

STUDIEN ZUR
INTERKULTURELLEN
GESCHICHTE
DES CHRISTENTUMS

STUDIES IN THE
INTERCULTURAL
HISTORY
OF CHRISTIANITY

ETUDES
D'HISTOIRE
INTERCULTURELLE
DU CHRISTIANISME

Jan A. B. Jongeneel / Jiafeng Liu /
Peter Tze Ming Ng / Paek Chong Ku /
Scott W. Sunquist / Yuko Watanabe
(eds.)

Christian Presence and Progress in North-East Asia

Historical and
Comparative Studies

153



PETER LANG

This volume is a collection of historical and comparative essays, describing and analyzing Christian presence and progress in North-East Asia. The authors originate from China, Japan, Korea, Canada, the United States of America, and the Netherlands. The nineteen essays are a selection from the papers given at the Seventh International Conference of the North East Asia Council of Studies in History of Christianity (NEACSHC), held in Wuhan (China) in 2009. The volume has four parts: General, China, Japan, and Korea. The first part deals with the impact of Western interdenominationalism on the East and the future development of Christianity in China. The five papers on China cope with 19th and 20th century topics such as distribution of Christian literature, nationalism, modernization, Christian socialism, and Sino-theology. Comparisons with the situation in the other East-Asian countries are also made in the three papers on Japan, focusing on the beginning of Protestant mission work and Christian education. The final part, regarding Korea and consisting of four contributions, pays attention to recent developments in Bible translation, church planting, holiness mission, Korean diaspora Christianity, and the Korean War.

Jan A. B. Jongeneel is Honorary Professor Emeritus of Missiology at Utrecht University (Netherlands).

Jiafeng Liu is Professor of Modern Chinese History and Associate Director of the Research Center for East-West Cultural Exchange in Central China Normal University in Wuhan (China).

Peter Tze Ming Ng is Professor Emeritus at the Department of Cultural and Religious Studies at the Chinese University Hong Kong (Hong Kong).

Paek Chong Ku is Director of International Cooperation of the Korea Academy of Church History and Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Theology at Seoul Christian University (Korea).

Scott W. Sunquist is Associate Professor of World Missions and Evangelism at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary (USA).

Yuko Watanabe is Associate Professor at the Centre for Liberal Arts at the Meiji Gakuin University at Yokohama (Japan).

Christian Presence and Progress in North-East Asia

STUDIEN ZUR INTERKULTURELLEN GESCHICHTE DES CHRISTENTUMS
ETUDES D' HISTOIRE INTERCULTURELLE DU CHRISTIANISME
STUDIES IN THE INTERCULTURAL HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

begründet von / fondé par / founded by
Walter J. Hollenweger und/et/and Hans J. Margull†
herausgegeben von / édité par / edited by
Richard Friedli, Université de Fribourg
Jan A. B. Jongeneel, Universiteit Utrecht
Klaus Koschorke, Universität München
Theo Sundermeier, Universität Heidelberg
Werner Ustorf, University of Birmingham

Vol. 153



PETER LANG

Frankfurt am Main · Berlin · Bern · Bruxelles · New York · Oxford · Wien

Jan A. B. Jongeneel / Jiafeng Liu /
Peter Tze Ming Ng / Paek Chong Ku /
Scott W. Sunquist / Yuko Watanabe /
(eds.)

Christian Presence
and Progress
in North-East Asia
Historical and
Comparative Studies



PETER LANG

Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften

**Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche
Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

E-ISBN 978-3-653-00603-2

ISSN 0170-9240

ISBN 978-3-631-61115-9

© Peter Lang GmbH

Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften

Frankfurt am Main 2011

All rights reserved.

All parts of this publication are protected by copyright. Any utilisation outside the strict limits of the copyright law, without the permission of the publisher, is forbidden and liable to prosecution. This applies in particular to reproductions, translations, microfilming, and storage and processing in electronic retrieval systems.

www.peterlang.de

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	VIII
Preface	IX
Abbreviations	XIII
Part I: General	
1. Jan A.B. <i>Jongeneel</i> (容格理)	1
Interdenominational Protestant Movements and Organizations in the Period Preceding the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910): A Historical and Comparative Study of their Missionary Significance and Impact on East Asia	
2. Xinping <i>Zhuo</i> (卓新平)	20
Christianity and Contemporary Social Developments in North-East Asia: Reflections on the Future Development of Christianity in China	
Part II: China	
3. John T. P. <i>Lai</i> (黎子鵬)	26
Distribution of Christian Literature in East Asia: A Comparison of China and Japan in the Late 19 th Century	
4. Kevin Xiyi <i>Yao</i> (姚西伊)	41
‘Contending for the Faith’: A Study of the Early 20 th Century Fundamentalism in China in Comparison with Korea and Japan	
5. Peter Tze Ming <i>Ng</i> (吳梓明), Yongguang <i>Zhang</i> (張永廣)	57
Nationalism, Modernization, and Christian Education in 20 th Century East Asia: A Comparison of the Situations in China, Japan, and Korea	
6. Jiafeng <i>Liu</i> (劉家峰)	73
Christian Socialism in Pre-World War II East Asia: A Comparison of Zhang Shizhang in China and Tokohiko Kagawa in Japan	

7. Pan-chiu *Lai* (賴品超) 87
Sino-Theology as a Non-Church Movement:
Historical and Comparative Perspectives

Part III: Japan

8. Thomas G. *Oey* (黃美樹) 104
John Liggins and the Beginning of Protestant
Mission Work in Nagasaki, Japan (May-June 1859)
9. Yuko *Watanabe* (渡辺佑子) 126
The Chinese YMCA in Tokyo: China-Japan Relations
from the Perspective of Christian Education Exchange
(1898-1907)
10. Naoto *Tsuji* (辻直人) 143
Christian Education in Japan: A Comparison of the
Concepts and Activities of the NCEA and IBC

