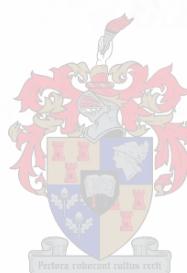


Thesis Submission

The Impact of Japanese Colonial Rule (1910-1945) upon the Witness and Growth of the Korean Presbyterian Church

This thesis has been submitted and has not previously been accepted for publication elsewhere or submitted to any university for a degree.

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Dissertation presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Theology
at the University of Stellenbosch

Promoter : Professor C M Pauw

March 2000

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree.

Signature :

Date :

ABSTRACT

Many people are taking a keen interest in the growth of the Korean Church, and many research results are appearing. However, when dealing with the growth of Korean churches, account should be taken of the fact that this growth can only be fully understood and explained when studied against the historical background of the church's suffering in Korea.

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the effect of the Japanese colonial rule in Korea and in particular the impact caused by the introduction of a central element in Japanese national religion, namely Shintoism. Resistance to the Shinto shrine ceremonies resulted in the church being persecuted in various ways, and this had an effect on the life as well as the growth of the Presbyterian Church in Korea.

Chapter one of this dissertation comprises of the introduction, which deals with the research problem, purpose of the research, hypothesis, delimitations of the research, assumptions, definition of terms and proposed outline of the study.

Chapter two provides a historical overview of the context of the Korean Presbyterian Church under Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945), so as to gain an understanding of the historical background of the Korean Presbyterian Church.

The history of the Korean Presbyterian Church up to 1945 can be divided into four different periods, according to certain significant events as phases in its life: the rise of the Church (1884–1907), the revival of the Church(1907–1912), growing confrontation (1912–1935), and persecution of

the Church (1935–1945). These four periods are briefly described and analysed, paying particular attention to the Japanese period.

Chapter three presents an analysis of the growth of the Presbyterian Church in Korea under Japanese colonial rule. This is done from a missiological perspective, in terms of the witness and growth of the church.

The facts of church growth, the reasons for church growth and problems affecting church growth are discussed. The latter includes the problem of the influence of the traditional Shamanistic faith, the issue of the social involvement of the church and the problem of pro-Japanese attitudes in the church.

Chapter four deals with the history and character of Shintoism and the Korean Christians' conflict with it. The first section discusses the types, standardization and liturgical structure of Shrine rites. The second part analyses the resistance of the Korean Presbyterian Church to the imposition of Shintoism which led, on the one hand, to a sharp division within the church, on the other hand, to conflict and subsequent persecution of those who chose to resist Shinto shrine obeisance.

Chapter five deals with the witness of faith, on the part of those who resisted the shrine rites. This is done especially by presenting several studies of Korean Christian resistance leaders, and examines their ministry and views in order to determine reasons why they resisted Shintoism. The case studies represent both North and South Korea, as well as Manchuria.

In conclusion, chapter six examines the effects of Shinto persecution

on the growth of Presbyterian Church in Korea, comparing anti-Shinto with the pro-Shinto shrine groups. And the findings reveal that the Shinto shrine issue had certain specific long term effects on the Presbyterian Church in Korea, *inter alia*, in terms of growth patterns and membership trends.

OPSOMMING

DIE IMPAK VAN DIE JAPANNESE KOLONIALE BEWIND OP DIE GETUIENIS EN GROEI VAN DIE KOREAANSE PRESBITERIAANSE KERK

Daar heers vandag 'n wye en lewendige belangstelling in die groei van die Koreaanse kerk, met die gevolg dat baie navorsingsresultate nou die lig sien. Maar, wanneer die groei in die Koreaanse Kerke ondersoek word, moet rekening gehou word met die feit dat hierdie groei slegs volledig verstaan en geïnterpreteer kan word teen die historiese agtergrond van die kerk se lyding in Korea.

Die doel van hierdie verhandeling is om die effek van die Japannese koloniale bewind in Korea te ondersoek en, in besonder, die impak veroorsaak deur die invoer van 'n sentrale element in die Japannese nasionale geloof, naamlik Sjintoïsme. Die gevolg van verset teen die Sjinto-heiligdom seremonies was vervolging van die kerk op verskeie wyses, en dit het die lewe sowel as die groei van die Presbiteriaanse Kerk in Korea beïnvloed.

Hoofstuk 1 sluit in die inleiding wat handel oor die navorsingsprobleem, doel van hierdie navorsing, hipotese, afbakening van die navorsing, uitgangspunte, begripsomskrywing en voorgestelde inhoudsutreensetting.

Hoofstuk 2 bied 'n historiese oorsig oor die konteks van die Koreaanse Presbiteriaanse Kerk onder Japannese koloniale bewind (1910-1945), om sodende 'n begrip van die historiese agtergrond van die Koreaanse Presbiteriaanse Kerk te bewerkstellig. Die geskiedenis van die Koreaanse Presbiteriaanse Kerk tot 1945 kan in vier verskillende periodes verdeel word volgens sekere betekenisvolle gebeure of stadiums in die lewe van die Kerk: die opkoms van die Kerk (1884-1907), die herlewing van die Kerk (1907-1912), groeiende konfrontasie (1912-1935) en vervolging van die Kerk (1935-1945). Hierdie vier periodes word kortliks beskryf en ontleed, met besondere aandag aan die Japannese periode.

Hoofstuk 3 bied 'n analyse van die groei van die Presbiteriaanse Kerk in Korea onder Japannese koloniale bewind. Dit geskied vanuit 'n missiologiese perspektief met betrekking tot die getuienis en groei van die Kerk.

Besonderhede oor kerkgroei, die redes hiervoor en probleme wat die groei beïnvloed, word bespreek. Laasgenoemde sluit in die vraag na die invloed van die tradisionele Sjamanistiese geloof, die sosiale betrokkenheid van die Kerk en die probleem van pro-Japannese standpunte in die Kerk.

Hoofstuk 4 handel oor die geskiedenis en karakter van Sjintoïsme en die Koreaanse Christene se verset daarteen. Die eerste deel bespreek die tipes, standaardisering en liturgiese struktuur van die heiligdom rites. Die tweede deel ontleed die Koreaanse Presbiteriaanse Kerk se verset teen die afdwing van Sjintoïsme wat, aan die een kant, lei tot 'n skerp verdeling binne die Kerk, en, aan die ander kant, tot konflik en die daaropvolgende vervolging van dié mense wat gekies het om hul te verset teen eerbetoningsrites in Sjinto heiligdomme.

Hoofstuk 5 behandel die geloofsgetuenis van dié wat hul teen eerbetoningsrites verset het. Dit geskied veral deur verskeie gevallestudies van Koreaanse Christen versetleiers. Die bediening en die sienswyse van hierdie leiers word ondersoek om sodoende die redes vir hul verset teen Sjintoïsme vas te stel. Die gevallestudies verteenwoordig sowel Noord- as Suid-Korea, asook Mantjoerye.

Ten slotte ondersoek hoofstuk 6 die effek van Sjinto vervolging op die groei van die Presbiteriaanse Kerk in Korea, en vergelyk anti-Sjintoïstiese met die pro-Sjintoïstiese groepe. Die bevindinge dui daarop dat die Sjinto heiligdom-geskilpunt sekere langtermyn gevolge vir die Presbiteriaanse Kerk in Korea gehad het, onder andere met betrekking tot groeipatrone en lidmaatskapstendense.

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I wish to thank my family, my wife Chung Sook, and daughters Grace and Joy.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APM	Australian Presbyterian Mission
IBB	Independent Board Bulletin
IBPFM	The Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions
IRM	International Review of Mission
MRW	The Missionary Review of World Affairs
OPC	The Orthodox Presbyterian Church
PCK	The Presbyterian Church in Korea
PCUSA	The Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Many Christians know the general outline of the story of the church growth in Korea. Guilford has said that "The Church in Korea grew like wildfire" (Shearer, 1966: 17). Missiology students and others are interested in the Korean Church growth (Van Halsema, 1983: 7-11). Thus the actual circumstances of the Korean Church's growth should be clarified.

The notable success of Christian missions in Korea has been called "one of the marvels of modern history" (Paik, 1970: 4). The rapid growth of Christian communities, the early naturalization of Christianity in the Korean environment, and the far-reaching influence of religion on the thought and life of the people have been marked achievements.

The Roman Catholic Church was planted in Korea under very extraordinary, circumstances. The history of its growth through persecution in a new environment is nothing short of remarkable. Self-sacrifice, daring adventure, heroic patience and endurance, even the very sacrifice of life on the part of missionaries and their converts, deserve high praise. Nevertheless the "infallible" Roman church had many shortcomings. Mainly, their converts did not learn much about the Scripture. From the foundation of the church by Sung Hun Lee in 1784 to 1886 one hundred-two years had passed, but no attempt had been made to translate a single Gospel or any portion of the Bible. The Roman Catholic Church's emphasis on ecclesiastical institutionalism occupied such a paramount place that even new converts began the practice of their faith by setting up a hierarchy, rather than by growing in grace and spirituality. Their political activities perhaps were

the most undesirable feature of the missionary proselyting methods of Roman Catholics (Paik, 1970: 42-43).

