion that the native Church had to be self-supporting.[1022]

The Christians in Hamheung were most aggrieved at the financial policies of the missionaries. They had tried to raise as much money as they could but were unsuccessful. Starting from the fall of 1923 and into 1924 their task proved even more difficult with the coming of an economic depression after the Kanto earthquake. Since they were unable to improve their situation, the faithful came to believe that the Canadians had to be more charitable. Therefore, when the missionaries asked them to provide $5,000 toward the building of the boy's academy, they became irate and were extremely slow to comply. They thought the Canadians

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[1021] "Korean Church Comparative Statistics, 1898- 1923,'" NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2280 #7.
[1022] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Macdonald to Armstrong, 11 April 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 121,

were not only being insensitive to their plight but were also punishing them for the destruction of the school in 1922 and setting an unfair precedent by asking them to contribute to an institution over which they had no influence.

Some Canadians too started to question the worthiness of stressing native self-support and concluded that if they were serious about bringing order to their fractured community, it was necessary to allow the Koreans more of a say over the direction of the mission, especially in relation to educational affairs. William Scott was perhaps the most virulent critic of the mission's policies. When elaborating upon the Nevius Method on one particular occasion he asked A.E. Armstrong, "What's the use of self-support if we stagnate?"[1023] In another letter to the F.M.B. a few months later he wrote that to maintain and or retain the respect of the Christians, the Canadians had no other option but to confer with them on all areas of mission policy.[1024] Scott's turn of mind, like that of most of his colleagues, was determined, for the most part, by his negative experiences. While principal of the Yongjoung Boy's Academy he was continuously criticized by the Koreans, so much so in fact that at one point he wondered if, "they… [sat] up at nights to devise schemes of tormenting the foreigners."[1025] The most serious dilemma he confronted occurred in the spring of 1922 when some members of the Presbyterian Church built a rival school in the city because of their dissatisfaction with the Canadians.[1026]

In early 1924, Scott came to believe affairs in Yongjoung had reached such a critical level that he had to make radical changes without the sanction of the mission's Executive

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[1023] Ibid.
[1024] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 26 March 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 120.
[1025] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 24 October 1923, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 115.
[1026] Ibid. Some Presbyterians, including two Elders, left the mission. The Methodists promised them that they would build a church and a school in Yongjoung. Archibald Barker to R.P. MacKay, 18 July 1922, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 7, file 100.

Committee. He asked the North Hamgyeong Presbytery to appoint delegates to sit on a board of managers for the Yongjoung Boy's Academy and gave the home funds to the same Presbytery to be used for evangelism. While describing this experiment to the F.M.B., he proposed that the entire mission should start "devolving" in a like manner as soon as possible and advocated for the creation of a mission wide joint board. He was convinced that the Koreans would begin to trust the Canadians as they had in the past if they were regularly consulted on important affairs and given access to money from Canada. [1027] Scott's policies had the desired effect, there were no strikes at his school and the heated situation in Yongjoung was diffused. While describing the results of the risk he took, Scott somewhat proudly stated, "my school in Gando won people's hearts."[1028]

The Executive Committee of the mission witnessed the positive outcomes Scott had helped to bring about hence it decided to follow his lead and advised that joint boards be created to direct all mission schools on the compounds.[1029] During the council meeting in 1926, the mission took an even greater step toward dramatically altering its policies. The Canadians decided that home funds should be given to all the Presbyteries in order to help them better conduct the evangelistic work. They also had detailed discussions regarding the formation of a joint board that would oversee all the mission work, including finances, and as in the case concerning the registering of schools, a majority of missionaries opted for innovation and

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[1027] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 26 March 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 120.
[1028] William Scott to A.E. Armstrong, 25 July 1925, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 126.
[1029] D.A. Macdonald to A.E. Armstrong, 29 March 1924, UCCA, Acc.79.204C, box 8, file 120.

change.[1030] In the summer of 1927, they voted in favor of bringing the new partnership into being – all matters excepting hospitals would be decided by missionaries and Church leaders together.

Duncan MacRae was one of the few missionaries who dissented (and he continued to dissent until he was forced to retire from the field). He was particularly troubled by allowing the Koreans to use home funds at their discretion because doing so contravened one of the main planks of the Nevius Method.[1031] The American Presbyterians were of a similar mind and because of this never created a mission wide joint board.[1032] The only other mission to form a mission wide joint board during the 1920s was the Methodist Episcopalian Mission. It should be pointed out however that their decision to do so was not as radical a break from the past as was that of the Canadians. They had freely shared funds with their Korean counterparts for many decades.