Part IV: Korea

11. Chong-ku *Paek* (白鍾九) 159
John Ross and the Church in Korea: Bible Translation
and Church Planting (1870-1900s)
12. Ji-il *Tark* (卓志一) 172
The Work of Canadian Missions among Koreans
in Japan, Manchuria, and Korea (1898-1942)
13. Jong-hyun *Park* (朴鐘賢) 190
The Lord's Second Coming and the Empire: The Holiness
Mission and Church in Japan, Korea, and China and
Its Forced End (1901-43)
14. Byung-tae *Kim* (金柄兌)..... 206
Viewpoints, Activities, and Characteristics of the
Korean Churches and Chinese Churches During
the Korean War: A Comparison

Appendices	225
1. Report of the 7th NEACSHC International Conference, Wuhan 2009	
2. Survey of the 7th NEACSHC International Conference, Wuhan 2009	
3. Constitution of the North-East Asia Council of Studies in History of Christianity (NEACSHC)	
List of Contributors	233
Index of Personal Names	237

Acknowledgements

As the Chairman of the North-East Asia Council of Studies in History of Christianity (NEACSHC), 2007-2009, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to all the editorial members of this publication who were appointed at the 7th International Conference of NEACSHC held in Wuhan, China.

Our editorial members are: Prof. Jan A.B. Jongeneel, Honorary Professor Emeritus of Missiology at Utrecht University in the Netherlands; Prof. Peter Tze Ming Ng, Retired Professor of the Department of Cultural and Religious Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong; Prof. Jia-feng Liu, Professor of History at Central China Normal University, Wuhan, China; Dr. Chong-ku Paek, Associate Professor of Graduate School of Theology at Seoul Christian University, Korea; Dr. Scott W. Sunquist, Professor of World Christianity at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, USA; and Dr. Yuko Watanabe, Associate Professor of the Centre for Liberal Arts at Meiji Gakuin University, Japan.

We are thankful especially to Prof. Jongeneel who has attended the Wuhan conference in 2009 and kindly gave his critical remarks to all the papers we collected for this volume. He has also helped us to secure the publication of the present volume in the Peter Lang series, *The Intercultural History of Christianity*. Thanks are also due to Dr. Scott W. Sunquist who has offered help to read and polish the work for our English readers. Without their diligently working together in the past months, this volume would not have been completed as smoothly as it has been.

Our sincere gratitude is also due to all the contributors, who have not only presented thoughtful and insightful papers at the Wuhan conference, but also worked hard to correct and update their valuable papers.

Peter Tze Ming Ng
Chairman (2007-2009)
NEACSHC

Preface

The North-East Asia Council of Studies in the History of Christianity (NEACSHC) is committed to build up scholarly networks and promote fraternal relationships among scholars of the history of Christianity in China, Japan, and Korea. It also aims to provide graduate students of Christian studies and Church history of the North-East Asian countries with opportunities for the exchange of regional information and for broadening their horizons with international and regional perspectives.

The contributions in this volume are a selection of valuable papers presented at the 7th International Conference of NEACSHC held in Wuhan, China in August, 2009. The theme of this volume focuses on Christian presence and progress in North-East Asia, with special attention to China, Korea and Japan. It is obvious that the development of Christianity in North-East Asia was affected greatly by the respective socio-cultural and political situations in these countries and these in turn had a significant impact on the processes of globalization and localization of Christianity in North-East Asia. With this in mind, our contributors directed their historical and comparative studies toward Christian movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in North-East Asia. These papers cover different mission ideas, methods, indigenization movement, the growth of local churches, state-church relationships, Christian education, and other Christian enterprises.

It is extremely encouraging to see in this volume of papers on Christian movements in North-East Asia from an inter-disciplinary approach, such as from the humanities and the social sciences. The scholars in this volume represent a wide spectrum of disciplines, ranging from history, theology, missiology, literature and communications, to liberal education, Christian education, religious studies, and sociology of religion. It is also enlightening to see Christian presence and progress in North-East Asia analyzed not only from intra-national but also from international perspectives. We see here common issues like nationalism, socialism, modernization, translation of bibles, secularism, and development of mission theology, with various models of responses found in the different countries. It is indeed enriching to listen to each others' experiences. Coming out of the conference there has been a call for even more serious consideration of their respective social, cultural and political contexts. And there is an urgent need to study not only the interplay regarding how Christian missionaries have responded to Asian challenges in their respective countries, but also the way they did and why the difference in different countries within the same region. Hence, this collection of papers brings greater insights for the recent study of World Christianity.

We were most honored to have invited Prof. Zhang Kaiyuan, the former president of Central China Normal University to attend and address at the Wuhan Conference. Professor Zhang is a great pioneer in the research on the history of Christianity in China. In June 1989, when historical research on Christian higher education was still a very sensitive area of study in China, Prof. Zhang took the lead to promote such study by organizing the First International Conference on History of Christian Higher Education at Central China Normal University, Wuhan where he was the President. Professor Zhang was indeed a leading scholar and an exemplar in the resurgence of academic research on the History of Christianity in China in the past 20 years. He had presented a remarkable address and impressed many scholars at our opening ceremony. Hence, I enclose herewith his full address for our readers as follows:

Shakespeare wrote *The Midsummer Night's Dream*. Wuhan people also seem to have special feelings for summer. Now, please allow me, as a representative of the organizers to extend warmest welcome to our fellow scholars with unique passion of the midsummer in Wuhan.

