The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Mission Work for Koreans in Japan 1927-1934:
The Beginning of Partnership Mission

by

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ABSTRACT

The Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC) began its mission work to Koreans in Japan in 1927, after turning over the Mission in Korea to the United Church in Canada (UCC) through the negotiation triggered by Church Union in 1925. The majority of Koreans in Japan lived in poverty and were discriminated against by the Japanese. The PCC commission saw their hard life and made an agreement with churches in Korea to found a cooperative mission. This was a significant step toward a partnership mission between “older churches” and “younger churches.”

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan encompassed both evangelism and social action. The missionaries led not only Sunday service and evangelical preaching but also night schools for adults and kindergartens. Korean churches in Japan grew and established an independent denomination in 1934, which was the first step to becoming a strong self-supporting church.

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was a pioneer model of partnership mission with growing “younger churches” in Korea in the 1920s. Further, this mission work demonstrates that after Church Union, the PCC was not unconcerned about social action. Rather, it sustained comprehensive mission work that encompassed both evangelism and social action.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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<thead>
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<td>FCCMK</td>
<td>Federal Council of Church and Mission in Korea</td>
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<td>IMC</td>
<td>International Missionary Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCCJ</td>
<td>Korean Christian Church in Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNCC</td>
<td>National Christian Council of Korea</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PCC</td>
<td>Presbyterian Church in Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCC</td>
<td>United Church of Canada</td>
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<td>WMC</td>
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INTRODUCTION

The Church Union in Canada in 1925, through which the United Church of Canada (UCC) was established, had considerable repercussions on the mission field of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC). Through the Church Union of Methodist, Congregational and some Presbyterian congregations in Canada, the PCC lost nearly two-thirds of its membership, churches and ministers.¹ The majority of missionaries in the mission field also supported Church Union. Thus, through negotiation with the UCC, the PCC handed over many of its mission fields to the UCC, including those fields in Korea.²

Shortly after this turmoil, the PCC began mission work for Koreans in Japan in 1927. Koreans had moved to Japan to make a living, and had become a marginalized minority in Japan.³ Compared to the scale of the PCC’s mission work in Korea, this missionary effort in Japan was small indeed. In Japan, the PCC missionaries did not build schools and hospitals for Koreans, as they had done in Korea. Was this proof of how the PCC mission work had shrunk, or of how it had simply been delegated to the conservative wing of the PCC unconcerned about social action, as some historians have suggested?

In this thesis I propose that the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was a pioneer model of partnership mission (defined below) with growing “younger churches” in Korea in the

² Moir, Enduring Witness, 229-230.
1920s. Further, this mission work demonstrates that after Church Union, the PCC was not unconcerned about social action. Rather, the mission work to Koreans in Japan demonstrates that it sustained a comprehensive mission work which encompassed both evangelism and social action as aspects of the mission work in Korea.

The mission to Koreans in Japan from 1927 to 1934 has not received major scholarly attention. Though the theme of mission, in general, has received attention from various historians who have told the story of the PCC, the mission to Koreans in Japan has largely been overlooked, perhaps due to its small size, or only briefly mentioned. Meanwhile, primary sources on this subject, such as the reports from the missionaries, were well preserved. Study of them has provided the opportunity to shed light on the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan.

A main primary source used in this study was *The Acts and Proceedings* of the PCC, the official records of the General Assembly of the PCC. They contained the reports of the committee of the Mission Board and missionaries. They provided the materials related to the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan. Other primary sources included: *Glad Tidings*, the mission magazine published by the Women’s Missionary Society (WMS) of the PCC; *Presbyterian Record*, the monthly magazine of the PCC; *Korean Mission Field*, the monthly magazine of foreign missionaries in Korea; and missionaries’ personal letters. These materials documented how the mission work began and proceeded with precise descriptions of the mission work for Koreans in Japan.

The mission to Koreans in Japan has been discussed briefly in a small number of secondary sources. In his survey of PCC history, *Enduring Witness*, John Moir included a chapter on mission. He remarks that in the nineteenth century, when evangelism and imperialism were inextricably interwoven, the PCC’s missionaries had the vision of christianizing and civilizing
the world, and that in all mission fields the mission work normally included evangelical, educational and medical work. But he mentions only briefly the mission work of the PCC to Koreans in Japan and the move to Japan of the Rev. Luther Young, the first Canadian missionary to Koreans in Japan. He made no comment on the fact that this was the first time that Canadian Presbyterians had developed a partnership mission with a growing Christian denomination in a missionary context.

Hamish Ion’s work provides a perspective from which to view the mission work in the whole Japanese empire. In his two works, *The Cross and the Rising Sun*, and *The Cross in the Dark Valley*, he described the Canadian Protestant missionary movement in Japanese empire. He focused on the relation between missionaries and the authoritative Japanese government. He allotted a few pages to the subject of the mission to Koreans in Japan. In this section, he emphasized the role of the Canadian missionaries in protecting Korean Christians against Japanese authorities. He indicated that, though the mission remained small, relying on Korean pastors, it worked actively and optimistically. He shed light on the missionaries’ social concern as well as evangelical work. Ion did not note the implication of this mission work as a partnership mission.

The work of Robert Anderson, a former missionary for Koreans in Japan, contained a detailed story of the mission work for Koreans in Japan from 1927 to 1983. In his *Kimchi and Maple Leaves under the Rising Sun*, he assigned three chapters to the period from 1927 to 1934.

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In these chapters, he focused on reporting various evangelical works from Sunday school to kindergarten and the accomplishment of the mission work to Koreans in their poor living conditions. He also underlined the cooperation which existed between Canadian missionaries and Korean mission workers. But he did not notice the implication of this mission work as a partnership between “older churches” and “younger churches” in the global mission context. He also did not take note of the characteristics of the PCC’s mission work after Church Union.

Among researches on Canadian missionaries’ Korean mission work, there are a few articles which mention briefly the mission to Koreans in Japan. Ji-il Tark, in a section of his article “The Work of Canadian Missions among Koreans in Japan, Manchuria, and Korea, 1898-1942,” underlines the PCC’s cooperation with the churches in Korea. It is pointed out that the cooperation promoted Korean churches in Japan and that both evangelism and educational work were active aspects of the mission work. But, the section is too short to reflect upon the significance of the cooperation.

Meanwhile, some historians have stressed the effect of Church Union on the mission work to Koreans in Japan. Geoffrey Johnston, in his Missionaries for the Record which analyzed the literature written by missionaries, assigned one chapter to the mission to Koreans in Japan. In it, Johnston stressed that the joint work of PCC’s financial support and Korean missionary workers caused the Korean church in Japan to grow. He does note the work done in establishing

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6 Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 99-104.
kindergartens and acknowledges that the mission work did not turn away from social service;\(^9\) however, he strongly argues that the missionaries who remained in the PCC after Church Union were entirely evangelistic and not interested in the social gospel.\(^10\) He places Luther Young, the first PCC missionary to Koreans in Japan, in the same category as the other missionaries he describes. Zander Dunn makes a similar argument in his article “The Great Divorce and What Happened to the Children: An Investigation Concerning the Effects of the Dis-Union of 1925 on the Foreign Mission Fields of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.” Dunn argues that under the leadership of conservative missionaries who remained in Presbyterians after Church Union, the PCC’s mission work was depressed in the 1930s.\(^11\) Neither Johnston nor Dunn noted what was contained in the mission work for Koreans in Japan or what the mission accomplished.

This thesis will argue that the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was a pioneer model of partnership between an “older church” and a “younger church.” Moreover, this mission work was comprehensive since it encompassed both evangelism and social action. The mission work of the PCC continued as solidly after Church Union as it did before. Furthermore, it evolved to a new stage of mission as a partnership with “younger churches.”

This argument reflects the trend of international mission work in early twentieth century. Until the Edinburgh World Mission Conference (WMC) in 1910 which laid the foundation for the ecumenical movement in the twentieth century, western churches dominated in the mission.


However, at the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council (IMC) in 1928, partnership between “older churches” and “younger churches” became a prominent issue. Representatives to the Jerusalem Conference indicated that “there is possible now a true partnership enabling the older churches in an ever-increasing degree to work with, through, or in the younger.” This indication came from the mission field experience of missionaries, where “older churches” did collaborate with “younger churches.” Thus, for the PCC, which began its mission work in the nineteenth century and participated in inter-denominational ecumenical movements such as IMC, a pioneer model of partnership mission with “younger church” seems natural.

Prior to the twentieth century, no modifier was necessary to describe mission work. Mission work naturally encompassed not only evangelism (saving souls), but also social actions (education and medical work). Evangelism and social action in the mission field went hand in hand until the split between evangelism and social action erupted in the 1920s as one aspect of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. Against this split, at the Jerusalem Conference of

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15 John S. Moir indicated that the mission work was normally divided into three parts; evangelistic, educational and medical. Mission school rolled back illiteracy and ignorance. The medical work served as a means of contacting people in the mission field with altruistic service. Moir, *Enduring Witness*, 153.

IMC in 1928 a statement which aimed at encompassing evangelism and social action in mission work was proclaimed: “the meeting would strive for a synthesis in which the individualistic and social conceptions of the gospel of Christ are regarded as integral, mutually supporting, and indispensible aspect of Christ’s all-inclusive mission.” The PCC’s mission work, which is described as “comprehensive” in this thesis, was different from that of conservative fundamentalists who were not concerned with social action and parted from the ecumenical movement, and that of liberals who mainly focused on social action.

This thesis focuses on the time frame between 1927, when the PCC sent its first missionary for Koreans in Japan, and 1934, when the Korean Christian Church in Japan (KCCJ) was established. However, to contextualize the work, it was also necessary to cover the periods from 1882, when Koreans in Japan first converted to Christianity, to 1927 when the agreement of mission for Koreans in Japan was reached between the PCC and the churches in Korea. Studying this period offers a broad understanding of the background of the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan and of the effect of its mission work.

This thesis consists of four chapters. Chapter I offers the historical background of Koreans in Japan until 1927. It described the rapid growth of churches in Korea, which, through the support of foreign missionaries, including Canadians, had reached the stage of being self-

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one group following up the ecumenical movement concentrated more on social action, another group reacted against the liberal Biblical criticism and prioritized personal salvation. In the USA, this became a conflict between the liberals and the fundamentalists. Fundamentalists repudiated attempts to reform society and to cooperate between churches. See Brian Woolnough and Wonsuk Ma, eds., Holistic Mission: God’s Plan for God’s People (Eugene, Oregon: Regnum Books, 2010), 9, 62.

17 The World Mission of Christianity: Messages and Recommendations of the Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem, 9.

18 Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 104.

19 Anderson, 19.

20 Anderson, 104.
supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. Before the annexation by Japan in 1910, the majority of Koreans who went to Japan were students and officials. After the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, the majority of Koreans moving to Japan were tenant farmers or unskilled labourers, who became a minority and lived in poor conditions. The churches in Korea tried to carry the gospel to them.

Chapter II details how the mission to Koreans in Japan originated and relates the process of the PCC’s decision to send Canadian missionaries to them. After Church Union in 1925, the PCC handed over its mission work in Korea to the UCC. However, the PCC maintained its enthusiasm and strong support for mission work. The PCC cooperated with the churches in Korea as a partner, and joined the mission work for Koreans in Japan. The first Canadian missionary for Koreans in Japan, Luther Young, dedicated his life to this cause.

Chapter III analyzes the accomplishments of the mission work of the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan by the mid-1930s. The co-operation between the PCC and the FCCMK is the hallmark in partnership between an older and younger church. The mission work spread, carrying the gospel, and giving relief to Koreans in poor conditions. In a short period, the Korean churches in Japan grew and established the KCCJ. Through their partnership and comprehensive mission work, the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan foresaw the paradigm shift of mission.