Roman Catholics as well as Protestants celebrated an anniversary of Christian missions to Korea in 1984. It was in 1784 that a Korean came back from China as a convert to Romanism (H. Y. Ryu, 1962b: 81-91). The young scholar, named Sung Hun Lee, began to spread the faith and, by the time a missionary arrived from China a decade later, around the 1790s, missionary work had been carried on by Chinese missionaries for a decade, and the number of believers had grown to roughly 4,000. The first Western missionary, from France, entered Korea in the late eighteenth century. For many years Roman Catholic converts and missionaries had not attempted to translate the Bible, or any portion of it, into Korean(Paik, 1970: 30f). Despite this lack of interest in the Scripture, government persecution, and martyrdom, the number of Roman Catholics had risen to more than 17,000 by the time of the Protestant entry in 1884.

Horace N. Allen, a physician associated with the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. ("Northern") Presbyterian mission in China, arrived in 1884(N. S. Kim, 1984b: 44-46). He won appointment as a medical doctor to several diplomatic missions, thereby establishing a foothold in the mission field. Providentially, the foreign doctor was sought out to treat a member of the royal family who had been injured during a coup attempt. After bringing the royal prince back to health, Allen was given permission to establish a hospital (I. S. Shim, 1981: 47-50).

Within six months of Allen's arrival, the first Presbyterian minister, Horace G. Underwood, landed on the Korean peninsula (Paik, 1970: 49). He began evangelistic work cautiously. Some seed had been sown earlier through the distribution of Bible portions and the gathering of some believers by colporteurs. The first baptism of a Korean was conducted in 1886 and the first Presbyterian church was formally organized in Seoul with its own elders in 1887 (N. S. Kim, 1982: 56).

With the encouragement of Underwood, the first Southern Presbyterians in the United States entered Korea in 1892 (Brown, 1962: 32). Also coming to Korea about that time was a missionary method which was considered as being revolutionary. Untried elsewhere, but destined to make a great impact in Korea (and later in other mission fields), it was formulated by John Nevius, a Presbyterian missionary to China. The young gospel pioneers in Korea were more responsive to his ideas than were his older colleagues in China, so he was invited to expound his plan in Korea. Adopted by all the evangelical missions in the country, it stressed Bible teaching to all believers, and emphasized self-support, self-government, and self-propagation of new churches from the beginning (Brown, 1962: 32).

By 1895 there was an outpouring of response to the preaching and teaching of John Nevius and the church flourished. New witnessing bodies of believers emerged with their own leadership and with a commitment to stewardship.

Before 1895 there were only about eight hundred known Korean Protestant believers. Then steady growth began and a spectacular revival resulted in 1907. By 1910 the church had grown to more than 165,000 members (K. S. Kim, 1976: 168).

The "Nevius method" survived during the three decades of Japanese occupation of Korea (1910 to 1945) even though the occupying forces came up with numerous ways to make Christian life difficult for both the missionaries and the Korean believers (Cf. C. A. Clark: 1937b). Paramount among many obstacles was "the requirement of worship at Shinto shrines" (K. S. Lee, 1966: 250). Despite the persecution, church growth continued and sound congregations were planted in nearly every large town in the country. By 1940, the number of Protestants had increased to approximately 400,000.

The Christian church in Korea was no exception when it comes to

suffering, which has so often been experienced by the church in history (K. S. Lee, 1966: 166). But remarkable church growth occurred in spite of constant pressures from the Shinto government of Japan from 1919 to 1931. Especially school students were instructed to bow before the Emperor's portrait, to attend special ceremonies at shrines, to offer prayers to the dead, and to bow toward the Imperial palace. The degree of imposition of Shinto worship in Korea was greater than that in Japan itself, as was reported:

"The insistence of the government on school attendance at Shinto shrines seems to be pressed with greater urgency in Korea and Formosa than in Japan itself and continues to cause much anxiety to the church" (*IRM*, 1938: 13).

In the 1930s Japan planned to extend its power by using its military to dominate Asia and the world. As a first step, Japan set up the kingdom of Manchoukuo in Manchuria, and then planned to invade mainland China(A. D. Clark, 1971: 221).

Japanese military groups sought to revive Shintoism as the ideological basis for the unification of Asia. In this way, Japan planned to subjugate Asia under Japanese rule.

Shintoism is a folk religion that influences the Japanese's daily lives. They believe that their god, *Amateraus*, supplies everything they need and that he dominates the world. They set up great national shines in Tokyo and in other cities to serve this god and wanted other people to worship him.

The issue of Shinto shrine worship appeared as a serious problem to the Christian schools and churches in Korea early in the 1930s(N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 460).

Before that time the Shinto shrine issue was debated, but from the

1930s, the Japanese government demanded of Christian schools to worship at the Shinto shrine as the means to enforce Japan's political rule due to the political change in Japan.

Worship at the Shinto shrine by Christian schools was enforced all over the country from 1932. The schools hostile to this were closed or were changed in their orientation as the Japanese government exercised coercive actions. The Japanese government also forced Shinto shrine worship on the churches, and then the Christians in Korea opposed it, but "a few Japanized Korean" Christians worshipped at the Shinto shrines(A. D. Clark, 1971: 121).

Shinto shrine worship was combined with Japan's strategy to dominate Korea, and together with the thought system and Japan's political ideology they sought to dismantle Korean culture and society and to establish Japanese culture.

The demand to worship at the Shinto shrine by using force on the churches and schools in Korea, conflicted with the Christians' faith. This resulted in persecution.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study seeks to resolve questions related to the Korean church's suffering during the Japanese occupation from 1910 to 1945. What was the reason for the Korean Christians' resistance to Shintoism? What is Shintoism and how was it related to Japanese nationalism?

What was the response of the leaders of the Korean Presbyterian Church to this persecution? After the Liberation in 1945, how did the issue of Shinto shrine worship affect growth in two groups: namely those who were anti-Shinto and those who were pro-Shinto shrine worship?

1.2 METHODOLOGY

1.2.1 Purpose of the Research

1. This study aims to make clear how the adherents of Shintoism, the national ruling ideology of the time and the Japanese national religion, persecuted the Korean church.
2. This study will also make clear how the Korean church members kept their faith and whether there was growth under Japanese persecution.
3. Hence this study will analyze, both theologically and missiologically, the Korean Presbyterian Church leaders' faith and resistance to Shintoism, and to what extent their faith contributed to the growth of the Korean Church.
4. This study will offer an analysis of the growth and missionary witness of the Presbyterian church in Korea during and after the Japanese colonial rule.

1. 2. 2 Hypothesis

1. After the Liberation in 1945, the problem of the Shinto shrine became the root of schism in the Korean Presbyterian Church.
2. The churches which resisted Shintoism during the period of persecution grew quantitatively more than the churches which compromised their faith to the Japanese demands.
3. Notwithstanding the fact that Korean Christians had nationalistic

characteristics, the fundamental reason why Christians in Korea refused Shintoism and accepted persecution was religious. They wanted to obey only the Word of God.

1.2.3 Delimitations of the Research

The parameters being placed on this research will put certain limitations on it.

1. The history of the Korean Protestant church spans only one century. Therefore, the historical resources are limited when compared to those of Western churches. This fact is a great limitation of the present study, and it prevents the study from going as deeply as would otherwise be the case. The study is limited to Presbyterian Churches in Korea and covers the period of Japanese occupation (1910–1945) as well as its ongoing effects upon these churches after Japanese rule was ended.

2. The interpretation of history is derived from the historical viewpoint of the interpreter. The writer has a Reformed theological perspective which is important in his interpretation of history. Within the Reformed tradition the writer holds a conservative theological position.

1.2.4 Assumptions

This study assumes the following points.

1. This study is based upon literary research; it is assumed that the literary sources are reliable historical records reflecting both the temporal and spatial historical specificities. Literary sources are cultural products of a given time period which embodies the contemporary trend of both political and intellectual thoughts. In comparing and studying various texts from different era and localities, it is assumed that a relatively accurate understanding can be gained about a given topic as well as the

changing conceptions of the topic throughout history.

2. The study of the literary data will seek to do justice to the Reformed theological viewpoint.

1.2.5 Definition of Terms

In this study the following terms will be used in accordance with these definitions.

1. Conservatism: Conservatism, in a general sense, signifies a rejection of the liberal outlook. Thus it is regarded as a provincial aberration. Such conservatism is neither objective nor scientific nor rational in any significant sense. In the context of Christianity, it reflects a conservationist purpose of handing on the doctrines and disciplines of historic Christianity intact and undiluted. There are conservative protestants amongst whom are included reformed, evangelical, and some others. Conservatism in this sense implies no particular political stance or eschatological expectation, though the contrary is often alleged. Korean Protestantism has both socio-political and theological conservatism.

2. Fundamentalism: Fundamentalism developed its distinctive characteristics primarily in North America, and has had its widest influence in the U.S.A. where revivalist evangelicalism has been the dominant religious heritage. Essential to being a fundamentalist is that one be (1) an evangelical protestant; (2) an anti-modernist, meaning that one subscribes to the fundamentals of traditional supernaturalistic Biblical Christianity; and (3) militant in this anti-modernism or in opposition to certain aspects of secularization. A fundamentalist, then, is a militantly anti-modernist evangelical.

3. Liberalism: Liberalism ordinarily signifies the thought-pattern found in European Protestantism. Liberalism has everywhere displayed most if not all of the following features: (1) A purpose of adapting the

substance of faith, (2) A sceptical view of historic Christian supernaturalism, (3) A view of the Bible as fallible human record of religious thought and experience rather than a divine revelation of truth and reality, (4) An optimistic view of cultured humanity's power to perceive God by reflecting on its experience, and a formulate a true natural theology. The liberals were aggressively involved in social work to eliminate social structural problems and to uphold a stable society.