The seminar today, including the research we are now engaged in, is the continuation of the unfinished work of our predecessors. Early in 1942, my former teacher named Miner Searle Bates (born in Ohio of the United States) in the University of Nanking had offered his article "Mission in Far Eastern Cultural Relations" for the eighth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In this article, he had touched upon the purpose, organization and method of the Church in Asia; the characteristics of the missionaries and their ministry; the quantification information about the work of the Mission both in China and Japan; the change in time of war and the development trend of the Mission career itself. It is worth noting that the author had already proposed some theoretical concepts, such as cultural contacts, cultural transfers, cultural movements, etc. These concepts still have important instructive significance for our research today.

Due to the restrictions of war and information scarcity, although Bates' article was entitled as "Far East", it could only discuss in details the matter in China, Japan and Korea. But this is just in accordance with our research field today. Based on the universal Christian values, Bates, a devout Christian pacifist, held the view that all people in the world should live in harmony and equality. With sincere affection for the people in China and Japan, Bates had lived and worked in China for nearly 30 years, during which time he went to Japan for 7 times and formed close contacts with missionaries there. In the summer of 1937, he spent his vacation with his wife and son in Japan, where he found the symptom of Japanese invasion of China and sounded the first alarm. He, together with Japanese Christians, made great efforts to call for the stop of the war but in vain. Nevertheless, the rescue work later in the Nanjing Safety Zone still received help from some Christians of Japanese Church. This deep friendship had continued even after World War II. In the 1950s, when our Chinese

famous Christian scholar Xie Fuya (N. Z. Zia) drifted overseas and was poverty-stricken then, it was Dr. Bates and William Fenn (former classmate of Xie in University of Nanking) who gave him the timely help. Then with the help of Yuasa, the Chancellor of International Christian University, Zia was officially hired as Professor of Chinese Philosophy and Literature.

Due to the special circumstances of that time, Bates could not have a direct contact with North Korea, so his discussion about it was very general. But his concerns and expectation of the Korean people was the same. Now 68 years has passed. The world and Asia, especially Northeast Asia, have changed greatly. The trauma of war has long been eliminated in China, Japan and South Korea. And they have already achieved their economic take-off and rapid development. More importantly, international relations have been normalized. Pursuing cooperation on economic, cultural as well as various aspects of social life in peace becomes the main task of every nation. Take our little research center for example. Since 1979, we have established a good relation with the academic community of Japan. And early in 1991, before the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea, we had already realized the breakthrough in academic exchange between the two sides. I am very glad that I was among the first three historians in mainland who were invited to pay the official visit to South Korea. The Presbyterian University of Seoul is the first university that made the formal and friendly cooperative relations with our school. Since then, our research center always has one or two Korean and Japanese scholars working on long-term collaborative research here. Today, so many South Korean, Japanese and other overseas scholars gather together again with us and discuss the history of Christianity in Northeast Asia and related issues. I'm sure that my teacher Bates (1897-1978) would feel very pleased about it if he were still alive.

Christianity, the same as other religions in the world, does not belong to one country or one nation. The process of its spread from east to west and west to east is also the process of its continuous transplantation from one social and cultural environment to another. And the indigenization of Christianity to non-Christian areas is the long-cherished dream of the Church from generation to generation.

The so-called "China for Christ" must be on the premise of "Christ for China". The normal communication between developed culture and undeveloped one should also have interactions but the degree and the form might be different. From the perspective of the development of the world history, the universal Church of Christ is not only the inherent theological core of Christianity but also the interpretation, elucidation, adaptation and adoption of different languages and cultures through thousands of years.

Dr. Bates was very concerned about this issue long ago. Thus he not only appreciated the principle that "Christianity settles down in China" proclaimed by Frank J. Rowlinson, but also quite agreed with the call "Rooting the Christian Church in Chinese Soil" declared by our former Chancellor Francis Wei in 1945 in a speech at Yale Divinity School as Henry Luce Professor of World Christianity. I believe that this

experience is not only suitable for China, but also for other countries and regions in Asia. I sincerely hope that our joint research can be conducive to the better mutual understanding between all the Christians and non-Christians of the world and contributes to the establishment of harmonious new Asia and new world.

Lastly, I would like to thank our team of editors again for our collaboration as a team together, net-working with our scholars and contributors from the different countries. My sincere thanks are especially due to Prof. Jan Jongeneel who took the initiative to propose the publication of this second volume and the first volume in 2007 in the Peter Lang series, *The Intercultural History of Christianity* in Germany. He and Prof. Scott Sunquist have also helped to read and polish the structure and language for all our articles. Thanks are also due to my wife, Bidy Miu Ying who has been very supportive and helped especially in making various articles uniform in the required format, as well as in providing the abbreviations and the index of personal names for this publication. And to my two sons, Andy Ting Chung and Johnny Ting Kwong, who have kindly offered to subsidize the publication costs of this volume. I sincerely hope that our readers will find great excitements in reading these fine articles.