Chapter IV presents the significance of the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan from three perspectives; the PCC, the FCCMK, and Koreans in Japan.
CHAPTER 1.
The Historical Background of Mission Work for Koreans in Japan

Koreans in Japan, churches in Korea, and the PCC are all three components which are necessary to describe in order to understand the background of the PCC’s mission to Koreans in Japan. These three components had their story respectively until they linked together in 1927 when the mission began. In order to understand the linkage of the components in this mission work it is important to view how each of these three components had developed prior to the beginning of the mission. This story includes how Korean communities in Japan were formed, how the PCC missionaries evangelized Korea, and how the churches in Korea began their own mission work.

1. Koreans in Japan 1910-1927

Korea and Japan have their distinct cultures, languages and history. Geographical proximity made Korea and Japan interact with each other’s culture, industry and people over a long period of time. Especially after the 1867 Meiji Restoration that modernized Japan, Koreans went to Japan to learn about the process of modernization.¹ However, when Japan annexed Korea in 1910, the Korean community in Japan changed drastically. As Korea became impoverished, the majority of Koreans who moved to Japan did so in order to make a living.

As already noted, before 1910, the Korean community in Japan consisted mainly of students and officials.² In Japan, Koreans had their first taste of western civilization and

² Weiner, Origins of the Korean Community in Japan, 52.
encountered Christianity. Some of them even became Christian through their encounter with foreign missionaries in Japan. The first Korean Christian in Japan was Yi, Su-Jeong, an official of Korea. In 1882, Yi went to Japan to study and see the civilization of Japan. There, he accepted Christianity and received baptism. Through his testimony of faith, he brought Korean students to Christian worship services. With the support of the American Bible Society, he translated the Bible into Korean.

It is clear that the Christianization of Koreans in Japan started early through western missionaries in Japan. However, it was limited to individual contact. Thus, the missionaries’ efforts fell short of forming a Korean Christian community. Robert K. Anderson, in *Kimchi and Maple Leaves under the Rising Sun*, explains: “except for a little personal contact on the part of individuals in the course of their pastoral work, nothing concrete was attempted.” The first concrete steps towards building a Korean Christian community in Japan were evident in 1906 when the Korea YMCA sent Chung Shik Kim as secretary of the Korea YMCA for Korean students in Tokyo.

Annexation, the Japanese policy of recruitment, along with the increasing landless class in Korea precipitated a mass migration of Koreans to Japan. Japan forced a policy of assimilation in Korea and carried out an extensive land survey to fix land-ownership. Many of the Korean

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4 Anderson, 18-19.
7 By 1884 he had already published the Gospel of Mark. The first Protestant missionary to Korea, the Rev. Horace Underwood, took the new translation there. See Robert K. Anderson, *Kimchi and Maple Leaves*, 23.
illiterate farmers did not understand the procedure, lost their land and became extremely poor.\textsuperscript{10} By the act of annexation, Koreans were regarded as Japanese nationals and were able to move freely and be employed within Japan.\textsuperscript{11} In order to make up for labour shortages, Japanese entrepreneurs, through their own agents, recruited cheap Korean labourers for work in Japan.\textsuperscript{12} Richard H. Mitchell points out “lacking specific skills,…most of them flowing into Japan were employed as labourers, coal miners, or road repairmen.”\textsuperscript{13}

The number of Koreans residing in Japan grew rapidly. In 1910 Korean residents in Japan were below five thousand, yet by 1930 Korean immigrants numbered around 400,000.\textsuperscript{14} As the stream of immigrants from Korea continued, the Korean community grew in the industrial areas. The majority of Koreans, who were employed as unskilled labourers, were congregated in and around Osaka and northwestern Kyushu.\textsuperscript{15}

The majority of Korean workers who moved to Japan led extremely unsettled and desperate lives. As immigrant workers with a language barrier, their wages were low. According to the statistics from Osaka, the average wages of Korean workers for all occupations in 1924 were approximately 33\% of those paid to Japanese.\textsuperscript{16} Consequently, Koreans’ poor working

\textsuperscript{11} Weiner, \textit{Origins of the Korean Community in Japan}, 52.
\textsuperscript{12} Weiner, 50. Indeed, based on his research on data and materials from the Home Ministry of Japan, Weiner indicates that the principal reasons that Koreans wished to cross to Japan were: extreme poverty and the hardship to make a livelihood in Korea; wages in Japan were higher than those in Korea; and the promise of employment and recruitment in Japan. See Weiner, 65.
\textsuperscript{13} Mitchell, \textit{Korean Minority in Japan}, 30.
\textsuperscript{14} Weiner, \textit{Origins of the Korean Community in Japan}, 211-212.
\textsuperscript{15} Weiner, 62.
\textsuperscript{16} Weiner, 80.
conditions and incomes affected the neighborhoods and the types of houses they lived in, as well as their status and relations with the Japanese community:

Korean workers experience great difficulty in finding accommodation. Both in terms of status and economics they inevitably end up at the bottom end of the scale when it comes to housing. Primarily they stay in cheap boarding houses run by Japanese…Others without housing construct shack of wood and corrugates iron and live there…In the conduct of the daily lives of these extremely backward dirty Koreans, it is not surprising to find that it creates among the Japanese who live near by a kind of discomfort and feeling of abhorrence.17

Meanwhile, the Korean community of students in Tokyo was becoming more organized. In the 1910s, Korean students were key members of the Korean Christian group in Tokyo. From 1906 and under the guidance of the Korean YMCA secretary, they had Bible classes and evangelical meetings.18 The YMCA took the role of church as well as Christian society aiding students in need of counsel and assistance. The following report demonstrates the students’ eagerness to learn about Christianity.

Our Korean Christian young men, now residing in Tokyo, gather in the Korean Association buildings for worship, on Sundays three times, morning, afternoon and evening, and on Wednesday evening for prayer-meeting. The believers number over a hundred….On the following Sunday at 2 p.m. a special service was conducted, in the course of which nine persons were baptized. At the evening after a sermon, there were ten others admitted as catechumen.19

Korean Christian students in Japan were enthusiastic participants in evangelical work. In April 1912, at the First Korean Student Conference in Kamakura, they decided to undertake voluntary evangelical work in Tokyo.20 They earnestly needed a church and pastoral care in Japan. Their wish was fulfilled in 1912 when the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Korea organized a

17 Weiner, 86. This quotation was cited from the material of Osaka ‘Korean labour Problem.’
18 Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 30-31.
committee, and set up a joint church in Tokyo, “Union Christian Church.”\textsuperscript{21} After the church was established, they raised funds for charitable and evangelical work, and distributed tracts on the Christian faith during their vacation. In 1918, the evangelical work spread to Yokohama where Korean workers resided.\textsuperscript{22}

As the influx of Korean workers to Japan continued, Korean Christian groups were formed in other industrial areas such as Kobe and Osaka. The harsh life of Korean labourers drew the attention of Korean theological students in Kobe and later of churches in Korea. As R.A. Hardie noted in 1925:

\begin{quote}
The condition of large number of the day laborers is distressing in many respects. In the larger cities they congregate in tenement houses with little provision for sanitation. I saw one two-story tenement house divided into sixty rooms, each nine feet square, occupied by 500 men, women, and children, most of them without work.\textsuperscript{23}
\end{quote}

Korean pastors felt responsible for evangelization and began mission work to these Koreans in Kobe and Osaka in 1918.\textsuperscript{24} In 1924, there were twelve Korean Christian groups working in Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, and Nara. Each group rented a room for worship and met the expenses, including the railroad fares, of the Korean theological students who conducted Sunday service and taught in the night schools.\textsuperscript{25}

As we have noted, the number of Koreans who emigrated to Japan grew rapidly after 1910. The majority of them moved to Japan to make a living and became daily labourers. They led a hard life in poor working conditions. Korean theological students in Japan paid attention to their

\textsuperscript{21} “Work among Korean Students in Tokyo,” \textit{Korea Mission Field}, vol. IX, no.5 (May 1913): 120.
\textsuperscript{22} Anderson, \textit{Kimchi and Maple Leaves}, 50.
\textsuperscript{23} R. A. Hardie, “Koreans in Japan,” \textit{Korea Mission Field}, vol.XX, no.6 (June 1925):122.
\textsuperscript{25} Hardie, “Koreans in Japan,” 121.
desperate circumstance, and did pastoral care for them. Korean Christian students who formed Christian community in Tokyo did evangelical work. With some effort on the part of churches in Korea, Korean Christian groups were formed in Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto where Korean labourers were densely populated.

2. The PCC’s Mission Work in Korea 1898-1925

Though there was no Canadian missionary for Koreans in Japan until 1927, Canadian PCC missionaries were in Korea as early as the late nineteenth century. The PCC officially approved sending missionaries to Korea in 1898 when it sent Dr. Robert Grierson, the Rev. Rufus Foote and the Rev. Duncan M. MacRae.\(^{26}\) They were from Nova Scotia, the homeland of the Rev. William J. Mckenzie who, supported by some churches, had begun a mission in Korea in 1893, and died there in 1895.\(^{27}\) After his death, the PCC decided to undertake missionary work in Korea.\(^{28}\) According to A. Hamish Ion, Canadian missionaries who went to Asia in the late nineteenth century were part of the upwardly mobile social classes who, compared to British missionaries, were more egalitarian and democratic, and thus more concerned with social justice and identified less with political and cultural imperialism.\(^{29}\)

During the PCC’s mission work in Korea, Koreans went through very hard times. In the nineteenth century, Korea lagged behind other nations in the process of modernization. Korea became the arena of competition among world powers and was annexed by Japan. The March 1\(^{st}\)

\(^{26}\) Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea*, 277.
\(^{27}\) Paik, 192-193.
independence movement in 1919 was brutally suppressed by Japanese force. Koreans encountered the PCC missionaries who carried on the gospel in this turbulent historical context.

In Korea, the PCC missionaries cooperated with other western missionaries and denominations. On their arrival in Korea, they became members of the Presbyterian Council which consisted of four Presbyterian Missions: the Northern American Presbyterian, the Southern American Presbyterian, the Australian Presbyterian, and the Canadian Presbyterian. In 1905, they joined the General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea, which consisted of four Presbyterian and two Methodist Missions. These Councils aimed for cooperation in the mission effort and the organization of one native evangelical church in Korea. The four Presbyterian Missions collaborated in the organization of the independent Korean Presbyterian Church in 1907. They especially cooperated to apply the Nevius Method in order to develop a self-supporting, indigenized church. The Nevius Method was suggested by John Nevius, an American missionary in China in 1885. It focused on self-government, self-support, self-propagation of congregations, individual faith, systematic Bible study, and strict discipline. The PCC missionaries took an active part in interdenominational cooperation.

On their arrival in Korea, Canadian missionaries were asked by the American Presbyterian missionaries to undertake a mission work in Hamkyung Province in the northeast region of

30 T. Stanley Soltau, Korea The Hermit Nation and Its Response to Christianity (Toronto: World Dominion Press, 1932), 23
31 Rhodes, History of the Korean Mission, 452.
32 Rhodes, 452.
33 Rhodes, 385.
35 Clark, 33-34.
Korea, which was far away from Seoul, the capital of Korea. As Geoffrey Johnston indicated, this demonstrated a noticeable feature of the Canadian Church’s mission: a mission to the margins, for they were relative latecomers in the nineteenth century mission field. The Canadian Presbyterian Church, however, made a significant effort to support personnel and provide funds for its Korean mission. Their efforts achieved excellent results.

There were few Christians in Hamkyung Province when the PCC started its mission, but the mission work achieved great results in only ten years. In 1898, when the Rev. Rufus Foote, Dr. Robert Grierson, and the Rev. Duncan M. MacRae, the pioneering trio of missionaries, went to Wonsan, the only mission station in Hamkyung Province, there were only 14 Christian groups, and 63 communicants. After finishing a Korean language course, they expanded the mission station to Sungjin in 1901 and Hamheung in 1904. They carried out itinerant preaching, Bible classes and Sunday school as part of their evangelical work. Especially through itinerant preaching, they met Koreans directly and evangelized them. The Rev. Rufus Foote reported on the itinerating evangelical work as follows:

There are no railways and the fastest way of travel is at a walking pace. One is kept busy to make 30 miles a day. The Korean colporteurs and my language teacher accompany me. I have to take bed, blanket and food along. We go from group to group holding services and visiting families in each places. Wherever we go a crowd gathers – some old friend and some new. We explain the way of salvation to them. We sit for hours with eager listeners.

