Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam 1828-1928

Edited by
George Bradley McFarland

Introduction, Commentary, and Bibliography
by Herbert R. Swanson

White Lotus Press
To those, who following in the foot-steps of their Lord and Master, counted not their lives precious but gave their all that others might have life and that they might have it more abundantly—to their sacred memory this volume is most reverently dedicated.

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Front cover picture: Missionaries of the Protestant Churches
Back cover picture: Saint Mary’s School of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
Protestantism in Thailand

by

Herbert R. Swanson

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Introduction

For some thirty years, McFarland’s Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam 1828-1928 was the only general study of Protestant history in Thailand available to scholars and the public, that is until the publication of Wells’ History of Protestant Work in 1958. Wells’ brief introduction, however, supplements and updates McFarland rather than replacing it, and the Historical Sketch remains the single most important introduction to the history of Protestantism in Thailand. For all of that, the Historical Sketch is not an easy work to use. Although published in the form of a secondary source, it is more like an organized collection of primary documents written by individuals themselves involved in some of the events they recount. They were not trained historians, and they did not intend to present a balanced, critical evaluation of Protestant missions in Thailand. They did want to preserve the story of those missions, but this intention emerged out of a period of celebration. The Historical Sketch, thus, for all of its strengths and weaknesses, is a sectarian publication written for patently sectarian ends. At the same time, however, its contributors were convinced that their religion was compatible with the Truth, and they at times exercised a fair degree of critical openness. In other words, this book discloses much about the past even as it obscures many elements of it. The mix of what is disclosed and what is obscured can be difficult to measure for those not conversant with Protestant missionary and church records in Thailand.

The purpose of this introductory essay and the commentary that follows is to assist readers in their use of McFarland’s Historical Sketch by providing additional information on and insights into the book’s historical
context, perspectives, and reliability. My hope is that both general readers
and scholars will obtain a clearer understanding of its contents and guid-
ance in its use. I would like to thank White Lotus Press for this opportu-
nity to share in making McFarland's *Historical Sketch* more widely avail-
able. This reprint edition will be invaluable to those who want to study
and understand Protestant history in Thailand, and it is a privilege to share
in its publication.

The Book and the Celebration

The *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions 1828-1928*, edited, published,
and financed by Dr. George B. and Mrs. Bertha B. McFarland was first
proposed by Dr. John A. Eakin, a veteran Presbyterian missionary and
chair of the committee delegated to prepare for the celebration of the 100th
anniversary of Protestant missions in Thailand. He approached the
McFarlands with the idea of preparing a book that "should preserve for
the future all the records of the past 100 years of missionary endeavor in
Siam." Eakin could not have made a better choice. The McFarlands were
a talented, dedicated, and widely respected couple, and it is unlikely that
anyone else connected with Protestant missionary work in the late 1920s
could have come close to putting together a volume like the *Historical
Sketch*.

Viewed from a perspective of seventy years, the *Historical Sketch* has
proved to be the longest lasting and most widely known product of the
1928 celebration of the Protestant centennial. That was not the case, how-
ever, in 1928. Press reports and missionary records make it clear that the
celebration itself was a major event that drew thousands of spectators to
the Royal Saranromya Gardens in Bangkok for the Centenary Celebration
of Protestant Missions. The celebration was held from Thursday to Satur-
day, 6-8 December 1928. Originally, the Presbyterian Mission had
planned to publish a book and hold a modest celebration at the Bangkok
Christian College, but when Prince Damrong heard these plans he insisted
that the mission must plan something larger, more fitting to the occasion.
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He suggested that the celebration be held on royal grounds. The Centenary Committee, after some hesitation, eventually agreed and established 18 committees to coordinate every facet of the program. Eakin remained as Chair of the Executive Committee, and a leading Bangkok clergyman, the Rev. Pluang Sudhikum, was selected as Vice-Chair. While the committees coordinated the work of organizing the celebration, the completion of that work depended on a large number of other agencies, especially government agencies. The Royal Library provided books and illustrations. The Royal Household Department prepared the grounds and saw to the arrangements for the King and Queen’s participation. The military provided tents, a Navy band, and aerial photographs of the Wattana Wittiya Academy that were sold to help finance the celebrations. The Education Department made arrangements for the visit of some 50 monks, and a nearby monastery saw to their well-being. The list of others who assisted in carrying out the celebration is impressive.

The program for each day was divided into two parts, the first starting at 4:00 in the afternoon and the second at 8:00 in the evening. The King and Queen opened the celebrations on Thursday afternoon, 6 December, with a long list of government, diplomatic, and religious dignitaries in attendance. Dr. McFarland, speaking in Thai, delivered the opening address on behalf of the ailing Dr. Eakin. He noted that the missionaries had adapted themselves to the language, customs, and people of Thailand to the point that Thailand had ceased to be a strange land to them. It was their home. The address also expressed pleasure with the great progress Thailand had made in the previous century and stated, “It is a source of no little gratification to the missionaries that they have been privileged to have some little part in this achievement.” Dr. J. Walter Lowrie, a veteran Presbyterian missionary from China, delivered a second, brief address on behalf of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. King Prajadhipok, speaking in English, responded. The King made much of the meritorious work done by the missionaries in Thailand, particularly in the field of education. He reaffirmed his government’s policy of freedom and support for all reli-
gions in Thailand, and closed his remarks by wishing the assembled missionaries “all success, and all blessings both in this life and the next.” Following these addresses, the missionaries presented the King and Queen with a number of gifts, among them a copy of the Historical Sketch. They then opened and toured the exhibitions.

That evening a series of Thai church leaders gave presentations on missionary work from 1828 to 1860, with the life and work of Dr. Dan Beach Bradley receiving special attention. The evening concluded with a stereopticon lecture entitled, “Early Missionaries and Scenes,” given by the Rev. Charoen Sakulkhan. Friday, 7 December, continued in much the same vein, with presentations on the history of the Wang Lang School and leper work in the afternoon followed by the history of mission work in Phet Buri and of the Samray School in the evening. The evening session was brought to a close with another stereopticon lecture and then a temperance play given by the United Temperance Society of Siam. The following day, The Bangkok Daily Mail reported that, “A tremendous crowd thronged the compounds of the Saranromya Gardens yesterday to witness the exhibits, hear lectures and listen to music on the program of the second day’s celebration of the centenary of Protestant missions in Siam.” The article continued, “Dense as was the gathering that visited the Gardens in the afternoon, it seemed small as compared with the crowd attending the evening offerings . . . . Inside the Gardens, walking was slow and tedious at times, owing to the great numbers who paraded in all directions.” In addition to the regular attractions, there were also films and a band playing Hawaiian music to entertain the crowds. A large number of books were sold, and the “Refreshment booths did a thriving business.” The crowds stayed on until midnight.

The third and last day of the celebration, 8 December, involved several languages and a mixed bag of events and groups. Lowrie delivered a lecture in English entitled, “Missionary Emphases Past and Future.” His lecture was followed by a Karen Christian chorus group. Northern Thai Christians then made two presentations including one on the life of the Rev.
Daniel McGilvary. During the evening it was the Chinese churches’ turn, following a further address by Dr. Lowrie. The evening and the celebration concluded with a play given by the boys of Bangkok Christian College.

The celebration also included some 34 exhibits, all but two of which were dedicated to Presbyterian work, contained in a separate Exhibition Hall. They included displays of crafts produced in Christian schools, models of buildings and grounds of various Christian institutions and churches, historical documents and rare books, maps, and photographs. The Seventh-day Adventists were the only other missionary group that had a display, one that was limited to a book case containing copies of their publications. The American Bible Society’s Siam Agency also had a display of books and photographs.\(^{10}\)

The Presbyterian Mission Secretary, the Rev. H. W. Stewart, wrote to one of the celebration’s primary financial backers that “I shall not attempt to describe those wonderful three days here, but I’m sure all who planned, prepared and prayed for that event feel it was a success far beyond [what] they had dared to hope.” He went on, “The difficulties facing the Committee planning for it at first seemed insurmountable, but they gradually disappeared one by one.”\(^{11}\) Eakin expressed his satisfaction, writing, “I feel especially gratified that every element of Protestant mission work in Siam was represented on our program, and hope that hereafter this spirit of unity will continue to be manifested in mutual cooperation and goodwill between the Missions at work in this land.”\(^{12}\) Bertha McFarland added, “The echoes that come to us would seem to indicate that the celebration has helped our own Christian people to ‘find themselves’ and non-Christians to take a new interest in the cause which we all represent.”\(^{13}\) These quotations underscore why the missionaries felt the celebration had been successful. It was large. It was inclusive. And it was impressive.

The *Historical Sketches* was cut from the same cloth as the rest of the Centenary celebrations. Those celebrations highlighted the Thai government’s appreciation for the role of Protestants in bringing social
change to Thailand, even as the Historical Sketch alludes to that appreciation in numerous places in its text. Both book and celebration tried to feature past and present generations of Thai church leadership. Both sought to be inclusive, but in the end were inescapably dominated by the Presbyterians. The celebrations, as well as the book, exhibited a profound regard for the great missionary heroes of the past; and both the book and centennial discretely minimized the negative attitudes the missionaries long held toward Thai religion and culture, while paying profound respect to the institution of the monarchy. Prince Damrong played a major role in both the celebrations and in the Historical Sketch, where his Introduction is the only non-Protestant voice.