Peter Tze Ming Ng
May 21, 2010
Los Angeles, California
USA

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AEC	American Episcopal Church
APS	American Peace Society
ATS	American Tract Society
BDCM	Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BM	Basle Mission/ Basle Evangelical Missionary Society
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
CCC (China)	China Christian Council
CCC (HK)	Chung Chi College, the Chinese University of Hong Kong
CCK	Christian Council of Korea
CCNU	Central China Normal University
CES	Chinese Evangelisation Society
CIM	China Inland Mission
C&MA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CoC	Council of Cooperation
CPU	Church Peace Union
CSRCS	Center for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society
CUHK	The Chinese University of Hong Kong
CWM	Council of World Mission
CWS	Church World Service (USA)
IBC (Japan)	Inter-Board Committee of Christian Work in Japan
ICU (Japan)	International Christian University
IMC	International Missionary Council
JEB	Japan Evangelistic Band
KCF	Korea Christian Federation
KMT (China)	Kuomintang/Guomindang
KNCC	National Council of Churches in Korea
LMM	Laymen's Missionary Movement
LMS	London Missionary Society
MEC	Methodist Episcopal Church
MES	Morrison Education Society
NCC (China)	National Christian Council (of China)
NCEA (Japan)	National Christian Educational Association (of Japan)
NCTS	North China Theological Seminary
NEACSHC	North East Asia Council of Studies in History of Christianity
NZG	Netherlands Missionary Society
OMF	Overseas Missionary Fellowship
OMS(Japan)	Oriental Missionary Society (of Japan)
PCC	Presbyterian Church in Canada

PCUS	Presbyterian Church of the United States
PCUSA	Presbyterian Church of the United States of America
PFM	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
PHS	Presbyterian Historical Society
PRC	People's Republic of China
RTS	Religious Tract Society
SA	Salvation Army
SGM	Social Gospel Movement
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
SVM	Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions
TSPM (China)	Three-Self Patriotic Movement
UCC	United Church of Canada
UCCJ	United Church of Christ in Japan
UN	United Nations
UP	United Presbyterian
USA	United States of America
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
WACPIF	World Alliance of Churches for Promoting International Friendship
WCC	World Council of Churches
WSCF	World's Student Christian Federation

1. *Interdenominational Protestant Movements and Organizations in the Period Preceding the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (1910): A Historical and Comparative Study of their Missionary Significance and Impact on East Asia*

Jan A.B. Jongeneel

At the beginning of modern history, Martin Luther (1483-1546), Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), John Calvin (1509-64), and other reformers in Continental Europe and Great Britain initiated a mass movement, known as “Protestantism,” within the established Roman Catholic Church. In the course of the decades the movement ended in a range of “denominations:” Anglicanism, Lutheranism, Anabaptism, Calvinism, Presbyterianism, Arminianism, Methodism, etc. In the 17th and 18th centuries many Protestants protested against this unwanted development: they initiated various “interdenominational” movements, which tried their hardest to overcome the schisms inside Protestantism.¹ The Moravian Brethren, founded by the German Count Nikolaus L. Von Zinzendorf (1700-60) in Herrnhut, played a significant role in this transforming process. He not only established an interdenominational community, but also influenced John Wesley (1703-91), the founder of Methodism in Great Britain, and Friedrich D.E. Schleiermacher (1768-1834), the founding father of 19th century Protestant theology in Germany. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the endeavors of interdenominational movements and organizations resulted internally in an ongoing renewal of the Protestant world-view, life-style, and church-going; externally it brought about a wide range of missionary activities, both at home and outside the Western world. This study aims at an overall description and analysis of the various revitalizing interdenominational movements and organizations on Protestant soil in modern history, with special reference to East Asia.

The present study starts in the 17th and 18th centuries which gave birth to movements such as Pietism in Continental Europe, Methodism in Great Britain, and the Great Awakening in the American Colonies. Thereafter it turns to the 19th century, which produced numerous interdenominational organizations for both old and new Protestant renewal movements, some of them being mass

1 The present author prefers the term “inter-denominational(ism),” versus terms such as “trans-denominational(ism),” “post-denominational(ism),” and “non-denominational(ism).” He understands “interdenominational Christianity” as that form of Christianity which aims at a thorough cooperation between people who belong to different denominations without appealing to the people involved that they are obliged to give up membership of their own denominational churches.

movements.² The 20th century continued the various initiatives taken in the 19th century and also developed new ideas, activities, and structures. In the course of the turbulent decades of last century a switch took place from a Western (and colonial) framework to a worldwide (and post-colonial) perspective. The interdenominational World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh (1910), attended by a few Chinese, Japanese, and Korean delegates,³ and the First World War (1914-18) was a type of watershed between the 19th and the 20th centuries. It is almost impossible to sketch all key developments of both the period before and after this watershed in one article, so this chapter will focus on the pre-Edinburgh period. And even this period will be dealt with in a rather selective way. Two significant movements, for instance, are passed over: the Anti-Masonic movement in North America (1826ff.), and the Oxford or Tractarian movement in the Church of England (1833ff.).⁴

The present study uses two methods to investigate the interdenominational Protestant movements and organizations and their missionary significance and impact on East Asia in the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries. In the first place, it applies the historical method: all relevant data of the centuries involved are put in a historical framework and perspective. At the very end of this study, the comparative method is employed to complete the historical research: the various concepts and activities of the movements and organizations involved, as well as their impact on China, Japan, and Korea in East Asia, are compared with one another. To focus this study further, the author decided to set aside valuable cultural-anthropological and socio-economic methodologies.

Birth of Interdenominational Protestant Movements and Organizations in the 17th and 18th Centuries: Outreach to China, Japan, and Korea considered but not realized

The 17th and 18th centuries are known as the age of growing rationalism and intellectualism in and outside the church. This “modern” development is much more linked with the rise and growth of the philosophy of Enlightenment

2 Cf. J. Waskom Pickett, *Christian Mass Movements in India: A Study with Recommendations* (Cincinnati: Abingdon Press, 1933).

