

**JAMES NOBLE MACKENZIE'S MINISTRY
IN SOUTH KOREA: A MISSIOLOGICAL EXPLORATION OF
FROM A MINJUNG PERSPECTIVE**

BY

SANG PIL SON

**SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
PhD SCIENCE OR RELIGION AND MISSIOLOGY IN THE FACULTY OF
THEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA**

AUGUST 2017

PROMOTOR: PROF. C.J.P (NELUS) NIEMANDT

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, except for the references to other people's works, which have been duly acknowledged; "James Noble Mackenzie's Ministry in South Korea: A Missiological Exploration from a Minjung Perspective" is as the result of my own research and that it has not been submitted elsewhere for another degree. Additionally, I take responsibility for any inaccuracies and shortcomings, which may be detected in this work.

..... Dated:

Sang Pil Son

(Student - 15377327)

..... Dated:

Prof. C.J.P (Nelus) Niemandt

(Supervisor)

DEDICATION

This is my little research paper which I dedicate to

God who guided me to this day,

my mother who always gave added strength with devoted prayer for me,

those who are now marginalized in this world

and the servants of the Lord who are devoted to them.

August 2017

Sang Pil Son in Sydney, Australia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my gratitude to those who have helped me to publish this research paper.

First, thank you very much to the supervisor of this study, Prof. Dr. C.J.P. (Nelus) Niemandt, who is the head of Science of Religion and Missiology. He graciously perceived the direction of my research and encouraged me like a brother. With the deeper insight this brought I was able to correct my shortcomings and make more progress.

I would also like to express my appreciation to Dr. Jaco Beyers, Prof. Thias Kgatla and Dr. Gronum for their guidance and examination of my thesis. Their deep academic knowledge, offered lovingly, gave me many challenges. Thanks also to Mrs Cathy Sandis, Mrs Anchen November and Mrs Doris Mokgokolo for helping me to focus on low-cost research.

In addition, I cannot help thanking those in Australia. First, I am grateful that before her death, Helen Mackenzie gave the material of her father, J. N. Mackenzie, to Dr. John Brown and he made it available to me for this research. Thank you. I am also grateful for the dedication of Mrs Gwen King, retired English teacher, who has helped me with my English. Thank you.

I thank my previous church, the Korean Peace Church in Auckland, which I left me with regret, and the New Gate Church in Sydney, who gave me the opportunity to concentrate on my research.

And thanks to my family. My mother, Shin Hee Jeong, is my spiritual support, praying more than sleeping for each of her two sons who are both pastors. How can I express my gratitude for my mother's devotion and love? It is because of my mother's prayer that I am living as a servant of the Lord. Also thanks to my brother, Rev. Dr. Sang Ook Son, who is always like a

friend shepherding my life and to my sister, Ae Gyeong Son, who always misses me when I am far away.

Above all, I am grateful to my wife, Soo, whose dedication and cooperation in my ministry and study have been invaluable, and to my two sons, Daniel and Yu Jin, who have grown up and become a joy to me.

Above all else, I give all my gratitude and glory to our Lord who led me here to live as a pastor and lecturer by giving me vision and courage.

I will live the remainder of my life in return for their grace. Thank you.

August, 2017. Sang Pil Son

ABSTRACT

This research is into the ministry of J. N. Mackenzie in Korea from a Minjung perspective. Minjung theology grew out of the context of the military government which took power by a coup d'état and which amended the Constitution for long-term power. A large number of people were sacrificed in the name of economic construction. During this time a worker's suicide prompted a nationwide demonstration against the government's oppression. It was the contextual theology of Korea which set the direction of the Church in this situation. Minjung were an absolute majority of the population and they were politically oppressed, and economically deprived, poorly educated, socially dominated, and religiously neglected. Yet they sacrificed themselves to right the injustices in the society.

This study of the ministry of Australian missionary J. N. Mackenzie, who served in Korea from 1910 to 1938, is based mainly on the data from his materials left to Helen Mackenzie and then to Dr John Brown. Mackenzie served in the time of the Japanese colonisation.

Mackenzie travelled as an itinerant missionary in rural areas and devoted himself to educating children and women who had been ignored in the culture which accepted the dominance of men over women. His ministry also involved a remarkable service to the lepers who had been abandoned by the state, society, and family. His devotion affected his children and during the Korean War two of them entered ministry and worked for pregnant women and orphans. Mackenzie's ministry was certainly a sublime dedication. Since then, many people have contributed greatly to the flowering of Korea by devoting themselves to the renewal of their homes and society. They have truly shown the spirit of the Minjung in Minjung theology.

The Japanese imperialists forced Shinto-worship on Korea. Most Presbyterian missionaries and Korean churches sacrificially resisted this. Surprisingly, Mackenzie actively advocated it. This left a stigma of his being part of a pro-Japanese group which has led to his not being fully respected in Korean church history. This study has the task of studying the right direction of the separation of church and state by the unjust power, and on the mission policy of the Australian Presbyterian Mission.

KEY WORDS

Missiological exploration, Korean contextual theology, Minjung perspective, James Noble Mackenzie, Helen Mackenzie, Australian Missionaries, Japanese Imperialist, Shinto-Worship, Marginalise people, the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV), Korean Church, New Hebrides, Vanuatu.

ABBREVIATIONS

APM	Australian Presbyterian Mission in Korea
ARMS	Annual Report of the Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church
CES	<i>Kigokkyo Gyouk Hakhoe</i> [Christian Education Society]
CLC	<i>Kidokkyo moonseo seongyuhoe</i> [Christian Literature Crusade]
CLS	<i>Daehan Gidokkyoseohoe</i> [The Christian Literature Society of Korea]
CMS	The Church Mission Society of England
FMC	Foreign Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV)
HKH	<i>Hankuk Kidokkyo Hakhoe</i> [Korean Christian Society]
HKSMY	<i>Hankuk Kidokkyo Sahuimnje Yeonguso</i> [Korean Christian Institute for Study of Justice and Development]
IHCK	<i>Hankuk Kidokkyo Yeoksa Yeonguso</i> [The Institute of the History of Christian in Korea]
KCPC	<i>Daehan Gidokkyo chulpansa</i> [Korean Christian Publishing Company]
KSY	<i>Hankun Sinhak Yeonguso</i> [Korea Theological Study Institute]
LMS	London Mission Society
PCUSA	The Northern Presbyterian Church in USA
PCA	The Presbyterian Church of Australia
PCK	The Presbyterian Church of Korea
PCM	The Presbyterian Council of Mission in Korea
PCV	The Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Australia
PCVA	The Presbyterian Church of Vanuatu (was New Hebrides)
PWMU	The Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of PCV
SPUSA	The Southern Presbyterian Church in USA
TKP	The Kyeongnam Presbytery (The Presbytery of the South Kyeongsang Province)
TTI	Tangao Training Institute in New Hebrides (Vanuatu)
UCA	The Uniting Church in Australia
YMFU	Young Men's Fellowship Union

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgement.....	iv
Abstract.....	vi
Key Words.....	viii
Abbreviation.....	ix
Table of Contents.....	x

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Research Background.....	1
1.2. Research Problem.....	6
1.3. Research Questions.....	7
1.4. Research Objectives.....	8
1.5. Relevance of the study.....	8
1.6. Research Methodology.....	10
1.7. Definition of terms.....	11
1.7.1. Korea.....	11
1.7.2. The Presbyterian Council of Mission in Korea (PCM).....	12
1.7.3. The Korean Presbyterian Church (PCK).....	12
1.7.4. Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV).....	13
1.7.5. The Kyeongsang Presbytery.....	13
1.8. Limitation of the study.....	14
1.9. Research motivation and the position of the researcher.....	15
1.10. The organisation of the study.....	16

Part One. Minjung Theology, Australian Mission in Korea

Chapter 2. Minjung Theology in South Korea

2.1. Introduction.....	19
------------------------	----

2.2. Formation Background of Minjung Theology.....	20
2.2.1. Political and Economical Background.....	21
2.2.2. Background of Ideology.....	25
2.2.3. Theological Background.....	26
2.3. Contents of Minjung Theology.....	30
2.3.1. Understanding of Minjung.....	30
2.3.2. Jesus and Minjung.....	33
2.3.3. Minjung through גָּרְעָלָם מִעֵן וְאַמְּלָאָה.....	35
2.4. Use of the Bible by Minjung Theology.....	37
2.4.1. The Exodus event.....	37
2.4.2. Jesus' Crucifixion.....	39
2.4.3. Jesus Resurrection.....	40
2.5. The Goal of Minjung Liberation.....	43
2.5.1. Minjung Salvation.....	43
2.5.2. Methods of Minjung Salvation.....	45
2.5.3. Jesus' Minjung Liberation Movement.....	47
2.6. Conclusion.....	51

Chapter 3. Australia Mission Development in Korea

3.1. Introduction.....	54
3.2. The Beginning Protestant Development in Korea.....	55
3.2.1. Protestant efforts.....	55
3.2.2. The Domestic Situation in the late Period of Choseon	58
3.2.3. Outside Situation in the Late Period of Choseon	60
3.3. Australian Missions to Korea.....	63
3.3.1. PCV formation.....	63
3.3.2. Mission Movement of PCV.....	65
3.3.3. The Mission Momentum to Korea.....	68
3.4. Beginning Mission to the Kyeongsang Province.....	71
3.4.1. Background of the Kyeongsang Province.....	71
3.4.2. PCV's Efforts in the South Kyeongsang Province.....	72
3.4.3. PCM Established and the Territory Allocation Policy.....	74

3.5. Mission Advance in the South Kyeongsang Province.....	76
3.5.1. Mission Policies and the Forward Movement.....	76
3.5.2. The Mission Expansion.....	78
3.5.3. Australia's Three Main Works.....	81
3.6. Conclusion.....	83

Chapter 4. James Noble Mackenzie and Mission Background to Korea

4.1. Introduction.....	85
4.2. Divine Called Missionary.....	86
4.2.1. His Childhood.....	86
4.2.2. In His University and Theological College.....	89
4.2.3. Divine Calling for Missionary work.....	90
4.3. J. N. Mackenzie and New Hebrides.....	92
4.3.1. Mission History in New Hebrides.....	92
4.3.2. Protestants Seeded in Nogugu, Santo.....	94
4.3.3. J. N. Mackenzie began work in Nogugu.....	95
4.4. His works in Nogugu.....	96
4.4.1. Local School for people.....	97
4.4.2. Evangelism and Building Churches.....	98
4.4.3. Bible Translation.....	100
4.5. Impact and valuation.....	102
4.5.1. Stopped His Dedication.....	102
4.5.2. Results of His Devotion.....	104
4.5.3. Effect Mission in Korea.....	106
4.6. Conclusion.....	107
• Conclusion Part One.....	109

Part Two. James Noble Mackenzie's Ministry in South Korea

Chapter 5. Itinerate Evangelism for Rural Communities

5.1. Introduction.....	112
------------------------	-----

5.2. For Rural Communities.....	113
5.2.1. Itinerant Evangelism.....	113
5.2.2. Itinerant Momentum.....	116
5.2.3. Variety of Ways.....	118
5.3. Education of People.....	120
5.3.1. Lessons for Beginner.....	121
5.3.2. Through Baptism and Sacrament.....	123
5.3.3. For Spiritual Revival.....	125
5.4. Savage Ulleungdo.....	128
5.4.1. Momentum and Process.....	128
5.4.2. For Evangelization.....	130
5.5. For the church forward.....	134
5.5.1. For United Church.....	134
5.5.2. Expansion.....	136
5.6. Conclusion.....	139

Chapter 6. For Children and Women

6.1. Introduction.....	141
6.2. Australian missionary for Children and Women.....	143
6.2.1. Protestant Missionary Effort.....	143
6.2.2. Amp's Effort for Children.....	145
6.2.3. Amp's Efforts for Women.....	148
6.3. For underprivileged children.....	153
6.3.1. For Young Children.....	153
6.3.2. For the Healthy Children in the Lepers' Home.....	155
6.3.3. Advancement for Children.....	158
6.4. For Women Education.....	161
6.4.1. The Process for Women Education.....	161
6.4.2. Awakening the Women in Education.....	164
6.4.3. Resistance of the Ihsin Women.....	167
6.5. Conclusion.....	169

Chapter 7. To be a Friend of Lepers

7.1. Introduction.....	172
7.2. Mission for Lepers.....	174
7.2.1. Situation for Lepers.....	174
7.2.2. His Mission Policy.....	176
7.2.3. Momentum and Processes.....	178
7.3. A friend of Lepers.....	179
7.3.1. Advance the Lepers' House.....	179
7.3.2. Formation of Leprosy Neighbouring Villages.....	182
7.3.3. A Doctor for Lepers.....	184
7.4. Spiritual Treatment.....	187
7.4.1. His Treatment Theology.....	187
7.4.2. The Lepers' Church.....	189
7.4.3. Salvation Evidence of Lepers.....	192
7.5. Conclusion.....	196

Chapter 8. Ministry through His Family

8.1. Introduction.....	198
8.2. Through His Wife.....	199
8.2.1. Her Ministry (Prior to Marriage).....	199
8.2.2. The Continuing Ministry (after marriage).....	202
8.2.3. Her Retirement and influence.....	206
8.3. Teaching Compassion to Children.....	207
8.3.1. Mackenzie's Children.....	207
8.3.2. Education: Mercy to Children.....	211
8.3.3. Commitment to Disadvantaged People.....	214
8.4. Through His Daughters.....	217
8.4.1. Efforts for Mission to Korea.....	217
8.4.2. For Poor Mothers and Children.....	219
8.4.3. Mackenzie Family's Fruit.....	223
8.5. Conclusion.....	226

Chapter 9. Relationship with the Japanese Imperialists

9.1. Introduction.....	228
9.2. Missionaries and the Japanese Imperialists.....	230
9.2.1. The Japanese Imperialists Invaded Chosen.....	230
9.2.2. The Japanese Imperialists' Missionary Conciliatory Policy.....	234
9.2.3. Japanese Imperialist's the Missionary Policy and Mackenzie Rewarded.....	238
9.3. Japanese imperialists, Christian Education Policy.....	240
9.3.1. Christian Education Policy.....	241
9.3.2. The Missions' Correspondence.....	244
9.3.3. Mackenzie's Response.....	246
9.4. Forced to the Shinto-worship.....	249
9.4.1. Korean Church's Disgrace.....	249
9.4.2. Conflict with APM and Mackenzie.....	253
9.4.3. Mackenzie's Aggressive Advocacy and Disquieting Aspects.....	256
9.5. Conclusion.....	263
• Conclusion Part Two.....	265

Chapter 10. Conclusion and Recommendations

10.1. Research Conclusion.....	268
10.2. Research Contribution.....	277
10.3. Recommendations for further research.....	278

Appendix 1. Biography of James Noble Mackenzie.....	281
Appendix 2. Synopsis of Historical Events.....	284
BIBLIOGRAPHY	297

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Research Background

What is history? History is neither piecemeal, the bigger events, nor the material itself. It is that which the historians today write to interpret past facts based on the values of their own perspectives. It is like looking into a single distinct topography of big and small mountain peaks connecting one another, each with its own value to create history.¹ So history is the current statement of past events by the historian. Therefore, it is right to define history as, "a process of uninterrupted interaction between the facts and historian, and endless dialogue between past and present".²

If so, what is the Church History? It is the research about groups that have taken the Bible and applied it to their lives based on what they understood from it. The Bible is not simply confined to the history of Israel. Jesus, who was a person in history, is not limited to human nature, being in the nature of Deity as the Son of God. He is by nature God, but He took on humanity in order to participate in the world as a human being. Then Jesus worked the Divine will in humans, and the people who have known Him throughout time have attempted to reproduce Christ in their lives. These repetitive historical events have all been linked to one another, rather like the peaks in a chain of mountains. Therefore, seeing the entire connection of these human events leads to debate by historians, as to what embodies the true definition of church history.

¹ Kyeong Bae Min, *The History of Korean Church* (Seoul: The Korean Christian Publish Co., 1989), 19.

² Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History* (UK: Penguin Books Ltd., 2006), 9.

With regards to Korean church history, reliable records show that the inflow of authentic Protestant missions in Korea began about 130 years ago. From then on Korean churches have advanced in various aspects and historians have tried to record Korean church history. These records are firstly written from the perspective of the missionary, and supervisor, K. S. Latourette, a professor of Yale University, stated, "... any future attempts at writing the history of the Korean Church or of studying the Church in Korea will necessarily involve understanding Dr. Paek's book."³ Dr. Paek himself declared that "the church history is essentially the history of missionaries".⁴

Until the 1970's, that view of church history was the central one in recording the history of the Korean church. But it was limited, as most of the data came from the countries the missionaries were sent to. Also it was not considered either a confession or testimony of the church in Korea.

As well as the mission's perspective, there was secondly a viewpoint of the history of the church from a nationalistic perspective. In 1968 Kyeong B. Min wrote an account of church history in Korea from the perspective of nationalism. Koreans appear to have been more receptive to Christianity than any other peoples. To Min, the church history in Korea was seen as "a relationship between the Church and the nation."⁵ He explained this with reference to the invasion of Korea by the Japanese imperialists, when people rushed to the church and preached for the restoration of torn hearts and the dignity of the country, under the guidance

³ Nak Chun Paek, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea: 1832-1910* (Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1929), 11.

⁴ Nak Chun Paek, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea:: 1832-1910* (Reprint, Seoul: Yeonse University Press, 1973), v.

⁵ Kyeong Bae Min, *Hangook Gidokkyo Saheo Undongsa* [The History of Korea Christian Social Movement] (Seoul: The Korean Christian Publishing Co., 1987), 27.

of the Christian protestant missionaries. Therefore, the history of the church in Korea can be viewed from a national perspective as the Church took an active lead in the nation against exploitation and oppression by the Japanese imperialists. The Church led society in protests and the Church stood bravely in opposition to the imperialists. K. B. Min was convinced that the Korean church was "a church which consisted of all Gyeorye (citizens)"⁶ and due to this thought, he concluded that the history of the Korean church was written from the point of view of nationalism. At that time it was a recognized fact that church leaders soon became national leaders.

Thirdly is the viewpoint by the younger historians of the native peoples. It is an understood concept that the people of the country in which missionaries ministered were culturally accepted rather than rejected by Christianity. So, missions have had a deep interest in the native religions and cultures in mission fields.⁷ This perspective also involves consideration of how to set the boundaries between the indigenous religions and culture and Christianity. The church discovered a new perspective of the indigenous culture and in more recent times the church and culture have accommodated each other.

Fourthly, is the view of the Minjung; a view which began after the 1970's. The subject of Korean Christian History is not of an elite or intellectual class, but of the ordinary people who became devoted Christians. The church consists of people who believe in the Lord, coming together and being dedicated to mission in accordance with the mission which Jesus left. The Korean church is not a church based on a system or an elite leader, but on the people and especially the common people, the underprivileged class, the women, and the disabled, who are devoted in their faith and who have led the mission.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁷ Deog Joo Lee, *Hankook tochak Gyohoe hyeongseongsa yeongu* [The Study of Korean Native Church Formation] (Seoul: IHCK, 2000), 21-25.

This research will focus on the historical view point of Minjung. The point of view of Minjung came from the Minjung theology. This was a contextual theology which developed in Korea in the 1970s. In the period during the 1960s-1970s, Korea had a number of issues under the military government - its population concentration into big cities, military confrontation between the South and North Korea, and finally, the United States' colonisation and industrialisation policy that was led by a military regime. Society workers were forced to treat farmers severely, with human rights violations against the urban poor. Instead of bringing a resolve to these social issues through theological alternatives, the Korean church defended the military government, like a servant of the powerful.

This dilemma worsened when a young man of 21 years committed suicide with a note of the Labour Standards Act stuck on his chest. Thus, masses of students and intellectuals became involved in the labour movement, as well as theologians, who were responsible for developing a theology out of these contextual factors. The death of the young man provided a basis and impetus for this.

To whom can the term ‘Minjung’ be applied? Tong H. Moon, wrote,

"The term ‘Minjung’ came to be used first during the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) when the common people were oppressed by the Yangban class, the ruling class of the time ... At that time anyone who was excluded from the Yangban class was a Minjung. During the Japanese occupation (1910-1945) most Koreans were reduced to Minjung status, except for a small group who collaborated with the Japanese imperialists. Today the term

Minjung may be used for all those who are excluded from the elite, who enjoy prestigious positions in the present dictatorial system."⁸

The term 'Minjung' in Minjung theology refers neither to citizen, people nor crowd. The Minjung are the underprivileged in the political, economic, social, cultural and religious areas.⁹ The Minjung¹⁰ are the members of society who are oppressed by unrighteous policies, exploited by the capitalists economically, are socially impotent, unable to be educated, neglected by the religious section of society or isolated from the state and society in some way. The history of these Minjung is one of self-sacrifice in order that justice could be realized in the face of the forces of injustice. They were those who reformed the family, the society and the nation or provided the impetus for reform.

Minjung theology has made an important contribution to the Korean church and society through its emphasis on liberation and justice, and by drawing attention to the poor and the oppressed people.¹¹ Some critics suggest that "The basic hermeneutical task of Minjung theology is not to interpret the Bible (the text), but to interpret the suffering experience of the

⁸ Tong Hwan Moon, "Korean Minjung Theology, January 1982". *Minjung Theology: A Korean Contextual Theology*, edited by A Sung Park. http://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/ijt/33-4_001.pdf. Assessed May 21, 2016.

⁹ Gi Deuk Song, "Ahn Byung Moo ui Minjung Kooweonron [Ahn Byung Moo's Minjung Steriology]," *Yuksawa Hyunjon* [History and Present Being]. edited by Editorial Committee for the Memorial Edition for Dr. Ahn Byung Moo's 60th Birthday, (Seoul: CLS, 1982), 44.

¹⁰ "The word 'minjung' is a Korean combination of two Chinese characters, 'min' and 'jung.' Min literally means 'the people,' and 'jung' means 'the mass.' Combining these two words, 'minjung' means 'the mass of people' or simply 'the people'." Minjung, Eun Soo Kim, *Theology in Korea*, accessed October 12, 2016, <https://nirc.nanzan-u.ac.jp/nfile/4182>. However, in Minjung theology it has a strong connotation of common people as Minjung are those people who have suffered from exploitation, poverty, socio-political oppression, and cultural repression throughout the ages. More, see chapter 2 in this thesis.

¹¹ Peniel Rajkumar, *Asian Theology on the Way: Christianity, Culture and Context*, accessed May 29, 2016. <https://www.amazon.com/Asian-Theology-Way-Christianity-International/dp/1451499663>.

Korean Minjung (the context)¹². However, the destiny of Minjung theology is not to be a theology of church dogmatism, but a theology for the oppressed Minjung, of the oppressed Minjung, and by the oppressed Minjung.

So, this research will concentrate on Mackenzie's mission work with suffering people who were alienated from society in political, economic, social, and religious areas and will show something of the results and out-workings of the ministry in the history of that time. Thus, James Noble Mackenzie's ministry in Korea will be investigated from the viewpoint of Minjung,

1.2. Research Problem

James Noble Mackenzie was born in Scotland, moved to Australia and then volunteered as a missionary of New Hebrides in the South Pacific with the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV). In the New Hebrides his first wife Maggie died from Blackwater Fever and Mackenzie also received a medical recommendation not to work in the area. He volunteered for mission in Korea and arrived there in 1910 and served there for 28 years, leaving in 1938.

At that time, the Japanese imperialists colonized Choseon¹³ (1910-1945). They invaded for the purpose of taking war materials, soldiers, labourers and sex slaves. The Japanese imperialists also invaded Korea to create a logistical base for the invasion of the continent.

¹² A Sung Park, *Minjung Theology: A Korean Contextual Theology*, accessed June 21, 2016. http://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/ijt/33-4_001.pdf.

¹³ Choseon (朝鮮, Choseon Dynasty 1392-1897), was a colonized peninsular, which was commonly known as a Choseon country (Choseon-guk). In 1897, the King of Gojeong changed the nation's name to Dae-han-Jae-guk. The Japanese imperialists colonized Choseon from 1910 to 1945. After gaining independence from the Japanese, the Choseon nation changed its name to Dae-han-min-guk (Hanguk; Korea).

They expelled missionaries for the duration of the Pacific War (1941-1945). Then they were defeated and withdrew from Korea.

Mackenzie's time of ministry was during the period of Japanese imperialist colonisation (1910-1945). His ministry to Korea was somewhat compromised by his working with the invaders. The exploitation of the Minjung, who were subject to the military government in the 1970s following the era of Japanese imperialism, will be highlighted. Also the marginalized people of the Mackenzie era will be compared to the people in Minjung theology.

To achieve this, questions such as the following will be considered:

Was the work of James Noble Mackenzie in Korea a ministry to the marginalized?

How did James Noble Mackenzie's mission in Korea affect the society?

1.3. Research Questions

This study will research and review five research questions.

- Question 1: Who are the oppressed and suffering people in Minjung theology and what was the root cause of their pain – the Imperialist policies of Japan, or the Economic policies of the Korean government?
- Question 2: Who were the people suffering in the Mackenzie's era and the era of Japanese imperialist colonisation and what was the nature of their suffering?
- Question 3: What was Mackenzie's work with the marginalized people?
- Question 4: What were the impacts and results of it?

- Question 5: What was the relationship between J. N. Mackenzie and the Japanese imperialists?

1.4. Research Objectives

The aims and objects of the research are as follows:

1. To identify the role of missionary expeditions in the spread of theological awareness across Korea.
2. To identify the social, theological and cultural backgrounds of the emergence of Minjung Theology, with particular attention to the socio-economic status of the underprivileged and their historic role.
3. To identify the effects of the efforts, acts and works of James Nobel Mackenzie in Korea.
4. To understand why James Noble Mackenzie fell out of favour with the Japanese imperialist government and also how his relationship with the Japanese government influenced Minjung.
5. To explain how the foundation for the Minjung perspective was laid down by actions of missionaries like James Noble Mackenzie in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

1.5. Relevance of the study

Unfortunately, the academic study of the Australian Presbyterian Mission to Korea has been insufficient compared to that of the United States of America (U.S.A). This is because the

American missionaries arrived ahead of the Australian missionaries,¹⁴ and the number of missionaries was greater, resources were overwhelmingly greater¹⁵ and so their missions in Korea were more extensive.¹⁶ In addition to this, the Korean church historians mainly studied, and collected most of their data, in the U.S.A. Therefore, the study of the history of Australian missions in Korea was only rated as second best and there was not much interest in pushing for further research.

Until now, the studies on the work of J. N. Mackenzie include firstly that of Mr. E. MacKerchar who was a secretary of the Mission to Lepers in London and requested an article from Mackenzie on his experiences in order to use it as a fund-raiser. MacKerchar became the editor of Mackenzie's autobiography, 'Rev. James Noble Mackenzie Missionary to the New Hebrides and Korea'.¹⁷ Next was the work of Mackenzie's daughter, Helen Mackenzie. She completed ministry in Korea¹⁸ and then wrote the 'Man of Mission, A Biography of James Noble Mackenzie'.¹⁹ Thirdly is the writer's thesis for his Master of Theology in Co-teaching Program at the Charles Sturt University in Australia and the Hannam University in Korea, 'A

¹⁴ The first American missionary Dr. H. Allen arrived in 1884, PCUSA and North Methodist Church of USA were in 1885, PCV was in 1889, Russia Orthodox Church was in 1898, the Church of England was in 1890, the South Methodist Church of USA was in 1896, the South Presbyterian church of USA was in 1892, the Canada Presbyterian Church was in 1898 and the Salvation Army was in 1908...etc.

¹⁵ In this period 1529 missionaries worked in Korea. Among them 1059 Americans, (69.9%), 199 English people (13%), 98 Canadians (6.4%) and 88 (actually 78) Australians (5.7%).

¹⁶ Regarding this, see the Territory Allocation Policy in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

¹⁷ J. N. Mackenzie, *Rev. James Noble Mackenzie: An Autobiography*, eds, by MacKerchar, E. (London: The Mission to Lepers, undated (but 1949).

¹⁸ Helen and her sister, Catherine, worked in the medical ministry in Korea, from 1951 to 1937. Regarding this, see Chapter 8 in this thesis.

¹⁹ Helen Mackenzie, *Man of Mission, A Biography of James Noble Mackenzie* (Melbourne: Hyland House, 1995).

Study of James Noble Mackenzie Mission in the New Hebrides'.²⁰ E. MacKerchar's book has been helpful in identifying Mackenzie's mood at his time of work. But it has insufficient academic research because it was objectively focused only to promote the Leprosy Mission. Mackenzie's daughter's book revealed valuable details in the introduction regarding Mackenzie's work routine and also precious materials such as diaries and letters to his family.

S.P. Son discovered J. N. Mackenzie's contribution during his missionary work in Vanuatu, a South Pacific nation that was once called New Hebrides. After examining the papers, Dr. Y. H. Cho suggested research into this particular history. However, the writer decided to focus on doctoral studies without delay

1.6. Research Methodology

The methodology used for this research is literature study with an emphasis on primary resources. It utilises the inductive method, through data and minutes, reports, and mission magazines, as well as Mackenzie family's diary, letters, interviews, research papers, and books. However, consideration of the purpose of the study led to it also being worked deductively. In fact, in historical research is hard to distinguish between inductive and deductive methods.²¹ So this study focuses on finding and proving the historical facts of Mackenzie's ministry. Part of the intent of the research is to understand Mackenzie's ministry in order to increase understanding of all Australian missionaries in Korea at that time – rather like seeing a tree first before seeing the forest.

²⁰ Sang Pil Son, "A Study of James noble Mackenzie Mission in New Hebrides" (MTh thesis, Hannam University, 2013).

²¹ John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2004), 164.

The study relies on letters, reports, diaries, minutes, relevant books and other sources of data from Australia. Thankfully, Helen Mackenzie had collected the data from her family, to write a biography of her father before he passed away. Helen passed on the data to Dr. John Brown before she passed away. The data has now been made available for this thesis, in order to allow this research regarding Mackenzie's ministry in Korea to be done. For the impact on Korean colonialism by the Japanese imperialists, Korean books, studies and online resources will be used. This is because this area has been extensively researched in Korea, but not in Australia. Unfortunately, the materials used by Australian missionaries in Korea have been lost during the Pacific War (1942-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953), so it is difficult to find a balance between the sources from the two countries. In particular, there is minimal data from marginalised people, so clear understanding of these people is limited by lack of data. This is probably an area that needs further exploration in the future.

1.7. Definition of terms

In order to understand the key terms of the research topic and the research, the following definitions are provided.

1.7.1. Korea

The name of Korea has changed as Gojoseon (B.C 2333), Three Kingdoms of Korea (B.C 108), Unified Silla (A.D 676), Koryeo (936), Choseon (1392), The Korean Empire (1897), Korea under Japanese rule (1910-1945), Republic of Korea (1919) and North Korea and South Korea (after 1945). When Australian missionaries were active in Korea, the names of

the country were Choseon, Korea Empire, Korea under Japanese rule, Republic of Korea, North Korea and South Korea, but in this thesis only ‘Choseon’ and ‘Korea’ are used.

1.7.2. The Presbyterian Council of Mission in Korea (PCM)

The Mission Council was established in 1889 under the United Council of Presbyterian Missions by missionaries of PCV with PCUSA. That council was then reorganized in 1893 to become the United Council of Presbyterian Missions with missionaries of PCV, PCUSA and SPUSA. In 1905 a General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea was formed as UCPM joined with the Canada Presbyterian Mission, four Presbyterian Missions and two Methodist missions (North Methodist and the South Methodist). However, the Methodist missions withdrew after opposition from their home country. This was on a doctrinal basis. The Methodists established a separate seminary. Then, in 1924, the General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions was reorganized to become the Korea National Christian Council. In this thesis the term ‘Presbyterian Council of Mission in Korea (PCM)’ is used.

1.7.3. The Korean Presbyterian Church (PCK)

In 1901 Korean Elders were involved in the reorganisation of The United Council of Presbyterian Missions (1893). In 1907 the Korean Presbyterian Church became the Choseon Presbytery of the Choseon Presbyterian Church (as one Presbytery) and then the General Presbytery of Korean Presbyterian Church was formed (7 presbyteries) in September 1912. Following a statement by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea in 1938

there was a split into several denominations. In this thesis the term, the Korean Church (PCK) is used.

1.7.4. Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV)

The Presbyterian Church in Australia was founded in Victoria in 1837, in South Australia in 1839, in Queensland in 1847 and in Western Australia in 1868 following the arrival of the First Fleet which had carried prisoners from England to Australia in 1788. However, in Scotland, the home country of the Presbyterian Church, the Evangelical Movement grew and there were many church divisions against national church interference. Even in Australia many Presbyterian forms were established by the influence of the Scottish churches. Thereafter, the Presbyterian Church branches were successfully united in the six states of Australia. The most powerful Presbyterian Church was in Victoria (1859) known as the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV). They gave rise to the General Assembly Presbyterian Church of Australia on June 24, 1901, after the Federal Government of Australia was formed. In 1977 the Presbyterian Church of Australia went into union with Methodists and Congregationalists to form The Uniting Church in Australia. In this thesis the term used will be the ‘Presbyterian Church of Victoria’ (PCV).

1.7.5. The Kyeongsang Presbytery

The Presbytery in Busan city, Kyeongsang (the South and North Kyeongsang province), where J. N. Mackenzie worked, came from the first Presbytery Church in Korea (1907) and was organized into the Kyeongsang Presbytery in 1911, but then separated into the Kyeongnam (The South Kyeongsang province) Presbytery in 1916. Further separation into

Kyeongnam Presbytery (which was Busan-centered), the Masan Presbytery, and the Jinju Presbytery occurred in 1956 and the name of the Kyeongnam Presbytery was changed to the Busan Presbytery in 1963. Then in 1980 it divided into the three presbyteries of the Musan Presbytery, the Busandong Presbytery and the Ulsan Presbytery. In 1996 the Busandong Presbytery divided into the Busandong Presbytery and the Busannam Presbytery. In this thesis the term ‘the Kyeongsang Presbytery’, will be used.

1.8. Limitation of the Study

This study is highly dependent on original data and primary sources. The data analysed, which was part of the vast work which Helen had entrusted to Dr. John Brown, was the original source of inspiration for the research. However, there is a limit to more extensive research as other necessary data are still in the possession of Mackenzie's descendants and are not accessible.

As mentioned above, PCV became part of the Uniting Church of Australia Presbyterian Church, and original PCV data were scattered in several places and it was difficult to find original data. This suggests that it is necessary to continue to search the data in the future.

The period of this study for the purpose of understanding Minjung is limited to understanding the situation of the 1970s and 1980s. Military rule refers to the period from May 16, 1951 to the end of 1992. However, in studying Mackenzie's ministry this thesis will cover the period of J. N. Mackenzie's work from 1910 to 1938, in addition to ministry of the first Australian missionary whose arrived in Korea in 1889, and up to the exit of all Australian missionaries in 1941. The ministry work in Korea of Mackenzie's two daughters was from 1952 to 1978 when they returned to Australia.

In addition to these, when Mackenzie was on mission, there were many other missions in Korea, both large and small. They were PCUSA and the Northern Methodist Church of U.S.A arrived (1885), PCV (1889), Russian Orthodox Church (1898), British Anglican Church (1890), the Southern Methodist Church of U.S.A (1896), SPUSA (1892), the Presbyterian Church in Canada (1898 officially; 1888 one missionary-James S. Gale)and the Salvation Army Church (1908)...etc. However, this study is limited to the study of the Presbyterian Mission.

The studies of early Australian mission in Korea will be a focus of this work. The motivation for this research was a wish to investigate early Australian missions in Korea and how they affected the Minjung and also for the purpose of awakening today's church to the Divine call for missions to again focus on marginalized people.

1.9. Research motivation and the position of the researcher

The researcher has the degrees of Bachelor of Business Administration and Theology (B.Th. M.Div.) and has served as assistance pastor for seven years in Korea before being sent as a missionary to New Zealand by PCK in 1992. He worked as a minister in the Korean church in Auckland until December 2010. During that time, he learned of the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), an island of the South Pacific, and visited it about 8 times a year for 6 years.

At that time, the researcher learned that J. N. Mackenzie was dedicated to missionary work for the natives who were living like primitive people. He had served for 17 years there, and then worked for 28 years in Korea and he was outstanding at the time of mission there. Nevertheless, he was not well known in Australia, New Zealand or Korea because there was

no research regarding his ministry. I believe that studying Mackenzie and his ministry has been part of the mission given to me. It has been a responsibility which I needed to fulfil.

In the meantime, the researcher became a missionary of the Korean Presbyterian Church Abroad (KPCA) to New Hebrides from 2010-2013. During this period, co-teaching programs between Charles Sturt University in Australia and Hannam University in Korea gave the opportunity to study Korean theology in Australia. I have studied, and then published in my Master's thesis, Mackenzie's ministry in New Hebrides, a topic which has been rarely introduced. This study was highly appreciated by both Australian and Korean theologians, perhaps as it is deeply related to both of the countries. Since then, in the middle of 2013, the researcher has been a Senior Pastor at the New Gate Church in Sydney, Australia and teaching at the Emmaus Bible College on the Sydney campus. I have been studying Mackenzie's ministry in Korea from the perspective of Minjung for a Ph.D. degree course at the University of Pretoria.

This study is now of considerable interest to history theologians and missiology theologians in Australia and Korea. Also the researcher is currently consulting with the Kyonggi University in Korea regarding a photo exhibition of Helen as a hobby artist.²² I hope that this research will contribute to an area which has lacked information, and to the development of theology and missiology in Australia and Korea.

1.10. The organisation of the study

The thesis will be presented in the following manner:

²² Kyonggi University, "Hoju maessi gajokui Hankook sopung yyagi [A Story of Australian Mackenzie Family's Outing to Korea]" Naver, accessed September 5, 2016, <http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=thdudmc&logNo=220808588904&redirect=Dlog&widgetTypeCall=true>.

- Introduction - Chapter 1.
- Part One - Chapters 2,3,4.
- Part Two - Chapters 5,6,7,8,9.
- Conclusion - Chapter 10.

The first part will comprise research of Minjung Theology; Australian missions in Korea and J. N. Mackenzie's background, and in the second part, J. N. Mackenzie's ministry in Korea will be explored.

Chapter 1 is made up of the research background, research problem, research questions, research objects, relevance of the study, research methodology, definition of terms, limitation of the study, research motivation and the organization of study.

In the Part One, Chapter 2, Minjung theology will be explored, including its economic, political, ideological background and contents.

Then, in Chapter 3, the Australian mission developments in Korea will be explored.

In Chapter 4 the background for J. N. Mackenzie's mission in Korea will be researched. His background will be explored, including his childhood, education and debut missionary experience in New Hebrides before Korea and the impact of these on his mission in Korea will be highlighted.

Part Two will be divided into 5 sections about J. N. Mackenzie's ministry in Korea.

Firstly, Chapter 5 will track J. N. Mackenzie's itinerant evangelism for rural farmers who were suffering under Japanese imperialists' exploitation, especially in the secluded Ulleung-do (Ulleung island).

Chapter 6 will explore his ministry for children and women in the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).

Chapter 7 will study his ministry for lepers who were regarded as cursed from gods and so were forsaken by society.

Chapter 8 will explore his ministry, continued through his second wife and two daughters, for underprivileged children and women during the Korean War (1950-1953).

Chapter 9 will research the relationship between J. N. Mackenzie and Japanese imperialists (who caused the greatest suffering to Korean people) in order to understand whether he was truly pro-Japanese despite the Japanese imperialist's treatment of the Korean people. The Japanese imperialists' missionary policy will be looked at with their mission school policy of forced Shinto-worship, and Mackenzie's views and attitude towards the policies.

Chapter 10 will form the conclusion in which there will be evaluation and assessment of J. N. Mackenzie's ministry in missiological understanding through the perspective of Minjung. Also it will note the academic contribution and challenges to be studied in the future.

There will be attached Appendix 1: Biography of James Noble Mackenzie and Appendix 2: Synopsis of Historical Events until 1941.

The studies of early Australian mission in Korea will be a focus of this work. The motivation for this research was a wish to investigate early Australian missions in Korea, as a commitment to the Minjung and for the purpose of awakening today's church to the Divine call for missions towards marginalised people again.

Part One. Minjung Theology, Australian Mission in Korea

Chapter 2. Minjung Theology in South Korea

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the Korean contextual theology known as Minjung Theology will be studied.

The context from which it arose in the 1970's was the post-World War II upheaval of vast changes in the society. The Military Government which assumed power pursued economic development at the cost of great economic hardship for the vast minority of people. Political, social and economic revolutions rose as a response to this. The Korean Church clearly centred on the fundamentals which the nineteenth century missionaries had put in place, but the great upheavals in the society required a response from the Church.

It has been more than 80 years since the term Missio Dei appeared.²³ The acceptance or rejection of the concept of Missio Dei has proved to be the divider between the Ecumenical Mission Theology and the Evangelical Mission Theology. Evangelical mission theology emphasises individual Justification-centred relationship with God. In recent years, the concept has changed to include that of loving service to God's world and people.²⁴ On the other hand, ecumenical mission theology understands mission as 'Shalom' and 'humanization'. Mission is not just about saving the soul of an individual and building a church. Inequality and discrimination are the real barriers to reconciliation between humans and groups.

²³ Gerald Schwartz claims that the first person to manufacture the term Missio Dei was Karl Hartenstein and that it was 1934. Gerold Schwarz, "Karl Hartenstein 1894-1952, Missions with a Focus on 'the End,'" in Gerald Anderson, eds, *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994), 591-3.

²⁴ The Cape Town Commitment of the Lausanne Movement in October 2010. See "A Confession of Faith and a Call to Action", accessed Jan. 31, 2017, <https://www.lausanne.org/content/summary-of-the-cape-town-commitment>.

Mission theology says that shalom is salvation and bringing shalom is mission²⁵ and that it must be understood that to make people fully human beings they need to live like human beings.

In the 1970s, Korea had quite complicated political and economic situations. Since independence from the colonial rule of the Japanese imperialists, the Korean military government has made economic development a top priority. These policies forced employers to ignore human rights. How did the Korean church move out of the traditional theological category under these circumstances and how did the Korean church apply their beliefs in the Korean context?

To answer these, the political, economic, ideological and theological backgrounds of the formation of Minjung theology will be studied in this chapter. The underlying thinking behind the development of Minjung Theology will be researched and its Biblical base explained. The meaning of salvation in Minjung Theology will be expounded.

The following research questions will be investigated in this chapter.

- Who are the oppressed and suffering people in the Minjung theology?
- What is the root cause of the marginalized people's pain of the Minjung theology? Is it Japan's and the United States' policies of imperialism or the Korean government's economic development policy?

2.2. Formation Background of Minjung Theology

²⁵ Johannes C. Hoekendijk, "Notes on the Meaning of Mission," in *Planning for Mission*, ed. Thomas Wiesse (Geneva: WCC, 1966), 43-4.

2.2.1. Political and Economic Background

On May 16, 1963 a military revolution was led by Park Chung Hee²⁶ who established a military government in South Korea. The regime he and his colleagues set up was aimed at giving him long-term power. From this the Yushin²⁷ system manifested in the 1970s and the Yushin Constitution was adopted on October 27, 1972. This was put in place under extraordinary martial law declared by the military government. This law completely ignored the basic principles of democracy as a separation of the three powers of the administrative, legislative and judicial systems, and also their checks and balances.²⁸

There was a major reaction by the opposition party and the people against the military government. In response the military government began to suppress opponents. The first of these was the case of the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung²⁹ in August 1973, which was an attempt to eliminate the opposition leader as he was against the Yushin system. This incident became a direct opportunity for nationwide protests against the military government. The university students' demonstration, which began in October, extended nationwide. Then, in December of the same year, the students demanded a constitutional amendment. On December 24th, they began a campaign to collect signatures from one million people supporting the demand for constitutional amendment. Those who signed were from many

²⁶ Park Chung Hee (Nov. 14, 1924 - Oct. 26, 1979) was a president and military general who led South Korea from 1961 until his assassination in 1979. Park seized power through the May 16 coup, a military coup d'état that overthrew the Second Republic of South Korea in 1961 and was assassinated on 26 October 1979 by Kim Jae Gyu.

²⁷ The term *Yushin* in Korean means 'renewal', or it may be translated as 'restoration'.

²⁸ Park Chung Hee was elected for six years, with no limits on re-election. He had the right of the commander-in-chief of the nation's forces, to dissolve the National Assembly and the right to appoint one-third of the National Assembly, effectively guaranteeing a parliamentary majority.

²⁹ Kim Dae Jung (Jan. 6, 1924 - Aug. 18, 2009) became the 15th President of the Republic of Korea (1998-2003). During that period, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000 for his contribution to the improvement of human rights and the progress of inter-Korean relations. This was the first time Korea had received a Nobel Prize award.

walks of life, including intellectuals, those with religious affiliation and people of differing cultures.³⁰

On 7 January 1974, sixty-one writers made a proclamation supporting a constitutional amendment. On the following day, the military government proclaimed the laws of the Gingeup Jochi (Emergency Measure) No. 1³¹ and No. 2 which forbade the campaign for amendment of the constitution to continue.³² Moreover, on the night of April 3rd, the government proclaimed the Gingeup Jochi No. 4. This law ruled that a person could be imprisoned for up to 5 years or given the death penalty, without justifiable reason, for being an absentee student, refusing an examination, or engaging in group action.³³ Then over 2000 people, mostly students, were arrested in accordance with it. The military court sentenced 203 people to five years' imprisonment each.³⁴ Increasingly, imprisonment was preceded by torture and a manipulated investigation to favour the Autogenously Communists.

This situation instigated the proclamation of the "Gukminseoneon", the so-called Citizen Proclamation³⁵ by Roman Catholics, reformists, Buddhists, journalists, academics, writers and lawyers on 27th November 1974. They organized the Association of the National Council for the Recovery of Democracy Movement known as "Minjuhoaeboeggukminhoieui" (Recovery of the Democratic Congress).³⁶

³⁰ HKH, eds, *1970s nodong hyeonjanggwa jeungeon* [Labour Scene and Testimony in 1970s] (Seoul: published 1994), 217.

³¹ This important content prohibited claiming, revision, repeal, initiative and petition of any act of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

³² HKH, *op.cit.*, 218.

³³ Seung Eon Han et al., *Usinche wa minjuhwaudong* [Democratic Movement in Yushin System] (Seoul: Chuncusa, 1984), 9.

³⁴ HKS MY, eds, *1970nyeondae minjuhwaudong gidokkyu* [The Democratic Movement and Christians in 1970s] (Seoul: HKS MY, 1983), 218.

³⁵ The main content was that democracy means that people will be able to demand requirements, denounce the government for misadministration, demand correction and resign from the government. It was a vital development towards democracy.

³⁶ HKS MY, *op.cit.*, 149.

In 1970s, the Korean Christians' Movement became the resistance against oppressive structures by an economically crippled Yushin System and "Gingeup Jochi". On May 1973, the statement entitled "Theological Declaration of Korean Christians, 1973"³⁷ was proclaimed in the Namsan, the South Mountain in Seoul, after the Easter combined church services. It was a challenge to the world's churches that it was God's command to support the Korean church against the Yushin system in the current situation.³⁸

Christians understood the need for a theology arising from what they had experienced during the struggle against the Yushin system in 1973 and 1974. Accordingly, the Theological Declaration of Korean Christians was proclaimed by 66 persons on November 18, 1974. First, they explained the statement's background and expressed a theological perspective on the issues between government and religion, and churches and mission. During a meeting for welcoming those being released from prison on March 1, 1973, two professors involved in the Min Young incident, one of whom was Ahn Byung Moo, lectured about democracy under the title "Nation, People, Church". The meeting established a significant milestone in the struggle for democracy in the 1970s. Traditionally historians have spoken only in nationalistic terms, ignoring the Minjung, but actually the Minjung have been the main force in Korean history.³⁹ This was the first theological reaction to the concept of Minjung and the basic principles and foundations of a Biblical perspective.⁴⁰

³⁷ Its contents states that the governors had been oppressing the freedom of conscience and freedom of religion, and the workers and peasants were being exploited within so-called economic development. Sang Geun Kim, "1970nyeondaeui Gidokkyo undong [Korean Christians Movement in 1970s I]," *Gidokkyo sasang* [Christian Thoughts] (1984), 35.

³⁸ *Loc.cit.*

³⁹ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Minjog Mnjung Gyuhoe* [National Minjung Church] (Seoul: KSY, 2004), 46.

⁴⁰ San Geun Kim, *op. cit.*, 92-95.

In the 1970s, the economic policy added just two commodities to the trade of the 1960s.⁴¹

The government directed economic growth by export-led policies regarding the heavy chemical industries of major companies. This involved industry restructuring and a ‘shock treatment’ approach. As a result, though there were overall advances in some ways, there were still negative results. Significantly, it increased the economic capabilities of the country. On the other hand, profit sharing and national welfare were not improved. In this sense, the state used monopoly capitalism.⁴²

This economic structure changed as Minjung awareness grew, from farmers to factory workers. From the end of 1960s, the agricultural price-freeze policy brought an increase in farmer debt and an exodus of young adults from agricultural areas. New villages around the city developed and provided the labour force for industry.⁴³ According to a report of I.L.O.⁴⁴ in 1983, an Americans’ average working time was 35.6 hours while Swedes worked for 35.7 hours, compared to Koreans who worked for 54 hours per week. This showed that Koreans were overworked. They actually had the greatest duration of working hours in the world.⁴⁵

In the case of wages in 1983, according to the research of ‘Nochong,’⁴⁶ women received

⁴¹ The military government’s economic policy (1960s) considered 1) Increased income was necessary because absolute growth was the national expectation. 2) Economic growth should be guide to the government policy. 3) South Korea with its high population density and small domestic market should achieve growth through increased exports. HKH, *op.cit.*, 10.

⁴² Yun Hyeong Jeong, "Systemic Nature of Korea's Economic Development Plan," *Hankook sahoebyeondong yeongu I*[Research on Social Change in Korea I] (Seoul: Minjungsa, 1984), 101.

⁴³ Yonsei University College of Social Sciences Research, eds, "Hankookeseoui Kookgawa Sahoe [The State and Society in Korea]," *Yeolringeul* [Opened Letters] 36th (Seoul: hanol Publishing Co., 1986), 111.

⁴⁴ The International Labor Organization (I.L.O) is an agency under the United Nations, dealing with labour issues, particularly international labor standards, social protection, and work opportunities.

⁴⁵ Dong-a Ilbo, "Gyeongjedansin" [Economic brief], *The Dong-A Ilbo* [East Asia Daily] (March 12, 1983), 5.

⁴⁶ The Korean Federation of Workers' Associations.

wages of around 6-70,000 won, or about 60-70 Australian dollars, which was 21 percent of total national wages. Moreover, only 1.1% of women received more than 200,000 won. Five percent of Koreans received less than 40,000 won. Information such as this reveals just how serious was the exploitation of the workers at the time.

2.2.2. Background of Ideology

A strong ideological influence on Minjung theology was the concept of "ssi-ol" by Ham Seok Heon. The first-generation Minjung theologians, Su Nam-Dong (1918-84) and Ah Byung-Moo (1922-96), considered Seok Heon as a mentor as well as a great influence on their spirit. According to Ham Seok Heon, the word "ssiol" is derived from "ssi" which means "seed" and "o" which is a display revelation of the activities of life".⁴⁷ Therefore, "ssiol" means "one", namely "whole". The idea of "ssiol" by Ham Seok-Heon provided the philosophical foundation of Minjung theology. The "ssiol" concept and the spirit of resistance are almost the same as Minjung theology. However, "ssiol" is in the area of inclusive and fundamental concepts, whereas Minjung theology is a concept of the underprivileged people in social, political and economic areas. Ahn Byung Moo defined Minjung as a social, political and economical concept, and "ssiol" as the ontological concept of Minjung.⁴⁸

Dominant national literature has transformed into folk literature since the mid-1970s, after liberation. The national culture movement aroused people's consciousness of the intellectuals. In the field of folk literature an extraordinary man named Kim Chi-Ha was not only the representative for folk literature, but was also a Minjung theologian. He said that Minjung is alive and an activity of life so it can be understood only relatively. On the other hand, an

⁴⁷ Seok Heon Ham, "Cover Letter," *Ssiolui sori wolgan* [Ssiol's sound monthly] (Aug. 1971), ii.

⁴⁸ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Minjung sageon sugui Christ* [Christ in Minjung events] (Seoul: KSY, 1990), 122.

historic perspective is that life and the acquirer of the life is the people and therefore people were masters of history.⁴⁹

In Korea, the resistance of the 1960s led to the rise of social justice in the early 1970s. It was the time when people such as labourers, farmers, and other needy and marginalized people united to fight for freedom. Universities quickly changed the direction of struggle for social justice. At that time there was a masked dance, the Talchum, which was much used in universities. Talchum portrayed a mask typical of the oppressed people and the dance was a medium through which the Minjung mocked the ruling class. The dance symbolised the struggle for liberty for all and was significant in terms of expressing solidarity among the people. The Talchum was a cultural expression of the struggle against the injustice, fraud, accusations, oppression and distress experienced by many.

2.2.3. Theological Background

Minjung theology was largely influenced by three theologies. These were Modern theology, the Liberation theology of South America, and modern Missiology.

The first was the influence the paradigm shift brought by modern theology. Dr Chul Cheon stated that "people's theology is beyond the scope of the conditions defined by the traditional theological concepts."⁵⁰ For example, Ahn Byeong Moo had graduated from the Department of Sociology at Seoul National University and had then studied Theological Mathematics at the University of Heidelberg, Germany from 1955 - 1965. At that time, he had a major influence on the ideological background of Minjung theology and thus it can be seen that

⁴⁹ Ji Ha Kim, *Pob-Kim Ji Ha yyagi moeum* [Pab-Kim Ji Ha's story collection] (Seoul: Bundo publish Co., 1984), 184.

⁵⁰ Cheol Jeon, "Minjung theology, Sanghwangsinhakeuro gyujeonghalsu eobseo [Minjung theology, cannot define it as contextual theology]," assessed October 24, 2016, http://freeview.org/bbs/board.php?bo_table=d001&wr_id=114.

Minjung theology is derived from the context of world theology, centring on Western theology.

Since the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council,⁵¹ modern theology has been more actively developed than traditional *theologia scholastica*. Traditional scholastic theology is characterized by the transcendence of God⁵² and commentary on the absolute truths of faith. But modern theology's growing significance in the 1960's -70's brought change with a focus on so-called human-centred Philosophy. Its main concern has become the issues of human rights, the loss of human meaning and the dehumanising alienation phenomenon created by industrialised, technological societies.⁵³ It can be said that since the 1960s, the main concern of theology has been shifted from heaven to earth.⁵⁴

This trend has been actively introduced to Korean theological studies since the early 1970s, including 'Secularised Theology,'⁵⁵ Historical Theology⁵⁶, Theology of Hope,⁵⁷ Existential

⁵¹ The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) was ecumenical, the most recent meeting in modern Christian history.

⁵² Alfred North Whitehead, *Adventure of Ideas*, trans, Yeong Hwan Oho (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1996), 27, 169.

⁵³ Bong Rang Park, "1970 yeondae Gigokky sinhak" [Christian theology in the 1970s] *Segyewa seonkyo* [World and Mission December 1979] (Seoul: Hanshin University), 5.

⁵⁴ Ha Moo Cho, " Minjung Theology ui jonghabjeok yeongu [A Comprehensive Study on Minjung Theology]," in *Era and Prophecy 1* (Seoul: Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, 1985), 46.

⁵⁵ The Secularised Theology emphasised that as today's people have escaped from their home town traditions, church must also be secularised. If the church were only to relate to the old rural communities, it would gradually be reduced and will not be relevant in the world. As Yahweh moved with the people Israel in the desert, even so today's church should not remain in the old thinking system. The church must change quickly, along with the people who are changing. Harvey Cox, *The Secular City*, trans, Sang-ryul Lee (Seoul: Moonye, 2010), 57-67.

⁵⁶ Historical Theology based on the historical events in theology. The history of Israel has been formed to find God's intention while in the course of their social life. Therefore, history is the process of God's plan, to be led and realised. In other words, history is the result of God's will being revealed. Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Basic Questions in theology: Collected Essays*, vol. I, trans. George H. Kehm (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2008), 15-19.

⁵⁷ *Minjung* Theology had decisive influence from the Theology of Hope by J.Moltmann (1926-). He lectured with the theme of "the hope in struggle of *Minjung*" in Korea (March 1975). *Minjung* was defined as *ochlos*, who may not learn the law and cannot follow, and are

Theology⁵⁸ and Process Theology.⁵⁹ These theologies generally pursue 'adaptation of reality' or 'transforming reality' with the attitude of open dialogue. Minjung theology was influenced by this. Therefore, it can be said that the discussion about *Deus absconditus* was embodied in the reality of Korean thought first in the lower classes of the common people and then moving up to the educated upper classes.

The second influence was the impact of the theology of liberation. The theology of liberation was begun in the 1960s in Latin America by the leading Catholic theologians and Liberal Protestant theologians. At that time, 70% of the US suffered from extreme poverty, but the situation in South America was much worse even than that and vested powers were organizing the political and social structures in order to maintain that situation.⁶⁰ Thus Catholic Bishops and ecumenical Protestants developed a movement for the liberation of all mankind from slavery to the rich.

This doctrine was interpreted to mean that the church was to actively bring liberation through social, political and economic participation in the society. It defined poverty as a social sin

uneducated. *Minjung* is a term that is the opposite of *rulers*. *Minjung* are not in a good position, not learned, but poor people. Jesus was a man of *Minjung* and equated Himself with them. Jesus appeared Himself through *Minjung*. Jurgen Moltmann, "Evangelism and liberation," *Christian thought* (April 1975) (Seoul: CLC), 105-121.

⁵⁸ Existential theology deals with the actual conditions of human existence. Religion is not a question of any belief or ethics, but that human beings are "ultimately interested", that is, they become religious. The ultimate concern of humans is to borrow the traditional term of God, A Ron Park, *Hyeondae Sinhakgaeron* [Introduction to Contemporary Theology] (Seoul: CLC, 1989), 98-117.

⁵⁹ The Process Theology emphasizes the salvation of all mankind. Humanity is a part of the whole creation of a huge community. Therefore salvation is not limited to only humans. Sang il Kim and Gyeong Jae Kim, *Gwajeongcheolhakgwa gwajeongsinhak* [The Process Philosophy and Process Theology] (Seoul: Junmangsa, 1988), 277-298.

⁶⁰ Louis M. Colonness, eds, *Conscientization for Liberation* (Washington: Division for Latin America, U. S. Catholic Conference, 1971), 223.

against the will of God and which should therefore be overcome. G. Gutierrez asserted that "Faith in God is not in claiming His existence, but rather in acting for Him".⁶¹

This radical theological thought was introduced in the time of political complexity of Korea in the 1970s and caused a great social ripple. Some Christian organizations were motivated to action by liberation theology. This theology has contributed to the development of Minjung theology since 1974.⁶² Actually, "Minjung theology and Liberation theologies have more in common than they have differences".⁶³

Thirdly, was the influence of modern Mission Theology. Since the Second World War, Missionary Theology has gone through many changes. In 1952, the International Missionary Council (IMC) in Willingen discussed mission under the theme of "Mission under the Cross" and emphasised mission as servant activity rather than conquest. After this meeting Karl Hartenstein first used the term *Missio Dei*, indicating that mission is not the passion of man, but is centred in God, and only God is the motive and purpose of mission. This has contributed greatly to Mission theology in the broad sense of establishing the sovereignty of Christ in the world beyond the traditional missionary concept of conversion and establishment of the Church.

Later, J. C. Hoekendijk argued that missions should fully identify with humans in the world rather than being church-centred.⁶⁴ This influence strengthened the Christian sense of social responsibility. He also saw the goal of mission as 'Shalom'. Shalom was used to mean that mission was about more than the salvation of a human soul, but about things such as peace,

⁶¹ G. Gutierrez & R. Shaull, *Liberation and Change* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1977), 89.

⁶² Go Dok Han, "Haebangsinhakiran mueosinga [What is the Liberation Theology]," assessed April 11, 2016, http://adamo.x-y.net/bbs/zboard.php?id=hyundea&page=1&sn1=&divpage=1&category=11&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=subject&desc=asc&no=1&PHPSESSID=8f3b05e5115dcfc0da4a13f2e24f977b.

⁶³ Jae Sik Ko, "Minjung theology gwa Haebangsinhak [Minjung theology and Liberation theology]," *Christian Thought* (March 1989), (Seoul: CLC, 1989), 128.

⁶⁴ Johannes C. Hoekendijk, "The Church in Missionary Thinking," *I.R.M.* XLI/163 (July, 1952), 77-78.

honesty, community, harmony and justice.⁶⁵ The scope of Shalom here included the whole world, not just the church. It included all aspects of existence, not just the spiritual state. It proposed this on the basis of God's concern for the whole world. *Missio Dei* was seen as God's activity to achieve the 'Shalom' of all of these things and the Church was involved in that mission.⁶⁶ These Shalom mission concepts were defined as 'humanisation' in the WCC 1968 Uppsala conference. The real model of this humanisation is Jesus Christ, and it is presented as the main goal of missions to expose the humanity of Jesus and make people like Jesus.⁶⁷

In the early 1970s, this Missionary theology became the basis for Korean churches to participate in political, economic, and social situations, and this movement developed into Minjung theology.⁶⁸ Ahn Byeong Moo also explained that *Missio Dei* was influenced greatly by its being explained as human recovery and liberation.⁶⁹

2.3. Contents of Minjung Theology

2.3.1. Understanding of Minjung

There are many views of Minjung. In this section, views which give four varied definitions are gathered.

First, is an historical perspective as in various times in history words to identify the common people came to be used. For instance, the word "populace" is a word meaning the common people and it was coined in the development of a democratic society in Western Europe,

⁶⁵ Johannes C. Hoekendijk, *Scattered Church*, trans, Kyeo Jun Lee (Seoul: CLC, 1994), 17.

⁶⁶ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission; Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, trans, Byeong gil Kim, Hun Tae Jang (Seoul: CLC, 2000), 576-577.

⁶⁷ Norman Goodall, eds, *The Uppsala Report 1968* (Geneva: WCC, 1968), 27-29.

⁶⁸ Ha Moo Cho, *op.cit.*, 50.

⁶⁹ Byeong Moo Ahn, "Hananimui Seongyo"[Misio Dei], *Hyeon Jon* (Existence, 1976), 3-9.

whereas the term "Minjung" is an oriental concept. In particular, it was used to mean "the strong popular resistance to oppression and anti-colonial rule in the colonies or anti-colonies in Asia and Africa."⁷⁰

The second is Minjung from a social point of view. Minjung are the people who are in a subordinate position under the dominance of a ruling class. Han Wan-Sang defined Minjung as those who resist a political orientation including those wronged by the ruling class in the East as well as in developed and developing countries.⁷¹ Thus, other theologians categorized Minjung as the masses, common people, ordinary people, the oppressed class, and people in poverty. Therefore all individuals engaged in agriculture, industry, and manual labour are categorised as Minjung.⁷² Even though these people do not rule as a social class they are important in society.

Thirdly, from the viewpoint of education Minjung is a people who have lacked opportunities for learning. They are people who cannot control others by their knowledge. Even if they gained education and knowledge, they were subjected to intellectual oppression by the ruling class. Moon Dong Hwan said, "Minjung is being neglected politically, culturally and economically, but is ignorant of knowledge. They are people who believe that a good day will come, even if neglected".⁷³ Therefore, Minjung can refer to the vast majority of people who do not receive sufficient education or cannot exercise their own knowledge and who consequently live in a repressed way.

Fourthly, is the theological perspective of Minjung. According to Shu Nam Dong, Minjung are not ordinary people, citizens, the proletarian, or the nations. Nam-Dong found a positive

⁷⁰ Geon Ho Song, "Minjung gaenyeomgwa geu Silje [Minjung's Concept and Its Reality]," *Wolgan Daehwa* [Monthly Talk] (November 1976), 74.

⁷¹ Jong Cheol Kim, *Minjunggwa Jisikin* [Minjung and Intellectuals] (Seoul: KSY, 1984), 44.

⁷² Hyeyon Chae Park, *Minjunggwa Kyeongje* [Minjung and Economy] (Seoul: Jeongeumsa, 1979), 8-9.

⁷³ Dong Hwan Moon, *Ariranggogaeui Gyoyuk* [Arirang Hill's Education] (Seoul: KSY, 1985), 36.

concept to apply to Minjung in the Biblical book of Luke, chapters 14 and 15. He says that they were considered unsuitable people to be invited to Kingdom of God, being the lame, poor, orphans or slaves, but they received the promise to become citizens of the Kingdom of God. They are the citizens and the so-called Minjung.⁷⁴

Minjung are not only underprivileged people in economic and political areas, but also deprived in social, cultural and religious areas. But the people do not always end up as oppressed. They are in a sense the masters of the history within an era and they are motivated by hope. They are reformers who change the corrupt society, making it more just.

According to Ahn Byeong Moo, Minjung is a term which cannot be applied to someone of the ruling class in an industrial society, but it applies to a people in Korea. It is beyond the capitalist communism in that it is a force that can achieve the national unification of Korea in the future.⁷⁵ The division of North and South Korea creates a number of losses and difficulties in the political, economic and religious spheres. The group that can solve this problem is Minjung, not the ruling class.

As mentioned above, there are some differences in the points of view of Minjung theologians. However, there are several main points of agreement. Minjung refers to the marginalized people who are plundered and who experience suffering under people in power in terms of politics, economy, society and culture. They are people who were suffering rather than having any academic aspiration and opportunity.

Therefore, Minjung was the socially marginalised in that age, but it does not end there. They were the ones who made a new era at great cost to themselves. They were those who

⁷⁴ Nam Dong Seo, *Minjung sinhakui Ttamgu* [Minjung Theology Study] (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1983), 117.

⁷⁵ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Minjung Shinhak Yiyaky* [A Story of Minjung Theology] (Seoul: KSY, 1990), 38-42.

proclaimed the Kingdom of God. They were reformers who talked about a new era and made that era. Therefore, they were the subjects of the history of that period of time.

2.3.2. Jesus and Minjung

According to Ahn Byeong Moo, Christology, which had been discussed previously, was not based on a thorough interpretation of the Bible, but was recognized as the essence of Christology.⁷⁶ Then he posed questions about Jesus. Firstly, who is Jesus in the Gospels? Jesus was born in Bethlehem, as Luke and Matthew wrote,⁷⁷ and returned to Nazareth after birth and grew until He became an adult. As the man, Jesus' father was Joseph, a carpenter, and Mary was His mother. There is little known about Jesus' childhood except that at 12 He went to the Temple in Jerusalem. After that, it is assumed that Jesus continued to grow up in Nazareth following Joseph's career and learning carpentry. Endo Shusaku believed that a carpenter in the Gospels was a wandering worker.⁷⁸ Jesus preached in His synagogue in Nazareth in Galilee, quoting Isaiah's prophecy at the time of the synagogue worship, to proclaim that He would live as the Messiah in solidarity with the suffering people. At that time the people of His hometown were amazed and pointed out that Jesus was a tradesman, saying, "Is not that the carpenter, the son of Joseph?". Ahn Byeong Moo also said that the Gospel writers understood Jesus as a working man by introducing Him as the son of a carpenter.⁷⁹ And Baek Ki Wan said, "I am ... Jesus, who is like a parasitic grandmother ... I think it is a wrong picture. Jesus was a worker. ... He would have had a body tempered by

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 85

⁷⁷ Matthew says that Jesus was born in Bethlehem according to the prophecy of the prophets Micah (5: 2) and Isaiah (7:14) that the Messiah would be born in Bethlehem, the hometown of David.