4. Shintoism: Shintoism is a folk religion that influence the Japanese in their daily lives. They believe that their god, *Amateraus*, supplies everything they need and that he dominates the world. Japanese military groups sought to revive Shintoism as an ideological basis for unification of Asia. In this way, Japan planned to subjugate Asia under Japanese rule. Shinto can be distinguished *inter alia* into Shrine Shinto and State Shinto. Shrine Shinto centres in rites related to the numerous shrines found in every locality of the country. State Shinto was used during the period prior to the disestablishment of Shinto in 1945. It refers to the practical situation which existed in the period prior to and during the Second World War. It included state control, also of people in the other countries under Japanese colonial rule, amongst others through reinforced ritual observance such as were required at shrines erected in Korea at that time.

5. Church Growth: Church growth in this study is used in a general sense. Church growth is more than numerical growth. It implies a holistic concept of growth: maturational, organic and incarnational as well as numerical. Holistic church growth can be described in terms of four dimensions: (1) Numerical (quantitative) growth, (2) Conceptual (maturational, reflective, mental, or qualitative) growth, (3) Organic growth, (4) Incarnational (diaconial) growth.

1.3 PROPOSED OUTLINE OF RESEARCH

1.3.1 Proposed outline

The following steps are necessary to explain the stated hypothesis and to suggest possible solutions to these problems.

Firstly, this study examines the historical context of the Korean church under Japanese colonial rule, and provides a historical outline of the Korean church during this period.

Secondly, the present study analyzes how the Korean Presbyterian church grew during the colonial period, including possible reasons for the growth and the consequential problems related to this growth.

Thirdly, this paper aims to study the origin and characteristics of Shintoism, with special emphasis on its historical, ideological, and sociological aspects. In so doing, it is aimed to understand the seemingly inevitable conflicts between the Shinto worshipping Japanese government and Korean Christians in the colonial Korea.

Fourthly, the study attempts to clarify the persecutive aspects of Shinto nationalism and the resulting difficulties for the Korean church, which became the major basis of christian resistance.

Finally, the dissertation presents the witness of faith from case studies of Korean Christian resistance leaders in North Korea, South Korea and Manchuria.

1.3.2 Collection of Data

This history of missions is not a newly-developed theological

discipline, but a branch of science that the new school of history has developed.

"Protestant missions, as such, aim not only at the intelligent presentation of the essential character of the Christian faith to non-Christians but also seek to organize those who accept the Christian message into self-supporting, self-propagating, self-governing, and self-expressing churches"(Paik, 1970: 3). "The study of the history of missions, therefore, enquires into the nature of the Christianity that has been propagated, into the processes, the agents, and the methods by which Christianity was introduced, into political and commercial movements connected with the missionary enterprise, into the effect of Christianity upon the people to whom it has been presented, into the extent to which Christianity has been altered by its new environment, the influence of the changes both on the people and on Christianity thus affected, into the conditions under which Christianity has spread, and in particular into the missionary methods which have been employed" (Latourette, 1961: 112).

In view of the fact that the history of missions deals with such a broad field of human interest, it constitutes an important part of the history of the world.

Unfortunately, there are many difficulties in this particular study. With one very notable exception, the subject of this paper has hardly received any research attention, either in Korean, Japanese or English literature. In fact, in recent years, apart from summary accounts, Korean church history itself has not received the attention it deserves. There is a shortage of in-depth contemporary studies in English concerning Korean and Japanese church history.

1.3.3 Treatment of Data

The method of this study is an historical, descriptive, and analytical

approach to the witness and persecution of the Presbyterian church in Korea. In this study the writer will use the literary sources which pertain to the subjects of this research.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE WITNESS AND PERSECUTION OF THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE 19TH CENTURY

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

To understand the position of the Korean church under Japanese colonial rule we must understand the history of the church in this period. This paper will provide a comprehensive understanding of the history of the Korean church.

The Korean Presbyterian church has had Korean Christians as the earliest members. But, the Korean main divisions in the Korean Presbyterian church have been divided into both. The other gave birth to the Presbyterian Church of Korea in 1908.

After the Japanese invasion, a series of persecutions in the nineteenth century caused many Christians with Korean Presbyterian Christians to leave the traditional congregation of the former contributing to the formation of the church. In the next chapter the present section on the Korean Presbyterian church will be divided into two different sections, one on the traditional Korean Presbyterian church and another on the church which left the traditional church because of the Japanese invasion. The former is called the "Traditional Presbyterian Church" and the latter is called the "Reformed Presbyterian Church".

2.2. THE HISTORY OF THE KOREAN CHURCH

After the Japanese invasion, the Korean church was divided into

CHAPTER TWO

CONTEXT OF THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH UNDER JAPANESE COLONIAL RULE : A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2. 1 INTRODUCTION

To understand the persecution of the Korean church under Japanese colonial rule, we need a historical overview of the church in this period. This overview will provide a comprehensive understanding of the history of the Korean church.

The Korean Presbyterian church has led Korean Christianity as the major group. But, there are two main divisions in the Korean Presbyterian church. One resisted Shintoism so as to protect their faith. The other gave allegiance to Shintoism because of Japanese colonial rule.

Prior to the official arrival of American missionaries in the nineteenth century, there had been slight contacts with European Protestant Christians in Korea. To bring about understanding of the factors contributing to Korean church growth in the next chapter, the present section on the history of Protestant church growth will be divided into four different periods according to the significant periods of Korean Presbyterian church history: the rise of the church(1884-1907), the revival of the church(1907-1912), growing confrontation(1912-1935), and the persecution of the church(1935-1945).

2.2 THE RISE OF THE CHURCH (1884-1907)

2.2.1 The Beginning of the Presbyterian Mission

In 1873, John Ross and John McIntyre, who have been called the “Wycliffes of Korea,” missionaries from the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, worked among Koreans in Manchuria. In 1876 they began to translate the Gospel of Luke from Chinese characters into Korean script with a man named Sang Yoon Suh, who was one of the first four Korean Protestant converts in Manchuria(W. E. Griffis, 1912: 45–46). The other three initial believers were Jin Gee Kim, Ung Chan Lee and Hong Joon Paik. Ross’ missionary method was “Pauline,” as he termed it. Feeling that native evangelists were far more effective than western missionaries could be, he laid great emphasis on colporteur work.

In the spring of 1883, Sang Yoon Suh, one of the colporteurs, left Manchuria with a load of Scriptures, with instructions to reach Seoul with them if possible. In 1884, Hong Joon Paik and Sung Ha Lee made another attempt to bring the Scripture into Korea. But the border was so carefully guarded that this was very difficult. So Sung Ha Lee left quantities of Scriptures in an inn on the Manchurian side. When the inn-keeper found the forbidden Scripture, he threw some into the river and some into the fire. When Ross heard of it, he said, “The water of life” to Koreans, and “the ashes will be fertilizers to bring about a great growth in the Korean church.” Sure enough, this region later became a strong Christian community and many church leaders came from this area (Rhodes, 1934: 74).

In November of 1884, hearing a report that there were believers who asked for baptism in the Korean valleys of Northern Manchuria, where many copies of the gospels had been sold by colporteurs, Ross and his colleague, J Webster, decided to visit these areas. They baptized 75 people in four villages there and placed many others on the waiting list for further instruction. This group of baptized people, who were all farmers and heads of families (Brown, 1962: 10), became the first Christian Korean

community in Manchuria (J. Ross, 1885: 207–209). When Ross returned from his first visit among the Koreans in their villages in 1884, he reported to the society:

"Besides those already baptized there are 600 men applicants for baptism in the Corean Valley. Reporting on Colporteur Suh's work in Korean, the *Bible Translator* said: "As the result of this two years' labor there, he has now over 70 men applicants for baptism. He has opened what he calls a 'Preaching Hall' in a city to the west of the capital, where he has 18 believers, and another convert in a city to the south of the capital has 'over twenty' who are applying for baptism" (*British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1885: 215–216, 361).

It is interesting to note that before the Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea the Ross version of the New Testament was already circulating throughout the country, and little bands of believers had begun to form as churches were waiting only to be baptized by missionaries.

In 1884, two years after the signing of the treaty between the United States and Korea, the American Presbyterian Church sent the first Protestant missionary to Korea, Horace Newton Allen. Allen, physician, missionary and diplomat, was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1881 and from Miami Medical College, Oxford, Ohio in 1883. And he was appointed by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to China as a medical missionary and reached Shanghai in October, 1883. Allen was a medical doctor who had already seen service in China. Upon his arrival he was able to save the life of the queen's nephew by the providence of God.

By saving the life of a wounded prince, Young Ik Min, at the point of death, he won the favor of the court and was made the count physician. In April 1885, the first government hospital using Western medicine was opened and bore the name "Kwanghyewon" or "Widespread Relief House"

under the charge of Dr. Allen. Thus was laid the foundation of resident missionary work in Korea (A. D. Clark, 1971: 61).