3 In Edinburgh North-East Asia was officially represented by eight delegates: three Chinese, four Japanese, and one Korean. Among them were Cheng Jing-yi (China), Tong Ching-en (China), Kajinosuke Ibuka (Japan), Tasaku Harada (Japan), and Yun Ch'i-ho (Korea). Cheng Jing-yi, Ibuka, and Harada addressed the conference audience. Non-officially Dr. C.C. Wang (China) and Dr. Ida Kahn (China) attended the conference.

4 Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (Exeter, England: Pater Noster Press, 1971; reprint), vol. 4, pp. 39, 401; Ruth Rouse - Stephen C. Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948* (London: SPCK, 1954), pp. 276-82.

(German: Aufklärung) in society than with the rethinking of the traditional way of doing theology (scholasticism and its offspring) in the church.

These centuries are also known as the age of growing resistance to intellectual sermons and rational explanations and defenses of the Christian truth claims and the typical doctrines of the various denominations. Christianity not founded on argument (1748), written by Henry Dodwell (died 1784), is one of the Christian polemic and apologetic treatises of the time arguing against doing theology rationalistically.⁵ Likewise the interdenominational Protestant movements of the 17th and 18th centuries are “not founded on argument,” but on experience.

Pietism

Scholars view German Pietism as the oldest interdenominational movement. Philipp J. Spener (1635-1705) in Berlin⁶ and August H. Francke (1663-1727) in Halle,⁷ both Lutherans, were the founders of this revival movement. They emphasized that a reformation of the church (Lutheran) must be accomplished by a reformation of life-style. They viewed Christian spirituality and education, foremost prayers and personal small group Bible study, as the key tools to achieve a relevant Christian life-style. Moreover, they engaged in missions at home and abroad. At home, they favored mission among the Jews. Halle became not only the center of a renewal movement in education (compulsory elementary education for all children), but also the very base for doing overseas missions. Pietistic missionaries were academically prepared to go to areas such as the Coromandel Coast in India and Greenland in the North.⁸

Von Zinzendorf surpassed the two founding fathers of the Pietistic movement in being ecumenical and missionary.⁹ In Herrnhut, in the eastern part of Germany, he established an international and interdenominational community, which preached and practiced “the religion of the heart,” and engaged in doing mission in six continents (it became the first Protestant community to do so). As stated by the American mission historian Kenneth S. Latourette: “Before the end of the 18th century the Moravians had begun missions in Russia, in India, in the Nicobar Islands, in Ceylon, among the Indians of the English colonies in North America, in the Danish and British West Indies, in Surinam, in Central America, on the Gold Coast, in South Africa, among the Lapps, in Greenland, and in

5 Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Het Redelijke Geloof in Jezus Christus: Een Studie over de Wijsbegeerte van de Verlichting* (Wageningen: Veenman, 1971), pp. 133, 223-24.

6 Hans-W. Gensichen, “Philipp Jakob Spener,” in: Gerald H. Anderson (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1998), p. 633-34. In the following footnotes this volume is abbreviated as BDCM.

7 Hans-W. Gensichen, “August Hermann Francke,” in: *BDCM*, p. 222.

8 Latourette, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 46, 48, 60, 412.

9 David A. Schattschneider, “Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf,” in: *BDCM*, p. 762.

Labrador.”¹⁰ Although the Herrnhuter community, outside Continental Europe known as Moravian Brethren (Latin: *Unitas Fratrum*), appears not to have reached China, Japan, and Korea in North-East Asia in the 18th century, it still has great paradigmatic significance for all Protestant missionary concepts and endeavors past and present.

Methodism and the Great Awakening

In 1738 Von Zinzendorf indirectly influenced John Wesley.¹¹ To some extent the so-called Wesleyan or Methodist revival in Great Britain (1739ff.) can be viewed as a fruit of his encounter with the vision and praxis of the Moravians. John Wesley, his younger brother Charles Wesley (1707-88),¹² and George Whitefield (1714-70) became the great leaders of Methodism.

As Von Zinzendorf sailed from Continental Europe to the West Indies and the eastern parts of North America for doing foreign mission, so the brothers Wesley and Whitefield traveled from Great Britain to North America to do the same. In the New World the brothers Wesley served as missionaries of the (Anglican) Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG, established in 1701), which worked alongside the older and more educational (Anglican) Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK, established in 1699). At both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, Whitefield became the first itinerant evangelist, who did not have a settled parish (except briefly at the Bethesda Orphan House in Georgia, North America). He is also viewed as the pioneer of the so-called “para-church” movement in Anglo-America.¹³

Almost at the same time as the birth and growth of the Methodist revival in Great Britain, the interdenominational “glorious revival,” known as the Great Awakening, broke out in the American Colonies. It viewed the Anglican Church as an expression and tool of British colonialism and therefore vigorously resisted its expansion and claims. Its great leader, the Congregational minister Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), gave an impetus to both education and democracy. At the end of his life he served as a missionary among the Native Americans in Western Massachusetts.¹⁴ In its course, the Great Awakening also spread to minority groups such as the African Americans. This sweeping reform gave birth to other interdenominational movements such as the Peace movement (see below) and the Anti-slavery or Abolition movement. The latter intended to mitigate the hard lot of the Indians and African Americans and to abolish

10 Latourette, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 47-48.

11 Norman E. Thomas, “John Wesley,” in: *BDCM*, pp. 723-24.

12 Norman E. Thomas, “Charles Wesley,” in: *BDCM*, p. 723.

13 Harry S. Stout, “George Whitefield,” in: *BDCM*, p. 729.

14 Harry S. Stout, “Jonathan Edwards,” in: *BDCM*, p. 195. Cf. Latourette, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 214-16.

slavery both as a practice and as an institution.¹⁵ The Abolition movement, inspired by Awakenings and Evangelical revivals, gave birth to the American Anti-slavery Society (1833).