The close correlation between the celebration and the book is hardly surprising. The same set of people who contributed chapters to the book sat on the committees of the celebration. This was especially the case with George and Bertha McFarland, who played a large role in both. Dr. Eakin wrote, “I have been reading the Historical Sketch, and am convinced that it is a monumental work, that will fitly represent our missionary labors to the public for many years to come.” He added, “Its preparation for the press, and the insertion of the appendices are a great exhibition of literary skill and painstaking effort on the part of the McFarlands.” He concluded, “To them, especially, the thanks of the Mission and of all the Missions are due for the success of the Centenary.”

Many others agreed with Eakin that both the book and the celebrations were a success and that the McFarlands deserved special credit for that success. Bertha McFarland herself acknowledged that role and gave the credit to her husband and his close contacts with government officials. Years later she wrote, “So, as we relived the strenuous, happy days and tried to appraise their value to the Christian movement, we rejoiced that we had been permitted to have a part in it.” She closed her reminiscences with the thought that the Centenary Celebration had looked “in two directions,” back toward the past as well as to what she hoped would be still greater opportunities of service in the future. It is not likely that she or
any of the other missionaries present in 1928 could have anticipated just how soon the future would come and how different it would be from the past they had just celebrated.

At A Crossroads in Time

The Centenary Celebration of Protestant missions of 1928 took place in the closing years of the “Old Siam” of the absolute monarchy. If governing had become a more complex task and the voices for fundamental political change more powerful, the King still ruled as King and the councils of state were still dominated by his royal counselors. The Protestant missionaries, as Eakin’s address indicated, felt quite at home in the Old Siam, especially the dozen or so veterans in their 60s and 70s who had long lived and worked in it.\textsuperscript{16}

The seeds of changes, however, were already planted, the most immediately dramatic of these being the 1932 Revolution. The Presbyterians had for some time discussed whether or not to establish a national church, and the events of 1932 gave new impetus to that discussion. In April 1934, their churches joined with a few Baptist and Churches of Christ congregations to form the “Church in Siam,” eventually to be known as the Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT). Although not a revolutionary step in itself, the formation of the CCT set a new course for the future in which the role and prominence of the missionaries would gradually grow less. That process was somewhat hastened by the Japanese invasion in December 1941, which brought the Thai church to a time of serious testing that it had to meet entirely on its own. The American missionaries either fled the country through Burma or were interned in Bangkok and, eventually, were repatriated to the United States. The war years, meanwhile, provided the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions with an opportunity to evaluate its overseas work, and it decided that after the War it would take steps to turn its work over to the CCT as soon as practicable. In 1947, it appointed the Rev. Horace Ryburn as Field Secretary in Thailand and gave him a mandate to dissolve the Presbyterian Mission into the CCT.\textsuperscript{17}
years later, in 1957, the American Presbyterian Mission came to an official end, and all of its schools, hospitals, and personnel came under the CCT’s authority. In 1961, the Disciples of Christ mission followed suit. These changes, however, were only partly ones of substance as Ryburn and other senior missionary personnel continued to exert influence over nearly every aspect of CCT life into the 1980s.

The gradual transition from missionary to Thai leadership in the CCT was accompanied by changing emphases in its activities and strategies for church life. Historically, Protestantism in Thailand emphasized evangelism, but by the 1930s two other activities began to emerge as significant concerns. The first of these was pastoral care, the oversight of church members by trained clergy, and the second was community and rural development. Community and rural development came into its own in the 1950s and 1960s, especially after the founding of the Rural Life Department in 1961. Most of the funding for development activities, however, came from overseas. A major turning point in pastoral care came in 1980 when the CCT initiated a project that assisted local churches in paying pastors’ salaries. Since that point, the system of professional pastoral care has spread rapidly.\textsuperscript{18} By the 1990s there was a movement among Protestant churches of all groups and denominations to promote pastoral care, and, to some extent, Thai Protestantism has replaced evangelism with pastoral care as its central concern in ministry. There has been a growing recognition that Protestant churches have given too much attention to getting converts and not enough attention to building up strong local churches to nurture and educate them and their descendents. An increasing amount of the churches’ creative attention over the last two decades, as a result, has been directed at strengthening local church life through pastoral care.

In 1928, the growth in pastoral care ministries and the emergence of rural and community development were still in the future. Another important development, revivalism, had begun to emerge even prior to the 1920s. The revivalist movement among Thai churches grew out of the realization that local church life was often listless and lacking in inspiration. It
needed reviving. The first revivalist stirrings were found in the “Christian Worker Conferences” that began in Phet Buri at some time around or before 1910, but the spark that ignited revivalism into a major church movement was the visit of Mr. Frank N. N. Buchman to Bangkok in November 1925. Buchman led a dynamic international Christian movement, known as the “Oxford Movement,” and had devised a small-group format which he called “house parties” that brought groups together for several days of religious sharing and introspection. He held a small house party in Bangkok, that led to further house parties there and elsewhere, mostly under the leadership of the Rev. Chareon Sakulkun, pastor of Second Church, Bangkok. While the house party phenomenon lasted for only a few years, it marked the first wave of a growing revivalist movement. The second wave began in 1930 with the visit of a team of Burmese Christian college students led by American Baptist missionaries from Burma. This Burma Gospel Team visited a number of cities and inspired another round of evangelistic activity as various Thai churches and groups set up their own travelling gospel teams.

The final wave of pre-war revivalism grew out of a series of visits by Chinese evangelists, beginning with Paul Lin in 1936 and culminating in the visits of Dr. John Song in 1938 and 1939. Thousands attended his emotionally charged preaching services—held in nearly all of the Presbyterian stations and in Bangkok—and heard an animated Song challenge them to change their lives by taking their religion seriously. He touched the churches in a new, exciting way that brought them to life in a period of renewal and increased activity, especially evangelistic activity. The confrontational style of Song and some of his followers, however, led to opposition and divisions both among missionaries and church leaders. A strong Song faction emerged, but their efforts did not lead to uniform church revival.

The true measure of the Song revivals was not seen until after the Second World War when the Rev. Boonmark Kittisarn, CCT General Secretary and a leading Song advocate, came into tension with CCT over a
number of issues. He left the CCT to establish his own church and eventually became involved with the Free Finnish Foreign Mission (FFFM), a Pentecostal mission that first entered Thailand in 1946. Boonmark became a key figure in the initiation of Pentecostal work in Thailand. Pentecostalism, however, generated little interest until 1956 when T. L. Osborn held revival meetings in Bangkok. A number of young Christians had deep religious experiences at those meetings, and some became travelling evangelists among the CCT churches, spreading word of this new form of Christian experience. Thai Pentecostalism grew only slowly at first, but by the late 1980s it had mushroomed into a rapidly expanding religious renewal movement. Two of the chief engines of Pentecostal renewal were the Romklao Church, founded in April 1979 by the Rev. Wan Phetchsongkram, and the Hope of Bangkok Church, founded in September 1981 by Dr. Kriengsak Chareonwongsak. These two “mega-churches” emerged as denominations in their own right with congregations in many parts of Thailand. The Thailand Assemblies of God, founded in 1969, established a smaller, but growing constituency. The Pentecostal movement has had a major impact on Thai Protestantism, most notably in worship and personal piety. It has encouraged Thai Protestants, particularly younger and urban church members, to embrace a more emotional and inspirational style of religious expression. In the CCT, meanwhile, the denomination’s post-War leadership made a concerted effort to revive the dynamism and vitality of the Song Revival. By the early 1960s, however, it was clear that revivalism had not led to stronger churches, and the gradual shift toward pastoral care, mentioned above, emerged.

Another significant change in post-1928 Thai Protestantism was the proliferation of theologically conservative Protestant missions. Known as “evangelicals,” they hesitated to have much to do with the “ecumenicals,” such as the Presbyterians; and they largely went their own way. The first of this new wave of missions, the Seventh-day Adventist Mission (SDA), in fact entered Thailand in 1918, a decade before the Centenary. The Christian Missionary and Alliance (CMA) became the second so-called
evangelical mission in Thailand, when it opened work in the Northeast in early 1929. Just before the Second World War the Jehovah’s Witnesses, the first of the Protestant sect groups, also entered Thailand. Unlike the SDA and the CMA, they launched aggressive attacks on existing churches, alleging that they were not truly Christian. They successfully won over CCT members in Chiang Mai, Lamphun, and Nan Provinces. The numbers were not large, but they were a portent of the future.

The pre-war dominance of the Presbyterians and their ecumenical approach was shattered in the post-War years when numerous new Protestant missions and agencies entered Thailand. The majority of them refrained from joining the CCT for a number of reasons, including differences in theology and forms of church government. Many of them also objected to the CCT’s membership in the World Council of Churches. Among the more important of these new missions were the World Evangelism Crusade (1947), American Churches of Christ (1949), Southern Baptist Church (1950), Overseas Missionary Fellowship (1951), and the New Tribes Mission (1951). Most of them, however, did not intend to compete with the CCT, and they consciously located themselves in areas where little Christian work had been done previously. This rapid growth in the number of evangelical missions in Thailand led to the formation of the Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand (EFT), which began sometime prior to 1956 as an informal gathering of evangelical missionaries under the name “Evangelical Fellowship.” In 1969, it adopted a more formal structure and changed its name to the EFT. In September 1969, it was legally recognized by the government. The Southern Baptist mission charted an entirely independent course, and eventually formed its churches into an independent body, the Thailand Baptist Convention, also legally recognized by the government.