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36 Kyoung Bae Min, *한국기독교회사* (HanKook Kidok Kyohoisa); A History of Christian Churches in Korea (Seoul: Yonsei Univ. Press, 2005), 119.
40 Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 50.
From 1898 to 1909, Christian groups had increased from 14 to 134, communicants from 63 to 1,141. The total Christian community had grown from 308 to 5,594. Along with evangelical work, they opened schools for boys and girls and spent their time in the classroom as teachers. By 1909 the number of primary schools run by the Korean church was 33, with 482 boys and 230 girls enrolled. In the secondary Academy school for boys, 110 students attended. They also set up medical facilities in the mission stations. Dr. Robert Grierson, one of the three pioneers, opened a medical dispensary in Sungjin in 1901. Dr. Kate McMillan, who was sent to Korea in 1901 by the PCC, opened a medical dispensary in Hamhung. These dispensaries eventually grew into a hospital.

This growth in the number of Christians resulted from the commitment of missionaries as well as the great revival of 1907. The great revival of 1907, which spread from Pyongyang throughout Korea, was an emotional experience of a great filling by the Holy Spirit. It originated from a missionary meeting in Wonsan in 1903. The revival itself began in January 1907 at a Bible conference in which more than 1500 men were present. They confessed their sin, and wept and prayed. Seeing this growth with wonder, western missionaries took notice of Korea as one of the most promising mission fields in Asia. In 1909, the great revival in Korea was reported at the Canadian Presbyterian General Assembly:

It may be said without exaggeration that at the present moment the eyes of the Christian world are on Korea, and that many of those who are in a position to

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41 Scott, 50.
42 Scott, 62.
43 Johnston, Missionaries for the Record, 376.
44 Scott, Canadians in Korea, 63.
45 Clark, A History of the Church in Korea, 159-166.
46 Ion, Cross and the Rising Sun, 167-168.
understand the situation best are looking for Korea’s speedy evangelization.\textsuperscript{47}

The Korean mission field was very important to the PCC. The PCC maintained its mission work in Korea, even after the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910. Approximately one-fifth of the church’s fund for overseas mission work was allotted to the work in Korea. In 1923, the total appropriations were $108,789, out of a total budget of $585,000.\textsuperscript{48} By 1923, growth in the Korean mission could be discerned through the following statistics: 50 Canadian staff members, 24 Korean ministers, 276 worship places, 21,113 Christian community members and 91 schools with 5,298 pupils. Besides this, the PCC was running eight secondary schools with 1,009 pupils and three hospitals.\textsuperscript{49}

Moreover, the PCC actively protected Korean Christians. A. Hamish Ion points out that Canadian Presbyterians were outspoken and critical of Japanese colonial authorities.\textsuperscript{50} Canadian missionaries criticized the Japanese atrocities against Koreans during the nationwide independence demonstration of March 1919. \textit{The Presbyterian Record} reported the cruelty of Japan in suppressing the demonstration.

The long list of cruelties certified by missionaries, with death by hundreds, are fitting duplicates of Hun atrocities; shooting down innocent people who may have had no part in any gatherings; taking people whom they suspect and torturing them to extract confession of conspiracy; stripping women in the streets, stabbing them with bayonets, etc...The missionaries do demand humanity as against the brutality that is being inflicted upon a defenseless and helpless people. Japan must prove her right to racial equality by proving her humanity.\textsuperscript{51}

Along with its disclosure of Japan’s cruelty to Koreans in the March demonstration, the PCC

\textsuperscript{47} Ion, 169.
\textsuperscript{48} Ion, 171.
\textsuperscript{49} \textit{The Acts and Proceedings} (1923), 178-179.
\textsuperscript{50} Ion, \textit{Cross and the Rising Sun}, 14.
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{The Presbyterian Record} (May 1919): 130-131.
clearly focused on protecting the human right of Koreans.

The PCC missionaries cooperated actively with other denominations in mission work in Korea. Their mission work was not confined to evangelical work, but included educational and medical work. Their mission work was practiced comprehensively, including three keys; evangelical, educational and medical. In mission practice, these three aspects went hand in hand. Missionaries built churches along with opening schools and hospitals. They also defended the human rights of Koreans. Their mission work experience would prove essential for their mission work for Koreans in Japan.

3. The Mission Work of the Churches in Korea 1907-1927

The Churches in Korea demonstrated a passion for mission from the beginning of their organization as established churches. When the Korean Presbyterian Church was launched in 1907, a Board of Foreign Missions was established and took the lead in carrying out mission work. This mission work mainly focused on the care of Korean Christians who had gone abroad. Kyoung Bae Min elucidates, “The organized Church of Korea was, from its start, renowned as a missionary-sending Church.”

This passion for mission work was backed up by the rapid growth of churches in Korea and their effort to be self-supporting indigenized churches. From 1884, when the first western Protestant missionary arrived in Korea, churches in Korea grew startlingly. In 1904, twenty years after the coming of the first Protestant missionary, there were 392 churches, 7,916 communicants,

52 Moir, Enduring Witness, 153.
53 Clark, A History of the Church in Korea, 173.
54 Min, A History of Christian Churches in Korea, 241.
and 23,356 adherents. In 1924, the total number of churches was 1,447, three and a half times more than in 1909, while the total number of communicants and adherents was respectively 64,476 and 129,865.

The factors contributing to the rapid growth of the churches in Korea were various. Roy E. Shearer, in *Wildfire: Church growth in Korea*, demonstrated that the elements of growth were related to mission policy: the Nevius Method, missionary encouragement of native initiative, missionary itineration, education, medical work, and Bible classes. These elements showed that missionaries aimed at the establishment of self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating indigenized churches, and that they did comprehensive mission work which included educational and medical support as well as evangelization as part of their goal.

Along with this quantitative growth of the church, the quality of the church’s self-government rose. The number of self-supporting churches reached 353 in 1904 and 568 in 1924. With few exceptions, Koreans built their own churches without the aid of foreign money and the churches paid their own Korean pastors’ salaries. Korean church leaders gradually led the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea. Since 1915 the Moderator of the General Assembly had been Korean except in 1919 when a large number of Korean church leaders were jailed for March 1st independence movement. Korean churches took the

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56 Rhodes, 547.
59 Rhodes, 399.
60 Rhodes, 388. In 1919, as a large number of Korean leading pastors and elders were in jail for March 1st demonstration, Korean delegates selected Dr. Samuel A. Moffet, a missionary of the Northern American
leadership in interdenominational cooperation with western missionaries. In February 1919, when the Federal Council of Churches and Missions in Korea (FCCMK) was organized, the first moderator of the FCCMK was Korean, the Rev. Kim, Pil-Soo.\textsuperscript{61} Harry A. Rhodes complimented this advance of the Korean churches: “the Korean Church is independent and entirely self-governing, therefore a truly indigenous church.”\textsuperscript{62} 

The churches in Korea were active in propagating the gospel, not only in Korea proper, but also among Koreans residing in nearby countries such as China, Russia, and Japan. When the independent Korean Presbyterian Church was organized in 1907, it decided to send the Rev. Yi, Kui-Poong, one of the first seven ordained ministers, to Cheiju Island as a first missionary.\textsuperscript{63} In 1909, the Rev. Choi, Kwan-Heul was sent to the Koreans near Vladivostok in Siberia.\textsuperscript{64} With the organization of the Presbytery Assembly in 1912, the Presbyterian Church of Korea sent missionaries among the Chinese in Shantung, China.\textsuperscript{65} The churches in Korea engaged in foreign mission work.

The churches in Korea began mission work for Koreans in Japan in cooperation with the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches. In 1912, the Union committee of the Presbyterian and the Methodist Church in Korea was organized and sent its first pastor to Koreans in Tokyo, Presbyterian, as a Moderator of the General Assembly for considering political condition. See *The Korea Mission Field* Vol. XV, October 1919, 239.

\textsuperscript{61} Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea*, 211. The membership of the Council was composed of 65 delegates, twenty each from the Korean Methodist and Presbyterian Churches and the others from cooperating Missions and organizations.


\textsuperscript{63} Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea*, 174.

\textsuperscript{64} Rhodes, *History of the Korean Mission*, 393.

\textsuperscript{65} Rhodes, 394.
Japan. The Union committee, which consisted of six members, three Presbyterians and three Methodists, agreed that the church in Tokyo was to be a Union Church, a Korean pastor should be sent, and expenses were to be shared equally. The agreement stated the following:

To have a Union Church in Tokyo; the Presbyterian Council and Methodist Council shall appoint a Committee of six (three Methodists and three Presbyterians); This Committee shall appoint an ordained pastor for a term of two years; the Presbyterian Council and the Methodist Council shall each assume responsibility for on half of the annual budget of the Tokyo work.

The churches in Korea already had made contact with Koreans in Japan five years earlier. In 1907, Korean students in Tokyo requested the Korean Presbyterian Church send a pastor. They sent the Rev. Han, Suk-Jin for three months. In 1910, an elder, Pak, Yung Il was sent. In 1912, another elder, Yim, Chong Soon was sent. In November 1912, the Rev. Chu, Kong Sam was sent as the first pastor of the Union. He arrived in Tokyo and began his mission work. The first report of the General Assembly of the Korea Presbytery in 1912 underlined the rapid growth of the work in Japan:

November 15 Pastor Chu moved to Tokyo with his family. The work throughout the year has been most successful from an evangelistic standpoint. There are roughly 550 Koreans in Tokyo, of these 160 are regularly enrolled attendants of the union church...There have been some conversions among the Korean students,...He has regularly held Bible classes and Conferences, and conducts Sabbath School in which the Quarterly lessons are used.

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66 “Work among Korean Students in Tokyo,” 120. This Union Committee was not for the organic union, but for the inter-denominational cooperation. See Clark, A History of the Church in Korea, 215-216.
67 “Work among Korean Students in Tokyo,” 120.
70 “Work among Korean Students in Tokyo,” 120. Since elders could not baptize and celebrate communion, the requests of the students in Tokyo were not actually fulfilled by 1912.
71 Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 43.
Korean pastors of the Union Church in Tokyo gradually expanded their range of concern in mission work beyond Tokyo. The pastor Oh, Keui Sun, in 1915, saw the need for pastoral care in industrial centers such as Osaka and Kyoto and appealed to the Korean Churches for their help. In 1917, the Pastor Yim, Chong Soon turned his attention to the evangelical work in Yokohama where Korean girls worked as factory labourers and made contact with several factories in the area.

The Korean Presbyterian Church continuously pushed ahead the mission work among Koreans in Japan. In 1922, the Rev. Kim, Yi Kon was sent by the South Kyungsang Presbytery as an evangelist to the Koreans around Kobe, Japan, where seven meeting places of Korean Christians with an average attendance of 129 were reported. In 1924, the Rev. Pak, Y.S. was sent to take charge of the work. He was in charge of 12 groups, with a total enrolment of 333 adults. Six of the groups had Sunday Schools for children and six night schools with an average attendance of 27. R. A. Hardie, who visited the mission field of the Rev. Pak, wrote in *The Korea Mission Field*:

As most of the attendants are employees, they are free only at night. Pastor Pak says his regular routine takes him from home every day from 11 a.m. to 11 p.m., visiting tenement-house during day and teaching in night schools or conducting service in the evening.

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73 He also appealed for a larger building in Tokyo, so that girls and women could attend the services. See Robert K. Anderson, *Kimchi and Maple Leaves*, 48.
74 Anderson, *Kimchi and Maple Leaves*, 49.
76 Hardie, “Koreans in Japan,” 121.
77 Hardie, 121.
In 1925, the churches in Korea sent a third Korean pastor to work for Koreans in the district around Fukuoka. He established two churches, two prayer meeting places, and was in charge of 50 Christians.\(^78\)

To summarize, having grown to be self-supporting independent churches, churches in Korea were enthusiastic for mission work. They carried out mission work to Koreans residing in nearby countries such as China, Russia, and Japan. The Korean church’s mission work for Koreans in Japan started as the pastoral care of students in Tokyo. The mission work gradually expanded to the majority of Koreans in Japan who lived in industrial areas. Though the number of Korean pastors who were sent to Japan was far from sufficient, they diligently carried out their mission work visiting tenement-houses, teaching in night schools, and conducting worship services.