The rise of interdenominational Protestantism

The Enlightenment era culminated in the violent French Revolution (1789), which separated church and state, and began the slow decline of “Christendom (Latin: *corpus christianum*)” as the structure of Western society introduced by, and maintained since, Emperor Constantine the Great (ca. 288-337). Most awakened Christians in Continental Europe and the Anglo-Saxon world were very upset about this outcome of the Enlightenment. But other Christians, being more accommodative, viewed this Revolution as a suitable tool to achieve their own Christian “liberation:” when ties between church and state no longer exist, then the church is free to do what it wants to do and to renew itself in a Christ-like way.¹⁶

The Enlightenment era has been interpreted as “the rise of modern paganism.”¹⁷ It also must be viewed as the era of “the rise of interdenominational Protestantism.” Great leaders such as Von Zinzendorf, the Wesleys, and Edwards vigorously looked forward, while opposing both the traditional way of thinking and acting in church and theology (scholasticism and its offspring), and the “the new way of thinking and behaving,” (developed and propagated by the Enlightenment philosophers). Their way of believing and acting did not culminate in a violent revolution, but in a process of transforming the world at home and abroad through mission and evangelism. Although 18th century awakened Christians included the whole wide world in their missionary considerations, they did not reach out to North-East Asia. But their successors in the 19th and early 20th centuries started profound missionary work in China, Japan, and Korea at a large scale.

Enlightenment philosophers did not leave their rich salons and notable houses in the West in order to serve people groups in the non-Western world. But many “awakened” Christians became pious missionaries, who wholeheartedly shared their goal-directed visions, lives, and belongings with the so-called “heathens” in the East and the South. The latter were fully conscious that this service for the sake of Jesus Christ and the spreading of his message of salvation in foreign areas could imply an early death (due to either serious

15 Latourette, *History*, vol. 3, pp. 194, 225-26, 232.

16 The Unitarian theologian Joseph Priestly (1733-1804) in Great Britain, for instance, viewed the French Revolution as a notable event, which contributes to paving the way for the millennium and Christ’s Second Coming.

17 See Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968).

illness or martyrdom); time and again their will to obey the Great Commission proved to be stronger than the natural wish of every human being to have a long and luxurious life shared with family and good friends.

Growth of Interdenominational Protestant Movements and Organizations in the 19th and early 20th Centuries: Their Missionary Views and Activities in China, Japan, and Korea

The 19th century gave birth to new revivalist movements in Continental Europe, Great Britain, and the United States. The Second Great Awakening (1795ff.) started in New England, the South, and Kentucky of the United States and spread from there to the West.¹⁸ It paved the way for the later holiness movements (1835ff.).¹⁹ The latter, clearly influenced by John Wesley, became organized as the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Christian Holiness (1867) in the United States and as the Keswick Convention for the Deepening of Spiritual Life (1875) in Great Britain.²⁰ The Keswick movement adopted the motto: “All one in Christ Jesus.” The Canadian Holiness Movement Mission (1895) is known as a movement which from 1910 onwards engaged in missionary work in China.

After the Napoleonic era (1804-14), Continental Europe gave birth to various revival (French: *Réveil*) movements, each revitalizing Christian spirituality, Christian faith, morality, and church life in its own peculiar way. In Germany and other Lutheran countries, for instance, the Community or Fellowship Movement (Ger.: *Gemeinschaftsbewegung*) preached and practiced sanctification, to some extent reviving the heritage of Pietism.²¹ In Bad Boll, Germany, Johann C. Blumhardt (1805-80) focused his ministry on spiritual healing (1842ff.).²²

Pietism, Methodism, the Great Awakening, and the 19th century awakening and revival movements gave birth to schools, mission societies, unions, and other diaconal societies at home and abroad. Some leaders and institutions were mainly concerned about people groups: the kids (cf. Sunday schools), young people, students, and laymen, as well as people in need such as

18 Rouse - Neill, *History*, pp. 235-36.

19 Main leaders of the American Holiness Movement were Charles G. Finney (1792-1875), a former freemason; the lay evangelist Dwight L. Moody (1837-99); and Reuben A. Torrey (1856-1928), the successor of Moody in the Bible Institute in Chicago.

20 Rouse - Neill, *History*, p. 332.

21 *ibid.*, p. 332.

22 Werner Raupp, “Johann Christoph Blumhardt,” in: Hans Dieter Betz, et al. (eds.), *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), pp. 1646-47.

the sick, the poor, war-victims, etc. Others, however, were more or less need-oriented. The latter group can be subdivided in missionary societies at home and abroad; tract and Bible societies; and peace, social, and educational societies and movements. The present survey and analysis, in a broadly chronological order, deals with each of the main interdenominational movements and organizations involved and their missionary significance and impact on North-East Asia.