⁷⁸ Endo Shusaku, *Jesus' Saengae* [Jesus' Life] (Seoul: Hongseongsa, 1973), 23.

⁷⁹ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Galileeu Yesu* [Jesus of Galilee](Seoul: KSY, 1998), 42.

labour". Jesus was a staunch figure in an unjust social order. He noted that "Jesus was a worker and a prophet;⁸⁰ and that He was charismatic –

"Unique wit and common sense beyond embarrassment and a vested interest in the words of the parable of the people. This was Jesus' most important weapon, the apotheosis of satire overturning their common sense."⁸¹

The second question is what relates Jesus to the field of Minjung? According to Ahn Byeong Moo, Jesus' life is not a single event which was unique and of a unique character.⁸² Jesus' story is an event that can be experienced now. The events of Christ are still happening in the field of history. Based on Matthew 25: 31-46, Ahn Byeong Moo claims that Jesus harmonised himself with the poor, thirsty, hungry, and sick prisoners in a solidarity with the poor people. In other words, salvation is a positive attitude toward Mnjung; a solidarity with the people. He saw that being together with the poor, the sick and the marginalised and having brotherly love is a concrete real picture of salvation.⁸³

Thirdly, what is the meaning of Jesus as a liberator? According to Ahn Byeong Moo, the liberation of Jesus and the liberation of Minjung are the same. Jesus' life itself is the process of realising the emancipation of Minjung, and the liberation of Minjung takes place through Jesus. The life of Jesus is the life of Minjung, and the death of Jesus is the death of Minjung. Jesus is not a concept of a person, but a collective concept that represents the people.⁸⁴ This

⁸⁰ Seung Woo Jeong, *Yesu: Yeoksaina Sinhwainga* [Jesus: History or Myth] (Seoul: Book World Co., 2005), 28.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁸² Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 104.

⁸³ Yeong Jin Min, *Hankook Minjung theology ui Jomyeong* [Lighting of Korean Minjung Theology] (Seoul: Christian Academy, 1984), 12, 49.

⁸⁴ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Yeoksawa haeseok* [History and Interpretation] (Seoul: CLC, 18981), 219.

is not that he ignores the individuality of Jesus, but that the Bible says that Jesus is focused on representing people collectively rather than individually.⁸⁵

2.3.3. Minjung through **עם הארץ** and **ὄχλος**

In his biblical view, and more specifically in the appearance of Jesus in the Gospels (especially in the Gospel of Mark), Ahn Byeong Moo has always used two words that refer to Jesus as "a multitude with Jesus" and "a multitude in whom Jesus is always interested."⁸⁶

The terms were “**עם הארץ**” (am ha'aretz) and “**ὄχλος**” (ochlos).

The Hebrew term **עם הארץ**, used around 40 times in the Old Testament, means 'the people of the Land'. Ahn Byeong Moo claimed that the word was originally used before the Babylonian captivity and referred to people of the upper class and the landowner's people; but that the meaning changed after captivity when it was applied to the lower-class people, non-educated people and people treated unjustly in the law. In other words, the expression of this word is later defined as common people, people and lawbreakers.

In the latter days of Judaism (the system of law) we find that some being "forbidden to marry the daughters of **עמך**, and forbidden at the table" had become a clear custom.⁸⁷ In the age of Jesus, **עם הארץ** were the poor, the ones who were cursed by ignorance of the law (John 7:49). Jesus was always part of the people. He was mainly active in Galilee. He met people who were stigmatized as poor, sick Seri, fishermen, women, widows and sinners. In the Gospel of Mark, **ὄχλος**, referred to the crowds gathered around Jesus.

In the era of Jesus, the underprivileged people were ignorant of the law (John 7:49). Jesus spoke to a crowd in Galilee who belonged to the marginalized group. At this time, Galilee

⁸⁵ Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 104-106.

⁸⁶ Byeong Moo Ahn studied main commentary by Gerhard Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch Zum Neuen Testament*, V5, (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1964).

⁸⁷ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Jesus and ochlos* (Seoul: KSY, 1991), 102.

was called, "Galilee of the Gentiles" since Galilee was despised and it was ignored by the central powers in Jerusalem. At that time, Jesus met with people who were patients, fishermen, a tax collector,⁸⁸ women,⁸⁹ widows and others who were poor people. The author of Mark addressed all the people as they gathered 'ochlos' around Jesus.

The term crowd or 'λαός' (laos) was mentioned several times in the Bible., but the word has no special meaning and it only represented a bunch of people who gather around. This word was used 70 times in Septuagint. In the Gospels, this word was mentioned in Luke (36 times), Matthew (14 times), Mark and John (twice each). In the book of Mark, it was used only twice, but the word 'ὄχλος' (ochlos) was used many times. Jesus used this word quite intentionally when He addressed the crowd. It was this word that Jesus used when the crowd approached them.⁹⁰

'Ochlos' or the crowd including the gentiles and workers, were not able to keep the Sabbath day so they were condemned as sinners. In the beginning of Mark, Jesus addressed the crowd

⁸⁸ Tax collectors were not poor but unjust individuals. In the 1st century A.D there are two kinds of tax collectors that belonged to Rome and the employee worked under them. The tax collectors paid the right of lease firstly and then the employee collected taxes. They were hated by Jews and they were despised citizens. The work of tax collectors was to collect lawful levies and these were heavy. In addition they usually manipulated the law for personal profit. They also worked for the Roman government. So the teachers of the law classified unjust people as thieves and robbers, and such people were not given the right to testify in court. Seong Gyu Hwang, "Ibanginui ddang: Galrilriwa Yesu undong [The Land of the Gentiles: Galilee and Jesus' Movement]" *Yesu Minjung Minjok* [Jesus Minjung People] for the Memorial Edition for Dr. Ahn Byeong Moo's 70th Birthday, (Seoul: KSY, 1993), 15.

⁸⁹ In the Jewish culture women were subordinate to their father and after marriage women were subjected to their husband. The husband considered his wife as one of the female labourers and could use marriage to gain economic advantage as men could take a woman for labour-intensive work under the name of making her his wife. Therefore wives addressed their husbands as 'lord' like a slave. Such practices have become more restrictive in late Judaism. Women could not learn the Torah and were not allowed to teach in the synagogue. Rabbis could not make women their disciples and thought that it was shameful to meet women in the street.

⁹⁰ Chang Jung Song, "The Study of 'ochlos' in Mark" (Th. M. thesis, Hanshin University, Korea, 1990), 19-20.

as 'them', and they were not represented as a bunch of people. In Chapter 2, the group was represented as 'ochlos' when Jesus associated with them.

Ahn Byung Moo analysed the characteristics of 'ochlos' in relation to the time Jesus was with the people. Where Jesus went was the place that belonged to the crowd. Thus, the book of Mark is about the story of Jesus as He lived with the crowd. Moreover, Jesus ate food and drank water with them. Jesus did not stand off from the people. When the people were confronted with others from Jerusalem, Jesus came into conflict with Jerusalem and showed a bond between Himself and the people. The people felt Jesus championed them as they feared the ruling class. Jesus also considered them as "a flock of sheep without a shepherd" and the people who were abandoned by religious leaders. Jesus even called people "my brother and mother." Jesus was speaking beyond blood relationships. He knew the blossoming relationship He had with a new family. Moreover, he claimed that Jesus did not evaluate their beliefs and ethical standards, but He was open to them when He spoke. Thus, the people associated with each other as one.⁹¹ According to Ahn Byung Moo, Jesus and the people were one body and they could not be separated.

2.4. Use of the Bible by Minjung Theology

2.4.1. The Exodus event

The following section gives an overview of ways in which Minjung Theology interpreted narratives and events from the Bible and applied it to the Korean context. Minjung theology says salvation was revealed in the book of Exodus in the Old Testament of the Bible. However, salvation is not limited to the book of Exodus, but is seen throughout the whole

⁹¹ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Jesus of Galilee*, 142.

Bible. Exodus records actual events wherein the history of Israel was mentioned as a key to illuminate the whole Bible. Also, this event was Israel's political liberation from exploitation, forced labour, miserable suppression, and a starting point for a process of building a new society.

Abraham, Israel's progenitor, first went to Egypt with his wife Sarah and then returned to Canaan. His grandson, Jacob (Israel), later went to Egypt and the Children of Israel settled there. The Exodus of the Children of Israel from slavery in Egypt was 430 years after Abraham's visit to Egypt. Before the Exodus of Israel, the people were oppressed and in forced labour. At that time, Israel was committed to the construction site of the two cities of Pithom and Ramses in a downstream area of Nile. They suffered by forced labour and were afflicted with economic exploitation. Egyptian's suppressive policy forced them to work endlessly and it held the Israelites captive in slavery. The administrative system of the absolute monarch of Egypt was frantic to find workers for construction in the country. In principle, Pharaoh had an obligation to the workers, but the low social class, poor, war captives, criminals, and immigrants were mobilized into forced labour. The work involved farming, brick manufacturing, transporting stones necessary for pyramids construction, quarry work, and mining work among others. Then, they were liberated from Egypt by Yahweh. According to Ahn Byung Moo, Yahweh of the Old Testament is a God of liberation. He liberated them through the Exodus when Minjung was suffering economically and socially.⁹²

From this, they were called 'habiru,' or people who experienced the Exodus. According to the records of ancient Egypt, 'habiru' referred to the slaves, the war captives, builders, and quarry workers who were captives in Asia. Then from Ramses II (B.C 1270-1224), it referred to the lower social class including Israelites or the people who were involved in the huge projects of

⁹² Byeong Moo Ahn, "God of Minjung" *Theology Thought* (Autumn 1986)(Seoul: CLS), 693.

construction. The haribu were not a unified group and their lifestyle was not fixed. They were merely marginalized people receiving orders. Therefore, the Exodus was the liberation of the social and economic underprivileged people.⁹³

2.4.2. Jesus' Crucifixion

Minjung Theologians did not understand Jesus' death on the cross and resurrection within the scope of Western theology. Jesus' crucifixion was a historic event of death under Roman law. So the cross was 'the rack of crucifix' and His death was not 'the event of the cross'. Western theology is mistaken to make the cross of Jesus a non-political doctrine and one which affects all generations and is symbolic and transcendent in history.⁹⁴

Minjung theology says that Jesus kept His self-identity with the people. He died with ordinary people as He had once lived together with people. Jesus was with them, the marginalised peoples of pain who were suffering by exploitation. Their pain and hunger were also the pain and hunger of Jesus. He was with the oppressed people and He fought the ruling class to gain people's humanisation. It was Jesus who orchestrated the Minjung movement. Minjung theology says that His movement was to fight the people in power to release the people from the struggle of rebellion and in order to overthrow the Roman government for humanity. However, Jesus was still accused, sentenced, and executed by the Roman law. The self-identity of Jesus was kept until His death. Minjung theology says that

⁹³ Jun Seo Park, "Guyake natanan Hananim [God in the Old Testament]" *Minjunggwa Hankook Sinhak* [Minjung and Korean Theology] (Seoul: KSY, 1982), 182.

⁹⁴ Western theology interpreted the 'event of crucifixion' with the 'event of resurrection' as a redemptive event. Jesus' death was understood to be a song of the Lord's servants (Isa. 53: 1-12), and Paul's confession (1st Corinthians 15:3-5) and the tradition of the Lord' Supper (1st Corinthians 11:24, Mark 14:24), Jesus' death was interpreted as an atonement death for the salvation of the people. Until modern times that has been a fundamental understanding of the death of Jesus. And it is still a fundamental understanding of the death of Jesus today. Walter C. Kasper, *Jesus Christ*, Sang Tae Park (Seoul: Bundo Publish Co., 1977), 210.

His death did not hold any meaningful symbols. His death was not a symbol of reconciliation or not a symbol for others. Jesus' death on the cross was not a death on behalf of others, but it was His own death. At that time, people also died.⁹⁵

In this, the crucifixion shows that God has been suffering with the people. God is not only a listener, but is an interpreter of human sufferings. The event of crucifixion meant to share the human sufferings. Therefore, Jesus' death on the cross was not seen as on behalf of others, but as the death of God who has seen the suffering of the people. The people's sufferings are the pain of God; and Jesus' death was also the death of God.⁹⁶ Therefore, we cannot separate God and the death of Jesus on the cross.⁹⁷

Liberation begins with escape, which also was by the means of the cross which led to death. Minjung theology says that Jesus' death on the cross is for the liberation of the people from their political, economical and religious oppression. When the people of the time looked at the perspective of the death of Jesus on the cross when he was weakened and defeated they eventually decided to resign and fled the place. However, in His death, they had also seen their death. When they witnessed their death with Jesus, they had a new unity of relationship with Jesus. Therefore, the people were able to recognise that the death of Jesus was 'for us, for our sins, on our behalf through His own action'.⁹⁸

2.4.3. Jesus' Resurrection

The Crucifixion showed that Jesus died for the humanisation of people because the marginalized people were oppressed by the ruling systems. The resurrection of Jesus was the

⁹⁵ Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 303-306.

⁹⁶ Cheon Seong Song, *Asianui Simseonggwa Sinhak* [Asian's mentality and Theology] (Seoul: Bundo Publish Co., 1982), 224-225.

⁹⁷ Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 88-98.

⁹⁸ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Jesus of Galilee*, 283.

resurrection of what had been killed by the ruling class. Resurrection was not given to everyone, but given only to those people who died in the struggle for justice. They participated in the resurrection. Therefore, the resurrection was the expression of the people's will towards the realisation of the Messianic Kingdom that brought justice and liberation.

Ahn Byeong Moo analysed the incident of resurrection which appeared in the Gospels and he explained what he thought its meaning is.⁹⁹

The story of the empty tomb in the Gospel of Mark shows that Jesus was not dead and He cannot die. Primarily this portrays the desire of the people for triumph in the burial place of flesh which was torn and bloodied by an unjust power, as Jesus was, and the empty tomb is a protest and a powerful challenge to the forces of injustice.

Secondly, the resurrection is not intended to demonstrate anything or to challenge anyone. Hence, ordinary people may participate in the resurrection. The theology suggests thirdly that four Gospels do not cling to the past events, but look to the next event of resurrection. The Gospel of Mark which says, "Let us meet you in Galilee" means that they should not go back to the previous execution. It will be a base from which to move to a new condition. The other Gospels also show a new community of Jesus' followers after the resurrection. Fourthly, the event of the resurrection of Jesus relates to the new character of the people's community. Therefore, Jesus' resurrection is not the centre of their ideals, but it focuses on the future direction of the community.

Also, Minjung theology suggests that the book of Acts shows that the disciples and the people were cowardly and scattered; but due to the events of Jesus' resurrection, they became new persons. They shouted 'Jesus was resurrected' when they were frightened. Jesus was fighting back, "judge for yourselves whether it is right"¹⁰⁰ echoing words from the past. This

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 273-275.

¹⁰⁰ Acts 4:19 (NIV).

shows that Jesus' resurrection is also their resurrection. Ahn Byeong Moo said that the book of Acts was convinced of the specific case of Jesus' resurrection.¹⁰¹

There is another narrative of the resurrection. This is a record of not only the resurrection of Jesus, but also to whom He appeared.

"For what I received I passed on to you as of first importance: that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, that He was buried, that He was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures, and that He appeared to Peter, and then to the Twelve. After that, He appeared to more than five hundred of the brothers at the same time, most of whom are still living, though some have fallen asleep."(1 Corinthians 15:3-6, NIV)

Here there are many differences from the Gospels. The testimony of the resurrection of women at the core of the Gospel is missing. And a 500-people event is something you cannot imagine in the Synoptic Gospels. Although Jesus' resurrection is deeply related to His suffering, Paul was not specific about some details which he referenced as "written in the Bible" rather than focussing on how He died.

According to Ahn Byeong Moo, two other traditions have been combined with the other two data.¹⁰² The tradition of the passionate describes Jesus as if he were executed by God.¹⁰³ He could not resist, He was utterly forsaken as if He were a serious sinner, and He was thoroughly disabled and suffering. However, this symbolises the numerous killings and sufferings of Israeli groups. The history of the suffering of Israel is like that of Jesus' passion. Therefore, the sufferings of Jesus must take into account Israel's national history. And the resurrection of Jesus is the resurrection of the movement to liberate the poor, the unjust, the oppressed, the inferior, and the incompetent. The incident that Jesus experienced as Minjung

¹⁰¹ Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 155.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 277.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 280.

was the death on the cross and resurrection. Jesus fought for the release of Minjung and eventually faced those two events. Both events can be understood as Minjung's experience. The death of Jesus described the suffering of the Jews and the resurrection was viewed as being for the marginalised people who were freed from their chagrin, alienation, captivity and oppression.

Minjung claims that one place of Jesus' appearance was in Galilee which they say was a zone of people who were alienated. Galilee is also a symbol of the struggle to fight against evil forces in spite of death in order to liberate oppressed people. In the zone of Galilee, the Christian faith among Jesus' followers already existed. After He was executed, it spread out and developed. Easter is not the start of a new faith, but rather a continuation of the old faith. It is not about the disciples and the crowd restoring their faith in a manifested experience of Easter Sunday, which said that Jesus had been executed on Good Friday, but Minjung theology says that Christ's death on the cross can show the suffering of people, and Jesus' resurrection indicates the resurrection of the people. Therefore, the two events can be understood as events experienced also by the people.

2.5. The Goal of Minjung Liberation

2.5.1. Minjung Salvation

The people have desires as human beings, not wanting any system of oppression. In other words, suppressed people are in a way alienated from being human when they are not experiencing justice. If they are liberated, they are humanised and that liberation is the so-

called ‘salvation of Christianity’. So, Ahn Byeong Moo defined salvation as liberation defining it as all things that "deliver from dehumanisation"¹⁰⁴

Christian salvation caters for the forgiveness of sins. The Old Testament understood that sins are breaking the balance of equality; that the weak and oppressed were exploited in communities in Israel. The fundamental spirit of the law was maintained in the system of justice and equality in community. So, the law was good and righteous.¹⁰⁵ However, due to the ruling class, it was reduced to tools for keeping the social structure rather than the basic spirit of the law. Not observing the law was also breaking the custom. It gradually came to be a sacrificial system in the temple with the concept of defending the religious ritual. This means that a formation of community in ritual religion will be made by the ruling class.

Minjung theology claims that in the New Testament, Apostle Paul described the law as good and righteous. The original was right, but the law intertwined the roles of humans and retained the social system. Therefore, salvation through observing the law made people subordinates of that system. That is the sin of the evil structure. Paul completely rejected salvation by observing the law because it is dehumanising. Similarly, Jesus rejected the legalist and thus salvation liberated from the law. This means that salvation is to liberate man from the power and sovereignty of all armed force and to destroy all existing order which dehumanises.¹⁰⁶

If so, says Minjung, the evil structure is the entity that has oppressed and marginalised human beings. The system of oppression is also an evil system. Salvation from sin means liberation from an evil system. Minjung theology believes that Jesus did not directly mention sin, but

¹⁰⁴ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Haebangja Yesu* [Jesus, the Liberator] (Seoul: Hyeondaesajosa [Modern Thought Co.], 1979), preface.

¹⁰⁵ Romans 7:12 (NIV).

¹⁰⁶ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Jesus, the Liberator*, 98-99.

referred to Satan. Jesus' movement was building the kingdom, but Satan disturbed it. That is to say, the nature of Satan is the evil social construction which disturbs the kingdom.¹⁰⁷

So, from where did the evil system come? Minjung theologians found this in “privatisation of what was public”. For example, the original sky, the sea, the earth and all things that exist are what God has given the people; but by privately owning them, they came under the ranks of authority and economy. As private ownership became stronger, there was greater oppression and exploitation of the people. This is the evil system in social structure. Primarily, alienation means that one's things become the property of others, and sin is merely to be marginalised. Minjung says that the salvation of people will be liberation from dehumanisation. Jewish leaders of Jesus' day thought that the poor were sinners, but Jesus did not think that the poor should be considered sinners and He treated them as new people, namely lords in the Kingdom.

According to Minjung theology, rulers did not know that the power of Jesus would destroy the traditional social system and would bring in the order of the Kingdom of God. So Jesus taught people how to go into to the Kingdom by saying that the way to the Kingdom was to sell and share all their wealth with the poor.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the process of turning from privatisation to original ownership is by repenting.

2.5.2. Methods of Minjung Salvation

In the strict sense of the word, Minjung “Salvation” is outrageous to Minjung theological belief. The reason is that they are not the subject of salvation as the people are not sinners. Rather they need to be free from the condition of oppression from the ruling class. Then who is the subject of people's liberation? It is the people themselves, not others. The people

¹⁰⁷ Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 199-200.

¹⁰⁸ Mark 10:17-22 (NIV).

themselves are the protagonists to achieve their salvation.¹⁰⁹ If people are subjects of salvation, then who are the objects? Minjung theology declared that the target is to obtain truly saved rulers, not the people. If sin is defined as 'alienation' or 'dehumanisation', the people who committed the crime are rulers. When the rulers recognize their sin and repent they will receive their salvation and actively participate in Minjung salvation and a salvation of the marginalised will follow as a consequence.

But, says the theology, when the rulers do not repent the people will inevitably be required to actively pursue liberation. This is not in order to avoid a conflict with the ruling class, but its purpose is to save them not to lead them to ruin.¹¹⁰ Christianity is fundamentally rejecting of violence, but violence is inevitable. Similarly, the violence for people's salvation is not by being justified, but is the inevitable way to reduce the expense of the peoples' sacrifices.

So when will the people's salvation be fulfilled? It is 'today' in the field of history, as it was in Israel's history; it is the field of salvation. Jesus proclaimed the "time is near" to the 'Kingdom of God'. This is also fulfilled today. Ahn Byung Moo considered that the Lord's Prayer reads as the screams for salvation, not mediation.¹¹¹ Salvation is surely futuristic, but this does not mean one is to wait for salvation to come from outside, but to receive it by jumping into the way of salvation. Therefore salvation is not about another world, but will be achieved in the central field of life in the future by marginalised people, as history progresses. The people, who have been suffering and experiencing hardship all through history, could not see an end to their oppression, but this teaching was a chance of victory that would end the tyranny of power. Their suffering will lead to resurrection! According to Minjung theology,

¹⁰⁹ Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 125-126.

¹¹⁰ Gi Deug Song, "Minjung Theology's Jeongche[Identity]" *1980nyeondae Hankook Minjung Theology Jeongae* [1980s Korea Minjung Theology Development] (Seoul: KSY, 1990), 76.

¹¹¹ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Jesus the Liberator*, 99-100.

the main meaning of resurrection is to 'rise up'. This is an important political uprising. In Mark, the field of the resurrection of Jesus is, as the "Galilee" means, that Jesus was finally living in the disadvantaged people's uprising.¹¹² Therefore the event of resurrection is not unique, but it can be said that is the movement of people today.

So where is the field of resurrection today? It is a known field where physical power is being ignored by the people and where there is oppression and indifference. It is where the ruling class make judgments and in order to benefit the privileged class the people are alienated and dehumanised. There is the place of resurrection. The people will challenge and resist the oppressive authority to change the injustice to right and will construct a new country as a way of resurrection. It is not given by others, but is to be achieved by the disadvantaged in the present time. It is the event of resurrection today.

2.5.3. Jesus' Minjung Liberation Movement

The core of Jesus' teaching is no doubt the Kingdom of God. "The time has come. The Kingdom of God is near. Repent and believe the good news".¹¹³ Minjung theologians regard that verse as a summary of the whole of Jesus' life and His preaching. Jesus' proclamation that the Kingdom of God was near, was to bring about a humanising of the underprivileged in the world and the people's political, economic, and ideological liberation is the Kingdom of God.¹¹⁴ From Galilee to His death and resurrection, all these were the process of building the Kingdom. In considering this, Jesus' ministry will be divided into three.

Firstly, the most prominent aspect of Jesus' movement for the people was to treat the sick. There were always people around Him who were suffering a mental or physical sickness.

¹¹² Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 335-337.

¹¹³ Mark 1:15 (NIV).

¹¹⁴ Gi Deug Song, "True Meaning of Eschatology", *Jesus, Minjung, Nation* (Seoul: KSY, 1993), 251.

Jesus healed them from the morbid oppression of being marginalised. There are a few characteristics of Jesus' healing work to note.¹¹⁵ Firstly, Jesus did not take the initiative in miraculous healing, but received requests. Secondly, He was not interested in the miracle itself and focused on the people's healings. Jesus' healing was by mysterious miracles, but the Bible's interest was not its wonders, but the people. Jesus told the cured men to go back to the family and village. This is evidence that He was more interested in the people. Thirdly, there was no premise of faith of the healed persons. There was no interest in the people's ideology or thought. They were the people who needed to be liberated. Fourthly, there was no emphasis of the greatness of the miracle for show. The participants in the miracle were the people and the sick and that was where the interest and focus was.

There is clear evidence in the healing ministry that this was the people's movement. The stories about miracles are the facts reported in people's language. Usually language represents one view of the world, but the peoples' language was not just a viewpoint, it was the people's life itself. The healing ministry showed the realistic joys and sorrows of the people. The poverty, defeat, oppression, insufficient nutrition and lack of proper treatment for those outside the ruling class meant their lives and physiological pains were nakedly exposed. By extension, the healing movement appeared as a vivid hope of the people.¹¹⁶

Secondly, the Roman Empire went out to collect booty and captured small nations and secured slaves for the increase of their wealth by the power of the military. The Roman Empire conquered Palestine and then in conjunction with the political elite of Israel governed to divide and rule. The religious aristocracy of Israel monopolised the Temple and on that basis it is seen that they were committed to economic exploitation¹¹⁷ as it had all been privatised from the public. In this regard, Jesus proclaimed that the Kingdom of God is near

¹¹⁵ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Jesus of Galilee*, 149.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 153-154.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 202-203.

and they should each repent. This repentance was not only for the people stigmatised as sinners by the ruling class, but was the message to the whole of Israel.

Repentance does not stop only at recognition of sins and regrets. Repentance requires a volitional act. It means coming back from a life of sin now. Furthermore, it means good works. Ahn Byeong Moo required repenting and proclaiming the coming of the kingdom of God. Repentance is like moving from 'public' to 'personalisation'. It means liberation from the privatisation of land.¹¹⁸

God lent people the creation, wanting people to manage and cultivate it so people do not have ownership but it is held God. However, by a small number of powerful people, the creation has been exploited. In this regard Ahn Byeong Moo asked,

"What is the real Kingdom of God? It is that the 'public' property should be given back to the 'public'. It will not be privatisation. The concept of the Kingdom of God as an idea does not involve the position of the people, but by using the words the 'public' is given to the 'public' which is the language of the people, it becomes the giving back to deprived people what was actually their own; returning land to the main body of workers and farmers."¹¹⁹

The idea of God's justice was based on "The land must not be sold permanently, because the land is Mine and you are but aliens and My tenants." (Leviticus 25:23, NIV). Therefore, the ruling class has been controlling the people while the 'public' were being enslaved. So the Kingdom of God will be the means by which privatised land will be returned to the people, through repentance.

Thirdly, says Minjung theology, Jesus' people movement was inevitably in conflict with the rulers. Palestinian people had suffered a double exploitation. The Roman Empire had

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 204-205.

¹¹⁹ Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 246-247.

exploited them in an indirect way as there was political repression by the Tetrarch and economic exploitation through the tax collecting system. In addition, Jews oppressed people around the Temple in Jerusalem. The fundamental spirit of the law was justice and equality in the community of Israel. That is to say a nation of people itself. But the Pharisees had economically and religiously exploited the people. In contrast, Jesus was on a head-on collision with Judaism. "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath. So the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath."¹²⁰ Jesus' attacks do not simply apply to the Sabbath, but attack the domination of the people in the name of religion and so were a challenge to the ruling system of Judaism. So what was the new country that Jesus was going to build? It was a country of "the people, it was the 'Kingdom of God' in traditional language.

What is the kingdom of God? Ahn Byeong Moo criticized the fact that in Western theology the kingdom of God was understood as spiritual, eschatological and transcendent of countries and said rather, that the Kingdom of God is present today.¹²¹ His views said that 'the Kingdom of God' does not push the life of the people to the side, but will have political and economic effect. It points to the humanisation of the country to bring justice, liberty and equality within the community.

This can be found in the equality within the community of ancient Israel. There was, as a community of faith only in Yahweh, the ideology that denies any system or oppression. Whether it was a kingship system, law system or any system of oppression which exploited the people, it was not to be tolerated. But this was the basis for the 'Yahweh only' form of community and was the framework for the life of the people. Rulers over the people did not exist. It was all equality and justice.

¹²⁰ Mark 2:27-28 (NIV).

¹²¹ Byeong Moo Ahn, *Minjung Theology eul malhada* [Say about Minjung Theology] (Seoul: Hangil Co., 1993), 309.

As seen by Minjung theology, this Jesus movement, 'the nation of people', was His own life itself as He lived with the people. In addition, His preaching, education and healing work were to build the nation of people. Ahn Byeong Moo described two aspects – first, Jesus' 'Lord's Prayer' was to build the nation of people. The words "hallowed be your name" can be changed to "Let your kingdom come." It is today's movement for the realisation of the nation.¹²² The ruling class is the one that does not want change. The people who are praying are the ones who will become the Kingdom. Also asking "Give us today our daily bread" does not mean the accumulation of material goods as it is a request for daily rations only. It does not mean wealth being added to the ruler, but being evenly divided between everyone.¹²³ Secondly, it is Jesus, who goes up to Jerusalem for the specific realisation of the kingdom of God. At the time the High Priests of the Temple of Jerusalem had lost religious purity because the Roman governor appointed them according to their loyalty to Rome. Corruption was seen by the use of a special currency called the Temple Shekel, sold exclusively for sacrifice, and it generated enormous wealth. As the commercial capitalists entrusted to the banks, the suppliers deposited their assets in the Temple. Minjung says that Jesus went to Jerusalem to fight against the tyranny of the priests allied with Romans and He cleansed the Temple. It was an event that fundamentally rejected the Temple system and condemned its privatisation, returning the public to the people. It was the building of nation for the people. After all, Jesus has envisioned 'The Kingdom of God' to respect humanity and is not a relationship with a governing class and subjugated class, but a new community of justice and fairness that is to be a new kingdom of the people.

2.6. Conclusion

¹²² Byeong Moo Ahn, *A Story of Minjung Theology*, 226-227.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 239.

This research attempts to give an overview of Minjung Theology and the use of core Biblical narratives and concepts in Minjung Theology.

Minjung theology is a Korean contextual theology created in the 1970s in the unique situation of Korea. Since the early 1960s, the military government has emerged to form the Yushin Constitution aiming at long-term economic development. This forced the absolute majority of Minjung to sacrifice rather than accept unequal distribution of wealth. In the meantime, Korean Christianity, following the suicide of a young worker, developed a Minjung theology that spoke into the situation doctrinally. It can be seen that Minjung theology has been influenced by the paradigm shift of modern theology, liberation theology and the development of modern missiological theology.

The ones who were suffering the most in the era of Minjung theology were the ordinary people. They were being oppressed in large numbers, marginalised and exploited by the privileged classes in the spheres of politics, economics, society, culture and religion.¹²⁴ They were people who were invited to the kingdom of God in Luke 14:15. They did not stop at salvation and compassion, but are willing to sacrifice themselves to create a new age.

Minjung theology has received some criticism over the issue of salvation. If salvation is achieved through the people, how should the death of Jesus on the cross when He was betrayed by the people be interpreted? If the people gave salvation, the criticism is that Jesus is not the Christ.¹²⁵

Nevertheless, the Minjung theology was a landmark contribution in terms of the 'Today' in history. First, traditional theology is about the spiritual, the inward, and the afterlife.

¹²⁴ Gi Deuk Song, "Ahn Byeong Moo ui Minjung Kooweonron [Ahn Byeong Moo's Minjung Soteriology]," *Yuksawa Hyunjon* [History and Present Being]. edited by Editorial Committee for the Memorial Edition for Dr. Ahn Byeong Moo's 60th Birthday (Seoul: CLS, 1982), 448.

¹²⁵ Hwa Seon Lee, *Minjung Theology Bipan* [Criticize Minjung Theology] (Seoul: Seonggwang Culture Co., 1989), 103-106.

However, Minjung theology was motivated to change this. This is not far from people of today. Concerns and problems arise even for the people of the present time. Eventually, Jesus is not far away, but He is reborn as a living person in us today. Secondly, Minjung theology can be called humanistic in nature. By simply rescuing a drowning man, to give food to the hungry, giving freedom to the oppressed people, to provide drinking water for the thirsty men, to give liberation to the people suffering in the perverse system, one will understand salvation. According to Minjung theology, the hope of building a new community of equality, justice and love will come by the freedom of those who have now lost human rights by being marginalised and disadvantaged by the ruling class. Also, Minjung theology suggested that people should live as neighbours. Traditional theology has emphasized personal piety. It is not horizontal, but vertical. So it was individualistic, but Minjung theology was interested in neighbours; to know the pain and circumstance of neighbours and to try to solve the problem and create a new society out of it.

Chapter 3. Australian Mission Development in Korea

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, Australian Mission development in Korea will be investigated from the Minjung perspective. J. N. Mackenzie was one of the early missionaries who went from Australia to Korea. The first, Henry Davies, had begun ministry in 1890, and Mackenzie went 21 years later and identified who the suffering and the marginalized were at that time.

The late 19th century in Korea was a time of great expansion of Protestant Mission in Korea as increasing numbers of missionaries from various western countries went to Korea. Growth in the Korean Protestant churches grew astonishingly and attracted the attention of the world. As to the reason for the great Protestant growth in Korea, there is a view that the elite class made a contribution¹²⁶ to this and also that the nationalist resistance to the Japanese imperialists¹²⁷ was a factor. However, many Korean people saw Protestantism, with its care of the poor and the oppressed, as a way out of the society of traditional Confucian values and social order and into a new world of modern civilisation.

In this chapter, areas such as how modern civilization, introduced by Protestant mission, influenced the underprivileged who were being suppressed by the ruling class in a feudal society will be explored. Special note will be made of the time when Australian missionaries were active in Korea, a time which included the period in which the Japanese empire colonized Korea. Also considered will be the situation of Minjung at that time. Australian missionaries were active in the south-eastern part of South Kyeongsang Province in South Korea so what Minjung looked like in that area, and what missions were conducted by

¹²⁶ A representative research book, Nak Chun Paek, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea: 1832-1910* (Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1929).

¹²⁷ A representative research book, Kyeong Bae Min, *Hangook Gidokkyo Saheo Undongsa* [The History of Korea Christian Social Movement] (Seoul: Korean Christian Publishing Co., 1987).

missionaries there, will be looked at with a view to understanding the contents of Mackenzie's ministry and the situation of the people at that time.

For this purpose, Protestant missionary efforts in South Korea in the political, economic and religious situation of the country at the time will be examined. The mission process of Australian missionaries in Korea as well as the momentum of mission to Korea will also be investigated. The investigation will include historical, cultural, and religious characteristics of the South Kyeongsang province where Australian mission operated, as well as a study of the policies of Australian missions in working with the Minjung.

Therefore, this chapter will give answers to the following research questions:

- Who were the people suffering in the Mackenzie era, the era of Japanese imperialist colonisation?
- What was their suffering?

3.2. The Beginning Protestant Development in Korea

3.2.1. Protestant efforts

When did the gospel arrive in Korea? Some historians argue that Kyeoung Gyo (Nestorianism) came long ago to Korea as Eastern Christianity.¹²⁸ They cite evidence from the Buddhist temple of Bulguk in the Kyeongsang province, where there appear to be crosses

¹²⁸ Kyeoung-Gyo refers to Nestorianism as a sect of Christianity handed down in China from around 7th century Persia. Nestorian came to Jang An in Tang Dynasty in 635. At that time Silla dispatched a number of ambassadors and foreign students at Tang Dynasty. Therefore Kyeoung-Gyo was introduced to Korea. The Korean Christian Museum at Sungsil University, hankook gidokkyo yeoksawa minjok munhwauui bogo [Korean Christian History and Treasures of National Culture], Last modified: January 26, 2011, http://www.ssu.ac.kr/web/museum/exhibit_b;jsessionid.

on the stone, a copper crisscross pattern decoration and a statue of Mary. In written accounts we see that in the Imjinoeran (Japanese Invasion of Chosen, 1592-1598) Gonisi Ygginaka, leader of the first military and a follower of the Jesuits in Japan, led the Japanese army into Seoul with a cross at the forefront. At that time, a Spanish priest, Fr. Gregorio de Cespedes, arrived in Korea and spent about one year there. Then in the Byeong Ja-Horan,¹²⁹ the second Manchu invasion of Choseon, Prince Sohyeon (1612-1645) was held hostage to China's Qing and met a Jesuit, Fr. J.V.B. Adam Schall. Three months later he returned to Choseon with some Catholic books. Unfortunately he died soon after. Sometime later a Confucian scholar Seung Hoon Lee studied in Beijing and became Christian, being baptised in 1784. He returned to Choseon and some famous scholars were converted.¹³⁰ They met every Sunday and subsequently the Myung-Dong Cathedral Church was established in 1885.

In 1626, the protestant Dutchman, Janse Weltevree, (Korean name, Park Yeon) sailed, drifted then landed and was seized in the South Eastern area and became an executive officer of Korean Navy. He may well have preached the gospel through his many personal relationships with the Korean people. Next, Colonel Maxwell of the English Navy arrived on the coast of the Dae-Chung Gundo in September 1816 with the warship, Alceste. The Alceste anchored and personnel from it met residents and distributed small gifts and evangelism booklets. The first Protestant missionary to Korea, a Dutchman, Rev. Carl A.F. Gutzlaff, (1803-1851) arrived at the Godae-island in 1822.¹³¹ From there presents, and two Bibles were sent to the King, with a letter requesting the opening of commercial relations between the countries. While they were waiting for a answer from the King, Gutzlaff taught locals how to plant

¹²⁹ The Byeong Ja-Horan [Second Manchu Invasion of Korea] was that the Qing Dynasty invaded Korea in 1636.

¹³⁰ They were Su Gwang Yi, Heo Gyun, Seung-Hoon Lee, Jeong Ya-Yung's brother, Gwon Cheol-Sin's brother, Beom-Woo Kim.

¹³¹ Harry A. Rhodes, "The First Protestant Missionary to Korea, 1832- Rev. Carl Auguststus F. Gutzlaff, M.D," *The Korea Mission Field* Vol. XXVI, No.11. (November.1931). 143.

potatoes and he translated the Lord's Prayer into Korean and distributed Bibles and booklets on science and geography in the local language. He noted that "the people, even of the lowest classes, can read and delight in reading"¹³² (16 July-17 August, 1836). One month later, the King refused the request and sent the Bibles back.¹³³

The next missionary, Rev. Robert Jermaine Thomas, (1839-1866) was the son of a pastor of the Congregational church of Wales and a member of the LMS. His wife and he arrived at Shanghai in China on 12 May, 1863. Unfortunately, four months later his wife died. He moved to Chefoo in sorrow. In 1865, he received word from Williamson Alexander, who was an agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland, suggesting that he would be visiting Korea on board the American trading schooner, General Sherman. Alexander had hopes of opening commerce with the country.¹³⁴ The schooner arrived on the west coast of Choseon and those on board distributed Bibles and aggressively pursued missionary activities.¹³⁵ The ship proceeded up the Daedong-river towards Pyeongyang with the hope of opening both trade and mission opportunities. However, the Korean commander ordered the soldiers to arrest all foreigners and the soldiers used fireballs and destroyed the ship. Thomas was killed along with White, and also five Qing and nineteen Malaysians, on 2 September, 1866.¹³⁶

The next big mission accomplishment was the translation in Manchuria of the New Testament into Korean. Scotsman Rev. John Ross (1841-1915) and his brother-in-law, John MacIntyre, (1837-1905) visited the Korean Gate at the border of Choseon for the first year memorial of Thomas' martyrdom. There they met Ungchan Lee with three other people who

¹³² Samuel H. Moffett, "Protestantism: its Influence on Modernization in Korea," *Modern Transformation of Korea*, edited by Yi Kyu Tae (Seoul: Sejong Publish Co., 1970), 194.

¹³³ Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, *Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China* (2nd eds. London: R. Clay, 1833), 216-248.

¹³⁴ S. Gale, "The Fate of the General Sherman" *The Korean Repository* (July, 1895), 252-254.

¹³⁵ Nak Chun Paek, *op.cit.*, 49; Letter from Thomas dates Jan. 12, 1866, Perking, China. Cf. *The Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* (July 1866), 200-201.

¹³⁶ Nak Chun Paek, *op.cit.*, 50.

had been baptized by Thomas in 1879.¹³⁷ They first translated the Gospel of Mark in 1878 and then all of the New Testament in 1887.¹³⁸ This was the first Scripture published in Korean. Almost at the same time, in the South, Su Jeong Lee published the gospel of Mark in Choseon language. He was an informal attendant to Yeong Hyo Park, the foreign envoy to Japan, and he had been baptised by an American Missionary on 29 April 1883. On 5 April 1885, two American Missionaries, Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916) of PCUSA and Henry G. Appenzeller (1858-1902) of the Methodist Church of USA, brought them to Korea. Australian mission in Korea was started in 1889 by PCV who sent Joseph Henry Davies (1856-1890) and his sister, Miss Mary T. Davies (1853-1941). Also the Church of England denomination in Korea was begun in 1890 by a Naval chaplain, Bishop Charles John Corfe (1843-1921), and the Presbyterian Church of USA entered the field in 1892, followed by a Canadian missionary in 1893.

3.2.2. The Domestic Situation in the late Period of Choseon

How was it that Christianity was so readily accepted in Korea? There are many reasons. There was active promotion of Christianity by the usual mission methods, but the situation in Korea at the time encouraged people to respond positively to the gospel. These domestic political, social and religious situations of Korea at that time will be examined.

Politically, the country was ruled by a king and in 1863 Gojong came to throne. As he was very young, his father, Hng-Sun Daewongun, (1820-1898)¹³⁹ led the government for ten years in his place. He advanced the Wimin (people) politics in Confucianism, which strengthened royal power and was also against opening up to Western powers. Especially in

¹³⁷ John Ross, "Manchuria Mission." *The United Missionary Record* (October 1, 1880), 333-334.

¹³⁸ It was later called the Ross Version.

¹³⁹ Heung-Seon Daewongun was the political title of the Choseon (Korea) dynasty.

the end time of Choseon, the Western powers were strongly demanding an open-door policy. The United States had already forced open the door in Japan. They tried unsuccessfully to force the end of isolationism in Korea, by the incident of the General Sherman. Then in 1871 they invaded Ganghwa-Do (Ganghwa island) with 6 battleships and 1230 troops. They won the war, but were unsuccessful in forcing an open-door policy.

Meanwhile, the world was changing as it underwent the industrial revolution and moved towards democracy, but Hng-Sun Daewongun's policy could not see further than the borders of feudal society. As a result he did not get the support of the people, yet he did not stop resistance, and so there arose much peasant rebellion and he was expelled from his political position in 1873. Then the doors were opened and the western powers rushed in with no limitations. Protestant mission in Korea came in smoothly against this background of the political turmoil mentioned above.¹⁴⁰

Christianity spread especially well during the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) when Korea suffered enormous damage and devastation. In such circumstances, the church was an asylum for the people.¹⁴¹

At that time, the Yangban system¹⁴² remained strong in Korea. It was actually a great impetus for the spreading of Christianity. Originally, the Yangban system comprised two groups that

¹⁴⁰ Man Gil Kang, "Munhogaebangeul jeonhuhan yeoksajeok sanghwanggwahamnisugyo [The Historical Situation Before and After Opening the Door and the Diplomatic Relations between Korea and the United States]" *Christian Thoughts* (February.1982) (Seoul: CLS), 17-22.

¹⁴¹ Geun Hwan Kang, "Hankook gaesinkyohoe chogie kyohoe geubseongjange daehanyoingwamunjeseong gochal [A Study on Factors and Problems about the Rapid Growth of the Korean Church in Early Protestant Churches]." *Theology and Mission*, No 9 (Seoul: Seoul Theological University, 1984), 94-96.

¹⁴² The Choseon Dynasty divided two classes in law, but actually in society there was a four group system as Yangban (Upper Class), Joongmin (middle class), Pyeongmin (ordinary people) and Cheonmin (slave class). This caste system was removed in Gabo reform (1894-1896). However, it did not disappear easily and social inequality remained.

supported the king in literature and the military. They received a great deal of land and labour. They naturally monopolized governmental positions and passed all of this on to their children. The system had also become more and more corrupt, allowing people with money to enter the important positions in the government in an unfair way. This situation affected the opportunity for others to move up into important positions and by 1800, ten percent of the population were of the Yangban class and the ruling class. There were 46 Peasant Revolts over a period of 31 years during the reign of Gojong (1863-1897).¹⁴³ Finally these produced the DongHak revolution of the lower classes. The government put down the revolution with the help of foreign powers. However, this had the result of encouraging foreign wars in Korea.

Thirdly was the religious situation. For some time Buddhism and Confucianism were the main religions in Korea, but they were practiced largely by the hated Yangban and officials and were not the people's religions. The people followed folk-beliefs, relying on them for solace.¹⁴⁴

It was the dream of the poor people to live a little better. The many evangelists whom the United States sent were much more prosperous than the local people who assumed that the God about whom these missionaries taught was far stronger than the traditional gods of Korea. These understandings made it easy for Koreans who were poor to receive the Gospel.

3.2.3. Outside Situation in the Last Period of Choseon

In the 1860s, the United States of America was formed and became a united nation after suffering the serious division of the Civil War (1861-1865), a time which had been the

¹⁴³ Hyeon Hee Lee, *Hanguk hyeondaesa sango* [The Korean Modern History Birth Pains] (Seoul: Tamgisa, 1975), 75.

¹⁴⁴ Dong Sik Yu, *Hanguk sinhanui gwangmaek* [The Veins of Korean Theology] (Seoul: Jeonmangsa, 1986), 37-38.

darkest period in the history of the United States, due to slavery and economic imbalances. But in undeveloped nations there was a departure from feudalism under the influence of world capitalism and there began to emerge national independence movements. Competition, which was especially fierce in Asia, developed between industrialised nations looking for cheap raw materials as well as markets for their goods, and this led to the development of the colonial lands. At first Portugal and Spain had a monopoly on Asian trade, but gradually the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and France were in fierce competition for Asian trade. The Netherlands secured Indonesia as a colony in 17th century, Britain colonised India in 18th century, France colonised the Vietnam peninsula in the end of the 19th century and the United States had secured the Philippines after victory in the war against Spain and Russia. The next goal was Korea.

The United States was a big land with abundant resources so they did not feel the need to secure overseas raw materials as European countries did. But the end of the 19th century raised the problem for them of the processing of surplus products and of the reinvestment of accumulated capital and so attention was directed to the Far East.

In the 1850s, America opened commerce with Japan which they thought could also serve as an intermediate location for navigating the Pacific Ocean from Hawaii. The next goal of the United States was China. However, many merchant vessels were needed in Korea and Taiwan in the middle positions to enter China via Japan.¹⁴⁵ So the United States demanded an open-door policy from these Asian countries in order to protect ships and crewmen if disaster should strike and to get supplies of food and drinking water for ships travelling to and from China. With this in view the General Sherman first landed in Korea in July, 1886 with the intention of obtaining an open door policy from Korea which would serve the commercial interests of the US and also take Christianity to Korea. The subsequent

¹⁴⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 7, (Seoul: Encyclopaedia Britannica Co. 1993), 360.

unfortunate incident of Shinmiyangyo¹⁴⁶ resulted in the United States–Korean treaty in 1882.

This was first diplomatic treaty with Korea by a developed western country.

However, the United States' main interests were in Japan and China and they had little interest in Korea. Because Korea's domestic political situation was complicated and they could not expect much economic benefit, the United States pursued a 'friendly neutrality policy' to avoid involvement in complex international politics in the Korean Peninsula. At that time the First Sino-Japanese War was occurring in Korea and the United States sent a letter to Japan demanding the sovereignty of an independent Korea. However, Japan won the war and the United States allowed Japan to dominate Korea in strategic ways. Meanwhile, American missionaries in Korea strictly adhered to the separation of church and state policies as recommended by the US government and this meant that American missionaries in Korea were forced to take a favourable attitude toward Japanese imperialists.¹⁴⁷

Japan had been converted into a modern nation state through the Meiji Restoration (1853–1877), under the king of the Meiji era, and China had been thoroughly defeated in the Opium Wars with the West. Japan's national strength was too weak to resist the demands of Western countries, so Japan signed the Kanagawa Treaty with the US in March 1854, and treaties with UK in August, and with Russia in December, 1854. Japan also signed a treaty of commerce with the United States, England, Russia, Netherlands, and France in 1858.¹⁴⁸ Japan had completely withheld Christianity for 300 years, but freedom of mission was granted following these treaties. Japan and China fought the Sino-Japanese war largely over control

¹⁴⁶ The incident of Shinmiyangyo [United States expedition to Korea] is that the United States was a first military expedition action to Korea in 1871.

¹⁴⁷ Hyeon Soo Kim, "Guhanmal mi seongyosa hwaldongui jeongchijeok uimi [The Political Significance of the American Missionary Activity in the Late Period of Choseon]," *Dongyanghak 31* [Oriental Studies 31] (Seoul: Dankook University Oriental Institute, 2001), 175.

¹⁴⁸ Dohi Akio, *Ilbon gidokkyosa* [The History of the Japanese Church], trans, Su Jin Kim (Seoul: CLC, 1991), 16.

of Korea, and Japan's victory gave them a monopoly in Korean affairs. Japan went to war with Russia over imperialist aims in the region and mediation by the US produced a peace treaty allowing the US to dominate the Philippines and Japan to dominate Korea. As a result Japan ruled Korea from 1910-1945.

3.3. Australian Missions to Korea

3.3.1. PCV Formation

The history of Australian Presbyterian mission began with mission to indigenous Australians. Aborigines were believed to have first arrived by sea from Southeast Asia between 40,000 and 70,000 years ago. The first known landing in Australia by Europeans was by Dutch Willem Janszoon in 1606. In 1770, Lieutenant James Cook charted the East coast area in Australia for Great Britain. Then the British decided to build a new penal colony in Australia. On 26th January 1788, Captain Arthur Phillip began settlement, having brought a fleet of 11 ships with 1500 prisoners from UK. Rev. Richard Johnson, a Church of England clergyman and an evangelical, came as chaplain to the Colony at Sydney Cove. The Australian Church began from an Evangelical base with a desire for evangelism and social reform.¹⁴⁹ Church of England services were established immediately and as other people immigrated to Australia there was also regular worship in other Christian traditions – Presbyterian (1802), Methodist (1812), Roman Catholic (1820), Congregational (1828), Baptist (1831), Society of Friends (1833), Lutheran (1838), Church of Christ (1846), Salvation Army (1880) and Greek

¹⁴⁹ Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia*, Melbourne (UK: Oxford University Press, 1996), 4-7.

Orthodox (1897).¹⁵⁰ The variety of denominational groups was a stumbling block for harmonious mission in the new colony.

In 1884, the Presbyterian Synod of Australia,¹⁵¹ which followed the Church of Scotland, declared a unity between the Established Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland,¹⁵² and opposed the interference in the Church by Government. However, a small number of supporters of the Free Church in Australia had formed the Synod of the Free Church in 1846 under the leadership of James Forbes, (1813-1851). In this way the Presbyterian Church in Victoria became divided.

On July 1, 1851 New South Wales was divided into two sections and the new state of Victoria was born. A few weeks later gold was discovered and Melbourne boomed. Until 1890, Melbourne was the biggest city in Australia and became a centre of industry, education, trade and transportation. The gold-rush not only gave wealth to Victoria, but also brought many social problems with the rapid growth of population. There were educational issues, moral corruption and the destruction of traditional value systems. In order to address these issues, the Presbyterian Church in Victoria urgently requested the mother church in Scotland to send more pastors as after the division in Presbyterianism there were insufficient pastors. As a solution to this problem the Victoria Presbyterian Church recruited pastors from the United Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and included non-Presbyterian pastors from England and Wales. On 7th May, 1859 the Church of Scotland, the Free Presbyterians and the United Presbyterians formed a united church under the name of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV) and Rev. James Clow was unanimously elected as

¹⁵⁰ Frank Engel, *Australian Christians in Conflict and Unity* (Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education, 1970), 14.

¹⁵¹ The Synod of Victoria divided in April 1854 from the Synod of Australia (1840-54).

¹⁵² Aeneas MacDonald, *One Hundred Years of Presbyterianism in Victoria* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullen, 1937), 25-26 .

the first moderator of the PCV. The traditions of the three Churches were fused together under the PCV. It was the first ecumenical experience in the Victoria Presbyterian Church.¹⁵³

The Presbyterian organisational system produced democratic tendencies in its members.¹⁵⁴ Between 1788 and 1900 the majority of millionaires in Australia were Scots or their descendants.¹⁵⁵ The PCV was said to be "the strongest, wealthiest, loudest and most influential of the churches in Victoria."¹⁵⁶ And some of the main churches had members who owned big farms, were bankers, professionals or influential political leaders and churches were built by their sponsorship.¹⁵⁷ In this way PCV impacted the domestic political economy and gave a strong financial impetus for foreign missions.

3.3.2. Mission Movement of PCV

Christian mission to Europe was begun in 1st century by the Apostle Paul. During the Dark Ages Christianity in Europe had become tightly controlled by Church hierarchies who promoted Church-instituted practices. Reformers arose in various countries. Nicholaus Ludwig Zinzendorf (1700-1760) was a central figure in the renewal of the Moravian movement. The rise of Puritanism in England also affected the German Pietism movement in the Lutheran Church. The Moravian movement influenced the spiritual revival in England

¹⁵³ Union of the Presbyterian Churches in Victoria influenced other states and the Presbyterian Church of Queensland (1863), of New South Wales (1865) and of South Australia (1865) were formed. Then on 6 May 1901, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australian (PCA) was inaugurated. On 22 June 1977, the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA) was established when most congregations of the Methodist Church of Australasia, PCA and the Congregational Union of Australia joined together.

¹⁵⁴ About this see this thesis, 1.7.4. Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV).

¹⁵⁵ Malcolm D. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1983), 157-158.

¹⁵⁶ Jill Roe, "Challenge and Response: Religious Life in Melbourne, 1876-86," *Journal of Religious History 5* (Melbourne, 1968), 160.

¹⁵⁷ Frank Engel, *op.cit.*, 34.

under John Wesley's ministry. These and others brought renewal in the Church in Europe which naturally led to missionary outreach. William Carey (1761-1834) is called "The father of Protestant missions."¹⁵⁸ He began missions to Asia in 1793. His influence spread through the English-speaking world and the Evangelical Awakening challenged churches in Europe and America. As a result of his impact the LMS was founded in 1795 and other missions were also begun. All of this led to the 19th century becoming "The Great Century of Missions".¹⁵⁹

The evangelical missionary movement caused the Foreign Mission Committee of the PCV to begin mission to Aborigines in 1860 and to the New Hebrides in November 1863 and two years later to the Chinese in Victoria. So the FMC had three major areas of mission – to the Chinese in Ballarat, to indigenous people of Australia and in the New Hebrides in the South Pacific.

Firstly, there was mission to the Chinese who came to Australia in the gold-rush. About one thousand Chinese came in 1858 and their numbers increased rapidly to 24,732 in 1861.¹⁶⁰ The General Assembly of the PCV began a mission to Chinese at Ballarat in 1865. They appointed William Young to the mission. He had been a missionary to Singapore for many years.

Secondly there was mission to Australian Aborigines. PCV wanted to have a mission to Australian Aborigines using the ministry of Moravian missionaries. On May 30, 1838 three

¹⁵⁸ S. Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin Books, 1964), 261.

¹⁵⁹ K. S. Latouette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, vol. 6: The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, A.D. 1800-1914*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1994); See also E. A. Lawrence, *Modern Missions in the East, Their Methods, Successes, and Limitations* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895).

¹⁶⁰ Aeneas MacDonald, *op.cit.*, 73.

Moravian missionaries informally began the first Aboriginal mission in Moreton Bay, Queensland and the mission lasted until 1843. In February 1850, the state governments of New South Wales, South Australia and Port Phillip requested the continuation of Moravian missionary work. David J. Bosch points out that "From the point of view of the colonial government" the missionary was "to convince the natives that do not comply".¹⁶¹ On the other hand, they were faithful to the principles of working "for the souls of those who do not care".¹⁶² But they did not get any one who had been converted back to London in 1856. By the request of Victoria's governor, Sir Henry Barkly, the Moravian Brother, Frederick Hagenauer, and Rev. Brother Spieseke arrived in Melbourne on May 7, 1858. They established a mission station called 'Ebenezer' in Victoria in 1859.

PCV also hired new Moravian missionaries for mission at Mapoon, and expanded mission to Weipa (1898) and Aurukun (1904).¹⁶³ Most aboriginal mission was a failure due to the strong resistance of Aborigines, but exceptionally, the work in Rama was a success story.

Thirdly, there was mission to New Hebrides.¹⁶⁴ Rev. John Inglis (1808–1891)¹⁶⁵ of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland arrived at Aneityum in 1852.¹⁶⁶ The Free Church of Scotland decided in 1882 that Australia churches must take over the work in the New

¹⁶¹ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Mary Knoll: Orbis Books, 1991), 303.

¹⁶² W. Huey Steele, "Moravian Missions to Aborigines of Australia," in *The Missionary Chronicle* (November 1948), 9.

¹⁶³ Ian Breward, *Australia: Australia: The Most Godless Place under Heaven* (Melbourne: Beacon Hill Books, 1988), 45.

¹⁶⁴ Regarding the early mission to the New Hebrides, Rev. John Williams and James Harris (1839) of LMS, Rev. George and Mrs. Gordon (1861) and his brother (1871) and Bishop Patterson (1871) were martyred. For more information see Sang Pil Son, *op.cit.*

¹⁶⁵ John Inglis wrote and published a number of books: *A Dictionary of the Aneityumese Language* (1882); *In the New Hebrides: Reminiscences of Missionary Life and Work* (1887).

¹⁶⁶ New Hebrides was a colonised island nation in the southwest of the Pacific Ocean and gained independence to become the Republic of Vanuatu in 1980.

Hebrides.¹⁶⁷ The PCV had connection with the New Hebrides through Rev. John Gibson Paton (1824-1907). He was sent by the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland as a pioneering missionary to Tanna. Three months later his wife and infant son died in the same month of Malaria and in 1861 he withdrew from Tanna to leave the graves of his wife, child and colleagues and barely managed to escape persecution. He left with only a portion of the Bible translation manuscripts and his clothes.¹⁶⁸ He went to Victoria where he appealed particularly to young people through his talks about his experiences in Tanna. Interest spread rapidly in Australia and also throughout Europe. Paton remarried in Edinburgh where he stayed till 1865 when he returned to Australia and was sent to New Hebrides by the PCV in 1866.¹⁶⁹ He was the first missionary of the newly formed PCV. Subsequently he recruited another Scotsman, James Noble, as a medical missionary for New Hebrides. Paton moved to Aniwa where he translated the New Testament into the local language and he ordained to first indigenous minister, Epeteneto of Aneityum, in 1897.¹⁷⁰

3.3.3. The Mission Momentum to Korea

The direct motivation to start the Korean outreach of the PCV was quite unexpected. Archdeacon John R. Wolfe was a missionary with CMS in China. However, in 1887 he went to Busan, Korea and wrote back to Rev. H. B. Macartney in Melbourne a letter for publication in the magazine of 'The Missionary at Home and Abroad' regarding the need in

¹⁶⁷ E. G. K. Hewat, *Vision and Achievement 1796-1956* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1960), 290-92.

¹⁶⁸ James Paton and A. K. Langridge, eds, and revised, *The Story of John G. Paton: His Work Among South Sea Cannibals* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2009), 96.

¹⁶⁹ The Report of Foreign Missions in 1889, Supplement to *The Presbyterian Monthly* (Aug. 1889), 23.

¹⁷⁰ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 51.

Korea. Rev. Joseph Henry Davies, (1856-1890) who was an evangelical young man of the Anglican Church, read Wolfe's letter and volunteered to serve in Korea.

Davies was born in Whangarei, New Zealand on 22 August 1856, but his family immigrated to Melbourne, Australia in 1860. His family was strongly religious, being members of the Plymouth Brethren. His favourite sister, Sarah, had been recruited as a missionary and was the first woman missionary from Australia to India. Davies visited South India and returned to Melbourne one year later where he received the degree of the Master of Arts in the Melbourne University. He was preparing to go back to India, in grief over the loss of his mother, when he read John R. Wolfe's letter and recognized that the need for service in Korea was more urgent than in India. Thus he decided to go to Korea. However, at that time the Anglican Church in Australia focused on Indian only. So Davies met Rev. John F. Ewing (1849-1890)¹⁷¹ of Toorak Presbyterian Church in Melbourne who introduced him to PCV and offered missionary work in affiliation with his church. Ewing greatly encouraged Davies to serve in Korea.

Davies studied theology in the New College of the Free Church of Scotland and was ordained in Melbourne. Then he was sent to Korea with the support of YMFU, accompanied by his sister, Miss Mary T. Davies (1853-1941). They arrived in Seoul on 5 September 1889 and were welcomed by the American missionaries. They lived with Rev. H.G. Underwood of PCUSA for five months while learning the language and making significant progress in it.¹⁷² Underwood trusted Davies' personality and his abilities and suggested they work together in

¹⁷¹ Rev. John F. Ewing's collected sermons with a biographical sketch entitled *The Unsearchable Riches of Christ and Other Sermons*, by Henry Drummond (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891), also his ministry see, John Wischer, eds, *The Presbyterian of Toorak* (Melbourne: The Presbyterians of Toorak, 1975), 33-42.

¹⁷² Lillias H. Underwood wrote that "Mrs Underwood stated that 'Davies was a man of the same gift for languages as Mr Underwood,'" *H. Underwood, Underwood of Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1983), 96.

translating the Bible. But Davies thought differently. In Seoul missionaries were already working and others were expected. Davies chose to go to another place where there was no established mission work. Busan was seen to be not only the gateway to Korea, but as a leading port city and close to Japan, Davies considered it a more effective place for mission. He left Seoul with a guide on 14 March, 1890 to explore the province and go to Busan. Davis suffered from severe pneumonia and smallpox when he was almost at Busan, three weeks after leaving Seoul. He received treatment from J. S. Gale and a Japanese doctor, but he died on 5 April, 1890 aged only 34 years. Rev. H. G. Underwood described Davies as "this enthusiastic, highly gifted and holy man, one of the most invaluable missionaries who ever came to Korea".¹⁷³

His sudden death became important in three aspects of PCV's mission to Korea. Firstly, the sudden death of the capable young missionary reminded the Church of the necessity of mission to Korea. In Davies' memorial service, planned by Rev. Ewing at Scots church in Melbourne on 6 May, 1890, an emphasis was placed on his self-sacrifice and an emphatic word was given that mission to Korea should not be interrupted. It provided the spiritual foundation of the PCV mission to Korea. Secondly, the YMFU ceased to be just a group for friendship and fellowship, but became firmly oriented to being a missionary-sending organization. The YMFU sent Rev. J. H. Mackay in the following year to replace Davies. Thirdly, it motivated the organization of PWMU in PCV.

Miss Mary returned to Australia after her beloved brother died. She mourned his death, but continued to be strong. She motivated mission by explaining that the time was ripe for sharing the gospel in Korea. Korea was ready to receive missionaries! Impressed with Davies' sacrifice and Mary's speech, women organized a mission agency called the PWMU. Their mission was distinct as "Mission work among women by women". The PWMU sent

¹⁷³ John Brown, *Witnessing Grace* (Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Press, 2009), 271.

three unmarried female missionaries, Miss Belle Menzies, Miss Jean Perry and Miss Mary Fawcett, to Korea in 1891 and in total about 40 people were sent by it. It made a major contribution to the mission movement to Korea.

3.4. Beginning Mission to the Kyeongsang Province

3.4.1. Background of the Kyeongsang Province

The Kyeongsang Province is a significant province in SE part of the peninsula, encompassing the cities of Busan, Daegu and Ulsan. In Kyeongsang Province Confucian culture and 1,000 years old Buddhist culture of the Silla (57 B.C-935 A.D.) and mysteries of the Gaya (42-532 A.D.) culture coexisted. It can be called the central region of Korea's national culture and history. The area of this region is 2,266km² which corresponds to 30% of the total area of South Korea. With mountains to the west, north and east, several east coast ports were developed, including Busan. According to the census of 1864 the population was about 1.52 million people accounting for 17.8 % of the whole population of Korea. After the Korean War (1950-1953) refugees accounted for more increase in population than natural increase. In 1955 the population of Busan was 7.12 million. Industrialization in 1970s brought rapid population growth around industrial cities. In 2010 there were 12.68 million people there – 25.8% of the total population of the country.

Religiously, Buddhism is practised by about 60% of the people of the Kyeongsang province, and according to the statistics of the Pogyo-laboratory, there are 1,329 Buddhist temples which comprise 37.89% temples in the whole country.¹⁷⁴ The temples of Haeinsa and Tongdogsa and also the Bulguksa, in Kyeongju, which was the capital city of the Silla

¹⁷⁴ Daehanbulgyo jogyejong [The Korean Bidist Jogyeojong], eds, *National Population and Religious Indicators* (Seoul: Daehanbulgyo jogyejong), 18-19.

Dynasty of 1,000 years, are designated Treasures and Kyeongsang people are very proud that the whole Kyeongju city has been given world heritage listing by UNESCO. The area there was the centre of Confucian culture in Korea more than any other area. Confucian culture produced a society which held to the superiority of men over women, and produced conservative attitudes, nationalism and anti-Japanese sentiments. In other words, it was not conducive to the introduction of outside ideas such as Christianity.

For these reasons the South Kyeongsang province saw the slowest development of Christianity in Korea. Byeong J. Jeong's analysis of this is as follows.¹⁷⁵ Firstly, the geographical situation played a part. The Kyeongsang province is surrounded by the mountains and sea and these create a natural isolation. Secondly, the economy contributed to a slow spread of Christianity as there were many poor farming villages where people were content with traditional ways. Thirdly was a religious reason associated with this rural life as the farming and fishing folk had a very conservative Confucianism along with strong Shamanism. Fourthly, the oppression of women also contributed as there was restriction on women's work in the community so they were sequestered in the homes. Fifthly was the rapid increase in population due to industrialization. The consequent social upheaval had an adverse effect on the success of the Australian missions. As such, the South Kyeongsang province was a difficult area for missions to achieve any rapid spread of Christianity, as compared to other regions.

3.4.2. PCV's Efforts in the South Kyeongsang Province

¹⁷⁵ Byeong Joon Jeong, "Haebang ijeonui Hojuseongyosadeului hwaldonggwa seongyujeongcaek yeongu [Australian Missionaries' Activities and Mission Policy before Korea Independence]." PCK, eds. *Hankookkyohoewa Hojukyohoe iyagi* [The Story of Korean Church and Australian Church] (Seoul: PCK, 2012), 265-266.

In 1883, the National Bible Society of Scotland's Secretary, J. A. Thomson, who resided in Yokohama, Japan, received 2000 Gospel booklets from John Rose in China and visited Busan for two months where he and a Japanese Christian distributed them to the people. Next year, he and his wife went again with the Japanese man to Busan and distributed another 1150 booklets. Following that time many Protestant missionaries visited Busan. Anglican Archdeacon John R. Wolfe,¹⁷⁶ who resided at Foo-Chow, China and who was called 'Ireland's gift to the Mission',¹⁷⁷ preached in Busan and the surrounding area in late November 1885 and in 1887,¹⁷⁸ Also two Canadian missionaries, James S. Gale (1863-1937) and Dr. Robert A. Hardie (1865-1949) settled in Busan for about one and half years from 10 December 1888.