Six months after Horace Allen's arrival on Easter Sunday, 1885, two American missionaries arrived in Korea via Japan. They were Horace G. Underwood, sent by the Northern Presbyterian Board of Missions, and Henry Appenzeller, sent by the Foreign Missionary Society of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church. Upon arrival on the shore of Chemulpo, Appenzeller offered this prayer: "We came here on Easter. May he who on that day burst the bars of death, break the bonds that bind the people, and bring them to the light and liberty of God's children" (R. S. McClay, 1885: 328).

2. 2. 2 The Attraction of Modernization

Protestant Christianity came to Korea at a critical and providential time in the nation's social and political life. The five-hundred-year Chosen dynasty was about to fall, and Korea had been forced to open to the outside world and was slowly losing its independence to the rising empire of Japan. Christianity came as something new to the people in times of insecurity and was therefore easily accepted. The socio-political situation was very unstable. After Japan defeated Russia in the Sino Japanese War, China lost her influence over Korea. Japan's victory over Russia made many people think that modern civilization was superior to traditional Chinese culture. Japan won the war after she began modernization.

Also Christianity came from the West, and it brought modernity with the same colonial hang-up as elsewhere. Since there was no feature of modernization immediately at hand to attract the people, they turned to Christianity, and Christianity had the advantage of entering the ancient kingdom before other forms of modern civilization had taken possession of the people (Paik, 1970: 419).

The Christian church played a key role in the modernization of Korean society. The term “modernization” here is broadly defined as the process of social and cultural changes of the traditional ways. It may include the economic changes of industrialization, value change from traditionalism toward modernism or rationalism. Some say when Korea was still in the traditional state, Christianity opened a door to other nations for what might have been one of the initiating forces of Korean modernization. Christianity was identified with modernity and attracted young people. The common people were attracted by the pioneer missionaries. They were attracted because of the possibility of social advancement. Therefore, the sociological condition and modernization of the nation caused the growth of the church in this early stage of the Korean Church (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 44-45).

When the first two American Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea, they began direct evangelism work very cautiously. Allen Clark has explained the reasons for this cautious beginning as follows,

"First, the new missionaries did not know the language well enough to be able to do much preaching in Korean. They had no grammar or language text-books. Second, the government's attitude was not favorable to Christianity.... Further, it must be remembered that the treaties included no provision to allow for missionary work. It was well to move slowly, lest the future of the work be hindered by rushing too fast, now" (A. D. Clark, 1971: 96).

At that time the political situation was very unstable because of the unsuccessful coup d'etat of December, 1884. The law which had forbidden the acceptance of Christianity on penalty of death was not yet repealed. Therefore, the people were afraid to make contact with these missionaries.

2. 2. 3 The Organized church

The early Presbyterian missionaries reaped the harvest of converts of John Ross from Manchuria. Underwood explains the growth of the church in Korea in 1888 in the following words,

"Throughout the whole of the northern province it seemed evident that the wide seed-sowing that had been carried on from China, and the books that had been circulated, had their effect, and opportunities for effective work seemed more numerous in that direction than elsewhere. While, therefore, natives were employed to distribute and sell books in other parts of the land, the efforts of the missionaries were merely directed thither, and their trips were almost entirely toward the north. A most promising work was opening up at *Euiju*, and at one time there were gathered at this city from the surrounding villages and counties men to the number of over a hundred who asked to be received into full membership" (H. Underwood, 1919: 137-138).

In September 1887, the Presbyterian mission organized the first Protestant churches of Seoul and Sorai on Korean soil. The church of Seoul was organized with a roll of fourteen members, of whom thirteen were converted by a man trained by Mr. Ross in Manchuria (Annual Report of the Board of F.M.P.C.U.S.A., 1890: 134). In the village of Sorai on the west coast of Korea Underwood found a company of seven ready for baptism. The church of Sorai, the first Protestant Church in Korea, called "the cradle of Protestant Christianity in Korea," claimed the adults of fifty out of fifty-eight homes in the village and produced leadership for the Presbyterian Church and showed the pattern of "self-support." The missionaries went to the villages not to convert the people but to baptize and instruct those who were already won by their countrymen. Underwood

writes again, "Wherever the seed is sown it seems to take root, and bear fruit... There are today two organized churches in this land, with a total membership of over a hundred" (*MRW*, 1889: 288-289).

2. 2. 4 The Growing Church

The year 1890 was a very significant one in Korean history. In response to the invitation of missionaries to Korea who were impressed with the plan presented in his series of articles, John L. Nevius visited Korea in 1890. Nevius was born in Ovid, New York, 4th March, 1829. He was graduated from Union College and from Princeton Seminary. He went to Shantung, China, as the first missionary of the Northern Presbyterian Church in 1880. Although he worked there for more than ten years, he was never able to practice his method of operation in China, because it depended upon the unified support of a whole mission working in a given area, and from the beginning his plan was not too well received by his China colleagues. In fact Calvin Mater, one of his colleagues, actually published a small book in which he tried to refute Nevius' ideas and to prove that they had not and would not work in Shantung, China (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 149-150, N. S. Kim, 1985:111).

"His two-week visit with seven young Presbyterian missionaries had its immediate and profound effect on mission policies. Underwood writes, that "in the spring of 1890, Dr. and Mrs. Nevius, of Cheefoo, China, visited Seoul, and in several conferences, laid before the missionaries there the methods of mission work commonly known as the Nevius method. After careful and prayerful consideration, we were led, in the main, to adopt this, and it has been the policy of the mission first,....."(H. Underwood, 1919: 109).

Nevius was well known throughout the entire missionary world for the advocacy of his three-self-movement, namely, Self-Propagation, Self-Government, Self-Support, for planting and developing of younger churches. It is very interesting to note that Nevius never published a book containing one comprehensive and systematic mission methodology rather he published his various ideas in several articles which were later collected in the booklet *Methods of Mission Work*. Nevius' publications are as follows: *China and the Chinese; Demon Possession and Allied Themes, Methods of Mission Works; Planting and Development of Missionary Churches*; and books and pamphlets in Chinese. In 1928, Charles Allen Clark made an attempt to present Nevius' principles in a systematic way through the publication of a book entitled *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*. In this book he traced the application of these principles to the Korean situation through the mission history of Korea until 1928. He reported that whereas in 1898 there were fewer than 10,000 Christians, in 1928 there were over 160,000 Presbyterians alone (C. A. Clark, 1937 b: 5).

2. 3 THE REVIVAL OF THE CHURCH (1907-1912)

2. 3. 1 The Great Revival Movement of 1907

As mentioned earlier, a large part of the success of this evangelistic work was caused by an emphasis on self-support and self-propagation. Characteristic of the church and mission during this time were the evangelistic activities, the movement toward the formal establishment of the organizational church, and the evangelistic movement which grew out of the 1907 Revival (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 131). The origin of the Great Revival may be traced to a meeting in 1903 when Hardie expressed his thought, in a prayer and Bible study meeting of some

Methodist missionaries.

In 1904, the Bible conference at Wonsan was repeated, with a similar experience. In August 1906, the missionaries from Pyongyang invited Hardie to lead them during a Bible conference. The Rev H.A. John of New York, who visited Korea in September, told them about the great revivals in India and Wales. All the Christians who heard this story were eager for a similar experience. Graham Lee says, "His telling of it gave some of the people a great desire to have the same blessing" (G. Lee, 1907: 33-37). The evenings preceding the Bible conference, which started on the 6th of January, 1907, were entirely devoted to prayers and special evangelistic preaching. At one of these evening sessions, the outbreak of the revival took place. William N. Blair of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, who had worked for four years in the area north of Pyongyang, gives the following account presented at an annual Bible conference in January of 1907,

"The evening meeting connected with the class began on the 6th of January in the Central Church with more than fifteen-hundred men present. Missionaries and Korean pastors led these meetings, all seeking to show the need of the Spirit's presence and necessity of love and the righteousness" (Blair & Hunt, 1977: 69).

In his book, *Gold in Korea*, Blair describes the events that took place that evening:

"After a short sermon Mr. Graham Lee took charge of the meeting and called for prayer. So many began praying that Mr. Lee said, "If you want to pray like that, all pray." And the whole audience began to pray out loud all together. The effect was indescribable. Not confusion, but a vast harmony of souls and Spirit, a mingling together of souls moved by

an irresistible impulse of prayer. The prayer sounded to me like the fall of many waters, as an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne" (Blair, 1957: 62).

Graham Lee says of that particular meeting,

"As the prayer continued, a Spirit of heaviness and sorrow came down upon the audience. Over on one side some began to weep, and in moments the whole congregation was weeping. Man after man would arise, confess his sin, break down and weep, and then throw himself to the floor, beat with his fists in perfect agony of conviction" (Blair, 1957: 63).

This public confession of sin was a unique experience in Korea because it never happened again and never before on this large scale. Blair and Hunt write, "The whole church was washed and made clean and sweet and new" (Blair & Hunt, 1977: 78). After the meeting, the Pentecostal fire flamed forth and spread continually everywhere the story was told throughout the peninsula. The important outcome of this great religious awakening to Korean Christians was that this revival showed that Christianity met the needs of the people and promoted the establishment of religious habits in the Korean Christian community.