PCC missionaries, sent to Korea as early as 1898, cooperated with other denominations and carried out not only evangelical work but also educational and medical work. With their commitment, churches in Korea grew rapidly. Meanwhile, the number of Koreans who moved to Japan increased rapidly after 1910. They migrated to make a living. A majority of them worked as daily labourers and lived in poor condition. By 1927, churches in Korea, which had grown to be self-supporting, were attempting to meet their needs. They supported a small number of pastors and theological students in Japan, who made an effort to evangelize and care for them.

\(^78\) C.A. Clark, “Following the Korean Abroad,” *Korea Mission Field*, vol. XXIII, no.11 (November 1927): 249.
CHAPTER 2.
The Beginning of The PCC’s Mission Work for Koreans in Japan

The PCC’s mission work to Koreans changed direction in the mid-1920s. The PCC left Korea, and began its mission to Koreans in Japan. This new start raises some crucial issues such as what made the PCC leave Korea, what brought the PCC to Koreans in Japan, and how the missionaries reacted to this change.

1. Changes in The Mission Field by the 1925 Church Union

The beginning of the Canadian mission work for Koreans in Japan was significantly influenced by Church Union in Canada. After Church Union in June 1925, mission fields were divided, not on the basis of the preference of missionaries, but through negotiation between the UCC and the PCC. In September 1926, the mission secretaries of the United Church and the Presbyterian Church, A.E. Armstrong and A.S. Grant respectively, worked out an arrangement.¹ Zander Dunn described this process: “the divorce proceedings were the exclusive undertaking of the ‘parents’ while the ‘children’ had no say as to which ‘parents’ they would be assigned.”² In the case of the Korean mission, the PCC handed over its established missionary work in Korea to the UCC in 1926, began the new mission work to Koreans in Japan in 1927.³

¹ Moir, Enduring Witness, 230. This agreement was approved by the Dominion Properties Commission which was established to settle the division of property between the PCC and the UCC.
³ Ion, Cross in the Dark Valley, 54.
The landscape of the mission fields was hugely changed by these negotiations. Before Church Union, the Presbyterian Church had supported eight foreign mission fields – Trinidad (from 1868), Formosa (from 1872), Central India (from 1877), British Guiana (from 1885), North China (Honan) (from 1888), Korea (from 1898), South China (from 1901), and Gwalior in India (from 1904). After Church Union, only four mission fields, which accounted for 29% of their total overseas property – Gwalior, British Guiana, Formosa, and the Bhil field in India – remained in the Presbyterian Church. After the settlement of the negotiation, the PCC opened two mission fields in 1927: Koreans in Japan and Manchuria.

In 1925, the missionaries were overwhelmingly in favor of Church Union. In Formosa, from among twenty-four workers only G.W. Mackey and his wife opposed union; eighty-four of eighty-nine missionaries in central India, all twenty-one in Trinidad, all ten in British Guiana, and nineteen of twenty-four missionaries in South China were pro-unionists. In North China (Honan) only Dr. and Mrs. Goforth were against union among a staff of ninety-three. In Korea, among forty-nine members of staff, ten voted against union.

The reasons why the majority of the missionaries favored Church Union were not simple. Some historians attributed the reasons to theological preference of missionaries. John Moir argues that the primary reasons were the missionaries’ acceptance of liberal theology characterized by an emphasis on social gospel values and their opposition to the waste of

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6 Ion, *Cross in the Dark Valley*, 68.
resources due to overlapping mission work.\textsuperscript{8} However, his indication did not fully reflect the realities of the Canadian overseas mission field. Assuming that pro-union missionaries were liberal in their theology and that anti-unionists were conservative is an oversimplification, though the fundamentalist-modernist controversy in the American Presbyterian Church prevailed in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{9} There was a vast middle group who could have gone either way. Geoffrey Johnston argues that “the majority of Presbyterian missionaries were in broad grey area of opinion….they were not dogmatically attached to biblical inerrancy, nor were they enthusiastic social gospellers.”\textsuperscript{10} They were not interested in labeling themselves as pro-unionists or anti-unionists.\textsuperscript{11} Some missionaries crossed the denominational border freely even after Church Union.

In Guiana, Dr. Cropper, although he said he considered himself a United Church minister, had been sympathetic to the Presbyterian cause before Union and afterwards had declared himself willing to work with either church. The Rev. Gibson Fisher was a Unionist….What happen to Canada did not really affect him and he continued to work in British Guiana for the Presbyterians until his death in 1933. The Rev. James Scrimgeour, although a strong Unionist, was more concerned to work in British Guiana than to go to a United Church field.\textsuperscript{12}

Furthermore, missionary overlap as a result of denominational competition was not serious in foreign mission fields, unlike in Canada.\textsuperscript{13} As Johnston explains, denominations often agreed to

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\textsuperscript{8} Moir, 230.
\textsuperscript{9} The most famous fundamentalist-modernist clash occurred in the trial in Dayton, Tennessee in 1925 when William Jennings Bryan, a national fundamentalist leader, participated in the trial of John Scopes, a science teacher accused of breaking the law by teaching evolution. After this trial, fundamentalists withdrew from the mainstream of American society, some forming their own seminaries, became insular and opposed any involvement in movements for social change and reform. See Rodger K. Bassham, \textit{Mission Theology}, 176-177.
\textsuperscript{10} Johnston, \textit{Missionaries for the Record}, 463.
\textsuperscript{11} Dunn, “Great Divorce and What Happened to the Children,” 83.
\textsuperscript{12} Dunn, 82.
\textsuperscript{13} In Canada’s West, the competition of denominations was severe. As a step toward ending the overlapping of missions, the General Assembly of the PCC resolved to cooperate with other denominations in 1914. Moir,
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cooperate in overseas mission work with effective results. For instance, Honan in China was suggested to the PCC by the Bible Society as an unoccupied mission field between the American Mission Board and the China Inland Mission.

Most likely, missionaries were concerned more about practical necessities, such as financial support for their work, than about theological preference, when they voted on Church Union. Financial pressure was probably the primary concern in mission fields. After World War I, with rising inflation, the cost of living and transportation soared, and the exchange rate dropped. Mission givings had not increased significantly. All these factors resulted in a budget deficit for the Foreign Mission Board. Budget stringency resulted in the recall of some missionaries back to Canada.

In 1923 the British Guiana Mission Council which had drawn up a budget of $40,000 was informed by Canada that it would have to operate on a budget of $30,000....When in 1924 it was cut back twice to a budget of $26,000, of which only $19,400 was to come from Canada, the Mission Council was in trouble.... A missionary and his wife had to be sent home to Canada in order to allow the Council to function on its reduced allocation.

With an experience of interdenominational cooperation and financial stringency, missionaries probably believed that churches would better support them if they cooperated on a larger scale. As well, as Geoffrey Johnston has pointed out, there was virtually no mention of

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Enduring Witness, 161.

14 Johnston, Missionaries for the Record, 460.

15 Johnston, 460.

16 Dunn, “The Great Divorce and What Happened to the Children,” 62. For instance, the value of the Canadian dollar had been cut in half in China.

17 In 1924 Sum total received was $463,561, a shortage on appropriation of $36,438 and of the $463 the W.M.S. contributed $49,475 and $97,965 was taken from the reserve fund, so that from the Church at large there was received only $316,130. The call from the Foreign Field in 1924 and for several years preceding was ‘Send us more missionaries and more funds.’ See The Acts and Proceedings (1926), 13.

18 Dunn, “The Great Divorce and What Happened to the Children,” 63-64.
Church Union debate in the missionary literature. The resolution supporting Church Union, which was passed in the meeting of 1923 of the Korea Mission Council of the PCC, demonstrates such an expectation from Church Union:

The mission notes the progress towards accomplishment of union of the three churches in Canada, … We feel sure that the wisdom of the Foreign Mission Board will lead it to the best action under the new conditions and trust that the settlement of the question will result in a revival of missionary enthusiasm both on the part of those who advocated and those who opposed union, and that by the wise leading of God all the spiritual and material resources of all parties may be so directed as to extend the great work of the church, both in Home and foreign land.

Those missionaries who voted against Church Union also had complex reasons. Some historians measured the motive of their decision by a theological yardstick. Geoffrey Johnston and Zander Dunn classified these missionaries as conservatives or fundamentalists. However, the reasons for their decision were more diverse than this classification might suggest. Allan L. Farris divided those who remained in the PCC into four categories: the anti-Unionists, who were anxious to preserve the Presbyterian Church without any change; the Federalists, who agreed with a cooperation between denominations but disagreed with organic union; the Ethical Critics, who decried the method of pro-unionists; and various theological Objectors, who objected to the theological foundation of the UCC. N. Keith Clifford, in his The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, indicated that, for the majority of anti-unionists, fundamentalism was not the central issue in their struggle to maintain the Presbyterian Church in Canada. He noted “they did not bind their church to any theory of biblical inerrancy, or pre-millenialism, and they did not insist

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19 Johnston, Missionaries for the Record, 460.
20 Scott, Canadians in Korea, 97.
that their church adopt an anti-ecumenical stance.”

After Church Union, changes in mission fields were affected not by missionaries’ preference but by the negotiation between the PCC and the UCC. As we have seen, a clear majority of missionaries were in favor of Church Union, for they had become used to interdenominational cooperation and were concerned more about practical needs, such as financial support, than about theological preference. Those missionaries who voted against Church Union had complex reasons as staunch Presbyterians, federalist, ethical critics, theological objectors. Dividing them into two camps as pro-unionists who were liberals in theology and anti-unionists who were conservative is somewhat simplistic.

In Korea, the situation was not different from the other mission fields. A majority of missionaries were for Church Union. As a result of the negotiation between the PCC and the UCC, it was decided that which of them took charge of the Canadian Mission. At the beginning of the negotiation, it was suggested that the United Church would have charge of Wonsan, Hamheung, and Sungjin, while Hoiryung and Yongjung would be under the Presbyterian Church. But, by the final negotiation in 1926 the entire Canadian Mission in Korea was placed under the UCC. The Rev. Luther Young, a missionary in Korea and staunch Presbyterian, voted against Church Union, resigned his charge and sought a way to continue his Korean mission. This change in Korean mission field paved the way for the PCC’s new mission work to Koreans in Japan.

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24 Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 98.
2. The Agreement between the PCC and the Churches in Korea

Though losing several of the mission fields after Church Union, the PCC continued to carry on foreign mission work. In the statement of the General Mission Board released in the General Assembly of 1926, the PCC showed confidence in foreign mission work. In this statement, it was argued that the PCC remained a strong denomination and would soon regain its strength in foreign mission as before the events of 1925:

We are today one of the strong branches of worldwide Presbyterianism. We are larger in membership than either the Presbyterian Church of England or Ireland. … We are more than two-fifths our former membership strength; more than two-fifths our former financial strength; more than two-fifths our former W.M.S. Strength. Our membership strength today is well over the 150,000 mark and our budget for the year calls for an expenditure of $600,000. In five years time, from Jan. 1st 1927, we believe our budget will be $1,000,000 a year, nearly equal to what it was before the dis-union.

With such confidence in foreign mission work, the PCC continued to support their remaining mission fields, while at the same time seeking new ones. A delegation of the PCC visited Manchuria, India, Taiwan and Japan in 1927 with this intent in mind.

One of the new mission works was for Koreans in Japan. The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was differentiated from its former mission work in Korea itself in that it was carried on as a partner with the churches in Korea. By 1926, the mission work for Koreans in Japan came under the supervision of the FCCMK which included all Protestant churches in

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29 Johnston, Missionaries for the Record, 413.
Korea. However, as tens of thousands of Koreans had moved to Japan to make a living, the Korean churches could not meet all the migrants’ demands for relief and evangelization.