In 1889, Henry Davies and his sister, Mary, of PCV stayed in Seoul for five months and Henry Davies journeyed to the unknown place of Busan. He arrived but the next day died from smallpox and pneumonia. This news of an able young man giving his life was great motivation to both the YMFU and PWMU in PCV. They sent one pastor couple and three unmarried missionaries the next year. These two agents made a big contribution to mission in Korea with the Foreign Missions Committee of PCV.

After Davis' death his sister Mary went back to Australia and PCUSA sent W. M. Baird (1862-1931) to Busan in September, 1891 where he worked till April, 1896. He not only evangelised through outreach, but also met people in his house. In the city of Jinju there was a large Yangban class and the centre of the most powerful anti-Japanese sentiments in the South Kyeongsang province. This was another obstacle to Christian mission there. Dr. Hugh

¹⁷⁶ John R. Wolfe was a first England missionary with CMS and he devoted his whole life to the work in Foo-Chow until 1915 for fifty two years. Eugene Stock, *History of the CMS*. Vol. 4 (London: CMS, 1916), 306-309.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 309.

¹⁷⁸ Sang Gyoo Lee, *To Korea with love; Australian Presbyterian Mission work in Korea, 1889-1941* (Melbourne: PCV, 2009), 69-72.

Currell (1871-1943), the first Australian medical missionary to Korea, came in Jinju in 1905 and began medical and educational work. He built the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital which was the first modern hospital in Jinju. As various denominational missionaries came in Korea they arranged mission field areas to avoid conflicts in the protestant mission to Korea. This was called the Territory Allocation Policy. For this reason, PCUSA mission completely withdrew from the South Kyeongsang province in 1913 and from 1914 they fully handed mission in the South Kyeongsang province over to PCV.

The PCV work was initially at Busan Station (1891) which was central to Busanjin and Choryang. However, the mission field increasingly expanded and mission stations were established at Jinju (1905), Masan (1911) Tongyeong (1913) and Geochang (1913). Additionally, a few of the PCA missionaries worked at the union theological Seminary in Pyongyang (1919) and the Severance Hospital in Seoul (1921). Another Australian worked as professor and doctor of the seminary.¹⁷⁹ Seven Australian missionaries died and 78 worked in Korea from 1889, when the first missionary H. Davis had arrived, to 1942 when they were withdrawn because of the Japanese imperialists.¹⁸⁰

3.4.3. PCM Established and the Territory Allocation Policy

In 5 October, 1898 when Henry Davies arrived in Seoul, there were about twenty missionaries already there. Thus H. Davies and H.G. Underwood of PCUSA mission were aware of a need for a mission council. So they organized the first consultative council, the

¹⁷⁹ Rev. Gelson Engel (1868-1939) was Professor Emeritus of Biblical Languages from 1906 to 1935 in Pyeongyang Theological Seminary. Also Dr. Charles Inglis McLaren (1882-1957) was assistant superintendent at Paton Memorial Hospital, Chinju, then became Professor at the Severance Hospital (later the Medical Faculty of Yonsei University), Seoul, Korea.

¹⁸⁰ Kyeong Seok Kim, eds, *Chogi Busanjiyeokui Gidokingwa gamso* [Christianity Handed Down and Early Christian Members in Busan, Korea] (Seoul: Dosuchulpan Bethel, 2013), 39.

PCM of PCUSA and PCV with H. Davies as Secretary and J. W. Heron as Chairman.¹⁸¹ It was a beginning of an ecumenical movement between mission groups for the future. Unfortunately, H. Davies died suddenly the next year and it was stopped for a time and then re-organized, becoming 'The Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government'. The PCM agreed that they would build one Presbyterian Church in Korea and included mission field allocation. Later the Presbyterian Church of Canada and the APM joined the agreement. So the PCM played an important role in the institution of the church in Korea as they worked under the Nevius Policy.¹⁸²

In 1901, a combined council of missionaries and Koreans, named 'The Choseon Presbyterian Council' was organised in both the English-speaking Committee and Korean-speaking Committee. PCM organized the General Council of Protestant Evangelical Mission in Korea on 15 September, 1905 with 150 protestant missionaries of six mission groups who had the goal to build one church rather than develop a split church in Korea. Eventually the Methodists were divided by opposition from their home council of mission over the problem of different doctrine. They established a separate Seminary in 1907. On 17 September, 1907 the first independent presbytery was organized as the Choseon Presbyterian Presbytery, and in 1912 the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Choseon was held.

The Territory Allocation Policy was proposed by H. G. Apenzeller of the Methodist Church to H. Underwood of the Presbyterian Church in 1888, but it was not agreed to. The issue was discussed again in PCM when SPUSA mission began work in Korea, and agreed to in January, 1893. According to it PCUSA would work in the Pyeongan province, the Hwanghae province and the North Kyeongsang province, SPUSA work would be in the Jeolra province, the Chucheong province and the Jeju island, the Canada Presbyterians would work in the

¹⁸¹ John Brown, *op.cit.*, 271.

¹⁸² Regarding this, for more details see my thesis 3.5.1. Mission Policies and the Forward Movement.

Hamkyeong province, and there would be communal areas of APM and PCUSA in Busan and the South Kyeongsang province. In June of the same year an agreement was reached between PCUSA and the Northern Methodist mission. The central agreement was that in ports and in towns with a population greater than 5,000 mission activity would be open to both groups, but in towns with fewer than 5,000 people the group who had first begun mission would continue and the other would withdraw.

On 16-17 September, 1909 four Presbyterian missions and two Methodist Missions agreed to the Territory Allocation Policy, but other groups did not take part in it and pursued mission wherever they wanted.

In the South Kyeongsang province from 1900, APM and PCUSA began discussions and in 1903 agreed that APM work in the south western area and PCUSA in the north eastern area.¹⁸³ The two groups finally agreed in 1913 that at the end of the year PCUSA would totally withdraw from Busan and the South Kyeongsang province.¹⁸⁴ This agreement is called the Comity Arrangement because it was one of mutual respect and compromise between the Mission groups.¹⁸⁵

3.5. Mission Advance in the South Kyeongsang Province

3.5.1. Mission Policies and the Forward Movement

In the late 19th century, missionaries were mostly young people in their twenties. They made many mistakes and conflicts arose between them. So John L. Nevius (1829-1893) came and

¹⁸³ More details see, Sang Gyoo Lee, *To Korea with Love*, 129-133.

¹⁸⁴ More details see, *Ibid.*, 141-143.

¹⁸⁵ John Brown, *op.cit.*, 25.

in 1891 suggested to PCM what became known as the Nevius mission policy.¹⁸⁶ Charles Allen Clark clarified it as the 'Three-Self' principles of Self-propagation, Self-government and Self-support.¹⁸⁷ It was the first mission policy for the church in Korea.

Rev. Frank H. L. Patton, (1870-1938)¹⁸⁸ who was a secretary of FMC from 1906 to 1924,¹⁸⁹ visited Korea.¹⁹⁰ He set up the Forward Policy in 1911. Its contents were:

1. The need for fourteen Pastor Missionaries in Korea,
2. The building of a hospital in Jinju, and the sending of a professor to the Severance Hospital in Seoul,
3. The transferring of the Boys' School from APM control to the local Korean church and the building of a girls' dorm in the Girl's School which would remain under APM.
4. Involvement in teaching in the Union Theological Seminary in Pyeongyang,
5. The need for £6,000 for the building of schools.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ This mission policy which first advocated and conducted by Henry Venn (1796-1873) who was an English missionary and Anglican clergyman. When he worked for the Church Missionary Society as honorary secretary from 1841 to 1873, he created three 'Self' principles of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. See Terry, John Mark, Indigenous Churches, in Scott A. Moreau, *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions* (Michigan: Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2000), 483–485.

¹⁸⁷ Charles Allen Clark. *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930), 83.

¹⁸⁸ Rev. Frank H. L. Patton was a son of John G. Paton who guided J. N. Mackenzie, as a missionary to New Hebrides. He and Mackenzie studied at the Glasgow University and were then co-workers missionary in New Hebrides. The partnership continued when Mackenzie went to Korea as Patton gave him great support from his position in Melbourne. He did that by (1) adjusting to a unified mission the work of YMFU, PWMU, FMC of PCV, (2) securing a budget and missionaries to be send to Korea, (3) encouraging a mission spirit and development of the church's duty of mission.

¹⁸⁹ John Brown, *op.cit.*, 308-308.

¹⁹⁰ *Blue Book* (May, 1911), xliv.

¹⁹¹ More details see, Sang Gyoo Lee, *To Korea with Love*, 124-128.

As a consequence of this policy, when PCUSA withdrew from South Kyeongsang province, the APM expanded mission with the building of new stations at Tongyeong and Geochang, followed by Busan, Jinju and Masan. This policy therefore made a big contribution to church growth, education and the training of young women.

Rev. Frank H. L. Patton revisited in Korea in 1920 and made a second Mission Policy:

1. Supplementary staff to be supplied from Australia to work with Korean evangelists.
2. Support from government should be requested for Changsin School and Ihsin School.
3. Clinics should be set up in Tongyeong,
4. Dr. C. I. McLaren should be sent to the Severance Hospital in Seoul as professor,
5. Relief work among prostitutes should begin.

Rev. Henry Matthew, who was secretary of FMC from 1925-1939, came to Korea in 1928 and set out the third Mission Policy:

1. Australian missionaries were needed to supplement mission by Korean evangelists.
2. In keeping with the principle of being Self-Supporting, the Korean Church should support the Korean outreach evangelists.
3. Missionaries should be sent for rural work.
4. Korean leaders would be educated in Australia for one year.
5. Cars should be supplied to itinerant workers.

FMC found difficulty in fulfilling this policy because of financial shortages which continued till mission ceased in 1941.

3.5.2. The Mission Expansion

The women missionaries among the second team of PCV began mission activity in Busanjin camp in 1891. They cared for orphans in the day, opened Sunday School for children and adults every Sunday and taught regular classes for women.¹⁹² Women missionaries also taught in the Boys' School when it was established. In Choryang mission camp, Rev. Andrew Adamson replaced Rev. Mackay on 20 May, 1894 and the following year, his wife died. Despite such a sad situation Adamson began a Boys' School in Choryang in 1897 and four boys were baptised in 1898. Rev Adamson had leadership authority over the women missionaries, but there was severe conflict, and in a lengthy letter to the PWMU the women reported that they did not trust him. So PWMU sent Rev. G Engel, who had some experience in India,¹⁹³ to Busan on 29 October 1900. He was the only male missionary sent by PWMU. Jinju was the second APM station (1905). Jinju was the centre of the South Kyeongsang province and the place of the provincial government until 1925. Jinju was the strongest place of Confucian culture and of the pronounced social division of Yangban (noble family) and Pyeongmin (common people), and was the most conservative place in the country. So APM considered it strategically valuable to evangelise neighbouring areas. They decided to open another mission station in Jinju. The first missionary was Rev. Dr. Hugh Currell (1871-1943) who arrived with two sons in 20 October 1905.¹⁹⁴ His work had a profound impact on Jinju and the local area for thirteen years until his retirement from Korea in 1915. He had built a modern hospital, the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital, in 1913, supported by PWMU. This was named to commemorate the death of missionary J. G. Paton's wife, who had been the first

¹⁹² The women were thirty six persons in 1895 then increased sixty five in the Women's Class and about fifty children. Annual Report of the PWMU (1898), 6; *Blue Book* (1898), xxiii.

¹⁹³ Annual Report the PWMU (1899-1900), 1.

¹⁹⁴ *Messenger* (June 15, 1906), 330.

PCV missionary, together with her husband, in New Hebrides.¹⁹⁵ In 1907, Miss Nellie R. Scholes began the first modern school, Siwon School.

Masan was the third APM station (1911). This was established by Rev. A. Adamson who preached and together with some women had regular worship meetings. An American missionary had similar meetings and the two groups combined in 1905 and there was rapid growth in Masan. Therefore FMC decided that Adamson's house in Choryang should be sold and he should move to Masan in July 1911. After that the Mission also had Rev. R. Watson, Miss G. Napier, a nurse, and Miss McPhee who worked in Changsin School.

Tongyeong was the fourth APM station (1913). By the Territory Allocation Policy, PCUSA had fully withdrawn from the area so AMP decided to set up the mission station in Tongyeong.¹⁹⁶ At that time in Tongyeong disease had been prevalent with various infectious diseases and skin diseases related to the oceanic climate, so there was an urgent need for Western medical care. Dr. W. Taylor (1877-1938) was sent as the first medical missionary to Tongyeong in April 1913. Then Rev. W. Robert began a school and his wife contributed to the education of children by teaching in the Jinmyeong Kindergarten, Jinmyeong School and Jinmyeong Institute. Mrs Taylor also helped in the Kindergarten.

Geochang was the fifth APM station (1913). A special AMP meeting (1911) in Busanjin, decided "a new station should be opened in Geochang as soon as a clerical man can be spared"¹⁹⁷ and in 1912 it was decided to send Mr. Macrae.¹⁹⁸ He began work on 12 June, 1912 with Rev. J. T. Kelly (1877-1959) who had just arrived in Korea. Mrs Kelly made a great contribution with her musical talent. And also Miss Aym Skinner and Miss S. M. Scott

¹⁹⁵ Edith A. Kerr & George Anderson, *The Australian Mission to Korea, 1889-1941* (Sydney: Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, 1970), 75.

¹⁹⁶ *Extracts* (1909-1913), 29.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

worked for twenty three years on educational activities and circuit evangelism in that area. By the agreement on the Allocation of Territory Policy, since 1914 the Northern Presbyterian Mission had handed over a huge area of the South Kyeongsang province to APM.¹⁹⁹ At that time twenty six missionaries were working in around five mission stations.²⁰⁰

3.5.3. Australia's Three Main Works

In the South Kyeongsang province, church growth was slow as compared to other regions.²⁰¹ Nevertheless APM mission had good success in the three areas of itinerant ministry, education and medical care.

Firstly, the first APM mission was active in itinerant work to build the church. Australian missionaries were interested in education for children and women.²⁰² They began an orphanage (1893) and started a Bible study class for women in 1894. This Bible study group reached thirty-six people in 1895 and two years later increased to sixty five.²⁰³ The Sunday school for children and women was attended by around fifty people in Busanjin in 1897. In

¹⁹⁹ Regarding 'From 1914 APM handed over five stations and following districts' see, Sang Gyoo Lee, *To Korea with Love*, 141-142

²⁰⁰ *Extracts* (1909-1913), 55. There were twenty six missionaries of APM on the roll in 1914. They included 10 ordained ministers, 3 medical doctors and 13 single lady missionaries of PWMU; Rev. A.W. Allen, F.W. Cunningham, G. Engel, J.K. Kelly, E.K. Lomas, D.M. Lyall, J.N. Mackenzie, F.J.L. Macrae, R.D. Watson, A.C. Wright, Drs. H. Curell, C.I. McLaren, W.Taylor and Misses M.L. Alexander, A.M.Campell, F.L. Clerke, M.S.Davies, E. M. Ebery, C.J.Laing, I. McPhee, B. Menzies, E. S. Moore, G. Napier, A. G. Niven, N. R. Scholes and A. G. M. Skinner.

²⁰¹ The fastest growth at that time the church growth was 1000% in ten years in Seoul, but it achieved most growth in just three years. Martha Huntley, *Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1984), 121.

²⁰² APM missionaries were seventy eight people until Korean independence from being a Japanese colony (1945). Among them twenty four male missionaries and thirty five lady missionaries went to Korea.

²⁰³ Annual Report of the PWMU (1989), 6.

Choryang, Rev. Adamson and Rev. Mackay formed the first protestant Christian group and it became the Busanjin Church. In the South Kyeongsang Province in 1904, there were 152 people in 15 regular meeting places and ninety four of these were under the authority of APM.²⁰⁴ By 1905 the number had increased to 184 people in seventeen regular meeting places²⁰⁵ and by next year there were 280 people with 262 of them catechumens, and there were six church buildings.²⁰⁶ In 1907 the Great Spiritual Movement was spreading across the whole nation with the slogan ‘One Million Souls to Christ’. This movement impacted positively on church growth in the South Kyeongsang province too. In 1919, the 3.1 movement (the independence movement) was led by Christians and that made a great impact on more rapid church growth.

Secondly were educational activities. The APM opened schools for children and adults and made significant contribution to modern education in these places. Australia sent many ladies via PWMU so naturally they led education for children and women. By the Forward Policy the educational mission was reinforced in 1911. It was the goal to establish primary schools and secondary schools in the five stations and send students for higher learning to study in Seoul and Pyeongyang.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, in 1912 Australia started vocational school at night in order to give opportunity for self-reliance and education for poor women, especially prostitutes. The products of their embroidery classes were sold at PCV's building in Melbourne.

²⁰⁴ Edith A. Kerr & George Anderson, *op.cit.*, 17.

²⁰⁵ Statistical report of APM in Korea for the period ending June 30, 1905.

²⁰⁶ Allen D. Clark, *op.cit.*, 128.

²⁰⁷ The Minutes of the Council (January 9-12, 1923), 9.

Thirdly were medical activities. At that time in this region folk medicine with associated Shamanism remained in use. After the open port agreement Jaesaeng-uiwon (Renew-clinics) were established for the Japanese as around twenty thousand lived in Busan. A Canadian, Dr. Hardie, had begun the first medical activities and PCUSA had opened a clinic and hospital. In contrast, Australian medical work was a little late. They lacked medical missionary volunteers. However, Dr. H. Currell arrived on 19 May 1902 and moved to Jinju where he built the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital in 1913. Additionally, in other stations medical centres or small clinics were operated. Meanwhile, P. Paton, who was a missionary of PCV, had been seeking medical missionaries by touring Australia and Europe. At that time J. N. Mackenzie heard his message in the University of Glasgow and went to Korea and worked in the Asylum of Lepers in Busan from 1910 to 1938. Dr C. McLaren, who was the first psychiatrist in Korea, worked in the Severance Hospital in Seoul from 1913 and trained a Neuropsychiatry Officer and built a psychiatric clinic in 1923. He saw the connection between bodily and spiritual well-being, so he tried to unite of salvation of the spirit, the treatment of the body and social changes for the total health of patients.

3.6. Conclusion

The protestant faith came clearly to Korea through China and Japan. Before the missionaries officially came into Korea, there was the Korean translation of the Bible, and consequently there were Korean Christians already existing before missions were established. At that time, Choseon was isolated without trade with any other country. The great powers such as America, Russia, France, Germany etc, had been insisting on trade with Asia and were alert for an opportunity, and that was provided by a crisis situation in the country.

Australian mission was started to Korea by PCV. The PCV was a union formed by three branches of Presbyterianism who had migrated from Scottish and Irish areas in 1859. The

establishment of PCV was the first ecumenical experience of evangelical Presbyterians in the state of Victoria. The PCV made possible the development of foreign and domestic missions. Immediately there was mission to Victorian Chinese, Aborigines and to the New Hebrides. Mission to Korea was recognized as a duty by PCV when young Henry Davis died in Korea. The missionaries of APM worked in the South Kyeongsang province which was the most difficult region in Korea in which to accommodate the gospel. They had there a strong feudal social system and Confucian and Buddhist cultures. Nevertheless APM wisely and with dedication worked to set up five mission stations in the major cities, with the threefold outreach of evangelism, education and medical activities.

APM missionaries were greatly interested in the poor and marginalized people such as women, children, lepers, disabled people and prostitutes. It can be assumed that the many women Missionaries would have had a great influence on motherhood. Australian missionaries did not separate evangelism and community service, and neither did they cause a backlash against Christianity because their missions were built through these services and so they were able to expand mission in the South Kyeongsang province.

Chapter 4. James Noble Mackenzie and Mission Background to Korea

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, the background of the mission of James Noble Mackenzie, a prominent missionary in 20th century Korea, will be investigated. The specific perspective of this study is mission to the Minjung and the influence it had. In order to understand his mission subject, mission spirit, and mission method it is important to study his background. Moreover, in this section the time of learning and growth in his childhood, the knowledge gained from his previous experience in the mission field and the influence these were on his ministry in Korea will be covered .

What is history? History does not stop at recognizing historical facts. Also, it does not end by getting a lesson from history. History is a discipline that reveals the causes and consequences of what is believed to be meaningful. So 'history is the conversation between the present and the past'.²⁰⁸ In other words, it is to have a historical consciousness. It is to reveal feelings, opinions, thoughts and theories regarding past events. Therefore, it is necessary to reveal the background before Mackenzie's Korean ministry can be understood correctly.

Accordingly, this chapter will track his childhood situation, college life and theological studies. Perhaps his background was destined to lead him to be called as a missionary. The process by which he was called to become a missionary and his preparation for mission will also be looked at. In addition, his mission method and content of his mission to the native people of Nogugu, Santo, New Hebrides in the South Pacific where he served for 17 years will be explained. Finally there will be analysis and evaluation of the impact on Korea of his mission.

²⁰⁸ Edward Hallett Carr, *op.cit.*, 24.

Therefore, this chapter will provide answers to the two questions:

- Who were the people suffering in the Mackenzie's era?
- What was Mackenzie's work with the marginalized people?

4.2. Divinely Called Missionary

4.2.1. His Childhood

James Noble Mackenzie (8 January 1865-15 November 1952) was born in Isle of Ewe, Ross-shire, Scotland. His father, Kenneth Mackenzie was the miller and a leader in his village and his mother, Catherine Macrae, bore seven children, of whom Mackenzie was the sixth.²⁰⁹ His family was the 'Lochcarron Mackenzie' family. Lochcarron is a village on the northern shore and near the head of Loch Carron. Not much is known about his father's family, but one can glean that he and his family were Christian, as they were buried in Lochcarron churchyard. His mother's family, however, was a thoroughly pagan family deeply involved in pagan customs. They participated in bull sacrifices for about a millennium in the Island of Lochcarron, and were eventually excommunicated from the island, proven guilty and without any evidence of repentance.²¹⁰

The island of Ewe was extremely interesting for children. There are many small caves in the seaside to explore by boat. Fishing was their major source of food, and fishing on the island was great fun for young children as well as adults. When Mackenzie turned five years old, his father died of tuberculosis, having nursed a bad cold for several months after suffering

²⁰⁹ About his Family Tree see, Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 6..

²¹⁰ John H. Dixon, *Gairloch and Guide to Loch Maree* (Oxford: Gairloch Parish Branch, 1975), 410.

complications without a doctor's treatment. He was buried in Loch Carron churchyard 100km away by sea where most of his relatives were buried.²¹¹

The head of household having passed away, his mother left the island of Ewe in order to provide a livelihood for her seven children. They left on May, 1870 and lived for six months in Kyleakin, a village on Skye, separated by a narrow strait from the Kyle of Lochalsh. They then moved to the small city of Plockton, where development was booming at the time. At that time Catherine received a bailout in the parish and Ann and Christina left Glasgow for work as housekeepers, while Kenneth (15 years old) and Alexander (12 years old) worked as labourers, leaving only three children in the house.²¹²

After his brothers scattered to pursue their livelihoods, Mackenzie did too, moving to the big city of Glasgow in October. He lived in the house of his mother's cousin, Mrs. Jessie MacKay's, and found a job, using two recommendation letters. One, by Rev William Sinclair stated, "I have never heard anything dishonest or dishonourable laid to his charge",²¹³ while the second, by his headmaster, was more positive:

"... attention to lessons...progress in classes...a regular attendant at Sabbath School ...reason to esteem him truthful, honest and obliging and believe he will give satisfaction to anyone who may employ him".²¹⁴

With these recommendations he got a job in a cotton-goods warehouse, but his salary was not enough to provide properly for his needs.

His life in Glasgow was poor and lonely. It was not easy without family. Naturally, he concentrated on his spiritual life. He wanted to train as a missionary to learn how to

²¹¹ On the monument of Kenneth Mackenzie (1819-1870) re the date of his death 1 February 1870 see Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 8.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 16.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 20.

²¹⁴ *Loc.cit.*

overcome loneliness and poverty. Day and night, he never failed to miss any formal or informal meetings at the Gaelic Church. At the time he was thinking that he should become a pastor, because he truly respected their work. In the spring of 1882 he, among many others, heard D. L. Moody's sermon one Sunday. When the Evangelism movement was in progress it impacted many people, including Mackenzie who "determined to live a better life in future...."²¹⁵ It was then that he decided that his life would be given to the Holy God. He began to study again, whilst working as a postman in both morning and evening, but two years later he stopped this, being too tired.

He was attending the Free Church, but was not able to participate in the Holy Sacrament. The church taught that no one could attend at the Holy Table without deep repentance. But he had lack of confidence in his salvation, so he could not receive the Holy bread. Then on 3 May 1884, he was given a big awakening by his landlady's sister, who offered advice when she heard of his deep concerns. At that point, he knew that the debt of sins was already paid by Jesus Christ, who was always willing and able to save all those who trusted in Him. He felt joy and exaltation: "There and then I saw the Light and my doubts vanished. I became a communicant member of the Hope Street Gaelic congregation in Glasgow."²¹⁶

After that, he was extremely motivated to pursue his interest in foreign missions. One night in January 1885, Mackenzie attended a missionary farewell of the 'Cambridge Seven',²¹⁷ who were about to leave for China with the China Inland Mission. There was great public interest in them, as they were famous sport stars. To the cheers of the public these elite students pledged that they would devote their lives to a mission to China. Mackenzie witnessed this and was greatly impressed with those who volunteered to become missionaries in China. He

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

²¹⁶ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 14.

²¹⁷ The Cambridge Seven were seven students from Cambridge University who volunteered for inland missionaries in China in 1885.

attended other meetings in Glasgow as well, and became extremely passionate about going on a foreign mission. But every pastor he consulted advised him that if he completed university studies before going to China, he would be able to do more useful work in a foreign country. In particular, his uncle, Rev. Roderick Macrae, suggested that if he wanted to study in Galloway, he would assist. But Mackenzie was worried that he had already ceased his studies, and about how he could procure his school fees.²¹⁸

4.2.2. In His University and Theological College

Mackenzie studied Humanities, Latin and Greek in University; he did not receive a degree, but a graduate certificate only. When he was in the first year he had the opportunity to earn his tuition fee. In the summer months of 1886, he was appointed a temporary teacher at Claddach Canish, North Uist. It was under the Ladies' Highland Association²¹⁹ of the Free Church. There were thirty pupils in the school. Around 120 people lived on the island, and they expected him to lead their worship services. There, he preached for the first time in his life. Then he received another teaching opportunity, at Galloway School, for twelve months at the close of his second session in spring 1887. He took a leave of absence from university and taught one year there; then from the spring of 1888 he taught three years in Coll Island. During this period, he recognised that teaching had an important influence on people: even dull students could be changed through education.

²¹⁸ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 14.

²¹⁹ This Ladies' Highland Association was built in 1850 by the Edinburgh Free Church Ladies Association to establish academic and religious improvement in the remote Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

In the autumn of 1981, Mackenzie graduated from university and entered the Trinity College of Divinity faculty of the Free Church.²²⁰ When he was studying theology, he received significant training to look critically at the Synoptic by Dr. Marcus Dodds and Dr. A. B. Bruce.²²¹ They challenged him and gave him a broader perspective. He was also taught physics by Dr. Henry Drummond, and this gave Mackenzie a discerning mind.²²² In his first year of theological study, he met Mr. Robert Wilder who came from the United States. He then signed up to be a volunteer missionary, with the following pledge: "I promise, God willing, to devote my life to foreign mission work."²²³ Following this, he travelled with him to other schools as his assistant.

Mackenzie attended the commemoration services for James Alexander Bain who was martyred at Bandawe, Livingstonia, and he was deeply impressed. Then he went downstairs to Nicol MacNicol, a friend who saw his determination for missionary work and suggested, 'Will you not become a missionary?' Mackenzie had already decided to become a missionary. At the time MacNicol did not have any answers, but told Mackenzie he had done consecrated work for thirty-six years at Poona in Bombay, India.²²⁴

4.2.3. Divine Calling for Missionary work

This meeting ignited Mackenzie's decision to become a missionary. On Sunday afternoon in 14 January 1894, in the chapel of his old University in Glasgow, he heard the preaching of John G. Paton (1824-1905), who was one of the greatest missionaries of the 20th century.

²²⁰ William Malcolm Macgregor, *A Souvenir of the Union in 1929: With an Historical Sketch of the United Free Church College, Glasgow* (Dublin: Trinity College Union, 1930), 36.

²²¹ A. McPherson, eds, *History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland* (Inverness: Publications Committee, Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1973), 50.

²²² Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 25-26, 255.

²²³ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 17.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

John G. Paton was sent as a missionary by the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1858 to New Hebrides. He worked in the island of Tanna to pioneer the mission for four years. In 1866 he was transferred to PCV, who sent him to New Hebrides again, on the island of Aniwa. He worked successfully for fifteen years. After that he recruited many countries to support funding for mission ships such as the 'Day Spring' and to find medical volunteers. Mackenzie felt a calling to become a missionary in China. At the time, Paton exclaimed that he was not looking for money, but for men. Mackenzie attended one more meeting and was interviewed by Paton. In that meeting he volunteered and was accepted as a missionary to New Hebrides in February 1894.²²⁵

At that time he met Margaret Kelly (1870-1908, Maggie) a missionary candidate who was also a nurse. She was preparing to go to the Congo, Africa. They shared a vision of praying together and fell in love. John G. Paton was greatly pleased with their meeting. He was looking for a doctor missionary, as according to his report to the PCV "... the next position is to be a medical missionary,"²²⁶ and expected that they could work even more successfully if they were well prepared. He arranged for them to get medical training for thirteen weeks in the Glasgow hospital before leaving. There, many good nurses and physicians helped them with their medical knowledge. Mackenzie and Maggie married on 3 June 1894 and they then left Scotland and finally arrived in Melbourne, Australia on November 1st, 1894. Mackenzie was accepted as a candidate for Mission in New Hebrides through the Synod of North Melbourne and passed his examination on 7th December. Then he was ordained as a missionary. Soon afterwards, they left for Port Villa, New Hebrides by steamer ship, S.S. Katoomba, on 4th April 1895. At that time Mackenzie was thirty years old and Maggie was

²²⁵ Mackenzie's letter (December 15, 1908) and *Messenger* (January 29, 1909), 67.

²²⁶ *Minutes of General Assembly* (November 1894), 60.

twenty-five. They became members of the group of twenty missionaries, including two lay people and two medical missionaries.²²⁷

4.3. J. N. Mackenzie and New Hebrides

4.3.1. Mission History in New Hebrides

Late in the 19th century, many Europeans came to the New Hebrides for territorial expansion and economic objectives. They occupied indigenous people's residences and proceeded to dominate them – Britain and France in particular. The two countries organized the Navy Commission on 16 November 1887 to protect the safety of their citizens. They then colonized New Hebrides in 1906.²²⁸ This country became independent 30 July 1980 and was renamed the Republic of Vanuatu.

The first exploration to the New Hebrides was by Spanish explorer, Pedro de Quiros and Luis Vaez deTorres, who discovered the huge Santo Island in 30 April 1606. He called it 'Australia Del Espiritu Santo' (South land of the Holy Spirit), and wanted to build New Jerusalem there, but left just fifty days later because of a dispute among the team.²²⁹ Then a Frenchman De Bougainville discovered the islands northwest of Malekula Island in his ship the 'La Bordesse', and recorded 'New Cyclades'.²³⁰ Afterwards, Captain James Cook circled past Tahiti to Santo in the New Cyclades which he renamed New Hebrides in 1774.²³¹ At

²²⁷ The photo of twenty missionaries, see, John Graham Miller, *Live Book III*, (Sydney : Committees on Christian Education and Overseas Missions, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, [1978-1990]), 37.

²²⁸ The University of the South Pacific and the South Pacific Social Science Association, eds, VANUATU (New Zealand: Whitcoulls Ltd., 1980), 29-33.

²²⁹ J. Graham Miller, *Live book I*, 139, and also summarize see the same book, 175.

²³⁰ The University of the South Pacific and the South Pacific Social Science Association, *op. cit.*, 25.

²³¹ *Loc. cit.*

the time, James Cook used the long green branches as a symbol of peace. It is in the centre of their national flag today.²³²

The most active mission was Presbyterian. Firstly, the missionary, John Williams of London, and his fellows of Missionary Society (LMS) arrived on 20 November, 1839 at the Eromanga coast by boat. Then he exchanged coconut juice and some gifts with the natives. When they went walking into the island, they were attacked on signal by the chief, Auwi-auwi. Fortunately two of them escaped to the ship, but Williams and Harris were beaten to death by clubs and cooked. They were martyred in New Hebrides on 30 November 1839.²³³

On the other hand, Canadian, Rev. John Geddie, of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia sent first a Polynesian teacher²³⁴ in 29 July 1848. Mr and Mrs John Inglis of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland arrived with Bishop Selwyn at Aneityum²³⁵ in the middle of 1852 and co-worked on two families. In 1877, Rev. John Inglis returned and published the Old Testament of Aneityum language in Scotland. He died in 1891 in Galloway.²³⁶ In the same year, Rev. John G. Paton was sent to Tanna and unfortunately his wife and child died there, so he went back to Australia, where he was then transferred to being a missionary of PCV. He worked in Aniwa by the mission ship 'Day Spring' from November 1866 to 1881. Afterwards, he worked as a mission agent in many countries. In the early days in New Hebrides, Christian mission was in the most Southern island only, but from 1853 LMS began to expand to

²³² Helen Rose Gillan, *Victoria Vanuatu* (Melbourne: Spectrum press, 1988), 10.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 14, and, A. Wright Murray, *The Martyrs of Polynesia* (London: Scholar's Choice, 1885), 4.

²³⁴ The University of the South Pacific and The South Pacific Social Science Association, *op. cit.*, 29.

²³⁵ About the early mission in the island of Aneityum and Tanna detail see, J. Graham Miller, *Live Book II*, 3-45.

²³⁶ Helen Rose Gillan, *op. cit.*, 18-20.

another nearby island, extending to the central area, and to other islands step by step.²³⁷

From 1848 to 1920, sixty-two Presbyterian missionaries served in New Hebrides.²³⁸

4.3.2. Protestants Seeded in Nogugu, Santo

Santo is the largest island in New Hebrides, approximately 115km from north to south, and 60km from east to west. It has a chain of mountains stretching along the west coast, the highest being Mt. Tabwemasana (elevation 1880 m). The existence of the largest river and the highest mountain lends to its mysterious air.²³⁹ Nogugu, also called 'Belgaule', is the beach area in the northwest of the island. But there is no harbor, and it is covered by black rocks, so when there is wind blowing it is difficult to anchor boats. At that time, the Nogugu language was not comprehensible to outsiders. But it was similar to the Polynesian language of the Aniwa and Futuna, and even to the Maori of New Zealand.²⁴⁰ Hence, scholars think the Polynesians may have settled by drifting.

In 30 April 1606, Spanish explorers De E Queiros and Torres arrived, tried to build New Jerusalem, but soon left. Afterwards Rev. George Selwyn and Mr. Patterson of the Church of England regularly visited the west coast of Santo annually. They were impressed: "Oh how happy we are here! If it is God's will, we will stay here." They sent two young men to New Zealand for training.²⁴¹ Afterwards, the first Presbyterian missionary, Rev. James Gordon, entered Nogugu. In June 1869, Rev. John G. Paton visited and spread the gospel for a few months in Nogugu.

²³⁷ Regarding this see the Table 2, Mission Station, in order of settlement by European Missionaries, Mary Dorothy Keane, "Presbyterian Missionaries to the New Hebrides, 1848-1920," (MA thesis, the University of Melbourne, 1977), 9a.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, Preface and the Table 1, 9.

²³⁹ J. Graham Miller, *Live Book II*, 173.

²⁴⁰ J. Graham Miller, *Live Book I*, 41.

²⁴¹ J. Graham Miller, *Live Book II*, 176.

Later, Rev. Joseph Annand settled on the island of Tangoa near Nogugu where he organized the 'Training Institute for Native Teachers and Pastors' (T.T.I.) in 1887. Then the Nogugu people appealed to the nearby mission station to send missionaries to them. Their demands were answered when Mr. and Mrs. McDonald were appointed missionaries from Melbourne on 6 May 1890. However, they did not teach many people in the school and church, and ultimately withdrew in poor health.

It was hard going in Nogugu without a missionary. In 24 April 1895 Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie arrived at Nogugu beach. At the time, the natives all "welcomed and highly acclaimed them as the influence of Gordon was still strong."²⁴² A significant factor in Mackenzie's success was the fact that Gordon had been so dedicated.²⁴³

4.3.3. J.N. Mackenzie began work in Nogugu

Mackenzie began his ministry in Nogugu when he arrived that day on Nogugu beach. According to his diary,

"we arrived there in the morning with Dr. Paton, Mr. Copeland and Mr. Boyd. We met over 50 natives. Some of them wore European clothes, but most covered their bodies by leaves...".²⁴⁴

Nevertheless they welcomed Mackenzie with open arms. They remembered the work of Gordon, who was the first missionary there.²⁴⁵ The adults and children on the beach carried his fifty packs to the house, which had been built by McDonald five years earlier. Some of the packs needed six men to carry them, but they kindly moved them and the children marveled at things they had never seen before. Others who did not come to the beach saw the

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 178.

²⁴³ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 19.

²⁴⁴ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 36.

²⁴⁵ Helen Rose Gillan, *op. cit.*, 158.

Mackenzie couple for the first time and gave a smile and waved their hands in courtesy, giving Mackenzie peace of mind.

About two or three hours later, Dr. Paton and companions returned, so that only Mackenzie and his wife remained in Nogugu. He gave small gifts and wages to all who carried burdens, and made an opportunity to greet the locals with the assistance of a translator. This was the first time he had communicated with people who spoke a different language, who were of a different culture and skin color. But they listened kindly to what he said, and laughed greatly when they understood.

First of all, Mackenzie made an effort to study the Nogugu language and made some advancement so that soon he met and spoke to the natives directly rather than through the interpreter. Boldly, he started to preach in their language. Learning the language was good for him: it gave him more opportunities to preach, and people were striving to listen. He had captured their attention, and they responded to his words. They were generous in their efforts to help him, and their generous attitudes played a part in making Mackenzie a preacher in the Nogugu language.

In August 1896, he opened a local school for the society and boldly organized a Bible study class. In addition, he trained teachers and sent them to neighboring villages. Furthermore, he and his wife attempted to cure the people's diseases. Some sick would come to the camp where he lived with his family, but mostly he visited them from village to village. In this manner, his ministry in Nogugu expanded widely. Mackenzie himself seemed to overcome certain death by Malaria several times, but his wife Maggie died by Blackwater Fever in 4 December 1908. His doctors advised him to never return to Nogugu, so on 4 February 1909 he departed.

4.4. His works in Nogugu

4.4.1. Local School for people

Mackenzie gained experience in education while he was teaching in a marginal school for five years in Glasgow. He tried to transfer this experience to the local school in Nogugu. The school program followed the school programs at other mission stations.²⁴⁶ But firstly, Mackenzie wanted to train native leaders for several villages. The school was not an independent institution, but was associated with Sunday church. They were not separate entities. Mackenzie was boldly beginning his language classes, operating as a teacher with just a simple list of native vocabulary, and playing the role of the student when was unfamiliar with the local tongue. The Nogugu people were helpful to him. This was a strong start to his mission work for the local school. The school class started early in the morning and lasted until the afternoon from Monday to Friday.²⁴⁷ In the morning class the students were mainly taught worship, basic doctrines for health and hygiene, and the women were taught sewing. The afternoon class focused on developing and teaching the language for men, young and old, to read the Bible. At this time he was concentrating on developing his language skills and preaching at worship in the morning in their language. Meanwhile Maggie taught sewing, health and hygiene to fifty women in the morning class, and English to the boys and girls in the afternoon class.²⁴⁸ At times native and Polynesian teachers would help them as well. He tried to open other schools in nearby villages when he knew that the school was having a positive effect. First he tried to send native teachers to these schools, then he and his wife began to visit these schools themselves.

²⁴⁶ Graham Miller, *Live Book I*, 112-115.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 115.

²⁴⁸ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 52-53.

In the beginning, native teachers were sent from Aniwa in the South; two teachers were received from Nguna in April 1898 and June 1890.²⁴⁹ After that, teachers were received from the T.T.I. Then Mackenzie started sending people he knew and trusted. In total, Mackenzie assigned approximately eighteen people who had trained in T.T.I. before he left Nogugu.²⁵⁰ He sent the first teacher to Valpe in 1896; then other teachers were sent there. But the native people killed the husband, Tarilagi, and left just the wife, who was a person of the island of Nguna, with a burnt house and school. After that she returned to her home town and remarried. She volunteered to go there again, but died in 1901. Valpe had many people powerfully opposed to missionaries. When Mackenzie attempted to visit, fifty military men with painted faces barred his path.²⁵¹ But in 1904, three years later, they required a teacher and Mackenzie sent a teacher with confidence and joy.²⁵²

By then Mackenzie was sending teachers from village to village to teach the Christian faith and civilization. The villages were Valpe, Venua Lava, Versalia, Toumuna, Pualapa and the North of Cape Cumberland. When Mackenzie first arrived at Nogugu, literate people were in the minority and people were not baptized. Following his arrival, adults and children began to receive regular education. At end of his mission, there were possibly 600-700 literate people, with 330 attending the Sacrament.²⁵³ In addition, most people washed their hands and feet to prevent disease, wore adequate clothes, and treated their wounds with medicine.

4.4.2. Evangelism and Building Churches

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 198-207, 215.

²⁵⁰ Cf., J. Graham Miller, Appendix, TTI list of students, *Live Book III*, 315.

²⁵¹ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 73.

²⁵² J. N. Mackenzie, Letter (August 22, 1904).

²⁵³ J. . N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 19-20.

In the first week of his arrival, ninety-seven people attended Sunday services in the morning and a hundred people gathered in the afternoon. Only very few had read the Bible. Some people knew about gospel, but most did not. They gathered to thank Mackenzie for coming to their village, and tried to listen carefully to his words through the interpreter. By August 1896 he could speak quite fluently in the Nogugu language. From that point, he began to gather a special Bible study class where more than forty people wanted to be baptized. However, he thought that it was not good for them to rush, so he baptized only eight people and gave the others more preparation time.²⁵⁴ In 25 March 1897, a day before the first baptism, a new church was dedicated. About 500 people attended the church, which was a quarter of the total population in Nogugu. It was a remarkable thing to happen in just two years.²⁵⁵

According to a synod report in May 1897, they fasted for five days for the first baptism and participated in the sacrament for thirty three people (including teachers). They also broke twenty pagan customs of Caste. This gave a fatal blow to the power of pagans, shamans and wizards, who till then had exerted a strong influence in that area.²⁵⁶ The synod ordained the first native Pastor, Mr. Epeteneto of Aneityum. In 1898, he came back to Nogugu after a synod meeting and the church building was too small for the congregation to get everyone in! In the other villages, the school building was used for church every Sunday. But these buildings had a few problems: the pillars and ceilings were made by coconut timber and leaves, and the floor mats both inside and outside were constructed of coconut leaves, while some were constructed out of bamboo leaves. In most villages they had no walls. Unfortunately they were easily destroyed when the cyclones came once or twice a year. So Mackenzie renovated the building in Nogugu so it would not collapse again. For this purpose,

²⁵⁴ J. N. Mackenzie, *Jottings*, 16, April 1897, 18, also, Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 48.

²⁵⁵ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 51.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

he advised the community to collect funds for the cause. When sufficient funds were gathered, they bought weatherboard from Australia made of Copra and Arrowroot. Using this they built the new school and installed the long chairs that they had made themselves in 1902.²⁵⁷ In Nogugu, the completed building served as the headquarters church in the island. Where they had normally escaped under a rock when strong cyclones came, they then gathered in the church. Therefore the church became known as an asylum of refuge for saving the body and the spirit. In the same fashion, Mackenzie led the rebuilding of the church in many of the villages he visited.

4.4.3. Bible Translation

Like missionaries in other stations, Mackenzie was transcribing the local language and translating the Bible to their language.²⁵⁸ From the beginning, Mackenzie's thought was to teach language and translate the Bible into the native language. From his five years of teaching in a marginal school in his college days, he knew that religious education should be based on the written Bible. So from the start of his arrival in Nogugu, he began to translate the Bible without fear. Mackenzie had in his possession Gordon's vocabulary list and observed it carefully. He looked at people's actions and one by one he began to connect these actions to English words. He consistently spent time with teachers, explaining to them the meaning of English and transcribing their language. As he steadily spent time with teachers he began to translate the Bible into their language. At first, it took half a day to find the connection between one English word and its native counterpart, or a whole day to formulate a single sentence. He tried using just a few sentences per day to translate in class as both teacher and student, and received correct feedback from the students. Soon enough,

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

²⁵⁸ Cf., J. Graham Miller, *Live Book I*, 107-111.

the amount of translated sentences would exceed one page, rapidly saving time and energy. Mackenzie's acquisition of the language was accelerating and the speed of his translation was becoming faster. He translated first the book of Mark and Hymns, then the Catechism for use in the school and church. After he had completed the entire translation of the Gospel of Mark he started on the book of John. Soon after, he published a book of combined hymns and their native language hymns as well.

Mackenzie acquired food poisoning from fish, and received doctor's advice to spend his holidays in the more bracing temperate climate of New Zealand, or to return to Melbourne, which he did. Whilst there, he published 1500 copies of the book of John. The cost was all paid for by the Nogugu people's fund that they had collected through community work.²⁵⁹ Afterward he translated the book of Acts with William Umpua in 1901. According to the 1904 synod report, he completed the translation to the book of Luke and corrected the book of Mark in the same year. Mackenzie took the first sabbatical holiday he had in ten years and went to Scotland. There he met his mother and the local people. During his time in London, he published Mark, Luke and Acts with the England Bible Society, which was at the time unknown around the world. He took much time to type and correct 204 pages of a book in 1906; then he returned to Melbourne and published hymn books and catechism books. During his fifteen years in Nogugu, he translated and published the books of Mark, Luke, John and Acts, and also translated the Catechism, edited the Manual for basic learners and also translated, wrote, and published a book of forty five hymns and songs, including a few written by his disciple, Dete.

The translation of the Bible and the Hymns meant that the Nogugu people could worship clearly in their language with all the emotion of the original work. He awakened them to Christianity and civilization. Since then, the translation ministry has become based on the

²⁵⁹ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 65.

cultures and languages of the region of Nogugu. After professional translation, the missionary recognized the need for new versions and for scholars to study the different language of the regions of the South Pacific. Usually they were living in the village over an extended period in a team of three men, learning the language and converging on an agreed translation.²⁶⁰ Thus the new versions greatly modified and supplemented the existing one. Even though the Mackenzie edition was not perfect, it not only gave people a great sense of pride, but also provided precious materials for professional translators.

The death of his wife Maggie caused him to suddenly stop his Bible translation work. However, he did not throw away his vision. He finally ceased his ministry in Nogugu on doctor's advice that he had a life-threatening case of Malaria. Then, in 1910, he volunteered as a missionary to Korea. Eight years later, when he was working in Korea, he took sabbatical leave and visited Nogugu again for three months in July 1917. During the first week he taught them how to prepare for Communion.²⁶¹ The rest of the time, he translated the Bible. He was sad to leave there. At that time, he spent eight or nine hours a day translating the rest of the New Testament of Ephesians, James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1,2 and 3 John, and Jude and then published them using the Nogugu fund.²⁶²

4.5. Impact and valuation

4.5.1. Stopped His Dedication

Missionary work had several risky elements. These stem from both personal and external factors. Personal factors refer to problems such as a lack of enthusiasm, conflict within the

²⁶⁰ This writer heard about them from missionaries of SIL (The Summer Institute of Linguistics) who had been living the Ulei region for ten years when he visited the island of Ambrym in 2011.

²⁶¹ *The New Hebrides, 18th, October 1917*, 13.

²⁶² J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 21.

family, and spiritual slumps. The external problems include endemic diseases, conflict with natives, their children's education and life necessities. As a result of these factors, many missionaries have suddenly stopped their work. Mackenzie handled himself well when he met with challenging internal and external factors. Problems big and small in New Hebrides were not enough to overthrow him. He and Maggie suffered pain and possible death due to endemic diseases but they were always great partners. On 4 December 1908, the hottest day of the summer, Maggie died by Black-water Fever after enduring pain for three days. She was only thirty-nine years old.

Mackenzie could not continue to work in Nogugu. At that time he wrote a letter to PCV, and the Messenger published the full letter.

"...I am now so lonely, but her work was done, and her Lord called her to her eternal home. While here she lived very near to the Master, and she is now with Him for ever...she was always of a sunny disposition..."²⁶³

Rev. T. Leggatt, representing the FMC of PCV, who knew Maggie well when he was missionary in Aulua, Malekula from 1887 to 1907, wrote a letter to PCV.

"...The death of Mrs. Noble Mackenzie of Nogugu, Santo came as a terrible shock to the church and to her many friends in Victoria... She was a woman of deep Christian character, fearless and outspoken in her denunciation of wrong, but kind and sympathetic and tender-hearted as well. We cannot realize as yet that she is gone from us..."²⁶⁴.

Mackenzie's health was seriously compromised in the four years after arriving at Nogugu in 1899. He hurriedly returned to Melbourne after he started facing serious health threats. He struggled to stay, but the Doctor advised him to leave Santo. Since the situation was dire, he

²⁶³ J. N. Mackenzie, Letter (December 15, 1908), *Messenger* (January 29, 1909), 67.

²⁶⁴ T. Watt Leggatt, *Messenger* (February 5, 1990), 83.

made the decision to leave Santo.²⁶⁵ In Nogugu, with his wife Maggie gone, Mackenzie had entrusted care of the church to his disciple Dete²⁶⁶ as an assistant and his brother, Dr. Ewen, as a temporary leader. He left the church of Nogugu in February 1909, leaving thirty-two pounds for the elders to purchase a monument to his wife.

Then he visited a while, to hand over completely to Dr. Ewen. At that time, Mackenzie built Maggie's monument using granite imported from Australia. The inscription on the stone, written in the Nogugu language and English, reads:

"POPORE MISIS MAKENSI KINOTI EMAM RO TA SANTO VETUPIA MA I
EMAM LIMTO I NIKIN MO NE NON VERAO SURI MEURIMAM JE AE NIKIN
MEKUI MEURINA SURI EMAM JAN.1870-DEC.1908", "ERECTED BY THE
CHRISTIAN PEOPLE OF N.W.SANTO In Memory of MRS. J. NOBLE
MACKENZIE WHO FOR 14 YEARS EARNESTLY SOUGHT THEIR
ENLIGHTENMENT AND SALVATION"²⁶⁷

The Nogugu language was translated as follows: "In memory of Mrs. Mackenzie, we, the people of Santo, set up, so that we can remember her and her work, so that we can follow her, because she laid down her life for us."²⁶⁸

4.5.2. Results of His Devotion

Mackenzie's seventeen years of ministry in Nogugu can be roughly summarized as having both a direct and an indirect influence. The former impact is on the people he helped in Nogugu, while the latter is one century later, in relation to the partnership with PCVA of New

²⁶⁵ *The New Hebrides Magazine* (July 1910), 8-9.

²⁶⁶ Dr. Frank Paton, a General Affairs of FMC who visited the Northwest region in 1913, met Mr. Dete and impressed him as a "true man of God." He prepared Mackenzie to take on Nogugu.

²⁶⁷ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 88-89.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.

Hebrides and PCK of South Korea. A good relationship was developed between the Australian church and the Korean church too. In this section, the focus will be exclusively on the relationship between New Hebrides and South Korea.

The first internal impact was spreading civilization to the natives. At that time, people conversed with each other, but there were no written characters. Mackenzie created words and taught them to the people and this enabled them to read the Bible. Ultimately, about 600-700 members among the people could read Bible. At the time, half the Christian population could easily read the Bible, and two out of three people could read a little.²⁶⁹ The natives did not traditionally wear clothes, but started to wear them when they were taught sewing in school. In addition they were easily prone to serious illness via small diseases and often waited for death. Mackenzie's school taught them health and hygiene. Furthermore more than 1300 people gave up paganism, and more than 260 people attended Holy Communion. In addition, many villages moved near the beach area from the mountain, and in the 30 mile area along the beach all the villages became Christian. In addition he sent eleven dozen teachers to local schools in other villages.

Mackenzie's mission was not a dualistic ministry in that he did not clearly separate church and society; rather, he tried to break down the wall between Church and society. It was really a holistic ministry. In other words, the gospel was not meant to stay only in church, but to exert its influence in people of the community.

The second impact of Mackenzie's ministry was for New Hebrides and South Korea one century later. The PCVA of New Hebrides and the PCK of South Korea, both General Assembly Presbyterian Churches, united in a partnership in 18 February 2010 at the Paton Memorial Church in Port Villa. It was a groundbreaking agreement. But it was really Mackenzie who affected it. When he went to his second mission place to Korea, the Nogugu

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

people donated 200 pounds for his new ministry.²⁷⁰ One hundred years later, surprisingly, South Korea had advanced economically and in Christian Community, but New Hebrides had not developed much. They wanted to unite with the Korean Church, but it was not an easy matter. But they discovered a record that a century earlier the Nogugu people had donated the funds for a mission to Korea in the early development years of the Korean church. It made a great impact on the church of Korea. So the PCK sent missionaries from Santo in the north to Tanna in the south of New Hebrides. One of their works was the Kor-Van Nursing School, which was built in Port Villa, the capital city, New Hebrides.

4.5.3. Effective Mission in Korea

J. N. Mackenzie could not go to New Hebrides again, so he went to Busan, South Korea on 21 February 1910. He served in healing ministry, education and evangelism for developing Christianity in Korea. In addition his ministry contributed to the development of the Christian community in the South Kyeongsang province for twenty-seven years. With his new wife Mary Kelly, who had become a missionary five years before he did, his ministry came into effect.

His mission was to care for and treat patients who had leprosy. Mackenzie's mission was "to provide a home, food and clothing until to they die, but ultimately, to have the eternal hope through Christ".²⁷¹ His most important goal for the leprosy sufferers was to foster in them a belief in God. So he organised a church in an asylum of lepers. Most lepers were completely neglected by society, government and even their family and they had been begging in the streets in outlying areas. The disease was believed to be contagious, a curse from the gods. At that time they were really the abandoned people in Korea, but from Mackenzie they received

²⁷⁰ Helen Rose Gillan, *op.cit.*, 158, and also, *The Record* (December 1, 1917), 11.

²⁷¹ James Noble Mackenzie, *Fusan Leper Report* (1934), 1.

care, food and clothes and learned to study as well. When they were admitted to the asylum, they received the Bible and hymns book and learned reading and writing in class in every day.²⁷² They learned well, without missing a word, and had considerable knowledge of the Bible.²⁷³ Later they became grateful for their leprosy, because if it weren't for that, they would not have known Jesus. So Mackenzie's ministry in Korea was largely for the marginalized people: the lepers.

Furthermore he tried to help the few thousands of fishermen coming and going by boat, particularly those whose boats were broken by a typhoon.²⁷⁴ In addition, he fellowshipped with the Japanese and Chinese in order to evangelise in Busan, then reported to the meeting of AMP.²⁷⁵ External conditions such as nationality, occupation, health, sickness or inlanders were not problems to him. They were the masses of people whom God had made men.

4.6. Conclusion

J. N. Mackenzie's birth and the conditions of his development led him to become a missionary. He was born and grew up in a poor country, and his family left their home town because his father died when he was five. His brothers and sisters scattered. Further, Mackenzie stopped his study and went to Glasgow for work. There he felt a divine calling and studied again ten years later. Later he stopped his study to become a minister. During his study he taught in an elementary school in the outskirts for five years. There he recognised his ability to educate and he trained to overcome loneliness.

²⁷² Rev. Geo. H. Winn, Report (1912), *op.cit.*, 137.

²⁷³ George Anderson, Twelve Months Among Lepers, *The Report of the Fusan Leper Asylum* (June, 1924-June, 1925), 113-114.

²⁷⁴ Mary Mackenzie's Report (February 14, 1914), 5-6.

²⁷⁵ Annual meeting of Mission Council, (June 1923, Chinju), 13.

He married Maggie who was a candidate for becoming a nurse missionary and went to Nogugu, Santo, New Hebrides. The natives were pleased with them and helped them. He taught them civilization in a local school that he built. He began training them in Christian thought to awaken them to Christianity. He built the church in Nogugu first and then expanded it from village to village. Some of the village populations moved from the deep mountains to the seashore. Their lives and minds were changed. Importantly, Mackenzie created written characters in their languages and taught these to them, enabling them to read the Bible. In addition he translated the Bible to their language and published it and published hymns.

Suddenly his prominent ministry was stopped by the unexpected death of his lovely wife, Maggie, and he received medical advice to permanently leave the region. He stopped his work in Nogugu for seventeen years and volunteered to an unknown country of Eastern Asia where PCV had just started mission in Korea.

Mackenzie had learned to overcome the difficulties and hardships of life as a missionary. In his 17-year ministry to Nogugu, New Hebrides, he proved to have the ability to advance even the most barbarous people through education and training. His experience and knowledge in this work motivated him to offer himself for a noble commitment to the marginalised people in Korea. This was the work of the Lord, who had trained Paul, a Jew, from Tarsus, Cilicia and used him as a foreign missionary.

Conclusion Part One

Up to this point, Minjung theology and Australian mission in South Korea have been examined. The study of protestant mission in Korea has evolved through several processes. It has been studied from the perspective of the missionary, through research from a nationalist stance, studied on the indigenous culture and from the view point of Minjung theology. The protestant mission in Korea and its relationship to Minjung Theology has been focussed on in this research. Previous studies have contributed much to the understanding of the church in Korea, but have largely ignored the importance of the Minjung in history. However, Minjung theology addressed this issue so it is important that it should be studied in relation to mission in Korea.

Minjung theology is an indigenous theology to Korea by which Korean Christian theologians responded to the economic and political situation of the 1970s. The military government was long-ruling, and economically exploited the people. They were guilty of human rights' abuses of workers and peasants and were seriously committed to putting economic development first, at the expense of the well-being of the people. At the end of the third term of Park Chung Hee's presidency, he assumed dictatorial powers by declaring the "Siwon Yushin" (October Restoration - 1972) which politically crippled the population. Following that, rule by martial law began and in 1980s there were nationwide pro-democracy protests, mainly made by university students, as the military rulers were committed to political repression using a super-legal system by way of the Gingeup Jochi (Emergency Measures). On the other hand, when the workers did not protest, but engaged in the economic construction where human rights were ignored, they were exploited economically. A worker died by burning himself to death. In these circumstances intellectuals saw a need and an opportunity to awaken the population. Out of this, theologians, being against political

oppression and economic exploitation of the poor people, recognized the responsibility of the Church, and developed the Minjung theology from the background of the traditional culture and within Modern theological thinking.

Missionary work in Korea had been started by Dr. H. N. Allen who arrived in 1884 and who was Emperor Gojong's doctor. Australian mission was started by J. H. Davies' sacrifice in 1889. The intelligent young man's sudden death was the momentum for Australian mission to Korea and Australia sent 76 people from 1889 to 1942. The PWMU had a slogan summarising their mission policy, "Mission work of women for women" and send un-married women missionaries who had already completed the training program for disadvantaged people in Australia. They were naturally focussed on poor people and maternal mission such as to orphans, children and women. On the other hand, J. N. Mackenzie arrived in Busan, Kyeongsang, South Korea in 1910, transferring to Korea after his first wife's death in New Hebrides, where for 17 years he had been a dedicated missionary to the indigenous people in evangelism and the translation of the Bible.

Features of the work of early missionaries in Korea were: their focus on the issues of the ruling class, on the metropolitan centre, on society being elite-oriented, male-dominated and on separating political and cultural issues. They determined to be patient today for the future, and on being focused on personal salvation. However, Minjung Theology made a considerable contribution to missiological outlooks. To summarize them: 1. It was not only interested in the metropolis, but also small cities and rural areas of workers and farmers as Minjung. 2. It was interested in the lower class who suffered exploitation by the ruling class. 3. It did not separate the indigenous culture and Christianity, but was compatible with them. 4. It did not separate personal salvation and social salvation. 5. It recognised its part in

changing the injustices of the time.²⁷⁶ Therefore Minjung theology overcame the limitations of the traditional missiological concept, which prioritised the salvation of people.

Minjung theology emphasises love to one's neighbour above the love to God which Jesus had commanded. It focussed on the concept expressed in, "...For anyone who does not love his brother, whom he has seen, cannot love God, whom he has not seen".²⁷⁷ Therefore Minjung theology maintains that love to Minjung who are marginalised in the society and state, follows Jesus' example in Galilee where He identified Himself with the Galileans.

²⁷⁶ Gwang Sik Kim, *tochakhwahaeseokhak* [Inculturation Hermeneutics] (Seoul: CLS, 1987), 131.

²⁷⁷ 1 John 4:20 (NIV)

Part Two. James Noble Mackenzie's Ministry in South Korea

Chapter 5. Itinerant Evangelism for Rural Communities

5.1. Introduction

This chapter examines Mackenzie's itinerant ministry in the Kyeongsang province of Korea and why he chose to come here and evangelize in this manner.

At the end of the 19th century, the basic unit of Korean social organization was the village, and the villages were centered on farming or fishing. Missionaries in Korea had the task of establishing and expanding the Church in their village. In other words, they desired to convert the inhabitants of the village and build a church there. To this end itinerant missionaries worked with one or two Korean evangelists and built up churches in villages.

In response to this, Nak-Jun Baek said,

"The Korean missionaries volunteered for evangelism, so foreign missionaries did not directly intervene.... Thus, their work was engaged in institutional ministries such as schools and revival organizations. At that time, because there were no Korean pastors who were ordained, the missionaries often visited the rural churches to administer the sacraments."²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ Nak Jun Paek, *op.cit.*, 312-313.

The South Kyeongsang province, where Mackenzie was a missionary, had the strongest Confucian culture in Korea and was surrounded by mountains. Also then, Korea as a whole had experienced a period of conflict with the First Sino-Japanese, the Russo-Japanese War and the Japanese annexation of Korea. In such a difficult situation, why and how did Mackenzie conduct the mission and what was the result? How did Mackenzie preach to the inhabitants of rural villages that were the main target of economic exploitation by the Japanese Empire and establish churches in the area?

To this end, the origins and methods of Mackenzie's mission for the inhabitants of rural areas will be investigated as will the way in which people were educated, the Church built up and the area evangelized. In particular, the process of going to Ulleungdo, an isolated island in the eastern part of Korea, and his methods of evangelism will be examined. I will note his efforts to expand more widely through the union of local churches established in each region.

Therefore this chapter will answer the following research questions:

Who were the people suffering in the Mackenzie's era?

What was Mackenzie's work with the marginalized people?

What were the impacts and results from it?

5.2. For Rural Communities

5.2.1. Itinerant Evangelism

J. N. Mackenzie initially arrived in Busan and began to learn the language, and quickly started his work as an itinerate evangelist. Being an itinerant preacher involved making regular or special trips to various villages and rural communities to meet with and talk to the locals in order to spread religious teachings and build a religious community. This is opposed to building a church hall and inviting (or expecting) people to come to it.

For the early church, its itinerant evangelists were "as strangers and pilgrims" (1 Peter 2:11, KJV), doing the work that Jesus did in the same way that He did it. Rather than "pilgrims" the word used should be 'peregrini', as it means 'Walking barefoot'. Evangelists do not wait for others to come, but go out to find them in the same way that Jesus talked with people on the road. Even after His resurrection He shared with disciples on the way to Emmaus which has been called the 'roadbed of Jesus'.²⁷⁹

Other travelling preachers who worked in the same region as Mackenzie included J. H. Taylor of the China Inland Mission (CIM) in China, and the Scottish Presbyterian missionary, John Ross, (1842-1915) who had worked with Koreans in China. The first Australian missionary, Henry Davies, was a model of itinerant evangelism. Realizing that there were already many missionaries in Seoul, he decided to move to an unvisited area by walking to Busan. He could have travelled by boat, but instead chose to walk 450 km while reading the book of Mark²⁸⁰ and selling a booklet about the book of Mark as he went, while finding opportunities to preach to the people and communities that he met on the way.²⁸¹ It seems that at the time he recognized that the situations the people of Choseon and in the Gospel of

²⁷⁹ Sang Taek Lee, "Yeongwonhan Haengin Seongyusa [The Everlasting Travelling Evangelist]," in *The Australian Mission in Korea*, eds, Sang T. Lee and William W. E. (Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016), 45-46.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

Mark were similar. Unfortunately, soon after he arrived at Busan he died. However, his death was as a ‘fire’ to Australian mission in Korea.

Twenty years after Henry Davies, Mackenzie arrived in Busan. He had the good fortune to live in the house of Rev. G. Engel who was three years older than he was.²⁸² Engel provided both motivation and direction to itinerant evangelists in Busan as well as in the surrounding area. Their itinerant journeys varied from short trips of one or two days through to longer for nine or ten days’ sojourns. Mackenzie learned a lot from him about the province²⁸³ and they became friends. He took over the work of G. Engel when the latter went to teach in the Union Presbyterian Seminary in Pyeongyang for three months each year.²⁸⁴ By 1919 he had handed over most of the work to Mackenzie.

In March 1910 Mackenzie suggested itinerant preaching trips to island regions by boat because he knew that there were many islands and coastal villages in the area under APM. He may have been motivated by his happy and successful experiences to Nogugu in the New Hebrides. So he wanted to travel to the villages in island and coastal areas of the Masampo territory using a boat bought with funds donated by Nogugu.²⁸⁵ However the Japanese imperialist authorities did not allow the journey to take place as there were military bases in that area. He tried for over a year, but could not persuade the APM²⁸⁶ and realized that he was unlikely to persuade them to allow him to make the journey. Then he turned his focus instead to a long trip to Jinju to meet his fellow missionaries in April. On the way he preached to

²⁸² Gelson Engel (1868-1939) was died in Melbourne. At that time J. N. Mackenzie attended his funeral service.

²⁸³ Helen, *Biography*, 235

²⁸⁴ PCV, Our Missionaries at Work (December 1911), 23, also, Deog Ju Lee, "Hojujangrohoe Seongyusa Enggelui Seongyo Sayeoggwa geu Sasang [Australian Missionary Engel's mission and his Thought]," in *The Australian Mission in Korea*, ed. Sang Taek L. and William E. W. (Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016), 159.

²⁸⁵ The Records of the APM (1913), 5-6 and also, Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 102.

²⁸⁶ The Records of the APM (1913), 10.

farmers.²⁸⁷ In 1925, he finally had the opportunity to travel to the coastal town of Tongyeong area by boat.²⁸⁸

5.2.2. Itinerant Momentum

Mackenzie's itinerant program was officially supported by the Kyeongsang Presbytery. In 1911, there was a big change in the church in Korea. The seven Representatives Committees were organized into seven Presbyteries. Then the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was established in Korea in 1912. In December 1911 the Kyeongsang Representative Committee built the Kyeongsang Presbytery.²⁸⁹ Mackenzie was one of seventeen missionaries among the twenty-eight full members. He was 46 years old, of sound health and had fifteen years experience in the New Hebrides, which earned him respect and trust from full members. The Presbytery decided that itinerant missionaries were an important strategy for the region. Missionaries were assigned to a variety of locations. At that time all twelve missionaries were assigned to conduct itinerant work. Mackenzie was assigned the session of Ulsanbyeongyeong, the session of Kijanganhyeng, Kijang-gun, Ulsan, Budong and the region of Namhyeon.²⁹⁰ These included a lot of the places he had already visited with Engel. Along with itinerant missionary work, Mackenzie had other duties which took up from between seventy-five to eighty-four days of the year.²⁹¹ From 1912, he had the obligation to take care

²⁸⁷ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 185.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 178.