The post-war era witnessed a growth in ecumenically-minded missions as well, nearly all of which develop a close relationship with the CCT. Most notable among these was the return of the American Baptist Mission (ABM) in 1952 after an absence of some 60 years. The ABM rees-
Established its historic ties with Chinese work in Bangkok and tribal efforts in the North. Although the Chinese work was affiliated with the CCT, the ABM’s tribal work was carried out separately. In 1955, its Karen congregations formed the Thailand Karen Baptist Convention (TKBC), and in 1971 its Lahu churches formed the Thailand Lahu Baptist Convention (TLBC). The TKBC and the TLBC have both since united with the CCT, although each also retains an independent identity and organization in tandem with its membership in the CCT. Eventually, the ABM began accepting missionaries from other nations, notably Australia and Sweden, into its fold, and in 1974 it transformed itself into an international, cooperative fellowship, the Thailand Baptist Missionary Fellowship (TBMF). A second major missionary body that affiliated itself with the CCT was the German Marburger Mission. Its first missionaries arrived in 1953, and the Marburger Mission located its work in northern Thailand, especially in the Phayao District of Chiang Rai Province.

Institutionally, as all of this indicates, Protestantism in Thailand has become far, far more complex than it was in 1928. The 1999 *Thailand Christian Directory* lists 19 districts and 17 affiliated missions for the CCT and 33 church organizations and 27 mission bodies affiliated with the EFT, as well as the Southern Baptist mission and churches and the Seventh-day Adventist mission and churches. This “complexification” of Protestantism in Thailand, however, has not led to a concomitant numerical growth in Thai churches. There is, rather, a sense that Thailand remains unusually resistant to Protestant evangelism. The tribal churches, on the other hand, are growing and now account for an increasingly large percentage of all church members. In 1980, for example, the CCT had just one tribal district amounting to only 5% of its total membership. By 1997 four tribal districts accounted for 38% of that membership. This figure does not include significant numbers of Hmong, Yunnanese, and a scattering of other tribal churches in other districts. Thai Protestantism has always been a minority religion. It appears that it is also becoming a religion of minorities.
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The increasing complexity of Protestant ecclesiastical structures, furthermore, is not as important as either the tribalization of Thai Protestantism or the growing influence of Pentecostalism. The entry of the new missions into Thailand has not in and of itself lead to a substantial change in the nature of Thai Protestantism. This is partly because during their early years many of the newer missions employed former CCT evangelists and church leaders so that older, Presbyterian-like patterns of worship, organization, and attitudes continued to have a substantial “subterranean” influence on post-war missions. The evangelical missions that entered Thailand in the 1940s and 1950s, furthermore, stood in substantial ideological continuity with 19th and early 20th century Presbyterian missions. They, like the old-time Presbyterians, engaged in an aggressive evangelism, premised on the supposed worthlessness of indigenous Thai religious forms. The churches they founded likewise retained the Western-like aspect found in the older CCT churches. All of these missions, including the Pentecostal ones, have thus fostered a continuing dependence on foreign religious expression that has long been a central characteristic of Thai Protestantism. It is thus still possible to treat Protestantism in Thailand as a single entity. The differences among Protestants are real and significant, but underlying them is a single, continuous historical experience.

The Historical Sketch: A Critique and Appraisal

The fact that Protestants in Thailand still share an underlying historical unity gives the Historical Sketch considerable importance as a key source for studying the origins and nature of that unity. It is unfortunate, in this regard, that the book is also a flawed effort at best. Dr. McFarland knew that it was. He points out in the Preface (pp. xvi-xvii) that the Historical Sketch was produced in a hurried, last-minute fashion by people busy with other activities. He hoped, even so, that it would help preserve the story of Protestant missions until such time as a more organized study could be undertaken. The book has done that, and seventy years later no one has
yet attempted as thorough and inclusive a history of Protestantism in Thailand as is found in the *Historical Sketch*. Any fair critique of the *Historical Sketch* has to give due credit to the McFarlands and to their band of contributors for doing as much as they did. While it is not as good as it could have been, it is also a lot better than it might have been.

Still, the *Historical Sketch* is deficient in a number of ways, one of the most important of these being its lack of unity and focus. This problem is not immediately obvious, since the first section, "Pioneers" (Chapters I-V), was written by one author, Bertha McFarland. She took the various early missions as her unit of study, and carefully placed each in its historical context. She also traced the interrelationships between them. The second section, "Expansion" (Chapters VI-XXIX), is a different matter entirely. It is an awkward assemblage of chapters that fails to settle on one basic unit or topic of study. Some chapters focus on individual missions (Chapters XXVI-XXVII) and some on Presbyterian mission stations (Chapters VII-XVII). The subject, at other times, is a school (Chapter VI), an agency (Chapter XXIV), missionary activities (Chapters XVIII-XXII), an ethnic group (Chapter XXIII), or new or non-denominational work (Chapters XXV and XXIX). The section lacks unity and focus within itself, and as it skips back and forth from topic to topic it introduces that same defect into the whole book. The final section, "National Leaders" (Chapters XXX-XXXI), only adds to the confusion. It is devoted to a category of persons rather than to a historical era. The persons in question are Thai Christians rather than Western missionaries. The intent may have been to bring the book to a close on a positive note, affirming that the future was in the hands of Thai Christians themselves. The actual arrangement, however, could be taken to imply that the Thai church leaders were not a part of that larger history. They could be left to the end and put off in their own little section, while the stories of the "real" leaders, the McGilvarrys and Bradleys, are prominently featured in the book's main body.

With all of this jumping hither, thither, and yon, it is difficult to discover in the pages of the *Historical Sketch* a story line, a time line, or a
sense of the historical development of Protestant missions. Even the first five chapters tend to jump from topic to topic, and the later chapters move back and forth across the Protestant chronology of events without regard for a larger perspective. Important subjects, in the process, are passed over with little or no mention. The Presbyterian mission in northern Thailand, the Laos Mission, is a notable and lamentable example. Also left out are the histories of the two Presbyterian ecclesiastical governing bodies, the Siam Presbytery and the Laos Presbytery. The Presbyterian Bangkok Station is treated almost as badly. Although the oldest and most prestigious of the Presbyterian stations, it is the only major station without a chapter of its own. The first years of the station’s history can be found in the chapter on the earlier history of the Siam Mission (Chapter V), but the last 40-50 years of its history goes missing, excepting only what the reader can construct out of passing comments in other chapters. Other events and subjects, however, are treated two or three times as they are parts of several stories, two of the most notable examples being the founding of the Chiang Mai Station and the work of the Rev. Boon Tuan Boon Itt.

In addition to a central lack of unity and focus, the Historical Sketch also lacks a solid evidential basis upon which to build its stories. At least two important sources of data are missing. First, the various authors did not have access to the large amounts of primary sources now available to scholars. With some exceptions, they relied on published sources although it is clear that some authors also used a few primary materials, mostly minutes of meetings. This situation is hardly surprising, particularly given the limited amount of time the authors had to prepare their chapters and the difficulties they labored under in gaining access to primary materials. Seventy-plus years later, scholars have incredibly easier access to a much larger body of primary materials than was even conceivable in the late 1920s. Second, the authors of the various chapters apparently failed to use an important source that could have been available to them, namely missionary articles and correspondence published in the American religious press, particularly the Presbyterian press. The bibliography does note two
Presbyterian publications, *The Foreign Missionary* and *The Home and Foreign Missionary*, but there were many more publications available, most notably *Woman’s Work for Woman*. While it may have been difficult to find back issues of these in Thailand, one wonders if that was the only problem. It is puzzling, for example, to find no mention made in the bibliography or elsewhere of the *Laos News*, a missionary publication of the Laos Mission (1904-20) that contains a wealth of historical information on Presbyterian work in northern Thailand. It was a fairly recent publication and well-known to many of the missionaries. While, in sum, it is unfair to judge the use of sources in the *Historical Sketch* by later standards, it is fair to say that its authors failed to use sources that were available in their own time. We can assume that the fatal combination of a tight deadline and many other duties prevented most of them from spending time looking for and studying material that was not immediately to hand. In any event, the *Historical Sketch* suffers from a failure to locate and use more sources.