The PCC was well placed for a new mission work in partnership with Korean churches aimed at the needs of Koreans living in Japan. It not only desired the mission work, but also had the human and financial resources to meet the needs of Koreans in Japan. It had an experienced missionary, the Rev. Luther Young, who had left Korea after Church Union but hoped earnestly to restart mission work for Koreans.

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was initiated by the proposal of churches in Korea. In early 1927, when the PCC considered the dispatch of a missionary to Koreans in Japan, simultaneously, the FCCMK suggested that the PCC cooperate with their mission work for Koreans in Japan. The Rev. Luther Young, the first Canadian missionary for Koreans in Japan, told the story of this coincidence:

Early in the year 1927 the question arose in mission circles of the Presbyterian Church in Canada as to the advisability of our church beginning mission work among the Koreans in Japan. This question later came before the Mission Board of our church at a regular meeting held in Toronto early in March of that year. At this meeting it was decided that Mrs. Young and I, then home on furlough, should proceed to Japan in September and after looking into the possibilities of beginning work for the Koreans there, report to our home Board. About ten days after this meeting, our Board secretary received a letter from Dr. Charles Allen Clark of Korea in which the latter expressed the hope that our Board would see its way clear to send us out for the

30 Ion, *Cross in the Dark Valley*, 54. In the Federal Council of Missions in Korea meeting of 1916, it was voted to suggest to the Korean denominational churches the advisability of having a Federal Council of Churches and Missions, and a committee was appointed to present this matter to the Korean Church bodies. The new Council was organized on Feb. 26, 1919. The Rev. Kim Pil-Soo was the first Chairman. The membership of the Council was composed of 65 delegates, of whom 20 each are from the Korean Methodist and Presbyterian Churches and the others are from cooperating Missions and organizations. In 1924, the name was changed to the National Christian Council. See Allen D Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea*, 211.

31 Anderson, *Kimchi and Maple Leaves under the Rising Sun*, 67.

32 Anderson, 76.

Korean work in Japan. At the same time he urged that we might cooperate in some way with the parties already engaged in that work. 34

The churches in Korea, which had grown as self-supporting churches, had considerable human resources for the missionary activity. They, however, could only support three Korean pastors in Japan for the 400,000 Koreans in Japan by 1927 because of lack of finances. 35 The PCC, on the other hand, had some missionaries who had experience in Korea and the financial capacity to support them, even though the budget had shrunk after Church Union. 36

For the PCC, the decisive factor in beginning mission work for Koreans in Japan was not so much the suggestion of the churches in Korea as the report of the PCC’s commission which visited Manchuria, India, Taiwan and Japan in 1927 as a delegation. In 1927, the General Assembly of the PCC appointed a commission of three to visit Japan and report their findings to the next General Assembly. 37 The commission, which left Toronto on September 13th in 1927, consisted of Mr. C. S. MacDonald, the Rev. D. MacOdrum, and Mrs. Daniel Strachan. They arrived at Yokohama on October 3rd, and met with the veteran missionary Caroline MacDonald, who had served the prisoners and factory working girls in Japan since 1904. They then followed Luther Young to Kobe to investigate the situation there. 38 The commission was impressed by the need given the Koreans’ earnest request for help, and by the poor living conditions they faced. 39

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34 Young, 68.
35 Clark, The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods, 187-188.
37 Anderson, My Dear Redeemer’s Praise, 129.
38 Anderson, 129.
They saw the urgent need for care and Christian mission work, which they explained in their report:

We had several meetings with groups of men and young women here and found that there are at present over half a million Koreans in Japan...the immigrants are chiefly students and labourers, the labourers being a great majority. There has been a little Christian work done among them...they were very eager that we should begin work at once and especially stressed the need for some care for the women and children...Many of these women are factory workers, who work long hours and have great need of Christian influence and care living as they do under very difficult conditions in a strange land and subject to a good deal of temptation.40

What the Commission observed in Japan was thus crucial to the decision to begin to work with Koreans in Japan. After visiting Japan, the Commission met with a Committee in Seoul in 1927. The Committee consisted of six Korean church leaders and four foreign missionaries appointed by the FCCMK to oversee the work in Japan.41 According to the Commission’s report, the Committee knew well the pastoral needs of Koreans in Japan, but they were unable to supply the personnel or funds necessary for this mission work.42 Their wish was a share of the mission work. They proposed that the PCC become a member of the Federation and that Luther Young be the superintendent of the work among Koreans in Japan.43 The Commission wrote the following in their report to the General Assembly:

The members of the committee were perfectly frank in stating that they had neither sufficient men nor money to properly carry on the growing work among the Koreans in Japan but as they have been there in a small way for many years and it was their people who were the Koreans in Japan they desired to continue a share in the work. They therefore suggested that our Church should be a member of the Federation and

41 Anderson, My Dear Redeemer’s Praise, 130.
42 Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 78.
43 Anderson, 79.
that Mr. Young take charge of the work in Japan, carrying it on in cooperation with
their committee, they giving it the same support as they had before done. At the meeting in Seoul in 1927, the PCC Commission and the FCCMK Committee made an
agreement that the Canadian Mission should cooperate with the FCCMK on the mission work for
Koreans in Japan, and should strive to gather the Korean Christians into one church. The
proposal was presented to the 44th General Assembly of the PCC in June, 1928. The General
Assembly approved the proposal and the following agreement was reached:

(1) Our Church is to become a member of the Federation, and one of our missionaries
to be our representative on the Committee. Mr. Young to act for the present.
(2) That Mr. Young be superintendent of all the work among Korean people in Japan
which shall be carried on by our Church, and the Federal Council of Churches and
Missions in Korea.
(3) That estimates for this work be prepared by Mr. Young and submitted to the
Committee and passed by them before being sent to our mission boards.
(4) That Mr. Young confer with the committee in regards to the appointment of
Korean workers.
(5) That a local treasurer be appointed in Kobe or other convenient place in Japan, to
whom funds from our Board in Toronto and the treasurer in Seoul will be sent;
payment from these funds to be made on requisition by Mr. Young.
(6) That the name of the Church be the Korean Christian Church.

Consequently, for the first time, Canadian Presbyterians entered into a partnership in
mission with the growing “young churches” in Korea. They did not disregard the dire life of
Koreans in Japan. The mission work for Koreans in Japan moved toward a different status. The
agreement between the Canadian Presbyterian Church and Korean churches was a significant
step forward toward a partnership mission between “older churches” which sent missionaries and
provided funding, and “younger churches” which grew to be self-supporting churches.

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44 The Acts and Proceedings (1928), 41.
45 Anderson, My Dear Redeemer’s Praise, 134.
46 Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 80.
3. The Dedication of the PCC Missionary Luther L. Young

The Rev. Luther L. Young, the first Canadian missionary to Koreans in Japan, was a key person in the PCC’s mission work to Koreans in Japan. He provided a link between the PCC’s mission work in Korea and the new mission in Japan. He had served in Korea as a missionary of the PCC since 1906. He left Korea in 1925 because he was opposed to Church Union, and resumed his mission work in Japan proper to Koreans in Japan from 1927 with the support of the PCC. He was the only Canadian missionary to Koreans in Japan who had had an experience of mission work among Koreans.

Some historians have been critical of the missionaries, including Luther Young, who remained in the PCC after Church Union. For example, Zander Dunn has argued that “Luther Young, like the leaders in the other Presbyterian foreign mission fields, was conservative in his theology and life-style. It was under such leadership that the Presbyterian foreign mission fields entered the long years of depression in the thirties.” Geoffrey Johnston has argued that “The fact that Young in Japan among the Koreans…founded missions that were almost entirely evangelistic might suggest that the missionaries who stayed Presbyterian were only interested in plucking brands from burning, the people with no interested in anything resembling in the least the social gospel.” When one looks at his mission work both in Korea and in Japan, however, it is clear that these arguments do not capture the complete picture. Robert Anderson on the other

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49 Anderson, *Kimchi and Maple Leaves*, 75-76.
50 Dunn, “The Great Divorce and What Happened to the Children,” 89.
hand, while admitting Young was a fundamentalist in his theology, underlined that Young as a missionary of the PCC balanced evangelism with social action, such as educational and medical work, in his mission work.\textsuperscript{52}

Luther Young was a person who had been filled with evangelical enthusiasm from his teens.\textsuperscript{53} When he studied at the Pine Hill Divinity School in 1905, he was impressed by the field reports of the missionaries and made up his mind to do mission work in Korea.\textsuperscript{54} He arrived in Korea in 1906. After finishing his study of the Korean language, he primarily did evangelical work carrying the Gospel to Koreans, and encouraging and assisting Korean church leaders in their work.\textsuperscript{55} He was evangelistic but he had also broad concern as a missionary. When he visited Churches in Canada in 1920 to get support for his mission work, he spoke of the medical, educational, and evangelistic work in Korea and of the Japanese attitude towards Korea.\textsuperscript{56} Luther Young, like other Canadian missionaries, was sympathetic towards Koreans who were deprived of their sovereignty by the Japanese government. When a nation-wide demonstration for independence was held on March 1\textsuperscript{st}, 1919, he pointed out that “the Koreans have surprised us all in their ability to keep their own plans to themselves until they are ready to announce

\textsuperscript{52} Anderson, \textit{My Dear Redeemer's Praise}, 70-71, 140.

\textsuperscript{53} Anderson, 14-20. Luther Young was born at Millsville, Nova Scotia, in 1875. When he was seventeen, he attended a series of evangelical meetings and accepted Christ. A little later, he got a call to the Christian ministry. He graduated from Pictou Academy in 1899. After receiving his B.A. in Dalhousie University in 1903, he entered Pine Hill Divinity School.

\textsuperscript{54} Anderson, 23-24. In the Pine Hill Divinity School, Luther Young received a stimulus on mission work to Korea by the field reports of the missionaries such a Korea such as the Rev. MacRae and Dr. Grierson and others. He responded to the urgent appeals of them on the field. He was designated a missionary to Korea in 1906, was ordained, and joined the Canadian mission in Hamheung.

\textsuperscript{55} Anderson, 46-50.

\textsuperscript{56} Anderson, 11.
them.”

On the one hand Luther Young was evangelistic in his role, but as a missionary of the PCC he also committed himself to educational work. In his letter to A. E. Armstrong, assistant secretary of Mission Board, he demonstrated his hope that the high schools of the Mission would be registered and able to meet the strict regulation of Japanese government:

For a minimum sized middle school or Academy, the government requires such building, a staff of ten teachers and an annual budget of $14,000. As yet neither our boys and girls high school comes up to this standard in any particular. … Our only reason for not having more of them is lack of funds…. We had hoped to register the boys and girls high schools in Hamheung. We are still hoping.

Luther Young put the mission work first before anything else. Even in the midst of the Church Union controversy, Young was mainly concerned with the continuation of Korean mission work rather than the Church Union debate. In his letter to the Presbyterian church in Dovercourt, he revealed his main concern of continuing mission work:

The question of Union does not face us for we are working together harmoniously as Federated Missions,…Here we are, faced with two difficulties. If we declare our vote as favouring Union, we alienate the majority of our Home Church. On the other hand, if we declared ourselves as Non-Union we separate our future from the Home Board….We ask for the privilege of continuing our service here.

After voting against Church Union, he hoped to sustain Korean mission work. He did not resign his charge until the end of the negotiation between the PCC and the UCC in 1926, as a

58 Luther Young personally preferred a direct evangelistic method. In his letter to Dr. Somerville in Toronto, he wrote “I am personally of the opinion that we must draw out of secular education work and concentrate more on Sunday School and especially Bible Institute and general religious class work. The secular education given in the government is good, we do not profess to have anything much better in our church school.” See Luther L. Young, Letter to John Somerville dated April 3, 1916 (Toronto: UCC Archive, Finding Aid 59).
59 Luther L. Young, Letter to A.E. Armstrong dated January 22, 1925 (Toronto: UCC Archive, Finding Aid 59).
60 Luther L. Young, Letter to The Dovercourt Church dated March 3, 1925 (Toronto: UCC Archive, Finding Aid 59).
cooperative mission work of the PCC and the UCC was discussed in these negotiations. It is also true that he got on well with pro-union missionaries in Korea. Even after his resignation, they urged him to come back to Korea, even given his loyalty to the Presbyterian Church:

You know how much we cherish your fellowship….The Board of the United Church will be glad to welcome your continuance in our Mission while still maintaining your allegiance to your own Church. We therefore earnestly plead with you to consider coming back again to your old Field of many years’ service.