²⁸⁹ The Kyeongsang Presbytery had two groups of the Kyeongnam province of APM and Kyeongbuk province of the PCUSA. The first members were, in all, twenty-six. They were fifteen missionaries and two Korean pastors and nine elders. For their names see Busan Presbytery, eds, *Busannoehoesa* [The History of Busan Presbytery] (Busan: Dongbang, 2005). 210.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 212.

²⁹¹ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 144.

of more than twenty communities, including the rural churches, and from 1916, fifty-two churches, including the churches in Busan, the south-east of Ulsan, Kijang, Dongnae and Ulleungdo.²⁹² At the time, missionaries visited a community at least one day a year,²⁹³ and twice a year they visited communities with official churches. From 1912 he also undertook Engel's work when he went teaching at the Union Presbyterian Seminary in Pyeongyang for three months each year²⁹⁴ as well as when Engel was ill. However, Mackenzie enjoyed this itinerant ministry work because of the opportunity it provided him to meet and know many people. This itinerant ministry was reduced from 1928 because of his work commitments with the church in the Lepers House.²⁹⁵

During his travels he took along many things including, medicines, booklets, documents and food, all transported by carriage or often on people's backs. With him came several others including a coachman, guide and colporteur. Mackenzie himself mainly rode on horseback though he also used bicycles. Additionally, he always ensured that his party brought all their own food to avoid burdening the communities that he visited. He wrote,

"While I am getting ready my books and papers and seeing to the refilling of my small medicine chest, Mrs. Mackenzie and the cook see to getting my food box ready... It is very inconvenient when the bread goes moldy. I have some times seen quite a beard on it, and in cutting off the moldy part one has to lose most of the loaf... all carried by a

²⁹² *Loc.cit.*

²⁹³ George Anderson, "Itineration Its reason and Development," in *The Australian mission to Korea, 1889-1941*, ed. Kerr, Edith A. and Anderson, G. (Sydney: Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, 1970), 35.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁹⁵ Minute, Mission Council (1928), 79.

Korean, on his back, on a carrying frame... so the man left a day ahead and I followed on the bicycle..."²⁹⁶

He travelled like this and as church buildings had not been built he helped to organise Sarangbang (friend group meetings) which could develop to regular worship. In groups already started he gave teaching and interviews for candidates for baptism, he baptised and led Holy Communion.

Mackenzie attempted to evangelize fishermen in the coastal areas in Busan.²⁹⁷ The fishing communities had problems when the weather was bad and there were storms as they were unable to work and had to leave their boats tied at the shore. When a storm destroyed ships, whole families would suffer great desperation. He would visit these communities and families to provide comfort at a time of suffering.

Also in Busan, the small Chinese community often requested help and protection whenever they were threatened. From 1928 he led the establishment of the community church in Busan and eventually Pastor Wang was sent to Busan. Mackenzie did his best to help the Chinese people there and to protect them in times of peril.²⁹⁸

5.2.3. Variety of Ways

During his itinerant work, Mackenzie used a range of methods to evangelize people. His approach was one of teaching, preaching and healing as was done by Jesus as well as the teacher Apostle, Paul, through flexibility and versatility such "... unto the Jews I became as a

²⁹⁶ J. N. Mackenzie, letter (December 22, 1916), *Chronicle* (April 1917), 4-6.

²⁹⁷ Mrs. Mackenzie, Fusanjin Station Report (1933-1934).

²⁹⁸ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 185-186.

Jew...under the law, as under the law...".²⁹⁹ In particular, he used tactics within a clear strategy like a warrior for God. In 19th century at that time, colporteurs helped missionaries from the street corner, in the market place and some within the houses of interested people to arrange conversations with people about the Gospel.³⁰⁰ The first Australian missionary, H. Davies, recorded in his diary about selling booklets during itinerant work.³⁰¹ Therefore, it is not unreasonable to speculate that Mackenzie evangelized through preaching and with the use of booklets and other publications. In his records, there is sufficient evidence to know that when he prepared and packed for his trips he included many books and papers.³⁰² We can further speculate on Mackenzie's methods. Nothing is directly written in his records, but the method could be inferred from his co-workers. This suggests that he preached using booklets that he handed out to the communities he visited.

At that time, Korea slowly opened the door for foreign influence. Meanwhile Japanese imperialists were in control of Korea during that turbulent time. This meant many people who were opposed to and resisted Japanese authority did so through an interest in western culture. This would have included an interest in the message provided by missionaries and from booklets and other publications distributed in their communities.

Another part of Mackenzie's way was medical treatment. When he visited rural villages, he always carried boxes full medicines and preached along with providing medical assistance.³⁰³ This method provided a good opportunity to meet women as well as lower class people.³⁰⁴ This way was his most interesting method and he had good experience of it from Nogugu.

²⁹⁹ 1 Corinthians 9:20-22 (KJV)

³⁰⁰ George Anderson, *op.cit.*, 34.

³⁰¹ Sang Taek Lee, *op.cit.*, 43.

³⁰² Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 145.

³⁰³ J. N. Mackenzie, letter (December 22, 1916), *Chronicle* (April 1917), 4-6.

³⁰⁴ ARMS (1893), 255; *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Mission* (New York: The Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1890), 136.

While he latter obtained a medical qualification in 1931, in Nogugu he was not a qualified doctor. However, he had studied some medicine in a hospital in his hometown of Glasgow when preparing to be a missionary, and also he gained a lot of knowledge from his first wife Maggie, who was a nurse. He and his wife applied that knowledge to native people in Nogugu for 15 years. Despite the limitations he provided a lot of medical treatment along with his preaching work. He deliberately sought out people suffering from serious injuries and illness to whom he could provide medicine and prescriptions. At that time the people of Choseon did not know western medicine and had only traditional cures which were crude and unsanitary and often raised a small sickness to a serious illness. They also relied heavily on traditional religion. However, the medicine and treatment provided by Mackenzie was far more effective. Even one small pill could be highly effective and treat their illness. Through the use of western medicine and effective treatment many sick and hurt people were encouraged in the adoption of western religion.³⁰⁵ APM developed hospitals and clinics in Busan and Jinju for future medical care of the people.³⁰⁶

Mackenzie had the talent of building good relationships with both the sick and the rural people. This was like Jesus who was known to be the friend of outcasts and sinners.³⁰⁷ As Jesus was Lord to the people of Galilee, Mackenzie was honoured by the rural people.

5.3. Education of People

³⁰⁵ Ben Kerman, "The Medical Contribution of Australian Mission," in *The Australian Mission in Korea*, ed. Sang Taek Lee and Emilsen, William W. (Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016), 100.

³⁰⁶ Gi Beom Kim, "Sigol danyeoonil [Work, went to the countryside]," *Daehan Georiseudoinhoebo* [Korean Christian Advocate] (November 2, 1898), 5.

³⁰⁷ Matthew 11:19, Luke 7:34.

5.3.1. Lessons for Beginner

The history of the Korean church begins in Manchuria, with training conducted by John Ross.³⁰⁸ Here they first baptized Koreans³⁰⁹ and first led worship in 1879 where about 3000 Korean people lived in villages.³¹⁰ Manchurians also went to Choseon as colporteurs and were sold Bibles and ran catechism classes which lead to the worship group formed in 1885.³¹¹ Following this Mackenzie utilized Bible study classes for beginners, which were easily accessible, in order to build a worship community. The illiterate were taught words so that they could read Bible.³¹² Soon after that they could study the Bible and prepare for baptism. This proved to be popular with both the men and women in the villages and most went on to become part of the worshiping community. However, baptism was possible for people who spent six months in Bible study. So becoming a member of the worship community was not easily achieved. In Korea the distinction between full members and candidates is unique. Concerning this Mackenzie had a strict rule, "Entrance into the church by baptism was strictly guarded... Would that our churches at home had such a high standard in this and in Bible knowledge."³¹³

There is a question of what Mackenzie required people to study in preparation for baptism. Although this is not documented, he would have used the seven proposed regulations as a

³⁰⁸ Jin Kyeong Kim, "The Formation of Presbyterian Worship in Korea, 1879-1934," (ThD thesis, Boston University, Boston, 1999), 22-33.

³⁰⁹ John Ross, "China, Manchuria Mission," *The United Presbyterian Missionary Record* (Oct. 1, 1880), 333-34.

³¹⁰ Jin Kyeong Kim, *op.cit.*, 26.

³¹¹ IHCK, *Hankook Gidokkyoui Yeoksa I* [The Korean Christian History I] (Seoul: CLC, 1989), 154-55.

³¹² Annual Report of Leper Asylum; *Without the Camp* (January 1917), 16.

³¹³ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 25.

condition of baptism which the PCM had adopted since 1897. Mainly this includes a clear declaration of conversion from traditional religion, using the Ten Commandments as the guide. In summary, first, if anyone became a church member they could not worship ancestors. The members must serve God alone, not other gods. Secondly, every Sunday is a holy and the Sabbath day. People should labor for six days and rest on Sunday. On this day both people and animals should rest. Thirdly, members must honour their father and mother. Fourthly, illegal marriage was prohibited. Fifthly, he must have shared the gospel with his family. Sixth, he should be diligent regarding livelihood and obey the commandments. God said if do you not work you should not eat! Seventh, avoid evil crimes. The Bible forbids drunkenness and gambling. You shall not be one to corrupt others in any way.³¹⁴ Also PCM had adopted 25 questions when interviewing the candidates. Probably Mackenzie used the set of questions.³¹⁵

When accepted the candidates would proclaim an oath in front of the congregation during Sunday worship, and members would encourage the candidates to study hard to receive baptism after 6 months. They needed to memorize the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments to be baptized. Also Mackenzie evaluated candidates for baptism through an interview. At that time, one of the most important criteria was that they had a personally conducted evangelism. So this was an opportunity to emphasize the duty of evangelism.³¹⁶ Therefore in the ministry of Mackenzie, at baptism the believer was already fit

³¹⁴ Robert E. Speer, *Report on the Mission in Korea of Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions* (New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of Presbyterian Church in U.S.A., 1897), 16.

³¹⁵ About twenty-five questions, see, Anabel Major Nisbet, *Day In and Day Out in Korea* (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1920), 67-68.

³¹⁶ Cadwallader. C. Vinton, "Korea the Strategic Mission," *The Assembly Herald* (November, 1900), 872.

to live as a Christian, rather than baptism being a first gateway to becoming a member.³¹⁷ In this way people prepared for baptism and were then baptized in front of the congregation in Sunday worship after having taken the oath.

Mackenzie's ministry often varied,³¹⁸ but according to the records, he conducted itinerant work 80 days a year for 52 churches and communities across of five areas in the Kyeongnam Presbytery, and also he was a minister eight churches as a cooperative pastor or joint pastor in Busan.³¹⁹ Overall, he baptized 200 candidates who were educated by Engel.³²⁰

5.3.2. Through Baptism and Sacrament

On Sundays, the churches held an early prayer meeting, the Sunday service in the morning,³²¹ and after dinner, the evening worship. The Sunday worship emphasized observing the Holy day of rest. Additionally baptism was held on Sundays during the morning service. The candidate would have been prepared spiritually though Bible study and tested through the interview. Commonly they received encouragement to wear white clothes that day. They dressed in Korean style, all in white³²² and they sat in the front row. After talking about the importance of baptism, Mackenzie would baptize them one after another, by immersing them in water.

³¹⁷ Eo Jin Lee, "Hojujangrohoe Seongyusadeului Yesikgwa Yebaee Gwanhan Sogo [The Review about the Early Australian Missionaries' Liturgy and Worship]," in *The Australian Mission in Korea*, ed. Sang Taek Lee and Emilsen, William W. (Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016), 237.

³¹⁸ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 259.

³¹⁹ TKP. *Kyeongnam nohoeui Yeoksa* [The History of TKP] (Seoul: Kumran, 2006), 81.

³²⁰ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 145.

³²¹ George Anderson, *op.cit.*, 35.

³²² Kyeong Seok Kim, eds, *Busanjin yohoe Chodaemoksa Wangkilji Seonkyosa* [Rev. Dr. Gelson Engel who was the First Pastor of Busanjin Church] (Busan: Busanjin Church, 2005), 83.

The baptism order was carried out in accordance with the instructions in the "Ceremonial Handbook" of Dr. Hodge. Engel wrote about this in his diary on 2 October 1901,

"... Evidence of the faith of the baptized candidates was sufficient.... I led the whole worship service... and when I was celebrating the baptism, I used what I had translated in advance from the "Ceremonial Handbook" of Hodge...First, we baptized adult candidates....Worship with baptism was always very moving and inspirational.³²³

According to the book, the infant baptism ceremony contained preaching, exhortation, dialogue, prayer of blessing for parents and child, baptism and final prayer.³²⁴ Another adult baptism order was Dialogue, Baptism, declaration and Benediction.³²⁵ The Baptisms were held in the middle of Sunday worship. The Sunday worship service consisted of teaching and singing two hymns, Bible readings, prayer, and then the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.³²⁶

In addition, the Eucharist was taken immediately after the baptism. The Holy Communion was restricted to baptized members following the laws regarding the sacrament. In addition, among the baptized, only those who had not conducted any wrong acts were allowed Holy Communion. In other words, the sacrament was restricted to people who had sufficient knowledge of the Bible and who had practiced piety and Godliness in their life.

It is recorded that bread for the Eucharist was made from rice and the wine cup was a simple earthenware vessel. As to the exact kind of bread being used, it is not clear, but is likely to have been traditionally used for sirutteok³²⁷ of Korean rituals.³²⁸

³²³ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

³²⁴ A. A. Hodge, *Manual of Forms* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1877), 7-14.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19-24.

³²⁶ George Anderson, *op.cit.*, 35.

³²⁷ "sirutteok" is the Korean traditional rice cake.

In this way Mackenzie visited the communities twice a year for baptism and Holy Communion. But for other Sunday's when he was not present, he appointed a Josa (teacher) who was a leader in their church. However the Josa did not have full theological education being instead trained twice a year in an intensive training course. Also as they were not pastors, they were unable to teach the candidates, conduct baptisms, perform Holy Communion or preach sermons. Instead they led the worship consisting of hymns, prayers, Bible readings and Bible study. Due to the lack of pastors in the early Korean church, liturgy was not at the core of worship, but the Word, Bible study and prayer became central to Korean religious practice.³²⁹ As such, Mackenzie's was a ministry of true peace and hope to the rural communities through learning, Baptism and Holy Communion.

5.3.3. For Spiritual Revival

During the time of Mackenzie's ministry, there were social tensions and chaos caused by two wars and government's misadministration. At that time the Christian mission gave a light to the people of Choseon and the gospel raised a spiritual revival through the church in Korea. That movement began first in Wonsan in 1903 and then it advanced by the Great Awakening in Pyeongyang in 1907. The movement spread throughout the country. The Spiritual Awakening became a national phenomenon with repentance in every church. W. L. Swallen gave testimony to this.

³²⁸ Seong Deug Ok, "Chogi Hankookjangrogyu Seongyjeongchaek, 1884-1903 [Early Presbyterian Mission Policy in Korea, 1884-1903]." *Korean Church and History* 9th (1998), 170.

³²⁹ Eo Jin Lee, *op.cit.*, 243.

“... From the beginning the meeting, the confession of sins came out pouring out - sins of abominations not heard here before. However, some of these confessions seemed ‘surface’ confessions although those who did have a much deeper sense of guilt were sincere in confession and in actions. But it is clear that their guilt deepened as the meetings continued through the week. At first some people had confessed as a mere formality, but now there was serious crying with suffering over their sins. The Saturday evening meeting was extended until midnight. The sins which they revealed were old sins and hidden sins brought to light by the working of the Holy Spirit. All sins were poured out such as deception, pride, lust, greed, hatred, jealousy, etc. Literally sins of every kind...”³³⁰

In this situation, Mackenzie’s usual reason to visit the church was to lead the revival meeting as sagyeonghoe for 3-4 days. This time was a great opportunity for members as well as family and neighbors. So the revival-sagyeonghoe was the biggest event of the year in the region. During the revival people gathered three times a day. Regarding the revival-sagyeonghoe, Moore wrote,

“.... simply introduce the daily schedule as follows. In the Morning there were two hours of prayer and one hour of Bible study. In the afternoon, with members in a forum, they studied topics that give vitality to Christian life such as an timely marriage, education, chastity and not smoking and then they went out into the streets for evangelism in the streets and in house to house visitation. In the evening there was the Evangelism

³³⁰ W.L. Swallen, “God’s Work of Grace in Pyeng Yang Class,” *Korea Mission Field*, (May 1907), 79.

Conference. It was especially noticed, with some surprise, that the Koreans participated with passion and asked searching questions...."³³¹

Therefore it can be seen that during his visits to a village, Mackenzie had opportunity to foster revival in individuals, families and neighbours as well.

Mackenzie became concerned that the churches he was visiting should become independent, in line with the Nevius Mission Policy which said, "...the church should be self-governing to become an energetic church."³³² The churches needed to be governed on this principle. Mackenzie appointed the Josa from among the faithful members. The Josa attended the Union Theological Studies of Presbytery for two months twice a year. When he graduated he was called a Youngsoo and could be ordained as a Pastor. Mackenzie worked as a lecturer to them³³³ The Josa and Youngsoo led the services³³⁴ but they had limitations due to the requirements of preaching, so they mostly led a lot of hymn-singing and Bible study rather than preaching. Therefore the church in Korea naturally settled worship around the reality of a lack of pastors, with prayer and the Word of God being central, rather than liturgy.

For 27 years of Mackenzie's ministry in Korea he travelled and led services in rural areas where he met people and organized the groups and revivals for the members, their families and neighbors. Each church had local leaders to be self-governing and independent. This work was reminiscent of the life of Jesus who travelled town to town to find and meet people

³³¹ J.Z. Moore, "The Great Revival Year," *KMF*(Aug. 1907), 116.

³³² About this see chapter 3 in this thesis.

³³³ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 146.

³³⁴ Richard H. Baird, *William M. Baird of Korea; A Profile* (Oakland: Private Publication 1968), 239.

and who said, “Let us go somewhere else—to the nearby villages—so I can preach there also. That is why I have come.”³³⁵

5.4. Savage Ulleungdo

5.4.1. Momentum and Process

Mackenzie visited the remote Ulleungdo Island in first year that he arrived in Busan. This was the first visit by a Westerner and missionary to the Island. He particularly enjoyed his trips to that island³³⁶ and made great efforts to preach the gospel to natives and build the church to evangelize there. At that time the transportation was not good for people to come and go. Ulleungdo originally belonged to the Gangwon-do Province administrative division, but afterwards transferred to Kyeongsangnam-do (1907) and then transferred later to Kyeongsangbuk-do (1914). Ulleungdo belonged to the Kyeongsang Presbytery (1911) then transferred to the Kyeongnam Presbytery when it was divided into two Presbyteries (1916). At that time APM and PCUSA worked in combination, but later PCUSA withdrew from the South Kyeongsang province by the Comity Arrangement (1914). Following that, Ulleungdo was the mission field of APM.

Mackenzie was bold to be the first missionary to visit Ulleungdo, going ten years before any other missionary went there. This was because among the missionaries of the Presbytery, there was no appropriate person to go to Ulleungdo. It was also not usual for missionaries to

³³⁵ Mark 1:38 (NIV).

³³⁶ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 144.

engage in such long and dangerous boat trips. In this situation Mackenzie became interested and took the opportunity to visit Ulleungdo. In 1910 he baptized a person of Gwang-Soo Song in Gyeongsan, Gyeongbuk-Do who had moved to Ulleungdo to live. He had a distinct faith and was a dedicated person. He prepared his house to hold 176 as a place for meetings, and worship began with a meeting led Mr. Y. S. Ham. It was the first service on the island. This group became the first church, the Nari-church (Now, Chunboo first Church).³³⁷ This news was heard from Mr. G. S .Song. Mackenzie visited the island and encouraged them to firmly establish the church there. He encouraged them in the Word and led the sacrament in small gatherings of congregations.³³⁸ Mackenzie led the first Holy Communion in Ulleungdo.

At that time the island of Ulleungdo was a place of exile. The mainland of Choseon had been under the control and exploitation of Japan, when the Japanese imperialists colonized Choseon from 1910 to 1945. The influence of the Choseon Government had little or no impact on people on Ulleungdo and life there was miserable. About the people's life, according to Mackenzie's record after he had finished his third visit,

"... There is now a population of 7000 Korean and 1500 Japanese. The Koreans are all exceedingly poor. I was told that last year, owing to the partial failure of their crops, they had to live for three months of the year largely on wild roots and herbs. They are almost all in debt to the Japanese merchants, who grab most of what their land produces towards the payment of their debts, and then more is lent to them to raise another crop and be put through the same process again....The Koreans are thus like exiles forced to

³³⁷ Yeon Kyeong Lee, "Ulleungdo Bokeumui Deungdaega doeon se Gyuhoe [The three churches have been Ulleungdo Gospel Lighthouse]." *Weekly Christian* (2009), 241.

³³⁸ *Loc.cit.*

live away from their original homes, and they have the exile's weariness which led them to listen to a message of consolation and hope such as the gospel brought to them..."³³⁹

Perhaps this record shows the reason Mackenzie liked to visit the island.

The people living in the island had been the owners, but then lived like slaves under the Japanese imperialist landlords. They had lost hope and were full of resentment, but could not solve the problem. Ulleungdo came to be the Choseon people's 'Han.' So Mackenzie went to them for he could not ignore their plight. As a Western Missionary he should avoid the so called 'white man's burden', and so it was part of his duties to educate other races who might be considered lawless, or to attempt to 'Europeanize' them.³⁴⁰ But he saw the people's suffering was related to Jesus' suffering on the cross. Therefore he ruled out political purposes and went to the island as an evangelist. Christ incarnate came into the world and died for the redemption of people. Mackenzie was identifying with God's care for the poor and needy and lost.

5.4.2. For Evangelization

The first record of the gospel being taught in the island is in 1909. A Methodist colporteur went to evangelize the island at the same time that Mr. G.S. Song, who had been baptized by Mackenzie, had began worship services in his house. It was the start the church in the island. Regarding this, according to the record of the history of the Choseon Presbyterian Church, "... by evangelism of the colporteur, Byeong D. Kim, they accepted the gospel. Young S. Ham

³³⁹ J. N. Mackenzie, *Messenger* (April 4, 1913), 211, also, Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 144.

³⁴⁰ Ben Kerman, *op.cit.*, 93.

accepted the gospel and shared it with others who lived with him in Nari-dong..."³⁴¹ However, the establishment and expansion of the church was by G. S. Song who was baptized by Mackenzie and who began the worship in his house with them.³⁴² After that by the evangelism of Byeong. D. Kim with them, there were four churches built at almost same time - Jangheung-church, Jeodong-church, and Dodong-church which included the Nari-church.³⁴³ Therefore it is written in the church history of the island of Ulleungdo that Mackenzie was the founder of the church there.³⁴⁴

After Mackenzie had visited Ulleungdo twice, he reported in detail the current situation to the Kyungsang Presbytery and the Presbytery decided to add it to their itinerant field. "Ulleungdo was passed and it was agreed Mackenzie should organize this."³⁴⁵ And also, enabled by a fund donated by Hae R. Boo of Deagu Middle School, Mackenzie was appointed the evangelist there.³⁴⁶ From 1910 to 1927, Mackenzie visited Ulleungdo eight times and established the foundations of the early Church in Ulleungdo.³⁴⁷ Additionally, the Kyeongsang Presbytery was cooperative with Mackenzie regarding his ministry on the island. In particular, the Presbytery sent household goods, including rice and clothes, when their grain was destroyed by the typhoon in the summer of 1915. At that time they showed concern for each other.³⁴⁸

³⁴¹ *The Minutes of the Kyeongsang Presbytery*(1913), 293.

³⁴² Yeon Kyeong Lee, *op.cit.*, 279.

³⁴³ Moon Yeong Park, eds, *Kyeongbook Gyohoesa* [The Church History of the North Kyeongsang province] (Seoul: Coram Deo, 2004), 56.

³⁴⁴ Compilation Committee, eds, *Ulleungdo Gidokkyo 90nyeonsa* [Christian 90 year history of Ulleungdo] (Korea: Pohang, 1999), 66-67.

³⁴⁵ The Kyeongnam Presbytery, eds, *Kyeongnam Nohoesa* [The History of Kyengnam Presbytery] (Seoul: Kumran, 2006), 213.

³⁴⁶ The Minutes of the Kyeongsang Presbytery, *op.cit.*, 187, also see, *Ibid.*, 213.

³⁴⁷ Hong ChulAhan, "13cha UCA chonghoehankookui bam haengsa [13th UCA General Assembly Korea Night Event]." *Gidokgongbo* [Christian today], July 23, 2012. Assessed May 30, 2016. <http://www.pckworld.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=55220>.

³⁴⁸ The History of Busan Presbytery, *op.cit.*, 214.

This was a good example for those who did not believe as well as being a great help to the congregation of saints being shown the brotherhood of fellow man.³⁴⁹

Mackenzie evangelized in humility and kindness to the people caring for the sick to whom he gave appropriate treatment and medicines. His work was completely different to that of the Japanese people so that many people trusted him and were motivated to attend church. He also gave teaching to the candidates for baptism and conducted baptisms and administered Holy Communion to members. Furthermore, in 1913 he appointed a deacon in the Jangheung-church³⁵⁰ and then taught a Bible study for fifty people for nine days.³⁵¹

An unusual point is the fact that the heavily pregnant Mrs. Mackenzie accompanied him on the long and dangerous journey. Mackenzie looked after women who are poor or marginalized during each visit to the island. When men met with Mackenzie for Bible study and to be baptized, he could not ignore the pitiful women who stood at a distance looking in envy. So whenever he returned home he explained the situation of the women of Ulleungdo to Mary. She wanted to go up to the women, but was kept back by much work and parenting their first child. However, in 1915, Mrs. Mackenzie boldly left their 18 month old child, Helen, with Miss Niven and, despite being heavily pregnant with their second child,³⁵² accompanied her husband on the long and dangerous boat journey to Ulleungdo.³⁵³ She was the first Western woman, as well the first woman missionary to visit the island. This was her commitment of sharing the faith to the women and girls of Ulleungdo who were craving the

³⁴⁹ *Our Missionaries at Work* (1916), 5.

³⁵⁰ Moon Yeong Pak, *op.cit.*, 88.

³⁵¹ Fusan Station Report (1916), *Our Missionaries at Work* (January 1917), 4-9.

³⁵² Mary Mackenzie, Letter (April 20, 1915) *Chronicle* (August 1915), 3.

³⁵³ *Our Mission at work* (1916), Published Quarterly, 5, also, Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 145.

gospel.³⁵⁴ Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie gathered the members of five churches at the Jeodong-church and lead a revival meeting. At that time of revival meetings, Seon U Byen and his family came to church for the first time. During the meeting,

"Mackenzie realized he was a man who would make a good pastor. He proposed this to his father who approved of it. After the tour of ministry was complete he went back to Busan with Mackenzie and was recommended for admission to the Dongsan Bible Institute in Daegu (Now, the Yeongnam Theological University)."³⁵⁵

He finished the full course and was appointed the preacher at the Jeodong-church as its first minister.

Mrs. Mackenzie collected the women separately and taught a Bible study and delivered a sermon for them. She taught them hymns, playing the reed organ which was always carried with them. This was a great joy to those dejected and underprivileged women who were in that state just because they were women. Mrs. Mackenzie also gathered the children and gave them Bible study and taught them hymns too. The children, once depressed, laughed with joy on seeing Mary. They were turned into completely different persons for the few days of the meetings. Furthermore, they were given bright and clean clothing as well as being born again and having inner courage and hope through the gospel. They were new people!

Mackenzie felt assured that the work would be developed by Geun B. Ham who was appointed as a Yeongsoo, Ho B. Jang as a deacon and a congregation of 30 members in

³⁵⁴ Mary Mackenzie, letter (April 20, 1915), *Chronicle* (August 1915), 3.

³⁵⁵ Myeong Deuk Yang, "Ulleungdogan Hoju Seongyosa Jeims Mekenji [Mackenzie who went to Ulleungdo]." *Christian Review*, accessed June 25, 2012.
http://christianreview.com.au/sub_read.html?uid=2195§ion=sc6

1916.³⁵⁶ In 1917, he appointed Won S. Song as a Yeongsoo in the Jangheung-church.³⁵⁷ As well as this, on the way he visited the rest home for American missionaries in Wonsan he baptised in the Hyeonpo-church and the Namseodong-church.

5.5. For the Church forward

5.5.1. For United Church

In the early days, missionaries who entered Korea made a great effort to establish a Protestant church. They first formed the 'United Council of Presbyterian Missions' (PCM) in 1889. It developed into the 'Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government' in 1892 and promoted the organization of one Presbyterian Church in 1907. In September 1905 the 'General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea', a council comprising Presbyterian and Methodist missions, was established for the creation of one church in Korea. That union did not continue, however as there were differences of opinion between the headquarters of each.³⁵⁸ But it led to the 'General Council of Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in Korea (1918) and then 'the Korean National Christian Council' (1924) to discuss and develop mission.³⁵⁹ Even though they did not have union physically as one denomination, the members respected each other's mission and followed the Comity

³⁵⁶ Moon Yeong Park, *op.cit.*, 112.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 120.

³⁵⁸ Cf., Kyeong Soo Park, "Hankookgaesinkyō Chogi Kyohoe Yeonhab Undongui Yusan [Early Protestant Church Union Movement Heritage in Korea]," Korea Presbyterian Theological Society 16th Conference, Un-printed papers (October 2, 2010), 34-61.

³⁵⁹ W. B. Harrison, "The Union Movement in Korea," in Korea Mission Field, *KMF*(Sep. 1906), Vol 2, No. 11, 200; W.D. Reynolds, Jr, "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the General Council of Evangelical Missions." *KMF* (June. 1906).

arrangement whereby they divided the mission field for areas of work so as not to compete in an area. In this situation Mackenzie showed great ability and gave impetus to the united church movement and in 1914 he became the chairman of the APM,³⁶⁰ and the following year was the Federal representative for the Protestant Missionary Union Council.³⁶¹ This meant that he had wide influence in the area of co-operation between Presbyterian and Methodist missions.³⁶² And also from 1915, he actively co-operated with the Bible Society for the translation and distribution of the Bible.³⁶³ He had good experience in translating a significant part of the New Testament to the language of Nogugu and planned to translate the rest during his holiday times. He was prominent in partnership ministry and was not restricted by denominations and organizations.

In addition, he was never absent without a good reason from the Presbytery and the General Assembly. He believed it was important to have good relationships between colleagues, but he also wanted to do the best for the whole country. He engaged in practical, physical work and did not just sit at a desk directing others.

The meeting of the presbytery was held regularly twice a year for two days, excluding special meetings. In the period of the Kyengsang Presbytery (1911-1916), they met 12 times and Mackenzie attended them almost all although there are no official records of 4th or 11th, and he missed the 2nd for period of his honeymoon. The Kyeongnam Presbytery (1916-1937), met 39 times, but Mackenzie was not able to attend 17th-18th and 30th as he was on sabbatical leave. One unusual point is where his name is listed in the record of attendance, from 1916 to 1920 it was just listed in the middle among other attendees, but after that it was

³⁶⁰ The Record of the APM (1914), 73.

³⁶¹ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 146.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 147.

³⁶³ *Loc.cit.*

recorded first.³⁶⁴ It is thought that this was done according to the Korean customs where the eldest or the most respected person would be listed first. What is interesting is that there were other church leaders who were older. This indicates that he was the most respected figure in the presbytery. The Korean church began with a single presbytery in 1907 then established the General Assembly Presbyterian in Korea in 1912 and gathered together seven presbyteries. The meetings were held throughout Korea on a rotating basis and normally held for four days. Because of the distances, there might be a requirement to travel for more than a week. But, he was still able to attend four times the Members of Assembly meeting of the presbytery in the period of the Kyungsang Presbytery,³⁶⁵ and then fifteen times he attended in the period of Kyeongnam Presbytery, excluding the holiday.³⁶⁶ He visited Osaka in Japan for a conference,³⁶⁷ and attended of four other meetings the nature of which hasn't been recorded.³⁶⁸ He was a moderator in the Kyeongnam presbytery in 1920, and from 1930, he was the representative person for the ten members of the Busan Inspection Committee on three inspection committees in the presbytery.³⁶⁹ While his schedule was extremely busy, we should not be surprised at his diligence and hard work. Preaching and working for the Lord was his calling and he dedicated his health, strength and ability to spread the word with truth and sincerity. He was truly a servant of Lord who was sent to wander among people in the darkness to bring them the light.

5.5.2. Expansion

³⁶⁴ The History of Busan Presbytery, Busan, *op.cit.*, 718-737.

³⁶⁵ 2nd (September 7, 1913), 3rd (September 6, 1914) 4th (September 4, 1915) and 5th (September 12, 1916).

³⁶⁶ 13th and 20th.

³⁶⁷ 21st.

³⁶⁸ The History of Busan Presbytery, *op.cit.*, 738-743.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 338.

At the time Mackenzie arrived at Busan, APM only had two mission stations, one in Busan and one in Jinju. Afterwards the following stations were established: Masan Station (1911), Tongyeong Station (1913) and Geochang (1913). Soon after arriving he became the head treasurer in the APM for twelve years.³⁷⁰ This position had two duties. One was to the government of Choseon and the Japanese Imperial Governor-General. The second was for the APM. From 1909, the Japanese empire had colonized Korea, and required documents for land, building and assets of each institution. This was for effective governance, but it was not a simple matter for those institutions to meet their reporting obligations. Each institution received various documents, each of which required a list of numerous items to be prepared before being sent. Additionally, the Japanese colonial government required elected directors in the mission. So Mackenzie became one of seven directors of APM.³⁷¹ Increasingly the Japanese government required reporting to the authorities about all church property and personal details of employees including the foreign missionaries.³⁷² This added an exhausting administrative burden to the work, beyond the requirement of religious work for spreading the gospel .

Mackenzie had to fill in the papers which identified land and property and the numbers of members of more than 100 churches. Also every missionary needed a certificate from the Australia government. In addition, employees who served in the Church needed to be licensed by the government. Preparing all this was not a simple task. Mackenzie and his hired four workers did all this. His impression was that Japanese government just wanted to waste time their time.³⁷³ But Mackenzie was dedicated to ensuring the mission's success and

³⁷⁰ John Brown, *op.cit.*, 84.

³⁷¹ Minutes, Council Executive(December 1912); Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 143.

³⁷² Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 143.

³⁷³ J. N. Mackenzie's letter, *Chronicle* (March 1912), 2.

showed perseverance in the face of the Japanese imperialist government requirements. He endeavoured to protect the missionaries so that they could continue their mission.

In addition Mackenzie undertook the internal administrative work at APM. This included distributing the salary payments received from FMC to each missionary. In the economic situation of 1911 the salaries by the FMC rose and fell, as did the allowances provided for the missionary's children.³⁷⁴ Also he assisted the missionaries when they wanted to purchase items needed for ministry. Additionally he made the budgets reports to the meeting of APM from the reports he collected and made further requests for money from FMC to distribute to the missions. Furthermore, when various goods arrived from Australia and other countries he worked with his secretary, Soo. H. Kim, to send them to missionaries in each station.³⁷⁵ In addition, from 1913 he became the auditor of APM and inspected the ministry and administration of missionaries in each branch.³⁷⁶ He had superior knowledge about construction techniques so from 1914 he was involved in the purchase and repair of the buildings to manage and protect these assets of the Mission Branch.³⁷⁷ He was the director as well. Not only was this work for Busan station, but he also worked with the five APM branches.³⁷⁸

Thus Mackenzie was devoted to providing administrative assistance and support for his fellow missionaries. This was a need he identified when he worked as a missionary in Nogugu. This work is important because it allowed missionaries to concentrate on their work with the communities. Due to this, he received more respect from his colleagues and also was able to develop mission branches and establish whole new branches.

³⁷⁴ Minutes, APM Mission Council (1913), 9-10.

³⁷⁵ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 144.

³⁷⁶ Minutes, APM Mission Council (1913), 71.

³⁷⁷ Minutes, APM Mission Council (1914), 82.

³⁷⁸ John Brown, *op.cit.*, 84.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has studied J. N. Mackenzie's itinerant missionary work. In summary, the South Kyeongsang Province was the most conservative region culturally in Korea and in particular Tongyeong was surrounded by many islands and Geochang was situated in the middle of rugged mountains. Therefore the geographical environmental conditions required a lot of sacrifice and effort from missionaries to operate missions.³⁷⁹ Mackenzie preached gospel through itinerant work in this area and founded churches. He also provided Christian education and awoke people to the Gospel. In addition he had a unique ability to find new believers and develop them into members and he made great efforts for spiritual revival in their villages. In particular, he visited Ulleungdo, which was the most remote and dangerous island in Korea at that time. Despite that, he and his wife visited and became friends with people who had lost the desire to live due to oppression and exploitation by the Japanese imperialists. This is true devotion and spiritual love that sets Mackenzie above ordinary people.

In addition, Mackenzie's relationships with other missionaries were very important for the growth of the church throughout in Korea. He advocated union in with other denominations and organizations for the advancement of a united church. Even more, he taught Koreans who had suffered exploitation and oppression by Japanese imperialists, about the gospel and ability to achieve liberation through the sacrifice on the cross, and related this to resistance to injustice. This was an important lesson in Church history and the modern National history in Korea. At that time there was not that much difference between the people in South

³⁷⁹ Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries'*, 421.

Kyeongsang province and the Minjung in the Galilee as described by the book of Mark. His itinerate ministry was a reflection of Jesus in His acts in Galilee and His suffering and death on the cross at the mountain of Golgotha.

Chapter 6. For Children and Women

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, Mackenzie's ministry for children and women in Korea will be examined through Minjung perspective. At that time the situation in Korea was tumultuous as the people were suffering the ruin of the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War and domination by the Empire of Japan - as has already been closely examined in chapter three. In these circumstances the biggest victims were the children and the women and so this chapter will study Mackenzie's ministry to women and children and the methods he used.

Buddhism and Confucianism had dominated Koreans on the Korean Peninsula for hundreds of years before the 19th century. However, those religions did not regard children or women as important. The concept or even a term for human rights of children and women did not exist. Women could not put a name to the family tree; a child could be considered only after becoming adult. Jeong Sook Hong wrote,

“I did not call the child a name, but just called it a surname or a child or a boy. In particular, the culture was against female education and even at home, I was reluctant to teach letters through books.”³⁸⁰

Hong also noted, “At the time of writing, even in the educated Yangban hierarchy it was perceived as impossible for women to be educated. Education in the meantime was for men

³⁸⁰ Jeong Sook Hong, "Yeoseong Kyoyukgwa Gwanryeondoen Gyoyukgigwane daehan Yeongu: 1880-1910 [A Study on the Educational Institutions of Founders Related to Women's Education:1880-1910]" (DEd theses, Ewha Women University, Seoul, 1985), 7.

and supported the male hierarchy; it was not for women.³⁸¹ Therefore, the idea of predominance of men over women and patriarchal perception of status was considered natural. The human rights and status of children and women began to blossom along with the introduction of Christianity in Seoul and Pyongyang, which were then big cities. In the eyes of Western missionaries, modern education was essential to stop the unhappiness of Koreans and change the family and society.”³⁸²

However, until that time the South Kyeongsang provinces had formed the most conservative culture in Korea, retaining its traditions. In that situation what mission did J.N. Mackenzie bring to children and women in both thought and method? What did he intend for that area?

The efforts of Australian missionaries for children and women before Mackenzie arrived in Korea will be looked at first and then the Mackenzie’s work will be seen to be a further progression in that work. What Mackenzie did for marginalized children will be studied as well as his ministry for women. It is important that the consequences for society of this mission work be understood.

Therefore, in this chapter, answers will be provided to the following research questions:

Who were the people suffering in the Mackenzie’s era?

What was Mackenzie’s work with the marginalized people?

What were the impacts and results from it?

³⁸¹ In Soo Son, *Hangook Yeoseong Gyoyuksa* [History of Korean Women's Education] (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1977), 220.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 216

6.2. Australian missionary for Children and Women.

6.2.1. Protestant Missionary Effort

At the end of the 19th century in Korea there were no educational institutions for children or women, with the exception of a very few children. Society under the Korean Dynasty was dominated by Confucianism. The Confucian main teaching was loyalty to the country, filial piety to parents and keeping the honour of the family. At that time for this purpose, there was the Higher Education Institution of Seonggyungwan. Also there were the Hyangkyo of the Middle Education Institute in the North, South, West and East of Seoul and the Seodang or Seobang of the Elementary Education Institute in Seoul and several provinces. These schools were mainly concerned with the study of Confucian classics (Kyeonghak), the history of China, and poetry and prose (Simoon). Any practical courses were regarded as humble and treated as low-grade subjects. The goal of these schools was to educate the children of Yangban (a noble class family) so they could become government officers. Therefore these educational institutions were used to make their noble clans prosperous. There was no education except for the children of Yangban. Traditionally women were not to go outside, but were to obey and learn housework under their parents' tutoring. As a result there was no educational institution for women. Their learning was restricted to domestic work such as making clothes, cooking and knitting in family traditions which were handed down the generations. The Gabokyeongjang (1894) was a reformation of the feudal dynastic system and as a result a new education system was begun one year later. The new system was to establish Primary-schools (Sohakgyo), Middle-schools (Junghakgyo), High-schools (Sabakhakgyo) and a Foreign Language School, modeled on the western school systems in

order to give an opportunity for all children and women to be educated. But the Primary School only ever existed on paper and no real schools were made, so the traditional Seodang continued. The government said that it had been preparing to set up a western education system from 1881, but actually there were not enough teachers to do this.³⁸³

At that time protestant missionaries came to Choseon and actually began education for children and women. The first institute, the Gwanghaewon, was opened in April 1885 by Dr. H. N. Allen (arrived, 1884) who was the first PCUSA medical missionary in Korea. The Baejaehakdang was built by H. G. Appenzeller (arrived, 1885) as the first modern school for children.³⁸⁴ Mrs. Scranton (arrived, 1885) was the first woman missionary in Korea and she began a school for women in 1886 which was named "Ewha-Hakdang" (meaning 'Pear-blossom School') by the Queen. In Pyeongyang, Rev. W. M. Baird started a boys' school, Sungsil-hagkyo, in 1897. Later on APM helped run the school.

By contrast, in the South Kyeongsang province, schools were started by the Scottish Bible Society and Canadian missionary efforts.³⁸⁵ However, real education for children and women was by PCV and PCUSA. Rev. Baird, (arrived 1891) who was sent by PCUSA, opened the school for boys of primary grade in 1891. It was six years later than in Seoul.³⁸⁶ This school's student body was largely made of the church members' children. The school name was 'Hanmun-Seodang' (meaning the Chinese Character School) because parents wanted their children to be taught Chinese characters. Soon after he moved to Pyeongyang and started another school there. On the other hand, the first educational institute for women was

³⁸³ Edith A. Kerr and G. Anderson, *op.cit.*, 45.

³⁸⁴ *Loc.cit.*

³⁸⁵ Regarding see, this thesis Chapter 3.

³⁸⁶ Harry A. Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1894-1934* (Seoul: PCUSA, 1934), 131. William Baird was an eminent educator, he became the established and first principal of the Soongsil Academy, later called the Union Christian College in Pyeongyang, North Korea. AMP was to co-operate from 1912.(H. Rhodes, 421).

begun by the APM. Five Australian missionaries went to Korea in the year following the death of Rev. H. Davies. In Busan 12 October 1891³⁸⁷ Miss Menzies established an elementary school with three year education courses for three orphaned girls she had taken into her care while she was doing itinerant ministry.³⁸⁸ And then in 1897 Mrs. Irvin (arrived 1894) opened a Girls' Evening School for girls who worked during the day, and it has been called an Academy since 1909.³⁸⁹ In those days PCUSA reported that there were about twenty schools for boys and girls, and 138 boys' schools and 142 girls' schools. But when the PCUSA withdrew from that area in accordance with the Comity Arrangement in 1914, those schools were handed over to the local churches or sold to the Japanese, and the equipment given to the Girls' School in Seoul.³⁹⁰ Before 1910, government-run educational institutions for children and women did not exist and there were only missionary-run schools.

6.2.2. APM's Effort for Children

The APM's main mission was for children in Korea. This was because there were more women missionaries than men. A policy of various Protestant denominations in the early 1890's was that women and children in the countries where missionaries worked should be ministered to by women. PCV responded to this and was encouraged in their missionary efforts by H. Davies' death on the mission field of Korea. A meeting was held in Mrs.

³⁸⁷ They were Miss B. Menzies, Miss M. Fawcett, Miss J. Perry of PWMU, and Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Mackay of YMFU.

³⁸⁸ Legal basis was the GyoyukIkuuk Joseo [the Education and Arrival Report] which the Emperor Gojong implemented in February 1895 and the Sohakkyokyuchikdaekang [the Primary Rough Rules] on 12 August 1895.

³⁸⁹ Edith A. Kerr and G. Anderson, *op.cit.*, 46.

³⁹⁰ *Loc. cit.*

Robert Harper's house, "Myoora", and the PWMU was formed to organize mission "By Women; To Women". From then onwards they focused on female missionary work.

In the following year, PWMU sent three women missionaries to Korea with a missionary couple of YMFU. From then to 1942, PWMU actually led Australian mission in Korea. There were thirty three unmarried women and three male pastor missionaries among seventy-eight missionaries in all. Twenty two of those women had graduated from the Deaconess Training Institute and five were already missionaries. Two were teachers, two were nurses and one was a doctor.³⁹¹ In other words the PWMU missionaries were overwhelmingly ones who had graduated from the Deaconess Training Institute. The educational curriculum system was set out by PCV in 1884 and actual training began in 1898 in PCV. This training system was focused on mission activities for children and women in a two year course. The students practiced in Melbourne city and suburban areas and the women missionaries therefore had a variety of fruitful experiences.

The missionaries who arrived in Busan purchased a house in the populated parts of Choryang and Busanjin and women started mission in the Choryang area. They met many orphans in the streets when they were moving around the district. At that time many people had died or lost their properties in Sino-Japanese war (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). The worst affected people living in poverty and famine after the wars were children and women, particularly children who had lost their parents. They were severely affected, often abandoned in the streets as orphans where they wandered from place to place to find their food. Miss Menzis and Perry took in three girls in 1892. This was the beginning of the orphanage of APM. Soon after, numbers increased to thirteen children. The place was called

³⁹¹ Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Mission's*, 90.

"Myoora Orphanage".³⁹² From 1895 this orphanage progressed to include a school with a three-year course in Sewing, Cooking, Ethics, Korean, Chinese language, Mathematics and Physical training.³⁹³ The school developed into Ilsin Girls' School.³⁹⁴ It was the first educational institute for women in the South Kyeongsang province as well as the first established school of APM. Furthermore, shortly after its establishment Miss Menzies started the boys' school with a helper, Sang Hyeon Sim, who was her language teacher. This boys' school was led by Rev. Engel after he arrived in Busan. However, Ilsin Girls' School was closed (1st April 1940) by the Japanese Imperialists and then re-opened as Tongnai Girls' Middle and High School after the Pacific War was over in 1945.³⁹⁵

Another educational achievement was in Masan where Rev. A. Adamson sowed the gospel from 1894 and began a church there with a school for children (1903). This school became the Changsin School in 1908 (today, Changsin University) and Rev. A. Adamson called this school The H. Davies Memorial school. In addition he began the Euisin Girls' School in 1913. Changsin School was closed by the Japanese imperialists and then re-opened as Ho Sin Secondary School in 1925. As well, Dr. and Mrs. Currell moved to Jinju and began the Siwon Girls' School (1906) and Kwang Rim Boys' School (1909) and then opened a hospital (1913). Siwon Girls' School was closed because they would not obey the edict of the Japanese to institute Shinto worship. Also Kwang Rim Boys' School was closed in financial difficulty. The building was used for the Kyeongsang Bible School of the South Kyeongsang

³⁹² "Myoora", (Aboriginal for a 'camp', 'resting place') was the name used for Mrs. Harper's House. She established the PWMU and arranged a lot of financial support for the orphanage which was named "Myoora Orphanage" in honour of her service.

³⁹³ Sang Gyoo Lee, *To Korea with Love*, 226.

³⁹⁴ Dongnae Girls' High School, eds. *Hakkyo Yoram:1980* [School Bulletin: 1980] (Busan: Dongnae Girl's High School, 1980), 25.

³⁹⁵ Yeong Sook Noh. "Gaesingu Seongyusadeului Gidokkyu Kyuyuki Geundae Gyuyukmahwae Giyeohan Gyoyujeok uiui [The Significant Enlightenment for Contribution to the Educational Culture in Christian Education of the Modern Missionary]." *Kidokkyogoyoyuknonchong* 34 (Christian Education Journal No. 34). (Seoul: CES, 2013), 29.

Presbytery.³⁹⁶ On the other hand in Tongyeong where Miss E. B. Moore regularly visited from 1892 a church was organized in 1897 and the Jinmyung Girls' School was established by Mr. and Mrs. Watson.³⁹⁷ This school opened two classes for orphans and an evening class. The school grew and two schools were formed - the Jinmyeng School for children and the Tongyeong Industrial School for mature women. In addition, in Keochang, Rev. F. J. L. Macrae began the Myung-Duk School in 1915. This school progressed to have a Kindergarten, Nursery School and Vocational Training School led by Miss S. M. Scott for twenty-three years. Schools for children and women were generally started in the churches and then separated to a Sunday School and a private school.

The educational purpose for children was to nurture healthy members who believed in God and could then preach the gospel to their people. Later the boys' schools were handed over by APM to local churches, but the girls' schools were not transferred to them because of the weak interest in women's education. Furthermore APM did not found higher education institutes, but sent students on to higher education establishments in Seoul and Pyeongyang. From 1930 the Japanese imperialists insisted on Shinto worship in mission schools, but APM formally rejected this from 31st July 1939, and officially closed schools or, in five mission stations, shut them for a long break. After the independence of Korea, the new government and the Christians re-opened them and they have continued on till the present time.

6.2.3. APM's Efforts for Women

³⁹⁶ Sang Gyoo Lee, *To Korea with Love*, 233-234.

³⁹⁷ *Our missionaries* (Jan. 1915), 35.

Part of the five mission stations' activities was to found a school for women. This was a priority in accordance with the principle of the Nevius mission policy in 1893.³⁹⁸ Furthermore, the women missionaries saw the women in the region suffering discrimination and their compassion caused them to bring relief and care to the women. This compassion was worked out in three ways. First was to educate poor women. Second was to provide a Vocational School to arrange job training for poor women. Third was to bring relief for prostitutes. Regarding these mission activities, Mackenzie was a real leader in APM.

Their first objective, to educate poor women, was addressed by the school for women in Busan, which Miss Menzis and J. Perry had started when they cared for orphans. It had advanced to run a three-year course accredited by the Minister of Education (Hagbudaesin) in 1909. This school was divided, and one part remained and another part was moved to a new place at Bukchun-dong Dongrae-eub and named Dongraeilsin Girl's School. At that time the number of graduates was low compared to today, but stimulated by the missionaries' teaching, it led the 3.1 movement in Busan and the South Kyeongsang province. This led to the directive on 31st July 1939 by the Japanese Imperialists to close Christian schools and they were finally closed in 1st April 1940. In Masan, from the Changsin School (1908), another school was established - the first girls' school - which was Euisin Girls' School (1914). Its student population was 330 in 1938, but it was closed down in 1939 by the order of the government.³⁹⁹ Also an evening school was opened for women (1920). It had seventeen graduation ceremonies before it was also closed in 1939.⁴⁰⁰ In Jinju, the Jeongsook Girls' School merged with Kwangrim Boys' School for accreditation by government, but separated

³⁹⁸ Kyeong Bae Min, *Hangook Gidokkyo Sacheo Undongsa* [The History of Korea Christian Social Movement] (Seoul: CLC, 1987), 19.

³⁹⁹ Changsin Middle and High School, eds, *Changsin 60nyeonsa* [The History of Changsin 60 Years] (Masan: Changsin Middle and High School, 1968), 109.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 108.

again to Siwon Girls' School (1921). The student population reached 250 in 1921, but it was also closed down in 1939 when it refused to engage in Shinto worship.⁴⁰¹ In addition APM sent two ladies, Ok-Soon Son and Yeng-Bok Lee, to Melbourne to study nursing and after two years they returned to the Paton Memorial Hospital in Jinju and the Severance Hospital in Seoul respectively. In Tongyeong, evening school for women at Jinmyeong Girls' School was established in 1913. This school taught practical courses to enable women to become self-supporting. But this school was also closed down by the Japanese.⁴⁰²

Secondly, vocational training was established. As we have seen this began in Tongyeong. The Jinmyeong Girls' School had dual roles as a shelter for homeless, poor girls who did not have friends and especially as a shelter for prostitutes. At that time the main teachers were Miss Skinner (1920), Miss Francis (1926) and Miss E. Kerr (1929). Then this school officially divided into two. There was the Tongyeong Industrial School (1932) which taught women the Bible, writing and simple techniques in order to earn an income for themselves. However, this school had financial difficulties so that one part merged to the Tongnai Vocational Farm School from 1935 whilst the other part continued until 1941 when it was closed down by the expulsion of the APM missionary. In Busan Miss Kerr opened Tongnae Vocation Farm School in 1935 when she moved from Tongyeong. Her education programs were primary school level study in the morning and vocational training for Animal Breeding, Horticulture, Carpentry, Bookbinding, Handicraft and Dressmaking in the afternoon. The students she took in were the most disadvantaged in a patriarchal society, such as being disabled, prostitutes, abandoned by husbands, widows, orphans... etc. In 1938 Miss Kerr changed the school name to Jabiwon in order to avoid the Shinto worship. In Masan the

⁴⁰¹ Sang Gyoo Lee, *Busanjibang Kidokkyo Jeonraesa* [The Christian Mission History in the Busan Province], (Seoul: Geulmadang, 2001), 198.

⁴⁰² Edith A. Kerr and G. Anderson, *op.cit.*, 112.

Gospel Farm School opened in April 1934 in place of the Hosin School that had already closed. The twenty five school students must have experienced farming for more than one year to be accepted into the school and dormitory. They learned the Bible and skills for agriculture and in living together. This school was also closed down by the Japanese Imperialists.⁴⁰³ In Geochang, Miss Skinner gathered poor women who were not educated and taught them real school subjects such as a formal school did, but it did not have the authorization needed. Then Miss Scott came and she continued with the Myeongdeok School for women.⁴⁰⁴

Thirdly was the ministry for female relief. Although in the Choseon Dynasty, there were people enjoying the nightlife and Gisaeng (Korean geisha), licensed prostitution as we understand it did not exist. After the Japanese invasion of Choseon, as a part of the colonial policy,⁴⁰⁵ the licensed prostitution system was put in, and Japanese prostitutes came to Choseon and corrupted the minds of youth and there was a surge of prostitution. Rev. Paton reported that there was more than 75% more prostitution in the South Kyeongsang province than when he had visited Choseon in 1920.⁴⁰⁶ So prostitution surged throughout Choseon and especially in the Kyeongsang region. The reason for the great increase in the Kyeongsang region was the greater difficulty people had in meeting financial needs and cancelling debts after droughts or flooding in rural farming areas of the mountains. For this purpose, daughters were sold in the name of a good job in city. These daughters were usually 17-25 years of age and they knew that they were sacrificing themselves and their women's virtue for their family's difficulties. Missionaries knew this situation and made efforts to abolish the

⁴⁰³ Sang Gyoo Lee, *The Christian Mission History in the Busan province*, 195.

⁴⁰⁴ Edith A. Kerr and G. Anderson, *op.cit.*, 113.

⁴⁰⁵ In Soo Kim, *Hankook Gidokkyohoesa* [Christian Church History in Korea] (Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published Co., 2003), 211.

⁴⁰⁶ F. Paton, *Korea after Ten Years* (Melbourne: FMC of PCV, 1921), 4.

licensed prostitution system for the relief of women. Miss A. M. Campbell, teacher of Siwon Girls' School in Jinju, suggested that in her opinion there was a need for a rehabilitation centre for prostitute girls.⁴⁰⁷ The Rescue Committee in APM was established.⁴⁰⁸ They required the financial support to PWMU to achieve this⁴⁰⁹ and Dr. C. I. McLaren visited Saito, the Japanese governor, and requested the licensed prostitution system be closed. However, this was not a perfect solution because the girls had debts. So APM missionaries were deployed to approach the ecumenical group about this issue. In 1924 Dr. C. I. McLaren submitted a statement at the union meeting of Westerners, Japanese and Koreans⁴¹⁰ and this was supported by the YMCA and the Kyeongnam Presbytery,⁴¹¹ and mission advanced together with the Methodist mission and Pyeongyang. They then organized the Committee on the elimination of the licensed prostitution system in November of the same year.⁴¹² Furthermore the Presbyterian General Assembly in Korea decided to support this movement in 1926.⁴¹³ In addition the Japanese Women's Christian Temperance movement supported it.⁴¹⁴

Prostitution was also an economic problem, but it was a problem of a profoundly sinful nature and resulted in the abandonment of women. For this reason the APM made great efforts to bring relief to women, who had became men's playthings in the times of economic

⁴⁰⁷ *Extracts*, vol. 8 (1920), 45.

⁴⁰⁸ The Rescue Committee five members were Miss A. M. Campbell, Miss G. Napier, Miss Alexander, Miss F. L. Clarke and Mrs. R. D. Watson.

⁴⁰⁹ Edith A. Kerr and G. Anderson, *op.cit.*, 67.

⁴¹⁰ C. I. Malaren, "Statement Submitted," *KMF* (Feb. 1924), 33-34.

⁴¹¹ Yang Seon Kim, eds, *Hankook Gidokkyusa Yeongu* [The Study of Korean Christian] (Seoul: CLC, 1971), 158.

⁴¹² In Soo Kim, *op.cit.*, 260.

⁴¹³ *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea* (1926), 48.

⁴¹⁴ C. I. Malaren, "Progress Report of the Social Service Committee of the Federal Council," *KMF* (Jun. 1933), 151.

difficulty. Therefore the missionaries worked to protect the women by programs for healing from their spiritual and physical suffering and in training them for a new life.

6.3. For underprivileged children

6.3.1. For Young Children

The discussion about education for young children in the South Kyeongsang Province was begun after Mackenzie arrived in Busan. APM had already begun the 'Myoora Orphanage' and Advanced Boys' School and Girls' School with three-year education programs. But education institutions for younger children did not exist in Korea. That is, children under seven years old, both boys and girls. There were many fathers who had died in the two wars and mothers who were doing double work in raising children and earning money. In addition Japanese Imperialists had made extortionate charges for products from before 1910. Japanese landlords lent food on high interest rates and if the debt could not be paid in full in the following year, greater debt was incurred and often their young girls were sold into prostitution. In this situation the most damaged people were their young children. When parents were working in farm or fisheries all day, young children were left in the care of older sisters or brothers. In one word the children were cared for by children. In these circumstances boys and girls who were students absented themselves in the day to care for the young children as parent or parents worked. Some of the girls worked in the day running

kindergartens so APM opened the evening school for them as well as beginning a kindergarten for young children.⁴¹⁵

At that time in Busan, Mackenzie recognized the importance of providing early childhood education, so he began a kindergarten. The Ilsen Kindergarten was founded by him and the Buanjin Church in 17 May 1923. Busanjin church was the mother church in that area so Mackenzie thought that all the churches in Busan and the South Kyeongsang province would follow his lead in starting kindergartens for early childhood education. For this, he obtained authorization from the Governor of the South Kyeongsang Province (Director: Miss M. Withers). Ilsen Kindergarten moved to the new campus in 6 May 1933.⁴¹⁶ At that time there were 100 students. Unfortunately the missionaries were expelled with Mackenzie in 1938 by the Japanese imperialists so that the kindergarten's role was finished and all property was seized in 1941 and operated by the Japanese.⁴¹⁷ After Korean independence the building was used for storage. It was officially handed over to Busanjin Church in 1953 in the period of the Korean War and used by the army. During the period of the Korean War, Mackenzie's two eldest daughters, Helen and Catherine, came to Busan for mission and started the Ilsen Women Hospital there in 17 September 1952.⁴¹⁸ After that the Busanjin Church re-opened a Kindergarten as an affiliated institute and it is still operating today.

⁴¹⁵ J. N. Mackenzie transferred the orphans in Busanjin to the Health Children House in 1913. In Mrs. Adamson was in Masan in 1913, Mrs. C. I. McLaren was in Jinju in 1917 and they started Kindergartens. (The Choseon Ilbo, 9 Feb. 1923). Also Mrs. Watson started two in Tongyeong, but they were closed by the imperialists then reopened as the Jinmyeong Kindergarten of today. (Edith A. Kerr and G. Anderson, *op.cit.*, p. 112). APM ran a teacher-training program twice in a year until 1939 in order to enable the supply of kindergarten teachers. Yeong Sook Noh, *op.cit.*, 377.

⁴¹⁶ The new campus was 198 m² and the construction cost was 3,000 won.

⁴¹⁷ *Busan Yeoksamoohnwa Daejeon* (Busan, a Great Function of History, Culture), accessed June 20, 2016, <http://busan.grandculture.net/>.

⁴¹⁸ Ilsen Christian Hospital, eds. *Ilsen Gidokbyeongwon 40yeonsa* [The Ilsen Christian Hospital's 40 Year History] (Busan: Ilsen Christian Hospital, 1993), 36.

Mackenzie gave Christian children and abandoned children priority in enrolment, but he also took in twenty percent non-Christian children.⁴¹⁹ From the beginning the Kindergarten purposed to raise children to be emotionally stable.⁴²⁰ It is assumed that it would care for domestic economic difficulties of the children and the abandoned children as well as caring for their emotional and physical well-being. Mackenzie's educational goals were firstly, teaching the Word in love to children through worship, and secondly, for the children to be mediators of the gospel, conveying it to unbelievers in their homes. Thirdly, his purpose was showing God's work through education to their parents, and fourthly, to educate in the importance of prayer and praise by holding worship every Monday'.⁴²¹ These aims were consistent with the AMP's educational goals that the purpose of education was to train workers who believe in God to preach the gospel to the Korean people. The main textbook used by teachers was the Bible and they taught the children to memorize verses of the Bible.⁴²² Mackenzie's work was the role model for later preschool education institutions in the South Kyeongsang province.

6.3.2. For the Healthy Children in the Lepers' Home

Mackenzie operated a house for children cured of leprosy and for abandoned children. This was not in order to found another school, but to care for children in recovery before they were returned to their communities and local schools. His house for children began the year after he had started ministry to lepers. He was prompted to start the house as he was concerned about how these children would adapt to the normal schools and also he was really concerned

⁴¹⁹ Yeong Sook Noh, *op.cit.*, 365.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 377.

⁴²¹ Busan, A Great Function of History, Culture, *op.cit.*

⁴²² Yeong Sook Noh, *op.cit.*, 377.

that the children cured of leprosy should receive an education. In the five stations, there were orphanages and schools for boys and for girls, but these special needs children were not admitted. Mackenzie found this problem deeply wounding as it had been ignored for so long and resulted in the children becoming beggars on the streets. Such children could not integrate with other children of their own age. As well as children cured of leprosy, there were also children brought by parents who themselves had leprosy.

Once Mackenzie recognized that leprosy was not a strongly hereditary or infectious disease, he formed the plans for intervention for these children. It was a heavy burden for him involving the purchase of new land and building the place. When he had his first holiday he went to Nogugu for three months and then came to Australia. He met more than 80 mission groups⁴²³ and appealed to them about the necessity for new property to care for the health of the children. Eventually he collected £600 and secured the sponsors for the nurturing of these children and he then returned to Korea.⁴²⁴ He bought land, 10 km distance from the asylum of lepers and built a new building⁴²⁵ which was opened in 1919 as the Children's House with seven orphans who came from Busanjin. This Children's House began like an orphanage for boys and girls. The admission rule was that the intake should be mainly from children without parents. Indeed they were pitiful children, never having been helped by people, but coldly rejected. When these children had been bathed and dressed in clean clothes they were unrecognizable as the same children. In addition they were being completely transformed by regular meals and the loving care which they received. Mackenzie connected each child with an elder or his wife who fathered and mothered them.⁴²⁶ The new parents took care of them in love as if they were their own. The children, who were originally orphans, became

⁴²³ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 155.

⁴²⁴ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 30.

⁴²⁵ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 159.

⁴²⁶ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 30.

part of a family. Furthermore cured children, as well as healthy children whose leper parents had taken them to the Home of Lepers, were moved to the Children's House. Especially the children who were judged to have no risk of leprosy were moved there. Although they acted modestly, their hearts soared at their new opportunity. The place was called The Untainted Children's House. Two years after opening there were seven boys and six girls,⁴²⁷ and at one time the number cared for reached thirty children, then in 1931 there were eighteen children and twenty in 1937.⁴²⁸

Mackenzie had two purposes to work through the Children's House. One was to restore them. He wanted to quickly overcome their sense of defeat. The other was to train them in faith and study to become a Christian force in society, and evangelists to other Koreans. This was in line with his general educational philosophy. It is interesting that Mackenzie's four daughters were associated with the children who had been through the Children's Home. His daughters said that sixty or seventy years later they had many Korean friends who held friends of the Children's House in their memories.⁴²⁹ One particularly fond memory which was spoken about was of Christmas Eve parties when the children and their foster parents were invited by Mackenzie to the manse and gifts from other parts of the world were distributed to the children. These were times of unforgettable joy which had touched them deeply.⁴³⁰ This is a glimpse of how he made a great effort to give the children courage and dreams. Mrs. Mackenzie wrote to some Australian people about the Christmas Eve festivities, "I thought.... If you wished, you also saw their surprise and happiness...".⁴³¹ In addition, the forty-five children suffering from leprosy were also given presents. Thirty-five years later,

⁴²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁴²⁸ Mrs. Mackenzie report (October 1937), in *Chronicle* (March 1938), 53.

⁴²⁹ Ilsin Christian Hospital, eds, *Mackenziegaui Ddaleeul* [Daughters of the Mackenzie Family] (Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 2012), 125, 168, 172, 194,

⁴³⁰ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 34-36.

⁴³¹ Mrs. Mackenzie, letter (January 16, 1920), in *Chronicle* (April 1920), 12.

when his two older daughters, Helen and Catherine, came to Busan as missionaries, the friends of the Children's House welcomed them and helped them when they operated the Ihsin Women's Hospital in 1952.