The creation of the joint board did not completely eradicate the power struggles between Canadian missionaries and the Koreans, or among the Koreans themselves, however it did provide a semblance of peace to the mission. Although it worked well, the Board was disbanded after eight years, primarily because of the Depression. The F.M.B. of the United Church drastically reduced its grants as a result of the inability of Canadian parishioners to donate to the overseas Christian cause as much as they had in the past. Owing to this lack of missionary funds, Koreans felt they had to take it upon themselves to try and gather the resources they needed.[1033]

[1030] S.J. Proctor, "Devolution in Mission Control," *Korea Mission Field*, vol. xxii, no.9 (September, 1926), 185, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2287 #205. "28th Annual Meeting, Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada, 1926," pp. 27, 37, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2290.
[1031] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 192.
[1032] The Americans did however create station wide joint boards in which Koreans had a say regarding the development of polices.
[1033] William Scott, "Canadians in Canada," 101. The mission continued to be the main source of funds for the academies.

William Scott, while assessing the achievements of the joint board proclaimed that it "was an honest venture aimed at bringing the Korean Church and the mission into closer relation in the prosecution of the work" and, "a step in the process of persuading the mission of its subordinate place in relation to the indigenous church."[1034] He failed to mention that the catalyst for the creation of the joint board, and the drastic changes the missionaries made to its educational policy was a desire to ensure the survival of the mission – one of the basic motivations that had driven the missionaries since 1898.

The Pioneers – Postscript

Duncan MacRae, when back in Canada during the 1930s, continued to wage a struggle against the second-generation missionaries and their policy concerning the Shinto shrine issue but the Foreign Mission Board refused to take him seriously. It had sided entirely with William Scott and his allies. In 1949, MacRae passed away in Cape Breton and he was buried with a Korean flag resting in his hands. It had been given to him by a "patriot" during the period of tribulations,[1035] a time in which he fretted for both the lives of Koreans and the future of the mission.

Robert Grierson spent his first few years in Canada as a "house-husband" while living with his sister-in-law in Toronto.[1036] At the same time, the hospital he had struggled so hard to build (his proudest achievement) was abandoned by his younger compatriots, a rather fitting

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[1034] Ibid.
[1035] Helen MacRae, *A Tiger on Dragon Mountain*, 217.
[1036] Mrs. Mary Robert Grierson, (neé, Mary Fingland) interviewed by Helen MacRae, 2 February 1972, Toronto, Ontario. NSARM, MG.1, vol.2342, 9A, tape. 1. Grierson eventually set up a private medical practice in Toronto. He died at the age of 97; "Ex-Medical Missionary Dr. Robert Grierson Dies" (no date, and no newspaper name). NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2270, #6 – Newspaper Tributes to Robert Grierson.

symbol of the changes that were taking place in the mission during the 1930s. A severe shortage of funds during the Depression impelled the missionaries to drastically reduce expenditures, and it was decided that of the mission's three hospitals, the one at Seongjin, being the least modern and efficient, should be closed. A few years later, it became so decrepit that Wilfred Burbidge complained that it was an impediment to the mission: "The empty building with grass growing up around it is an announcement to the public that the Christian Church has failed… It is I am told a distinct hindrance to the preaching of the gospel in that district."[1037] In sum, Grierson's hospital seems to have had the opposite effect than the one he had intended.

Rufus Foote died in Halifax in 1930 while preparing lectures he expected to give at the Pyeongyang Theological College. In 1935, the Presbyterians at Wonsan decided to pay tribute to Foote by erecting a granite memorial dedicated to him in front of the Church where he had spent countless hours preaching and teaching.[1038] Two years later, a group of parishioners in Seongjin memorialized Grierson by unveiling a "tablet" in his honor[1039] – perhaps to heal the wounds of the recent past. In 1968, the South Korean government bestowed a much greater honor on Grierson by awarding him a posthumous medal for the contributions he made to the Korean independence movement during the colonial period. He had since passed away, but there can be no doubt that he would have relished being associated with the independence activists.