Though there is not any quote from Luther Young giving the reasons for his decision, he most likely voted as a staunch Presbyterian who wanted to preserve the Presbyterian Church in Canada itself as well as a Federalist who was favorable to cooperative mission work.

His commitment to Korean mission work as a Presbyterian missionary continued in his mission work in Japan. In 1927, he set up the Mission headquarters in Kobe and began his mission work. He knew well that the circumstances of Koreans in Japan were even worse than in Korea:

Bad economic conditions at home in Korea are the immediate reason why they left their homeland. They came looking for work which is not easy to secure in a land already overcrowded with labourers. Those who have been fortunate enough to secure employment in factories are doing well,…, but large majority are employed as day labourers.

As a superintendent of the Federation of the PCC and the FCCMK, he had to supervise dispersed Korean churches in Japan from Hokkaido to Kyushu. Frequently, he undertook long journeys visiting churches and prayer meeting groups, instructing in Bible classes and other evangelical activities.

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61 Luther L. Young, Letter to A.E. Armstrong dated March 19, 1926 (Toronto: UCC Archive, Finding Aid 59). In this letter Luther Young wrote: You will have had before you for some time the recommendation of the Mission Executive regarding the desirability of the Union and Presbyterian Churches cooperating in some form in the work in Korea.


63 “Work Among Koreans,” The Presbyterian Record (September, 1928): 276.
activity in cities where there were Koreans. In 1930, for instance, Young travelled over 14,000 miles.\footnote{“Japan,” \textit{The Presbyterian Record} (July 1931): 219.}

While fulfilling the evangelical task, his mission work did not disregard social action; both educational and medical work were vital to the mission efforts. In the Annual Report for 1932, Young reported that the work not only in Sunday Schools, Christian Endeavour Societies, and Daily Vacation Bible Schools, but also in night schools and Kindergartens was stressed.\footnote{\textit{The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report} (1932), 5. (Toronto: PCC Archive).} In modernized Japan there were many fine hospitals, but Koreans living in poor conditions could not afford medical expenses. Therefore he urged the PCC to set up hospitals for Koreans.

As one visits Korean homes and sees the poverty and sickness one longing for the healing touch and the power to bring relief where it is so badly needed. …We are working for the spiritual salvation of the Koreans in this land but we are neglecting one of their greatest material needs. … Let us have a mission medical clinic for the Koreans in Osaka and thus make the love of God, of which we talk, more real to them.\footnote{\textit{The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report} (1933), 12.}

In this quote we clearly see that Young was concerned with social needs as well as evangelism.

Luther Young was also positive toward inter-denominational cooperation in the mission work for Koreans in Japan. When he began the mission work for Koreans in Japan in partnership with the churches in Korea, he received the aid of foreign missionaries in Japan and Japanese churches. Missionaries of the American Presbyterian Mission, the American Methodist Mission, the American Baptist Mission, and the Church Missionary Society provided Koreans in Japan with meeting places and funds.\footnote{\textit{The Acts and Proceedings} (1929), 56-57. In his report, Luther Young acknowledged the assistance to the Korean work by missionaries as follows : “Dr. J.A. Foote of the American Baptist Mission allows the Korean group in his
UCC in Korea. For instance, Luther Young was in correspondence with the Rev. Duncan MacRae on diverse subjects such as a visitation plan to Korea and a health problem within his family.  

As a missionary of the PCC, Luther Young worked as a pastor and a teacher in Korea. He was a man concerned about evangelism, but he also had broad concern for social action such as educational work and medical work. He was favorable toward cooperative mission work with other denominations. He voted against Church Union, but he earnestly hoped to continue Korean mission work. His commitment to Korean mission work continued in the mission work for Koreans in Japan. As a superintendent of the Federation, he supervised the partnership mission work with churches in Korea. He was consistent in carrying out the PCC’s mission work in Korea and in Japan through a comprehensive mission work which consisted of evangelical, medical, and educational work.

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68 Anderson, *My Dear Redeemer’s Praise*, 139-140.
CHAPTER 3.
The Accomplishment of The PCC’s Mission Work for Koreans in Japan

1. The Partnership and Comprehensive Mission Work

Partnership was the hallmark of the agreement on mission work for Koreans in Japan between the PCC and the FCCMK. This partnership embodied cooperation between the PCC and the churches in Korea. Writing at the time, Charles A. Clark emphasized that the relationship between the PCC and the churches in Korea was a complete union not of domination but of cooperation.\(^1\) The cooperation was not restricted to just Koreans and Canadians. When the PCC started the mission work for Koreans in Japan, other missionaries in Japan and Japanese churches supported the mission work by helping Koreans.\(^2\) It was clear, however, that Korean-speaking pastors and workers were necessary for the mission for Koreans in Japan.\(^3\)

From the beginning of the mission work with Koreans in Japan, the PCC and the FCCMK cooperated to support both Canadian missionaries and Korean mission workers. The Korean mission workers were composed of pastors, evangelists, and Bible Women.\(^4\) In 1928, fourteen

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\(^1\) Charles A. Clark, “The Work of the National Christian Council for Koreans in Japan.” *Korea Mission Field*, vol. XXXII, no.4 (April 1936): 80. C.A. Clark mentioned that “As to ecclesiastical matters, it (PCC) has formed a complete union with the Council (FCCMK)’s work, putting all of its churches and workers under the new self governing Synod, itself simply cooperating with but not dominating that Synod.”


\(^3\) Anderson, *Kimchi and Maple Leaves*, 87.

\(^4\) The term Bible Woman was given to those who had finished the Bible institute for women, which taught basic Bible study and theology. In Korea, a woman was not allowed to be ordained as a pastor. They were permitted evangelical work after finishing the program at a Bible institute for women. Evangelist was the title given to men who graduated from a theological seminary or were in the seminary and would one day be ordained as pastors. See Allen D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea*, 130-132.
Korean mission workers were financially supported: three pastors and one Bible Woman by the churches in Korea; and, one pastor, three evangelists, one secretary evangelist, two student evangelists, and three Bible Women by the PCC.\textsuperscript{5} There were also three Canadian missionaries: the Rev. Luther Young, Mrs. Luther Young, and Miss MacLean, evangelist and kindergarten teacher.\textsuperscript{6} As Koreans were scattered throughout Japan, Luther Young argued that a large number of Korean mission workers was necessary. Luther Young described the situation as follows:

The people are away from their own land and appreciate very much when the worker calls on them and has worship with them in their home. They are strangers in a strange land and because of that they are very appreciative of any kindness shown to them. They are here in great numbers and it will require a large staff of workers to reach them with the gospel.\textsuperscript{7}

As the mission work progressed, the number of Canadian missionaries and Korean mission workers supported by the PCC and the FCCMK increased. By 1933, the number of Korean mission workers reached thirty-nine: ten pastors, eleven evangelists, and eighteen Bible Women. In addition there were seven Canadian missionaries: the Rev. Luther Young and Mrs. Luther Young in 1927; Miss Jean MacLean in 1928; Miss Ethel MacDonald in 1929; Miss Gladys Murphy and Miss Mary. E. Anderson in 1930; and, the Rev. Malcolm Mackay in 1933.\textsuperscript{8} Female missionaries were in charge of the mission work to children and women such as kindergarten and women’s organizations, while pastors led the overall mission work.

In order to make the mission more effective, the work was concentrated at certain places in Japan. The mission work was organized in and around seven centers; the island of Kyushu in

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{The Acts and Proceedings} (1929), 57-58.
\textsuperscript{6} \textit{The Acts and Proceedings} (1929), 57-58.
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{The Glad Tidings} (March 1928): 97-98.
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report} (1933), 2.
the south, the cities of Kobe, Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Tokyo, and Sapporo to the north on Hokkaido island.\(^9\) Korean mission workers were dispatched to these centers. In and around these centers, various mission works was carried out. Besides Sunday services, there were Sunday schools, Vacation Bible schools, Christian Endeavor Societies, Women Mission auxiliary organizations, night schools, and kindergartens.\(^10\)

The PCC missionaries cooperated well with Korean mission workers in the mission field work. Luther Young, as a superintendent of the cooperative work between the PCC and the churches in Korea, visited and supported the mission centers of the Korean mission workers. Mrs. Luther Young and women missionaries conducted Bible classes, Sunday schools and took charge of women’s work and kindergartens working with Korean workers, especially the Bible Women. Luther Young emphasized that the work of the Canadian Presbyterian Church Mission cooperated closely with that of the Korean churches.\(^11\) He asserted this in his report:

One of the very encouraging things about this work is the fine spirit of cooperation shown by all concerned. This issue of “the Mission Field” has fairly full reports of the contributions to the work made by the National Council of Churches and Missions in Korea, the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Korean Work Committee of the Federal Council of Missions in Japan.\(^12\)


\(^10\) The Acts and Proceedings (1931), 52. Korean mission workers (pastors, evangelist, and Bible Women) did their mission work with various methods in and around these seven centers as follows: Kyushu District: six congregations, four Sunday schools, three Christian Endeavor Societies and Women’s organization, two night schools. Kobe District: seven congregations, six Sunday schools, two night schools, two women’s organizations, four Christian Endeavor Societies, two kindergartens. Osaka District: eight Sunday schools, six women’s organizations, three Christian Endeavor Societies, two night schools, and one kindergarten. Kyoto District: three groups, two Sunday schools, two Christian Endeavor Societies, one night school. Nagoya District: two congregations, three Sunday schools, two women’s organizations, two Christian Endeavor Societies, three night schools, and two kindergarten. Tokyo District: four groups, two Sunday schools, two night schools. Hokkaido District: one Sunday school.

\(^11\) Young, “The Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Koreans in Japan,” 68.

\(^12\) Young, 70.
Korean mission workers performed their tasks vigorously alongside with Canadian missionaries. In the mission report of the Canadian missionaries, they spoke highly of the endeavors of the Korean mission workers:

Mission work among Koreans in Japan is steadily growing. Christian groups are now well scattered over the country and have overflowed to adjoining islands…. The native pastors and Bible women are indefatigable workers. They organize and lead congregations, Bible study, Sunday Schools, night schools.13 This report would not be complete without mention of the faithful Bible women who go in and out among their people with words of comfort and cheer and with the Words of life….We were once again reminded of God’s great goodness in giving to our Korean people, such a fine group of Christian women as their helpers and leaders.14

For instance, pastor Ensop Ye, since his arrival in Nagoya in April 1929, had reorganized three groups and started three other groups. During the week he had prayer meetings in each of these groups. He doubled the attendance of the congregation in Toyohashi which was two hours away.15 Evangelist Cheson Kim in Kobe conducted an adult Bible class and a children’s Sunday school. He also held a daily vacation Bible school for a few weeks during the summer vacation and helped in the night school.16 The work of Bible Women especially drew the attention of the Canadian missionaries. Mrs. Suk Kyung Ye, a Bible Woman in Kobe, worked in two congregations, helping in the Sunday schools, prayer meetings and other activities of the churches. She organized a night school for women, and taught them to read.17 Mrs. Kim, a Bible Woman in Shimonoseki, led a group, and conducted all meetings, Bible classes, all

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14 *The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report* (1933), 23.
visitations within this group.\textsuperscript{18} As mentioned above, Korean mission workers carried out their mission work enthusiastically, covering work from Bible classes to night schools.