6.3.3. Advancement for Children

Mackenzie aimed to return children from the Children's House to their schools and communities as soon as they were ready. To that end he taught courses of the elementary and secondary schools and highly recommended them to attend the Higher Education School and the Vocational Institute so they would continue growing into productive members of the community. This education in the Children's House was given by his wife, Mrs. Mackenzie. The teaching was roughly divided into two - religious education and language education. At that time there was the Hunminjeongeum (Korean) that the Great King Sejong (reigned, 1418–1450) had created about 450 years before, but it was not universally used. It had long operated using Chinese words about the impact of Chinese's religion and culture. This Chinese study was generally open to the children of Yangban (nobleman) for them to be successful, and according to the record in 1934, 77.7 % of the common people were illiterate.⁴³² Mackenzie knew the importance of literacy in awakening people to changes and situations in society as he had already recognized in his previous mission in Nogugu, New Hebrides. So he taught the children Korean and Chinese as well. If they could read they could study Christian education. It was taught through the Bible and Hymns. At that time the Bible was studied systematically and the hymns were translated as the PCM

⁴³² *Choseon Ilbo* (the News paper of Choseon) reported (Dec. 22, 1934), the details of the survey which was conducted at the direction of the Governor-General of Korea on 1 Oct. 1934.

recommended that missionaries sang the songs in the language of their countries. According to the book of Mrs. Baird, among the hymns was a song known today as “Straight, straight small stars, blowing a storm, just come in here, hakdoyahakdoya (Hi boy) ...etc”.⁴³³ The children were also taught Sewing, Cooking, Ethics, Korean, Chinese language, Mathematics and Physical training.⁴³⁴ It was almost the same as the Boy's School and Girl's School in the daytime. In addition they studied sanitation, nutrition, and how to improve the living environment.⁴³⁵

Mackenzie encountered a real problem regarding sending the children to the schools in their communities. This was because he did not pursue accreditation of the Children's Home despite the fact that comparable standards of education were maintained and despite his considerable knowledge and experience with the Ihsin Girls' School as the representative of founders (1915) and in the establishment of the Ihsin Kindergarten (1923). This was a great concern to him as evidenced by seven pages of his autobiography describing his worry.⁴³⁶ Unfortunately the students of the Children's Home were not allowed entrance to the Public Schools in Busan because the schools believed that there would be infection spread to other students, despite the children have certificates declaring that they were cured. Although this belief was incorrect, it created great difficulty for Mackenzie at the time. However, private schools were willing to enrol the cured children so most of them attended private middle or high schools in accordance with their age. At that time Mackenzie connected with a helper in Australia to assist children in study. He delighted in his work and helped the children

⁴³³ Kyeong Chan Min, *Ahnaeliga Pyeonchanhan Changgajib* [A collection of songs of Ae Li Ahn], (Seoul: Nangman-Music, 2000), 4.

⁴³⁴ Sang Gyoo Lee, *To Korea with love*, 226.

⁴³⁵ Yeong Sook Noh, *op.cit.*, 366.

⁴³⁶ Cf., J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 30-36.

advance in the schools.⁴³⁷ Some of the children went directly into a work place and others entered the Salvation Army Industrial School in Seoul.⁴³⁸ These students were much liked there because they were a good example to other students in truthfulness and integrity. The Principal of that school sent a letter to Mackenzie which said.

"While your boys are not clever at books, they are fine Christian lads. Send us along more boys if you have them. We want boys of their strong Christian character in our school."⁴³⁹

And also other students became nurses, teachers and Sunday School teachers. One woman returned to her home town after being cured of her disease and all of her family converted to Christianity through her witness. She later visited the Lepers Home with thankfulness.⁴⁴⁰ Another one was Jong T. Byeon, a leper who moved to the Children's House and then trained in carpentry.⁴⁴¹ He came to have a big construction business and when Australian missionaries revisited Busan after having been expelled (1938) and following independence from the Japanese imperialists (1945), he and his fellows constructed or repaired the asylum of lepers and their home, the Children's House, free of charge.⁴⁴²

The essence of Christian living is not to be in a separate group from the society, but to be demonstrating the strength of the gospel in the society. Mackenzie was a prominent worker in that way. He worked with the children who were physically or psychologically ill to restore them to healthy people and send them back to the community. Then they lived in their

⁴³⁷ J. N. Mackenzie, Fusan Leper Report (1937).

⁴³⁸ Mrs. Mackenzie report (October 1937), in *Chronicle* (March 1938), 53.

⁴³⁹ J. N. Mackenzie, Fusan Leper Report (October 1934), 4, also, J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 32.

⁴⁴⁰ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 57.

⁴⁴¹ Mrs. Mackenzie report (October 1937), in *Chronicle* (March 1938), 53.

⁴⁴² J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 32.

communities as ‘light and salt’. In this way Mackenzie followed the example of Jesus in Galilee and he did this in a poverty-stricken country, coming close to children and becoming the friend of the marginalized. They then followed in the same way, having been greatly impacted by his ministry. In this way, the work of Jesus in Galilee was reproduced in Busan.

6.4. For Women’s Education

6.4.1. The Process for Women Education

Part of Mackenzie's Ministry was the awakening of women to the possibility of education. The Iilsin Girls' School, which was began in 1892 as the Myoora Orphanage was important in this ministry. On 15 October 1895 The Elementary School, for a three year course of study, was established under the General Rules Elementary School (1895) by the Gojong King and named the Iilsin Girls' School (principal, Miss Menzis).⁴⁴³ The school was intended to nurture leaders for evangelism to Koreans, under women Missionaries of APM. This was the first modern educational institution for women in the South Kyeongsang province. The school moved to the new red brick building on 15 April 1905.⁴⁴⁴ It received recognition from the Education Minister on 9 August, 1909 and provided a high grade three years' course. The school advanced to providing a six years' course as we have today, with three years for the middle school and three years for the high school. Mackenzie had arrived at Busan at the

⁴⁴³ Soon the Boys' School was started with the help of their language teacher, Sang Hyeon Sim, And later it was managed by Dr. Engel who arrived in 1900. It was developed into the Busan Presbyterian Theological College of today.

⁴⁴⁴ This building is a monument designated the No. 55 of Busan City.

right time to promote this work in education and, from the beginning, he had been very interested in ministering through schools.

He understood the importance of education from his own educational experience in Glasgow and also from his fifteen year's work in Nogugu.

At the time when Mackenzie was in Choseon, modern schools were established in private schools before public schools, and the mission school was founded earlier than the civilian school.⁴⁴⁵ In particular, APM prioritised education for women via the Mission Forward movement.⁴⁴⁶ As a result, the number of unmarried female missionaries was greater than male, and educating women was judged to be an effective means of evangelizing in the region Mackenzie worked in because it was more conservative than other regions. Mackenzie suggested the matter of full scholarship study at the Ilsen Girls' School in 1911⁴⁴⁷ and one year later it was accepted by the APM.⁴⁴⁸ That awarding of scholarships continued until at least the time when Mackenzie left Korea. The first four students graduated from the high school in March 1913⁴⁴⁹ and there were twenty seven years of graduations before the school was closed in 1940.⁴⁵⁰

Mackenzie was deeply involved in this school from the beginning and in 1915, the year after the total withdrawal of PCUSA Mission, he was made the representative of founders and worked in that capacity until he left in 1938.⁴⁵¹ On 7 August of the year that he was

⁴⁴⁵ In the late period of Choseon (1885-1904), the only modern school in Busan was the Ilsen Girls' School. There were 14 government and public schools and 13 private schools. Dongnae Girl's High School, *School Bulletin: 1980*, 29.

⁴⁴⁶ Sang Gyoo Lee, *The Christian Mission History in the Busan province*, 182.

⁴⁴⁷ *The Records* (Aug 4, 1911), 24.

⁴⁴⁸ *The Records* (Sep. 1912), 34.

⁴⁴⁹ Dongnae Girl's High School, *School Bulletin: 1980*, 25.

⁴⁵⁰ Yeong Sook Noh, *op.cit.*, 372.

⁴⁵¹ Dongnae Girl's High School, *School Bulletin: 1980*, 41.

appointed, he changed the three years' course to a four years' course for the elementary school and the high school, on revision of the school regulations. On this basis, in 1951 the school was divided to form two schools - Dongrae Girls' Middle School and The Dongrae Girls' High School.⁴⁵²

The Japanese imperialists did not allow the study of the Bible, prayer or worship in school. This was different to the spirit in which the school had been founded. Although the residents wanted an authorized government school, the APM could not accept these restrictions, but the Dongrae residents wanted to move the school to their town, and on 10 June 1925 just the high school was moved to the new building which included a dormitory⁴⁵³ and the name was changed to the Dongrae Ihsin Girls' School.⁴⁵⁴ On 23 December it was approved as a Designated School by the Governor-General of Choseon, which meant it could teach the Bible as a regular subject. It was the only one like this of all the institutes of APM.⁴⁵⁵ However, the school was closed down for rejecting compulsory Shinto worship which the Japanese imperialists required. It closed in 1940 and two years later Mackenzie left Choseon. The school re-opened in 1946 following the independence of Korea. In 1951 this school was divided into two schools - the Dongrae Girls' Middle School and the Dongrae Girls' High School and these have continued to this day.⁴⁵⁶

In the period Mackenzie was working for this school Japanese imperialists required that all schools, including missionary run schools, should have government authorization. This was one of their policies to prevent education in religions other than ones they approved.

⁴⁵² Dongnae Girls' Middle School, accessed April 23, 2016. <http://dongnae-g.ms.kr>.

⁴⁵³ The New Place; 500 Bukchundong, Dongraegu, Busan. South Korea.

⁴⁵⁴ Dongnae Girl's High School, *School Bulletin: 1980*, 51-52.

⁴⁵⁵ Yeong Sook Noh, *op.cit.*, 371.

⁴⁵⁶ Dongnae School, eds, *Dongnae 80nyeonsa* [The history of Dongnae 80 years] (Busan: Dongnae School, 1975), 34.

Students attending non-authorized schools were penalized by being refused entry to higher education and they were also disadvantaged in their social life. However, Mackenzie did not succumb to the pressure, but taught Biblical Christian faith to women. Teaching women at that time in Choseon was revolutionary. Therefore the School Bulletin described him as "the most honorable and respectable person who achieved much gain".⁴⁵⁷

6.4.2. Awakening the Women in Education

In the Choseon Dynasty of 500 years, the ruling ideology was based on Confucianism. This created a male-dominated society. The ordinary people of the centre enlightenment party required modernization in the society and developed the first modern education system, set out in the Elementary School Rules (19 July 1895). The Ilsen Girls' School was established according to these rules and taught the compulsory subjects required by government, namely reading, writing, penmanship, arithmetic and gymnastics. As well the school taught the Bible, Hymns and Worship. The founding Principal, Miss Menzis, said, "For national advancement there must be education of mothers and wives".⁴⁵⁸ It was same educational policy of other missions centered in PCUSA whose purpose also was "to educate to be a Christian and preaching the gospel to the Gentiles".⁴⁵⁹ But the Japanese imperialists whose priority was to dominate Choseon, began the Sino-Japanese War (1904-1905) and put the Resident General in Seoul (1906). Then they controlled private schooling, included mission schools, by their education policy. To summarize,⁴⁶⁰ it was a policy which down-graded standards and would

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴⁵⁸ Dongnae Girl's High School, *The History of Dongnae 80 Years*, 31.

⁴⁵⁹ Martha Huntly, *Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1984), 183.

⁴⁶⁰ Dongnae Girl's High School, *The History of Dongnae 80 Years*, 34-35.

keep the people less educated. The elementary schools were closed or study time shortened and they inhibited the establishment of secondary schools. Secondly there was the assimilation policy whereby the public schools were expanded in order to teach what the Japanese wanted taught. Thirdly, there was a policy to obliterate the culture of Korea. This policy was in conflict with the missionaries.⁴⁶¹ However, APM's education policy for women in this region was not challenged and was regarded as a revolution.⁴⁶² The educational policy of APM which had been conducted from 1911 may be summarized as being⁴⁶³ firstly, that mission would be much more effective if women were educated. Secondly, that the boys' school should be transferred to the care of the church in their region, but that the girls' school should not, due to the lack of women needed as teachers. Thirdly, that a higher education institution should not be established, but students should be sent to Seoul and Pyeongyang. Fourthly, the students should learn the Bible, and worship would be compulsory. Fifthly, priority of entry was to be given to the children of Christians, although a twenty percent quota from non-Christian families should be accepted.

The Japanese imperialists required schools to obtain new governmental recognition according to their Revision of Private School Rules, but Mackenzie did not comply. It was difficult to recruit new students, but it kept the studies focused on nationalism and on Christianity. Therefore these teachers and students were influential in the modern history in Korea. On 1 March 1919, the 3.1 Independent Movement started from Seoul and spread throughout Korea. At that time in the South Kyeongsang province, young girl students of Ihsin Girls' School started this movement in that region. Soon after, it spread to the South and North

⁴⁶¹ Regarding this see, SKCH, eds, *Hankook Gyohoesa* [The History of Korean Church] (Seoul: Gyuyu Published, 1972), 223, also see, Yeong Sam Kim, *Jeongsin 75nyeonsa* [Jeongsin 75 Years History] (Seoul: Jeongsin Girls' Middle and High School, 1962), 223.

⁴⁶² An Jeon Gwak, *Hankoon Gyohoesa* [The History of Korean Church] (Seoul: CLS, 1973), 46.

⁴⁶³ Sang Gyoo Lee, *The Christian Mission History in the Busan Province*, 182.

Kyeongsang provinces. What was their motivation? It was Mackenzie's education! His educational purpose was to train people to fear God and to love their neighbours. This was similar in its working out to the Hong-ik-in-gan (Humanitarianism) spirit of Korea's national foundation.⁴⁶⁴ The aim was to produce exemplary people and to nurture believers in self worth and in love for one's neighbours and one's country. This is only possible through training in Bible study, worship, prayer, and an awareness of neighbour and nations. This was a groundbreaking education for women at the time in Choseon. At that time women were expected to avoid going outside, and to learn traditional cooking and making of clothes from mother and grandmother. This was regarded as virtuous. However, Mackenzie aimed to awaken the women in their homes and nation. Students therefore understood that protesting against unjust oppression by the Japanese imperialists was to display self-worth and love for their families and their nation. They were convinced that this was the behaviour of believers and so they took part in the 3.1 Independent Movements in non-violent resistance.

After the school had become a Designated School, named the Dongrae Ihsin Girls' School,⁴⁶⁵ all students lived in the dormitory.⁴⁶⁶ In the cultural situation of that time, for young girl students not to go home, but to live in another place, was ground breaking. This was intended to lead to a deeper education without distractions, and a feeling of solidarity. The teaching subjects were Morals, Bible, Japanese, Korean, English, History & Geography, Mathematics, Science, Drawing, Handicrafts, Music and Athletics⁴⁶⁷ Mackenzie's educational aims were naturally connected to faith and nationalism. Although student did not

⁴⁶⁴ Yeong Sook Noh, *op.cit.*, 359.

⁴⁶⁵ At that time there were six teachers and sixty students and 27 graduations until closure in 1940.

⁴⁶⁶ The entire cost of the new campus construction was 33,000 won (school building cost was 20,000 won and dormitory was 10,000 won). The dormitory was big and complete.

⁴⁶⁷ Dongnae Girl's High School, *School Bulletin: 1980*, 56.

receive the graduation certificate as in schools accredited by government, they grew to love their neighbours and nation.

6.4.3. Resistance of the Ihsin Women

The 3.1 Independent Movement of nationwide non-violent resistance to the Japanese sprang up as a reaction to King Gojong being killed by poisoning, an act which epitomized the imperialist's desire to obliterate the Korean nation. On 8 February, 1918 the International Students' Society passed a resolution demanding independence and on 1 March 1919 around twenty thousand people gathered in the Pagoda Park of central Seoul. There they proclaimed the Declaration of Independence and waved the national flag, shouting for an independent Choseon. This movement spread like wildfire throughout the nation and became a mass uprising of all the people.⁴⁶⁸ It was not a resistance by indecisive leaders, but of labourers, peasants, students, and ordinary people in city who participated in it. So it can be said it was the Minjung Movement. In the South Kyeongsang province and Busan, the Ihsin Girls' School teachers, Gyeong A. Joo and Sin Y. Park, who had graduated sixth of the highest class, both put an emphasis on loving the nation.

The students made national flags in their dormitory in the deep of night and on the protest day they were waving flags and shouting "independent Choseon" as they walked along the streets. At that time hundreds of people were in the streets with them. Bewildered Japanese police began swinging bayonets randomly and people were cut and bleeding and fell down everywhere. Core students and teachers were arrested. The students' ages were only sixteen

⁴⁶⁸ Seok Gyu Kim, "The Evaluation of the 3.1 Movement" in *Hankook Geundaesawa Sasang* [The Thought and Modern Society of South Korea] (Seoul: Jungwon Literature Co., 1984), 145.

or seventeen years, but their brave resistance was encouraging to other people.⁴⁶⁹ The students and teachers were arrested, stripped naked and tortured severely and then put in prison for one and half years. There were two teachers and eleven students treated like this.⁴⁷⁰ After the students were released from prison they said that they could not graduate without the teachers, so they waited for them to be liberated from prison so that the 8th graduation ceremony preceded the 7th.⁴⁷¹ These young girls who had bravely protested together gave a great lesson to people in the South and North Kyeongsang province. It really made a great impact to them. Traditionally, it was considered a virtue for women not to go outside openly, yet in the suffering of their country and the Minjung's moaning under the problems and deprivation caused by Japanese Imperialism, these young girl students protested on behalf of the adults. It was a surprise and it shamed them. This happened from the influence of Mackenzie's teaching about the spirit of national independence and democratic thought⁴⁷² and from Christian thinking of human worth. Traditionally Confucian thought taught that they should be patient even under injustice. However, these women who were trained by Mackenzie were real Christians. Commonly, the public schools imitated the spirit of the Japanese bureaucracy. The private schools had a limited view of nationalism only, but the Iilsin Girls' school was trained in a democratic spirit with nationalism based on Christianity.⁴⁷³ Therefore they were looking at the suffering of Minjung and sacrificed

⁴⁶⁹ After Iilsin Girls' School , Dongrae High School (13 Mar.), DongraeBeomeosa Students' Movement (19 Mar.) and Gupo Market Movement (29 Mar.) followed.

⁴⁷⁰ They were 2 teachers (Kyong Ae Joo and Sin Yeon Park) and 11 students (Ui Soon Sim and Ban Soo Kim (7th graduated), Eung Soo Kim (8th), Nan Chul Kim and Sin Bok Kim (9th), Myeong Jin Song (10th), and Soon i Kim, Jeong Soo Park, Bong Ae Kim, Bok Seon Kim and Myeong Si Lee were absent.

⁴⁷¹ Dongnae Girl's High School, *The History of Dongnae 80 Years*, 35-35.

⁴⁷² SKCH, *op.cit.*, 222.

⁴⁷³ In Soo Son, *Hankook Gyoyuksa 2* [Korean Education History 2], (Seoul: Mooneum Co., 1975), 214.

themselves for real peace. The citizens were amazed by this.⁴⁷⁴ It was also a bold challenge to the feudal class system. Traditionally, if men took the lead in something, then women were expected to agree with them. But Mackenzie's education taught that all people are equal in God so they realized that a human equal right was a reality.⁴⁷⁵ Just as God sent His Son to the world for save people, Mackenzie showed through his ministry that he had been sacrificing for the marginalized people and his teaching was a motivation to young students to be a force in the world.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter J. N. Mackenzie's ministry work for children and women in Korea has been studied from Minjung perspective. It has been seen that in the later period of Korean Dynasty, missionaries came to Korea where society was traditionally controlled by Confucian ethics which ignored women and children and produced male-dominated thought. Various missionaries came to Korea, among them Australian missionaries who focused on mission for children and women in accordance with the Mission Forward Policy of 1911. Five mission stations in the South Kyeongsang province where operated and missionaries also participated in the ecumenical movement for the abolition of licensed Prostitution. In these various spheres of work Mackenzie had enough experiential knowledge to lead them.

⁴⁷⁴ The pinnacle of women leaders in South Korea is Mrs. Soon Cheon Park. She was a member of 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th parliaments and was the Representative of the highest committee in the Democratic Party (1966). She was 5th graduated of Ilsen Girls' School (Mar. 1917) and she had been greatly impacted by J. N. Mackenzie.

⁴⁷⁵ Man Yeol Lee, *Hankook Gidonkyuwa Minjokundong* [The Korean Christian and National Movement] (Seoul: IHCK, 2007), 11.

Mackenzie's prominent ministry in Korea was awakening people to the plight of marginalized children and women. Most of the victims from the ruin of the two wars and the Confucian culture were children. The young children were cared by their slightly older sister or brother when parents went to find food outside the home. They were not able to attend school due to their role of caring for younger children. In response to this Mackenzie established the first Kindergarten in Busan. It was intended that kindergartens be run by churches in this region. In addition he operated a school with a restoration home for children who could not be accommodated in other schools. This school took the healthy or cured children from lepers in the leprosy asylum. He provided studies such as normal schools had in order to return students to their school and community rather than founding another separate school for them to go on to. Instead, he sent them to a higher educational institute or vocational school in Seoul or Pyeongyang.

Mackenzie also provided education for women who, at that time, were discriminated against both in the Confucian culture and by the Japanese imperialists who prevented the teaching of Christianity in the mission schools. However, Mackenzie was convinced that the awakening of women was to go on in their homes as well as in their country, so he did not try to obtain a certificate of recognition by the government, but taught them democratic thought based on Christianity. The young girl students who were impacted by his teaching boldly threw themselves into the protest against oppression by the Japanese imperialists. Their sacrifice strongly influenced the people in the South and North Kyeongsang province. It was evidence of gospel power that these young girl students acted without fear in the situation of suffering produced by the invaders.

Mackenzie cared for and taught children and women who were suffering and ignored in the culture of Confucianism and by the wars. Mackenzie's education led the women and

children to love God, respect themselves and love their neighbours. This teaching contributed directly or indirectly to social advancement as well as the expansion of the gospel.

Chapter 7. To be a Friend of Lepers⁴⁷⁶

7.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to make a missiological exploration of J.N. Mackenzie's ministry to leprosy sufferers in Korea, through Minjung perspective. It is necessary to study whether those suffering leprosy were marginalized in Korea or protected by the state and society and so to reveal whether Mackenzie's ministry to lepers was one to the truly marginalized.

Leprosy is one of the oldest diseases known to mankind with a history possibly going back thousands of years.⁴⁷⁷ Many scholars believe that records of leprosy appear in an Egyptian Papyrus document written around 1550 BC, and in India around 600 BC. In Europe, leprosy was first mentioned in the records of ancient Greece.⁴⁷⁸ Today almost 99.95% of Leprosy patients can be treated by antibiotics and they do not have to be isolated.⁴⁷⁹ As a result, sufferers are no longer ostracised, but live with their disabilities within the neighbourhood. A hundred years ago, leprosy in Korea was known as 'punishment from heaven'. When leprosy is contracted, the face is disfigured after some time, as are the toes and fingers, and the hands

⁴⁷⁶ The term of "Be a Friend of Lepers" was the witness of people who received help from Mackenzie's family and was recorded in the KBS broadcast of the documentary by the Iilsin Hospital produced on their 50th anniversary. Also this designation is written on Mackenzie's gravestone. Cf., Iilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 194.

⁴⁷⁷ Suzuki Kawashima, "Current Status of Leprosy: Epidemiology, Basic Science and Clinical Perspectives," in *The Journal of Dermatology* 39 No 2 (February, 2012): 121–9.

⁴⁷⁸ April Holloway, "Uncovering the Ancient Roots of Leprosy", *Ancient Origins*, February 21, 2014, <http://www.ancient-origins.net/news-general/uncovering-ancient-roots-leprosy-001367>.

⁴⁷⁹ Gyu Tae Chae, "Hankook Hansenbyeong Geunjeoleul wihan Yeoksajeog Baegyeong [Historical Background for the Elimination of the Korean Leprosy]," Institute of Hansen's Disease, June 8, 2016. https://hansen.re.kr:49732/home/sub/doc_22.php.

and feet are twisted. This produces a sense of some revulsion in other people and has resulted in the disease being one of the most feared in history. Western missionaries in Japan had set up the Hansen nursing home to care for leprosy sufferers in 1889 and later their government registered leprosy patients through a police organization and established a national nursing home,⁴⁸⁰ but this was not the case in Korea. The first Leprosy care came from Western missionaries in 1909 which was about 20 years after care for lepers had begun in Japan. Prior to that there was no help for, nor regulation of, lepers in Korea.

With this in mind it is necessary to consider whether J.N. Mackenzie's ministry for lepers in the South Kyeongsang province was truly one for the marginalized. At that time, did the nation, society or religion care for them? It is necessary to understand this in order to establish the authenticity of the claim that Mackenzie ministered to the marginalized.

To this end, the research in this chapter will examine the circumstances of the leprosy patients, the national policies and the missions' policy of the missionaries in Korea at the time. After that, it will look at the occasion and the process by which Mackenzie began mission to lepers. How did his ministry develop? In particular, did his ministry result only in physical therapy or did it address spiritual problems? If the results were only in physical healing, then they were insufficient from a Christian point of view. What effort did Mackenzie make for the spiritual as well as the physical treatment of the sufferer and what was the result?

Also studied will be the way in which the lepers treated by Mackenzie impacted their communities. If more than just care and sympathy resulted from the ministry and it had a

⁴⁸⁰ Young Ma Ha, " Ilbon Hansenbyeongui Geungan Donghyang Bogo [A Report of present Japanese Leprosy situation]," *Journal of Korean Medical Science* vol.39, No.2 (December, 2006): 78.

positive, helpful impact on society, its significance as Minjung of Minjung theology will be seen.

Therefore, in this chapter, answers will be sought to the following research questions:

What was Mackenzie's work with the marginalized people?

What were the impacts and results from it?

7.2. Mission for Lepers

7.2.1. Situation for Lepers

Leprosy, also known as Hansen's disease, is a long term infection caused by the bacteria *Mycobacterium Leprae* and *Mycobacterium Lepromatosis*. Initially, infections are without symptoms and typically remain that way from 5 to as long as 20 years. Usually Leprosy was morphotic with nerve damage and muscle atrophy developing in 3-5 years and then loss of fingers and toes and severe changes in facial features, hands and feet.

At the time, a century ago, it was believed to be easily infectious, so when leprosy was found in the family or village, the leper was abandoned and his property was burned. Even dead bodies and household possessions were burned. It was also believed that lepers were being punished by gods and people protected the tombs by spreading bad rumours that the only cure was to eat any mans liver.⁴⁸¹ Lepers usually collectively lived in a cave out of town or

⁴⁸¹ Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries'*, 355.

built huts under bridges and begged for their livelihood. But uncaring people threw stones at them to deter them from coming close. Even if they were cured, 'Once a leper, always a leper' was the belief and so they were not given work or a place in the village.⁴⁸² Thus lepers had been abandoned as the most marginalized people in the land, separated from the society and their families.

The number of lepers living in Korea at that time is not found in the government's data. But according to the estimates by the Society of Korean Leprologists, about ten thousand people were suffering from leprosy after the Korean War (1950-1953)⁴⁸³ and about forty years earlier Mackenzie had reported that there were about ten thousand sufferers and that around seven thousand of them lived in the South Kyeongsang Province.⁴⁸⁴ Leprosy sufferers were treated like beasts without investigation or management by government.

The traditional religions with a history of a thousand years in the Korean peninsula were not systematic in attempts to find a treatment for leprosy. However, the Presbyterian mission worked at treating the sufferers, especially under the ministry of Mackenzie in APM.

In Busan of the South Kyeongsang province, Dr. C. H. Irvin began to take care of lepers in 1894 and the work was handed over to Mackenzie in 1911. Dr. R. W. Wilson of SPUSA also started working with lepers in 1911 in Gwangjoo of the South-eastern province, and also Dr. A. G. Fletcher of PCUSA, began in 1914 in Taegu of the North Kyeongsang province.⁴⁸⁵ Following this the Japanese imperialists government founded the Jahye-clinic Centre in 1916 in the isolated island of Sorok-do (Sorok Island) as a place to which lepers could be

⁴⁸² J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 40.

⁴⁸³ The Society of Korean Leprologists, Last modified June 2, 2016, <http://www.leprosy.or.kr/webpage/01guide/guide03.asp>.

⁴⁸⁴ J. N. Mackenzie, Leper Work in Fusan, *KMF* (April 1921), 82.

⁴⁸⁵ Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries'*, 355-366.

removed.⁴⁸⁶ They made a special law regarding lepers in 1931. It largely reflected missionaries' proposals.⁴⁸⁷ In addition Mackenzie presented proposals to the medical conference in Osaka in November 1932 and they communicated with the government for urgent action.⁴⁸⁸ Following this the Japanese government organized a Leper Relief Association in 1933 with a plan to built hospices to isolate 6,000 lepers. Mackenzie objected to this policy because he thought that if government made great facilities for isolated lepers, there could be a reaction from the community which would be adverse to the leprosy patients. Mackenzie believed that lepers should be treated with spiritual care, mental stability and adequate nutrition.

7.2.2. His Mission Policy

Lepers were the most alienated and abandoned people in Korean society. One reason for this is that they suffered psychological trauma as well as being physically ill. When people contract leprosy they are dismayed and often depressed, filled with frustration and disappointment. Secondly, they also suffer emotional damage as a result of being rejected by their families and put out of their home towns. Thirdly, they had economic problems. They did not have enough income to meet their minimal needs. Further problems for them were that their children could not go to school and the lepers were excluded from important family events such as the marriage of their children. Not only could they not attend such events, but usually they were not informed of them. Finally, they commonly had spiritual problems as both they and others thought that leprosy was a divine curse.

⁴⁸⁶ Jahyeuiwon (Mercy Hospital) was a general hospital, 18 hospitals in the country and 19th, Jahyeuiwon, was founded in Sorok-do [Sorok island] as a special hospital for leprosy.

⁴⁸⁷ Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries'*, 365.

⁴⁸⁸ J. N. Mackenzie, *Leper Report* (July 1933), 262.

Well aware of this situation, Mackenzie tried to help in the areas of economic, physical and emotional needs and by spiritual guidance. He believed that ministry should be as 'Oil, Labour, Faith' in order to treat these people, a summary which will be expanded upon later. He worked with the Asylum of Lepers along these lines. He also suggested policies for combating leprosy to the government and to the church in Korea. As a result, the Presbyterian General Assembly in Korea organized the Committee of Lepers and collected funds from each Presbytery from 1924 onwards and also appointed a Mission Sunday for Lepers in all churches and supported them from 1932 onwards.⁴⁸⁹

Furthermore, Mackenzie requested the government to create policies concerning leprosy and its sufferers. From 1910 he spoke several times to others who were considering this issue and he suggested guidelines to the government. The contents of these guidelines could be summarized thus: (1) lepers would live in one place so that leprosy could be completely eradicated; (2) Leprosy should be treated early and this aim should be promoted through schools and public institutions; (3) the most suitable isolated place was determined to be the southern end of South of Korea; (4) each police station should create a list of all registered patients in their area and the police should check that patients received their injections; (5) the government should provide the required finance to treat this problem more effectively because lepers who practiced begging could be a threat to others.⁴⁹⁰ In this initiative the missionaries pursued aims which the government had neglected. Finally the government took responsibility and accepted the recommendations in depth to create the policy. The Japanese government enforced the special legislation in 1931 and raised funds from citizens in order to prepare for a major hospice, encouraging large donations by giving awards to such donors.

⁴⁸⁹ J. N. Mackenzie, "Fusan Leper Colony," *KMF* (January 1935), 19.

⁴⁹⁰ J. N. Mackenzie, "The Leper Situation of Korea," *KMF* (March 1935), 89-92.

According to articles about the situation at the time, individual donors who gave more than ten thousand won received a big, gold award.

7.2.3. Momentum and Processes

When APM began in Korea they were not prepared for medical mission. However, the work had been founded by other medical missionaries. The Canadian Presbyterian church was started by Dr. R. Hardie, who arrived in April 1891,⁴⁹¹ and Dr. Brown, who arrived in December 1891. Dr. C. H. Irvin of PCUSA arrived in November 1893. Then Dr. Hugh Currell of PCV began in 1902. The mission for lepers was begun first by PCUSA when Dr. C. H. Irvin, with the help of The Leprosy Mission London, opened the Leprosy Asylum in Gabmandong, Busan in May 1910.⁴⁹² At that time they had just two small wards, one for men and one for women.⁴⁹³ However, the PCUSA carried the financial burden and suggested to APM that they should join the Leprosy Committee.⁴⁹⁴ Therefore, in the special meeting in Busanjin in 1911, APM decided to accept the invitation and at first Mackenzie and his friend, Engel were involved.⁴⁹⁵ So APM and PCUSA organized the Leper committee and worked together.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹¹ Seung Tae Kim and Hye Jin Park, eds, *Naehan Seongyusa Chongram 1884-1984* [Missionaries Overview in Korea 1884-1984] (Seoul: IHCK, 1994), 252.

⁴⁹² Yang Seon Kim, *op.cit.*, 160-161, also see, J. N. Mackenzie, "Fusan Leper Colony," *KMF* (January 1935), 19.

⁴⁹³ Edith A. Kerr and George Anderson, *op.cit.*, 143.

⁴⁹⁴ Chairman: Mr. Smith, Secretary with Treasurer Mr. Winn of PCUSA and other obligation, of APM, the Superintendent was Rev. G. Engel until to April 1912 then handed responsibility over to J. N. Mackenzie.

⁴⁹⁵ The Records of the APM (1913), 15, and also, Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 141.

⁴⁹⁶ G. H. Winn, Report of the Fusan Leper Asylum, 1910-11, *KMF* (January 1912), 21.

However, Engel had a much greater interest in a teaching ministry in the school than in medical work, whereas Mackenzie's biggest interest was in the medical work. Although he was not a qualified doctor, he had received medical training in his home town of Glasgow and he also had long experience in medical work in Nogugu, Santo, New Hebrides. In a sense he was like a doctor without a license. As a result Mackenzie became the superintendent in the Lepers' House in May 1912. Also in 1912 he married Mary Kelly in Hong Kong and took her for their honeymoon to Shanghai and Soochow.

In November 1913, Mr. Bailey, who was a director of the Leprosy Mission in London, visited Busan, Gwangju and Daegu which were the three centres for mission to lepers. At that time he donated 1500 dollars and promised that their mission would continue to support the Lepers' House in Busan.⁴⁹⁷ Then at the end of 1933 the PCUSA totally withdrew from the South Kyeongsang Province according to the Territory Allocation Policy of the Comity Arrangement. So the Lepers' House was handed over entirely to APM and Mackenzie operated alone. A co-worker in Leprosy Mission work was Dr. R. M. Wilson who was appointed in April, 1911 to work in Gwangju.⁴⁹⁸

7.3. A friend of Lepers

7.3.1. Advance the Lepers' House

⁴⁹⁷ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 147.

⁴⁹⁸ Ihsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 126.

In its early days the Lepers' House largely relied on support coming from Australia and the UK. By the support of one mother and her daughter, the Gennesaret ward for men was built and they also organized a half-penny League and collected funds again to build the League Home for women.⁴⁹⁹ In 1913 Rev. John Macrae, who was a senior pastor in the Toorak Presbyterian Church in Melbourne, donated as offering to build the Macrae House for men patients.⁵⁰⁰ In addition, in 1919 Australian money from the Memorial Soldiers' Fund from the First World War was sent to Korea and used for the renovation of buildings. Mrs. Murray donated 2000 pounds for facilities for out-patients.⁵⁰¹ She additionally donated her whole property in 1920 for building new housing for women lepers and this was known as Murray's House.⁵⁰²

Mackenzie concentrated on improving the hospital building because not all patients could be accepted there. To this end after he had spent a sabbatical holiday in Scotland in 1924 he then returned to Australia where he collected funds. He also received support of 245 pounds from the Mainichi News press in Osaka with which he renovated the old building so that forty more patients could be accommodated.⁵⁰³ He built the modern style hospital by support of one English woman and when Rev. R. W. Macaulay, who was a moderator of PCV, visited the Lepers' House, he opened the new hospital. Also an English friend of Mackenzie supported the work with a donation of 300 pounds and that was used for further expanding the hospital. In this way the Lepers' House was changed from being an asylum for refuge to a modern hospital.

⁴⁹⁹ Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries'*, 356.

⁵⁰⁰ J. N. Mackenzie, Leper work in Fusan, *KFM* (April 1921), 83.

⁵⁰¹ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 158.

⁵⁰² Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries'*, 356.

⁵⁰³ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 61.

Many lepers walked for days in uncomfortable positions, or those who could not walk were carried on others' backs, often taking weeks to travel for help. But on many occasions they could not be accommodated, due to lack of space. Sometimes forty people per day had to be rejected. On one occasion when Mackenzie came out to call a sufferer to fill a vacant space, fifty three leprosy patients responded and some of them set out to the affected area, attempting to draw his attention.⁵⁰⁴ Usually more than ten patients were waiting outside for their turn to be admitted and Mackenzie's front ground in his private house became a waiting area for them. Mackenzie could not sleep well as he thought of all those who had walked such long distances with great difficulty only to be turned away. He could not sleep easily because he thought of those persons he had been forced to reject, some of whom could have died on the way back home.⁵⁰⁵

Yet the Lepers' House exponentially increased its capacity to house patients. When Mackenzie began serving lepers in 1910 he worked with 34 affected people;⁵⁰⁶ by 1911 there were 43 people; in 1912 there were 54 people; in 1914, there were 75; in 1915 there were 132 people; in 1916, 150 people; in 1917 there were 153 people; in 1919, 150 people; in 1921, 180 people; in 1923 there were 337 people; in 1924, 363 people; in 1925, 400 people; in 1926 there were 450 people; in 1928, 500 people; in 1929 there were 560 people; in 1930, 562 people; in 1931, 580 people; in 1935, 600 people and in 1938, when he expelled from Korea, there were 650 people being treated for Leprosy under Mackenzie's care.⁵⁰⁷ The Lepers' House was started with just two buildings, but it became a town/community of believers, had schools for children and adults, a hospital, a church, houses for men and women and a farm.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 45- 46.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁵⁰⁶ Mrs. Mackenzie remembered this twenty-five years later - 36 people. see *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵⁰⁷ KMF, Our Missionary at Work, also see, Man Yeol Lee, *op.cit.*, 483, 485, 490.

The Lepers' House was possible because Mackenzie reached out to sufferers of leprosy with a heart of compassion.

7.3.2. Formation of Leprosy Neighbouring Villages

Everybody wanted to enter the Lepers' House, but they accepted only about four or five patients a month. Many did not return to their home towns while they waited for their opportunity to be admitted to the Lepers' House and in 1916 they made a village for themselves.⁵⁰⁸ They began creating fields around the place where they settled and started farming and more than 300 people became a close-knit group in the town. Obviously, their settlement was not formed as the typical small rural town in Korea and at times neighbouring town's people were scattered by police as they burned down patients' houses. Sometimes police had to burn their homes due to sanitary issues, but the leprosy patients came back together and made their house again and formed their village.⁵⁰⁹ In this way, villages gradually increased one by one. At first neighbouring villagers abused the lepers, although they did not want the lepers to leave their villages. According to an article of a newspaper in 1933, settlement villages had 500-600 people living in them.

"... Korean lepers in Busan organized their group into the Mutual Aid Society and communicated with other groups nationwide and many lepers came to Busan. There were many lepers from Seomyeon, Dongrae, Busan and around 150 people made a town and went to central Busan to beg. The government were concerned by this and

⁵⁰⁸ Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries'*, 360.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 360.

considered a command to disperse in the coming summer months as it could not neglect the good health of residents and were worried about how to remedy the situation.”⁵¹⁰

Essentially lepers lived in hiding, in caves outside the town. Mackenzie kept supplying them with food and clothes. This news spread among them quickly and the sufferers started coming near to the Lepers’ House. At first, they had no intention of making villages and thought to just have waiting places for admittance to the Lepers’ House and so they went to the city area to beg for their food. But as waiting time was increasingly long, they began farming around their house and huts and so developed the settlement villages.

Those who were in the lepers’ villages collected funds themselves for food and medicine, and made these community villages to help each other. It was not their purpose to make permanent villages, but only to have temporary accommodation to take care of each other until they entered the Lepers’ House. Being admitted to the Lepers’ House was not easy, however, and so they then began farming in order to feed themselves. Additionally people who had no place to go also started living in the villages. They were really the abandoned people of the nation, of society and even of their families and were the most pitiful of people in those times. But they were taking care of each other themselves and rose to create community life in their difficult situation. This was an expression of the solidarity spirit of the marginalized people.

Mackenzie did not ignore the people who could not be admitted. He appointed one staff member who treated them, touring their villages twice a week. And he also cured people, by using those sufferers who did not return to their home towns and who had medical knowledge. They operated a small clinic centre for giving prescriptions. This became the great clinic

⁵¹⁰ The Osaka Asahi Newspapers, "Busan Jiyeok Sosik [Busan area news]," The Osaka Asahi Newspapers Choseon Edition, (June 26, 1926).

centre of their villages. Mackenzie and a staff member visited twice a week, to dispense the medicine and give the injections to them. In 1935 Mackenzie distributed 89,567 injections and more than 50,000 files of Chaulmoogra Oil to patients in the Lepers' House and the villages.⁵¹¹

Elder Seong-Geun Lee who was treated directly by Mackenzie, testified about that work saying,

"... Pastor Mackenzie treated us from Masan, Changwon, Kimhae, Ulsan, Milyang, Jinju, Keochang...etc, in the regional hospital in the Kyeongsang province, and patients were injected with Chaulmoogra Oil when he went there once a week by bicycle. Treatment was free, but you did have to believe in Jesus. Many people who were cured worked as nurses and there were male nurse too... Yes, I still think I have some names - Yeong Bong Kim, Soo Yeong Kim, Won Sul Hwang...etc. They became nurses...".⁵¹²

In this way Mackenzie not only cured them, but also encouraged them to settle. Furthermore he supported their community which had been established to help themselves. Often people who were cured did not go back to their homes, but helped the diseased people. All of this was from the influence of Mackenzie.

7.3.3. A Doctor for Lepers

⁵¹¹ Byeong Joon Jung, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries'*, 360.

⁵¹² Won Pil Kim, "Mekenjiseongyosa [Missionary James. N. Mackenzie]," The Christian Journal, accessed May 31, 2016.

<http://www.kcjlogos.org/news/articleView.html?idxno=5402>.

When Mackenzie started working with lepers, the Lepers' House was not arranged in a manner or a way to treat leprosy. Basic necessities had to be put in place. First, patients had to strip off their dirty clothes and, after having a bath, were given a white robe to wear. And they had to have regular meals and exercise. Then Mackenzie applied the medicine to their wounds and pulled out bloody pus by surgery. But it was not a fundamental cure and the death rate of inmates was 25% until 1914.⁵¹³ Till that time one in four inmates died in what was indeed a tragic manner. Because of this some of them gave in to despair and made the extreme choice of throwing themselves into the sea. Mackenzie did not have a doctor's official qualification, but according to his daughter,

"... he had a great passion to care for patients and give them medical cures or help. He predominantly treated leprosy patients though he did attend people with other sicknesses also. He tried his best to treat those who were standing in line in the front of the veranda of his private house and these were not only lepers, but also other patients...".⁵¹⁴

At the same time he continued research into leprosy and discovered new facts about the disease, notably that it was not strongly infectious. Prior to that knowledge it was believed that the only way to prevent infection was to isolate sufferers.⁵¹⁵ However, neither he nor the nurses contracted leprosy despite being in close contact with them. Also leper parents gave birth to healthy children and children lived with afflicted parents without being infected. It

⁵¹³ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 39.

⁵¹⁴ Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 132.

⁵¹⁵ J. N. Mackenzie, "The Leper Situation in Korea," *KMF* (May 1931), 89-92.

was demonstrated that leprosy was not a genetic disease and that it does not spread easily.⁵¹⁶

These facts gave him courage and confidence.

From 1915 there was developed a method of treatment which involved ingesting Chaulmoogra Oil. This was recommended by Dr. Wilson in Gwangjoo. Chaulmoogra Oil was produced in tropical areas, especially India. The oil comes from the seeds of the fruit of the tree known as Chaulmoogra. In India there are many legends about lepers being treated by the oil. One of these says, "A Burmese prince who contracted leprosy was advised by the god to withdraw from the world and to go into the forest to meditate. In the woods he was directed by the god to go to a tree with a large fruit with many seeds. He was told to eat the seeds, which he did, and was thereupon cured of leprosy."⁵¹⁷ This oil came to be used to cure leprosy and various skin diseases in India, in the central parts of China and Burma, and in several Asian countries for hundreds of years. The oil was reported as effective to the Western medical world in 1854 by a British doctor, Dr. Frederic John Mount. He was a professor at Bengal Medical College and studied the use of Chaulmoogra Oil and in 1853 he conducted a clinical trial and then reported the results in the Indian Annals of Medical Science, noting that it had considerable good effects and recommending the treatment to China and to other leprosy hospitals.⁵¹⁸ Mackenzie and Dr. Wilson accepted this information and applied it to their treatment of the patients in the Lepers' House.

⁵¹⁶ Hansenbyeongyeonguso [Institute of Hansen's Disease], "Treatment and Prevention of Leprosy," Institute of Hansen's Disease, accessed June 9, 2016.

<https://hansen.re.kr:49732/main/>

⁵¹⁷ John Parascandola, "Chaulmoogra Oil and the Treatment of Leprosy," accessed June 9, 2016. <https://lhncbc.nlm.nih.gov/files/archive/pub2003048.pdf>, 2.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

At first Mackenzie used this oil by applying it to the affected areas. It had a good fragrance and was tender to touch, so lepers wholeheartedly accepted the oil treatment and it was effective in bringing improved health. It stopped the progress of the disease, preventing new skin from being affected, and it even brought some people to complete healing. By becoming accustomed to the application of the oil with its beneficial results, the patients became confident to ingest the oil, in the form of a medicine. They were even anxious to have the medicine first as they believed that it could cure them. By both applying the oil and taking it internally patients found that good and effective progress was made. Then from 1921 this treatment was developed further into an injection which could be given into the muscles. This was a significant breakthrough and the mortality rate reduced significantly to 2.5%.⁵¹⁹

As distinct from a treatment solely by use of medicine, Mackenzie had a confident belief that leprosy could be overcome through spiritual, physical and mental health. He tried to parallel the therapy of physical with spiritual treatment. This reduced the mortality rate to 2% and 91 people were discharged from hospitals and more than 300 people were treated in 1931.⁵²⁰ It was at this time, in 1931, that Mackenzie officially became a doctor by passing the required examination.⁵²¹

7.4. Spiritual Treatment

7.4.1. His Treatment Theology

⁵¹⁹ J. N. Mackenzie, "The Leper Situation in Korea", *KMF* (May 1931), 91.

⁵²⁰ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 180.

⁵²¹ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 44.

J. N. Mackenzie had confidence that leprosy could be fully cured through a harmonised mix of "Faith, Oil and Labour".⁵²² In this context Faith was the spiritual awakening and growth of the patient, Oil was the use of medicines, and Labour was proper work with exercise for patients. He tried to ensure that patients had proper labour for several reasons. Firstly, labour was given by God to people as a mission and so it is sacred. Secondly, labourers would know the blessing of rest. For those who shed sweat by working hard it is important to keep the Sabbath day and the Sabbath is to focus on faith rather than simply on not doing work during the day. Thirdly, by labouring, the worker was working for himself as well as for his family and neighbours. Mackenzie believed working would give motivation and confidence to lepers, especially to those who were filled with frustration and anger and a sense of failure. Therefore he gave work to all those who stayed in the Lepers' House. For this work lepers were divided into groups according to their disease status. Seriously ill patients were exempted from work. Others laboured at housework, cooking, patching clothes to wear, and at farming such crops as vegetables, which were grown for the common meal.⁵²³ Those who lived by begging for something to eat had been admitted to the Lepers House in earlier times, but as Mackenzie developed the place they were required to work at farming or cooking for themselves and this brought joy and confidence to them. Those who understood building technology were to build the buildings inside and the non-skilled workers were to do labouring works such as earth moving, making roads and removing weeds. They always understood that their working was for their healthy recovery and for the good of the leprosy family in the house. In addition Mackenzie distributed their wages which were four or five

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵²³ *Loc.cit.*

pence a day and eight pence a month to all workers. With that they were able to purchase what they needed.⁵²⁴

Some among the lepers in the Lepers' House had other useful knowledge and skills as they were teachers, nurses, civil servants and office workers...etc. These educated patients were treated as advanced workers and as volunteers in areas such as being guides, teachers, nursing assistants, administrative personnel or farm instructors. This was also in accordance with the Nevius Mission Policy to appoint leaders for self-governing. People who could not read learned from the Hanguel (Korean) class every morning. They were instructed by an evangelist and by former teachers. People who could read were to attend a Bible study class in the morning and in the afternoon, every day. There they were also instructed by an evangelist and teachers. Most of the lepers could not read when they arrived, but after about six months' tuition almost everyone could read. Their commitment to be free from the disease made them determined to do everything they could to help themselves.

7.4.2. The Lepers' Church⁵²⁵

For faith and spiritual growth Mackenzie conducted the process of building the church fellowship using three methods. Firstly, all those who entered the Lepers' House were given the Bible and hymns. Secondly, all people learned Christian knowledge from the Bible in the morning and afternoon classes. Thirdly, all people had worship services every evening to

⁵²⁴ *The Messenger* (May 20, 1932), 742.

⁵²⁵ The Leper's Church's name was changed to the Sangaewon Church, but it is not clear when. Following the move from Gabmandong to Yonghodong and its rebuilding, it is recorded as the Sangaewon Church. (1946) Maybe it was from that time that the name was changed as it was then that the church was split and then it was established in the Koryeo-presbytery in 1951.

encourage their faith. Previously, many patients had blamed their family, society or the state for their difficulties, but it shook their hearts when they watched Mackenzie's truly loving services. In their heart, the resentment which was hardened like a stone, melted and they had doubts about their hard stance.

Mackenzie was not a fellow countryman. He was a Westerner. They wondered why he would love them so much, especially those who were abandoned by their own society and even their own family. They wondered what prompted him. Mackenzie said that it was God's love and the grace of salvation through our Lord Jesus who died and was crucified. They wondered more about it and so they were diligent in studying the Bible in which this actual story was written. They were always holding their Bibles to their chest, even walking around with them held that way.

The Bible study class was conducted by Miss Alexander and Niven and the Korean evangelist, Ibbuni (Pretty girl), taught the people. The Bible study contents were not significantly different from those Mackenzie used in training people in his itinerant ministry. The teaching was firstly to prepare for the baptism course. There was teaching for about six months and then an examination and interview. They then became the training members. After that the candidates needed to prepare for six months for an examination and interview for being baptised in front of all the members. This process needed at least six months, but if they started from the language class, then they needed more than one year.⁵²⁶ During this process, they memorized the Ten Commandments, the Apostle' Creed and the Lord's Prayer and there were about 108 people trained in the Catechism. This period of teaching and preparation was required for actual conversion from pagan customs which had been cherished

⁵²⁶ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 147.

in the past. Thus at that time it seems that their baptism was to confirm that they were Christian, rather than being a step in the beginning of Christian life.

There were two Bible study classes daily - in the morning and in the afternoon and there were combined worship services every evening. Those who did the preaching also led the worship. One hundred years ago it was not a simple issue for women to move out of their traditional roles, especially in the Kyeongsang province which had the most conservative Confucian culture in Korea with its belief that men were superior to women. The Korean church in Korea did not have consensus for the issue of female pastor ordination until today. Nevertheless, Australian women missionaries were delegated under leadership of a man where there was one, but in the absence of a pastor they preached and led worship. According to Mary Kelly's diary written before her marriage to Mackenzie, we know,

"... that Miss Agnes Brown led the Worship on Sunday twice. But the women were not surprised as the lady missionary directly led worship for those who came from the surrounding villages for worship together...". (21 April 1906)⁵²⁷

They were in cultural shock, but regardless, were faithful as the essential part was receiving the gospel being preached to them. Therefore, in the Lepers' House when Mackenzie was absent the women missionaries and teachers who were appointed among them led the worship every evening.⁵²⁸

By this process, the Lepers' Church in the Lepers House first baptised seven men and then three women in 1912 who then took Holy Communion.⁵²⁹ When they received the

⁵²⁷ Busanjin Compilation Committee, *Busanjingyohoe 100nyeonsa* [100 Years History of Busanjin Church] (Busan: Busanjin Church, 1991), 198.

⁵²⁸ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 148.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

sacrament they were deeply affected and suffered bodily discomfort. We read, "When they were given the wine, they could drink it only when a helper helped the cup to reach their lips".⁵³⁰ Then in 1917 sixty-six members participated in the Holy Table⁵³¹ and in 1921, they had 111 members and forty study members in the Leper's Church. Then this church established the new building and it was dedicated in 1926 and numbers increased to 234 members in 1931. When Mackenzie retired in 1938 there were more than 400 members.⁵³²

In addition, the neighbouring villagers founded churches by themselves. They had regular meetings for Bible study and worship similar to the Lepers' Church. So the Lepers' Church was as a mother church to them. Then at some point Mackenzie visited these churches and also sent teachers to them to train them. Mackenzie trained them in Christian knowledge. These villagers also constructed church buildings for themselves and had dedication ceremonies. Then they received pastors and grew into healthy churches.⁵³³ In this way they were organized in their new community around a centre of faith and church life.

7.4.3. Salvation Evidence of Lepers

The lepers had changed incredibly in faith. Originally they were captive people with resentment, frustration and lost confidence because they were abandoned by society, nation and even their family because of leprosy. However, in the Lepers' House they were cured in body and spirit as well. It was a regrettable mindset which caused some people to throw rocks at them and their families to desert them because they were ashamed of them being

⁵³⁰ J. T. Kelly, letter (November 3, 1912), *Messenger* (February 14, 1913), 99.

⁵³¹ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 148.

⁵³² J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 66.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 51.

lepers. But they received Christian knowledge through Bible study and preaching. They had learned that for the salvation of disobedient sinners, God sent His only son, Jesus, to this sinful world, and for an ugly sinner He had died by crucifixion and through this made forgiveness for our trespasses and sins available. And also they knew through the witness of Mackenzie's life, how a Christian lives in this truth as he lived as their friend and teacher. Therefore, by the love of Jesus, the lepers were slowly able to forgive those who had hurt them.

They were convinced that true forgiveness is not only to have resentment removed from the heart, but also to evangelise other people, telling them the gospel. They believed that as people who had received the love of Jesus, they must share that love with others. They became evangelists. In 1919, some of the people among them requested to be sent outside for four to six months. The reason was that they wanted to go outside and preach to the people they had met during their time of begging for food. They thought that they received great love in the Leper's House which had healed their minds and bodies and they must share this grace with others.⁵³⁴ Mackenzie agreed to their going and gave each one a certificate of promise to re-enter the House. As a result some of the lepers who came in the Leper's House had Christian knowledge already because these leper-evangelists had met them. They continued in commitment to the Lord, which was evidenced in 1920 in the offering time in Sunday worship when they made sacrificial offerings from money which was all that they had received for some months to buy their basic necessities. However, they offered a large part as thanks offerings and the tithes. This church was the first to collect offerings, and they sent 27 yen to the foreign missions. Furthermore they sent an evangelist to a lepers' village and he was supported as he went on behalf of those who were not able to go. Additionally, in

⁵³⁴ J. N. Mackenzie, Leper Work in Fusan (May 21, 1932), *KMF* (1933), 82-84.

1925 they decided another evangelist was to be sent, not to a lepers' village, but to a normal town, and they sent Chang S. Moon to the Milyang region.⁵³⁵ Also from 1926 to 1933 they supported the wages of evangelist Yang-Won Son⁵³⁶ who was the most respected person in the Korean Church. He established three churches in that area⁵³⁷ then he graduated from the Union Theological Seminary in Pyeongyang and became a pastor at the Aeyangwon Church in the Asylum of Lepers in Suncheon.⁵³⁸

This family of lepers was known to deeply respect and love Mackenzie. Their love and respect was proved when he had a third sabbatical holiday in Melbourne at a time when he was past retirement age. The family of lepers was concerned that he may not be allowed to come back to them and so they recommended to the Presbytery that he should be able to come back again and the clerk, Moon T. Kim, sent the official letter to PCV. In the letter they acknowledged that at sixty six years of age he was at retirement age, but they requested that he come back to them as he was so respected by the Koreans. According to this letter,

"... this Kyeongnam Presbyteryhave heard the news that his retirement time is near and we decided to entreat you that he be returned quickly to South Korea.... after

⁵³⁵ The record of the Kyeongnam(South Kyeongsang) Presbytery (July 1925).

⁵³⁶ Yang Won Son (1902-1950) is the most respected person in Korean Church. He was born in Haman, the South Kyeongsang province and worked eight years as an evangelist in the Lepers' House and learned from J. N. Mackenzie about loving lepers. Then he graduated from the Union Theological Seminary in Pyeongyang and was appointed Pastor at the Aeyangwon Lepers' Church in Sooncheon. In 1948, in a communist uprising in that town his two sons, Dong-In and Dong-Sin, were killed. Police arrested the killer, Kang Je-Sung. But Yang Won Son requested the judge to give him the murderer of his sons as his stepson to show him how to live and finally this was granted. Two years later the evangelist was martyred by a communist. The Kyeongnam Presbytery, eds. *The History of Kyengnam Presbytery* (Seoul: Kumran, 2006), 106-110, J. N. Mackenzie expressed, 'He was my best friend and he was the most passionate of evangelists.' J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 64.

⁵³⁷ Edith K. and G. Anderson, *op.cit.*, 84.

⁵³⁸ This asylum was moved from Gwangjoo of Dr. R. W. Willson to Suncheon in 1928 and changed name to the Aeyangwon in 1936.

Mackenzie left for the sabbatical holiday, we were like a child who had lost his parents; as sheep without a shepherd....we are truly waiting for Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie to come back quickly to us...".⁵³⁹

According to their requests Mackenzie was not retired and he returned to Busan, South Korea in September 1932.

Then this grateful family of lepers erected a granite monument in the Lepers' House on Mackenzie's 20th mission anniversary and also erected the Memorial steel gate at the entrance for his mission's 25th anniversary. Another evidence of their great love for Mackenzie was when they sent out an evangelist to another place and called him Mackenzie's Memorial Evangelist, though he called himself "The Leper Self-denial Evangelist."⁵⁴⁰

Dr. Robert Cochrance, who was Secretary for Medical work of the Mission to Lepers, visited the church and left these words, ".... In fact, the evangelistic work among the lepers in Korea is the finest I have ever witnessed."⁵⁴¹ His opinion would have been most accurate. Also another officer said, "You have to put police at the gates to keep lepers out and we have to put police at our gates to keep lepers from running away. I know what it is, you have faith and we don't."⁵⁴²

In the end, Mackenzie was with the lepers who were marginalized from their families and society and he administered parallel treatments for their diseases of spirit and body so that they were not only cured in body, but also in spirit. They became evangelists, sharing the gospel with others and sending evangelists on their behalf. It is reminiscent of the work of

⁵³⁹ *PCV Proceedings* (1932), 101.

⁵⁴⁰ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 81, 194, 196.

⁵⁴¹ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 52.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 59.

Jesus in Galilee. He came as the Light to the hopeless in The Galilee; Mackenzie was like a light to lepers in Busan, South Korea and then the lepers sent evangelists to the world. An aspect of Jesus in Galilee was reproduced through lepers in Busan.

7.5. Conclusion

In this chapter the ministry of Mackenzie's for leprosy has been studied from the perspective of Minjung. In summary it can be seen that lepers were the most disadvantaged people at the end of Chosen era of Korea. Leprosy was misunderstood as an infectious disease and a genetic disorder so patients had to be isolated forcefully from their families and from society and their children did not even inform their leper parents when they married. Lepers were not accessible to people as the people believed that they had received leprosy under a divine curse. The government had no policy for them and they were dwelling in groups in caves or under bridges outside the villages and survived by begging. At that time lepers were the most marginalized people in all of Korea.

Into that situation the protestant mission came to help the lepers. Traditional religion groups who had dominated the peninsula for around one thousand years, had not attempted to help, but missionaries boldly attempted to do this. In Busan, within the South Kyeongsang province, J. N. Mackenzie was the leading person in this work. His treatment theology was that to cure leprosy there were required medicines, faith and labour, and he started working for lepers. He promoted help to lepers from around the world and so expanded the Lepers' House. Through his clinical experience and continuous study he knew that leprosy is not a genetic disorder or an infectious disease. This fact gave him great hope for his patients. He also gave them suitable labour to do. This is because he was convinced that they could

access faith through labour. To cure their spiritual ills he ran Bible study in the morning and in the afternoon, and had a worship services every evening. In addition, he trained the patients in Christian knowledge for beginners and to make them ready to become members of the Lepers' Church in the Lepers' House. In the meantime, medical advances meant that people were increasingly being cured and eventually it brought the wonderful result that the mortality rate came down from 25% in 1914 to 2% in 1930. Mackenzie loved to take care of lepers. People who could not be admitted to the Lepers' House, made self-help groups in nearby places and lived in community and formed lepers' villages. There were five such villages and the lepers in them also built a church building in their villages. Mackenzie and his staff visited twice a week to give medicine and to teach Christian knowledge in the Lepers' Church. The lepers collected their offerings and then received a pastor in their churches in their villages. In the Lepers' Church in the Lepers' House people said that if they had not been lepers they would not known Jesus and they were thankful. They sent two evangelists to go on their behalf and they supported their teacher, Yang -Won Son.

Leprosy was called a divine curse. However J. N. Mackenzie received the lepers and took care of them in Jesus' love. As Jesus was a friend of sinners, Mackenzie was a friend of lepers.

Chapter 8. Ministry Through His Family

8.1. Introduction

The questions to be examined are these: Was J. N. Mackenzie's ministry in Korea really to the marginalised people? If so, what influence was his work on his family? Two key issues affecting family life will be considered. Firstly, a sincerity assessment of Mackenzie's ministry on the basis of his family, understanding that a human has the potential to hide his real face (that is, his inner heart in fact) to a third person, but he is highly unlikely to hide his heart to his family. Secondly; how did his family react to Mackenzie and how did his character impact on the family's lifestyle? It seems likely that if Mackenzie's family really honoured him they may have chosen to continue with his work. Similarly, if his family members dishonoured him, they would be more likely not to follow in the path he had trodden. Therefore Mackenzie's real character may be viewed through his family. This paper concludes by viewing the authenticity of Mackenzie's ministry for marginalized people as demonstrated through the lives of his family members - specifically his wife and children.

Firstly the life and ministry of Mackenzie's wife, Mary Mackenzie will be examined. As she arrived in Korea five years prior to Mackenzie it will be helpful to inquire into her work before she married Mackenzie and also after their marriage. In this way Mackenzie's impact on his wife may be seen by comparing her work and ministry prior to and after marriage.

Secondly, the lives of the Mackenzie children will be researched, considering what their parents taught them and what the children learned from their father in the sometimes harsh environment of the Korean mission field and how this impacted them when they reached

adulthood. Also in this chapter their careers will be examined and how their careers might have been influenced by their father and how this influenced them to assist marginalised people (as missionary-based medical professionals).

In particular the ministries of his two older daughters in their home town of Busan will be investigated noting how these ministries were influenced by their father. Their motivations to work in Busan as well as the particulars of their ministries in Busan will be considered.

Conclusions can be drawn from the examples of people closely related to Mackenzie and also the long-term impact of his work will be examined in particular, via analysis of his children's ministry to marginalised groups.

In this way, the answers can be more deeply understood to the research questions:

What was Mackenzie's work with the marginalized people?

What were the impacts and results from it?

8.2. Through His Wife

8.2.1. Her Ministry (Prior to Marriage)

Mrs. Mary Jane Kelly (3 March 1880-11 January 1964) was born in the little community of Boweya in northeast Victoria, Australia, the third of twelve children to her father, William Kelly and mother, Lucinda. Her family had moved from Canada to Australia two years prior to her birth. Her father was a deeply religious man who set aside the largest room in his home

in order to provide a venue to hold worship services for the Presbyterian Church. When she was fourteen years old she became convinced of her salvation and she decided evangelism was her call in life. In 1903-4 she trained in theological college at the Deaconess Training Institute⁵⁴³ in Melbourne with her friend Alice Niven. The pair was the first graduates to be called as foreign missionaries on behalf of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union (PWMU) which was part of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (PCV). She arrived in Busan, Korea, on 26 October 1905 and began to exercise her call in itinerant evangelism. She had the gift of a humble character which inherently attracted people. So she became popular among children and women during her evangelistic ministry and she quickly gained the reputation as a woman of teaching excellence. Later, she became the main preacher in women's missionary conferences.

She relocated to Jinju from October 1907. At that time Jinju was the centre of administration and Korean people's life was located at the seat of provincial government. However, Jinju's culture was highly conservative with strong values concerning the predominance of men over women. Moreover, children and women were viewed as less valuable than males. However, people were naturally interested in Australian female missionaries and therefore the local people were soon exposed to Mary's strong ideas that awakened in children and women her then "radical" views of the real value of these marginalised groups. She began teaching and nurturing likeminded evangelist women and she maintained continuous, itinerant work most afternoons, travelling up to 11 km by foot and occasionally, when she went on outreaches to

⁵⁴³ The Deaconess Training was begun by a German, Rev. Theodore Fliedner, in 1836 then PCV started it 1898. It had been trained in the principle of "Women's Work for Women" in Bible study with activity. The Deaconess Training Institute sent to Korea until 1942. The thirty-three lady Missionaries included twenty-two unmarried and three Pastor missionaries. Byeong Joon Jeong, "Beyond Dichotomy: The Holistic Mission Understanding of the Australian Presbyterian Missionaries and its Contribution to the Korean mission 1889-1942," (Th.D thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, Melbourne, 2004), 50-69.

Hadong, riding a mule up to 50 km away. There she gained 22 converts, but upon discovering that they could not read,⁵⁴⁴ she decided that it was imperative to begin to teach writing to children and women in order to increase basic literacy. Teaching these important literacy skills became crucial to her effective evangelistic ministry.

In addition, it was during her multiple itinerant travels that she encountered women who were used as the “playthings” of the Ulsan men. According to her diary,

“... Our experience gleaned about the local taverns was highly unpleasant. Small rooms with foul items hanging on the wall such as seaweed, pickled fishes and millet.... In the decent room... men gathered to engage in immoral behaviour each night with the dancing girls ... It was an awful experience...”⁵⁴⁵

The hostel was unsanitary and women had been subjected to the whims of men who viewed them as playthings. There was little discernible vision and little hope, so she became utterly convinced that her first priority was to educate women and children in order to wake up Korea via the enlightenment of the most marginalised groups.

In 1908 she taught at Suwon Girls' School in Jinju with Miss Schools during a period when the supervisor, Dr. Currell, had been on holiday for 18 months⁵⁴⁶. During this time, she found her talent for good teaching, then she commenced ministry as an authentic preacher of repute in Hadong town. The Mission Committee at home decided to provide her with co-responsibility of the five local schools and she operated them from September 1909⁵⁴⁷ in her

⁵⁴⁴ Ilsin Christian Hospital, "Memories of Helen Pearl Mackenzie," *Mackenzie's daughters*, 72.

⁵⁴⁵ Mary Mackenzie Diary (May 14, 1906), also, Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 115-117.

⁵⁴⁶ Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 73.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

work as a teacher. From April 1904 she was a main preacher in the conference for women in Masan. Then she became active as the main women's preacher and speaker in various conferences. Meanwhile she met Mackenzie, who had recently arrived, in the meeting in Busanjin in 1910. Their relationship consolidated as Mackenzie travelled the long distance to Jinju in order to see her and she received love letters from him that culminated in a marriage proposal.

Although initially concerned at his proposal she eventually decided to accept it, making her decision after receiving recommendation from a fellow colleague. Hence she married J. N. Mackenzie (who was fourteen years older than she was) on 10 February 1912 and she worked with him in Korea until he retired in 1938.