[1037] Wilfred Burbidge to A.E. Armstrong, 30 July 1937, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 4, file 87.
[1038] "Foote Memorial," *Korean Echoes*, vol. xi, no.5 (January, 1935).
[1039] Wilfred Burbidge to A.E. Armstrong, 5 August 1937, UCCA, Acc.83.006C, box 4, file 87.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of examining the Canadian missionaries and the Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando was to illuminate their motivations as well as the influence they had on one another as a means to add to our knowledge of the international missionary movement/world Christianity, Korean Christian history, and the Canadian missionary movement.

Critics of missionaries, including those who adhere to the Saidian master narrative/ cultural imperialist model, have depicted them as desiring to serve Empire or intent on fundamentally altering the cultures of their host countries. Some have gone so far to say that the missionaries aimed to actually destroy the cultures of their host countries. Most mission scholars on the other hand, although acknowledging that the missionaries did indeed intend to "civilize" the converts, have argued that they (the missionaries), were most interested in "Christianizing" them. In other words, the missionaries prioritized the Bible over the flag. Others, like most of those who have investigated the Canadian missionaries and the Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando, have argued that missionaries were also motivated by their "humanitarian impulses." Feminist scholars have put forth the notion that single females chose the missionary vocation because they wanted both independence and opportunities for career advancement.

Even though women played a pivotal role in the missionary movement they were not much discussed by scholars until relatively recently. The same is true of the missionized. Prior to the 1980s, most of the work on missions concerned the missionizer. Since then, the missionized have taken a much more prominent place in the studies done by mission scholars. As a consequence of this work, we have a much better appreciation of their motivations for joining the Church, which, in turn, has plainly revealed that they were active agents, not passive figures.

This focus on the missionized has also shown that they wielded a great deal of power and influence – something that the critics of the missionaries have tended to overlook. When considering the studies done on the history of Canadian missions, it could be said that Robert Wright has provided one of the clearest examples of the power and influence of the missionized. In, *A World Mission*, he has shown that the nationalist elements in the Asian churches during the 1920s compelled both the missionizers and their supporters in Canada to re-think their policies as well as their cultural chauvinism.

Influences

Unlike Wright, most scholars of the missionary movement in Korea have paid scant attention to the power and influence of the missionized. This characterization, of course, includes those who have investigated the Canadians. My study has endeavored to show that the missionized in Hamgyeong and Gando were extremely powerful figures and had a profound influence on the missionizer – as was most clearly demonstrated in the examination of the Canadian reaction to the Korean rebellion against them in the 1920s. It was contended that the missionaries resolved to radically alter their policies because they feared that if the demands of their constituency were not met, the mission would either stagnate or collapse altogether.

When considering the matter of influence, this study, as with most other studies about missionaries, has also attempted to highlight the ways in which the missionizer influenced the missionized. To do so, much was said regarding the Canadian relationship with the nationalists and "women's work." While examining the former topic, it was shown that although the Protestant nationalists posed a very serious threat to the Church, the Canadians did little to stem their activities and worked closely with not only Kim Yak Yeon but also Yi Dong Hwi, who, like

Kim, was wholeheartedly in favor of the military option. While in the employ of the missionaries he helped to found a military training school. Ultimately, as was discussed in Chapter Five, the "nationalist policy" of the Canadians had negative repercussions for both them and their constituency. During the 1910s, independence activists in Gando, knowing that the Canadians would do nothing to curb their activities, further inflamed the radical passions of the flock, and Lee Dong Hwi eventually turned to communism. In 1918, he helped to found Korea's first communist party. The communists eventually became the leading enemies of the missionaries and the Church.

The women's work of the Canadians had, arguably, an even greater impact on their constituency than their nationalist policy. It would not be going too far to say, in fact, that they contributed to radically re-shaping gender relations in Hamgyeong and Gando. The missionaries helped to elevate the status of women, primarily by giving them opportunities to work outside the home (most were bible women, lay preachers, teachers, and nurses), and providing them with an education – something which would have been nearly unimaginable prior to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Motivations

When examining the Korean side of the story regarding the "women's work" of the missionaries, much was said regarding why they were motivated to join the Church. It was shown that many were attracted to the Bible women (who they believed had the same sorts of powers as the *mudang* – shamanesses)[1040] while others, such as Jeong Chang Sin and Kim Maria,

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[1040] Lee Ellen Strawn emphasized this point in her, "Korean Women's Success: Using the Anbang Network and the Religious Authority of the Mudang," 126 – 127.

were drawn to the gospel message of equality. Both of them spent much of their adult lives attempting to put this message of equality into effect by advocating on behalf of women's rights.