At the beginning of this revival movement, daybreak prayer meetings that often began at 4:30 each morning became a way of life for the Korean Church. Still another effect of the great revival of 1907 was widespread church evangelism in cooperation with different denominations. Denominational barriers were broken down and Christians were minded to join together in witness. One Korean leader said to the missionaries, "Some of you go back to John Calvin, and some to John Wesley, but we can go back no further than 1907, when we first really knew the Lord Jesus Christ" (Hoke, 1975: 378). The great revival movement in 1907 gave

to the Korean church a more zealous and passionate driving power of winning new converts. In 1904 there were reportedly 2,773 adult baptized communicants, and 23,700 adherents in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Korea. Six years later in 1910, there were 13,939 adult baptized communicants, and 107,717 adherents (Wasson, 1934: 66). During this period the church nearly doubled its membership every twelve months.

The dramatic explosion of Protestant church growth in Korean between 1895 and 1910 startled the Christian world. In those crucial fifteen years, the Protestant church grew from only 802 to an astonishing 167,352 (Neill, 1964: 343-344).

Comparative Roman Catholic figures for the whole period are unavailable, but from 1900 to 1910, while the Protestants reported a phenomenal 900 percent increase in adherents, the number of Catholics rose by only 25 percent, from 60,000 to 75,000 (Stokes, 1947: 10-15).

2. 3. 2 The Million Movement

In the wake of this great revival there was a 1910-1911 campaign carried on vigorously by all the Protestant Churches and Missions in Korea for a “Million Souls for Christ”. In Chairyung of North Korea, for instance, 10,000 days of preaching were subscribed by the Christian men. Again, in Pyongyang an audience of a thousand people promised over 22,000 days spent entirely in personal evangelism.

Altogether, about 100,000 days of preaching were given. Many millions of tracts and 700,000 copies of the Gospel of Mark were purchased by Koreans. Thousands of Christians were praying daily for this great movement (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 128-130).

In spite of the efforts made for the success of the undertaking, when the year closed the million were not gathered R. E. Shearer comments, “While it may have had its effect on the spiritual life of the protestant

churches, it did not produce great church growth"(Shearer, 1966: 58). However, all are agreed that the movement was wonderfully beneficial Coming at the time of the annexation of Korea to Japan, the gloom in many Korean hearts was dispelled by finding a new hope undoubtedly the numerical strength of the churches was also greatly and permanently increased.

2. 3. 3 The Korean Presbyterian Church

Coincidentally, the year of the Revival(1907) saw another important event in the life of the Church in Korea. On 17 September, 1907, thirty-three foreign missionaries and thirty-six Korean elders assembled at the Central Church of Pyongyang and constituted the Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Korea(N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 78). The officers elected were Rev. S. A. Moffett, moderator; Rev. Rin So Song, Assistant Clerk; Rev. Graham Lee, Treasurer (A. D. Clark, 1971: 172). The new ecclesiastical body ordained the first seven theological graduates. Thus under the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Korea there were seven Korean ministers, 989 congregations, 53 elders, 19,000 communicants, and 70,000 believers (Paik, 1970: 389).

2. 3. 4 Bible Translation

Of the many great moments and events during the revival era, the completion of the translation of the Bible was one of the most significant. The three Bible Societies(the National Bible Society of Scotland, American Bible Society and British and Foreign Bible Society) had worked together for many years to make possible the completion of the Bible in the Korean language. The National Bible Society of Scotland withdrew from Korea. The British and American Societies, however, completed the translation

work together.

In 1900 the New Testament had been completed. A final revising of this work was finished in 1904. The translation of the Old Testament was completed on 2 April, 1910. It is recorded that the three members of the translating board (Dr. H. G. Underwood, Dr. J. S. Gale, and Dr. W. D. Reynolds) had met 555 times (Paik, 1970: 345). During the 1911, 8,236 Bibles and 29,417 New Testament copies were sold (D. Y. Ryu, 1994: 272).

2. 4 GROWING CONFRONTATION (1912–1935)

2. 4. 1 The Annexation

After Japan declared a protectorate over Korea in 1905, her administrators experienced many problems. The Governor General was not too successful in implementing his reform movement because of the stubbornness of freedom-loving Koreans within and without the government. And there was widespread insurrection in the hills and mountain country.

If Japan was to succeed in her control of Korea apparently a stronger hand was needed. In July, 1910, General Terauchi was appointed to succeed Marquis Ito who had been assassinated by a fanatical Korean. Terauchi was sent to Seoul to draw up the terms of the annexation. Almost immediately after his arrival in Seoul, a series of conferences was staged in secret between the Japanese administration and the Korean court. A somber quiet fell over the capital. Then the news came that the King and his ministers had signed a treaty with Japan abdicating the throne, thereby ending Korea's long and independent history as a nation (Brown, 1962: 84). This was 29 August, 1910 (A. D. Clark, 1971: 186).

2. 4. 2 The Conspiracy Case

Soon after its annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese government began to suppress the Church. From the Japanese standpoint the Church represented one of the few remaining roadblocks in their way toward complete suppression of the Korean masses. All distinctively Korean organizations had been abolished. Only the Church remained, still maintaining a direct link with the outside world through its missionaries.

"In the fall of 1911 one hundred and forty-nine persons were arrested on the pretext that they were involved in a conspiracy to assassinate the Governor General during his tour of the northern provinces. Of those arrested, three apparently died under torture before the trials began, twenty-three were either released or exiled and one hundred and twenty-three were arraigned before the court in Seoul, 28 June, 1912. Of the prisoners two were members of a Congregational church, six were Methodists and eighty nine were Presbyterians" (Brown, 1962: 86). Thus we see the implications of the trial for the Christian movement in general, and especially for the Presbyterian Church.

"At the original trial the case for the prosecution depended wholly upon the signed confessions of all the prisoners. Yet time after time prisoners rose to deny the charges and to say that their confessions were made under torture or threat of torture. There was neither witness nor evidence. By the court's verdict six of the most prominent prisoners, including Baron Chi Ho Yoon, the distinguished patriot, educator and Christian, were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Most of the remaining prisoners were given lesser sentences and a few were declared not guilty" (Brown, 1962: 86).

The result of the conspiracy case was a setback for the administration and a victory for the Christian church. The heroism of the Christians under torture impressed the whole nation. The released prisoners

were given a hero's welcome.

2. 4. 3 The Educational Crisis

Christian schools developed remarkably after 1900. In 1910, there were 1970 accredited schools or more in the country. Among them 501 schools were founded by the Presbyterian Church, while 158 schools were established by Methodism. These statistics show that the Korean people burnt with the desire for the new learning.

However, in 1911 a new education law was enacted which gave the aim of education: The essential principle of education shall be the making of loyal, good subjects through giving instruction on the basis of the Imperial Rescript concerning Education (A. D. Clark, 1971: 191). The Japanese government gave the schools in Korea ten years to conform to the revised educational ordinance, which included a shift from the use of Korean to the Japanese language in the classroom. Even more tyrannically, it excluded religion while holding religious services in schools would not be permitted in officially recognized instructions. There were two opinions on all this. Some felt that this would so cripple the schools that they could not maintain the purpose for which they were founded. Others felt that a Christian Influence could still be maintained (A. D. Clark, 1971: 191).

While the Methodists adopted the latter, the Presbyterians held the former. Most of the Methodist schools registered, hoping to be able to provide the Christian atmosphere by personal contacts and by extra-curricular religious programs of various kinds. The Presbyterian schools wished to make every effort to secure some sort of a compromise from the government officials, and discussions went on for years

In 1919 came the Independence Movement. The government put down the movement with a strong hand, but it was shaken from top to bottom. The new Governor General, Baron Saito, did a very wise thing. He made a

compromise with the church leaders in regards to the policy on education. So the Mission schools could teach the Bible in Japanese

2. 4. 4 The Independence Movement

During the time of national crisis(1910–1945) in Korea, Christianity played a very significant role. Belief in Christianity gave a sense of patriotic national identity as an alternative force to Japanese colonial assimilation. Korea welcomed Western powers which were “Christian” as a means to restore political independence and to introduce political democracy. Christianity introduced the new concept of modern education and injected a new Christian ethical standard. Unlike China, where the colonial powers were Western nations, Korea faced colonialism from Japan. Therefore, the Korean people welcomed Western influence including Christianity in order to liberate themselves from the hands of the Japanese. While the gentry class in China rejected Christianity, many Korean intellectuals eagerly grasped Christianity. For example, the Korean Independence Association at the beginning of this century had several key leaders who were Christians (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 140).

Christianity played a vital role in Korean nationalism. Korean nationalism awoke when the people felt oppressed by Japanese imperialism. When the Korean Christians from overseas who studied in the West came back to Korea during this period, they identified with the nation and the people. This gave new hope to many Koreans (K. R. Yun, 1987: 233–234).

The Independence Movement of 1919 gave a positive image of Christianity to the people, because Christians played a leading role in this Independence Movement. The Inspiration for the March First Independence Movement came from American President Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points" which included in Point Five the right of small nations to self-determination as an integral part of the post-World War I peace

settlement. On 1st March 1919, in Seoul, the Korean Declaration of Independence was publicly read from the pavilion in Pagoda Park, but simultaneous meetings also occurred all over the country.

At this time in Korea four percent of the population was Christian. Indeed, the historical event of 1st March of 1919 gave a positive image of Christianity (A. D. Clark, 1971: 173). The credibility of Christianity increased because of the promotion of patriotism by Christians. The suffering and punishment by the Japanese after the failure of the movement increased the credibility even more. As far as the Christian church was concerned, Allen D. Clark notes three important results from this Independence Movement: A man could be a Christian and still be an ardent patriot; Christians were as willing to suffer for their country as anyone else; and the imprisoned Christians, when released, testified to the great spiritual blessings they had received in prison (N. S. Kim, 1984b: 221). Most of the church pastors were jailed and not a few churches were burned, and some villages were burned to the ground. The tragic Jaeam (N. S. Kim, 1984b: 240) incident was one of the worst cases in point. The church was set afire while the Christians were in it, and all the people were killed as they tried to escape (N. S. Kim, 1984b: 262).