8.2.2. The Continuing Ministry (after marriage)

After her marriage she continued her ministry as a counsellor, teacher and evangelist, as well as becoming an informal godmother at the Lepers House. Amongst these marginalised people she was firstly a counsellor. She had a special gift. She was humble, gentle and patient demonstrating a clear and deep compassion that could not be compared to other single female missionaries. So when her daughters were young they were often exposed to their mother's ministry and they were surrounded by their mother demonstrating care for pastors' wives, her selfless counselling activities, and her valued input as a minister to the many church leaders who came to talk with her.⁵⁴⁸ As she counselled Korean pastor's wives and provided for their children a sound education base, including addressing complex problems in their group, her credibility increased. In addition, she combined the role as a godmother with providing

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 132-133.

practical assistance for the under-privileged, such as the supply of goat milk to children lacking in health.⁵⁴⁹

Secondly, she was a teacher in the Bible class for women. From 1913, with other two female missionaries, she taught for two months in every year at the conference for women.⁵⁵⁰ Especially during times when Mackenzie concentrated his ministry to provide itinerant preaching in the rural villages and to secure and order assistance to lepers, she began to teach the evening Bible class for women. For those unable to attend the day time classes she opened a special class which was held on Friday evenings with 12 girls regularly attending from January 1913. This class increased in numbers to 105 girls during summer. The size of this class grew to such an extent that four volunteer senior students were utilised to assist with the significant teaching load. This class contained an average of ninety students during 1916.⁵⁵¹ Initially, her intention was to teach only a few women who could not attend during the day so she was surprised by the popularity of the class. She did not anticipate that so many would want to join the class. The students' dedication was such that some of girls piggybacked younger children to school and some students were not even able to find room to sit on chairs during classes. Older students assisted the younger students, sometimes soothing a crying child or generally encouraging and helping them.⁵⁵² The students thoroughly enjoyed their learning sessions and were taught good manners along with linguistic skills in an environment characterised as a time of fun – especially so when learning the catechism and various hymns.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵⁵⁰ Fusan Station Report (1913), *Our Missionaries at Work* (January 1914), 8, also, Iilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 73.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵⁵² Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 148.

⁵⁵³ Mary Mackenzie, Letter (June 21, 1913), *Chronicle* (November 1913), 4.

Thirdly, she was evangelist. She had a busy schedule, and even the birth and upbringing of their first child did not stop or decrease her missionary activities. She taught for a long time without a break, and she continued during the week in Busanjin, Dongnae, Gijang, and also continued teaching the women's class in Busanjin church at the weekend. Additionally, she assisted a small number of Chinese people who resided in Busan and supported their church that was formally founded 1928.

The prominent ministry in the church history of Korea was that she visited Ulleungdo in 1915. Her husband initially provided discouraging news about this mission. He disclosed that at that time, islanders were eating leaves in the mountains for two months in a year due to a combination of natural disasters and Japanese exploitation. In these impoverished circumstances they gathered together a small Christian group from 1910.⁵⁵⁴ She wanted to provide comfort through the gospel to children and women and therefore she sailed two days on a boat to the island to join her husband. At that time, she entrusted to the care of Miss Niven her first child who was 18 months old as well as carrying their second child when her pregnancy was almost full-term.⁵⁵⁵ She was the first female missionary to visit the area. Mackenzie was busy teaching the men and she taught the children and women. Her audience was filled with joy and comfort by her ministry, especially, when she played the reed organ as they sang hymns together.

Fourthly she had a ministry in the Lepers' House. She taught the children and women lepers in the asylum. She would come close to lepers without fear and this in itself was a great comfort to this marginalised group. But she went further, teaching Bible classes for women. She was convinced that only true comfort and hope came from faith in the Lord through

⁵⁵⁴ Yeon Kyeong Lee, "Ulleungdo Bokeumui Deungdaega doeon se Gyuhoe [The three churches have been Ulleungdo Gospel Lighthouse]," *Weekly Christian* (2009), 257.

⁵⁵⁵ Mary Mackenzie, Letter (April 20, 1915) *Chronicle* (August 1915), 3.

Bible study and that this comfort and hope defined the only real treatment available to all human beings. She was delighted to be serving. She wrote in her diary,

"... Our home provides a family atmosphere for some of the most wounded (both mentally and physically). The severely handicapped and those suffering great anxiety abound. But caring for these people is a work that also abounds in joy and thankfulness as one views their responses to our care..."⁵⁵⁶

In addition, she developed special bean milk which she fed to the undernourished children of leprous mothers. She realised that this would prevent the spread of disease from mothers to their children. Hence she separated children from their infected mothers and provided a substitute source of nourishment for the Korean children. But despite this, she was not confident about the medical safety of the children.⁵⁵⁷ From 1913 she and her husband wanted to create a safe, medically untainted children's house⁵⁵⁸ but they found this difficult to prepare because of the high budget. In order to raise funds; when they had their second sabbatical holiday, Mary published a booklet of 48 pages⁵⁵⁹ to sell for funds for the mission groups. With the budget established, the children's house was opened in 1925. In this poorest of countries, Korea, children and women who'd been so neglected by feudalism, especially the children and women of lepers, were finally provided with a safe, loving environment. She was hugged by them as they awakened to embrace a new life in love.

⁵⁵⁶ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 34.

⁵⁵⁷ Ilsen Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 133.

⁵⁵⁸ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 34.

⁵⁵⁹ Mrs. J. N. Mackenzie, *Pictures of Korea* (Melbourne: Obtainable at the PWMU Tearoom, 1925), also, Helen Mackenzie., *Biography*, 147.

8.2.3. Her Retirement and influence

When Mackenzie retired his wife was fifty-eight years old. After she retired she returned to Australia and did a lot of work with the PWMU. She always showed great humility which made a favourable impression on people who could not help, but understood her and respected her dedication and love for many people. She continued to lecture and promote the Korean mission to many groups of people. Mackenzie became the moderator of the PCV on 6 May 1940 and she operated as a good & solid supporter of his work. Then from 1942 she worked in the PWMU Executive and served for four years in the position as Prayer Leader at PWMU before resigning in 1946.⁵⁶⁰ She met the Queen, along with another four PWMU members on 2nd March 1954⁵⁶¹. When Mr. Mackenzie was taken seriously ill, she lovingly provided for him at his side until he passed away on 2 July 1956. Upon Mrs. Mary Mackenzie becoming unwell, her youngest daughter, Sheila, ceased her ministry in New Hebrides and devotedly cared for her mother. Mary Mackenzie was able to experience the joy of the births of her grand children prior to her death on 11 January 1964.

When her husband celebrated the 25th mission anniversary in Korea, the family of lepers erected a granite monument indicating their thanks for the Mackenzie's services to the community. Mary recorded that

"... What we had done for them seemed so small and unworthy in comparison with what they credited us with; nevertheless, their appreciation of our poor efforts was very precious....".⁵⁶²

⁵⁶⁰ Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 74.

⁵⁶¹ *Loc.cit.*

⁵⁶² J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 74.

This incident demonstrated that she had been a humble and really true, faithful woman. She was truly loved by the lepers who'd been effectively abandoned by the Korean society and government. In addition, she gave birth to her children in an atmosphere surrounded by lepers. I believe that this had a great impact on her children and in part, prepared them to go on to study as doctor and nurses, in particular to become those who worked alongside people marginalised from father to son. Clearly she was proven to be one of the Lord's servants.

The Australian Mission clearly described her life in the following words,

"... Mrs. Mackenzie was a friend to all. Prior to marriage, she was a patient and faithful servant to the rural church of Jinju. Even when her health deteriorated she did not shrink or restrict her work. She served the Lord with a gentle and calm spirit. She was filled with the love of Christ, and anyone who went to her felt the Lord's presence. Women, orphans & patients will remember her with great appreciation. But perhaps her greatest joy was to train her daughters to continue her work."⁵⁶³

Her genuine servant hood impacted significantly in South Korea and Australia, in particular, her impact on her children was admirable. Her life was inspirational.

8.3. Teaching Compassion to Children

8.3.1. Mackenzie's Children

⁵⁶³ Byeong Joon Jeong, "Meri Jeinkelridikeonis [Mary Jane Kelly Decanice]." Christian & Edu. Life, accessed June 14, 2016. <http://www.chedulife.com.au/>.

J. N. Mackenzie and Mary Kelly married in 12 February 1912. They gave birth to four daughters and one son in Busan. Their son died in the year following their arrival. Mackenzie's devoted life had a great impact on his wife and children.

His first daughter, Helen Pearl Mackenzie, (6 October 1913-18 September 2009) was baptised as an infant by Dr. Marfett in the Busanjin Church. Her sisters recounted in their memoirs what they had heard. "... When just two years old she was reading books fluently. People said that the two-year-old child had also memorized everything her mother read to her...".⁵⁶⁴ When this highly intelligent child was just seven years old she commenced study and from 1921 to 1931 attended the international school in Pyongyang (now, the capital city of North Korea) and afterwards she studied in Australia.

Helen graduated from the Medical faculty of Melbourne University in order to become a medical missionary (1933-1938) and she became a gynaecologist after received training at the Queen Victoria hospital. However, the political situation in Korea had deteriorated so she decided instead to go to China, successfully applying to be a PCV missionary in October 1945.⁵⁶⁵ Then she and her sister, Catherine, worked until 1950 in China and later arrived at their childhood home town of Busan on 13 February 1952. Following this, she served mothers and women through the Ilsin Christian Hospital for 26 years. She finally retired and returned to Melbourne in 1978 and died in 2009 when she was ninety-six years old.

The second daughter, Catherine Margaret Mackenzie, (21 November 1915-2005) was born in Busan shortly after her parents went to Ulleungdo. When she was nine years old, she commenced study in the international school in Pyongyang (1924-1931) then graduated at the

⁵⁶⁴ Lucy, "Our Wonderful Sisters Helen and Catherine," in Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 124.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

Presbyterian Ladies' College in Melbourne (1931-1933). Afterwards, wanting to prepare for missionary work, she studied at the Royal Nursing School (1933-1937) and worked in the same hospital until 1940. Then she left in January 1940 with an acquaintance, Miss Scott. A trip to Japan followed and then a return to Melbourne because the political situation was so bad in Korea that they could not risk entry to the country. Her desire to go to Korea could not be fulfilled and consequently she went to China as a missionary with Helen.⁵⁶⁶

Five years later, she and Helen went to Korea and worked in Busan from 1952 to 1978; Catherine as a nurse in the Ilsen Christian Hospital for children and women and Helen as a Gynaecologist. Helen graduated in Gynaecology in 1978 with assistance from the UN.⁵⁶⁷ After she retired, she taught missionary candidates for the Uniting Church in Australia.⁵⁶⁸ She also worked to overcome some of the uncomfortable behaviour manifested by some people in the Inter-Church Care Group and helped people who were in need via the Meals on Wheel program. She assisted others until she could no longer get around and she died in 2005.

The third daughter, Mrs. Lucy Lane, (11. October 1818-) was born in Busan and attended one year at the Ilsen Kindergarten. Then she entered the international school in Pyongyang, and with her sister Helen, stayed initially at Dr. Engel's home before moving into the school dormitory (1927-1936). Then she moved to Melbourne, graduating at the Faculty of Nursing at the Presbyterian Ladies' College in Melbourne and trained as a midwife in the children's hospital. Then she joined the Royal Australian Air Force (R.A.A.F.) in July 1943 and served

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 127-129.

⁵⁶⁷ Ilsen Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 148.

⁵⁶⁸ PCV was organized in 1859 then united to the Presbyterian Church in Australia (PCA) in 1901 and reorganized to the Uniting Church in Australia with Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches in 1977.

in both the domestic and neighbouring regions in the South Pacific as a Nursing Volunteer until August 1946. Lucy was first person elected to participate alongside the air evacuation troops. She married Dr. John Lane in 29 July 1947. Her husband, John was a pioneer in Air Medicine at the Civil Aviation Department of the Federal Government. She was ordained as the first female elder in the Presbyterian Church in Australia. Their union produced five children⁵⁶⁹

The fourth child, James Arthur Gordon Mackenzie (2 March 1921 - 2 December 1922) died in Busan when he was two years old, from diphtheria. His grave is in the Gijang, Cheolmamyeon at the Busanjin church's cemetery and remains there to this day.

The fifth child, Mrs. Sheila Krysz (12 December 1922-) was born in Busan and she too was a high school student in the international school in Pyongyang before her family moved to Melbourne following Mackenzie's retirement in 1938. She graduated in the Presbyterian Ladies' College in Melbourne. Then she became a nurse and trained as a midwife in the children's hospital. She also volunteered as a nurse missionary to the Paton Memorial Hospital in Port Villa, New Hebrides. When her mother was sick, she returned to care for her. She went on to work at the Health Ministry in the State of Victoria from February 1950. At that time, she moved to Europe to work for refugees by the International Refugee Organization and also worked as a nurse on a refugee transport ship in New Zealand. There she met Pierre Krysz and they married in 1953 in London. They were living in Melbourne and they were active as professional cello players as they continued to serve their parents, Mr. and Mrs. Mackenzie. In 1983 Sheila's husband died in an accident. She continued to work as a nurse for children until she retired in 1995.

⁵⁶⁹ Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 120.

The children grew up watching their parents helping and serving poor, marginalised people from a young age. They went on to become heavily involved in the medical and missionary fields. They went on to serve the poorest, marginalised people just like their parents. This is evidence that Mackenzie strongly impacted his children's lives.

8.3.2. Education: Mercy to Children

J. N. Mackenzie spent his life serving marginalised people and, in so doing, he educated his children on the importance of compassion. Mackenzie, his wife and his children demonstrate that graduating from a prestigious school has little to do with how one lives their lives. The important issue for Mackenzie clearly appears to have been love in action – particularly love that focused on the marginalised and poor. Mackenzie's four daughters all became medical missionaries who became highly qualified in the medical fields. What was the motive that drove them as missionaries? What was it that most influenced them when they became adults who decided on their careers? I believe that it was his heart and example that drew the children to follow in the footsteps of their influential father, Mackenzie. Mackenzie's influence on his children appears to have been significant, despite the fact that he did not detail this via his own accounts. His impact as a father is demonstrated by the desire of his children who all wanted to return to Busan to care for poor people in their capacities as doctors and nurses. According to Elder Soeng-Gon Lee who was treated by Mackenzie, "... Mackenzie was concerned that he had no son to continue his work, but he promised to ensure that his three daughters would follow in his footsteps...".⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁷⁰ Won Pil Kim, "Mekenjiseongyosa [Missionary James. N. Mackenzie]," The Christian Journal, accessed May 31, 2016,

The Mackenzie parents did not give their children experience in public schools, but the rich religious education and broad education of love in action they afforded their children was more than sufficient education. Their children naturally grew up closely watching their father, who had been working to evangelize the church and community, and they also viewed him showing great mercy to the poor people. In itself, this education was more powerful than any other lessons the children could have learned via formal education. Mackenzie exposed his children to multi-racial environments and moreover, to those people most in need. Therefore, their friends when they growing up were the children of the Lepers House and of Chinese minorities with whom their parents and children naturally interacted. Consequently these children naturally grew up having learned to live without discrimination of racial background and they were exposed to the realities of harsh life such as learning to sleep on the floor. They learned in an environment of bilingual language and culture.⁵⁷¹ For this reason they lacked any sense of racial distance and/or cultural awkwardness. Mackenzie did not isolate his children from ostracised lepers. Rather, he allowed his children to grow up in an environment that saw lepers cared for and respected. He created an opportunity to naturally educate his children to serve the marginalized people and to teach them about Gospel principles.

The children watched their father's difficulties in treating people with insufficient medicine. Also they saw their mother, Mary struggling to make goat's milk and bean milk to feed the children who did not have sufficient nutrition. As the children grew they watched their parents' sacrifices and these were seen to be natural responses. Mackenzie's daughter Lucy's writes,

<http://www.kcjlogos.org/news/articleView.html?idxno=5402>.

⁵⁷¹ Catherine Mackenzie, "Ilsin Christian Hospital Celebrated 50 years," *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 168.

“Young children without sufficient nutrition were provided bean milk by Mum. Helen however, went on to study medicine in order to more fully deal with the many other health problems encountered...”.⁵⁷²

They watched their parents toil for the poor people, perhaps embarrassed by the fact that there was insufficient medical knowledge to properly treat those whom they loved and respected. Maybe this was what brought them to decide to seek careers in the medical field – and moreover to serve as missionaries to the some of the poorest people on earth. In other words, their parents’ compassion appears to have been passed on to all their children.

Thirty-five years later Catherine wrote in her dairy concerning the lessons taught to her by her parents,

“... I was able to help a woman who’d brought her three-week old baby to me. Her husband had died shortly before the child was born and she could not feed baby. At the hospital, I washed the baby every day and provided a bowl of rice and soup and milk.”.⁵⁷³

The example of Mackenzie and his wife as they continually and selflessly toiled for the poor people was stamped into their children’s hearts and minds and consequently they followed naturally in their parents’ paths, going on to serving even more deeply (thanks to their medical training) the marginalised groups whom their parents had lovingly served.

They were always concerned about wounded, marginalized people and they never seemed afraid of being wholehearted for those whom they served. Mackenzie’s first daughter, Helen, worried after she had built the temporary building – the Ilsen Christian Hospital in 1956 – as

⁵⁷² Lucy, *op.cit.*, 133.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 151.

her diary indicates "... I am motivated to ensure that the poor women coming here would find that the hospital meets their needs...".⁵⁷⁴

Therefore, we can see that great parents made great children. This is particularly true of Mackenzie. He mirrored exactly what his master Jesus demonstrated in his ministry to the marginalised people in Galilee. In other words, because of Mackenzie's virtuous life, his children followed in similar footsteps and became more specialised medical experts and lived their lives caring for marginalised people.

8.3.3. Commitment to Disadvantaged People

The purpose of Mackenzie's ministry was to restore body and spirit so he was delighted to do things that resulted in poor people being restored. In his autobiography he wrote of one of his greatest joys,

"Christmas is a magic word that conjures up visions of joy and happiness in the minds of children and they certainly look on it as the most joyful day in the year ... The big event is to gather at the missionary's home for a Christmas-tree party ... When appetites are satisfied, Father Christmas tells them how kind people in far-away England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have been remembering them and have even sent gifts for them. We in turn thanked God for this provision."⁵⁷⁵

Their mixing among the lepers was not viewed as hygienically dirty and shameful for the McKenzie's children. Rather, this model was deemed highly respectable, and morally correct

⁵⁷⁴ *Loc.cit.*

⁵⁷⁵ J. N. Mackenzie, *An Autobiography*, 34-36.

for their children. So his daughters, all medically trained, were eventually persons who continued Mackenzie's ministry - the work of caring for the marginalised people.

Clear evidence of this can be seen from an article written by Catherine as a memoir of the 50th anniversary of the Ilsin Christian Hospital. She wrote,

"...When a public official asked about my birth, I have replied....'I was born in Busan in South Korea'... He responded by asking me... 'Why Korea?'....I replied, 'Because my parents were missionaries in Busan'... This was my first big blessing I thought...".⁵⁷⁶

The children thought it was a great blessing to be raised with and have friendships with lepers. They viewed this behaviour as perfectly normal. Moreover, they viewed it as a joy.

And later, they followed in their father's footsteps; travelling to China and Korea (during war), and to the New Hebrides to assist refugees. Mackenzie wished to live to genuinely care for the poor. When Helen and Catherine left for South Korea, in the eyes of his family, it seemed difficult for their father, Mackenzie, who was probably keenly aware that he would not see the two girls again. But in the mind of the old servant, Mackenzie would have followed his beloved daughters if he could. For him, the appearance of his daughters leaving for Busan to help marginalised people no doubt brought peace to his mind that his prayers over the years had not been in vain.

At that time their mother, Mary, wrote a farewell letter to their daughters that said.

"... You are going on with brave and spirited hearts towards the new mission for the Lord. You will face many difficulties and you will need all the patience for trials that you can find. We are so proud of you and we rejoice with you...".⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁶ Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 167-168.

These were really people whom the Lord calls His servants. Hence, these intimate feelings between parents and children who were all living a holy life of obedience to the call of the noble Lord were the cause of great joy for the family.

Helen and Catherine arrived in Busan in during the Korean War (1950-1953) and met the locally based doctors and patients and often reported, "We needed money or medicine more than a doctor. But we did not have it. For this reason, we decided to start a hospital...".⁵⁷⁸ This demonstrated true care for the poorest people. This important ministry was started by caring for the countless moaning, abandoned children and mothers during the Korean War.

During the war some mothers who gave birth to a child threw the child away as they could not raise a child due to economic hardship. Some mothers had medical treatment for free and some of these were able to provide excess milk when raising their children so the excess milk was given the hospital and fed to the children in desperate need. In response to this need, the Mackenzie family made a ward that just focused on raising children. These abandoned children were fed and cared for in the hospital. When the children recovered, they were sometimes sent abroad for adoption. Some of these special children grew up healthy and well in countries such as Australia, the United States, Canada and elsewhere and became a part of a new society.

Helen, a 39 year old doctor and Catherine, a 37 year old nurse who went as missionaries to South Korea in 1952 impacted significantly on the lives of some of the poorest Koreans. In 1978 when they were 65 years and 63 years old respectively, they returned to Australia where their parents lived. They lived there together until their deaths. Edith Kerr, a faithful companion when they worked in Korea, recalled: "... Helen has always endured, is never

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 89-90.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 195.

quick to judge, always optimistic, humble, gentle, courageous and pure in love. So if anyone stayed with her, they could easily experience that Jesus was with her... ".⁵⁷⁹

8.4. Through His Daughters

8.4.1. Efforts for Mission to Korea

The first of Mackenzie's children to commence as a missionary to Korea was his second daughter, Catherine. At that time, Helen had not completed her physician's training, but in 1940 Catherine accompanied her friend, Miss Scott⁵⁸⁰ who was returning to South Korea by boat via Japan. But at that time the political situation in South Korea was so confused that all other missionaries were brought back to Australia too.⁵⁸¹ So Helen and Catherine waited for the Korean War to end and for increased political stability and waited patiently, working at the Victoria Hospital. The protracted Korean War caused them to re-think and this eventuated in their going to China (being close to Korea), as an interim measure. So they volunteered to go to China and were successful.

They applied in 1944 and were approved by the Australia National Assembly of Missionaries which granted authority to them in October 1945. Then they trained one year in Beijing and

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵⁸⁰ Lucy, *op.cit.*, 128.

⁵⁸¹ Ilisin Christian Hospital, *Ilisin Christian Hospital's 40 Year History*, 32.

from February 1947 they founded the hospital and the nurses' school in a Taoist Temple.⁵⁸²

According to Dr. Jang, he recalled that Helen

"... worked hard in gynaecology and obstetrics. In addition, she treated infertility.

Moreover, she undertook numerous general surgical procedures including appendectomies, hernias and gastric surgery. Most of her patients became her friends...".⁵⁸³

In 2007 Dr. Barbara Martin visited Jianshui and heard that "... The hospital name changed from the 'Christian hospital' to the 'Hospital for the People' but despite this change, no one forgot that the hospital had been founded on Christian principles ...".⁵⁸⁴ Helen and Catherine worked a short period of time in China. Then the Communist Party of China expelled all foreign missionaries so they returned to Melbourne in October 1950. They kept trying to go to Korea, but could not because of the war. However, the war produced the need for a lot of doctors and therefore the way for them to go to South Korea was eventually opened. They were appointed as missionaries to Korea in 1951 and arrived at Busan (as had their father) on 13 February 1952. The people who knew their parents gathered to welcome them. Despite their inability to remember much of the Korean language, their welcome was nevertheless warm, with many hugs shared. At that time 1.5 million people lived in Busan and during the war, most of the houses were constructed with wooden planks and tin. The streets and hills were filled with such dwellings. Electricity supply was limited in places with narrow time-periods when power could be used from a generator on a large ship.

⁵⁸² Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 129.

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.*, 87-88.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 88-89.

The Communists had started a war unilaterally and had made Kim Il Sung head of government and had invaded South Korea. South Korea was not prepared for war and was in retreat for some time. North Korea had captured all the segments of the peninsula except a portion southeast of Busan and the South Kyeongsang province. Then the people fleeing the war abandoned homes and property, many fleeing to Busan. As a result in Busan there were many foreigners, orphans and separated family members who had fled the war. They were looking for food and a place to sleep on the street, but most people could not even maintain a minimum livelihood in order to survive.

At that time Helen and Catherine did not have the ability to establish for themselves a viable Hospital. According to Helen's witness, "At that time PCA's budget was insufficient so we decided to run the Christian hospital where a few doctors requested money for medicines only...".⁵⁸⁵ Some doctors who came from around the world were unable to care properly for vast numbers of patients due to the lack of medicines. Particularly the poor people were unable to afford even the most basic health care. Because of this the ladies decided to proceed by beginning a hospital for the poorest people and abandoned children under slogan "The hospital for women and by women".⁵⁸⁶

8.4.2. For Poor Mothers and Children

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁵⁸⁶ Helen Mackenzie, "Direct Dr. Helen Pearl Mackenzie's Remember," *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 145.

Mackenzie's two daughters, Helen and Catherine, decided to design the hospital specifically for marginalised people.⁵⁸⁷ Women experienced particular difficulties during the war. Some fled to Busan and some brought children with them and many lacked suitable dwellings. Typically, their husbands had been called to the war as soldiers and labourers and this left many mothers wandering in search of food for themselves and their children. This was a terrible situation.

Catherine recalled the situation in that time,

"... at that time in Korea there were many refugees in Busan. Women suffered the most since many husbands had been mobilized for war and they had no homes and no income ...".⁵⁸⁸

In this situation, pregnant mothers especially suffered because of lack of medical care. Catherine provided the care for them. Sometimes she helped, sleeping with the woman's family in the side of a small room. But mothers who delivered their children at home had more difficulties to face. People had not even shacks to reside in and these women were desperate. After Helen heard of their predicament she wrote in her diary "... Many babies were delivered in the railway station or under the bridge...".⁵⁸⁹ Korean nurses lacked sufficient knowledge about childbirth and the neighbourhood grandmothers took charge of the work which was unsanitary and dangerous for mothers and children.⁵⁹⁰ Each day many of these mothers and children faced death during this terrible time.

⁵⁸⁷ Catherine Mackenzie, *Josanhak* [Nurse Midwifery] (Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 1978), preface.

⁵⁸⁸ Catherine Mackenzie, "Recalled 40 years ago as a Dream," Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 185.

⁵⁸⁹ Helen Mackenzie, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 148.

⁵⁹⁰ Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Ilsin Christian Hospital 40 year History*, 33.

About 40-50 years ago, all Korean people knew these words: "You were a pick-up child under the bridge". Because of the horrendous lack of facilities, many children died. Many poor women went under the bridges to give birth. Straw mats were used as beds and many babies were buried in the ground near where they'd been born. Surviving mothers and children sometimes managed to bring children home with restored health. The Korean people said to these children when they grew up having escaped the horror of births under the bridge... 'You were a pick-child under the bridge'.

Therefore, Helen and Catherine started the hospital for women and established the principle that "all patients will receive our help free of charge."⁵⁹¹ That meant whether their patients had the ability to pay or not. The head nurse of the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) noted that Australia supplied thirty beds that comprised half the hospital beds, with Catherine working as the trained midwife. Then Helen and Catherine organised the Hospital Committee (representative, elder Seong Bong Yang) and began the hospital named the Ilsin Women's hospital in 17 October 1952,⁵⁹² where they rented the Busanjin Kindergarten for two years with five staff members.⁵⁹³ This had been used by the Korean army as a temporary solution previously and had originally been founded by Mackenzie as the ILSIN Kindergarten.⁵⁹⁴ The building was 10m² and included another room alongside with a wooden, specialised birth-bed that Helen had made.

⁵⁹¹ Helen Mackenzie, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 151.

⁵⁹² This name the 'ILSIN Women Hospital' was changed to 'ILSIN Christian Hospital' in November 1982.

⁵⁹³ Director, Dr. Helen Mackenzie, Nurses were Catherine and Yu Kyeong-Soon, Secretary, Park Pil-Soo, Building Manager, Kim Geum-Ji, after two weeks later joined Dr. Lee Hong-Joo and three nurses of Hyeon Jung-Hoon, Kim Geum-Ryeon, Kim Geum-Soon. ILSIN Christian Hospital, *ILSIN Christian 40 Year History*, 36.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 134-145.

The hospital name, IIsin, was followed by the IIsin Women School that APM founded in 1910 and the term meant "every day new".⁵⁹⁵ This name was deemed appropriate because at the hospital a new life was born every day.⁵⁹⁶ The word 'Women' carefully defined the hospital just for poor women.⁵⁹⁷ Helen proclaimed the reason for establishment of the hospital which was, "This hospital exists by Jesus' commandment and because Christ saved the souls and relieved the physical pain of disadvantaged women".⁵⁹⁸ Hence the hospital was to really care for the patients with the spirit of Christ as its motivation.

Many poor people were and have been treated at this hospital. People who were unable to pay fees were not charged for services. The percentage of people receiving free treatment was 40% (1953 and 34% (1956). In 1956 the economic situation had improved, but people on free treatment increased to 54% of patients and to 21% of outpatients.⁵⁹⁹ In the 1960s, the overall rate of free treatment was 60%, but this has fallen to 29% since the 1970's due to the economic stability of the society. In addition, some patients who were poor were supported with living costs as well.⁶⁰⁰ Therefore the hospital funds were not always sufficient and were supplemented by volunteers, various supporters and sponsors. Despite the lack of resources, the hospital work continued.

⁵⁹⁵ The IIsinWomen's Hospital was decided to change the name to IIsin Christian Hospital in 10 November 1982. Although it could not use certain specialized or similar names in the Medical Law, it desired to operate within the original purpose of the hospital established in Christian faith and it became the General Hospital of today. In addition, there was opened the branch hospital as the Hwa-MyeongIIsin Christian Hospital in 1999. IIsin Christian Hospital, *IIsin Christian 40 Year History*, 90.

⁵⁹⁶ IIsin Christian Hospital, *IIsin Christian 40 Year History*, 36.

⁵⁹⁷ Helen Mackenzie, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 145.

⁵⁹⁸ Helen Mackenzie, "Founder Dr. Helen Pearl Mackenzie," *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 89.

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 151-152.

⁶⁰⁰ IIsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 61.

In this way Helen and Catherine came to Korea again and worked in similar ministries as had been commenced by their father, Mackenzie. At that time in Busan, there was not a women's-only hospital or even a concept to take care of the desperately poor infants. In this situation, they were dedicated to giving nursing care for poor women and infants in Korea. This ministry was very similar to the ministry instigated by their father, Mackenzie, who had served lepers about thirty years previously.

8.4.3. Mackenzie Family's Fruit

The news about the Ilsin Christian Hospital spread in Busan, the Kyeongsang region, as well as to Seoul and urgent and critical patients came from all over the nation. Sometimes doctors and nurses were challenged because patients were not used to being referred to hospital, but they persevered, and it was found that more effective treatment could be developed in each case by healing the soul as well as the body. Patient wards were insufficient to meet the need and a more spacious place for outpatients was desperately required. At that time, the United National Korea Rehabilitation Agency (UNKRA) supported the fund to construct the additional buildings such as an operation room, bed expansion, and the examination room for outpatients and in April 1953 a temporary building was completed. By the end of 1953, 73 cases of major surgery were completed, 850 babies had been delivered and the total number of outpatients totalled 9,619 people.

In 1954 the executive board member, V.W. Coombes visited the hospital and named the project No. 1168 under the Armed Forces Assistance to Korea (AFAK).⁶⁰¹ After

⁶⁰¹ The Armed Forces Assistance to Korea (AFAK) was the program. Under this program, the Army provided equipment and expertise to supplement Korean labour and material other

consideration, the US military provided the materials and equipment and the hospital was to provide labour and other materials. At that time, the building design and construction was by Chil Yong Kim who had been sent to the vocational School in Pyeongyang by Mackenzie.⁶⁰² The hospital building which comprised of 75 rooms on three levels was completed on 2nd March 1956 with the assistance of the UN and the Korean government, who donated an ambulance.⁶⁰³ In 1974 further expansion which was funded by the German Church, UN Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA), American-Korean Foundation (AKF) and Church World Service, brought the number of rooms to 155. The Church World Service, Canada mission, PCAU and PWMU further enlarged the hospital to include a dormitory, outpatient clinics and operating rooms⁶⁰⁴ and the hospital developed into a general hospital.

Staying true to the original purpose of establishment of the hospital, they did not stop caring for the poor women and children. Children lacking in nutrition were supplied with milk and soy milk and despite the lack of resources, maternal health care and regular check-ups continued alongside limited immunisations of children. Due to the lack of injections they were unable to reach all patients and some patients lacked full care.⁶⁰⁵ Despite this, the hospital worked tirelessly to assist marginalised and poor women and children. During the 1960s the hospital created an out-clinic for women who could not come to the hospital and in so doing provided medical treatment to 11,000 people in 1963. Hospital staff numbers increased to 52 people in 1953, 227 people in 1972 and reached 427 people in 1992.

measures to rebuild Korea. Stanley Sandler, *The Korean War: An Encyclopedia-Military History of the United States* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1995), 332.

⁶⁰² Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 198.

⁶⁰³ Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Mackenzie's Daughters*, 156.

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁶⁰⁵ Ilsin Christian Hospital, *Ilsin Christian 40 Year History*, 37-37.

From the beginning, evangelism continued in the hospital. Christian staff were appointed and all attended worship meetings every Monday, Wednesday and Sunday. This was to allow service in Jesus' love in accordance with the purpose and spirit in which the hospital was established. From the beginning, there was no separate space set aside for prayer; so worship meetings were held in the hallway of the hospital. Eventually a separate chapel area was dedicated and opened to everyone. A full time pastor and assistant minister visited all rooms and ministered preaching and counselling ensuring pastoral care for patients continued. This followed the model that their father Mackenzie had taught; that healing of disease should involve physical therapy and spiritual healing in parallel ministry.

All staff shared the grace of God with other people at the hospital and via missionary trips to other countries. Money was collected to support missions to foreign lands and remote islands. Medical missionaries such as doctors and nurses were sent to countries such as Africa, Vietnam, the Philippines, Bangladesh, and Cambodia. The Short-term mission teams visit there to provide medical services to the surrounding areas where missionaries already resided. In addition, some of the patients were transferred to the hospital in Korea for admission to the intensive care unit.

On the other hand, for the people in the outskirts of Busan area, the Kwangmyong Iljin Christian Hospital was established and operated in Kwangmyeong-dong, Buk-gu from January, 1999. This was Helen's hope as she followed in the path of Mackenzie's original ministry in visiting lepers village to village who were not permitted to enter the Lepers House in Busan.

Mackenzie's daughters served disadvantaged women and children in Korea just as their parents wanted. This was a continuation of their mother's work, Mary, the mother for lepers

and of their father, carer of lepers. Thus reproduced today is the appearance of Christ who ministered to the physical and spiritual needs of disadvantaged people in Galilee. They were truly Jesus' disciples and demonstrate the love of Jesus today.

8.5. Conclusion

Telling the complete story of Mackenzie's ministry in Korea is not an easy task. As his work and ongoing ministry (especially through his wife and daughters) has spanned a considerable period and has impacted thousands of individuals the breadth and impact of his ministry is considerable. Similarly, the quality of his ministry was so virtuous and noble, that when he enjoyed his eightieth birthday in Australia, his work was recognised at an anniversary Gaelic service in the Toorak Church in Melbourne. At that time, former moderator of PCV Rev. Moffat Pender's congratulatory message noted

"... thanks to our heavenly Father for having granted us the privilege of seeing such a man as you in our midst; a man who has set us ever an example of the highest of the Christian virtues, a man so lovable and so upright ... our daily life and our daily tasks with us, a teacher and a leader ...".⁶⁰⁶

Hence Mackenzie is amply demonstrated to be a wonderful example of Christian truth in action. He is truly a leader and teacher of the finest calibre. He loved the poor people and lepers in a life-long act of charity and self-denunciation – all led by Jesus. His selfless dedication deeply moved the hearts of those nearest to him: his wife and his children. For this reason, his family continued to serve the marginalised people in accordance with the heart

⁶⁰⁶ J. N. Mackenzie, *Autobiography*, 78.

and faith of Mackenzie - the husband and father who followed Jesus' message. His wife, Mary, was the mother of children and women in the Lepers House. She was a person of spiritual healing and physical therapy who treated the broken and wounded with a combination of remedy for both body and soul. She founded the children's home and school for children who were healed and had completed therapy. There, she may be defined as the most virtuous mother of the leper children. J. N. Mackenzie & his wife chose not to separate their children from poor people in Korea. They did not allow their children to be socially and culturally isolated by the variety of so-called public education systems. And more importantly, they taught them the Christian faith with compassionate hearts that loved the poor and needy.

Their children became medical missionaries and went to the places of the most marginalized people such as New Hebrides, groups of refugees, and China during the war, and Korea, where they served the poorest and most needy children and women. Notably, Mackenzie's older two daughters, Helen and Catherine established the Ihsin Christian Hospital in Busan and served the children and women who suffered the most disadvantage of all people during the Korean War for twenty-six years.

Just as Mackenzie followed Jesus of Galilee's life, Mackenzie's wife and children followed in his footsteps. Just as Jesus was amongst the people of Galilee, J. N. Mackenzie and his wife and daughters lived and worked amongst the people of Korea and other marginalised peoples.

Chapter 9. Relationship with the Japanese Imperialists

9.1. Introduction

In this chapter the relationship between the Japanese imperialists and J. N. Mackenzie, during the time of his work in Korea, will be studied. Japanese imperialists invaded Korea and caused much suffering for Koreans by oppression and exploitation. Western missionaries have tended to evade facing the issues of imperialism under the policy of separating politics and religion from the mission field; the so-called separation of societies. How did Mackenzie maintain a relationship with Japanese imperialists? Was he maintaining a friendly relationship or one of conflict with them? It is important to study this as it is significant in evaluating whether Mackenzie's ministry was a ministry for those who were truly suffering and marginalized.

The process of domination and subjugation of peoples has been repeated through history, albeit with slight changes in style and content according to the times. The associated political structures resulting are variously called Colonialism or Imperialism. The term ‘colonialism’ came from a Latin word for ‘tenant farmer’, but later was used to refer to people who migrated to a less advanced country with the idea of making it nationally dependent on them. It was intended that the immigrants would develop the colony and lived peaceably with the indigenous people.⁶⁰⁷ Imperialism, however, was the violent invasion of weaker countries in order to acquire resources and secure cheap labor - especially after the Industrial

⁶⁰⁷ Tae Young Yu, "Balgabeosgyeojin Seogumunmyeongui Jegookjuuiwa Migookui Sikminji Jeongchaek [Stripped Naked Imperialism of Western civilization]." Korea Daily (October 8, 2014), accessed March 12, 2015. http://blog.koreadaily.com/view/myhome.html?fod_style=B&med_usrid=zion0044&cid=833975&fod_no=1.

Revolution.⁶⁰⁸ However, these terms are used almost without distinction in the context of European expansion since 1880. As Robert C. Young said, since 1899, the distinction between imperialism and colonialism has almost disappeared.⁶⁰⁹

From the standpoint of the subjugated nation, the aggression of imperialism naturally brought great suffering to the people. This was the case in Korea, as we have already seen. In that situation Mackenzie was at work for the marginalized people in Korea. His ministry was clearly a sublime dedication. But if he were to join the Japanese imperialist invader, he would be in agreement with the imperialist aggression and his ministry could be regarded as hypocritical. It is therefore important to study the relationship between Mackenzie and the Japanese imperialists in order to assess the authenticity of his ministry.

To this end, this chapter will examine the Japanese imperialist process of invading Korea and the missionary policies in Korea. In that context, it will be seen what reward Mackenzie received from the Japanese imperialist government and what it meant. As has been seen above, Mackenzie was deeply involved in the education of children and women, so the policy of the Christian schools will be examined in connection with Japan's imperialism. Mackenzie's response will be compared to each mission's response. Furthermore, examination will be made of Shinto-worship, which the Japanese imperialists endeavored to force into churches and Christian schools from 1930. The suffering of Korean churches and the response of missionaries to Shinto-worship will be looked at. Then, in particular, analysis will be made as to why Mackenzie would strongly advocate certain compromise with respect to Shinto-worship. So this chapter will evaluate whether or not he was pro-Japanese.

⁶⁰⁸ Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 30, 45.

⁶⁰⁹ Robert C. Young, *Post Colonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 25.

In the modern history of Korea, the issue of relations with Japanese imperialism remains a matter of the most serious national pride. In the Korean Church there is a history a noble dedication of missionaries who came into Korea. However, among them, pro-Japanese missionaries have not yet been respected by Korean churches.

This is because the Japanese imperialist caused so much suffering for the Koreans. In the light of this, it should be evaluated as to whether Mackenzie was pro-Japanese. This is an historical issue which must be looked at openly before the Korean church and the Korean people and which is necessary in order to evaluate the authenticity of Mackenzie's devoted ministry in Korea. Hence this chapter will seek to answer the following research question:

What was the relationship between J. N. Mackenzie and the Japanese imperialists?

9.2. Missionaries and the Japanese Imperialists

9.2.1. The Japanese Imperialists Invaded Korea

There is not consensus of opinion among scholars on the definition of imperialism⁶¹⁰ and there is confusion about concepts such as colonialism, empire and imperialism. However, imperialism does not necessarily include official territorial domination whereas colonialism dominates a territory. Despite that difference, imperialism and colonialism have in common

⁶¹⁰ Imperialism is a policy of extending a country's power through colonization. Two aspects may be considered: the economic theory, of which a notable scholar is John. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London: George Allen, 1954), and the political psychological theory, about which the major scholar is Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: Longman, 1974).

that there is a dependent relationship established between the nations and an intention on the part of the dominant power to maintain that.⁶¹¹

Japanese imperialism was begun by the Meiji-Restoration Government. After the Japanese Government had entered into an unequal treaty with United States based on promises in 1854 of opening of the door to US involvement, they signed similar treaties with Britain, Russia, France and the Netherlands. To cope with relationships with these powers Japan needed to modernise its internal affairs. For this purpose they decided on a policy to impose on the country government by an absolute monarchy. The Emperor Meiji, who was only 15 years old, was held to be as a god, and separated the Shinto religion from Buddhism on 28 March 1868 and called it the Great Religion from 3 May 1870 onwards. Under the Emperor the government gave the task of reconstruction of the country to soldiers and also sought to advance militarily to the continent. Eventually they applied the sanctity of the Emperor to all wars and launched wars of aggression. They urged participation in the wars on the grounds that these were holy wars because they were under the Great Emperor who could not be in error.⁶¹²

On this basis the Japanese imperialists invaded Korea with two warships and 400 military personnel and then with their navy. They made an unequal treaty, known as the Ganghwa-do Treaty, in 1876 in order to make Korea the logistical base for military advancement to the continent. They began two wars, the Qing-Japan War⁶¹³ (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), with the intention of taking control of Choseon, and they triumphed. Then

⁶¹¹ Ji Hyang Park, *Jegookjuui: Sinhwawa Hyeonsil* [Imperialism: Myth and Reality] (Seoul: The Seoul University Publish, 2000), 19.

⁶¹² Yong Gwon Park, "1930 Nyeondae Choseon Yesugujangrohoe Yeongu [The Study of the Choseon Presbyterian Church in the 1930s]," (PhD thesis, Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, Seoul, 2007), 47-50.

⁶¹³ Called the First Sino-Japanese War by the Western world.

they entered into a contract known as the Eulsa Treaty in 1905 and established the Residency-General in Choseon. After deposing the King (1907) and dissolving the army (1907) and depriving the nation of judicial and police protection (1909), they finally completed the Japanese annexation of Korea, making it a Japanese Colony (1910). The colonial policy of the Japanese imperialists was one of economic exploitation with an aim to obliterate the Korean nation.

It is possible to understand the intentions of the Japanese imperialists by looking at their four-step policy of invading Korea.

(1) The period of the Colonial preparation (1904-1910). This was the period before the Japanese imperialists achieved the unification of Korea, and it was the period of the pro-Japanese policies against the Koreans. The situation was that Choseon could not defend itself from external powers. Japan portrayed itself as helpful to Choseon, which they described as being more backward than Japan. So the people of Choseon were made to learn Japanese culture and language and told to praise and obey the Japanese Emperor and Government. At that time there was a lack of food necessary for Japan's industrial modernization and so they exploited the Koreans by forcibly collecting 55-60% of production through a semi-feudalistic shareholding plan to fulfil grain quotas for Japan's needs.

(2) The period of the Bayonet policy (1910-1918). This period was after the unification of Korea and Japan. The Japanese imperialists changed their national sovereignty from "Daehan-jegook (Korean Empire)" to "Choseon" and handed over their sovereignty to the Japanese Emperor.⁶¹⁴ The first Governor-General, Terauchi, (1852-1919) carried out the

⁶¹⁴ According to the Japanese annexation of Korea Treaty (韓日合邦條約) Article One content is "The Choseon Emperor fully and permanently handed any sovereignty to the

bayonet policy by which the Choseon people were a slave-nation of the Japanese, the target of economic exploitation. This situation was met with great opposition by the nationalists.

(3) The period of the Culture policy (1919-1930) which arose because of the resistance to the bayonet policy as the nationalist movement in Korea grew nationwide. The new Governor-General, Saito Makoto (1858-1936) attempted to soothe local opposition and international condemnation of the extremely harsh military rule by introducing the Cultural Policy. This was a policy that encouraged Koreans to foster pro-Japanese supporters in the hope of inducing conflict between pro-Japanese and anti-Japanese forces. It was also a foreign policy that helped missionaries actively and financially help them to make international public opinion favorable

(4) The period of what may be termed the “Japanization” policy (1931-1945) was when the Japanese imperialists needed to prepare for the Pacific War (1941-1945). Shrine temples were established in various important cities in Korea and Shrine-worship was enforced. People had to bow to the direction of the East indicating submission to the teaching that the Japanese Emperor was god. They established the tablet in schools and churches and forced students and church members to bow to the shrine. In addition they seized war materials and forcibly conscripted men to become soldiers or to build military bases, and also girls to become sexual slaves of the Japanese Military.⁶¹⁵

Majesty Emperor of Japan,” Korean Studies Central Research Institute, "Han-ilhabbyeong [Korea - Japan Combined Treaty]," *naver*, Last modified September 1, 2015.
<http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=jinlezza&logNo=220468770481>.

⁶¹⁵The Japanese Military Sexual Slaves were women who were Korean, Chinese, Filipino, Thai, Malay, Indonesian and other nationalities. European countries, including the Netherlands, denounced the practice in January, 1990.

In this way Japan colonized Choseon in line with its policy to obliterate the Korean nation and economically exploit the country. However, Japan was defeated in the Pacific War and Korea was liberated from her oppressor and gained independence from Japan on 15 August, 1945 at the end of the Second World War.

9.2.2. The Japanese Imperialists' Missionary Conciliatory Policy

The relationship with the Japanese imperialists and missionaries moved from friendly relations to antagonistic relations, then conciliatory relations and then back to antagonistic relations before finally coming to the deportation of missionaries. In the early days of Japanese influence in Choseon missionaries were pro-Japanese because at that time they saw Japan as an open country compared to Korea in Asia and so considered it as a model of an enlightened country. However, following the Japanese victory in the Qing-Japan War and the installation of the Residency-General in Choseon, and also because of the killing of the Empress Myeongseong (1851-1895)⁶¹⁶ who was a stumbling block to Japan's interference in domestic affairs, missionaries saw the brutality of the Japanese invasion and changed their attitude to it and began to criticize it.⁶¹⁷

As a result, missionaries developed a more friendly relationship with the royal family⁶¹⁸ and they received an enhanced reputation from the common people.⁶¹⁹ On the other hand some

⁶¹⁶ The Empress Myeongseong, known informally as Queen Min, was the first official wife of Gojong of Korea, the twenty-sixth king of Joseon and the first emperor of the Korean Empire.

⁶¹⁷ Seung Tae Kim, "Hanmal Iljechimryakki Iljewa Seongyosau gwangyeedaehan Yeongu 1894-1910 [the Late Period of Choseon Japanese Invasion: Studies on the Relationship between the Japanese and Missionaries 1894-1910]," *Hankook Gidokkyowa Yeoksa 6 [The Korean Church and History 6]*, (Seoul: IHCK, 1997), 68-69.

⁶¹⁸ Harry A. Rhodes, *op.cit.*, 492.

⁶¹⁹ Nag Joon Baek, *op.cit.*, 169.

of the missionaries were “...criticized and openly attacked on the world stage by the Japanese.”⁶²⁰

However, open conflict between the Japanese government and the missionaries did not occur within Korea as the government’s foreign policy was one of the separation of religion and state.

The Japanese government’s policy in Korea was to attempt to calm the people’s anger and make a public defense of their rule in Choseon to the international community. To this end they were conciliatory towards the missionaries.⁶²¹ This was evidenced by fixing a low tax rate for missions and immunity from taxes on the property of the missions after 1909 in Choseon. The government presumed that by helping the mission work the missionaries would be inclined to be thankful to the Japanese imperialists. The governor, Ito, often invited missionaries to the official residence, hosting a feast and praising the missionaries for the education and medical work which they had introduced in Choseon. Furthermore, the governor supported them by funding a considerable amount of money on both regular or for some, an irregular, basis to YMCA and churches that required help.⁶²² So it can be seen that the Japanese imperialist government favored missionaries in various ways. Many missionaries emphasized patience with forgiveness rather than seeking justice and reform. According to this record,

⁶²⁰ Man Yeol Lee, *Hanmal Gidokkyinui minjokuisik Hyeonseonggwajeong* [The Formation of the National Consciousness in the Later Period of Choseon] (Seoul: The Seoul University Publish, 1973), 55.

⁶²¹ Kyeong Ro Yun, *Hankook Geundaesaui Gigoksajeokihae* [Christian Understanding of Korea's Modern History: Christian Policies and Personality in the Period of the Residency-General], (Seoul: Yeokminsa, 1992), 142.

⁶²² The Ito governor donated ten thousand won for the Pyeongyang Methodist Church, and ten thousand won yearly for YMCA.

"... missionaries did not push the Choseon people to protest or object to Japanese policy.

Moreover, Christianity is a religion of love.... If Koreans hated the Japanese, it would be contrary to the fundamental Christian doctrine of love and therefore would be a sin..."⁶²³

So, backed by the supported missionaries, the Japanese imperialists colonized Choseon in 1910.

On the other hand the Korean population was strongly opposed to the Japanese. At that time, the nationalists were shouting for Korean independence and then the assassination of prominent Christians occurred.⁶²⁴ They were being investigated on suspicion of involvement in a plot to assassinate the governor. Others also suspected by the government of such a plot were arrested. These were 700 Christian leaders who were tortured and of whom 105 were convicted. Those convicted were those Christians who were strongly opposed to Japanese oppression of Christians. The missionaries knew that the cases against these Christians were fabricated by the Japanese police and they learned the essence of the bayonet policy.

In response to the Japanese policies the Korean people demonstrated sporadically throughout the country in a non-violent manner via the 3.1 Independence movement. This was the first reaction of people to the Japanese imperialist's colonization of Choseon.⁶²⁵ The government was quick to respond to that movement. The military police stabbed protestors with the long sword and arrested hundreds of people and tortured them to subdue them. The missionaries saw the brutal and inhumane behavior of the Japanese military police and turned to an anti-Japanese stance. The government learned of the anti-Japanese sentiment and the threat of the

⁶²³ James Earnest Fisher, *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970), 100.

⁶²⁴ Those assassinated were D. W. Stevenson (1851-1908) by Jang In hwan Jeon and Myeong un Jeon on 3 May 1908, Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909) by Jung GeunAhn on 26 October 1909 and Wanyong Lee shot by Jae Myeong Lee in December 1909.

⁶²⁵ Kyeong Bae Min, *op.cit.*, 331.

Independence Movement and so appointed a new Governor, Saito⁶²⁶ (1919) and changed tactics from the bayonet policy to the cultural policy. He actively fostered pro-Japanese sentiments through education to influence the Korean's homogeneity in favor of acceptance of social heterogeneity. He did not put obstacles in the way of missionary work, but gave them assistance. He invited the missionaries of the PCM to confer with him and accepted almost all the requests of missionaries. The PCM was able to maintain the property in the name of the mission and received the support and comfort needed for missions.⁶²⁷

The real character of the Japanese imperialists was revealed following the Manchurian Incident⁶²⁸ in 1931. From then on Shinto-worship in the mission schools was made compulsory, though not aggressively enforced. The missionaries were divided in their responses, some willing to compromise, others refusing to compromise. For the latter there were problems of how to maintain their schools. Finally, the Japanese imperialists expelled missionaries as they were preparing for the war under the name of Management to Greater East Asia. So the majority of Australian missionaries left along with other missionaries in September 1940⁶²⁹ and the remaining five Australian missionaries were confined to their own houses and then expelled on 2 June 1942 as part of a prisoner exchange.

Therefore missionaries who had once maintained favorable relations with the Japanese imperialists could not continue mission and returned to their home countries in order to preserve their lives.

⁶²⁶ The Saito Makoto worked as both the third General Governor (1919-1927) and the fifth Governor (1929-1931) in Korea .

⁶²⁷ J. N. Mackenzie, Letter (April 22, 1920), *Presbyterian* (July 14, 1920), 497.

⁶²⁸ This was a staged event engineered by Japanese military personnel as a pretext for the invasion of northeastern China.

⁶²⁹ In 1940, all 402 missionaries in Korea (APM: 23 people, PCUSA: 114 people, South Presbyterian mission: 64 people, Canada Presbyterian Mission: 35 people, Methodist: 116 people and others: 50 people) then in 1941 all 38 missionaries left (APM: 5 people, PCUSA: 18 people, South Presbyterian mission: 4 people and others 7 people).

9.2.3. Japanese Imperialists, the Missionary Policy and Mackenzie Rewarded

J. N. Mackenzie received many rewards from the Japanese imperialists. In 1910, the year of the Japanese Empire's colonization of Choseon, Mackenzie arrived in Busan. Four months later, at the Harbin Railway Station on 26 October, 1909, the nationalist, Joong-Geun Ahn, assassinated Ito, who was a former Resident-General. So the Japanese imperialists, at the instigation of the military police and under the influence of international opinion, poured blame on the nation of Choseon. At that time APM's policy was the separation of religion and politics. Under this policy they would engage with political matters only as a last resort.

In the meantime, as mentioned above, Mackenzie's ministry was concentrated on itinerant ministry to children, women and lepers in rural villages. In particular his work focused on the Lepers House when he became superintendent in May 1912. The Lepers House was begun with 34 patients in 1910 and there were 54 people when Mackenzie started in his new post.⁶³⁰ There were 132 people by 1915 and 337 people in 1923, which was an almost exponential increase.⁶³¹ At that time his worries were largely financial issues as the APM did not have a large enough budget to cater for his expanded work. He needed a lot of support and sent a letter to churches and missions in different countries to seek help for this problem. Additionally, he asked the government for support for some of the budget in 1913,⁶³² but it did not respond to his request. By 1921 there were three times more people than could comfortably be accommodated in the Lepers House and they were forced to limit the number

⁶³⁰ Annual Report, Mission to Lepers (1910), 13.

⁶³¹ For more detail number see the section 7.3.1., Chapter 7 in this thesis.

⁶³² "The Leper Situation of Korea," *KMF* (March 1935), 89-92.

of people in each room.⁶³³ The money for support of the Lepers House was primarily obtained from the United Kingdom and Australia as the asylum was gradually extended.⁶³⁴

It was also the time when the Bayonet policy had failed and demonstrations by the 3.1 Independent Movement were happening throughout the nation, whilst the newly appointed Governor Saito put in place the Cultural policy. As part of the Cultural policy from 1922, he made a donation of 50 pounds each year in the name of the Emperor. In 1923, Mackenzie and Dr. Fowler met Saito to seek more government funding. Governor Saito gave a generous amount to win the favor of missionaries and offered to support the Lepers House with 10 sen per head per day. With 337 people this amounted to approximately 1000 pound a year.⁶³⁵ In addition, when Saito was appointed to his second term as Governor (1923-1931), the Lepers House received subsidies of 2022 pounds. This amounted to one half of the budget required for the care of 580 leprosy patients. Saito's politics of the Cultural policy was quite clever. The people of Choseon had resisted the Bayonet policy it was changed to the Cultural policy, with the aim of nurturing a pro-Japanese group and inducing fighting within the Korean population. Also he actively supported the missionaries in order to influence foreign opinion in his favor.

J. N. Mackenzie sent some photos to London and this created a problem with the government by whom he was interrogated.⁶³⁶ This was not helpful in his relationship with the government. However, together with Dr. Wilson and Dr. Fletcher who also worked with lepers, Mackenzie was invited to Japan for the Emperor Hirohito's coronation in 1928 and

⁶³³ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 160.

⁶³⁴ The Lepers House expanded in 1922, 1926. The hospital in the Lepers House was built in February, 1933. Built the Children's House in 1919...etc.

⁶³⁵ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 162.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, 191-192.

awarded the Blue Ribbon Medal and the sixth of Japan's peerage titles.⁶³⁷ Also on 10 November 1930, he received the silver vase and a bonus 1000 pound each year for the next five years from the Dowager Empress at her Palace in Tokyo.⁶³⁸ Furthermore he was granted a physician's license from the Japanese government and became an official doctor. Just before he left Japan for Choseon, farewell ceremonies were held at Nakahata on 14 February 1938, and on 15th the Governor of province, the Mayor and executives from other cities attended his farewell.⁶³⁹ In these ways Mackenzie received considerable support and benefit from the Japan imperialists. Three day later Mackenzie stopped his work of 28 years and left Korea on 18 February, 1938.

It is not easy to make any short assessment of J. N. Mackenzie's ministry in South Korea as complex issues are involved. When the Japanese imperialists were exploiting the people of Choseon, Mackenzie enjoyed a fairly smooth relationship with the Japanese imperial government. He received gifts as prizes and was given hospitality by the Japanese government who saw the value of his dedicated ministry for leprosy sufferers in Korea. In addition, there is no doubt that the prizes he received were all used to support the Lepers House. Nonetheless, he was on quite good terms with the Japanese imperialists who oppressed people and this has brought considerable confusion for people in assessing his work and personality. People are left to ponder whether he compromised with the Japanese for his ministry or whether he was deceived by the Japanese government's policy.

9.3. Japanese Imperialists' Christian Education Policy

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁶³⁸ *The Record* (April 1, 1931), 54.

⁶³⁹ Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 202.

9.3.1. Christian Education Policy

The Japanese imperialists utilized religious education to maximize their desired effect on the colony. Their religious education policy mostly concerned the Christian Schools and had missionaries in mind. Their Christian Education Policy was based on the Constitution of the Meiji Restoration. This meant that wherever there was a risk that religious teaching or practice might harm the peace and order of the nation, the government may prohibit or dissolve the religious group.⁶⁴⁰ On this basis, the first governor, Terauchi, (1852-1919) said in a meeting on 5 October 1910 with all ministers of the national province that if Christian missionaries did not get involved in politics he would guarantee freedom of religion.⁶⁴¹ But the church had expanded to become the largest organization of Choseon people, and church leaders soon emerged as national leaders and highlighted the patriotic spirit of the church.⁶⁴² Consequently the Japanese exercised control over the Christian school. Their Christian education policy can be summarized by the following three points.

Firstly, was a regulatory policy. Early missionaries had friendly relations with the government. In that time, when there was a private school established it was not necessary for them to apply for government approval, nor did they have a duty to report to the government. Therefore missionaries actively built Christian schools. However, the people

⁶⁴⁰ Tae Yeong Park, "Guhanmalgwa Iljesigminjitongci sidaeui bukmi seongyusadeului Jeonggyubunri Yeongu [A Study of North American Missionaries' Policy of Separating Church from State in Late Confucian and Colonial Korea]," (PhD thesis, Soongsil University, Seoul, 2013), 146.

⁶⁴¹ Arthur T. Pierson, eds, *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York: Funk & Wagnall's, 1910, accessed February 21, 2015.

https://archive.org/stream/missionaryrevie3312unse_0#page/924/mode/2up.

⁶⁴² Chung Shin Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 117.

embraced the schools warmly. Then, as the missionaries developed an antipathy to the oppression of the Japanese imperialists, the government began to control the Christian Schools. They created obstacles to the establishment of the private school by imposing conditions on them, and required all Christian schools to register with the government. In addition to educational content being required to be the same as that in the government institutions or public schools, the teaching of religious subjects was banned. This was by the Private School Regulations in 1908.⁶⁴³ After the Japanese annexation of Choseon the government announced the "Education Law of Choseon" in 1911 and then enacted the "Private School Rules" and "Revised Private School Education" in 1915. Summarizing the contents briefly,⁶⁴⁴ the Bible and the liturgy were prohibited, Christian school names were replaced by names given by the government,⁶⁴⁵ teaching was to be only in Japanese, and only books published by the Resident-General were to be used.⁶⁴⁶ Japanese teachers were employed as monitoring agents in Christian schools. At that time in Chosen there were about 20,000,000 Christians, 823 Christian schools⁶⁴⁷, about 30,000 students, 270 missionaries and 2,300 Korean staff. Christian education was a vast organization.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴³ Seog Hui Han, *Iljeui Jongkyo Chimryaksa* [The History of the Japanese Invasion Religion] (Seoul: Gyomunsa, 1990), 75-83.

⁶⁴⁴ Jin Gu Lee, "Jonggyujayue daehan Hankook Gaesingyuui ihaee gwanhan yeongu [A Study on Understanding of Religious Freedom to Korea Protestants]," (PhD thesis, The Seoul University, Seoul, 1996), 63.

⁶⁴⁵ Accordingly it changed their school name to Hanyeong Seowon in Gaeseong in 1917, Gwangseong School in Pyeongyang, Hosudon Girls' School in Gaeseong and Ihwa Hakdang in Seoul in 1918. Presbyterian schools which disobeyed were changed into Miscellaneous schools, but most schools closed.

⁶⁴⁶ At this time confiscated books included those with nationalistic teaching, Korean languages, History, Geography...etc.., The total number was 51 types of books.

⁶⁴⁷ Yeong Seon Kim, *Hankook Gidokkyusa Yeongy* [The Study of Korean Christian] (Seoul: Christian Book Centre, 1971), 60.

⁶⁴⁸ 飯沼二郎, 韓哲曇, 日本統治と日本基督教, (Japanese Governance and the Japanese Christian), Yeong Hwan Nam, trans. (Seoul: Doseochulpansyeongmun, 1993), 50.

The second stage of the education policy of the Japanese was their attempt at creating an acceptable policy. The regulatory policy had brought difficulties so the government implemented a temporary policy which was conciliatory to missionaries and designed to diffuse adverse world opinion. The missionaries were opposed to the Japanese military police's brutality in their excessive response to the 3.1 non-violent movement and to the confinement of Christian leaders. The Japanese therefore allowed the missionaries to operate Christian schools in order to maintain stable management and stop adverse world opinion.

Thirdly was the repressive policy. Their true colors in Christian education policy were revealed in 1930. Under this policy missionaries were separated from the schools and then the schools were closed as they would not tolerate the government policy to enforce Shinto-worship in the Christian schools. That policy was part of their preparation for the Pacific War in accordance with the Hwanggook Jeongchaek (Japanization policy). G. S. McCune (Principal of the Soongsil School in Pyeongyang) and V. L. Snook (Principal of the Sungwi Girls' School in Seoul) were dismissed and expelled as their faith would not allow them to conduct Shinto worship. The government also decided that from July 1937, the sixth day each month should be used for a patriotic-day and a trip to the shrine for worship. The Christian schools rejected this and thus all Christian schools were closed by February 1938.

The Christian education policy progressed from regulated, to accepted, to repression in accordance with the political situation, but the basic policy was not changed significantly. In summary, the strategies of the basic policy were as follows. First, it was forbidden to teach the Bible in worship and it was intended to close Christian schools. Secondly, a school's unique name of Christian expression was replaced by a common name and if schools did not conform to government requests their students were regarded as irregular school graduates and could not go on to higher institutes and were thereby disadvantaged in the society.

Thirdly, being classified as private schools, the Christian schools were required to use only the textbooks issued by the Governor-General. This was to prevent the teaching of faith and democracy. Fourthly, Christian schools were obliged to employ a Japanese teacher as a resident monitor.

Obviously policies for the Christian schools brought substantial conflict for missionaries. The missionaries divided into two groups - the hard-liners for closure of the schools, who said that no Bible teaching or worship meant no meaningful Christian presence - and the moderates who said education should be continued even though that would necessitate compromise.⁶⁴⁹

9.3.2. The Missions' Correspondence

By way of a written memorandum, the missionaries suggested that the control of the Christian schools should be by one body, but later this was divided into two. The General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Choseon (GCPEMC) was established in 1905. The missionaries were mindful that freedom of religion was severely restricted under Japanese imperialists and wrote, "We sincerely hope to experience the Imperial Japanese Constitution's guarantee of religious liberty, as fitting for one of the world's superpower in Choseon"⁶⁵⁰ By 'religious freedom' they required freedom to worship and teach the Bible in Christian schools. This recommendation was accepted to some extent as the Japanese government was conscious of public opinion. It divided schools into classes and required Christian schools to be admitted as new 'Higher Normal Schools' over a ten year period.

⁶⁴⁹ Jae Cheol Jeong, *Ilbon Sikminji Gyoyuk Jeongchaek* [Japanese Colonial Education Policy: Korean Independence Movement 5] (Seoul: Iljisa, 1989), 245-246.

⁶⁵⁰ Copy of letter from Charles E. Sharp to Robert E. Speer (Feb. 9, 1916) in Seong Jeon Lee, *Mikook seongyusawa Hankook Geundae Gyuyuk* [American Missionaries and Modern Education in Korea], (Seoul: IHCK, 2007), 40.

This was to transform Christian schools into national and public schools and nurture people to be loyal to the Emperor. As a result the Christian schools were brought to a choice of re-registration or closure.

There were different responses concerning these policies from the Presbyterian Mission and the Methodist Mission. The PCM believed that if there was no teaching of the Bible or worship in a Christian school there was no meaningful reason for the school to exist. So in a meeting of PCM, S. A. Moffett (Principal, Soongsil School in Pyeongyang) said, "... We are opposed to God if we do not teach the Bible in our schools and cannot keep going. We need to be honest."⁶⁵¹ Their solution was direct opposition to the Japanese requirements. In contrast, the Methodist Mission was in favor of making a compromise. They believed that despite not being able to read the Bible or hold worship, if the schools were conducted in a Christian spirit they would still be fulfilling their calling. As a result the Methodist schools proceeded to re-registration to be recognized as normal high schools within 10 years.

According to minutes of a meeting they

"...judged that even if the school does not perform worship and Bible teaching, the Christian teachers will guide students personally, and the Christian spirit could be passed on to students".⁶⁵²

However, according to C.D. Fulton, these schools would no longer be "Christian schools".⁶⁵³ Following the implementation of that decision, properties of the Methodist Mission School were acquired sequentially by the government.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵¹ Allen D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1971), 195.

⁶⁵² Charles D. Stokes, "History of Methodist Missions in Korea: 1885-1930," (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1947), 259.

In the midst of this Christian school suffering, the great resistance movement against the Japanese imperialists, the so-called 3.1 independence movement, started from the Christian school. This resistance quickly spread throughout the country. However, the newly appointed Governor, Ito, seems to have allowed teaching of the Bible and Christian worship in schools under the so-called Cultural policy, but its real aim was to foster pro-Japanese sentiments. Following 1930 the Japanese imperialist government revealed its true colors. According to the so-called Japanization policy, shrine-worship was forced on the Christian schools and consequently those belonging to the Presbyterian Mission were closed down, whilst the Methodist schools were maintained.

9.3.3. Mackenzie's Response

J. N. Mackenzie's involvement with education ministry was in three schools. It began with the Ilsen Girls' School where he was appointed as representative in 1915. The second was in 1918 with the school for healthy children, located at a distance of 10 km from the Lepers House, and the third was the Busanjin kindergarten in 1923. Of these, the School for Healthy Children and the Busanjin Kindergarten were not a big problem to the Japanese imperialists as they were special schools, but the Ilsen Girls' School was parallel to a mainstream school so was required to implement the imperialists' education policy.

The Ilsen Girls' School started as a primary school and was the ninth school in the country (5 schools in Pyeongyang, 3 schools in Seoul) in 1895 and it followed the first new education

⁶⁵³ Ung Kyu Park, *Millennialism in the Korea Protestant Church: Asian Thought and Culture*, (Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers, 2005), 185.