The book suffers from several other defects as well. The quality of the chapters varies considerably. Many fail to adhere to a clear chronology of events, and they frequently fail to give dates even for important historical events. Few of the authors indicate their sources, leaving the reader unsure as to the quality of their data. They seldom provide critical analysis and tend to minimize or entirely pass over any “unpleasantness.” There is a scattering of incorrect dates and misleading interpretations. The book also fails to give adequate attention to later Baptist work. Seigle’s chapter on the Chinese churches (Chapter XXIII) ignores the Baptists, and the *Historical Sketch* completely overlooks the history of the Karen Baptist churches in the North. The histories of two Presbyterian stations, the Lamphun Station and the Kengtung Station, do not have chapters of their own, and it appears that neither station is even mentioned in passing in other chapters. Neither lasted very long, but each had its importance, an importance at least as great as the Rat Buri Station, to which a whole chapter is devoted.
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These weaknesses in the *Historical Sketch* should not be minimized in any way. They render the book less useful than it might otherwise have been. Still, they have to be placed in the context of what the McFarlands could have been expected to achieve, given the reality of their situation. They had to rely on volunteer authors. They had less than a year to meet a hard and fast deadline. Access to historical data was limited. Their subject was inherently complex, not easily organized even if only one author had been involved. The final product, given these realities, is better than it might have been. Several of its chapters still provide good general overviews of their subjects. For quite a few topics, there is little, if any, more recent historical information available to the public. More generally, the *Historical Sketch* contains a wealth of insights into the central themes of Protestant history in Thailand, and this aspect of the book gives it its lasting value. While its specific data is frequently poorly ordered, is not always reliable, and its authors shy away from critical comment, the *Historical Sketch* still points to the important themes and topics of the first hundred years of the Protestant experience in Thailand. Its chapters were written by those long personally involved in the events they record. They are a valuable compendium, thus, of those experiences and of the historical themes woven out of them.

Conclusion

Bringing all of the material contained in the *Historical Sketch* together in one place was an achievement, then, despite the numerous flaws and limitations in the finished product. While important parts of it have been superseded by more recent historical research, it still contains more historical data concerning Protestant missions in Thailand than any other single volume. Little, if any, work has been done on many topics covered in the *Historical Sketch*. At the same time, it is also an invaluable historical artifact in its own right. The 1920s and the 1930s are the least well documented period in Thai Protestant history, and this book helps to fill the earlier portion of that unhappy gap in the record. Even more importantly,
as seen above, it brings together in one volume virtually all of the issues that faced Protestant missions in their first century. Used wisely and read carefully, George and Bertha McFarland's *Historical Sketch of Protestant Missions in Siam 1828-1928* is still a key source for the study of Protestant Christianity in Thailand.

**Notes**

6. Eakin experienced a serious breakdown in health as a consequence of the heavy duties he took on as Chair of the Centenary Committee. He died in January 1929, just a few weeks after the celebration. See “Annual Report of the Bangkok Station, Presbyterian Mission,” *Siam Outlook* 6.6 (January 1929): 49-50.
7. Clipping from *The Bangkok Times*, 7 December 1928, Eakin Family Papers.
10. “Hall of Exhibits,” [1928], APM.
11. H. W. Stewart to Mrs. John S. Kennedy, 17 December 1928, APM.
Introduction

12 J. A. Eakin to Stewart, 20 December 1928, APM.
13 Bertha McFarland to Stewart, 31 December 1928, APM.
14 J. A. Eakin to Stewart, 20 December 1928, APM.
15 McFarland, Our Garden, p. 73. She also said of the Centenary that it was “probably the outstanding event of our married life” (McFarland of Siam, p. 228).
16 In September 1927, the Mission Secretary, Herbert W. Stewart wrote that fourteen Presbyterian missionaries would reach the age of 70 by 1932. See H. W. Stewart to Members of the Executive Committee, 19 September 1927, APM.
18 See [in Thai] Herbert R. Swanson, “Not Yet Ripe: Ministry in the Thai Church’s Past2 (Paper, Workshop on “Theology and Ministry in a Thai Context,” at the Mc Gillvary Faculty of Theology, Payap University, 29 March-1 April 1999), and, “Pastoral Care and the Church of Christ in Thailand” (Report, Office of History, CCT, 1994).
Swanson


27 Dates from Wells, *History of Protestant Work*, pp.195ff, and “History of Protestant Work,” 1970, Chapter XIII. While a number of recent publications have made Pentecostal history more accessible to the public and to scholars, it is lamentable that most other evangelical missions and agencies have largely failed to produce historical works or to preserve collections of records available to church and other researchers.


29 Swanson, “Pastoral Care and the Church of Christ in Thailand,” Table 1.1, p. 98; and [in Thai] Office of the General Secretary, *Statistical Report for Local Churches and Districts of the Church of Christ in Thailand* (Bangkok: CCT, 1997).


Commentary

Although the articles contained in McFarland’s *Historical Sketch* share a number of common characteristics, they also vary in quality and historical reliability. This commentary seeks to note their strengths and weaknesses, correct some wrong dates and misleading interpretations, and identify missing subjects of importance. With very few exceptions, biographical information on the author of each chapter is included with the commentary. The information on Dr. McFarland is found at the end of the section.¹

Introduction

One of the most remarkable features of the *Historical Sketch* is the introductory comments by Prince Damrong. Given the American Presbyterians’ long-term infatuation with royalty and pride in their close relations with the Thai government, it is not strange that they would seek some symbol of official commendation. The “Introductory Chapter” is more than that. Prince Damrong has deftly inserted into this Protestant missionary account a sometimes critical Thai Buddhist view of their work and methods. This is one of the few places in the book that we hear echoes of the negative, derogatory attitudes that previous generations of missionaries had brought with them (e.g., pp. 5, 13). Equally as important, this is one of the few English-language statements by a high government official describing how the Thai government perceived and handled the missionaries. Historically, Damrong reflected an attitude first put into practice during King Mongkut’s time, namely of appreciating missionary means as over against missionary ends (p. 7).² He also felt that Protestant missionaries had softened their attitude toward and changed their tactics.
in dealing with Buddhism (p. 14). His introduction is important both for its content and because it illustrates the importance that Prince Damrong gave the modernizing alliance between the Thai government and the missionaries.

**Chapters I-V**

In addition to all of the other work the McFarlands did on the *Historical Sketch*, Bertha McFarland made a major contribution to its contents as well. These five chapters comprise somewhat less than one-fourth of the total text, and the book’s bibliography is largely a bibliography for these chapters. McFarland appears to have made some effort to acquire adequate source material,\(^3\) and her work comes closer to meeting critical, scholarly standards than do most of the other chapters. She is sensitive to the historical context of Protestant missions in Thailand, as her discussion of the founding of Presbyterian work (pp. 37-38) suggests. In that discussion, she cogently summarizes the difficult situation King Phra Nangklao (Rama III) faced concerning the Protestant missionaries,\(^4\) and she also aptly compares the Presbyterian mission to a branch that was grafted onto the achievements of early Protestant missions. In both cases, McFarland stands outside of her own sectarian heritage, putting it into a larger framework.

These chapters reveal a number of important themes as well. *First*, they highlight the sense of urgency and the desire to expand missionary work felt by many missionaries (p. 6, cf. p. 51). Expansion is a theme one encounters time and again throughout the history of Protestant missions in Thailand, as they sought to fulfill their hopes of converting ever-larger numbers to Christianity. *Second*, McFarland also captures important facets of the missionary role in the modernization and Westernization of Thailand, including developments in education, medicine, and printing. She is keenly aware of the significance of the missionary role in the modernization of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Thailand, but she also betrays a missionary tendency to give a large measure of credit to themselves for it (e.g., pp. 21, 45). The missionary role in Thai modern-
ization has yet to be studied in any detailed or systematic way, and it is difficult to judge that claim one way or the other. Third, another significant theme in Protestant history is that of the paucity of converts gained by the early missions (e.g., p. 21), a fact that has continued to generate a great deal of discussion in Protestant circles down to the present. Fourth, Protestant missions in Thailand have long been in competition with other, larger mission fields, most especially China, for funds and personnel (see pp. 28, 36, 47). Their failure to win large numbers of converts only served to reinforce the reluctance of overseas mission boards to invest their limited resources in Thailand. Fifth, missionary health issues are still another theme highlighted by Bertha McFarland. It is impossible to measure the significance of the continual loss of missionaries because of health problems, but that loss was substantial (pp. 19, 30, 46). Sixth, these chapters indicate that the early Protestant missions generally had good working relations among themselves, including worshipping together (p. 35). Finally, McFarland closes her five chapters with an emphasis on the growing role of women missionaries in the life and work of Protestant missions (pp. 68-70). From being shadowy figures with little voice or recognition, they increasingly took leadership in the mission’s various activities of the mission. Through their efforts, Protestant missions contributed significantly to women’s education and, more generally, to changes in women’s roles in Thai society.  

These five chapters are an important contribution to our understanding of early Protestant missions in Thailand, and there is still no better single, general survey of the subject. A better job could be done today, but until it is done these chapters remain key sources for our understanding of their subject.

Bertha Blount McFarland was born 10 October 1882 in Macomb, Illinois. She graduated from the University of Michigan with a B. A. in 1907. She arrived in Bangkok as a Presbyterian missionary in 1908 and taught at the Wang Lang School, later Wattana Wittaya Academy. She served as principal from 1923 until 1925, when she married George B. McFarland.
Swanson

They became affiliate members of the Presbyterian Mission. She returned to the United States in 1942 and died on 27 January 1952.

Chapter VI

This chapter is one of the most useful in the book. It combines elements of a historical study and a personal reminiscence that provides valuable insights into the development of Wang Lang School by the one person most closely associated with it. Cole does a credible job of relating the growth of the school to modernizing changes taking place in the nation. One of the notable strengths of this chapter is that Cole gives full credit to key Thai figures and the roles they played in maintaining mission work in the face of the frequent comings and goings by the missionaries themselves (pp. 73, 75).