The mission work of the PCC and the FCCMK included both evangelism and social action. This mission work was based on the understanding of the harsh life of Koreans in Japan, and on a deep concern for them. Mrs. Luther Young described the Koreans’ situation with compassion in her writings:

Most of the Koreans here are labourers and have very few holidays. Moreover many of them are poor and find it difficult to leave home for a week to attend a class…However to our delight,… Such joy comes into their lives when they learn that Jesus is their shepherd, and has compassion on the multitude because they are as sheep without a shepherd.\textsuperscript{19}

The mission work was carried out through evangelical work and educational work. In evangelical work, Canadian missionaries and Korean mission workers worked together as partners in visiting house to house with the gospel, distributing tracts and conducting Bible classes and prayer meetings.\textsuperscript{20} Sunday schools and daily vacation Bible school were for teaching the Bible and hymns to Korean children. The Christian Endeavor Society and the Women’s Organization trained the adults, young and old, to serve society and to do mission work.\textsuperscript{21} Miss Mary E. Anderson reported on the evangelical work:

This past year, as previously, my teacher and I spent quite number of afternoons in visiting the homes, distributing tracts, and speaking to the people….Yet we know that the tracts bear message which in God’s Word, which, if allowed to work, can do mighty things….The response was excellent on each occasion, the house being filled to capacity with large groups standing outside, while they listened to the story of the

\textsuperscript{18} The Glad Tidings (June 1930): 213.
\textsuperscript{19} Mrs. Luther L. Young, “Work for Koreans in Japan,” The Presbyterian Record (May 1930): 149.
\textsuperscript{20} The Glad Tidings (March 1928): 97.
\textsuperscript{21} The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report (1932), 18-19.
Cross told by two or three speakers. In each case a number decided to believe.\textsuperscript{22}

Meanwhile, in educational work, night schools gave a chance for young people who worked in the factory during the day to learn how to read and write in Korean and Japanese, and to do mathematics.\textsuperscript{23} Night school was essential to educate adults and children in poor living conditions.

Night School classes are held in many of the churches, they are attended by boys and girls and in some cases by men and women who have not had a previous opportunity to study. They are taught reading and writing in Korean, Bible, singing, simple arithmetic and some Japanese.\textsuperscript{24}

Kindergartens cared for and taught Korean children in poor conditions and led them to churches. It was “the agency of both evangelism and social relief.”\textsuperscript{25} Miss Jean C. Maclean and Mrs. Luther Young reported on kindergarten work:

The one in Kobe has an average attendance of twenty children who, when they first came to kindergarten, were none too clean. Their clothing was scanty and food none too plentiful in the home. It is a joy to see the change and progress in the matter of cleanliness and in the behavior of the children.\textsuperscript{26}

Though the budget of the PCC’s mission work to Koreans in Japan was much smaller than that in Korea, the mission work grew steadily. The PCC’s 1928 annual support, for instance, was $9,060,\textsuperscript{27} which was about one-tenth of the support in 1923. By 1933, however, the number of kindergartens had grown to seven with 235 pupils, night schools to 24 with 664 pupils, Sunday schools to 42 with 2,448 pupils, Christian Endeavor Societies to 28 with 792 members, Women’s

\textsuperscript{22} The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report (1933), 17-18.
\textsuperscript{23} The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report (1932), 9.
\textsuperscript{24} The Acts and Proceedings (1932), 49.
\textsuperscript{25} Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 95.
\textsuperscript{26} The Presbyterian Record (May 1930): 149.
\textsuperscript{27} The Minutes of the General Board of Missions (Toronto: PCC Archive, 1928), 49.
Missionary Societies to 30 with 651 members.\textsuperscript{28} The PCC missionaries pushed ahead the project of a hospital established for Koreans:\textsuperscript{29}

We need a medical unit for working among the 100,000 Koreans in Osaka. A minimum of workers for this unit, we take it, should consist of one Korean doctor, one Korean nurse, one office boy, and one Bible woman….A budget of $3,000 would be the lowest estimate for this unit.\textsuperscript{30}

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan, though smaller than the work in Korea proper, continued the PCC’s comprehensive mission work in Korea, which consisted of evangelical, educational, and medical work. The mission work was executed effectively, preaching the gospel and giving social relief to poor Koreans.\textsuperscript{31} The PCC’s mission work was carried out by a cooperative mission work between the PCC and the FCCMK, which was a step towards a partnership mission between an “older church” and a “younger church.”

2. The Establishment of the Korean Christian Church in Japan

When the PCC and the FCCMK began their cooperative mission work for Koreans in Japan, they had a vision of establishing within that country a strong self-supporting, self-governing Korean church.\textsuperscript{32} It was expected, however, that the accomplishment of the vision would not be easy due to the poverty of Koreans in Japan and the transiency of the population because so many were employed only as daily labourers. Luther Young reported on this subject in 1931:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28} The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report (1933), 41.
\item \textsuperscript{29} “Koreans in Japan; Report,” The Presbyterian Record (November 1932): 342. This request repeated from 1931 until 1937 when a public health nurse, a Miss Lee from Korea, was appointed. See Geoffrey Johnston, Missionaries for the Record, p. 416.
\item \textsuperscript{30} “Koreans in Japan; Report,” The Presbyterian Record (November 1932): 342-343.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 88.
\item \textsuperscript{32} The Acts and Proceedings (1935), 64.
\end{itemize}
The prospects for building up a strong self-supporting Korean Church in Japan are not bright. In the first place the Koreans here are poor, in the second they move about too much. Not expecting to reside very long in any one place it is hardly to be expected that they should contribute very largely to church building funds.\(^{33}\)

Despite these concerns, the Korean Churches in Japan increased continuously in terms of numbers. In 1928, there were 30 churches with 931 adherents. In 1931, the number of churches had grown to 34, prayer meeting places to 11, and adherents to 2,416. In 1933, the number of churches rose to 45, prayer meeting places to 18, and adherents to 2,752.\(^{34}\) Considering this astonishing growth in numbers, it was natural to establish the KCCJ as a step towards the realization of the vision of a strong self-supporting, self-governing Korean church in Japan.

With the increasing number of churches and adherents, the churches’ budgets improved. Congregations gradually ceased needing help in order to pay the rent of their place of meeting. By 1934, twelve congregations had erected their own church buildings.\(^{35}\) All were built largely by the efforts of the local churches.\(^{36}\) The largest church was in Nagoya, dedicated in 1934, with five hundreds seats. The land and building were owned by Koreans. The missionaries were encouraged by this progress. Luther Young reported positively:

> The Korean congregations are increasing in membership and the Christians growing in faith and zeal. During the past eight years new Christian groups have increased on an average of five each year. The Christian messenger is welcome everywhere and his message listened to respectfully.\(^{37}\)

As Korean churches in Japan grew, the matter of a Constitution for these churches was proposed. In December 1931, a committee composed of eight Korean pastors working in Korean churches

34. *The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report* (1931, 1933, 1934)
36. Young, “The Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Koreans in Japan,” 70.
37. Young, 70.
in Japan, together with Luther Young, met in Kobe with two representatives of the National Christian Council of Korea (KNCC). They drew up a draft Constitution and submitted it to the KNCC.\textsuperscript{38}

The purpose of framing a Constitution lay in helping Korean churches in Japan to become independent.\textsuperscript{39} The model of the Constitution was that of the independent Korean Church in Korea, which ruled itself and cooperated with western missionaries. Charles A. Clark, one of the delegates from the KNCC, described at the time the purpose of the meeting:

> It is hoped that the suggested Constitution which was worked out will still further help the new Church to grow in self-support and self-propagation and self-government. If this Constitution is approved by all concerned, a new Christian Church will be born….Under the new Constitution, they will not control the growing Church either. It will rule itself and they will cooperate with it as our Missions cooperate with the independent Korean Churches in Korea.\textsuperscript{40}

The establishment of the Constitution, however, did not go smoothly. It made progress but without the approval of the KNCC. In September 1932, the KNCC considered the draft Constitution and sent it to its member bodies for consideration. The Methodists approved this draft, but the Presbyterian Church of Korea considered it at their 1933 Annual Meeting and refused to support it.\textsuperscript{41} The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea demanded that Korean churches in Japan should be altogether Presbyterian, since most of the Korean Christians in Japan were Presbyterian.\textsuperscript{42} Despite this decision, the Korean churches in Japan did

\begin{footnotes}
\item[38] Luther L. Young, “The Chosen Church in Japan Proper,” \textit{Korea Mission Field}, vol. XXX, no.5 (May 1934): 109.
\item[40] Clark, 55.
\item[41] Anderson, \textit{Kimchi and Maple Leaves}, 102.
\end{footnotes}
not retreat. In February 1934, they drew up and adopted the Constitution for themselves.\textsuperscript{43} As a result, the KCCJ was established.

Thus, the Korean Church in Japan became an independent denomination. Henceforth, it was not under the churches of Korea or any other denomination. The establishment of the new Church clearly showed the independent aspirations of the Koreans living in Japan.\textsuperscript{44} Luther Young commented on the significance of this new Constitution in an article:

> Previous to the reorganization brought about at the February meeting, this Church in Japan had a number of temporary local organizations that served the purpose for the time being, but it has been apparent for some time that new garments for the growing child would have to be made. This has been done, and from February on the affairs of the Church will be handled by its own Assembly, district organization, and Local Church organization.\textsuperscript{45}

The establishment of the KCCJ was also the fruit of interdenominational cooperative mission work. The KCCJ continually cooperated with other denominations that gave financial support to Korean pastors, evangelists and Bible Women. Luther Young reported on this aspect:

> It must be understood that the Korean Church resulting from this effort is not an adjunct of any other church, council or mission. The Korean Church in Japan is a self-governing body and the final decision in matters distinctly its own is in its own hands…. Funds provided by these bodies for use in the Korean Church will be allocated to the work by these bodies or their representatives in consultation with a committee appointed for that purpose by the Korean Church Assembly. Matters concerning the engaging, locating or dismissing of native workers will be handled in the same way.\textsuperscript{46}

While it had taken this important step, the KCCJ was not financially independent. The KCCJ

\textsuperscript{43} Anderson, \textit{Kimchi and Maple Leaves}, 103.
\textsuperscript{44} Anderson, 105.
\textsuperscript{45} Young, “The Chosen Church in Japan Proper,” 109.
\textsuperscript{46} \textit{The Acts and Proceedings} (1935), 63. In 1926, the General Assembly of the PCC adopted “not to make denominationalists, but to make men Christians is ever our inspired and inspiring ideal.”
received funds from supporting churches. The funds were channeled through the helping Missions, which checked that the funds were used for their purpose.\textsuperscript{47}

The establishment of the KCCJ was the official accomplishment of a partnership mission between the PCC and the churches of Korea. It was established through comprehensive mission work embracing evangelism and social action. Furthermore, the KCCJ was established as an independent denomination. This suggests that the PCC was not obsessed with denominationalism.\textsuperscript{48} Though it was not totally independent in finance, the KCCJ had taken a major step toward becoming a self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing Church.

3. The Implication of Mission Work for Koreans in Japan

Since the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan began in 1927, the PCC had worked to build a strong self-supporting Korean church.\textsuperscript{49} When the KCCJ was established in 1934, the PCC missionaries reported that “a big step forward in the realization of that aim took place.”\textsuperscript{50} The PCC played a major role in the establishment of the KCCJ.

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was a pioneer example of a partnership mission between an “older church” and a “younger church.” The PCC carried out its mission in cooperation with the churches in Korea through the FCCMK. The churches in Korea were “younger churches” which had grown to a self-supporting, self-propagating church through the commitment of western missionaries from “older churches.” The PCC and the FCCMK, as

\textsuperscript{47} Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 105.
\textsuperscript{48} The Acts and Proceedings (1926), 14.
\textsuperscript{49} The Acts and Proceedings (1935), 64.
\textsuperscript{50} The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report (1934), 4.
partners, eagerly undertook mission work for Koreans in Japan.