⁶⁵⁴ It was the Baeje institute, Ewha Institute, Gwangseong school, Hosudon Girls' School, Jeongui Girls' School and Baehwa Girls' School...ect. (Charles D. Stokes, *Ibid.*).

system of the Primary School Rules of Choseon as set out on 17 July, 1895. It catered for children from 8 to 15 years of age, was interdisciplinary and functioned as an elementary school offering three years of education and as a high school offering the next three years. In 1905 the Japanese imperialists put the Residency-General into Choseon and began to control private schools. The Christian schools were the main target as they had built hundreds of schools across the country. The Residency-General abolished the Primary School Rules of Choseon and announced the Normal School Rules of the Residency-General. These reduced the school years from six years to four years and inhibited the establishment of schools higher than secondary school and expanded the establishment of the public school as a national school. As already discussed, the aim of this was to stop the teaching of Korean national ideas and to train the children to adapt to the colonial policy of the Japanese imperialists.

According to these rules the Iilsin Girls' School which began as a primary school was expanded to a high school for an additional three years of education, approved and licensed by the Education Minister on 9 August, 1909 and developed to offer three years of the elementary school and four years of the high school in 7 August, 1915. At that time the Residency-General intended the prohibition the Christian schools and proclaimed the Revised Private School Rules with forbade teaching of the Bible and Christian worship, changed the Christian name of the school, required that Japanese only be spoken in school and that Japanese teachers be employed as surveillance workers. They also required re-registration as the normal high school during a period of ten years. The Iilsin Girls' School therefore had a choice at that point. They could choose to remain a private school, but that meant that their students could not progress to higher education and would therefore be disadvantaged in society after graduation.

In this situation 3.1 movement protests occurred throughout the country, joining farmers and workers around the Christian Schools. In Busan and the South Kyeongsang province where the Ihsin Girls' School first started, students were touched by the flames of the spirit of resistance to oppression. At that time 15-18 year old young girl students were not afraid of the threat of the Japanese police and they shouted for independence, were arrested and tortured and put in prison. They were all disciples who directly or indirectly had been influenced by Mackenzie. The Japanese imperialist government had exercised considerable discretion in regard to Christian schools in order to calm national disturbance. As has been mentioned it was ignoring the teaching of the Bible and Christian worship in Christian private schools and acting in a conciliatory manner towards missionaries in order to foster pro-Japanese support in Choseon.

Nevertheless, the Busan residents wanted the Ihsin Girls' School to be registered with the government. They suggested that if the school were registered they would support the school by donating their land.⁶⁵⁵ This, of course, created a problem for Mackenzie and the six other teachers who would no longer be able to study the Bible or conduct Christian worship if Ihsin became a normal school. The school name was changed to the Dongnae Ihsin Girls' School and application was made on 23 December, 1925 to the Government for the school to become a designated school which could teach the Bible and conduct worship. It was not a normal high school, but equivalent studies could be pursued. At that time the student population was sixty.

Mackenzie did not nurture pro-Japanese sentiments in his students as the Japanese imperialists had intended. He was determined that the schools should be centers of worship

⁶⁵⁵Dongnae Girls' High School, *Dongnae Yeohakko 100yeonsa* [The History of Dongnae Girls' High School 100 Years](Busan: Dongnae Girl's High School, 1995), 51-52.

and Bible study despite the fact that this would socially disadvantage the students as they would not be allowed admission to institutions of higher education. Then, under the Japanization policy, the Japanese imperialists forced Shinto-worship on the Christian schools in 1930 in order to prepare the Pacific War. That was when the Christian schools stood at the crossroads of decision to refuse to comply and close down or to compromise and remain.

The APM began with stubborn denial at first, but Mackenzie was in favor of not directly opposing Shinto-worship as that would close down the schools. As a result the Ihsin Girls' school endeavored to remain open. That was also the desire of PWMU. However, the Japanese imperialists intended to separate the missionaries from the school in order to ensure the closure of all Christian schools.

The government proceeded differently to Mackenzie's expectations and forced the closure of Christian schools and as Mackenzie was offered retirement, he decided to end his work of 28 years ministry in South Korea and he returned to Australia on 18 February, 1938. Subsequently the Ihsin Girls' School was closed down on 30 March 1940 when the government was in the midst of the final preparations for the Pacific War.

9.4. Forced to Accept Shinto-worship

9.4.1. Korean Church's Disgrace

Shinto-worship was forced on the Christian schools and church resulting in the closure of most of the schools and the church was divided and corrupted. A Japanese shrine had been

built on the land of South Korea when the Japanese were resident in Busan⁶⁵⁶ after the signing the Eulyu Treaty (1609) that allowed trade between the two countries. That was following the Japanese invasion of Choseon (Imjinoeran 1592-1598). However, that shrine was not related to the Korean people, but was intended for the Japanese. Shrine-worship began being spread when the Japanese imperialist government dominated Choseon. From 1910 it was compulsory to bow to the Emperor's photo, bow toward the East because the Emperor was in the East, bow in Shinto-worship in the shrine and bow to the Shinto tablets which were required to be placed in the churches and schools. In addition Koreans were forced to donate to the shrine. Following the Manchurian Incident (1931-1932), the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the Pacific War (1941-1945), the most pressing security measures were military mobilization and war materials for the stability of Choseon in war. The Japanization policy (HwanggukJeongchaek) was put into place to induce the acceptance of Emperor Ideology by the people of Choseon and thereby encourage their allegiance to Japan. Under that policy Shinto-worship was made compulsory in schools.

Shinto-worship was first opposed by the Sungil School and the Supiah Girls' School of SPUSA in Gwangju in January, 1932 and they received severe censure. In September the government endeavoured to enforce Shinto-worship in schools in Pyeongyang⁶⁵⁷ but the schools resisted as it was contrary to Christian doctrine. Thus, the Japanese imperial government ordered officials to travel to every school in the country to enforce compliance. Eventually the Shinto-worship issue was left by APM to the discretion of individual Christian schools.⁶⁵⁸ Then the Canadian school in the Hamkyeong province refused (1933) and G. S.

⁶⁵⁶ Kyeong Gyu Sin, "Sinsachambaewa Hankook Gyohoeui Daeeung [Shrine and Korean Church's Response]," (Th.M thesis Bucheon, Seoul Theological College, 1995), 16.

⁶⁵⁷ Gwang Soo Kim, *Hankook Gidokkyo Sunansa* [The Korea Christian Sufferings History] (Seoul: Christian Book Centre, 1982), 200.

⁶⁵⁸ Yang Seon Kim, *op.cit.*, 177-178.

McCune and Miss V. L. Snook, the Principals, gathered 27 ministers who were also resolved to oppose it in Pyeongyang. These two principals were expelled three months later.⁶⁵⁹ PCUSA rejected shrine worship on 10 May, 1936 and the school was closed⁶⁶⁰ and SPUSA decided to close all the schools it had founded.⁶⁶¹ Eventually between September, 1937 and March 1938, 479 schools closed down of their own accord. The Japanese imperialists carried on operating schools which the missions closed down. They closed churches and arrested the church members in a rise of abuse and repression. On the other hand the Catholic Church (25 May, 1936), the Methodist Church (29 June, 1936), the Canadian Presbyterian Church (21 October, 1938) accepted Shinto-worship as an act of national courtesy.

So the Japanese imperialist government decided to enforce Shinto-worship onto the Korean church. First, they subjugated 17 presbyteries among the 23 presbyteries nationwide. Then, at the time of the 27th General Assembly of the Korean Church of the Presbyterian Church in Pyongyang in September 1938 the police detained Pastor Gi-Cheol Joo, Pastor Gi-Seon Lee and Pastor Seon-Doo Kim, who were strongly opposed to Shinto-worship, in order to prevent them attending the General Assembly Meeting. The meeting was held in a very threatening atmosphere with 400 military police in attendance and only 206 commissioners in the hall. The Moderator, Gi-Taek Hong, made a hurried decision to accept the practice of Shrine worship without consultation with those who opposed compromising about worship. This was the most shameful case in the history of Korean Church as the resolution was passed on behalf of the missionaries. Three very important points to be considered in connection with this process are: (1) The decision was contrary to the Constitution of the General Assembly and also the Word of God. (2) None of the commissioners had been given a voice or right to

⁶⁵⁹ Allen D. Clark, *op.cit.*, 222-224.

⁶⁶⁰ At this time, the PCUSA determined to close down nine schools.

⁶⁶¹ Harry A. Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Vol II. 1935-1939*, (New York: The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1964), 8-10.

veto the bill. (3) The coercion used to prompt the decisions was contrary to the Religious Freedom guaranteed by the Japanese government.⁶⁶² However, the resolution could not be turned back and the opposing missionaries and pastors were withdrawn from the Assembly. The Union Theological Seminary in Pyeongyang was closed in July, 1939.

Hardliners emerged among opponents. They asserted that the Korean Church and some pastors had broken the First Commandment of the Ten Commandments, so that ministers should be ordained again and the Church should be rebuilt. These hard-liners overwhelmingly voted against the Shinto-worship in the Kyeongnam Presbytery in May 1938⁶⁶³ and began a strong opposition campaign against Shinto-worship. The Military Police made arrests, imprisoned them and tortured them and there were many martyrs. Representative of these martyrs were Gi-Cheol Joo, Gwan-Jun Park, Bong-Seok Choi, Ui-Heum Park, Yeong-Han Lee, Jig-Yu Jeon, Gab-Jong Son and Dae-Hyeon Choi in the South Kyeongsang province.⁶⁶⁴ Unfortunately however, acceptance of Shinto-worship passed by the Kyeongnam Presbytery on December 7, 1939.⁶⁶⁵ Ironically the most martyrs and the most opponents came from the South Kyeongsang province which was under APM jurisdiction. Also the so-called "Jaegeonpa" (reconstruction group) believers, who were hardliners, organized a new church, saying that they could not be with Shinto-worship proponents. Thus the separation of Korean churches started from the South Kyeongsang province. However, the Japanese imperialist government dismantled each denomination in 1940 and reorganized them as the Choseon Protestant Church under the Japanese Protestant

⁶⁶² *The Messenger* (Feb. 3, 1939), 507.

⁶⁶³ *The Messenger* (Mar. 10, 1939), 580.

⁶⁶⁴ Hoon Choi, "Sinsachambaewa Hankoon Jaegeongyohoeui Yeoksajeog Yeongu[A Study of the Shinto-worship and the Korean Church Reconstruction Movement History]," *Sinhakjinam* (December 1972), 73-75.

⁶⁶⁵ *The Messenger* (Feb. 24, 1939), 555.

Church in 1945.⁶⁶⁶ Up to that time the refusal to accept Shinto-worship had caused the imprisonment of two thousand believers,⁶⁶⁷ closed two hundred churches and martyred fifty believers.

9.4.2. Conflict with APM and Mackenzie

Shinto-worship enforcement by the Japanese imperialists had two purposes. One was to mobilize the Korean people in the Pacific War by creating loyalty to the Emperor. It was also to remove the missionaries from Korea so that they would not interfere. This Shinto-worship enforcement was opposed by opponents within the APM. Despite Shinto-worship being contradictory to Christian worship, acceptance of it was agreed to by many so that missions could continue.

The PCUSA was largely opposed to Shinto-worship, but there was internal division on the issue. Of the one hundred members who attended the annual meeting in 1937 a two-thirds majority passed a resolution for school closures.⁶⁶⁸ The SPUSA was the most hard-line opposition. Also the Canadian mission had rejected it, even closing a school's doors in 1930, but they changed to acceptance on 21 October 1938 not, they said, on religious grounds, but as a national courtesy, and they continued the schools.

⁶⁶⁶ Allen D. Clark, *op.cit.*, 231.

⁶⁶⁷ Hoon Choi, *Hankook Jaegeon Gyuhoesa* [The History of the Korean Reconstruction Church], (Seoul: Seonggwangmoonhwasa, 1978), 58.

⁶⁶⁸ Yeong Jae Kim, *Hankook Gyohosa* [The Korean Church History] (Seoul: Iraeseowon, 2004), 215.

On the other hand in the APM, when the order to observe Shinto-worship was made after the completion of the Shrine in Seoul in 1925, Dr. McLaren met with the Major of Seoul as a representative of missionaries.

He was obviously of a dissenting opinion and the Major was reluctant to accept it, but that was before the fight began in earnest and it was more of a power game.⁶⁶⁹ He believed that their patriotism used the religion and the Emperor was set up as a puppet head.⁶⁷⁰ Also he predicted,

"... If we do not fight with spiritual weapons as these Christians who have testified have, and if this problem is not addressed now, a day will come when it will swallow up millions of people."⁶⁷¹

APM was very strongly opposed to Shinto-worship. Another 23 missionaries had a special meeting under the leadership of Secretary C. L. McLaren and adopted a mission statement at Masan on 7 February, 1936 which said, "... Such worship is disobedience to God's commands. We cannot teach our students well if we can not observe Christian worship....".⁶⁷² It can be seen that the attitude of APM was strongly opposed to it and that was a central issue for Dr. C. L. McLaren. The mission statement was passed to the home country where it gave encouragement to the pastors of the Kyeongnam Presbytery.

But Mackenzie's thoughts differed from theirs. He wrote in a letter that "...the school stood in front of the shrine in a respectful manner and students greeted and silently prayed for this

⁶⁶⁹ C. L. McLaren, "The Pagan State and The Christian church in Japan", *The Reformed Theological Review* (May 1943), 18.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 23-24.

⁶⁷² *Extracts*, vol. 23 (1936), 78.

problem in the country to be solved."⁶⁷³ This seems to indicate a lack of sufficient understanding of the differences in the essence of Christian and Shinto-worship. Shinto-worship required one to bow deeply with honor to the sculpture symbolizing Shinto. However, Mackenzie saw it simply as "greeted with silent prayer". He seemed not to see the significance of a deep bow of worship as opposed to a slight bow of greeting. Somehow Mackenzie's thoughts were towards a compromise deal to protect the school and calm PWMU's worries about the schools being closed down by refusing to observe shrine worship.

The viewpoint of PWMU may be summarized as follows: (1) Do not provoke the Japanese authorities. (2) Consider the conscience of the Korean Church and the non-Christian's views. (3) If the principal of the school is forced to resign we will discontinue financial support. (4) We value the school so highly that so long as Christ is not denied, all efforts must be made to preserve it.⁶⁷⁴ PWMU had been committed to the school by sending missionaries over the past 35 years and if the school closed down or there was interruption to the ministry, it would be seen as quite a big loss. Therefore they were in favor of the option of dealing more flexibly with Shinto-worship as they desired the mission to continue. With an understanding of the viewpoint of PWMU, Mackenzie presented a compromise as "greeted with silent prayer".

The Japanese imperialist local government was also in favor of this compromise and the church of USA understood that the APM had already approved it. APM was somewhat embarrassed and decided in an informal meeting in 1938 to ban the "greeted with silent prayer" compromise.⁶⁷⁵ However, educational missionaries actively advocated Mackenzie's

⁶⁷³ *Minutes of the FMC* (Dec. 8, 1936), also, Helen Mackenzie, *Biography*, 199.

⁶⁷⁴ *Minutes of PWMU* (May 4, 1936).

⁶⁷⁵ Byeong Joon Jeong, *Australian Presbyterian Missionaries*. 311.

position. According to them, if the school was closed, it would result in the students being at further risk with Shinto worship.

So some missionaries suggested accepting it at the special meeting of APM on 4 January, 1939, but the dissenting opinion was passed by an overwhelming margin.⁶⁷⁶ Rev. F. T. Borland (1901-1972) who was a Chairman of APM, said that hundreds of believers had received brutal persecution in the jurisdictional region of APM in past six months and this situation continued throughout in the country. Although the Kyeongnam Presbytery and the Korean Presbyterian Church were bowing to shrine-worship the APM unanimously maintained the conviction that it could not be allowed.⁶⁷⁷

As a result, APM was actively opposed to the issue of shrine worship whilst central teacher missionaries approved. However, contrary to Mackenzie's intention, the Iilsin Girls' School was closed down and was involved in a deep conflict with the Kyeongnam Presbytery regarding the sale of the school. It was sold on 31 February, 1940 and also the Changsin Boys' School and the Euisin Girls' School in Marsan, and the Siwon Girls' School in Jinju were successively closed down.

9.4.3. Mackenzie's Aggressive Advocacy and Disquieting Aspects

Mackenzie's stance on Shinto-worship was pro-Japanese. The Japanese imperialists forced it on to the Christian schools as they prepared for the Pacific War. The Korean church, with the exception of some apostates, was the most powerful opposition to it. Especially in Busan in the South Kyeongsang Province there was the most powerful opposition movement in the

⁶⁷⁶ *The Chronicle* (March 1939), 15-16.

⁶⁷⁷ *The Messenger* (Feb. 24, 1939).

country. In the APM multiple statements of opposition, led by Dr. McLaren, were made, but Mackenzie maintained his stance of approval.

The issue of Shinto-worship was discussed widely in the home country in a Christian Magazine, the *Messenger*,⁶⁷⁸ from 24 February, 1939 for five weeks. In that magazine Mackenzie contributed an article on 3 March outlining his stance. About a week earlier Rev. F. T. Borland, who was a chairman of APM, had written an article opposing agreement to shrine worship. Mackenzie replied,

"The shrine is dedicated to the mythical sun-goddess, who is supposed to be the founder of Japan...Japanese officialdom from the highest to the lowest has declared that attendance at the shrine is a loyalty ceremony only, and that it is not religion.... when agreeing to conform to official demands, they made it quite clear that they were making no compromise with heathenism...We understand that the shrine ceremony is a patriotic national ceremony....missionaries are not sent out to alien lands by Churches the world over with the understanding that they are not to take part in the politics of those countries. Moreover, our own national authorities forbid us to do so....without training the scholars in loyalty to their own nation and emperor, and without allowing them to take part in the only public ceremony provided for the purpose, we are quite convinced that this would mean the loss of our schools... the loss of co-operation and good will, the certain refusal of the authorities to tolerate our presence in the land if we continue to interfere between them and their nationals".⁶⁷⁹

From Mackenzie's stance it may be determined that he did not clearly understand the intention of the Japanese imperialists. Also to be considered was the aversion of the Korean

⁶⁷⁸ *The Messenger* (Feb. 24, 1939), 478.

⁶⁷⁹ *The Messenger* (March 3, 1939), 564.

people who had been oppressed, exploited and coerced by the invader. That was enough to cause repulsion from the oppressed people.

In answer to Mackenzie's contribution A. T. Cottrell wrote a rebuttal the next week. He wrote

"Mr. Mackenzie, this is a misrepresentation of the facts, and almost approaches wishful thinking...I agree heartily with Mr. Borland that it is better that the churches should be disbanded than have them carried on at the cost of compromise with evil....The German State is also prepared to support the Church; but the condition of such support is that the Church submit her conscience to the dictates of the non-Christian State...what higher loyalty? And why should the possible loss of schools cloud our vision of right and wrong? Much as we would all regret closure we should regret more any clouding of our Christian witness."⁶⁸⁰

In this statement Borland refuted and corrected the mistaken views of Mackenzie. This was the general sentiment of the Korean people. Opposition to the Japanese policies of economic exploitation and political oppression of the empire had caused a nationwide peaceful protest movement. Korean people actively opposed the invasion and they also opposed the Shinto-worship of the Japanese Empire.

However, Mackenzie replied the following week. He appears to have totally misunderstood the nature of Shinto worship and reveals a weakness as, according to him,

"The practice is on a par with the rule in our Victorian State schools that every Monday morning the scholars are paraded, the British flag hoisted and saluted, and the loyalty oath repeated by all. True, there is Shinto worship by Shintoists at the shrine at stated

⁶⁸⁰ *The Messenger* (March 10, 1939), 580.

times and reasons.... our mission schools are allowed to go to the local shrine when there is no Shinto worship there at the shrine, they pray to God for emperor and the empire...Those in favor of this who attended the Assembly had no opportunity to voice opinion or vote on the shrine question as the police presence meant dissenters would probably have been arrested as guilty of lese majeste... It is not unusual for our own Church courts, when passing a motion of loyalty, for such vote to be passed by standing, or by acclamation, without taking for granted that all are loyal....Further, I would remind the Church that the missionaries in Korea form a council only, and not a court of the Church...is valid until approved by the FMC or PWMU...usually reserved by those committees for our Church as a whole in Assembly. Then...the majority in favor of refusing to obey the authorities in this matter is largely composed of wives of missionaries and first term missionaries still struggling and not in close touch with Korean affairs; whereas the seven in the minority are all senior in service in the field, three of them being, unfortunately, absent through illness when the vote was taken...".⁶⁸¹

Mackenzie considered the allegiance to the nation and the devotion to Shinto-worship the same. This is a fairly big misunderstanding. He also expressed a dismissive attitude to the views of some colleagues, suggesting they could not make a right decision because they were young and lacking vision and wisdom because of inexperience. In the next publication Dr. Currel answered. According to him,

"When the people turn towards the temple of the sun goddess and bow reverently they are worshipping the spirit of that goddess, and breaking the first commandment. Our missionaries are not defying the Presbytery and Assembly, but with sorrowful hearts are trying to guide their spiritual children on the right lines...I regret exceedingly that Mr.

⁶⁸¹ *The Messenger* (March 17, 1939), 594.

Mackenzie should have brought into his article the name of our chairman of the Mission Council. This was exceedingly ill-advised, and may lead to serious consequences".⁶⁸²

Dr. Currel's conclusion was a call for the Church to be pure and not to compromise in the face of any threat or temptation in matters of faith.

There are some observations which may be made about Mackenzie's stance concerning these things. It may be noted that the statement he spoke of was identical to the one which had received a standing ovation of the Assembly of Victoria and in the vote process of the Korean Assembly. The standing ovation of the Victoria Assembly was purely voluntary. But the 27th Korean Assembly was when the Japanese police had pastors under house arrest, including Gi-Cheol Joo, who was obviously opposed to shrine observance and was held to prevent his attendance at the meeting. That was when the meeting was held in an intimidating atmosphere with as many as 400 armed police at the front and sides of the hall. There were more police than commissioners inside the hall, and as a result it was rushed through with missionaries unable to make any objection. Also of note is the problematic claim that the vote at APM in Korea was invalid before being approved by FMC and PWMU in the home country. Of course the vote of the APM had been reported to the home country and the establishment of a mission strategy was a fact, but the awareness of missionaries in the field is likely to be more accurate than that of committees in the home country. To invalidate the decision of the missionaries who know the seriousness of Shinto-worship is rather a distorted view. Furthermore, as Mackenzie had attended the meeting of APM in Korea this decision was an even greater problem. Another issue is that aggressive remarks can intimidate young, new members. It is recognized that knowledge gained from experience such as Mackenzie had is precious, but it is possible that his judgment was blurred, and it was

⁶⁸² *The Messenger* (March 24, 1939), 615.

not right that later in Australia he did not support the wishes of the majority of those young members in the APM meeting in Korea.

There are also concerns which may be raised about Mackenzie's defense of Shinto-worship. The basis of the Shinto-worship issue is the question of whether it was a religion. Japanese imperialists said it was not a religion, but only the ritual of the country. However, they made the Emperor to be as a god with the intention of preparing for the Pacific War through Choseon. Surely Mackenzie clearly knew the ugly intent of the Japanese imperialists. In addition, Mackenzie would certainly have known of the sacrifices of the Korean churches and people as thousands of people were made prisoners and more than 50 saints and pastors were martyred. Among them, were students. Yet Mackenzie seemed not to take this into account and did not value their sacrifice as he persisted in advocating the acceptance of Shinto-worship. Another concerning aspect of Mackenzie's stand is that he did not consider the fact that by Governor Saito's so-called Cultural policy many Korean ministers were led into apostasy and to being pro-Japanese. Saito acted in a friendly way to missionaries by giving large gifts in order to form a favorable international public opinion. However, in the background was the problem that Mackenzie knew that there was a horrible attempt through this policy to ultimately obliterate the Korean nation. Further, Mackenzie suspected that Governor Saito's generosity was partly an attempt to bribe him.

It is difficult to be dogmatic about why Mackenzie held the views which he did. Was he innocent of the Japanese agenda or did he believe that the best way was to cooperate rather than resist? Was his personal involvement paramount? How deeply and sincerely did he hold his views on this vexing issue? It is difficult to really understand why he was familiar with the Japanese imperialists who exploited the Korean people. Perhaps he maintained a friendly relationship with them to resolve his ministry difficulties because the marginalized

people needed continual help and he could not afford the required budget. These are questions we cannot answer with absolute certainty. Despite these issues it is true that he devoted himself to the poor and marginalized at that time, with much benevolent care.

This care of the Minjung was greatly appreciated. However, when the people later found out that he was in a friendly relationship with the invaders, his double-minded attitude would have been terrible to them. Surely there was anger among Minjung when they realized that some of the material help they were receiving was by the favor of the exploiters! Minjung were the down-trodden, but they had shown their ability to resist injustice and any compromise with the oppressors must have made them angry. Did the marginalized people really respect their benefactor Mackenzie? It is not possible to give a definite answer to this question., nor to whether any lack of respect could be said to limit the usefulness of his ministry in truly extending Christianity in Korea.

Mackenzie's ambiguous attitude is problematic in three aspects. One, he obviously underestimated Minjung ability, as they had traditionally been a powerless group who conformed to the demands of the powerful and yet they showed in this era that they were able to instigate reform in society. It would seem that Mackenzie had not recognised that potential. Secondly Mackenzie displayed syncretism to the Minjung. Instead of clearly displaying the one faith of Christianity, Mackenzie compromised, allowing the work of mission to be more important than the faith he preached. Finally, he supplied the material needs of Minjung, but these people wanted more than just receiving. They wanted to share their lives and dreams and work together for the future, building a new kingdom full of justice, so Mackenzie was not in harmony of spirit with them in that regard,

So despite Mackenzie's ministry in South Korea being really great, his views about Shinto-worship have given rise to the misunderstanding that he was a disgusting collaborator with the Japanese and this later caused Korean churches and common people to be against him.

9.5. Conclusion

This chapter has studied the relationship between Mackenzie and the Japanese imperialists from the perspective of Minjung theology. In summary, the Japanese imperialists occupied Korea in order to make a logistical base for advance to the continent. They exploited people to maximize their effect in the colony through policies such as the Bayonet policy (1910-1918), the Cultural policy (1919-1930) and the Japanization policy (1931-1945). To prepare for the Pacific War they worked to conciliate missionaries in order to secure war materials, soldiers, laborers and military sexual slavery in Choseon. J. N. Mackenzie maintained friendly relations with the Japanese imperialists. Also he enjoyed the honor of being awarded the Knight of Japan, with many prizes and blue ribbons and a medal from government and the Emperor as well. These were given in recognition of his work, which included ministry to lepers in Korea. However, it cannot be overlooked that the Japanese imperialists had an agenda to influence missionaries to a pro-Japanese attitude, as was the whole intention of the so-called cultural policy in Korea.

The Christian school was the biggest stumbling block to the Japanese colonial policy. Therefore they started to control the schools in order to more fully utilize the colony of Korea. They enacted the Private School Law which prohibited Bible study and worship, and they required re-registration of Christian schools to become national or public schools. This action reduced Christian schools to a meaningless existence making them unable to fulfil

their prime purpose. In this oppressive situation, Mackenzie, who was a representative of the founders, had instilled the democratic spirit that serves the nation and communities into students of the Girls' School. The school was registered as a designated school allowing Bible study and worship, but eventually this school was also closed down.

In preparation for the Pacific War and under the Japanization policy, the Japanese imperialists forced Shinto-worship on to Christian schools in an attempt to foster loyalty to the Emperor. The Korean church and the Christian schools were significantly opposed to this, but shamefully the General Assembly Presbyterian Church in Choseon accepted it. Many schools were closed down and missionaries were expelled to their home countries.

However, although most of the APM missionaries opposed Shinto-worship, ironically Mackenzie advocated it. He said, it was not a religious ceremony and just a courtesy to the country. This was as it was represented by the Japanese imperialists and it was hoped by those who accepted that view that it would prevent the closure of Christian schools. But he seems to have misunderstood the nature of Japanese imperialists. Also it gave no consideration to the fact that many Korean Christians had suffered persecution and martyrdom because of their opposition to Shinto-worship. These pro-Japanese tendencies brought him considerable antipathy from the Korean people.

Conclusion Part Two

Part 2 of this study has been a missiological exploration through Minjung perspective of J.N. Mackenzie's ministries in South Korea which may be summarized as follows.

When J.N. Mackenzie was serving in Korea, the Japanese imperialists took from Korea the labor and materials needed for industrialization and their frequent wars of invasion. Therefore, farmers were the main subjects of oppression and economic exploitation by the imperialists. Almost all tenants were indebted to Japanese landowners and merchants, and all crops were devoted to repaying debt, and farmers became trapped in a vicious cycle in which more debts were needed for supplies to continue the next year's farming and livelihoods.

Mackenzie's ministry in Korea was an itinerant one so that he could visit these people. The locality in which he worked was an area of farms and fishing villages surrounded by the sea and mountains and was one full of Confucian culture with its idea of predominance of men over women. These people were vigilant for exploitation from Japanese imperialists but could not escape it. Mackenzie met the countrymen, handed out medicines to the sick, and made these communities into churches of faith.

Mackenzie's ministry was also a ministry for children and women. The most ignored people in patriarchal Confucian culture were children and women. Men regarded it as virtuous to hand over or sell women or children to solve the economic hardship of the family, but it was without even the minimum of human rights being guaranteed. In this situation Mackenzie started a kindergarten for children, and taught in the Girl's School, instilling faith and democratic ideals and establishing them to work to reform homes, societies and the nation.

Mackenzie's ministry was also a brilliant ministry to the lepers. From 1911, he was a superintendent of the Lepers House and he greatly developed it. At that time lepers were abandoned by the state, society, and family as the disease was considered to be one of epidemic quality as well as being a genetic disease. In addition lepers were regarded as cursed by the gods and so the traditional religion did not care for them. However, Mackenzie ministered to them with a unique therapeutic theology of "oil, faith, labor". Those who could not be admitted to the asylum formed five nearby villages and Mackenzie treated them too. Mackenzie's sublime dedication profoundly influenced his wife and children. His children all became doctors and nurses. Two of them returned to their hometown of Busan and spent 26 years, including the time of the Korean War, in ministry for pregnant women and children. His devotion to the marginalized was continued through his children.

Mackenzie was a competent missionary and a seasoned politician. The nationalists and missionaries were resistant to the Japanese imperialists' oppression policy as the Japanese were preparing for World War II and enforced Shinto-worship from 1930. There was a lot of sacrifice in the Korean church because of their resistance to it. However, Mackenzie surprisingly advocated and favored it. This meant that in this matter he came down on the side of the Japanese imperialists who had caused so much suffering to most of the Korean churches and also to the Korean people. Mackenzie clearly made a noble commitment to the marginalized in Korea. Nonetheless, he actively defended the Shinto-worship of the Japanese imperialists, the invaders, and it inevitably lowered the value of his sacrifices in people's eyes.

Overall, Mackenzie's ministry can be analyzed in several ways. First, his mission priority was to non-Christians, and under his ministry many came quite naturally to accept the gospel.

Second, it was a ministry that broke the boundaries between church and society. He was a clear evangelist, but he did not only stay in the church. He was open minded and made a dedicated effort to establish the church. His ministry was a holistic one which broke the boundaries between personal salvation and social salvation.

Third, his ministry was a work which affected society "from the bottom up". In the midst of political turmoil and a strong Confucian cultural background with a strong ruling class, Mackenzie did not attempt to start at the "top" but reached out to the lowly and the least; to the marginalized children, women, lepers, and poor rural people. They were his mission field and through them could come reform in the homes, the society and the nation. The Koreans who were influenced by him not only received sympathy and relief, but they played an important role in transforming an unrighteous society. It can be said that they were truly history-makers.

Nevertheless, in making an honest assessment of his ministry, it must be acknowledged that his biggest weakness was his theological underestimation of Shintoism and his openness to compromise. He did not have a conscientious response to the Shinto-worship and colonial policies of the Japanese imperialists because of too much emphasis on the progress of his ministry. In the history of Christianity, the faith of the Christian Minjung who suffered from adversity, persecution, and hunger was clear, but the Christians in the period of peace and welfare were degraded by compromise and apostasy. In this regard, Mackenzie's Korean ministry raised the question of whether he succeeded as a Christian missionary despite his great dedication. He had a great ministry, but it would be honest to evaluate him in some respects as a failed evangelist. And one wonders what the power of Minjung would have produced after a while if he had not compromised with the Japanese imperialists.

Chapter 10. Conclusion and Recommendations

10.1. Research Conclusion

In this missiological exploration of James Noble Mackenzie's ministries in South Korea from a Minjung perspective both inductive methods and deductive methods have been used in parallel. This study, however, focused not on the development of theological thought, but on the actual and historical trace of Mackenzie's ministry from the perspective of *Minjung*. In other words, rather than an emphasis on the search for historical roots, the emphasis has been on devotion and fruit in the mission field.

The reason for this is that Mackenzie's work has never been studied sufficiently. Studies so far have been insufficient to ensure an understanding of the ministry and theology of the Australian missionary in Korea. It is like trying to understand the whole mountain whilst avoiding the danger of not seeing precious and beautiful plants by studying representative plants first in order to understand the mountain as a whole.

This study will conclude by giving a comprehensive answer to the five research questions raised in the introduction.

1: Who are the oppressed and suffering people in Minjung Theology and what was the root cause of their pain – the Imperialist policies of Japan, or the Economic policies of the Korean government?

Minjung Theology emerged as a new indigenous theology based on contextuality and locality, along with the Liberation Theology of South America and the Black Theology of Africa. Minjung theology was created in the 1970s as a theological response of Korean Christianity to the Korean political situation. Till then the Korean church had been dominated by fundamentalist theological thought. Since then the advent of Minjung theology has brought a new transformation with deep shock to Korean church.

Minjung theology developed at the time when the military government, which was led by a regime empowered by a coup, declared a constitutional amendment for their third term and suppressed the opposing forces for the long term. In addition to policies that prioritized economic development, workers were being ignored at the expense of human rights. In particular, Minjung theology arose as the result of the suicide of one worker - an event which brought a great awareness to the intellectuals and the church.

At that time, the people who were oppressed and suffering were Minjung. Minjung are the members of the society who are oppressed by unrighteous politics, exploited by the capitalists economically, are socially weak, uneducated, religiously neglected by the main group and are people marginalized from the state and society. But they were not content with enlightenment and charity. They were the mass of people who by that were empowered and who then transformed the history of injustice – as in the Exodus and just as the people of Galilee had. In other words, they were the many who were underprivileged in political, economic, social, educational, and religious spheres, but they were self-sacrificing so that justice could be realized. Therefore, they were the subjects of history who reformed the unrighteous society. Furthermore, they overcame the limitations of the church which had not gone beyond the limits of individual salvation in Korea, and they broke down the walls of church and society and combined theology and practice.

2: Who were the people suffering in the Mackenzie era and the era of Japanese imperialist colonisation and what was the nature of their suffering?

James Noble Mackenzie's ministry in the late nineteenth century was a time of survival of the fittest. The European powers brought an end to the feudalism system, which is a symbol of the Middle Ages, and modernized society by establishing modern democracies or republics. The modernization of the Western powers inevitably led to the struggle for colonialism and imperialism by which they took over the countries of the small powers by force in order to secure cheap raw materials and labor. The Orient was seen as just asleep and backward, so it became attractive to the great powers. However, in the Orient, Japan opened its doors one step faster than other countries and succeeded in modernization through the Meiji Restoration and reigned as the ruler of Asia.

In order to advance into the continent, the Japanese Empire won the Sino - Japanese War and the Russo - Japanese War. In order to win the vested rights of the Korean Peninsula as a bridgehead, they colonized Korea. At that time, blinded to the flow of world history, Korea was internally divided into the conservatives group and the modernization group and was in political turmoil, with corrupt officials who welcomed the Japanese imperialist invader to increase their own wealth.

The Japanese imperialists exploited Korea through a war of aggression to obtain the raw products needed for food and industrialization. They invaded to have access to materials for munitions in order to prepare for the Pacific War. As a result Korean farmers and fishermen were the main targets of oppression and economic exploitation by the imperialists. Busan and the South Kyeongsang province, where Mackenzie ministered, were mainly surrounded

by sea and mountains, and almost all tenants were indebted to Japanese landowners and merchants. All crops were devoted to repaying debt, and there was a vicious cycle in which more debts were needed for the next year's farming and livelihoods. They became so impoverished that in a year of disaster and poor harvest, they lived by eating wild roots and herbs of the fields.

In addition, the region retained the idea of feudalism and of predominance of men over women so women and children were perceived as little more than a group of working hands. They also considered selling them as a virtue to solve the economic hardship of the family. Children in particular were either transferred or sold with disregard for even a minimum of human rights. In their quest for munitions the Japanese imperialists even exploited the sick. Those suffering leprosy were the most miserable. It is estimated that there were about 7,000 lepers in the South Kyeongsang province. The disease was regarded as infectious, as hereditary, as a curse of god and so lepers were abandoned by the nation, society, religion, and family. They lived in hills and caves and lived with minimal supplies obtained by begging or eating grass roots. In short, farmers and fishermen were the subjects of the political and economic exploitation of Japanese imperialism, and the children and women, especially the lepers, were abandoned.

3: What was Mackenzie's work with the marginalized people?

Mackenzie, who already had abundant experiences in Aboriginal missions, visited missions in South Korea and educated people and treated their sicknesses. Early missionaries in Korean mission had characteristically focused on the ruling class, the metropolitan areas and the elite and their focus was male centered and on individual salvation. However,

Mackenzie's Korean ministry was a mission for the marginalized peoples of the rural areas, the underprivileged of society, including children, women, and the sick. In his mission he followed a route whereby he regularly visited the rural villages which were surrounded by mountains and dominated by Confucianism and Buddhism and he was in real contact with the Korean people there. Having considerable experience in patient care, he treated patients who had relied on barbaric traditional therapy, giving them modern medicine. He distributed medicines and turned them into communities of faith. He regularly trained them and established them as members of the Church. His itinerate ministry was the first to visit the savage Ulleungdo where he organized community education. By 1916 Mackenzie had established 52 churches. His itinerant mission continued until 1928 when he stopped to focus solely on the Lepers House and the Lepers church.

At that time, education was only for the sons of wealthy families, and women were expected to stay within the home and learn only family traditions. However, because Mackenzie experienced the enabling power of education in his hometown and his previous ministry, he devoted himself to the education of children and women in Korea. He opened a kindergarten for the first time in Busan and taught the Christian faith and also democracy through the Girls' School so that they could awaken their homes and society.

Mackenzie's mission was notable for his ministry to sufferers of leprosy. At that time, lepers were not cared for by the country, society, family or even religion that had ruled for a millennium. However, he was a medical expert and his work greatly expanded following his becoming the Superintendent of the Lepers House in 1911. He received lepers and made regular meals for them and created healthy communities connected to the House of Lepers. Through the therapeutic theology of "oil, labor, and faith," they were given the power to overcome the disease through faith, education and physical activity. They were also allowed

to serve the community through work and they learned the importance of rest. He continued to study and work with lepers, reducing the mortality rate from 25% to 2%. In addition, lepers who did not enter the asylum formed communities in five places in the nearby area and Mackenzie treated them by the same means as those in the Lepers House.

Mackenzie's sacrificial dedication to the underprivileged inspired his children. All four of his children grew to be medical practitioners and devoted themselves to the mission field. In particular, his two eldest daughters served 26 years in the ministry for mothers and orphans who were especially groaning during the Korean War. They followed their father and returned to their hometown of Busan 14 years after Mackenzie left Korea. The mission of the Father's compassion for the marginalized continued through his children.

4: What were the impacts and results of Mackenzie's ministry in Korea?

The South Kyeongsang province area where Mackenzie ministered saw the slowest development of Christianity in Korea. The reasons were geographical and its cultural and religious background. The isolated villages surrounded by the sea and the mountains were exclusive to external influences. Their most conservative and patriarchal environment in Korea was a major obstacle to the mission to women and children. Confucianism and Buddhism, which ruled the area for a thousand years, made it difficult to expand Christian mission. But Mackenzie's mission was wise. He served such people as poor farmers, children, women, and lepers, and he was able to reduce the resistance to Christianity and contribute to the development of Christianity.

The churches he founded through itinerant ministry contributed to local evangelism by establishing local churches in the nearby areas. The women, educated by his beliefs and democratic ideas, boldly launched a demonstration in the Kyeongsang province for independence from Japanese imperialism and it spread all over the region. Among them were also people who came to be some of the most respected in South Korea as female political leaders.

In the House of Lepers which Mackenzie developed, the lepers said, "If we had not had leprosy, we would not have known the Lord" and they were grateful for their leprosy. Furthermore, they showed amazing changes. They did not stop at receiving mercy and compassion in their abandoned state, society, and family, but rather, they sent evangelists to sacrifice themselves in service to change the family and society. They showed the face of the Minjung of Minjung theology.

The key to these first four research questions is to compare Minjung of Minjung theology with Minjung of the Mackenzie era. That is "were they the same Minjung in nature and attributes?" A conclusion can be made regarding that before finally addressing question 5.

Both similarities and differences may be observed. First, in common, the two groups are the same in that they were socially marginalized people in the turbulent time of political, economic and social upheaval. Despite being the absolute majority of the population, they were marginalized by political systems, societies, religions, cultures, and education. On the other hand, they are difference as the Minjung of Minjung theology was a politically important group. They have had a considerable impact on the government's political and economic policies and have made them modify and change, whereas Minjung in the Mackenzie era were the people who had to receive care and help. They were oppressed and

exploited by imperialists and desperate in political and economic need. Nonetheless, the two groups were reformist groups that transformed injustice into justice in their time. The Minjung of Minjung theology had a significant impact on the growth of human rights that were ignored by the military government in the name of economic construction. Minjung of Mackenzie's era played a major role in the expansion of Christianity in the family and in the society that had been dominated for over a thousand years by a Buddhist culture and by a male-dominated Confucian culture. They also reminded the nation of the importance of women and children and their education. These two groups were important vehicles of modernization in the modern history of Korea. In other words, it can be concluded that the two groups were basically the same Minjung in that they sacrificed themselves in a turbulent era to produce a just society.

Finally, question 5: What was the relationship between Mackenzie and the Japanese imperialists and which caused the most suffering to the people? The Japanese colonial policy of imperialism was changing in expression, but constant in intention. When they implemented the bayonet policy, they received strong resistance from Korean nationalists and missionaries. Therefore, the Japanese imperialists nurtured the pro-Japanese forces under the cultural policy stipulations and tried to invoke dispute between pro-Japanese and nationalists within Korea. They also showed favour to the missionaries in various ways.

Their policies had two purposes. One was to build favourable world opinion through missionaries and the second was to create friendship in the colonial policy of Japanese imperialism which was the national extermination policy. Japanese imperialism had been preparing for the Pacific War since 1930 and forced Shinto-worship on to Korean Christian

schools under the so-called Japanization policy. Korean churches and missionaries strongly resisted that as a challenge of God's sovereignty. There were about 2,000 believers imprisoned, about two hundred churches closed, and about 50 martyrs.

However, Mackenzie strongly defended Shinto-worship despite the vast majority of people in the Australian mission being opposed. "Shinto-worship is not a religion, it's like the Rule, which is held every Monday in a Victorian public school,"⁶⁸³ he said. This was like condoning the position of the Japanese imperialist and it led to a deep confrontation with other missionaries. It would be good to believe that Mackenzie would have rejected Shinto-worship whatever the cost, but he defended Shinto-worship as enforced by the Japanese imperialists. These were the ones who had brought the greatest suffering for the Korean people through repression and exploitation in their attempts to prepare for the Pacific War. He turned his back on the Korean church which was suffering. In addition he vigorously defended Shinto-worship despite the opposition of the other missionaries. That is one thing which cannot possibly be understood. He seems to have had been blind to the fact that he was taking a pro-Japanese stance in the modern history of Korea and was an apostate in Korean church history.

In attempting to answer the five research questions regarding Mackenzie's long and enthusiastic ministry in Korea, more questions have been raised! Why did he not pay attention to the criticism of the Korean Church and other missionaries of the Japanese forced Shintoism and colonial policy? Why did he ignore Minjung's resistance and underestimate the prophetic role of the church? Why did he focus so much on the necessity for supplementing the material help for Minjung and forget their abilities? His successful

⁶⁸³*The Messenger of the Presbyterian Churches of Victoria and Tasmania* (March 3, 1939), 564.

ministry gave many valuable answers but there are questions and doubts which cannot be brought to a full resolution. Nevertheless, it cannot be said otherwise than that his ministry for the marginalized was a sublime dedication.

10.2. Contribution of Research

The possibilities for this research to contribute to the development of academic research are as follows. First, as this study of Mackenzie's ministry shows, his was a holistic mission that could break down the walls of church, society, individual salvation, and social salvation.

This study will be of great help in studying the practical ways of mission in countries that reject Christianity and also in the Third World. It will also provide a clue to practical theological developments in how the Church serves the community and how to preach to those alienated from society and religion.

Secondly, this study can contribute to the study of early missionaries by using the historical methodology used to study Mackenzie's ministry. It will be an important reference book for studying early Korean church history, studying ministries of Australian missionaries and other missions and studying how the gospel has been adapted to Korean culture.

Thirdly, this study has already shown that although Busan and the South Kyeongsang province were the most conservative and exclusive area in South Korea and were slower in growth than other regions, Mackenzie's method of mission was effective. Therefore, it will provide an important theological and historical basis for studying Korean church history in early Busan, Kyeongsang area.

Fourthly, this study has revealed the relationship between Mackenzie and Japanese imperialists, which will contribute to the understanding of Japanese Imperialism's Christian policies and especially the missionary conciliation policy. The Presbyterian missions and Australian missions were strongly opposed to the enforcement of Shinto-worship by the Japanese imperialism, but Mackenzie actively supported and advocated it. This was a divisive element in his noble ministry in the history of Korean churches. However, important data is provided here for further study of relationships of Church and State and of politics and religion.

10.3. Recommendations for Further Research

The following areas should be studied academically in relation to this research. First, this study has the task to study the PCV Mission's mission thought and mission policy at that time. In Mackenzie's time ministry in South Korea at least generally did not divide the church and society, politics and religion dichotomy. This seems to have been overcome by Mackenzie while the other missionaries' theological thought at that time was not much different from fundamentalism. Perhaps his growth process through which he had to work for a living, and his theology which he learned from the urgency of evangelism, and the close association with death by endemic disease in Nogugu and Korea, were of significant influence. Nevertheless, he would have remained within PCV's mission policy. Therefore, the mission theology and mission policy of PCV would be valuable study fields and it is expected that there will be progress in mission theology and history theology.

Secondly, this study had the challenge to study the limitations of the relationship between separation of church and state policy and invader imperialists. Early Korean missionaries

supported the oppression and violence of the Japanese imperialists, saying only that the gospel should be proclaimed under the so-called Separation of Church and State policy. In particular it can be seen that Mackenzie had a friendly relationship with Japanese imperialists and actively supported Shinto-worship. These missionaries established many churches throughout Korea, but today's Korean church is not showing the power of the gospel to fallen society. Rather, it is subject to criticism. Therefore, it is necessary to study what is the right relationship between church and government because that is an important way to achieve the purpose of mission. Thirdly, this study was historically limited to tracking Mackenzie's ministry in Korea. However, there is a future assignment need of comparing Australian mission and other missions contributing to a comprehensive development of missiological theology. This is important as there are still too many marginalized people all over the world set apart from countries, economies, societies and religions, and there is a lack of reference to missiological scholarly research as to how to reform for justice. The state and society must be healed by the gospel. To do so, the gospel must be effectively witnessed to the marginalized people. And through those who are sympathetic, there must be developed peoples who are the subject of history and who reform societies and the nations.

James Noble Mackenzie accepted the recommendation of his colleagues in a complicated political situation where the battlefield of the Pacific War was over. He ended 28 years of ministry for the marginalized people and left Korea at the age of 73 on February 18, 1938. The following year, PCV decided to retire Mackenzie's 17-year New Hebrides ministry and 28 years of Korean ministry⁶⁸⁴ and then the following year he was appointed Moderator at the PCV meeting in Melbourne⁶⁸⁵ to serve as General Secretary for a year. Since then he served

⁶⁸⁴ PCV Clerk of Rev. H.C. Matthew Mover's Common Letter.

⁶⁸⁵ In the Assembly Hall, 156 Collins Street, Melbourne, on Thursday, the 9th May, 1940.

in many areas. On July 1, 1956, at around 9:15 pm, at the age of 91, deep peace and rest enveloped his face and his soul left and he died.

"If there is a life that can give me more than 100 times, I will choose an overseas ministry."⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁶ J.N. Mackenzie, The Weekly Journal (October 27, 1949).

Appendix 1. Biography of James Noble Mackenzie

18 Jan. 1865	Born in Isle of Ewe, Ross-shire Scotland
later of 1870	Family moved to Plockton (1 Bank Street)
Oct. 1881	Left family and moved to Glasgow
Spring 1882	Decided to become a minister after hearing D L Moody
1884	Studied again as a Gaelic language student
1884	Became a member of a Gaelic Congregation
Jan. 1885	Influenced by the Cambridge Seven, he planned to serve in China
June 1885	Moved to house of his uncle, Rev. Roderick Macrae, in Carloway
4 Nov. 1885-1891	Studied at the Glasgow University
Summer 1886	Taught children a year in Claddach Carinish, North Uist (first sermon there)
Spring 1887	Taught a year in Carloway School
1888	Taught three years on Coll island
Autumn 1891	Entered the Trinity College of the Free Church
1891	Joined the Local Student Volunteer Movement
14 Jan. 1894	Heard John G. Paton's message in the Glasgow University
Feb. 1894	Interviewed by John G Paton for missionary work in the New Hebrides
3 July 1894	Married Margaret Blair Kelly (Maggie, born 17 Jan. 1870)
1 Nov. 1894	Arrived at Melbourne (left London in 21 Sep.)
3-23 Nov. 1894	Approved for ordination by the Assembly of PCV
17 Dec. 1894	Ordained as a missionary in the Synod of North Melbourne
11 April 1895	Arrived at the Port Villa, New Hebrides (left Sydney in 4 April)
24 April 1895	Stationed at Nogugu, N W Santo
1895	Attack of Malaria with highest temperature 41.1 degree Celsius
1898	Seriously ill with Malaria
Sep.1898-Jan. 1899	Five months in Australia recovering health
1900	Printed 320 copies the Mark's gospel in Nogugu language in Melbourne
30 Oct. 1904 -1906	Long furlough until 26 Jan. 1906 (18 months)
Nov. 1904	visited Scotland for one and half years; published Mark, Luck and Acts in London
26 Oct. 1905	Miss Mary Kelly arrived at Busan South Korea as a missionary for PWMU
4 Dec. 1908	Margaret Blair Kelly died from Blackwater Fever caused by Malaria (38 years old)

4 Feb. 1909	Left Nogugu, Santo, New Hebrides
May 1909	Requested FMC for a transfer to Korea
1 June 1909	Executive meeting approved his application
21 Feb. 1910	Arrived in Busan as a missionary with the Young People's Bands (left 5 Jan.)
6 Dec. 1911	Director of the 20 Churches in the Kyeongsang Presbytery
10 Feb. 1912	Married Mary Kelly (born 3 Mar. 1880) in Hong Kong
May 1912	Became a superintendent of Asylum of Lepers
1914	On Federal Council of Protestant Mission as a representative of APM
1 Jan 1915	Appointed a representative of the Ihsin Girls' School
Spring 1915	Moved to a new house
1916	Itinerate minister to 52 churches (1185 members)
July -Sep. 1917	Visited Nogugu for 3 months, translated New Testament. First holiday in Melbourne
1918	Started the Healthy Children's Home with a school
1922	Leprosy mortality rate fell to 2.5% (25% in 1912)
17 May 1923	Established the Ihsin kindergarten
1924	Started to receive support fund from Government
19 May 1924	Spoke at Lepers' Mission in London; visited Canada, England, Scotland, Australia
18 Oct. 1924	Second holiday in Scotland and Melbourne
1925	Published promotional booklet in Melbourne (48 pages)
1926	A new church building completed at the Lepers' House
1928	Serving only the Lepers' Church
1928	Received the Blue Ribbon Medal in Tokyo
1929	Dr. Sheiga cultivated the lepra bacilli
11 June 1930	Erected the stone monument at the Lepers' House
10 Nov. 1930	Met Japanese Princess Dowager and received support 1000 yen yearly for 5 years
1931	Received support for the funding of half of all operating costs
1931	Received medical license
25 July 1931	Third holiday, wanted to meet people in Nogugu. (Returned to Busan in Sep. 1932)
Nov. 1932	Visited the Medicine Conference in Osaka, Japan
June 1933	Became chairman of APM
Feb. 1934	Opened a new hospital building (attended by Moderator Rev. R. W. Macaulay)
18 Jan. 1935	Interrogated all day regarding spying charges

April 1935	Erected the memorial iron gates in the Lepers' House
	Send an evangelist as a Memorial Mackenzie
18 Feb. 1938	Left South Korea (after serving 28 years)
21-27 Mar. 1938	Attended the 4 th International Leprosy Congress in Cairo
30 June 1939	Retired from missionary work
6 May 1940-May 1941	Moderator of PCV
1941-1948	Served on the Prohibit Alcohol Committee, The Regional Commission of WCC, the Australia Council of Leprosy Mission and the mission of the Melbourne Presbytery
Oct. 1949	Published his autobiography in Scotland
1951	Public retirement
June 1953	Awarded the Coronation Medal from Queen
2 July 1956	Passed away (91 years old) and memorial service held in the John G. Paton Memorial Church
11 Jan. 1964	Mary Kelly died (84 years old)

Appendix 2. Synopsis of Historical Events until 1941

(* APM and Kyeongsang province)

- 2333B.C. Legendary first king of Chosen, Dangun, Capital Pyeongyang
- 1122 Keuija with 500 Chinese followers came to Korea and established his rule in Pyeongyang Korea
- 107 divided into three geographical divisions, Mahan, Jinhan, Byeonha Three Kingdom emerge viz.
- 58 B.C. Shilla 58 B.C.-918 A.D., Koguryeo 37 B.C.-668 A.D., Baekje 18 B.C.-563 A.D.
- 372 A.D. Buddhist priests first came from China
- 918 Kingdom of Koryeo set up in place of Silla. Lasted until 1392 A.D. Peninsula called Korea from 918-1392 A.D.
- 1012 Boundary of Korea fixed at Yalu river as result of war with China and loss of Liaou Tang Peninsula
- 1101 Copper coins with hole in centre first Minted.
- 1232 Mongol invasion and withdrew 1270 A.D.
- 1235 Franciscan william of Rubruck (1220-1293) introduced Korea to the Western world
- 1271 Daughter of Kublai Khan married King of Korea, Choong-Yeol in 1271 A.D.
- 1392 Taejo set up Lee danasty. Country renamed Chosen.
- 1396 Built the walls of Seoul by 200,000 workers in 6 months.
- 1400 Cotton introduced from China.
- 1446 Korean phonetic alphabet completed by King Sejong.
- 1592-98 *Japanese invasion under Hideyoshi extended from Busan to Pyeongyang as Imjinwaeran. First iron-clad war vessel invented by Soon sin Lee. Jap. fleet defeated near Tungyoung.
- 1594 Japanese Jesuit priest Gregory de Cespedies with Japanese Christian Konishi evangelised troops.
- 1644 Crown Prince Sohyen hostage in Manchu, met Priest Adam Schall.
- 1698 Hideyoshi died - troops recalled from Korea.
- 1777 A Confucian scholar, Chul Sin Kwon studied Christians tracts with a party of student friends. Some of these desired to become Christians and Sung Han Lee, son of the Ambassador to China, later was baptised there as "Peter".
- 1783 Sung Han Lee returned to Seoul and made many converts. First Christian book in Korean language was translated from the Chinese.
- 1784 Royal decree promulgated against Christianity; Thomas Kim, first martyr.

- 1785 Started first Church in Korea at Beom Woo Kim's House in Seoul
- 1790 Started the persecution issue of ancestral rites.
- 1791 Paul Yun and James Kwon beheaded. Christianity spreading rapidly.
- 1794 First foreign missionary, Chinese priest James Chu beheaded in 1801.
- 1801 Sinyu Persecution; martyred Seung Hoon Lee & Yak Jong Jeong, exiled Yak Young Jeong.
- 1832 Dutch Rev. Gutzlaff spent one month in Julla province and distribution booklet, medicine and potatoes.
- 1836 French priest Pierre Maubert, first resident foreign missionary in Seoul, Korea.
- 1837 Jaeques Chastan entered Korea disguised as a mourner.
- 1838 Bishop Imbert entered.
- 1839 Three French priests martyred. Andrew Kim with eleven other Christians went to Shanghai and returned, Kim beheaded 1864.
- 1845 Ordained as the first Korean priest in Shanghais; Dae Geon Kim, martyred in July 1846.
- 1856 Bishop Berneaux and two priests entered Seoul.
- 1861 Father, Landre, Joanno, Ridel and Calais arrested in Korea. Said to be 18,000 Christians in Korea.
- 1864 Fr. Aumaitre arrived in Seoul; Frs. Landre and Joanno died.
- 1865 Rev. R. J. Thomas went from Chefoo to Korea and stayed two and half months.
- 1866 Great persecution of Christians. Bishops Beeneaux and Davelluy and seven priests to death. Frs. Ridel, Ferom and Calais escaped to Chefoo.
- 1866 In July, trading vessel "General Sherman" sailed to Daedong river to Pyeongyang. Rev. R. J. Thomas martyred (Scotch Presbyterian, agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland)
- 1868 The Meiji-Restoration started in Japan.
- 1876 Japan-Korea Treaty as the Treaty of Ganghwa Island with the Japan Empire and Chosen.(Feb.)
- 1876 Sang Yun Seo converted to Christianity in Manchuria; his brother Kyeong Jo was first seven Presbyterians to be ordained to the ministry.
- 1876 Rev. John McIntyre baptised first Korean converts, natives of Euiju. Mr. Seo's brothers helped to
- 1882 Rev. John Ross translated to Korean the Book of Mark, Luke in 1882, finished translation of New Testament and published 1887.
- 1882 First treaty signed between U.S.A. and Chosen the treaty in Jemulpo, Incheon.
- 1883 Decided to the Korean national Flag as Tae-geuk-gi.

- 1883 Minister Foots from U.S.A. arrived in May.
- 1883 *Japanese Colporteur Nagasaki settled in Busan who was a agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland.
- 1883 Some Korean students were baptised in Tokyo. One of these Su Jeong Lee translated the Gospel of Mark into Korean; published 1885.
- 1883 Dr. A.W. Douthwaite, of C.I.M. at Chefoo visited Korean ports and circulated Scriptures.
- 1884 *Cable completed between Japan and Busan. (Feb.)
- 1884 *Agent J.A. Thomson with two Japanese Christians visited Busan. (Apr.)
- 1884 Rev. E. S. Maclay received permission from Korean Government to begin hospital and schools in Seoul (Jul.).
- 1884 Dr. H.N. Allen of PCUSA arrived in Seoul. (20 Sep.)
- 1884 Dr. J. Ross and Rev. Jas. Webster baptised 75 Koreans in N.E. Manchuria.
- 1884 Dr. Allen saved life of Prince Yung Ik Min, wounded in a revolutionary attack on Tong Kean palace.
- 1885 Government Hospital opened under charge of Dr. Allen. (Feb.)
- 1885 Arrived Rev. H.G. Underwood(PCUSA) & H.G. Appenzeler of Methodist (Apr.). Formally opened American Presbyterian Mission.
- 1885 Dr. J.E. Heron arrived in Seoul. (June) Died in 1890.
- 1885 Dr. W.B. Scranton opened American Methodist Episcopal Mission. (May)
- 1886 Pai Chai Methodist Boys School by Appenzeller (June) and the Ewha Girls School by Mrs. Scranton opened. (June)
- 1886 Miss Annie Ellers appointed physician to the Queen.
- 1887 First organization of Bible Committee, with Mr. Appenzeller as Secretary and Mr. Underwood as Chairman.
- 1887 Founded first Presbyterian Church in Seoul under H.G. Underwood. (27 Sep.)
- 1887 *Chinese Christians sent two Chinese Evangelists to Busan.
- 1887 *Archdeacon Wolfe visited and appeal to Australia for missionaries. Response in 1889 by Rev. J.H. Davies and Miss Mary Davies.
- 1888 *Canadian missionary J.S. Gale lived one and half years in Busan (Dec.)
- 1888 *Rev. J.H. Davies and Miss Mary arrived in Seoul. Davies died following April 5 in Busan & Miss Mary returned Australia. (Aug.)
- 1889 Korean Religious Tract Society organised in Seoul. Developed later into Christian Literature Society. (Oct.)
- 1889 *The PCM organised between Australian and American Mission by J. Heron as chairman and J.H. Davies as Secretary. (Oct.)

- 1889 Rev. J.L. Nevius visited Korea from China and suggested the mission policy as 3-Self principles. (June)
- 1890 Rev. H.G. Underwood published Korean-English Dictionary and "An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language".
- 1890 Bishop Corfe established a C.of E. Mission in Seoul. (Sep.)
- 1890 *PWMU formed in Melbourne.
- 1891 *founded Busanjin Church. (25 Jan.)
- 1891 *Missionary of PCUSA Mr. & Mrs. W.M. Baird arrived in Busan (29 January), to 1895.
- 1891 *Arrived Mr. and Mrs. J.H. MacKay, Miss B. Menzies, Fawcett and Perry, opened APM in Busan. (12 Oct.)
- 1891 *Started Medical activity H. Brown of PCUSA. (Dec.)
- 1892 *Mrs. MacKay died. (Jan.). Miss E. Moore arrived in Busan. (Aug.). Miss Fawcett resigned. (Nov.)
- 1892 *Choryang station opened.(Nov.)
- 1892 *Founded Choryang Church by W.M. Baird. (Nov.)
- 1893 Organized the Council of Mission Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government. (28 Jan.)
- 1893 *Busanjin station opened (Mar.); Mission Premises built by FMC
- 1893 *Mr. and Mrs. MacKay (Fawcett) retired owing to ill-health.
- 1893 *Resigned H. Brown, arrived C.H. Irvin of PCUSA.
- 1893 Opened Canada Presbyterian Mission under W.J. McKenzie. (Dec.)
- 1893 *APM opened the Myoora Orphanage.
- 1894 *Miss Perry resigned to do independent orphanage work in Seoul. (Apr.)
- 1894 *Rev. A. and Mrs. Adamson arrived and stationed in Choryang. (May)
- 1894-5 Sino-Japanese War.
- 1894 *One man and two women baptised by Rev. W.M. Baird. He had been Miss Menzie's teacher.
- 1895 *Mrs. Adamson died.
- 1895 *Ilsin Girls' School opened by orphanage. (Oct.)
- 1895 Queen Min murdered. (Oct.)
- 1895 *Miss A. Brown arrived in Busanjin. (3 Dec.)
- 1896 Following Sino-Jap. War, independence of Korea proclaimed; King given title of Emperor.
- 1896 *Miss Payne arrived & married with Mr. Adamson.
- 1897 Emperor King Gojong use country name to Dae-Han-Je-Kuk (Empire).

- 1898 Canadian Presbyterian Mission stationed in North and South Hamkyeong.
- 1898 Electric tram installed in Seoul.
- 1898 *Concession granted to Jan. syndicate for railway to connect Seoul and Busan.
- 1898 *PWMU and YMFU consulted with FMC re affiliating with the American Board of Missions.
- 1899 *PWMU and YMFU decided not to withdraw but to increase staff in Korea.
- 1899 The Russian Church Mission arrived in Seoul.
- 1900 Translation of N.T. completed by Underwood, Gale and Reynolds. Two editions of 27,000 copies issued.
- 1900 *Rev. G. and Mrs. Engel arrived to superintend PWMU. (19 Oct.)
- 1900 *founded Ihsin Boys' School in Busan.
- 1900 Dr. Esther Pak returned to Korea from States to be first Korean woman doctor.
- 1901 *Mr. Engel baptised 41 adults and 27 children. Communion roll held then 58 adults; 26 catechumens.
- 1901 *Mr. Engel instituted a class in Biblical studies to prepare candidates for training for the ministry.
- 1901 *Theological education began in Pyeongyang with two students. (15 May)
- 1901 PCM re-organized included Korean. (20 Sep.)
- 1902 *Dr. and Mrs. Hugh Currell arrived in Busan. (18 May)
- 1902 Mr. Appenzeller drowned in Gunsan.
- 1902 *House built in Busanjin for women missionaries.
- 1903 *Mission Bands organised in Melbourne. (later supported Rev. J.N. Mackenzie)
- 1903 YMCA organised in Seoul.
- 1903 Russia Orthodox church began mission in Korea. (Oct.)
- 1904 *First Elder ordained in South Kyeongsang; Chwi Myeong Sim in Busanjin Church. (27. May)
- 1904 Seventh Day Adventists opened Mission.
- 1904 Rush of Koreans to emigrate to Hawaii in face of impending political situation.
- 1904-5 Russo-Japanese War.
- 1905 *Mrs. J.S. Paton died. Decided to built her memory Hospital in Chinju.(May)
- 1905 General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea organised by 150 missionaries in six Missions.
- 1905 *Dr. and Mrs. Currell opened Chinju Station. (5 bOct.)
- 1905 *Miss M.J. Kelly and A.C. Niven arrived being first graduates from Deaconess & Missionary Training Institute in Melbourne. (25 Oct.)

- 1905 Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty as Eulsa Treaty (17 Nov.)
- 1906 *First issue of the Missionary Chronicle by PWMU
- 1906 *Changsin School founded in Masan. (3 Jan.)
- 1906 Ito appointed Governor General of Korea.
- 1906 Great Revival movement began in Korean Church.
- 1906 *Mrs. G. Engel died in Sydney on way home. (3 Apr.)
- 1906 *Primary school opened in Chinju by the Currell (27 Jul.); later named Kwang Rim Boys' School and Si Won Girls' School.
- 1907 *Rev. G. Engel married to Miss A. Brown. Arrived Miss N.R. Scholes at Chinju.
- 1907 *Koreans built their first church in Chinju with subsidy from FMC.
- 1907 Oriental Missionary Society began work in Korea. Founded a Bible Training Institute in Seoul.
- 1907 Methodist Theological Institute opened as Hyeobseong Bible School. (June)
- 1907 The Presbytery of Korean Presbyterian constituted in Pyeongyang (Moderator Rev. S.A. Moffett)
- 1907 *Representative of Kyeongsang Presbytery were organised. (17. Sep.)
- 1907 Korea Medical Association organised & Korean Nurses Association organised.
- 1908 First graduation of students from Severance Medical College (seven) and nurses (five).
- 1908 First seven graduates from Union Theo'l Seminary in Pyeongyang; sent Gi Pung Lee to Jeju Island.
- 1908 Salvation Army began work in Korea.
- 1908 *PWMU helped to support the Orphanage in Busan.
- 1909 *Rev. D. and Mrs. Lyall arrived Chinju (8 Apr.); Residence built in August.
- 1909 *New school building completed in Busan. Miss Niven appointed as principal.
- 1909 *Third Mission Station opened in Masan; Rev. A. Adamson resident from 1911. (Aug.)
- 1909 *Industrial Depot opened in Melbourne by PWMU to sell Korean needlework. (Sep.)
- 1909 Ito assassinated in Harbin by Jung Geun Ahn by Nationalist, Christian. (Oct.)
- 1909 *Agreed the Territory Allocation Policy in South Kyeongsang on between APM and PCUSA (September); in 1914 all the province given over to APM.
- 1909-10 Million Souls for Christ movement in Korean church
- 1909 *Victorian Church decision to increase staff in Korea.
- 1910 *Arrived J.N. Mackenzie in Busan (25 Feb.), Miss F.L. Clerke (25 Mar.), Miss M.R. Davies & Rev. F.J.L. Macrae (2 Nov.), Rev. R.D. Watson (21 Dec.).