The discussion of Lee Sang Chul, a former student of the Eunjin Boy's Academy in Yongjoung, shed further light on the Koreans who were attracted to the "social message" of the gospel. For Lee and a great many other converts in Hamgyeong and Gando, Christ was not only the son of God but also a social revolutionary who aimed to alleviate the suffering of the *minjung* (the marginalized and oppressed). After being ordained, Lee devoted his life to working on behalf of the *minjung*. His father in law, Kim Jae Jun, who was born and raised in Hamgyeong, and taught at the Eunjin Boy's Academy in the 1930s, did the same. Kim eventually became one of the most influential proponents of *minjung* theology in South Korea.

All of those mentioned immediately above were not only Christians. They were also nationalists. And, so were a large percentage of their fellow parishioners. After 1905, independence activists flocked to the Church out of their desire to reclaim their nation from the Japanese. The nationalists were attracted to the Church primarily because it was the one institution where they could gather freely (the Japanese were reluctant to interfere in Church related affairs for fear of being drawn into a confrontation with the missionaries), the gospel message resonated with them, and they endeavored to use their schools to train young, intelligent students who could, someday in the future, bring about the independence of Korea.

In Chapter Five, it was contended that the Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando were among the most militant, if not the most militant of all the nationalists during the formative period. To account for the militancy of Hamgyeong, a brief discussion of its history was undertaken. It was demonstrated that the radical impulse of the inhabitants of Hamgyeong had been strong for hundreds of years – a phenomenon which stemmed, to a large great degree, from

the value they placed on their freedom. Dissimilar to the most of their compatriots throughout the rest of Korea, the residents of Hamgyeong enjoyed a great deal of freedom and they jealously guarded it. Therefore, when the Japanese colonial government began to interfere in nearly every facet of their lives (something which the Joseon government had never done) they could not help but be compelled to revolt against it.

The Protestants in Gando were even more radical than their counterparts in Hamgyeong. Soon after the Japanese seizure of Korea, a great many nationalists flocked to Gando because they were much freer to carry out their struggle for independence there than in Korea proper. The Japanese colonial government had no authority in the region. One of the most influential figures in the Protestant nationalist movement in Gando was Kim Yak Yeon. Similar to many of his colleagues in the region, he dreamed of building an army that would be capable of reclaiming the Korean nation from the Japanese. And to bring this dream into fruition he used the school he founded at Myeongdong as a recruitment center. Kim expected his students to be both scholars and soldiers.

While assessing the reasons why Koreans converted prior to the Japanese takeover of Korea, it was argued that they were particularly attracted to the education offered by the missionaries (which they hoped would provided them opportunities to improve their station in life), and their desire for protection. This last notion was elaborated upon in depth while discussing W.J. MacKenzie and Sorae village. A great many flocked to Sorae because they believed that MacKenzie, because of his extra-territorial rights, could keep them free from harm during the Donghak Rebellion.

This study argues that the Canadians (including the females), although motivated by a desire to serve God and their humanitarianism, were also driven to “serve the mission”; so much

so in fact that they venerated it. To put it bluntly, the mission was their "idol."As a means to explicate how this study shed light on this notion, a brief discussion of its chapters is provided below.

Chapter One demonstrated that the male pioneering missionaries, Robert Grierson, Duncan MacRae, and Rufus Foote, all hoped to emulate W.J. MacKenzie, the independent missionary from Cape Breton who, soon after his death, began to be depicted by the Korea boosters as a saintly hero. All three of the pioneers aimed to surpass MacKenzie's achievements and because of this placed the work of the mission foremost in their minds, so much so that they even forgot about God at times as they were "doing its bidding." Those who came after them followed suit. Given that the pioneers were extremely influential figures and most of the missionaries who went to Korea during the formative period were from the Maritimes, this is no surprise. They too were well aware of MacKenzie's accomplishments and the adoration he received from the "home crowd."