This partnership mission was carried out through comprehensive mission work which encompassed both evangelism and social work. The comprehensive mission work which had been applied to the mission in Korea, applied to Koreans in Japan. It emerged not from doctrine but from the context of mission fields. In Korea, comprehensive mission work consisted of three pillars: evangelical, educational, and medical.\(^{51}\) It reflected the dire needs of Koreans who lived in a nation lagging behind in modernization by being annexed by Japan, and who now had a rare chance to benefit from education and medicine. In Japan, Koreans had an even harder time than in Korea. Most Koreans in Japan suffered from extreme poverty and racial discrimination as minorities. As well, the mission work in Japan also included not so much evangelical work as educational work. The missionaries even urged the PCC to erect a medical facility.\(^{52}\)

This comprehensive mission work for Koreans in Japan was the continuation of the mission work in Korea. The PCC regarded the mission work for Koreans in Japan as the extension of the mission work in Korea. For instance, in *The Presbyterian Record* (April 1929), the lead story concerned the Korean mission from which the PCC had withdrawn in 1925. In the lead story, the writer emphasized the connection between the mission work in Korea and in Japan: “Shut out of Korea, we have not been separated from the Koreans. We left them in Korea but now we minister to them in another land.”\(^{53}\) The writer also underscored the outcome of the PCC’s mission work in Korea, which made rapid progress through the establishment of Korean churches:

\(^{51}\) Scott, *Canadians in Korea*, 50.

\(^{52}\) *The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report* (1933), 12.

\(^{53}\) *The Presbyterian Record* (April 1929): 108.
Imagination supplies what statistics cannot tell but what always follows everywhere the acceptance of the Gospel, namely, redemption from superstition, the elevation of a people, the transformation of men and women in character, and the establishing of those institutions that minister to human welfare. All this, was the fruit of our Church’s labor in Korea.\textsuperscript{54}

These two remarks show that the PCC carried out comprehensive mission work in Korea, and continued the mission work to Koreans in Japan, after Church Union.

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan demonstrates that the PCC continued their mission work after Church Union. Though the PCC’s mission fields, missionaries, and mission budget was reduced after Church Union, the PCC continued its comprehensive mission work. The concern was not only about evangelism but also about social action in mission work. It also continued to interact with other denominations in mission work. In 1926, one year after Church Union, the General Assembly of the PCC adopted the following report:

\begin{quote}
Our aim – to carry the Gospel message to all people, and to every nation and tribe, not to compel them to enter one narrow fold, but to draw them into one flock, under the care of the one Shepherd – not to make denominationalists, but to make men Christians is ever our inspired and inspiring ideal.\textsuperscript{55}
\end{quote}

In the mission work for Koreans in Japan, the PCC missionaries corresponded not only with the FCCMK, but also with other western missionaries in Japan and Japanese churches. They were not bound by denominationalism. When the KCCJ was established, they supported it as it moved to become an independent denomination.\textsuperscript{56}

The PCC’s first step toward a partnership mission with a “younger church” reflected well the trends of international mission work which represented a paradigm shift of how mission was

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{54} The Presbyterian Record (April 1929): 108.  \\
\textsuperscript{55} The Acts and Proceedings (1926), 14.  \\
\textsuperscript{56} Anderson, Kimchi and Maple Leaves, 104. 
\end{flushleft}
undertaken in the twentieth century. In the Jerusalem 1928 International Missionary Council (IMC), with a growing number of delegates from “younger churches”, partnership and indigenization became primary concerns for this Conference:

> In many countries there are churches in various stages of development, younger bodies less dependent than heretofore upon missionary initiative, direction and control, with which the older churches can cooperate…. This partnership enables the older and the younger churches to face the unfinished task of world evangelization with greater hope of ultimate success before.

In terms of the PCC, the experience of the mission field among Koreans in Japan anticipated later developments. E. H. Johnson established the partnership mission with “younger churches” as mission policy in the 1950s. To build up the leadership structures of the “younger churches” to participate fully in missionary partnerships, E. H. Johnson strengthened them through scholarships, student exchanges, and the development of indigenous ministries. This points to the end of guardianship of one church over another and the establishment of partnership. Johnson also aimed at a balanced mission work of evangelism and social action. Neil Vance, in his booklet *Ted Johnson*, indicates that he criticized both extremes of “saving souls” or “humanitarianism,” and suggested a comprehensive way of approaching missions, practicing the

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57 In Edinburgh 1910 WMC, among all the 1,200 delegates there were only 17 non-western delegates. Meanwhile, in Jerusalem 1928 IMC, out of all 231 delegates, 52 represented non-western, “younger churches.” See Roger K. Bassham, *Mission Theology*, 15, 21.


whole gospel for the whole people in the whole world. In his article in 1955, E. H. Johnson elucidated this: “When one examines these two very different approaches one discovers that they both had a very serious lack at the same place. Neither of them had a theology of the Lord Jesus Christ over the whole of life.” Since the 1950s, comprehensive mission work in partnership has been the PCC’s essential mission principle.

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was a step toward a partnership mission with a “younger church.” It was carried out by comprehensive mission work encompassing both evangelism and social action. The establishment of the KCCJ in 1934 was a major accomplishment of the mission work. It anticipated a paradigm shift of mission in the 1950s when E. H. Johnson set up partnership mission with “younger churches” as mission policy.

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63 The PCC, *Living Faith: A Statement of Christian Belief* (Toronto: PCC, 1984), 32, and The PCC, *Education for Mission: Congregational Handbook* (Toronto: PCC, 2005), 10-12. In *Living Faith* it is proclaimed “Mission is evangelism, the offer of salvation to all people in the power of the Holy Spirit, to be received through faith in Christ. Mission is service, a call to help people in need and to permeate all of life with the compassion of God,” and in *Congregational Handbook* it is emphasized “Mission partnership is a covenant relationship between people who are together striving to bring about God’s realm of justice and peace.”
Jesus Christ’s great commission in Matthew 28:19-20 — “therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded,”— is at the heart of the consensus among Christians that the aim of mission work is “to carry the gospel in its fullness to all nations.”\(^1\) Especially since the 1950s, this was formulated in the adage: “the whole church bringing the whole gospel to the whole world.”\(^2\) In this regard, David Bosch’s warning is especially meaningful: “neither a secularized church (that is, a church which concerns itself only with this-worldly activities and interests) nor a separatist church (that is, a church which involves itself only in soul-saving and preparation of converts for the hereafter) can faithfully articulate the missio Dei.”\(^3\)

In the twentieth century, partnership missions between “older churches” and “younger churches” opened up a new stage of mission work. It marked an end of the distinction between “sending churches” and “receiving churches.”\(^4\) It not only ended the dominance in mission work of “sending churches”, but also began the cooperative work between “sending churches” and former “receiving churches” growing to self-supporting churches. This new relationship of mutual responsibility should not be construed as a power struggle, but should be interpreted in the light of the gospel. As David Bosch writes, “not because the Western church’s dominance


\(^3\) Bosch, 11.

\(^4\) Bosch, 466.
appears to have ended, but because there can be no ‘higher’ or ‘lower’ in the Body of Christ.”

Partnership is based on the premise of respect and equality in status and authority between partners. Partnership is defined as “a relationship between churches based on trust, mutual recognition and reciprocal interchange. It rules out completely any notion of ‘senior’ and ‘junior,’ ‘parent’ and ‘child,’ or even ‘older’ and ‘younger’.” It is defined theologically as “a fundamental dynamic of triune missionary God of love who is, acts, and relates in mutual partnership in sending the Son, the Spirit, and the church into the world as instruments of God’s saving mission.” According to David Bosch, the theological underpinnings of partnership mission were consolidated in *Missio Dei*, “God’s mission,” as the three-fold task of God’s self-revelation as the One who loves the world; God’s involvement in and with the world; and the nature and activity of God that includes the church and the world and in which the church is privileged to participate.

Though small in scale and not particularly noted at the time, the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan from 1927 to 1934 has a unique significance of stepping toward partnership mission between “older churches” and “younger churches.”

The PCC began the mission work with a partner, FCCMK, which consisted of churches in Korea that had grown to self-supporting status through the help of western missionaries. The PCC and the FCCMK made an agreement of cooperative mission and supported each other. The PCC provided a small number of Canadian missionaries as well as significant financial

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5 Bosch, 466.
support to Korean mission workers from Korea who worked in the mission. Canadian missionaries and Korean mission workers cooperated together in all kinds of mission work: house-to-house visiting evangelical work, Sunday services, Sunday school, Christian Endeavor Society, night school, and kindergarten. This mission work demonstrated a step toward partnership between “older churches” and “younger churches,” which was widely discussed in the international missionary organizations such as the Jerusalem International Missionary Council in 1928.

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was in continuity with the mission work in Korea in which the PCC carried the gospel from 1898 to 1925. The two mission works had the same vision: to establish a strong self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating church. They were performed in the same way: through comprehensive mission work encompassing evangelism and social action. Though the budget of mission, the number of missionaries and the mission fields dwindled after Church Union in 1925, the PCC’s mission work was not significantly changed among Koreans in Japan. The conditions of Koreans in Japan were similar to and even worse than those in Korea. As well, the PCC missionaries adapted and provided comprehensive mission work for them.

Furthermore, the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan showed its openness to other denominations. Like the mission work in Korea, the PCC missionaries collaborated with other denominations’ missionaries in Japan. This collaboration shows that the PCC was ecumenical in

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10 The Acts and Proceedings (1931), 52.
12 The Acts and Proceedings (1935), 64.
its international missionary interactions. The PCC even approved the KCCJ becoming an independent denomination in 1934.\textsuperscript{14}

For the churches of Korea, partnering with the PCC made their mission work for Koreans in Japan more fruitful. The churches of Korea had drawn the attention of western missionaries due to their rapid growth to becoming self-supporting, indigenized churches.\textsuperscript{15} They were also enthusiastic about mission work. Churches in Korea had sent missionaries to Koreans in Japan as early as 1912, but they could only afford to dispatch a small number of mission workers owing to financial shortages.\textsuperscript{16} Cooperation with the PCC enabled them to send more mission workers to Koreans in Japan. The number of Korean mission workers in Japan increased to thirty-nine in 1933, which was ten times the number before 1927.\textsuperscript{17} With the increase of missionaries, the mission work was expanded to the majority of Koreans in Japan who were living in poor conditions. Churches in Korea showed their capability as “younger churches” to cooperate with “older churches” as partners through the mission work for Koreans in Japan.

For Koreans in Japan, the partnership mission of the PCC and the FCCMK contributed to help them to be freed from their desperate lives and to step toward establishing a strong self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating church. The majority of them had moved to Japan to make a living, and worked mainly as daily labourers.\textsuperscript{18} The commission of the PCC saw the poor condition of Koreans in Japan and made an agreement with the FCCMK for cooperative

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Young, “The Chosen Church in Japan Proper,” 109.
  \item \textsuperscript{15} Rhodes, \textit{History of the Korean Mission}, 388.
  \item \textsuperscript{16} Clark, “Following the Korean Abroad,” 249.
  \item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{The Presbyterian Church in Canada Mission to Koreans in Japan; Annual Report} (1933), 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Mitchell, \textit{Korean Minority in Japan}, 28.
\end{itemize}
mission work. Koreans in Japan responded positively to the work of the missionaries. For seven years, their churches increased from 30 churches with 931 adherents in 1928 to 45 with 2,752 adherents in 1933. Of these, twelve congregations had erected their own church buildings secured largely by local church efforts. The establishment of the KCCJ was a significant accomplishment for these churches. They had their Constitution and though they were not completely independent financially, the establishment of their independent denomination was a step toward a strong self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating church.

The PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan was a pioneer model of partnership mission with growing “younger churches” in Korea in the 1920s. This mission work suggests that after Church Union, the PCC missionaries were not unconcerned about social action. The mission work to Koreans in Japan demonstrates that it sustained a comprehensive mission work that encompassed both evangelism and social action. The mission work of the PCC continued with the same stance as before Church Union. Further, the PCC’s mission work for Koreans in Japan evolved to a new stage of establishing KCCJ, an independent denomination, as a result of rapid growth of Korean churches in Japan.

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20 Young. “The Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Koreans in Japan,” 70.
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