2. 5 THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH (1935-1945)

From early 1930s the military party in Japan was coming more and more into power and dreaming dreams of a world conquest. The first step was to swallow Manchuria. The next plan was to move on to take over all of China. They called it the “Holy War” against China

As part of this plan for extension of Japanese power, the military group in power began a revival of Shinto (K. B. Min, 1982: 343-344). Shinto is the doctrine that the Japanese people, particularly the emperors, are directly descended from the Sun-goddess. So they came to feel that

they were a superior race, even a divine race, destined to extend the rule of the emperor throughout the world. The emperor was considered to be a god, and the spirits of departed emperors and of their Sun-goddess ancestress were worshiped in the great national shrines in Japan (A. D. Clark, 1971: 221). When the Japanese took over Korea, they brought Shinto with them. No serious effort was made to compel Shinto worship until about 1930.

However, the military, knowing that success in the war which they had in mind would call for a united national spirit, determined to make Shinto the necessary uniting factor. New Shinto shrines had been erected in all the main cities and now began to appear in smaller towns, as well (N. S. Kim, 1990: 100).

2. 5. 1 The Pressure upon Christian Schools

About 1930 the Japanese government began to press obeisance to Shinto worship upon all Korean schools including Christian schools. The Japanese government declared that bowing to the state shrine was not a religious act, but a simple patriotic act. But Korean Christians and western missionaries saw more than patriotic expression in the ceremony at the state shrine (N. S. Kim & H M. Conn, 1997: 463).

On 14 November, 1935 (Brown, 1966: 149), Dr. George S. McCune, president of Union Christian College, was ordered to go to the shrine and to do obeisance to the spirits enshrined there, as a representative of the college He declined on conscientious grounds. The governor ordered him to go home and consider the matter for 60 days, at the end of which time, if he did not change his attitude their educational qualifications would be taken away (A. D. Clark, 1971: 223).

McCune then called a meeting of the Korean pastors of the 27 Presbyterian churches in the city. All but one strongly advised him to

refuse to go to the shrines no matter what happened, because the worship of deified spirits at the shrine was contrary to God's commandments (A. D. Clark, 1971: 224). He accepted the judgement of his Korean brethren and he was deposed by the governor and forced to return to the States. This was just the beginning.

The next year (1936) the issue became more intense and was broadened to include all secondary mission schools in Korea. Other orders were passed down from the Educational Ministry to all prefectures, demanding that the faculty and students of all mission schools go to the shrines. Requests were made by the missions to substitute some other act of allegiance, but all such attempts at negotiation failed. Even formal discussion of the question by school of mission bodies was forbidden. And in October, 1936, armed police in large numbers entered various mission schools throughout the country to enforce shrine attendance. The missions now had their back to the wall (Brown, 1962: 149-150).

Some missions chose to take at face value the statement of the authorities that the shrine ceremony was a political act. The Catholics took this position and went out to the shrines in mass. Others, especially the Methodist missions, took the position that this was a problem to be decided by the Korean Church or by Korean members of the various school boards. Since all Korean nationals were under coercion, the Methodist schools gave in to the demands of the authorities and these schools remained open (N. S. Kim, 1990: 143-144).

However, Northern Presbyterian missionaries in Pyongyang were among the first to take a strong and uncompromising stand against the shrine ceremony. They felt they could not maintain the Christian character of their schools if there was any type of compromise. In the spring of 1937, the mission board in New York permitted the closing the school doors in Pyongyang (Brown, 1962: 152).

2. 5. 2 The Pressure upon the Church

Then the pressure began on the church congregations and on church gatherings. Police permission would be given for a meeting of a presbytery or for a Bible conference, but only on the condition that the leaders first go out to the local shrine to bow and show their loyalty to the Empire. If they did not go, there would be no meeting.

The 1938 General Assembly, which met 10 September, received a final blow in this organized program of stripping the Korean Church of its power. During the summer previous to the meeting, the police had contacted each delegate. Just as they had coerced presbytery delegates, they now told general assembly delegates to approve the passage of a motion sanctioning worship at the Shinto shrines. Those who opposed shrine worship were put in jail and kept from attending the General Assembly. When the call for the vote on the motion approving shrine attendance came, only the 'yeas' were called for. The motion was passed without putting the negative, which was, of course, an illegal proceeding (A. D. Clark, 1971: 228-229).

However, there were hundreds who stood out against the government pressure, suffering torture and imprisonment for months. The most famous was Rev. Ki Chul Choo of the Sanjungyun Presbyterian Church in Pyongyang. It was a time of testing for the entire Church throughout the country (N. S. Kim, 1990: 153, N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 487).

In 1940 and 1941, the war preparations of the military party were gaining momentum. The tension preceding Pearl Harbor continued to mount. All missionaries were forced to leave the country. Their work had been increasingly curtailed and all Korean Christians who were in any contact with them were under constant suspicion and subject to police questioning.

During the years of the Pacific war the Korean Christian Church

underwent increasing pressures as the war frenzy mounted. Over 200 churches were closed. Over 2,000 Christians were imprisoned and more than 50 churches workers suffered martyrdom (A. D. Clark, 1971 :230).

On 1st August 1945, the Protestant Churches were forced to organize the Chosen Division of the Japanese Christian Church. Any who did not favor this forced union were imprisoned, driven from their pulpit and placed under housearrest. Many Christians went underground, so that the former 700,000 Protestant Christians were reduced to half that number (A. D. Clark, 1971: 231).

The fire of persecution swept over the land. Many Christians went to prison Some of them went to their deaths. But the Church was not consumed in the flame of oppression.

2. 6 SUMMARY

Despite this suffering and persecution, the Korean church grew under the Japanese rule. Finally the Korean church enjoyed a period of popularity, and many unbelievers came into the church. A mission station reports for 1920 read, "perhaps the work of no year ever began under such adverse circumstances or closed with such bright prospects as the year 1912-1920" (C. A. Clark, 1937a: 320). Thus, the church grew as a result of that historical event under the Japanese oppression. According to Roy Shearer, in 1911 the number of communicants of the Presbyterian Church was 46,934. This number had grown to 69,047 in 1919, 72,138 in 1920, and 89,000 in 1925. By 1936 the total number of believers amounted to 341,700 (Shearer, 1966: 59-79). In 1939 the communicant membership was 134,000 (Shearer, 1966: 207). The outbreak of World War II in 1941 brought even more severe oppression to the churches. Many more church leaders were imprisoned. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions reported that at that time 1,200 out of 5,000 protestant churches closed

(Douglas, 1975: 58). All the foreign missionaries were forced to leave the country. However, the Japanese failed to destroy the Christian Church in Korea.

The Korean Presbyterian church grew gradually after the introduction of the Gospel into Korea. The Great Revival Movement in 1907 greatly influenced the growth of church, which grew largely through this movement and it established itself in Korean society as the main factor in the Independence Movement in 1919.

In the 1930s, militarists seized political power in Japan, and they made Shintoism as the national ruling ideology. Shintoism, a Japanese folk religion, was then expanded into Shinto nationalism. Consequently, Koreans, especially Christians, were forced to bow to the Shinto shrine. However, during the period of Japanese oppression, the Korean church grew gradually.

I will examine below the background of persecution arising from the Shinto shrine issue through exploring the relevant phenomena, character, and problems of the church's growth.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KOREA BEFORE AND DURING JAPANESE COLONIAL RULE: A THEOLOGICAL-MISSIONAL ANALYSIS

3. 1 INTRODUCTION

There were many changes in Korean society and in the church during the period of Japanese rule, 1910~1945. Society underwent a process of modernization with the introduction of Christianity. And, oppressive Japanese policies attempted to efface Korean nationality (N. S. Kim, 1990: 39; N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 402~403).

The Korean church gradually grew in this political and social context. So I will attempt to analyze the growth of the Korean Presbyterian church under Japanese rule.

Firstly, I will analyze the phenomena of church growth in the various fields of Christian activities in church establishments, schools, education, social mission, etc.

Secondly, I will analyze the reasons why Korean Presbyterian churches showed growth since there are several reasons for the church's growth.

Finally, I will study the growth and problems of the Korean Presbyterian churches under Japanese rule through an analysis of the problems related to the church's growth.