Chapter Two and Chapter Three focused on the work that the missionaries performed to build the mission. Nearly all of them itinerated ceaselessly through the mountains and valleys of Hamgyeong and Gando in effort to organize church groups, taught in the schools, took part in Bible training and leadership training classes while at their mission stations, and in their "free time," wrote articles for the religious press as well as letters to sponsors that donated funds to the mission. Theirs was truly a life of toil. The discussion of the propagandistic activities of the missionaries revealed that even when back in Canada they continued to work on behalf of the mission by giving furlough talks. The intent here was to plainly demonstrate that the mission was always on their minds and that they had become "stars" in the eyes of the Maritime faithful (thanks in large measure to the propaganda that they themselves had written). This is significant

because it would stand to reason that the missionaries basked in the adulation they received from the home crowd (as was admitted to by Robert Grierson) and because of this felt an even greater compunction to succeed than they had before they embarked on their vocation. The missionaries always had one eye on home.

Chapter Four concerned the trials and tribulations experienced by the missionaries and their reaction to the Japanese takeover of Korea. The objective in examining these issues was to deepen our understanding of their "idolatrous ways." The first section of the chapter dealt with the intense work habits of the missionaries and the ill-affects it had on their health. Many if not most of the missionaries at one time or another worked themselves to the point of exhaustion. The second section concentrated on the missionaries who experienced the loss of a loved one to demonstrate that most of them began working even harder than they had previously in effort to ensure that the mission would succeed. To fail after sacrificing so much in the name of the mission was simply not an option.

The desire of the missionaries to protect the mission was at the heart of the discussion regarding their views of the Japanese. During the Russo-Japanese War, the Canadians were "pro-Japanese" because they were certain that the "Anglo-Japanese" alliance guaranteed the safety of the mission. The Canadians thought the Japanese would not interfere with their work for fear of causing a diplomatic imbroglio. After the Japanese were victorious, however, the Canadians had a change of heart. By the end of 1905, most, if not all the missionaries came to detest them. They were aghast at the suffering experienced by the Koreans at the hands of the Japanese, and, just as importantly, they understood that the Japanese could, at any moment, put an end to all mission work in Korea.

Chapter Five revealed that the Canadians decided to work with the Protestant nationalists in Hamgyeong and Gando primarily to earn the trust and respect of the flock; thus aiding them in their attempts to build a prosperous mission. The central argument in Chapter Six was that the Canadian protests against the Japanese colonial government in 1919 and 1920 stemmed, in large measure, from their desire to protect the Koreans and the mission. Only Frank Schofield kept the former foremost in his mind. He ceaselessly denounced the atrocities committed in 1919 as well as Saitō's reform program. Schofield was the outlier in the Canadian missionary camp.

The final chapter dealt with the transformation of the mission in the 1920s. It was contended that the Canadians resolved to radically alter their policies because they feared that if the demands of their constituency were not met, the very future of the mission could be at stake. This was a nightmare scenario for most of the missionaries because the mission was their "object of veneration."

Before moving on to the next section it should be noted that the author is well aware of the unorthodox nature of the argument put forth regarding the motivations of the Canadians, however, as demonstrated throughout this study, there is indeed much evidence to suggest that they were, in many respects, "idolaters." Given the paucity of research done on "missionary idolatry" by other mission scholars it is unknown if the Canadians were unique, yet, it is highly unlikely that they were. We will only know for sure if other scholars investigate the issue.

Contribution to Korean Christian History

Most experts in the field of Korean Christian history and the missionary movement in Korea have paid little attention to the Protestants in Hamgyeong and Gando and the Canadian missionaries, thus, their distinctive nature has remained obscure. This study has illuminated their

distinctiveness and in doing so provided a fuller understanding of why the Church in Hamgyeong and Gando were hotbeds of nationalist agitation (as discussed earlier), the differences between the Canadians and Americans concerning their handling of the nationalists; unlike the latter, the former worked with, rather than against the nationalists, and finally, how and why the Canadians went the furthest of all the missionaries to transform their mission in the 1920s. The Canadians created a mission wide joint board in which they would share authority with the Koreans, gave the Koreans access to the "home funds," built thoroughly modern schools that were incredibly expensive, and complied with the educational regulations of the Japanese even though doing so meant abandoning the teaching of religion during class hours – something which most had never dreamed of doing prior to the rebellion. The American Presbyterian missionaries on the other hand, never created a mission wide joint board and would not comply with the educational regulations of the colonial government. The Methodists, like the Canadians, did create a mission wide joint board, however, they did not make any drastic changes to their financial or educational policies.