Edna S. Cole was born on 1 January 1855 in Trenton, Illinois, and graduated from Western Female Seminary, Oxford, Ohio, in 1878. She was appointed to the Laos Mission and arrived in Chiang Mai in April 1879. She helped establish the Chiang Mai Girls’ School (now Dara Academy) that same year. In 1885, she transferred to Bangkok and the Siam Mission where she became principal of the Wang Lang Girls’ School. She retired from that position in 1923. She died in the United States on 23 November 1950.

Chapter VII

This chapter exemplifies some of the weaknesses found in many of the chapters of the Historical Sketch. Eakin repeatedly fails to provide dates for the events he recounts, so that it is impossible to assemble a clear chronology. His failure to provide citations leaves the reader unsure how to weigh his data. The story, for example, of the relationship between Daniel McGilvary and the S. G. McFarlands during the American Civil War (p. 94) contains important insights, but without a citation there is no way of knowing how to judge their reliability. The chapter also contains factual errors. On page 95, Eakin claims that Daniel McGilvary gained
his vision for a mission to the northern Thai in Phet Buri. In fact, it was earlier contacts with Chao Kawilorot, the “Prince” of Chiang Mai, and Dr. Dan Beach Bradley’s dream for a northern mission that planted the vision for the North in McGilvary. Another factual error of some importance is Eakin’s claim for the Phet Buri Church (p. 96) that “from the beginning its growth was rapid.” This is not true, as his own reference to “the little company of believers in Phetburi,” just three paragraphs later suggests. At two other points, Eakin presents a rosier version of events than was warranted by what actually happened. He fails to tell the whole story of Nai (Mr.) Kawn, the first convert in Phet Buri (p. 93), who refused to be baptized, had a falling out with the Phet Buri missionaries, and broke off relations with them. He also fails to account clearly for the decline of the station’s churches after 1890, caused by highly unpopular methods of the Rev. William G. McClure. Eakin does point to this cause (p. 103), but he leaves it largely to the reader to guess what happened.

Eakin’s chapter on the Phet Buri Station, however, does contain several important insights, including the story of Kru Poon (p. 102). Eakin leaves the impression that he is willing to admit the possibility that an unbaptized individual might be admitted into heaven. This is one indication that the rigidity with which the missionaries treated Nai Kawn in the 1860s had somewhat dissipated by the 1920s. Another significant insight has to do with was the Presbyterian attempt to isolate its converts from their social context in order to “keep out the devil and his agents” (p. 97).

The Rev. John Anderson Eakin was born at Rosepoint, Pennsylvania, on 28 February 1854, and graduated with honors from Washington and Jefferson College in 1878. In 1880 he came to Thailand and took up a position in the Suan Anan School, a government school run by Dr. S. G. McFarland. He returned to the United States in 1884 and entered Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, where he graduated in 1887. Eakin returned to Thailand in 1888 and established the Bangkok Christian High School. He married Laura Olmstead in 1889. She died in 1897, and in 1899 Eakin married Altha Lyman, whose first husband had also died in
1897. In 1906, they took up work in Phet Buri, where they remained until their retirement in 1925. Eakin died on 21 January 1929.9

Chapter VIII

McKean’s chapter on the Chiang Mai Station is weaker than any of the chapters that went before despite of the availability of a number of good published sources. Of those sources, she relied heavily on McGilvary’s autobiography.10 That should have been a strength, except that McKean hardly sees beyond the man himself. In a glaring over-simplification, she states that the history of Chiang Mai work and the story of Dr. McGilvary’s life are one (p. 113).11 She, thus, fails to do justice to the role of other missionaries or the converts themselves and overlooks the fact that by the 1890s McGilvary had given up effective leadership of the station.

The chapter reveals fewer important themes than the previous ones, but three significant themes stand out. First, the station played a key role in widely disseminating Western medicines into rural areas (p. 121). Second, McKean notes the importance of accusations of “witchcraft” in motivating some northern Thais to convert to Christianity (p. 123). Finally, she highlights the importance of the arrival of the railway for Chiang Mai and the mission station (p. 126). On the other hand, McKean perpetuates a number of historical myths. The first of these is the emphasis on the central role of McGilvary, already mentioned. She also reiterates the widely held interpretation of the September 1869 execution of two Christians that it provided the northern Thai church with a stimulating heritage of faith akin to the experience of the early church (p. 118). There are, in fact, few parallels between it and the early church.12 The third myth that McKean perpetuates concerns the long-held Protestant view of the so-called Edict of Toleration of 1878 (p. 122). She implies that King Chulalongkorn issued the Edict and that it brought to an end a period of persecution. She also states that it was addressed to all the northern Thai states. In fact, the King’s Viceroy in the North issued the Edict, it was addressed to only three of the five northern principalities, and it did not
bring persecution to an end.\textsuperscript{13} It was an important event, but not in the sense or to the degree claimed for it in the later myth here reiterated by McKean.

McKean does not do the Chiang Mai Station justice. She over-emphasizes the first decade of the station. She also passes over in silence the roles of key individuals, such as Dr. Marion Cheek, the Rev. Chalmers Martin, Dr. James McKean, Dr. E. C. Cort, and several others. She does not deal with the station’s highly important medical and educational work. There is almost no mention of the growth of the station’s churches. The chapter fails to deal with the central role of this station in the life of the Laos Mission or to deal at all with events in the life of that mission. One does not get, finally, a sense of the historical development of the station or of its churches. Chiang Mai Station deserved better than this.

Laura (Willson) McKean was born 30 January 1870 in Clinton County, Iowa. She graduated from Sac City High School in 1887 and married James W. McKean in 1889. They were appointed to the Laos Mission and sailed for Thailand in September 1889, where they took up medical work in Chiang Mai. She assisted her husband in that work and also helped teach at the Prince Royal’s College. She edited the northern Thai language church newsmagazine, Siri Kitti Sap, and translated books and articles into northern Thai. The McKeans retired to the United States in 1931, where she died on 23 March 1949.

\textbf{Chapter IX}

This chapter is a generally reliable chronicle of the Lampang Station. Crooks is also more transparent in her use of sources than most of the other authors. She uses McGilvary’s autobiography and relies heavily on station minutes (see p. 132) for the period up to 1908. There are weaknesses. Crooks has also left out any mention of northern Thai church leaders or station workers, excepting only the first convert. The chapter, furthermore, focuses much more on medical and educational work than on the life of the churches, which go without mention except for the Lampang city
church. One learns almost nothing from Crooks about the life or development of the Lampang Christian community. She does, however, refer to virtually all of those missionaries who served in the Lampang Station up to 1928. The chapter does not measure up to the work of Cole or McFarland but is slightly better than the chapter on Chiang Mai.

Florence (Bingham) Crooks was born on 11 May 1875 in Brook, Indiana, and graduated from Park College in 1900. She married Dr. Charles H. Crooks in 1904 and sailed for Thailand that same year, to work with the Laos Mission. In the course of their career, they served in Phrae (1904), Chiang Rai (1905-08), Lampang (1908-33), and Nan (1935-41). The Crooks retired to the United States in 1941, and she died on 26 June 1963. In addition to assisting her husband’s work, Crooks gave special attention to literature work.

Chapter X

Cooper’s chapter on the Rat Buri Station is as short as that station was small and its history brief. He explains that there were few records available to him for writing this history (p. 140), and in any event it is clear from his presentation that little was accomplished in Rat Buri. The chapter itself is not adequate, but it is probably about all that could be expected and does give some indication of the problems facing this and other small stations. It is still one of the few published sources of historical information for the Rat Buri Station.

The Rev. Alvin Willard Cooper was born on 12 March 1859 in Gowanda, New York. He graduated from Hamilton College, New York, in 1879 and Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in 1885. He married Nettie Sayre that same year. They arrived in Bangkok in January 1886. They worked in Phet Buri but had to return to the United States in 1887 on account of her health. She died in 1890. Cooper returned to Thailand and worked in Rat Buri from 1891 to 1896. In 1892 he married Sarah Parker. Cooper subsequently worked in several stations including Bangkok (1896-97), Rat Buri (1899-1902, 1908-13), Phitsanuloke (1903-06, 1915-26),
Commentary

and Chiang Mai (1927-29). His wife died in 1927, and Cooper died in the United States on 14 January 1930. His work was primarily educational.

Chapter XI

Although somewhat longer than the chapter on the Rat Buri Station, Hartzell’s history of the Phrae Station reflects many of the same characteristics and weaknesses. The chapter does not start off well, having got two dates wrong in the first two paragraphs (p. 141). The McGilvary tour referred to took place in 1890, not 1892, and Dr. Briggs moved to Phrae to open the station in 1893, not 1894. Hartzell, however, does close his essay by raising one central issue for the Phrae Station and other smaller stations (p. 145). He calls attention to the missionary failure to staff and support the work in Phrae adequately and ends with the question, “What might be done in such a fruitful field if properly worked?” The question is a pertinent one, depending on how one defines “properly worked,” of course. Otherwise, this is a weak effort.

The Rev. Jacob Lott Hartzell was born on 15 August 1879 in Adams County, Pennsylvania. He attended Princeton University in 1903-04 and Lane Theological Seminary in 1909-10. It is not clear that he graduated from either institution. He married Jessie MacKinnon in 1911, and they sailed for Thailand in September 1912. He served in Nan (1912-1913), Lampang (1913-21), and Phrae (1921-29). Hartzell returned to the United States in 1930, dying in 1931.