China, Japan, and Korea have each their own Protestant mission and church history. In China that history starts decades earlier than in Japan and in Korea. In 1807, the Scotsman Robert Morrison (1782-1834) arrived as the first Protestant missionary in mainland China.²³ He served there through the interdenominational London Missionary Society (LMS, 1795). In 1858, Japan was forced to open the country for trade and subsequently to allow Christian missionaries to enter the nation. And in 1876, the Korean “Hermit Kingdom” was forced to open its doors. A few decades later both denominational and interdenominational mission bodies from the West started to work in Korea. As the Japanese Christians experienced an interdenominational revival in the year 1872, so the Koreans did in the period 1903-07.²⁴

Sunday schools

John Wesley promoted the education of the masses. In 1780, his friend Robert Raikes (1735-1811) opened the first Sunday school in Gloucester. This private school and similar schools elsewhere in Great Britain provided elementary instruction for the poor in reading, writing, arithmetic, as well as in religion (primarily the Bible) and morality. In other Western nations Sunday schools were also founded to nurture both Christian and non-Christian children. They were also established in the United States. “Sunday schools multiplied on both sides of the Atlantic and sprang up in Protestant circles in many lands... the Sunday schools were a popular religious movement unprecedented in their extensive enlistment of the rank and file of Christians in the teaching and study of the Bible.”²⁵

In 1803, the British Sunday School Union was founded. Thereafter other nations established their own unions. In 1907, the interdenominational World’s Sunday School Association was established in Rome; it intended to be an umbrella, under which the Sunday school unions of the various nations and continents could gather together and effectively cooperate with one another.²⁶

23 Wilbert R. Shenk, “Robert Morrison,” in: *BDCM*, pp. 473-74.

24 Cf. Chang Ki Lee, *The Early Revival Movement in Korea (1903-1907): A Historical and Systematic Study* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2003).

25 Latourette, *History*, vol. 4, p. 38.

26 *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 376. Since 1947 the World’s Sunday School Association is known as the World Council of Christian Education.

This Association included Sunday school organizations from outside the Western world as well. In many non-Western countries, North-East Asia included, the first Sunday schools were established long before the First World War: serving tens of thousands of Christian and non-Christian children.²⁷ But umbrella organizations seldom appeared in the non-Western world before that event. The Sunday School Union of Japan was established in 1907, but the China Sunday School Union only in 1920.²⁸

Foreign missionary societies

In 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) was established by William Carey (1761-1834) as the first Protestant foreign missionary society: propagating the Gospel among the “heathen,” and “expecting great things from God and attempting great things for God.”²⁹ The BMS was denominational in nature. Thereafter interdenominational societies were established as well: London Missionary Society (LMS, 1795), Netherlands Missionary Society (NZG, 1797), American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM, 1810), Basle Evangelical Missionary Society (BM, 1815), Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PFM, 1822), etc. Denominational and interdenominational societies largely worked within the colonial setting of the time: British missionary societies in the British colonies; Dutch missionary societies in the Dutch colonies; French missionary societies in the French colonies; etc. Nevertheless, Latourette characterized the 19th century as “the great century” of the Christian missions, especially the Protestant missions. It was “the age of the most extensive geographic spread of Christianity. ... [N]ever in any one century had so many movements emerged from within Christianity as in the 19th century, and ... never before had the Christian movement exerted so great an influence upon mankind.”³⁰

Decades after the arrival of Morrison as LMS missionary in China, his countryman J. Hudson Taylor (1832-1905) came to China as a missionary of the Chinese Evangelisation Society (CES).³¹ In 1865, 11 years after his arrival in China, Taylor ended his link with this “intensely sincere and impractical” society,³² and established the China Inland Mission (CIM), which is a new type of interdenominational Protestant missions, known as “Faith Missions.” CIM as

27 In Japan this endeavor was helped by the 1876 decision of the Japanese government to make the Sunday the official day of rest.

28 Latourette, *History*, vol. 5, p. 271.

29 Aalbertinus H. Oussoren, *William Carey: Especially his Missionary Principles* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1945), p. 34.

30 Latourette, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 1, 6. Latourette’s statement makes it quite clear that there are not only Christian movements; Christianity as such is also a movement.

31 Ralph C. Covell, “James Hudson Taylor,” in: *BDCM*, pp. 657-58.

32 Alwyn Austin, *China’s Millions: The China Inland Mission and the Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), p. 63.

para-church society would accept reborn Christians as missionaries. However, they were required to agree wholeheartedly with Taylor's conviction that "God's work done in God's way will not lack God's [financial] support."³³ Contrary to the LMS and the CES, CIM and other Faith Missions did not differentiate between ordained and other missionaries, between men and women, and/or between the elite and the common people.

In Japan Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists established the first Protestant congregations. Later interdenominational organizations were set up. In 1872, Presbyterian, Reformed, and Congregational missionaries started the first Protestant Church in Yokohama. And in 1878, an interdenominational organization was founded in Tokyo: the National Christian Conference.³⁴ At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, Faith Missions such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA, 1891) and the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS, 1901) started to work in Japan. In the same period, the non-church (*Mukyokai*) movement of Kanzo Uchimura (1861-1930) was born, and as a native and independent movement it is neither "denominational" nor "interdenominational."³⁵

As soon as Korea was opened to the outside world, Presbyterian and Methodist mission agencies initiated their own denominational structures. But the revival movement (1903-07) contributed to the development of interdenominational concepts, activities, and structures.³⁶ After the First World War, these views and activities became more common. In 1919, the oldest interdenominational body in Korea was founded: the Federal Council of Churches and Missions (since 1924 known as the National Christian Council).³⁷

Tract and Bible societies

In addition to the foreign missionary societies which, in the wake of pioneers such as William Carey in India and James Hudson Taylor in mainland China, started to do mission overseas directly, various other interdenominational organizations were founded. These newer mission organizations with a similar global view and similar programs, made some indirect contributions to preaching the Gospel and serving the human community in the non-Western world.

33 Klaus Fliedner, *The Story of Faith Missions* (Oxford: Regnum Lynx, 1994), p. 28.

34 In this foundation, the impact of the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA), established in the West, can be observed. See David B. Barrett (ed.), *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Survey of Churches and Religions in the Modern World* (Oxford: University Press, 2001), pp. 415-16. In the following footnotes this volume is abbreviated as WCE.