Contribution to the History of the Canadian Missionary Movement

Similar to the Canadian missionaries and the Korean Protestants in Hamgyeong, the role that the Presbyterian Maritime Church played in Canada's overseas missionary movement has also not received much scholarly treatment. This study has shed light on this role and in doing so aided our understanding of how the missionaries "oriented" the faithful in the Maritimes to the Pacific, the reasons why the Maritimers wanted to found a Korean mission and the influence that the Maritime Church had on the missionaries.

One of the most profound contributions that Canadian mission scholars have made is showing that the missionaries were the first Canadians to disseminate information about Asia and Asians to the public. Prior to the advent of the missionary movement, few Canadians would have had much knowledge or interest in the region. When thinking about world affairs most of their attention centered on the Atlantic. This study has revealed how the propagandistic activities of the Korean missionaries in Hamgyeong and Gando contributed to making Maritimers better aware of Korea and Koreans. As a result of all this work on the part of the missionaries it would be fair to presume that the Maritimers were Canada's foremost Korean "experts" during the first few decades of the twentieth century.

Canadian religious scholar David B. Marshall has argued that the key reason why the faithful in Canada supported missions was because of their belief that in winning souls for Christ abroad the Church at home could earn prestige and thus regain the influence it had once held prior to the onslaught of secularization.[1041] This study has not investigated the issue of secularization in any great detail, however, it has shown that the Maritimers did indeed believe foreign missions were beneficial to the home Church. In fact, it was argued that this belief was one of the most important factors which contributed to the frenzy for starting a mission to Korea. More than a few Korea boosters stated that a Korean mission would most definitely prove to be a boon to the Church, perhaps even more so than John Geddie's mission to Vanuatu had been. Asia was, after all, far more prestigious than the South Pacific.

The other main reason why the Maritimers advocated for a Korean mission was their belief that it was imperative for their Church to finish the work that W.J. MacKenzie had started.

[1041] David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 99 – 126.

For many of the Korea boosters, MacKenzie was indeed a saint and hero, and they depicted him as such throughout their campaign to commence a mission to Korea, something which, as stated previously, contributed greatly toward compelling the pioneers to "idolize" their mission.

This study was ended in 1928 because the decision of the Canadians to register their schools was a watershed moment. Not only did it formally usher in the "institutionalization" of the mission, it also clearly revealed that the "old guard," led by Duncan MacRae, had lost the dominant position that they had held in the mission. The new cadre of leaders was led by William Scott, and he would continue to lead the mission until he retired in 1956. In the early 1970s, he embarked upon writing a history of the Canadian mission and finished it in 1975. The conclusion clearly reveals that Scott continued to feel an extremely strong connection to Korea and Koreans. He wrote:

> … may I say on behalf of all Canadian missionaries who worked there [Korea and Gando] how much we appreciate the privilege of learning to know, admire and love the Korean people and particularly our Korean friends. Considerable time and space has separated us from them, but the memory of days spent there is still among our richest treasures. Our hearts are still there and our Korean friends still command a large share of our thoughts and prayers.[1042]

The rest of Scott's history reveals that he had an extremely strong connection to "the work" of the mission as well. He provided a very thorough and exhaustive account of it. No doubt he did research while preparing to write his history, however, it would be fair to presume that he wrote much of it from memory, especially when taking into consideration the interviews he had with Helen MacRae in 1971. He was able to recall key events in the history of

[1042] William Scott, "Canadians in Korea," 243.

the mission and discuss the policies of the missionaries with ease.[1043] This should come as no surprise. Like the majority of his colleagues, he had devoted much of his adult life to serving and protecting the mission. Hence, even in his maturing years, it was bound to be prominent in his thoughts.

[1043] Two of the key events Scott discussed were the uprising in Yongjoung in 1919 and the affect that the Depression had on the mission work. William Scott interviewed by Helen MacRae, 17 December 1971, Brantford Ontario, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2344, tape 17 William Scott interviewed by Helen MacRae, 17 December 1971, Brantford, Ontario, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2344, tape 17, II. One of the policies he discussed was the educational reform of the mission in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He noted that the mission expended much time trying to comply with the Japanese educational regulations. William Scott interviewed by Helen MacRae, 17 December 1971, Brantford, Ontario, NSARM, MG.1, vol. 2344, tape 17, II.

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