Chapter XII

This is one of the least helpful chapters and does little justice to the history of the Nan Station. Taylor, like Harztell, starts out with incorrect dates. The station was founded in 1895, not 1894 (p. 146). The Nan Church was founded in 1896, not 1895 (p. 147). The chapter also implies that Freeman went to help the new station in 1894, though it is not clear if that is what Taylor means (p. 146). In fact, Freeman arrived in Nan in 1895. There are no northern Thai names. The history of the Nan Church is covered in
one paragraph with the names of the rural groups given only in passing. What is left is mostly a compilation of missionary comings and goings.

The Rev. Hugh Taylor was born on 9 August 1862 in Iowa City, Iowa. He graduated from Park College in 1885 and Princeton Theological Seminary in 1888. He married Dora Belle Martin in July 1888, and they sailed for Thailand in September that year. Taylor served in only two stations, namely Lampang (1888-1908) and Nan (1908-33). Dora died in 1925, and in November 1926 he married Julia A. Hatch. She died in 1934 in Thailand, after they had officially retired. Taylor died in the United States on 5 January 1952. He was especially known for his building and mechanical skills.

Chapter XIII

Although not as strong as some of the best chapters, Bachtell’s on the Chiang Rai Station does an acceptable job in introducing that station’s history to the reader. He fails to provide clear dates, and it would have been very helpful if he had actually explored the history of the six churches he did not include here (p. 154). His description of the founding of the three churches he does refer to are helpful, if impressionistic and anecdotal. It is difficult to see the overall historical development of the station, and Bachtell has left out entirely the role of the schools and hospital. The chapter has redeeming characteristics, however. It captures key themes, such as the importance of Christian migration (p. 150) and the fact that Chiang Rai churches had a very scattered membership led almost entirely by lay elders (p. 151). He is also sensitive to the role played by northern Thai Christian leaders, and his brief biographical sketch of Kru Suk (p. 155) introduces the reader to one of Thailand’s few effective rural pastors in the decades prior to the Second World War.

The Rev. Ray William Bachtell was born on 10 August 1881 in Medina, Ohio. He graduated from Occidental College in 1908 and San Francisco Theological Seminary in 1911. He arrived in Thailand that same year and was appointed to the Chiang Rai Station. He married Daisy Pearl Campbell
in December 1912; she died of malaria in 1915. He then married Maud Charlotte Maxwell in January 1917, and they continued to work in Chiang Rai until December 1941. He died in the United States on 6 October 1944.

Chapter XIV

Elder’s history of the Phitsanuloke Station is one of the better chapters in the Historical Sketch. Although the Phitsanuloke Station was a smaller station, Elder has written a thorough sketch of its history. He clearly spent time doing research, including collecting written sources and conducting oral history interviews. More than almost any other author, he was aware of the need to compare and balance his sources (e.g., p. 162). He is also sensitive to the role played by Thai church leaders, especially Kru Boon Itt. He has a good time line, and one gets a feel for the general development of the station’s work. Elder has also identified a number of key themes, most particularly in the work carried out by Boon Itt (p. 159). As is true with most of the chapters on the central and southern Presbyterian stations, this one is important because there is little other historical information available to the general public.

The Rev. Newton Carl Elder was born on 21 November 1898 in Darlington, Pennsylvania. He graduated from the College of Wooster in 1923 and Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, in 1926. He earned his S.T.M. from Oberlin College in 1938. He married Josephine Bertha Fernyak in June 1926, and they arrived in Thailand that same year. After a year in language school in Bangkok, Elder served in several stations, including Phitsanuloke (1927-30), Phrae (1932-33), Chiang Mai (1933-41), where he was in charge of the theological seminary, and Bangkok (1941). The Elders were repatriated to the United States in 1942 and did not return to Thailand after the War.

Chapter XV

Eckels’ chapter on the Nakhon Si Thammarat Station is a workman-like piece that adequately introduces the reader to that station’s history. It contains a solid timeline and touches on most of the major subjects involved
in a station history. Eckels has refrained from critical comments, and there are not even very many clear themes involved. Still, the chapter gives a good picture of the historical development of a station that otherwise has received almost no historical attention.

The Rev. Charles Edmond Eckels was born on 15 August 1861, near New Kingston, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Dickinson College in 1885 and Princeton Theological Seminary in 1888. He was appointed to the Siam Mission that same year. He rotated between the Rat Buri Station (1888-89, 1893, 1899-1900) and the Phet Buri Station (1890-92, 1894-97). He married Margaret Galt in either 1891 or 1892. In 1900, Eckels assisted in opening the Nakhon Si Thammarat Station and remained there for most of the rest of his career. The Eckels retired in January 1929, and he died on 1 August 1941. His main area of emphasis was evangelism.

Chapter XVI

Bulkley's chapter on the Trang Station is similar to the Nakhon Si Thammarat Station chapter. It is a workman-like chronicle of station events. Bulkley did a credible job of outlining the general development of the station, although the chapter comes to an abrupt end as if she ran out of things to write about. One item of particular interest is Prince Damrong's evaluation of the Rev. Dr. E. P. Dunlap (p. 178), one of the leading "old-time" members of the Siam Mission. Little attention has been given to his unusually successful evangelistic work, and this chapter adds to an understanding of it.18

Ednah (Brunner) Bulkley was born on 14 July 1883 in Sacramento, California. She graduated from high school in 1901 and was appointed to the Siam Mission in 1903. She was a teacher, first in Bangkok (1903-06) and then in Phet Buri (1906-09). She married Dr. Lucius C. Bulkley in March 1911, and after their marriage the Bulkleys served in various stations. They retired in 1944, and Ednah died in the United States on 25 March 1962.
Chapter XVII

Although the chapter is somewhat weak on dates and tends to be anecdotal, it still provides a good general orientation to the history and work of the Presbyterians in southern China. For Thailand, it points towards two important themes. First, it highlights the importance of missionary itineration and trips of exploration for the expansion of Presbyterian work. Although quite a few missionaries took such trips, this article rightly emphasizes McGilvary and Dodd as the two most important explorers among the Presbyterian missionaries in Thailand. Second, the chapter reflects the grand vision of the Presbyterian missionaries in northern Thailand for a greater mission that would reach Tai-speaking peoples from Assam in India to southern China and northwest Vietnam. This chapter is also a helpful orientation to the history of the work in Yunnan Province and remains one of the few pieces concerning that work available to the public.

The Rev. Charles R. Callender was born in Scott, Indiana, on 12 September 1867. He graduated from San Francisco Theological Seminary in 1896 and married N. Winella Marks in May 1896. They arrived in Thailand in 1896, where they worked in Lampang (1896-1904) and Kengtung, Burma (1904-07). They returned to Thailand in 1909 from a long health furlough in the United States and worked in several stations, including Lampang (1909-12), Phrae (1913-20), and the Kiulungkiang Station, Yunnan Province, China (1920-37). They retired in 1937, and Callender died on 7 November 1952.

Chapter XVIII

Dr. McDaniel’s chapter on the history of Protestant missionary medicine is only partly a history, being more of an overview to the practice of missionary medicine in Thailand. Although the reader is left with little sense of the historical development of missionary medicine, his approach has the advantage of introducing many of the themes and issues related to
that medicine. The chapter also contains an unusual number of insights. McDaniel points out, for example, that the medicine practiced by the first generation of missionary doctors was primitive in a number of ways (p. 196). He also highlights the mix of humanitarian and religious concerns held by the missionary doctors and points to the value of the missionary-government alliance for medical development in Thailand (p. 198). McDaniel covers almost every medical topic conceivable, from medical education to the role of overseas support. He also remembered to include a paragraph on the medical work of the British Churches of Christ Mission. This chapter, in sum, is a good place to get a feel for the practice of missionary medicine in the 1920s and earlier, provided by one who had been at this work for 25 years.

Dr. Edwin Bruce McDaniel was born on 9 August 1873 in Gladstone, Illinois. He graduated from Coe College in 1897 and from Rush Medical College in 1900. He married Ellen Mathilda Carlson in September 1902, and they sailed for Thailand in November 1902. The McDaniels worked in Phet Buri from 1903 until 1915. After an extended health leave for Ellen, they returned in 1920 and worked in Nakhon Si Thammarat until 1931. Ellen died in the United States in June 1932, and McDaniel then married Agnes Barland in 1933. They returned to Nakhon Si Thammarat and worked there until 1937. McDaniel died in the United States in November 1938.

Chapter XIX

One of the most helpful aspects of Wells’ chapter is that it sets forth clearly the missionary rationale for founding schools and emphasizing education (see pp. 209-210, 220), a rationale based on both humanitarian and religious principles that virtually glorified the role of education in human personal and social development. Although Wells, drawing on an article written by Dr. William Harris, treats more in dates than themes, his chapter does mention such aspects of missionary education as industrial, medical, and theological education. This chapter, like McDaniels’ on medicine, is a
good place to start in acquiring a basic historical understanding of Protestant missionary education. Unlike McDaniels, however, Wells has entirely ignored the educational work of other missions and is more overtly Presbyterian than is usual for the *Historical Sketch* (see p. 210).