35 Richard H. Drummond, "Kanzo Uchimura," in: *BDCM*, p. 687; Yasuo Furuya (ed.), *A History of Japanese Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), pp. 35-42.

36 Cf. the Utrecht University dissertation of Chang Ki Lee, mentioned in footnote 24.

37 *WCE*, pp. 683, 685.

In 1799 the first Religious Tract Society was established in London by George Burder (1752-1832), a Dissenter pastor in Coventry, who was influenced by George Whitefield. This new interdenominational society published religious pamphlets in plain and simple language in order to spread the Gospel to the masses at home and abroad. It selected, printed, and distributed a variety of small texts, containing “pure truth and some account of what was necessary for one’s salvation.”³⁸ Thousands of copies were cheaply sold to large audiences in and outside England. Parallel societies were founded elsewhere in the Western world and the non-Western world followed. In 1848, for instance, the North India Christian Tract and Book Society was established in Agra India.³⁹ In their own contexts, foreign missionaries distributed tracts produced in the West and provided conversion stories to be published as tracts in the West.

The British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was founded in 1804 as the first Bible Society. This interdenominational organization grew out of the above-mentioned Religious Tract Society.⁴⁰ Thomas Charles (1755-1814), a pastor of a Calvinistic Methodist church in Wales, is known as its founder. The Society provided and distributed both the entire Bible and Bible portions in the vernacular for much of Europe. It also initiated new Bible translations. Over the years other independent Bible societies were established in other Western nations. The various societies extended their activities to African nations such as Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, and the Sudan; and to Asian nations such as India, Indonesia, China, Japan, and Korea. In China the BFBS supported the printing and distribution of Bible translations which favored Shangti/Shangdi (Lord on High, the Supreme Ruler) as the best indigenous term for God, over against the term T’ien/Tian (Heaven), which was introduced by the Jesuits in the 16th century.⁴¹ However, not all Protestants agreed with the choice made by the Bible translators. For instance, William J. Boone (1811-64), Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States to China, advocated the use of the term Shen/Shin for God.⁴²

With the help of Chinese Christians and other Western missionaries, Morrison finished the translation of the whole Bible in Chinese in 1819.⁴³ Translations of the New Testament, and additionally the Old Testament, in

38 William F. Mundt, *Sinners Directed to the Saviour: The Religious Tract Society Movement in Germany* (1811-1848) (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1995), p. 37.

39 Latourette, *History*, vol. 6, p. 187.

40 Cf. William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: Murray, 1904-10); James M. Roe, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1905-1954* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1965).

41 Austin, *China's Millions*, pp. 157-58; Latourette, *History*, vol. 6, p. 313.

42 Thomas G. Oey, “‘Essay on the term for Deity,’ a key text of William Jones Boone in his nineteenth century debate with Walter Medhurst on the Protestant Chinese term for God,” in: *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal*, 31 (2009), pp. 1-14.

43 Wilbert R. Shenk, “Morrison,” in: *BDCM*, p. 474.

Japanese and in Korean followed in the second half of the 19th century. In order to make the Bible available for the North-East Asian people groups, China, Japan, and Korea soon had their own Bible Societies.⁴⁴

Home missions: care for the sick, the poor, war-victims, etc.

“Home missions” are more or less an accomplishment of “foreign missions.” Germans speak about “*Innere Mission*” (over against “*Aussere Mission*”), which slightly differs from “home mission” in the Anglo-Saxon world. Some concepts and practices of home mission/*Innere Mission* influenced the foreign missionary societies in their overseas strategy and activities.

In 1848, the year of revolutionary disturbances in Germany, Karl Marx (1818-83) and Friedrich Engels (1820-95) published the Communist Manifesto (both authors have their roots in Protestantism: Marx grew up as a baptized Jew, and the parents of Engels were Pietists). Its message made the churches conscious of their shortcomings and their social responsibilities. Although they could point to Christian activities such as the training and use of deaconesses and nurses in the taking care of the sick (a work started by Theodor Fliedner (1800-64), a pastor at Kaiserswerth in Germany, in 1833),⁴⁵ they became conscious of the need to do much more. In 1849, one year after the publication of the Communist Manifesto, the pietistic Lutheran Johann H. Wichern (1818-81) at Hamburg, Germany, who worked among juvenile delinquents and combated epidemics, pled for a thorough regeneration of the fundamental positions and conditions in both church and society: Germany needs spiritual reformation. Wichern founded *Innere Mission* as a ministry “to reach the nominally Christian masses and to serve seamen, unemployed, prisoners, and underprivileged children.”⁴⁶ Seamen service provided ministry to non-Western seamen in Western harbors.

In 1859, on a business trip to Italy, the Swiss J. Henri Dunant (1828-1910), a pioneer of the YMCA (see below), witnessed the aftermath of the Battle of Solferino (ca. 38.000 people wounded, dying, or dead).⁴⁷ He helped, and mobilized people to help, the injured and sick soldiers of both sides, using “*Tutti fratelli* (all are brothers)” as slogan. In 1864, he founded the Red Cross as an interdenominational and even inter-religious body to alleviate the sufferings of war, using the cross of Jesus Christ as the adequate symbol to bring all kinds of people together in order to provide this service. Latourette reflected on the many functions of the cross as symbol in world history: “[Emperor] Constantine [in the fourth century] had placed the cross on his banners to reinforce his arms

44 For Korea, see Lee, *Early Revival Movement*, p. 56.

45 Rouse - Neill, *History*, pp. 314, 509.

46 *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 314, 509; Latourette, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 147-48.

47 Rouse - Neill, *History*, pp. 327, 738. Dunant was also intimately connected with the founding of the Young Men’s Christian Association in 1844 (see below).