- Visited FMC officers. Rev. F.L.H. Paton with 6 people.
- 1910 *Decision made to build Women's House in Chinju. (later taken over by FMC for single men's residence)
- 1910 *Myoora Institute built to replace old orphanage in Busan.
- 1910 *Choryang Church transferred from APM to PCUSA. (Mar.)
- 1910 *Decision to build a Ladies House at Chinju at PWMU expense. (Mar.)
- 1910 Translation of Old Testament completed; began 1866. (Apr.)
- 1910 Japanese YWCA organised in Seoul. (June)
- 1910 Japanese Imperialists colonized Chosen & New Governor General Terauchi (1910-16); established military dictatorship. (Aug.)
- 1910 *Paton Memorial Hospital building commenced in Chinju. (Oct.)
- 1910 *Lepers House opened in Busan. (21 Dec.)
- 1911 First graduates from Methodist Theo'l Seminary in Seoul. (Jan.)
- 1911 *Arrived, Miss M.L. Alexander (2 Feb.), Dr. C.I. and Mrs. McLaren in Chinju & Miss I. MaPhee (Oct.) , Miss A.M. Campbell & Mrs. R.D. Watson (Nov.).
- 1911 *Choryang Station closed(Jul.) and Mr. Adamson transferred to Masan.(Sep.)
- 1911 Completed translation Old Testament & published.
- 1911 *Organized the Kyeongsang Presbytery; first Moderator Rev. G. Engel (6 Dec.)
- 1912 *First Annual Report published by APM. (Feb.)
- 1912 *Mr. J.N. Mackenzie married to Miss M. Kelly (Feb.). Arrived Rev. J.T. and Mrs. Kelly, Rev. A.C. Wright, Miss G. Napier of nurse (Nov.).
- 1912 *Eui Sin Girls' School opened in Masan under Miss McPhee. (19 Apr.)
- 1912 *FMC took over PWMU house in Busan lower compound. Women moved in the Mackenzie house and he to new two-storey house.
- 1912 *Fire nearly destroyed almost completed Hospital Chinju. (Mar.)
- 1912 First General A. Presbyterian Ch. of Korea formed with 7 Presbyteries. (Sep.)
- 1912 *Formally began mission to Ulleungdo by Kyeongsang Presbytery; under J.N. Mackenzie.
- 1912 Conspiracy case; accused of plotting to assassinate Count Terauchi. 125 arrested of whom 98 were Christian. All but six finally acquitted. (Sep.)
- 1912 *Senior Girls' Missionary Union formed in Melbourne.
- 1913 *Arrived, Rev. A.W. Allen & F.W. Cunningham (Feb.), Dr. W. Taylor & Miss C.J. Laing. (Apr.), Rev. A.W. Allen, Mr. E.K. Lomas.
- 1913 *Opened new Stations in Tongyoung (May) and Kuchang (16 Jun.).
- 1913 *First Kindergarten opened in Korea in Chinju under Mrs. McLaren. (June)
- 1913 *Official opened the Hospital in Chinju.(4 Nov.)

- 1913 *First Korean pastor ordained and inducted into Masampo Ch., Mr. Adamson co-operated. (Sep.)
- 1913 * Rev. G. Engel appointed Moderator in 2nd G. Assembly Pre. in Chosen. (7. Sep.)
- 1913 *PCUSA territory in South Kyeongsang province fully transferred to APM. (Dec.)
- 1913 *Dr. W. Taylor married to Miss Alice Main. (Dec.)
- 1913 *Rev. A. Adamson retired, Mr. Adamson died Aug. 1915. Arrived Miss A.G.M. Skinner, Mrs. Macrae, Miss E.M. Ebery in Kuchang. (Sep.)
- 1914 *Elder Chwi Myeong Sim ordained first pastor in the Kyeongsang province (7 Jan.)
- 1914 *Rev. A. & Mrs. Adamson retired. (8 Feb.). Arrived Miss A.G. Skinner & Miss E.M. Ebery (Sep.)
- 1914 *Kelly's house finished in Kuchang. Second FMC house built for Macrae. House built for PWMU workers in Kuchang.
- 1914-8 First World War.
- 1915 *Married, Mr. Macrae with Miss Margaret Hall in Japan. (Jan.) & Mr. A.C. Wright with Miss A. Niven. (Sep.). Dr. & Mrs. Currell retired. (Sep.). Arrived Mrs. Taylor & Rev. E.K. Lomas (Jan.)
- 1915 Governor-General of Korea announced revised private school rules; Christian education greatly limits. (Mar.)
- 1915 Formally opened of Chosen Christian College in Seoul.
- 1916 Jap. Govt. issued Edict that religion & education were to be separated in 10 years time. (June)
- 1916 *Mr. Engel's appointed a professor in Union Theological Seminary in Pyeongyang.
- 1916 *Retired Rev. E.K. Lomas (Feb.). Arrived Misses D. Hocking, Miss S.M. Scott, Rev. F.J. & Mrs. Thomas. (Mar.)
- 1916 *Property valued £12,387 (FMC) and £3560 (PWMU). (July)
- 1916 * Kyeongsang Presbytery divided into two Presbyteries; first Moderator, Rev. G. Engel of Kyeongnam Presbytery. (20 Sep.)
- 1917 New General Governor Hasegawa. (Oct. 1916-Aug.1919)
- 1917 Completed 1000 mile railway connecting Busan with Manchuria, China and Russia.
- 1917 *Dr. MaLaren appointed Medical officer to Chinese Labour Corp in France. Returned Korea 1920.
- 1917 *Kyeongsang Presbytery divided into North and South by General A. of Korea.

- 1917 *arrived Mrs. F.W. Cunningham.
- 1918 *Mr. Cunningham married to Miss C. Trieschman in Japan. (Nov.)
- 1918 *Arrived Dr. E.J. Davies & Miss M. Withers (Jan.), Miss J.E. McCague (Sep.).
Miss Moore Retired after 26 years service.
- 1918 Organized the Union Council of Pres. & Methodist in Chosen. (36 Mar.)
- 1918 *Industrial work for girls began in Tongyoung. (Jan.)
- 1919 *Miss N. Scholess died (Apr.). Resigned Miss E. M. Ebery (Apr.) & Rev. J.T. Kelly (Aug.). Arrived M.G. Tait in Kuchang (Oct.). Visited Miss E.M. Campbell (Oct.). Miss Moore retired (1892-1918). Miss N.R. Scholes died at Melbourne (14 Apr.).
- 1919 Ex-Emperor of Korea died (Jan.); State funeral (4 Mar.).
- 1919 3.1 Independent Movement. (Mar.)
- 1919 Saito appointed new Gen. Governor (1919-1927, 1929-1931), assassinated in 1936.
- 1919 *Serious outbreak of cholera in Tongyoung. (Sep.)
- 1919 *Delegation from FMC & PWMU led by Rev. F.J.L. Paton and E.J. Campbell.
- 1919 *Pyeongyang Station opened. (2 Sep.)
- 1920 *Misses Davies, Clerke, Laing attended World S.S. Convention in Tokyo. (total 2000 from 32 countries)
- 1921 *Arrived Miss E.A. Kerr in Chinju (Oct.), Rev. G. & Mrs. Anderson, Miss E. V. Dixon (15 Sep.). Died Re. D.M. Lyall at Melbourne (26 Aug.). Retired Rev. F.J. & Mrs. Thomas (Oct.).
- 1922 *Arrived Rev. M. & Mrs. Trudinger in Masan (Jan.), Rev. G. & Mrs. Anderson, Jean and Miss Dixon (Sep.). Miss A.M. Campbell returned Australia ill (Apr.); resigned 1924; died 1930. Rev. F.J. & Mrs. Thomas resigned.
- 1922 *Sent missionary, Lee Gon Kim to Gobe Japan. (1. Mar.)
- 1922 Formed YWCA in Seoul. (Oct.)
- 1923 *Dr. & Mrs. McLaen transferred permanently to Severance Medical College in Seoul & Seoul Station opened. (Apr.)
- 1923 *Dr. W. Taylor appointed Superintendent Hospital in Chinju. Miss Dunn arrived. (Sep.)
- 1923 Gov. announced "Designation" as equivalent to "Recognition" and to be allowed to qualified private schools. (Apr.)
- 1923 *Definite decision for organisation of school at Masan (boys) and Busan (girls).
- 1923 *Official opened Si Won Girls' School in Chinju. (Sep.)
- 1923 *Industrial Depot opened in Melbourne by PWMU.
- 1924 *Visited Prof. Dr. D.S. Adam (Nov.). Retired Miss A.M. Campbell & Miss B.

- Menzies (worked, 1891-1924); died 1935. Arrived Miss A.L. Francis (Sep.); resigned 1930 to be married.
- 1924 Decision to build Rescue Home in Seoul by Salvation Army on promise of partial financial support from Australian Mission.
- 1925 *Ho Yel Kim sent to Australia for preparation to Principalship school (May); returned ill, died. Miss C. Ellis arrived (Sep.).
- 1925 Formed the Korean Evangelical Holiness Church. (Mar.)
- 1925 *J.B. Harper Memorial School opened in Tongnai. (20 June)
- 1925 Saito arranged educational tour in Japan. (Apr.)
- 1925 Women's Missionary Union of Presbyterian Church inaugurated.
- 1925 *YWCA branch founded in Busan.
- 1925 *Rev. H.C. Mathew appointed FMC Secretary, Melbourne.
- 1925 Hawsin School (D.M. Lyall Memorial School) formally opened by Prof. Dr. D.S. Adam. (24 Nov.)
- 1926 Last ex-Emperor of Korea died in Seoul. (Apr.)
- 1926 * Pastor Gi Cheol Joo appointed to the Choryang Church; martyred 1944.
- 1927 New appointed General Gov. Yamanashi (1927-1929).
- 1927 *Mrs. A.C. Wright died in Seoul after 21 years in Korea.(12 Dec.)
- 1927 *first published the minutes of Kyeongnam Presbytery. (Dec.)
- 1928 *Rev. R.D. & Mrs. Watson retired (Mr. Watson died 1942). Visited Rev. H.C. Mathew of FMC secretary (July), Miss M. Gillespie (Sep.). Arrived Miss D.F. Leggatt (12 Sep.).
- 1928 Korean PWMU inaugurated. (9 Sep.)
- 1928 *Miss Ellis began Kindergarten Training in Masan for province.
- 1929 *Chinju Boys' School closed; building given to Bible institute.
- 1929 Saito appointed again Gen. Governor (1929-1931).
- 1929 *Rev. F.W.& Mrs. Borland arrived. (16 Sep.)
- 1930 Created Korean Methodist Church with South & North Methodist of US; first superintendent Rev. J. S. Ryang. (Dec.)
- 1930 Miss A.L. Francis retired (Jun.). Miss A.M. Campbell died at Melbourne (9 Jun.)
- 1931 *D.M. Lyall School closed.
- 1931 *Arrived Miss E.T. Edgar. (Sep.)
- 1931 *Voted to reject the Shinto-worship in 29th Kyeongnam Presbytery. (6 Jan.)
- 1931 *Rev. F.W. Cunningham appointed to Board of Translator, Seoul.
- 1931 *X-ray installed in Chinju Hospital.

- 1931 *Tongyoung second Kindergarten closed by Govt. order. & D.M. Lyall Memorial School temporarily closed. (31 Mar.)
- 1931 *PWMU of Korea sent first woman to Shantung, China.
- 1931 100 years ceremony of Rome Catholic Church. (Sep.)
- 1931 Japanese imperialists invasion to North-eastern China as Manchurian Incident. (18 Sep.)
- 1931 New appointed Gen. Governor Ugaki. (1931-1936)
- 1932 *Rev. A.W. Allen died in Masan (1913-1932). Miss C.J. Laing retired (May); died 1967.
- 1932 Former Governor Saito, assassinated.
- 1933 *Arrived Rev. A.T. & Mrs. Cottrell (Sep.); resigned 1939. Visited Moderator of G.A. of PCV R.W. Macaulay. (Dec.)
- 1934 Gospel farm school opened in D.M. Lyall buildings. (Apr.)
- 1934 *Wives recognized as missionaries in their own right, with a vote on Council. (June)
- 1934 *Arrived Rev. E.W. & Mrs. New. (Sep.)
- 1934 Presbyterian Mission 50 years ceremony. (9 Sep.)
- 1935 Govt. order to schools for attendance at Shrine ceremonies.
- 1935 *Arrived Rev. H.W. & Mrs. Lane (Jan.), Rev. J.M. & Mrs. Stuckey (Mar.).
- 1935 *Women's Vocational Farm School opened at Dongnae. (Apr.)
- 1935 *Dr. Engel retired (35 yrs, 1900-1935, died 1939) & Mrs Engel (40 yrs, 1895-1935, died 1954.).
- 1936 *Miss F.L. Clerke resigned (Apr.); died 1956 in Australia.
- 1936 *New primary school completed in Busanjin. (May)
- 1936 *Council forbidden to discuss Shinto-worship issue. (7 Feb.)
- 1936 *Mrs. McLaren appointed to Board of Ewha College.
- 1936 *5 acres bought Dongnae. Money given by friends of the Farm School, Melbourne.
- 1937 Governor-General absolute ban to use Korean. (Mar.)
- 1937 *Arrived Miss C.I. Ritchie (Mar.), Miss I. McPhee died (Apr.).
- 1937 *Nurses Sohn & Lee invited Australia for post-graduate training; returned 1939, Sohn to Severance and Lee to Chinju.
- 1937 *Decision to erect a new school in Tongyoung.
- 1937 Second Sino-Japanese War. (7 July 1937-9 Sep. 1945)
- 1937 PCUSA & SPUSA closed educational institutions over Shinto-worship issue.
- 1937 *Choryang Church started strongly reject movement the Shinto-worship; led

- pastor Sang Dong Han.
- 1938 *Returned Mr.& Mrs Mackenzie (Feb.), arrived Miss Y. Aumann (Mar.)
- 1938 Approved the Shinto-Worship in the 27th G. Assembly Pres. on Chosen. (10 Sep.)
- 1938 Union theological Seminary (Pyeongyang) ended with 191 students. (20 Sep.)
- 1938 * Pastor Nam Seon Joo resigned and start movement against the Shinto -worship issue.
- 1938 *New school built in Kuchang. (Sep.)
- 1938 *Dr. Taylor died in Yokohama after 25 years in Korea (Sep.), Mrs. Taylor returned to Australia.
- 1938 National Christian Council dissolved.
- 1938 Korean YMCA & YWCA forced to discontinue.
- 1938 *Chinju Church closed over Shinto-worship issue; reopened with a conforming Pastor.(Aug.)
- 1939 *Kuchang Girls' School closed; taken over by local church.(Feb.). Chinju Girls' School closed (June), Girls' Schools at Busanjin and J.B. Harper school closed (July). Masan Boys' School taken over by Govt.
- 1939 *Resigned Mr. & Mrs. Borland resigned (May) and Rev. H.C. Matthew. Rev. G. Anderson appointed FMC secretary, Melbourne.
- 1939 *Retired Mr. J.N. Mackenzie (Mr. Mackenzie 1910-1939, Mrs. Mackenzie 1905-1939). (June)
- 1939 The second World War (July).
- 1939 *Jubilee Year of APM in Korea. No celebration. (July)
- 1939 *Official rejected the Shinto-worship by APM. (31 July)
- 1939 *Dr. McLaren acting-superintendent at Chinju Hospital during Dr. Davies' furlough.
- 1940 *Special meeting of Exec. C'tee with parents' Society of Dongnae School for sell school property. (Jan.)
- 1940 *Tong Young School closed. Bible Institute refused permission to meet in Chinju. (Mar.)
- 1940 Re-opened the Union Theological Seminary. (11 Apr.)
- 1940 *Order given to close Leper Hospital. Site required for military installations.(Apr.)
- 1940 *Arrived, Deaconess I. Watkins (Apr.), Rev. J.M. Stuckey left furlough (Sep.), Rev. A.C. Wright married with J.E. McCague (Oct.).
- 1940 *Rev. J.N. Mackenzie, moderator of PCV.(Apr.)
- 1940 *Dr. Davies refused as Superintendent of Chinju Hospital after furlough (Sep.),

- Dr. McLaren remained as adviser.
- 1940 Alignment of Japan with the Axis Power. Action taken to have all church leaders, opposed to Shinto-worship, put under restraint. (Sep.)
- 1940 UN & USA nationals advised by respective Consuls to leave Korea. 219 Americans left in Nov. by "Mariposa".
- 1940 *Miss Scott & Catherine Mackenzie route to Korea, returned back. (Dec.)
- 1941 *Returned to Australia, Mrs. McLaren(30 yrs in Korea), Miss Scott & Miss Hocking(25 yrs), Dr. Davies(23 yrs). (Feb.)
- 1941 *Arrest of 15 women and some men missionaries for investigation. (Apr.)
- 1941 *PWMU missionaries recalled by cable. Misses Alexander, Tait detained by police until August then ordered to leave. (Apr.)
- 1941 *Left; 20 Apr., Rev. & Mrs. Trudinger (19 yrs) and Miss Kerr (20 yrs), 27 Apr., Misss Dixon, Leggatt, Ritchie, Edgar, Aumann, Watkin by next ship.
 *Remaining left on Stations; Dr. McLaren (Chinju), Rev. & Mrs. Wright (Busan), Rev. & Mrs. Lane (Tongyoung)
 *Detained; Misses Alexander, M.I. Tait until August then ordered to leave.
- 1941 *Imprisoned; Dr. McLaren for 11 weeks then interned with Wright, Lane in Busan. Evacuated to Japan (June 1942) to Lorenzo Marques in Agu., arrived Melbourne Nov. 1942.
- 1941 Japan attacked Pearl Harbour; enters second World War. (Dec.)
- 1943 United Korean Church to Japanese Christian Church by Japanese Imperialists. (7 May)
- 1943 Cairo Declaration promising Independence to Korea issued by Roosevelt, Churchill & Chang Kai-Chek.
- 1945 Japan's unconditional surrender signed Potsdam Declaration; Independence Korea. (15 Aug.)
- 1950-53 Communist armies of N. Korea invaded S. Korea; the Korea War, 18 countries of UN actively participated.
- 1952 *Helen & Catherine Mackenzie arrived in Busan (2. Feb.), returned to Australia (1978).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. MANUSCRIPT AND UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

- **From Mitchell Library, Sydney**

The Diary of Joseph Henry Davies. 21 August 1889-31 March 1890.

The Diary of Rev. Gelson Engel. 19 Sep. 1900-19 Dec. 1903.

- **From Archives, Uniting Church, Synod of Victoria, Melbourne**

The Letters of the APM Missionaries to the FMC Secretaries. In relation to the shrine issue.

The Letters of Rev. F. J. L. Macrae to the FMC Secretary. In relation to the Shrine issue from February 1938 to March 1940.

2. MACKENZIE'S FAMILY MATERIALS

J. N. Mackenzie's diary, 24 April 1895-1897.

J. N. Mackenzie's Prayer Calendars, 1924, 1937, 1938, 1940, 1941.

J. N. Mackenzie's letters to children, 1932-1938.

Mrs. Mackenzie, Mary Kelly's diary, 1905-1907.

Mrs. Mackenzie, Mary Kelly's drafts letters and reports 1905-1938.

Mrs. Mackenzie's Prayer Calendars, 1937, 1938, 1940.

Mrs. Mackenzie's letters to children, 1932-1938, 1950-1964.

Original letters from friends.

Original certificates of marriages, passport and deaths, and Mackenzie's photos.

Original official letters from FMC, PCV, APM, The Kyeongsang Presbytery, The Lepers Mission, General Governor in Korea, British Palace...etc.

3. PERIODICALS

Korea Mission Field, 1913-1938.

Presbyterian Monthly, 1890-1899.

The Messenger (weekly), 1900-June 1923.

The Presbyterian Messenger, 1923-1930.

The Messenger, 1930-1941.

Australian Presbyterian Life (fortnightly), March 1956-1964.

The Report of Foreign Missions in 1889

The Record, The Sabbath School and Missionary Magazine of PCV. 1890-1940.

Chronicle of PWMU, 1901-1910.

Quarterly Jottings of the John G. Paton Fund, 1894-1917.

Our Missionary at Work, eds. Paton, F.H.L. 1911-1917.

Korea Mission Field of APM, 1913-1938

Without the Camp, Mission to Lepers, 1911-1938.

The messenger of the Presbyterian Churches of Victoria and Tasmania

Blue Book.(1898-1914)

The Weekly Journal.(1949)

Christian Review. (A Korean Christian Magazine issued in Sydney).

New Hebrides Magazine, 1901-1910.

The record of the Kyeongnam (South Kyeongsang) Presbytery.

4. REPORTS and MINUTES

Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Mission. New York: The Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1890.

Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York : Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., 1889-1923.

Annual Report of the PWMU. 1891-1949.

Minutes Foreign Mission Committee and Executive, 1891-1956.

Minutes General Assembly of PCV, 1890-1941.

Minutes of PWMU, 1890-1906.

Minutes of APM in Korea,1889-1909.

Extracts, 1909-1913.

Extracts from the Records of the APM in Korea. 1909-1940.

Mission to Lepers in India and East, Annual Reports, Without the Camp, 1909-1938.

The Korea Missions Year Book. The Federal Council of Missions in Korea, 1932.

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea. (1926)

Minutes of the General Assembly of the PCK. 1912-1940.

The Minutes of the Kyeongsang Presbytery. 1911-1938.

Minutes of the Presbytery of South Kyeongsang. 1916-1938.

5. BOOKS WRITTEN IN ENGLISH

Allen, H. N. *Korea: Fact and Fancy*. Seoul: Methodist Publishing House, 1904.

Anderson, G. "Itineration Its reason and Development." In *The Australian mission to Korea, 1889-1941*, edited by Kerr, Edith A. and Anderson, G. Sydney: Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, 1970.

The Report of the Delegation to Korea. Melbourne: PCV, 1940.

Anderson, G. et al., eds. *Mission Legacies: Biographical Studies of Leaders of the Modern Missionary Movement*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1994.

Bailyes, A. J. "Evangelical and Ecumenical Understanding of Mission." *IRM* 85 (1996).

Baird, R. H. *William M. Baird of Korea; A Profile*. Oakland: Private Publication 1968.

Baker, R. T. *Darkness of the Sun, The Story of Christianity in the Japanese Empire*. New York: Abingdon Cokesbury Press, 1972.

Bebbington, D. W. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980s*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989. Reprint, Routledge, 1995.

Bevans, S. B. and Roger P.S. *Prophetic dialogue: reflections on Christian mission today*. Maryknoll: Orbis, 2011.

Bosch, D. J. *Transforming Mission*. Mary Knoll: Orbis Books, 1991.

Boice, J. M. eds. *The Foundation Biblical Authority*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Pub. House, 1978.

Brackney, W. H. *Christian Voluntarism: Theology and Praxis*. Michigan: Eerdmans, 1997.

Breward, I. *Australia: The Most Godless Place under Heaven*. Melbourne: Beacon Hill Books, 1988.

"The Presbyterian Churches and Federation." *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society* 8 (July 2001).

"The Road to Presbyterian Union 1901." *Proceedings of the Uniting Church Historical Society* 8 (July 2001)

Brown, G. T. *Mission to Korea*. Richmond: Board of World Missions, PCUSA, 1962.

Brown, J. *Witnessing Grace*. Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Press, 2009.

Campbell, A. J. *Fifty Years of Presbyterianism in Victoria*. Melbourne: M. L. Hutchinson, 1889.

- Campbell, E. M. *After Fifty Years: A Record of the Work of the P.W.M.U. of Victoria.* Melbourne: Spectator Publishing Company, 1940.
- The Changing Years, 1940-1950.* a supplement to the Choryang Presbyterian Church 100 years History, 1992.
- Carnoy, M. *Education as Cultural Imperialism.* New York: Longman, 1974.
- Carr, E. H. *What is History.* UK: Penguin Books Ltd., 2006.
- Cho, H. M. "A comprehensive study on Minjung Theology" *Era and Prophecy I.* Seoul: Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, 1985.
- Chung, H. *The Case of Korea.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1921.
- Dixon, J. H. *Gairloch and Guide to Loch Maree.* Oxford: Gairloch Parish Branch, 1975.
- Clark, A. D. *A History of the Church in Korea.* Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1971.
- Clark, C. A. A. *Digest of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (Choseon).* Seoul: The Korean Religious Book & Tract Society, 1918.
- The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1930.
- Carnoy, M. *Education as Cultural Imperialism.* New York: Longman, 1974.
- Colonness, L. M. eds. *Conscientization for Liberation.* Washington: Division for Latin America, U. S. Catholic Conference, 1971.
- Doyle, M. W. *Empires.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Drummond, H. *The Unsearchable Riches of Christ and Other Sermons.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1891.
- Engel, F. *Australian Christians in Conflict and Unity,* Melbourne: Joint Board of Christian Education, 1970.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica 7,* Seoul: Encyclopaedia Britannica Co. 1993.
- Fisher, J. E. *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea.* Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970.
- Pioneers of Modern Korea.* Seoul: CLS, 1977.
- Gaddis, J. L. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past.* UK: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Gale, J. S. A History of the Korean People. Published from serial in The Korean Mission Field (July 1924-Sep. 1927). Seoul: CLS.

- "The Fate of the General Sherman." *The Korean Repository* (July, 1895).
- Korean Sketches*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1898.
- Korea in Transition*. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909.
- Goheen, M. W. *Introducing Christian Mission Today: Scripture, History, and Issues*. USA: Inter Varsity Press, 2014.
- A History of the Korean People*. Published from serial in The Korean Mission Field, July 1924-September 1927, Seoul: CLC.
- Gillan, H. R. *Victoria Vanuatu*. Melbourne: Spectrum press, 1988.
- Goodall, N. eds. *The Uppsala Report 1968*, Geneva: WCC, 1968.
- Gutierrez, G. and Shaull, R. *Liberation and Change*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1977.
- Hamilton, R. *A Jubilee History of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*. Melbourne: M. L. Hutchinson, 1889.
- Harrison, W. B. "The Union Movement in Korea." in *Korea Mission Field*. KMF (Sep. 1906).
- Hewat, E. G. K. *Vision and Achievement 1796-1956*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1960.
- Hobson, J. A. *Imperialism: A Study*. London: George Allen, 1954.
- Hoekendijk, J. C. "The Church in Missionary Thinking." *I.R.M.* XLI/163 (July, 1952).
"Notes on the Meaning of Mission." *Planning for Mission*, edited by Thomas Wiesse. Geneva: WCC, 1966.
- Hodge, A. A. *Manual of Forms*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1877.
- Holloway, A. "Uncovering the Ancient Roots of Leprosy." *Ancient Origins*. February 21, 2014. <http://www.ancient-origins.net/news-general/uncovering-ancient-roots-leprosy-001367>.
- Holton, D. C. *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism*. University of Chicago Press (1943), New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1963.
- Hutchinson, M. and Geoff. T. eds. *This Gospel Shall be Preached: Essays on the Australian Contribution to World Mission*. Sydney: CSAC, 1998.
- Hutchinson, W. R. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Hulbert, H. B. *The Passing of Korea* (N.Y. 1906), reprinted. Seoul: Yonse University Press, 1969.
- Huntley, M. *Caring, Growing, Changing: A History of the Protestant Mission in Korea*.

- New York: Friendship Press, 1984.
- To Start a Work-The foundations of Protestant Mission in Korea (1884-1919).*
Seoul: PCK, 1987.
- Inglis, J. *A dictionary of the Aneityumese language* (1882)
In the New Hebrides: Reminiscences of Missionary Life and Work (1887).
- Jeong, B. J. "Beyond Dichotomy: The Wholistic Mission Understanding of the Australian Presbyterian Missionaries and its Contribution to the Korean mission 1889-1942." ThD thesis, Melbourne College of Divinity, Melbourne, 2004.
- Jeon, C. "Minjung theology, cannot define it as contextual theology." Beritas. Assessed October 24, 2016,
<http://veritas.kr/articles/9179/20101120/%EB%AF%BC%EC%A4%91%EC%8B%A0%ED%95%99>.
- Jeong, Y. H. *Systemic nature of Korea's economic development plan*. Seoul: Minjungsa, 1984.
- Kawashima, S. "Current Status of Leprosy: Epidemiology, Basic Science and Clinical Perspectives." In *The Journal of Dermatology* 39 No 2 (February, 2012).
- Keane, M. D. "Presbyterian Missionaries to the New Hebrides, 1848-1920." MA thesis, the University of Melbourne, 1977.
- Kerman, B. "The medical contribution of Australian mission." In *The Australian Mission in Korea*, edited by Sang Taek Lee and Emilsen, William W. 92-127. Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016.
- Kerr, E. A. & Anderson, G. *The Australian Mission to Korea, 1889-1941*. Sydney: Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, 1970.
- Kerr, W. C. "Shinto Shrines in Chosen". The Korea Mission Field (April 1925).
- Kim, E. S. *Theology in Korea*. Accessed October 12, 2016, <https://nirc.nanzanu.ac.jp/nfile/4182>.
"Minjung Theology in Korea: A critique from a Reformed Theological Perspective." Japan Christian Review 64, 1998.
- Kim, J. K. "The Formation of Presbyterian Worship in Korea, 1879-1934." ThD thesis, Boston University, Boston, 1999.
- Kim, K. *Joining in with the Spirit*. London: Epworth press, 2009.
- Kim, K. S, eds. *Busanjingyohoe Chodaemoksa Wangkilji Seonkyosa* [Rev. Dr. Gelson Engel who was the First Pastor of Busanjin Church]. Busan: Busanjin Church, 2005.
Chogi Busanjiyeokui Gidokingwa gamso [Christianity handed down and early Christian members in Busan, Korea]. Seoul: Dosuchulpan Bethel, 2013.
- Kirk, J. A. *What is Mission?: Theological Explorations*. London: Darton, Longmann and Todd, 1999.
- Kittel, G. *Theologisches Worterbuch Zum Neuen Testament*, V5. Stuttgard: W. Kohlhammer

- Verlag, 1964.
- Latouette, K. S. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity, vol. 6: The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia, A.D. 1800-1914*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1994.
- Lausanne M. Summary of the Cape Town Commitment. Accessed January 31, 2017.
<https://www.lausanne.org/content/summary-of-the-cape-town-commitment>.
- Lawrence, E. A. *Modern Missions in the East, Their Methods, Successes, and Limitations*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895.
- Lee, S. G. *To Korea with love; Australian Presbyterian Mission work in Korea, 1889-1941*. Melbourne: PCV, 2009.
- Lindsay, H. H. *Report of Proceedings on a Voyage to the Northern Ports of China*, 2nd eds. London: R. Clay, 1833.
- Macaulay, R.W. *The Key to the Far East*. Melbourne: PCV, 1934.
- MacDonald, A. *One Hundred Years of Presbyterianism in Victoria*, Melbourne: Robertson & Mullen, 1937.
- Macgregor, W. M. *A Souvenir of the Union in 1929: With an Historical Sketch of the United Free Church College, Glasgow*. Dublin :Trinity College Union, 1930.
- Mackenzie, C. "Ilsin Christian Hospital celebrated 50 years." *Mackenzie's Daughters*. Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 2012.
- Mackenzie, H. "Direct Dr. Helen Pearl Mackenzie's Remember." *Mackenzie's Daughters*. Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 2012.
- "Founder Dr. Helen Pearl Mackenzie." *Mackenzie's Daughters*. Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 2012.
- Man of Mission, A Biography of James Noble Mackenzie*, Melbourne: Hyland House, 1995.
- Mackenzie, L. "Our Wonderful Sister Helen and Catherine." *Mackenzie's daughters*. Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 2012.
- Mackenzie, Mrs. J. N. *Pictures of Korea*. Melbourne: Obtainable at the PWMU, 1925.
- Mackenzie, J. N. *Rev. James Noble Mackenzie: An Autobiography*. Ed. by MacKerchar, E. London: The Mission to Lepers, undated (but 1949).
- Marsden, G. M. "Christianity and Cultures: Transforming Niebuhr's Categories." in *Insights: The Faculty Journal of Austin Seminary*. (Fall, 1999)
- Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelism*. Michigan: Eerdmans, 1996.
- Matthew, H. C. *Stars in the East*. Melbourne: PCV, 1929.
- McKenzie, F. A. *Korea's Fight for Freedom*. London, 1920. Reprinted. Seoul: Yensei University Press, 1969.
- The Tragedy of Korea*. London, 1908, reprinted, Seoul: Yensei University

- Press, 1969.
- McLaren, C. L. "Statement Submitted." *KMF* (Feb. 1924): 33-34.
- "Progress Report of the Social Service Committee of the Federal Council." *KMF* (Jun. 1933):145-152.
- "Australian Medical Work in Korea" *The Medical Journal of Australia* (May 1940).
- "The Pagan State and The Christian church in Japan." *The Reformed Theological Review* (May 1943).
- Eleven Weeks in a Japanese Police Cell.* Melbourne: FMC of PCV, 1943.
- The Kept the Faith: Shining Lights from Korea.* Melbourne: PCV bookroom, 1946
- The Christian Faith and Australian's Immigration Policy.* Melbourne: PCV Bookroom, undated.
- McPherson, A., eds. *History of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland.* Inverness: Publications Committee, Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland, 1973.
- Meek, D. E. *The Scottish Highlands: The Churches and Gaelic Culture.* Geneva: WCC Publications, 1996.
- Miller, J. G. *Live Book I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.* Sydney : Committees on Christian Education and Overseas Missions, General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, (1978-1990).
- Miller, R. S. *The Romance of Australian Presbyterian Missions.* Melbourne: Presbyterian Melbourne John G. Paton Fellowship, 1978.
- Index of Presbyterian Ministers in Victoria 1859-1977.* Melbourne: UCA, 1993.
- Min, K. B. *The History of Korean Church.* Seoul: The Korean Christian Publish Co., 1989.
- Moftett, S. H. "Protestantism: its Influence on Modernization in Korea." *Modern Transformation of Korea*, edited by Yi Kyu Tae. Seoul: Sejong Publish Co., 1970.
- The Christian of Korea.* New York: Friendship Press, 1962.
- Moltmann, J. "Evangelism and liberation." *Christian thought* (April 1975), Seoul: CLC.
- Moon, Tong Hwan. "Korean Minjung Theology, January 1982." *Minjung Theology: A Korean Contextual Theology*, edited by A Sung Park, http://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/ijt/33-4_001.pdf. Assessed May 21, 2016.
- Moore, J. Z. "The Great Revival Year." *KMF* (Aug, 1907).
- Moreau, A. S. *Evangelical Dictionary of World Missions.* Michigan: Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2000.

- Murray, A. W. *The Martyrs of Polynesia*. London: Scholar's Choice, 1885.
- Neill, S. *A History of Christian Missions*. London: Penguin Books, 1990.
- New, E. W. *A Doctor in Korea: The Story of Charles McLaren*. Sydney: Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, 1958.
- Nichols, J. H. *History of Christianity 1650-1950*. New York: The Roland Press Company, 1956.
- Niebuhr, H. R. *Christ and Culture*. NY: Harper & Row, 1951. Reprint, Harper San Francisco, 2001.
- Nisbet, A. M. *Day In and Day Out in Korea*. Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1920.
- Osgood, C. *The Koreans and Their Culture*. N.Y.: Renald Ross Press, 1951.
- Paek, N. J. *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea:1832-1910*, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1929.
- The History of Protestant Missions in Korea:1832-1910*, (Reprint, Seoul: Yeonse University Press, 1973).
- Parascandola, J. "Chaulmoogra Oil and the Treatment of Leprosy." Accessed June 9, 2016.
<https://lhncbc.nlm.nih.gov/files/archive/pub2003048.pdf>.
- Park, A. S. "Minjung and Pungryu Theologies in Contemporary Korea: A Critical and Comparative Examination." PhD. thesis. Graduate Theological Union, 1985.
- Minjung Theology: A Korean Contextual Theology*. Accessed June 21, 2016.
http://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/ijt/33-4_001.pdf.
- Park, C. K. "Social and Political Thought in two Contemporary Korean Theologies: A Study of Sung Theology and Minjung Theology." PhD. thesis. Drew University, 1991.
- Park, C. S. *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.
- Park, J. S. "God in the Old Testament. " *Minjun and Korean Theology*, Seoul: KSY,1982.
- Park, U. K. *Millennialism in the Korea Protestant Church: Asian Thought and Culture*. Peter Lang Inc., International Academic Publishers, 2005.
- Paton, F. H. L. *The Laymen's Missionary Movement*. Melbourne: LMM, 1910.
- Glimpses of Korea*. Melbourne: PCV, 1911.
- Korea After Ten Years*. Melbourne: FMC of PCV, 1921.
- "The Home Base." *The Korea Mission Field*, vol. 17, No.2 (February 1921).
- Paton, J. G. *Missionary to the New Hebrides: an Autobiography*. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, n.d.
- Paton, J. and Langridge A. K., eds. and revised. *The Story of John G. Paton: His Work Among South Sea Cannibals*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2009.
- Paton, M. *The Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union 1950-1977*. Melbourne: PWMU.

- Paton, W. F. *Fred Paton of Malekula: The Story of Rev. F. J. Paton, of Malekula, New Hebrides*. Melbourne: Committee of Missionary Education and Publications of the Board of Missions of the PCA, 1945.
- PCK. *Souvenir Book of the 60th Anniversary of the General Assembly of the PCK*. Seoul: PCK, 1972.
- Pennenberg, W. *Basic Questions in theology: Collected Essays*, vol. I, trans. Kehm, George H. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2008.
- Perry, J. *Twenty Years A Korean Missionary*. London: S. W. Partridge & Co., LTD, n.d.
- Pierson, A. T., eds. *The Missionary Review of the World*. New York: Funk & Wagnall's, 1910. Accessed February 21, 2015.
https://archive.org/stream/missionaryrevie3312unse_0#page/924/mode/2up.
- Piggin, S. *Evangelical Christianity in Australia, Melbourne*, UK: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Prentis, M. D. *The Scots in Australia: A Study of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland, 1788-1900*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1983.
- Rajkumar, P. *Asian Theology on the Way: Christianity, Culture and Context*. Accessed May 29, 2016. <https://www.amazon.com/Asian-Theology-Way-Christianity-International/dp/1451499663>.
- Asian Theology on the Way: Christianity, Culture and Context*. Accessed May 29, 2016. <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=id>.
- Reynolds, W. D. "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the General Council of Evangelical Missions." *KMF* (June 1907).
- Rhodes, H. A. *History of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1894-1934*. Seoul: PCUSA, 1934.
- History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Vol II. 1935-1939*. New York: The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1964.
- "The First Protestant Missionary to Korea, 1832- Rev. Carl Auguststus F. Gutzlaff, M. D." *The Korea Mission Field* Vol. XXVI, No.11. (November.1931).
- Rhodes, H. A. and Baird, H. R. eds. *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. June 30-July 3, 1934*. Seoul: YMCA Press, 1934.
- Ritchie, C. I. *Not to be Ministered Unto, The Story of Presbyterian deaconesses trained in Melbourne*. Melbourne: Uniting Church Press, 1998.
- Roe, J. "Challenge and Response: Religious Life in Melbourne, 1876-86." *Journal of Religious History* 5, Melbourne, 1968.
- Ross, J. "Visit to the Corean Gate." *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (November to December 1875).

- "Manchuria Mission." *The United Missionary Record* (October 1, 1880).
- "The Christian Dawn in Korea." *The Missionary Review of the World* 3, 4 (April 1892).
- Ryu, D. Y. "An Odd Relationship: The State Department, Its Representatives, and American Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1905." *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 6 (Winter 1997).
- Sandler, S. *The Korean War: An Encyclopedia-Military History of the United States*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1995.
- Sanneh, L. O. Disciples of All Nations: Pillars of World Christianity. New York: Oxford, 2008.
- Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture. Maryknoll: Orbis, 1995.
- Scrimgeour, R. J. *Some Scots Were Here: A History of the Presbyterian Church in South Australia 1839-1977*. Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1986.
- Speer, R. E. *Report on the Mission in Korea of Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions*. New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of Presbyterian Church in U.S.A., 1897.
- Steele, W. H. "Moravian Missions to Aborigines of Australia." in *The Missionary Chronicle* (November 1948)
- Stewart, D. M. *The Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Growth in Fifty Years, 1859-1909*. Melbourne: D. W. Paterson Co., n.d.
- Stokes, C. D. "History of Methodist Missions in Korea: 1885-1930." PhD thesis, Yale University, 1947.
- Stock, E. *The History of the CMS. Vol.3*. London: CMS, 1899.
The History of the CMS. Vol. 4. London: CMS, 1916.
- Swallen, W. L. "God's Work of Grace in Pyeng Yang Class." *Korea Mission Field* (May 1907).
- Talsma, A. *There Where Many Women, 1890-1990*. Melbourne: PWMU, 1991.
- Tennent, T. C. *Invitation to World Mission: A Trinitarian Missiology for the Twenty-first Century*. Grand Rapids Kregel Publications, 2010.
- "Contextualizing the Sanskritic Tradition to Serve Dalit Theology." *Missiology: An International Review* 15 (July 1997).
- Terrs, J. H. *The Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales*. Sydney: John Andrew & Co., 1928.
- The Society of Korean Leprologists, Last modified June 2 2016,
<http://www.leprosy.or.kr/webpage/01guide/guide03.asp>.
- The University of the South Pacific and the South Pacific Social Science Association, eds. *VANUATU*. New Zealand: Whitcoulls Ltd., 1980.

- Thompson, A. T. and Paton, F. H. L. and Burton, J. W. "The Missionary Situation in Australia." *IRM* 15 (1926)
- Turner, N. *Sinews of Sectarian Warfare? State Aid in New South Wales 1836 to 1862.* Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972
- Underwood, H. G. *The Call of Korea.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908.
The Religions of Eastern Asia, NY: n.p., 1910.
Modern Education in Korea. New York: International Press, 1926.
- Underwood, L. H. *H. Underwood, Underwood of Korea.* Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1983.
- Vinton, C. C. "Korea the Strategic Mission." *The Assembly Herald* (November, 1900).
 "Presbyterian Mission Work in Korea." *The Missionary Review of the World*, N. S. vol. 6, No.9 (September, 1983).
- Wasson, A. W. *Church Growth in Korea.* New York: International Missionary Council, 1934.
- Watson, H. M. Towards a Relevant Christology in India Today: An Appraisal of the Christologies of John Hick, Jürgen Moltman and Jon Sobrino. New York: Peter Lang, 2002.
- Wells, K. M. *New God, New Nation, Protestant and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea, 1896-1937.* Sydney: Allen & Uniwin, 1990.
- Wischer, J. eds. *The Presbyterian of Toorak.* Melbourne: The Presbyterians of Toorak, 1975.
- Woolmington, J. *Religion in Early Australia.* Sydney: Cassell Australia, 1976.
- Wright, C. J. H. *The mission of God's People: A Biblical Theology of Church's Mission.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2010.
- Yonsei University College of Social Sciences Research, eds. "The State and society in Korea." *Yeolringeul (opened Letters) 36th*", Seoul: hanol, 1986.
- Young, R. C. *Post Colonialism: An Historical Introduction.* Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

6. BOOKS TRANSLATED INTO KOREAN

- Akio, D. *Ilbon gidokkyosa* (the History of Japanese Church), Kim S.J., trans. Seoul: Chrustian Book Centre, 1991.
- Bosch, D. *Transforming Mission;Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission.* Kim B. G. and Jang H. T., trans. Seoul: CLC, 2000.
- Cox, H. *The Secular City.* Lee S. R., trans. Seoul: Moonye, 2010.
- Carr, E. H. *What is History.* Kim T. H., trans. Seoul: Kkachi, 2007.
- Hoekendijk , J. C . *Scattered Church.* Lee K. J., trans. Seoul: CLS, 1994.

- Kasper, C. W. *Jesus Christ*. Park S. T., trans. Seoul: Bundo Publish Co., 1977.
- Whitehead, A. N. *Adventure of ideas*, Oho Y. H., trans. Seoul: Hangilsa, 1996.
- 飯沼二郎, 韓哲曦, 日本統治と日本基督教 (Japanese Governance and the Japanese Christian). Nam Y. H., trans. Seoul: Doseochulpan Yeongmun, 1993.

7. BOOKS WRITTEN IN KOREAN

- Ahn, B. M. "Hanimui Seongyo [Misio Dei]." *Hyeon Jon* [Existence], 1976.
- Haebangja Yesu* [Jesus the Liberator]. Seoul: Hyeondaesajosa [Modern Thought Co.], 1979.
- "God of Minjung." *Theology Thought* (Autumn 1986). Seoul: CLS.
- Minjung sageon sugui Christ* [Christ in Minjung events]. Seoul: KSY, 1990.
- Minjung Shinhak Yiyaky* [A Story of Minjung Theology]. Seoul: KSY, 1990.
- Jesus and ochlos*, Seoul: KSY, 1991.
- Minjung Theology eul malhada* [Say about Minjung Theology]. Seoul: Hangil Co., 1993.
- Galileeui Yesu* [Jesus of Galilee]. Seoul: KSY, 1998.
- Yeoksawa haeseok* [History and Interpretation]. Seoul: CLS, 1898.
- Minjog Mnjung gyuhoe* [Nation Minjung Church]. Seoul: KSY, 2004.
- Ahan, H. C. "13cha UCA chonghoe hankookui bam haengsa [13th UCA General Assembly Korea Night Event]." *Gidokgongbo* [Christian today], July 23, 2012. Assessed May 30, 2016,
<http://www.pckworld.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=55220>.
- Busanjin Compilation Committee. *Busanjin gyohoe 100nyeonsa* [100 Years History of Busanjin Church]. Busan: Busanjin Church, 1991.
- Busan Presbytery, eds. *Busannoehoesa* [The History of Busan Presbytery]. Busan: Dongbang, 2005.
- Busan Yeoksamoondhwae Daejeon* [Busan, a Great Function of History, Culture]. Accessed June 20, 2016. <http://busan.grandculture.net/>.
- Chae, G. T. "Hankook Hansenbyeong Geunjeoleul wihan Yeoksajeog Baegyeong [Historical Background for the Elimination of the Korean Leprosy]". Institute of Hansen's Disease. June 8, 2016.
https://hansen.re.kr:49732/home/sub/doc_22.php.
- Changsin middle and High School, eds. *Changsin 60nyeonsa* [The History of Changsin 60

- Years]. Masan: Changsin middle and High School, 1968.
- Cho, H. M. "Minjung Theology ui jonghabjeok yeongu [A Comprehensive Study on Minjung Theology]." In *Era and Prophecy I*. Seoul: Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, 1985.
- Choi, H. "Sinsachambaewa Hankoon Jaegeongyohoeui Yeoksajeog Yeongu [A Study of the Shinto-worship and the Korean Church Reconstruction Movement History]." *Sinhakjinam* (December 1972).
- Hankook Jaegeon Gyuhoesa* [The History of the Korean Reconstruction Church]. Seoul: Seonggwangmoonhwasa, 1978.
- Choseon Ilbo [the News paper of Chosen]. "Choseon Ilbo bogo [the reported of Choseon Ilbo] (Dec. 22, 1934).
- Compilation Committee, eds. *Ulleungdo Gidokkyo 90 nyeonsa* [Christian 90 year history of Ulleungdo]. Pohang, 1999.
- Daehanbulgyo jogyejong [The Korean Buddhist Jogyeojong], eds. Chapter 2 *National Population and Religious Indicators*. Seoul: Daehanbulgyo jogyejong.
- Dong-a Ilbo. "Gyeongjedansin [Economic brief]." *The Dong-A Ilbo* [East Asia Daily], March 12, 1983.
- Dongnae School, eds. *Dongnae 80nyeonsa* [The History of Dongnae 80 Years]. Busan: Dongnae School, 1975.
- Dongnae Girls' High School, eds. *Hakkyo Yoram:1980* [School Bulletin: 1980]. Busan: Dongnae Girl's High School, 1980.
- Dongnae Yeohakko 100 yeonsa* [The History of Dongnae Girls' High School 100 Years]. Busan: Dongnae Girls' High School, 1995.
- Dongnae Girls' Middle School. Accessed April 23, 2016. <http://dongnae-g.ms.kr>
- Gadolrik uigwadaehak [Catholic University of Korea]. "Treatment and prevention of leprosy." *Institute of Hansen's Disease*. Accessed June 9, 2016.
<https://hansen.re.kr:49732/main/>
- Gwak, A. J. *Hankoon Gyohoesa* [The History of Korean Church]. Seoul: CLS, 1973.
- Ha, Y. M. "Ilbon Hansenbyeongui Geungan Donghyang Bogo [A Report of present Japanese Leprosy situation]." *Journal of Korean Medical Science* vol.39, No.2 (December, 2006): 72-85.
- Han, G. D. "Haebangsinhakiran mueosinga [What is the Liberation Theology]." Assessed April 11, 2016, http://adamo.x-y.net/bbs/zboard.php?id=hyundea&page=1&sn1=&divpage=1&category=11&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=subject&desc=asc&no=1&PHPSESSID=8f3b05e5115dcfc0da4a13f2e24f977b.
- Hansenbyeong yeonguso [Institute of Hansen's Disease]. "Treatment and Prevention of Leprosy." Institute of Hansen's Disease. Accessed June 9, 2016.

<https://hansen.re.kr:49732/main/>

Han, S. H. *Iljeui Jongkyo Chimryaksa* [The History of the Japanese Invasion Religion]. Seoul: Gyomunsa, 1990.

Han, S. E., et al. *Usinche wa minjuhwaudong* [Democratic Movement in Yushin system]. Seoul: Chuncusa, 1984.

Ha, Y. M. "Ilbon Hansenbyeongui geungan donghyang bogo [A Report of present Japanese Leprosy situation]." *Journal of Korean Medical Science* vol.39, No.2 (December, 2006)

Ham, S. H. "Cover Letter." *Ssiolui sori wolgan* [Ssiol's sound monthly] (Aug. 1971).

HKH, eds. *1970s nodong hyeonjanggwa jeungeon* [Labour Scene and Testimony in 1970s]. Seoul: pulbich, 1994.

HKS MY, eds. *1970nyeondae minjuhwu undonggwa gidokkyo* [The Democratic Movement and Christians in 1970s]. Seoul: HKS MY, 1983.

Hong, J. S. "Yeoseong Kyoyukgwa Gwanryeondoen Gyoyukgigwane daehan Yeongu: 1880-1910 [A Study on the Educational Institutions of Founders Related to Women's Education:1880-1910]." DEd theses, Ewha Women University, Seoul, 1985.

Hwang, S. G. "Ibanginui ddang: Galrilriwa Yesu undong [The Land of the Gentiles: Galilee and Jesus' Movement]" *Yesu Minjung Minjok* [Jesus Minjung People] for the Memorial Edition for Dr. Ahn Byung Moo's 70th Birthday. Seoul: KSY, 1993.

IHCK, *Hankook Gidokkyoui Yeoksa I* [The Korean Christian History I]. Seoul: CLC, 1989.

Ilsin Christian Hospital, eds. *Ilsin Gidokbyeongwon 40yeonsa* [The Ilsin Christian Hospital's 40 Years History]. Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 1993.

Mackenziegaui Ddaleeul [Daughters of the Mackenzie Family]. Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 2012.

"Memories of Helen Pearl Mackenzie." *Mackenzie's daughters*. Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 2012.

"Seolribkyoengwiwa mokjeok [Establishment Inspection and Purpose]." Ilsin Christian Hospital. Accessed March 12, 2016. http://www.ilsin.or.kr/homepage/default/page/subLocation.do?menu_no=10010503.

Jeon, C. "Minjung theology, Sanghwangsinhakeuro gyujeonghalsu eobseo [Minjung theology, cannot define it as contextual theology.]" Assessed October 24 2016, http://freeview.org/bbs/board.php?bo_table=d001&wr_id=114.

Jeong, B. J. "Meri Jein kelri dikeonis [Mary Jane Kelly Decanice]." Christian & Edu Life. Accessed June 14, 2016. <http://www.chedulife.com.au/>.

Hoju jangrohoe Seongyusadeului Sinhaksasanggwa hankookseongyo
[Australian Presbyterian Missionaries' Theological Thought and Korean
Missions 1889-1942]. Seoul: IHCK, 2007.

"Haebang ijeonui Hojuseongyosadeului hwaldonggwae seongyujeongcaek
yeongu [Australian Missionaries' Activities and Mission Policy before Korea
independence]." PCK, eds. *Hankookkyohoe Hojukyohoe iyagi* [The Story of
Korean Church and Australian Church]. Seoul: PCK, 2012.

Jeong, J. C. *Ilbon Sikminji Gyoyuk Jeongchaek* [Japanese Colonial Education Policy:
Korean Independence Movement 5]. Seoul: Iljisa, 1989.

Jeong, S. W. *Yesu: Yeoksainga Sinhwainga* [Jesus: History or Myth]. Seoul: Book
World Co., 2005.

Jeong, Y. H. "Systemic nature of Korea's economic development plan." *Hankook
sahoebyeondong yeongu I* [Research on Social Change in Korea I]. Seoul:
Minjungsa, 1984.

Kang, G. H. "Hankook gaesinkyohoe chogie kyohoe geubseongjange daehan yoingwa
munjeseong gochal [A Study on Factors and Problems about the Rapid Growth
of the Korean Church in Early Protestant Churches]." *Theology and Mission,*
No 9. Seoul: Seoul Theological University, 1984.

Kang, M. G. "Munhogaebangeul jeonhuhan yeoksajeok sanghwanggwae hanmisugyo [The
Historical Situation Before and After Opening the Door and the Diplomatic
Relations between Korea and the United States]." *Christian Thoughts*
(Feb.1982), Seoul: CLS.

Kim, G. B. "Sigol danyeoontil [Work, went to the countryside]." *Daehan Georiseudoin
hoebo* [Korean Christian Advocate] (Nobember 2,1898).

Kim,G. S. *Tochakhwahaeseokhak* [Inculturation Hermeneutics]. Seoul: CLS, 1987.

Kim, G. S. *Hankook Gidokkyo Sunansa* [The Korea Christian Sufferings History].
Seoul: Christian Book Centre, 1982.

Kim, H. S. "Guhanmal mi seongyosa hwaldongui jeongchijeok uimi [The Political
Significance of the American Missionary Activity in the Late Period of
Choseon]." *Dongyanghak 31* [Oriental Studies 31]. Seoul: Dankook
University Oriental Institute, 2001.

Kim, I. S. *Hankook Gidokkyohoesa* [Christian Church History in Korea]. Seoul: Korean
Presbyterian Published Co., 2003.

Kim, J. H. *Pob-Kim Ji Ha yyagi moeum* [Pab-Kim Ji Ha's story collection]. Seoul: Bundo
publish Co., 1984.

Kim, J. C. *Minjunggwa Jisikin* [Minjung and Intellectuals]. Seoul: KSY, 1984.

Kim, K. S., eds. *Busanjingyohoe Chodae moksa Wangkilji Seonkyosa* [Rev. Dr.
Gelson Engel who was the First Pastor of Busanjin Church]. Busan: Busanjin

- Church, 2005.
- Chogi Busanjiyeokui Gidokingwa gamso* [Christianity Handed Down and Early Christian Members in Busan, Korea]. Seoul: Dosuchulpan Bethel, 2013.
- Kim, S. G. "3.1 undonge gwanhan pyeongga [The Evaluation of the 3.1 Movement]," in *Hankook Geundaesawa Sasang* [The Thought and Modern Society of the South Korea]. Seoul: Jungwon Literature Co., 1984.
- Kim, S. I. and Kim G. J. *Gwajeongcheolhakgwa gwajeongsinhak* [The Process Philosophy and Process Theology]. Seoul: Junmangsa, 1988.
- Kim, S. G. "1970nyeondaeui Gidokkyu undong [Korean Christians Movement in 1970s I]." *Gidokkyo sasang* [Christian Thoughts], 1984.
- Kim, S. T. "Hanmal Iljechimryakki Iljewa Seongyosau gwangyeedaehan Yeongu 1894-1910 [the Late Period of Choseon Japanese Invasion: Studies on the Relationship between the Japanese and Missionaries 1894-1910]." *Hankook Gidokkyowa Yeoksa 6 [The Korean Church and History 6]*. Seoul: IHCK, 1997.
- Kim, S. T and Park H. J., eds. *Naehan Seongyusa Chongram 1884-1984* [Missionaries Overview in Korea 1884-1984]. Seoul: IHCK, 1994.
- Kim, Y. J. *Hankook Gyohosa* [The Korean Church History]. Seoul: Iraeseowon, 2004.
- Kim, Y. S. *Hankook Gidokkyusa Yeongu* [The Study of Korean Christian]. Seoul: CLC, 1971.
- Kim, Y. S. *Jeongsin 75nyeonsa* [Jeongsin 75 Years History]. Seoul: Jeongsin Girls' Middle and High School, 1962.
- Kim, W. P. "Mekenji seongyosa [Missionary James. N. Mackenzie]," The Christian Journal, accessed May 31, 2016.
<http://www.kcjlogos.org/news/articleView.html?idxno=5402>.
- Ko, J. S. "Minjung theology gwa Haebangsinhak [Minjung theology and Liberation theology]." *Christian Thought* (March 1989). Seoul: CLS, 1989.
- Korean Studies Central Research Institute. "Han-il habbyeong [Korea - Japan Combined Treaty]." naver. Last modified September 1, 2015.
<http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=jinlezza&logNo=220468770481>.
- Kyonggi University, "Hoju maessi gajokui Hankook sopung yyagi [A Story of Australian Mackenzie Family's Outing to Korea]" Naver, accessed September 5, 2016,
<http://blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=thdudmc&logNo=220808588904&redirect=Dlog&widgetTypeCall=true>
- Lee, D. J. *Hankook tochak Gyohoe hyeongseongsa yeongu* [The Study of Korean Native Church Formation]. Seoul: IHCK, 2000.
"Hojujangrohoe Seongyusa Enggelui Seongyo Sayeoggwa geu Sasang

- [Australian Missionary Engel's mission and his Thought]." In *The Australian Mission in Korea*, edited by Sang Taek Lee and William E. W., 158-227. Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016.
- Lee, E. J. "Hojujangrohoe Seongyusadeului Yesikgwa Yebaee Gwanhan Sogo [The Review about the Early Australian Missionaries' Liturgy and Worship]." in *The Australian Mission in Korea*, edited by Lee, Sang Taek and Emilsen, William W. 228-251. Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016.
- Lee, H. S. *Minjung Theology Bipan* [Criticize Minjung Theology]. Seoul: Seonggwang Culture Co., 1989.
- Lee, H. H. *Hanguk hyeondaesa sango* [The Korean Modern History Birth Pains]. Seoul: Tamgisa, 1975.
- Lee, J. G. "Jonggyujayue daehan Hankook Gaesingyuui ihaee gwanhan yeongu [A Study on Understanding of Religious Freedom to Korea Protestants]." PhD thesis, The Seoul University, Seoul, 1996.
- Lee, M. Y. *Hankook Gidonkyuwa Minjokundong* [The Korean Christian and National Movement]. Seoul: IHCK, 2007.
- Hannal Gidokkyinui minjokuisik Hyeonseonggwajeong* [The formation of the National Consciousness in the Later Period of Choseon]. Seoul: The Seoul University Publish, 1973.
- Lee, S. G. *Busanjibang Kidokyo Jeosraesa* [The Christian Mission History in the Busan Province]. Busan: Geulmadang, 2001.
- Lee, S. T. "Yeongwonhan Haengin Seongyusa [The everlasting travelling evangelist]." In *The Australian Mission in Korea*, edited by Lee Sang Taek and Emilsen William W., 38-59. Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016.
- Lee, S. T and Emilsen, W. W, eds. *Hojuseongyo Hankookseongyu* [Australian Mission in Korea]. Seoul: Korean Presbyterian Published, 2016.
- Lee, S. J. *Mikookseongyusawa Hankook Geundae Gyuyuk* [American Missionaries and Modern Education in Korea]. Seoul: IHCK, 2007.
- Lee, Yeon Kyeong. "Ulleungdo Bokeumui Deungdaega doeon se Gyuhoe [The three churches have been Ulleungdo Gospel Lighthouse]." *Weekly Christian*, 2009.
- Mackenzie, C. *Josanhak* [Nurse Midwifery]. Busan: Ilsin Christian Hospital, 1978.
- Min, K. B. *Hangook Gidokkyo Saheo Undongsa* [The History of Korea Christian Social Movement]. Seoul: The Korean Christian Publishing Co., 1987.
- Min, K. C. *Ahnaeliga Pyeonchanhan Changgajib* [A collection of songs of Ae Li Ahn]. Seoul: Nangman, 2000.
- Min, Y. J. *Hankook Minjung theology ui Jomyeong* [Lighting of Korean Minjung Theology]. Seoul: Christian Academy, 1984.
- Moon, D. H. *Ariranggogaeui Gyoyuk* [Arirang Hill's Education]. Seoul: KSY, 1985.

- Noh, Y. S. "Gaesingyu Seongyusadeului Gidokkyu Kyuyuki Geundae Gyuyukmahwae Giyeohan Gyoyujeok uiui [The Significance Enlightenment for Contribution to the Educational Culture in Christian Education of the Modern Missionary]." *Kidokkyo gyoyuk nonchong 34* (Christian Education Journal No. 34). Seoul: CES, 2013.
- Ok, S. D. "Chogi Hankookjangrogyu Seongyjeongchaek, 1884-1903 [Early Presbyterian Mission Policy in Korea, 1884-1903]." *Korean Church and History 9th*, 1998.
- Park, A. R. *HyeonDae Sinhakgaeron* [Introduction to Contemporary Theology]. Seoul: Christian Literature Crusade, 1989.
- Park, B. R. "1970 nyeondaeui Gidokkyu Sinhak [Christian theology in the 1970s]." *Segyewa seonkyo* [World and Mission December 1979]. Seoul: Hanshin University.
- Park, H. C. *Minjunggwa Kyeongje* [Minjung and Economy]. Seoul: Jeongeumsa, 1979.
- Park, J. H. *Jegookjuui: Sinhwawa Hyeonsil* [Imperialism: Myth and Reality]. Seoul: The Seoul University Publish, 2000.
- Park, J. S. "Guyake natanan Hananim [God in the Old Testament]" *Minjunggwa Hankook Sinhak* [Minjung and Korean Theology]. Seoul: KSY, 1982.
- Park, K. S. "Hankookgaesinkyo Chogi Kyohoe Yeonhab Undongui Yusan [Early Protestant Church Union Movement Heritage in Korea]" In Korea Presbyterian Theological Society 16th Conference, Un-printed papers (October 2, 2010).
- Park, M. Y., eds. *Kyeongbook Gyohoesa* [The Church History of the North Kyeongsang province]. Seoul: Coram Deo, 2004.
- Park, T. Y. "Guhanmalgwa Iljesigminjitongci sidaeui bukmi seongyusadeului Jeonggyubunri Yeongu [A Study of North American Missionaries' Policy of Separating Church from State in Late Confucian and Colonial Korea]." PhD thesis, Soongsil University, Seoul, 2013.
- Park, Y. G. "1930 nyeondae Choseon Yesugyujangrohoe Yeongu [The study of the Choseon Presbyterian Church in the 1930s]." PhD thesis, Presbyterian University and Theological Seminary, Seoul, 2007.
- Seo, N. D. *Minjung sinhakui Ttamgu* [Minjung Theology Study]. Seoul: Hangilsa, 1983.
- Shusaku, E. *Jesus' Saengae* [Jesus' Life]. Seoul: Hongseongsa, 1973.
- Sin, K. G. "Sinsachambaewa Hankook Gyohoeui Daeeung [Shrine and Korean Church's Response]." ThM thesis, Seoul Theological College, Bucheon, 1995.
- SKCH, eds. *Hankook Gyohoesa* [The History of Korean Church]. Seoul: Gyuyu Published, 1972.
- Song, C. J. "The Study of 'ochlos' in Mark." ThM thesis, Hanshin University, Korea, 1990.

- Son, I. S. *Hankook Gyoyuksa 2* [Korean Education History 2], Seoul: Mooneum Co., 1975.
- Hangook Yeoseong Gyoyuksa* [History of Korean Women's Education]. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1977.
- Song, C. S. *Asianui Simseonggwa Sinhak* [Asian's mentality and Theology]. Seoul: Bundo Publish Co., 1982.
- Song, G. H. "Minjung gaenyeomgwa geu Silje [Minjung's Concept and Its Reality]." *Wolgan Daehwa* [Monthly Talk] (November 1976).
- Song, G. D. "Ahn Byeong Moo ui Minjung Kooweonron [Ahn Byeong Moo's Minjung Soteriology]," Yuksawa Hyunjon [History and Present Being]. edited by Editorial Committee for the Memorial Edition for Dr. Ahn ByungMoo's 60th Birthday, Seoul: CLS, 1982.
- "Minjung Theology's Jeongche (Identity)." *1980nyeondae Hankook Minjung Theology Jeongae* [1980s Korea Minjung Theology Development]. Seoul: KSY, 1990.
- "Jongmalronui chamddeus [True Meaning of Eschatology]." *Jesus, Minjung, Nation*, Seoul: KSY, 1993.
- Sungsil University, *hankook gidokkyo yeoksawa minjok munhwauui bogo* [Korean Christian History and Treasures of National Culture], Last modified: January 26, 2011, http://www.ssu.ac.kr/web/museum/exhibit_b;jsessionid.
- The Korean Christian Museum at Sungsil University, *hankook gidokkyo yeoksal* [Korean Christian History], Last modified: January 26, 2011, http://www.ssu.ac.kr/web/museum/exhibit_b;jsessionid.
- The Kyeongnam Presbytery, eds. *Kyeongnam Nohoesa* [The History of Kyengnam Presbytery]. Seoul: Kumran, 2006.
- The Osaka Asahi Newspapers, "Busan Jiyeok Sosik [Busan area news]." The Osaka Asahi Newspapers Chosen Edition, (June 26, 1926).
- TKP. *Kyeongnam nohoeui Yeoksa* [The History of TKP]. Seoul: Kumran, 2006.
- Yang, M. D. "Ulleungdogan Hoju Seongyosa Jeims Mekenji [Mackenzie who went to Ulleungdo]." *Christian Rewiew*. Accessed June 25, 2012.
http://christianreview.com.au/sub_read.html?uid=2195§ion=sc6.
- Yonsei University, College of Social Sciences, National Research Council, eds. "Hankookeseoui Kookgawa Sahoe [The State and Society in Korea]." *Yeolringeul* [Opened Letters] 36th. Seoul: hanol Publising Co., 1986.
- Yu, D. S. *Hanguk sinhanui gwangmaek* [The Veins of Korean Theology]. Seoul: Jeonmangsa, 1986.

Yun, K. R. *Hankook Geundaesaui Gigoksajeok ihae* [Christian Understanding of Korea's Modern History: Christian Policies and Personality in the Period of the Regency-General]. Seoul: Yeokminsa, 1992.

Yu, T. Y. "Balgabeosgyeojin Seogumunmyeongui Jegookjuuiwa Migookui Sikminji Jeongchaek [Stripped Naked Imperialism of Western civilization]." Korea daily, October 8, 2014. Accessed March 12, 2015.
http://blog.koreadaily.com/view/myhome.html?fod_style=B&med_usrid=zion0044&cid=833975&fod_no=1.