The Rev. Dr. Kenneth Elmer Wells was born on 17 December 1896 in Muskegon, Michigan. He graduated from Jamestown College in 1923, from McCormick Seminary in 1927, and earned an M. A. from the University of Michigan in 1927. He married Mary Margarettta Burr in June 1926. They arrived in Thailand in 1927 and after language school (1927-28) worked at the Prince Royal’s College, Chiang Mai, until 1941. They returned to the college after the War and stayed until 1951. In 1954, Wells took over the literary work of the American Presbyterian Mission and eventually became Head of the Christian Education and Literature Department of the Church of Christ in Thailand. They retired in 1967, and he died on 1 December 1981.

Chapter XX

Campbell organized this chapter according to a general chronology divided into decades, but he failed to state clearly that the first decade began in 1867. The lack of this key date can leave the reader somewhat confused as to what happened when. The chapter, nonetheless, identifies a number of central themes in missionary evangelism in northern Thailand, such as the role of medical care, humanitarian concern for those experiencing oppression, the tendency of the northern Thai to convert as households, and the importance of distributing tracts and Scripture portions. Campbell, however, fails to emphasize other important factors in evangelism, such as the importance of itineration, the key role of the northern Thai Christians, and the high rate of conversion among lepers, among other themes. His assertion on page 225 that the northern Thai church was a “strongly self-propagating” church is questionable at best, especially in the late 1920s. Still, this chapter is a good place to start for those seeking to understand the missionary approach to evangelism in northern Thailand.
Swanson

The Rev. Howard Campbell was born on 12 October 1866 in Butler County, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Grove City College in 1891 and Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, in 1894. He married Sarah Elizabeth Carlon in June 1894, and they sailed for Thailand in August 1894. He served as an evangelist with the Chiang Mai Station for his whole career. Sarah died in February 1920, and he then married Mrs. Mary Shellman, whose husband had died in 1919. Campbell retired in 1936 and died in the United States on 14 October 1957.

Chapter XXI

The content of this chapter is much less broad than its title suggests, being only a brief history of Presbyterian theological training in northern Thailand. The chapter fails to mention the Baptists’ pioneering attempts at theological education in the 1840s and the 1860s, efforts that Gillies probably did not know about. It also fails to deal with the Presbyterian theological schools in Bangkok, beginning in 1913, which he had to be aware of.21 This chapter, even so, is an important one. It holds to a good timeline and identifies key events and changes as well as any chapter in the Historical Sketch. Of particular importance is Gillies’s analysis of the Laos Mission’s failure in 1894-95 to create an ordained pastorate (pp. 228-29). His recounting of that failure and its aftermath is balanced and does not attempt to put the blame solely on the churches and northern Thai clergy, as most of the missionaries in the North did.22 His concluding paragraph (p. 233) is a good short summation that captures the sense of the whole chapter. He acknowledges that the missionaries had not solved the problem of theological education, but presents an upbeat response that affirms the importance of adhering to the central motifs of his Christian faith. This chapter comes as close to being a critical historical evaluation of its subject as any other chapter in the Historical Sketch.

The Rev. Roderick McLeod Gillies was born on the Isle of Skye, Scotland, on 15 August 1869. He graduated from Manitoba College, Winnipeg, in 1900. He sailed for Thailand in August 1902, where he was appointed
to the Laos Mission. He worked in several of that mission’s stations, including Chiang Mai (1902-03, 1913-34), Phrae (1903-04, 1911-12), and Lampang (1904-09). He married Margaret McGilvary in December 1905. Gillies’s most important contribution was to theological education. He retired in 1935, dying in the United States in 1936.

Chapter XXII

Although somewhat helpful as an overview, this chapter contains only a modest amount of historical information. It is more of a broad, fairly comprehensive description of the current state of leprosy work and its methods. The chapter fails to place the treatment of leprosy in a larger perspective or to evaluate the role of missionary medicine in that treatment. Historically, a large majority of those who have entered Christian leprosaria or leper colonies convert to Christianity, but McKean does not explore this phenomenon. One can surmise from the chapter that the 1920s were a key decade for expanding leprosy treatment, and McKean does point to a few themes in leprosy work, particularly the benefits and limitations of Chaulmoogra oil as a treatment for leprosy (p. 238). This chapter has some value, thus, but it could have been much better.

Dr. James W. McKean was born on 10 March 1860 in Scotch Grove, Iowa. He received his M.D. from Bellevue Medical College, New York City, in 1882. He married Laura B. Willson in 1889 and began missionary work at the mission hospital in Chiang Mai the same year. In 1908, he founded the first leprosarium in Thailand, later known as McKean Leprosarium. The McKeans retired to the United States in 1931, where he died on 9 February 1949.

Chapter XXIII

Although ostensibly about Protestant missions to the Chinese this chapter limits itself almost entirely to Presbyterian work and passes over the older, equally significant Baptist mission to the Chinese. It fails even to mention the Maitrichit Church, reputed to be the oldest Chinese Protestant church
in Asia. These are serious oversights and render the chapter much less valuable than it could have been, especially since the later history of Baptist work has received almost no attention elsewhere. In terms of only Presbyterian work, Seigle provides an adequate overview to that work including some critical comments on low points and mistakes (pp. 245-47). He also offers a unified theme, taken from Zechariah 4:10 (p. 240), his point being that the Presbyterians had made only a small investment in Chinese missions in Thailand, but that investment had seen some returns. It was not to be despised. More was needed. This would have been a fairly good chapter, but for the failure to cover Baptist work. That failure is only somewhat mitigated by the brief treatment McFarland gives to Baptist work after the pioneer era (pp. 32-34).

The Rev. Albert George Seigle was born on 24 October 1890 in Indianapolis, Indiana. He graduated from the Los Angeles Bible Institute in 1914 and San Francisco Theological Seminary in 1919. He married Jeanette Young in June 1915. The Seigles sailed for Thailand in August 1919. They took up work with the Chinese in Bangkok and continued with that work up to the Second World War and again after the it. They retired in 1960, and Seigle died in the United States on 27 December 1968.

Chapter XXIV

Irwin has produced a straightforward, clearly drawn introduction to ABS work in Thailand that contains information not likely to be found elsewhere. He describes, for example, the attempts to provide Braille editions of the Bible to blind readers (p. 254), and it also charts Irwin’s desire to reach the Tai and tribal peoples with the Bible, including those living beyond Thailand’s borders (pp. 252-53). This chapter plugs one of the potential holes in the Historical Sketch by providing information on the history of the translation and the distribution of the Bible in Thailand and the larger Tai-speaking region.

The Rev. Robert Irwin was born on 5 September 1859 in Garafrauxa, Ontario. He graduated from Pardee College in 1887 and McCormick Theo-
logical Seminary in 1890. He worked in several stations including Lampang (1890-91, 1900-02), Lamphun (1892-94), Nan (1895-1900), and Phrae (1903-05). He married Dr. Mary Bowman in July 1898. In 1906, Irwin resigned from the mission due to ill health. He headed the American Bible Society from 1911 until his retirement in 1932. He died in the United States in December 1943.

Chapter XXV

Toy's disappointingly brief chapter on "undenominational work" in Phuket is the first of four chapters on mission work outside the dominant Presbyterian Mission. The author himself was a former Presbyterian missionary. The chapter, at least, has the value of alerting the reader to the existence of the work in Phuket.

Dr. Walter Benjamin Toy was born on 24 April 1868 in Toronto, Ontario. He graduated from the New York Medical College in 1891, and in October of that same year married Elizabeth Cooper. The Toys were appointed to the Siam Mission and left for Thailand in November 1891. They served in three stations, Phet Buri (1892-94), Bangkok (1894-97), and Phitsanuloke (1897-1905). The Toys took a health furlough in 1905, and Elizabeth died in June of that year. Dr. Toy resigned from the mission at that time. Eakin's biographical sketch states that Dr. Toy later returned to Thailand "and established independent work in Bangkok. In due time he married Miss Edith Edlefson, and soon after his marriage they went to establish an independent Mission in Phuket, South Thailand. Here he died in 1930." 25

Chapters XXVI-XXVIII

Each of the three missions represented in these chapters was relatively new to Thailand, the first Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) missionaries having arrived in December 1918, just ten years before the Centennial. The two British missions, the Society for the Preservation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and Churches of Christ, were both founded in 1903.
Percy Clark’s chapter on the Churches of Christ is the longest, and in the late 1920s their work was considerably more significant than that of the other two. All three chapters provide important introductions to their respective missions, and little if any work has been done on the histories of those missions since. In actual form, they are not much different from the other chapters in the Historical Sketch. The Churches of Christ Mission most fully approximated the far larger Presbyterian Mission in the sense that it attempted to cover all three of the major activities of evangelism, education, and medicine.

Percy Leonard Archibald Clark was born on 16 March 1879 in Donnington, Shropshire. He studied theology privately and then completed a nine-month medical course at Livingston College, London. He sailed for Burma in 1902 as a Churches of Christ missionary. He first arrived in Thailand in 1903 to work among the Mon near Nakhon Pathom. In 1905, he married Mary Denley in Singapore, and in 1909 they relocated their work to Nakhon Pathom and opened a school. In 1911, the Clarks opened a small hospital, which was enlarged with a new building in 1938. They were interned in Bangkok throughout the Second World War. Clark died on 29 September 1957.