3. 2 THE FACTS OF CHURCH GROWTH

3. 2. 1 National Evangelistic Work

In relation to church growth in Korea, Samuel Moffet suggested evangelistic zeal, fervency in prayer and devotion to the Word of God as an explanation for the church growth in Korea (Moffet, 1962:15–30). It should be remembered that the early Korean Christians learned the zeal and the method of personal evangelism from the missionaries. As discussed in an earlier chapter, from the early days it had been the policy of the missionaries to travel over large areas of the country visiting the numerous market towns and villages to preach the gospel to as many as possible. From the beginning, the church grew because of the witnessing activity of Korean Christians implementing the efforts and zeal of evangelistic work learned from missionaries. When on a visit to Korea at the beginning of this century, A. J. Brown, former Far East Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, saw that distances prevented frequent missionary visits to each new place of preaching. Blair wrote of his experience of preaching the gospel in the mountainous countryside in the following words:

"As soon as I could speak enough Korean to begin preaching. Five counties were assigned to my care north of Pyengyang City, partly mountainous and partly level rice plains along the Yellow Sea. At first the church work was small and I had leisure to preach to the peoples as I walked the roads. There are few good roads in Korea. For the most part there are only crooked paths that seek the lowest passes in the mountains and wind in and out between the rice fields. Most Koreans walk. That seemed too slow for me, so I got a nice, red bicycle from Chicago, but I soon gave it up. I met too many men

leading enormous oxen, loaded down with brushwood till they looked like moving wood piles with horns in front and tail behind. You can imagine what a great country ox like that would do if he met a foreigner in a narrow path on a bicycle. Conditions have changed greatly in Korea during the last few years. We now have a railroad running the length of the land. I am even planning to take out a motorcycle to Korea to use on long journeys. Nevertheless, I mean to walk as much as possible because it is the best way to preach the gospel. Jesus walked, and much of Korea today is still much like Palestine was in days of Christ" (Blair & Hunt, 1977: 39-40).

After the message had been welcomed in the most unexpected places, groups of believers came into existence. After following the evangelistic method of early missionaries, the development of the church in Korea from the beginning depended upon the efforts of the personal witness of Koreans themselves. This was underlined by Malcom C. Fenwick, an independent missionary to Korea. The gospel can best be taught to foreign people by picked native converts(Fenwick, 1911: 91). He made this statement after he confessed that he himself failed as a missionary. The fact that it was the Koreans themselves who brought the Gospel to the Korean people has the underlying assumption that this was an advantage for the spread of Christianity.

From the beginning the Korean Christian has been to an unusual degree a witnessing Christian, and the Korean church became a church of personal evangelistic workers. It has been continually emphasized that unless personal faith is awake to the necessity of personal testimony, both in speech and in conduct, it is neither a healthy nor a normal faith (Soltau, 1932:37-38).

Undoubtedly the great majority of Christians in the early Korean Church were the direct result of the personal evangelism of believers.

However, it is to be noted that Korean evangelists supported by their churches have also played a major role in personal evangelism. Korean Christians are famed for the zeal with which they have supported and extended to the church. Their zeal was fed by their own vivid religious experience, by the teaching and example of the missionaries, and by the fact that from the beginning, responsibility for supporting the local church and for administration taken by the Korean Christians in the enterprise was due in some measure to the deliberate policy adopted by the missionaries, and in some measure to the rapid rise of the church, which made it impractical for the mission to carry the whole administrative and financial load.

The outreach was multiplied by the personal evangelism of Korean Christian women, known as Bible women. They visited from house to house, told gospel stories, and sold gospels, and likewise distributed tracts (Ross, 1886: 151–152). The personal evangelism of the Bible women was very influential. According to the Presbyterian Rules and By-Laws of 1896, the Bible woman, *Chundo Puin*, was a Christian woman employed in the distribution of Christian literature, and in Biblical instruction (Huntley, 1987: 423). Her work was, however, more comprehensive than this definition suggests. The Bible woman was primarily employed to reach the Korean women with the Gospel. It was hard for male evangelists, native or foreign, to reach these women, because of the rigid separation of the sexes in traditional Korean culture. The Bible women made long journeys, selling Bibles, preaching and evangelizing. They led services for women, taught them how to read, and instructed them on various issues, such as the Bible, conduct in the Church, control and care of the family, and health and hygiene.

Evangelism by private conversion was one of the methods Jesus used (Sweazey, 1953:89). He spoke to crowds, but a significant part of the gospel records conversations Jesus had in private, such as with Nicodemus,

the woman of Samaria and Zacchaeus. Not only did Jesus use this method, but he trained his disciples to use it. Like his disciples toady they were amazed and full of joy at their success (Luke 10:1-20). There was nothing at the time which resembled a professional ministry. The leaders of the churches were diverse in age, social class, sex, education, religious and cultural backgrounds, and race. There was no one group which more than any other had the responsibility for spreading the gospel. They were all enthusiasts who shared their new found faith with conviction and believed the Bibles commandments to evangelize applied to all believers. Lay evangelism is a biblical norm that is buried under centuries of clerical, ecclesiastical tradition. Lay evangelism is one of the secrets behind the steady and rapid growth of the Korean churches. Lay evangelism training is one of the major factors responsible for the Korean churches spiritual readiness and openness.

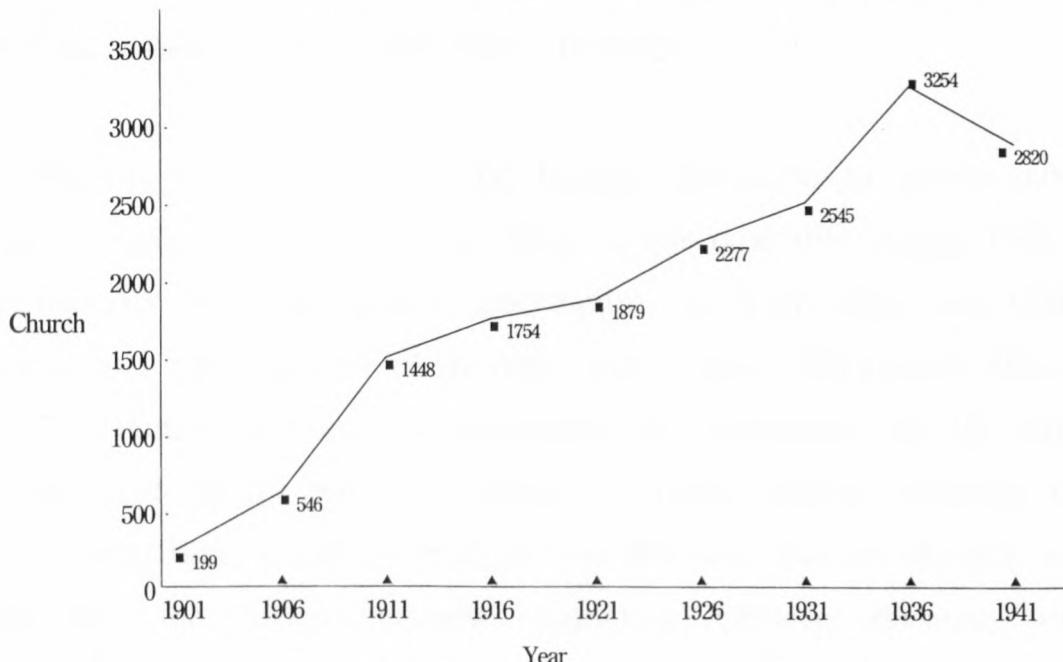
Presbyterian Churches in Korea have continued to develop due to the national evangelistic work. Table 1 represents the growth of communicant membership of the Presbyterian churches in Korea. One can see that the membership had rapidly grown since the Great Revival Movement of 1907, and decreased due to the Shinto shrine persecution starting in 1939.

Table 1. Communicant Membership of The Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1886–1942

Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1886	9	1906	12,215	1926	85,485
1887	25	1907	15,828	1927	91,091
1888	65	1908	25,153	1928	83,337
1889	104	1909	30,337	1929	85,336
1890	103	1910	39,384	1930	87,186
1891	119	1911	46,994	1931	89,651
1892	127	1912	53,008	1932	99,853
1893	241	1913	55,557	1933	99,802
1894	236	1914	60,047	1934	104,527
1895	286	1915	62,083	1935	111,355
1896	661	1916	63,202	1936	111,920
1897	932	1917	68,230	1937	119,293
1898	2,099	1918	68,506	1938	125,965
1899	2,207	1919	69,047	1939	127,170
1900	3,914	1920	69,025	1940	112,276
1901	4,998	1921	70,572	1941	121,478
1902	5,481	1922	72,146	1942	110,002
1903	7,207	1923	76,249		
1904	8,756	1924	78,261		
1905	11,036	1925	84,500		

* Kyunggi and North Choongchung Provinces are not included in the report
 (Source: *Yearbook of Christianity in Korea*, 1970, 1990, 1995, 1996; *Minutes of General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1907–1942*)

Figure 1. Number of Presbyterian Churches in Korea, 1901–1942



(Source : *Minutes of General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1900–1942*

Figure 1 illustrates the growth of chapels in the Presbyterian church in Korea during the Japanese colonial rule.

3. 2. 2 Modern Educational Missions

In the beginning of the Protestant mission in Korea, direct preaching to the common people was not allowed when the pioneer missionaries arrived in Korea. The missionaries adopted the policy of non-aggressive evangelistic activity of modern Western Christian education through schools founded by Protestant missionaries in the 1880s.

"The favorable effects of medical work were enhanced by the educational labors of the missionaries. People were eager for Western education. In fact, the Korean government had already taken the first timid steps toward the inauguration of a modern educational program. We have already noted the beginning of the Korean student migration to Japan in the eighties. As early as 1881, the government was sending commissions and students to Japan and China to acquaint themselves with the affairs of the world" (Paik, 1970:125).