Chapter XXIX

This chapter, on “Unoccupied Fields in Siam,” is not history so much as a survey of the extent of missionary outreach in Thailand and neighboring French Laos in the late 1920s. It is representative of a much larger, decades’ long body of missionary correspondence and articles urging a fuller “occupation” of Thailand, right down to its biblical quotation (p. 273). This chapter is useful because it provides insight into the dynamic that sustained missionary expansionism, and it also underscores the fact that missionary work and the Thailand Christian community were widely scattered. Finally, it reflects Taylor’s personal concern for expanding Presbyterian work into French Laos and gave him another platform to argue his case.

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Chapters XXX-XXXI

The *Historical Sketch* lacks a formal conclusion, and it is possible that Dr. McFarland intended these two chapters to be that conclusion. They do bring into focus the ultimate goal of Protestant missions, that is to found churches and train up leaders that will carry on the work begun by the missionaries. If there is an especial weakness in them, it is the fact that they focus almost exclusively on Presbyterian church leaders and give more attention to leaders in Bangkok and central Thailand than elsewhere. Most of Nuam Sresthidor’s biographical sketches are impressionistic rather than factual. Kilpatrick, on the other hand, contributes important information on institutions that had received little attention elsewhere, notably the Boon Itt Memorial Institute (pp. 304-06) and the Bible Training School for Women in Bangkok (pp. 308-09).

Kilpatrick’s chapter is important in the overall scheme of the book as it does try to bring matters to some conclusion. It is the only one that reflects the slowly gathering momentum for and advocates the creation of an “Independent National Church” (p. 296; cf. p. 310). Her conclusion that the Thai church had become a largely self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating church can also be taken as a summation of some of the key successes the missionaries believed Protestant missions had attained in its first one hundred years. Her concluding paragraph (p. 312), furthermore, almost certainly reflected a general sense among the missionaries that their ultimate goal still lay in the future. They felt gratitude for what had been accomplished and for the promise of greater gains in the future that they saw in Thai church leadership. They believed that God intended that Thailand would one day become a Christian nation, however far in the future that day was. It is an upbeat conclusion to the whole book. The missionary past, as they themselves saw it, had its failures and its triumphs. The present was relatively bright with its prospects for the future of the Christian religion in Thailand. God, they were convinced, would bring ultimate success. This one paragraph aptly sums up the faith that had brought four generations of Protestant missionaries to
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Thailand and symbolizes the religious vision that gives a certain unity to the whole of Protestant missionary history in the country.

N. S. (Miss) Nuam Sresthidor was Administrative Assistant to the Principal of Wattana Wittaya Academy, Faye Kilpatrick.28

Jennie Faye Kilpatrick was born on 15 October 1891 in Highland, Kansas. She graduated from Stanford University in 1909 and was appointed to the South Siam Mission in 1920. She spent most of her missionary career teaching at Wattana Wittiya Academy and retired in 1952. In October 1952, she married Milton Yoder who died in 1956. She died on 18 September 1973.

The Editor

Dr. George Bradley McFarland was born in Bangkok on 1 December 1866, the son of the Rev. Samuel G. and Mrs. Jane Hays McFarland, well-known Presbyterian missionaries in Thailand. Raised in Bangkok, he attended Washington and Jefferson College from 1884 to 1887 and received his M. D. from Western Medical College in 1890. In 1891, he received a second M. D. from the Baltimore College of Physicians and Surgeons as well as a D. D. S. from the Chirurgical College of Dentistry, Baltimore. In that same year he took charge of the Thai government’s Siriraj Hospital in Bangkok and opened the first private dental clinic in Bangkok. In 1892, he founded the Royal Medical College. He married Mary Root McFarland in the United States on 22 October 1896. In 1897, he opened the first typewriter shop in Bangkok. He contributed significantly to the development and promotion of the Thai typewriter. In 1903, he published a major revision of his father’s English-Thai dictionary and later printed several subsequent revisions. He also published, in 1936, a Thai-English dictionary, and he wrote and published many medical textbooks in Thai. Mary McFarland died in October 1923, and McFarland married Bertha Blount in 1925. McFarland actively involved himself in church life. Most significant among his several honors was the 3rd Order of the Crown of
Siam, presented to him by King Vajiravudh, who also conferred on him the title Phra Ach Vidyagama (First Councilor). He died in May 1942.²⁹

Notes

¹ Unless otherwise noted, these biographical sketches are based on information in a file of detailed biographical data on Presbyterian missionaries in Thailand prepared by Paul A. Eakin in the mid-1950s. The file is in the Eakin Family Papers, Payap University Archives.


³ According to McFarland, the Royal Library gave her special access to relevant books and manuscripts for preparing her chapters, an indication both of the McFarlands’ influence in government circles and her own concern to collect adequate source material (*Our Garden*, p. 70).


⁶ *Journal of Dan Beach Bradley*, 27, 29, and 30 November 1859, microfilm copy Payap University Archives; and Bradley to Whipple, 6 December 1859, Records of the American Missionary Association, microfilm copy Payap University Archives.

⁷ See McGilvary to Lowrie, 24 June and 9 September 1862, and August 1865, and Matton to Lowrie, 21 May 1863, Records of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church USA, microfilm copy Payap University Archives.

⁸ See Swanson, *Clean Church*, pp. 27-43.

⁹ Biographical data supplemented by Eakin’s obituary in “In Memoriam,” *Siam Outlook* 6.6 (January 1929): I-III.
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11 McKeen had already written an article on McGilvary for one of the leading missionary journals of the day. She seems to have been quite taken with him. See Laura B. McKeen, “Rev. Daniel McGilvary, D. D., Pioneer Missionary to the Laos,” Missionary Review of the World (May 1896): 368-70.


13 Ibid., pp. 28-29.


15 For a critical evaluation of some issues facing the Phrae Station, see Swanson, *Khrischak Muang Nua*, pp. 109-12.

16 The best account of church and missions in Nan Province is to be found in Prasit, *Nuntaburi Srinakhon Nan*. See also [in Thai], Kumnool Chinawong, *Ban Som: History of the Kunanikhun Church, Nan* (Chiang Mai: Office of History, 1996).


19 See William Clifton Dodd, *The Tai Race* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1923), and Swanson, “The Kengtung Question.”

20 By that time the northern Thai church was experiencing almost no growth in membership statistics. See Smith, *Siamese Gold*, pp. 145ff.

21 Swanson, *History of Pastoral Care*, pp. 16, 76-77, 103.

22 Swanson, *Khrischak Muang Nua*, pp. 94-99.


24 The American Bible Society has produced a series of historical essays on its
foreign work. The three sections for the Siam Agency are found in ABS History, Essay #15, Part V-F-5. Sect. 1 (1861-1900) was written by Sandra M. Hawley, n.d.; Sect. 2 (1901-30) is unattributed, n.d.; and Sect. 3 (1931-66) was written by Doris Catherine Hall, 1968.

25 Biographical Data File, Eakin Family Papers, s.v. "Dr. and Mrs. Walter Benjamin Toy (M. D.)."


28 [In Thai] Wattana Wittaya 32.9 (December 2469): 495.

Protestantism in Thailand
A Bibliography

The purpose of this bibliography is to introduce the reader to the range of materials available in English on Protestantism in Thailand. The amount of that material has increased rapidly in the last twenty years, and the present listing is only a representative, if large sample of it. The compiler hopes that this bibliography will guide researchers to places and resources where they can search for further materials themselves.

The list of secondary sources was constructed from six libraries, listed below, plus the bibliographies of numerous books, articles, and theses. Each entry indicates where it was found [in brackets] or whether it was taken from a citation [FC] in another source. Numerous items in the bibliography can be found in more than one location. The abbreviations are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>Bangkok Bible College Library, Bangkok [30 entries]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTC</td>
<td>Cross-Cultural Training Center, Chiang Mai [16 entries]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>From Citation in another work [99 entries]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFT</td>
<td>McGilvary Faculty of Theology Library, Chiang Mai [25 entries]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OH</td>
<td>Office of History Library, Chiang Mai [58 entries]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUA</td>
<td>Payap University Archives, Chiang Mai [105 entries]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Siam Society Library, Bangkok [5 entries]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The compiler wishes to thank the librarians and others responsible for each of these collections. In every case, they provided kind and helpful assistance and contributed substantially to the completion of the bibliography. Thanks are also due to Mr. Edwin Zehner, who contributed a number of citations for this bibliography and provided helpful advice concerning the format and arrangement of citations.

In keeping with an accepted convention, Thai names are listed by first name.

Abbreviations for dissertation and thesis degrees:

- B. Th. Bachelor of Theology
- D. Min. Doctor of Ministry
- D. Miss. Doctor of Missiology
- M. A. Master of Arts
- M. C. S. Master of Christian Studies
- M. Div. Master of Divinity
- M. Miss. Master of Missiology
- M. R. E. Master of Religious Education
- M. Th. Master of Theology
- M. T. S. Master of Theological Studies
- Ph.D. Doctor of Philosophy
- Th.D. Doctor of Theology

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Adventist Review
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American Baptist Magazine
American Missionary
Assembly Herald [Presbyterian Church USA]
Asian Missions Advance
Bangkok Calendar
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Bangkok Recorder
Baptist Missionary Magazine
Bible Translator [United Bible Societies]
The Christian
The Disciple
Echoes [Ecumenical Office, Church of Christ in Thailand]
Foreign Missionary [Presbyterian Church USA]
International Review of Missions
Missionary Herald
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North Carolina Presbyterian
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