The openness of part of the Korean population to accept modern education made it also easier for them to welcome the Gospel. Only the elite minority had educational opportunities to learn from the Chinese classics, and the majority of Korean people were illiterate in the 19th centuries. Pioneer missionaries translated the Scriptures into the Korean language and taught Koreans, through Sunday schools, vacation Bible schools, and Bible institutes, how to read the easy Korean phonetic script rather than the difficult Chinese characters. Chinese education was a privilege for the high class people. The western missionaries taught not only Christian doctrine, but also secular knowledge. They introduced

modern education, its form as well as its content.

To all intents and purposes, the first modern school was established by an American missionary. It was Ewha Girl's School founded by Mrs. Mary E. Scranton, who came to Korea in June 1885 with her only son, William B. Scranton, but who acted independently to open a girl's school. The Rev. Henry G. Appenzeller founded a school for boys, Baejae Hakdang, in 1885. Severance Medical School was opened in 1886, and Soongshil Christian school was founded in 1897. In addition, institutions of higher education were started by Protestant missionaries. The aim of these schools was to enlighten the unlearned masses. These modern educational institutions offered new courses in mathematics, geography, history and natural history as well as English, Chinese classics and Bible (M. Y. Lee, 1987:202–204). These institutions were at first the target of aversion on the part of the traditional gentry class so that the first students consisted mainly of orphans or lower class converts. But later they attracted the attention of elite classes and produced many leading figure not only in the Christian movement but also in the social and political movement, especially that of independence.

The growth of Korean Christian schools contributed to Korean church growth. According to the statistics of each denomination in 1909, Presbyterian schools numbered 605, with 14,708 students, Methodist schools numbered 200, with 6,423 students, and other denomination schools numbered about 150 (K. B. Min, 1982:238). Several Christian colleges were opened at the beginning of the 20th century: Soongshil College in 1906, Ewha College in 1910, and Yonhee College in 1915. When the Japanese annexed Korea in 1910, there were 2,250 private schools in Korea, among which 1,402 were Chinese character learning institutes, 25 were secular modern schools, and 823 were Christian schools. The missionaries emphasized respect for female educators through Christian schools, in contrast to Confucians' lack of respect. Korean Christianity gave women

freedom. The education of women and girls affected Korean church growth in the evangelism of women. The second statement of the Mission Council wrote about the education of women as follows: The conversion of women and training of Christian girls should be a special aim, since mothers exercise so important an influence over future generations (A. D. Clark, 1971: 112).

According to Yun Ok Lee, who was actively involved in the National Organization of Presbyterian Women, "Korean women have contributed much to the growth of the Korean culture during the 100 year history of Protestantism in Korea" (Y. O. Lee, 1983: 231). An essay in the *Chosun Christian Bulletin* on 29 December, 1898, said, "Education of housewives is such an urgent task. The thriving of the household, revival of the nation and power of people depend upon the education of Korean women. Truly, the missionaries founding of women schools based on the spirit of equality of the sexes was the first torchlight for liberating Korean women and opened the way for Korean women education. The purpose of this education was to equip church women to awaken fellow Koreans from the deep sleep of social and political ignorance" (quoted in K. S. Suh, 1985: 63-65). Speer at one time said,

"The Korean woman is somewhat like the Moslem woman in her home life. The women quarters are separate and she must not be too much seen if at all, by any man outside her immediate family. The Gospel meant liberty and love for her" (quoted in C. A. Clark, 1937b: 284).

This is quite true. The gospel has been a large factor liberating women in Korea and giving them almost complete freedom. Outside of the surrender of her old religion, the Korean woman had everything to gain and nothing to lose by becoming a Christian. Her circle of social contracts

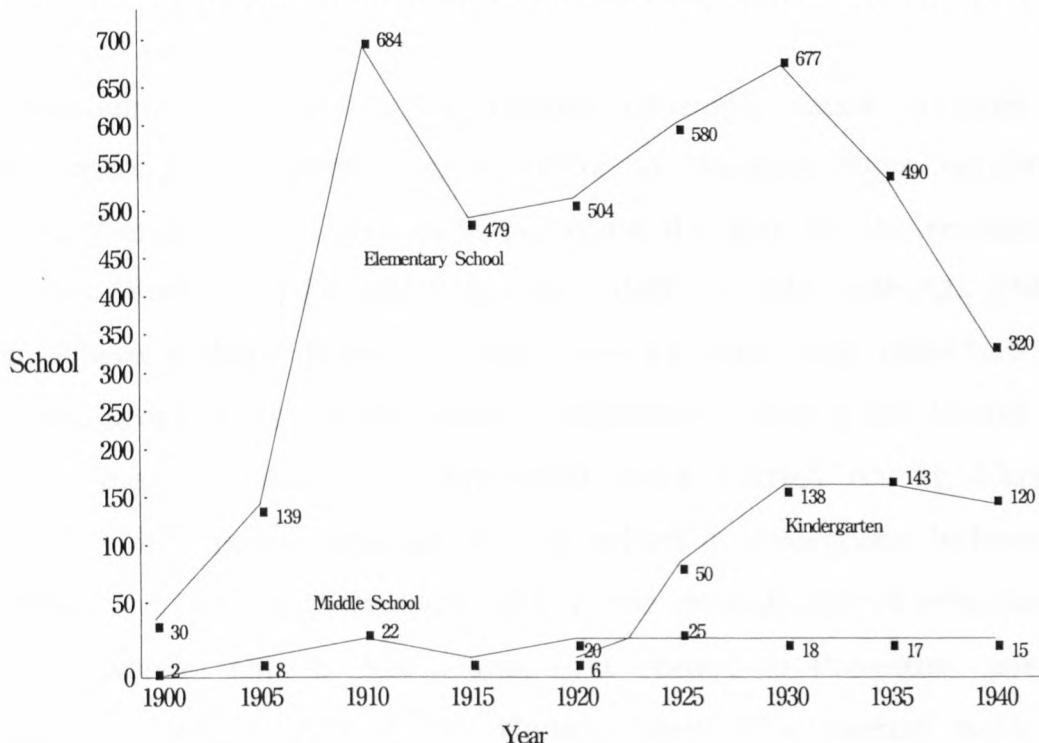
was immediately widened and enriched. During the long rule of Confucianism, Korean women suffered most. They always had to obey the Confucian law, which set them in very low position. A. J. Brown wrote of the Korean women:

"Women in old *Chosen*, had a low place. Her function was merely to drudge at home and to bear him coveted sons. Respectable women of social standing were expected to seclude themselves in a separate part of the house" (A. J. Brown, 1898: 393).

When these uneducated women started reading the Bible with the help of the missionaries' wives, they realized that they should have equal rights with men. The church women began to mobilize themselves. From the beginning, church women, believing they were doing Gods will, took the initiative in seeking social justice and in recovering women rights. Certainly women play an important role in democratizing their homes and society. They initiated strong protest against the evil social system, which allowed powerful and rich men to have concubines, and they became leaders in the education of girls. Many Christian women participated in the Independence Movement of 1919. The Presbyterian Assembly of October 1919 reported that 531 women from Presbyterian churches had been imprisoned because of their participation in the Independence Movement (A. J. Brown, 1898: 234). Thus the Christian schools were the most influential modern education institutions in Korea at the turn of the century.

Figure 2 depicts the number of schools which were run by the Presbyterian church in Korea during the Japanese colonial period. Note that six kindergartens were established for the first time in 1920.

Figure 2. Number of the Schools of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1900–1940



(Source : *Minutes of General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1900–1940*)

The western missionaries opened the doors of their schools to everyone, the rich and the poor, the powerful and powerless, in a society where education was limited to the privileged. Christian education was open to the oppressed and the deprived, and it was the nurturing ground of Protestant church growth. Indeed, many Koreans came to know about the Christian faith through these Christian schools. The objects of educational work of the Protestant missionaries were primarily to gain access to non-Christians to lead them to Christ, and to train up children from Christian homes and especially to prepare them for positions of leadership within the church. Therefore, modern education and the establishment of Christian schools for men and women to reach out to non-Christians, missionaries contributed to early church growth in Korea.

3. 2. 3 Social and Medical Missions

Throughout the history of foreign missions, social services and medical work have proven a great factor in breaking down barriers of unfriendliness and suspicion and in preparing the way for the reception of the Gospel (Verkuyl, 1978: 212–218; Cook, 1967: 71, 145, 199–200, 219). In Korea, where perhaps fewer of these barriers exist than elsewhere, and where the people have shown greater readiness to receive the Gospel than in many mission fields, the beneficent work carried on by Christian doctors and in mission hospitals has exercised a tremendous influence in the lives of countless individuals and in the growth and development of the early Korean church. Korea was first opened to Protestant missions through the medical skill of Dr. Horace Allen. The medical work was begun by Dr. Horace Allen, an American who came on 20 September, 1884. He served as physician to the United States Legation while being under appointment by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. However, because of the government restrictions, Dr. Allen's work was limited to the American Embassy until, on 4, December 1884, there came about an event that prepared the way for open missionary work (Allen & Heron, 1975: 105–129). The Royal Hospital called *Kwanghyewon* [Widespread Relief House] was opened in the capital city of Seoul on 10 April, 1885, just five days after the arrival in Korea of the young Horace G. Underwood, who, although he was a minister, had studied medicine for a year and so was immediately able to help Dr. Allen in the hospital.

When medical doctor Scranton, a Methodist, arrived, he began to assist the former in his work in the Royal Hospital with medical doctor Allen. However, with the subsequent arrival of medical doctor John Heron, another Presbyterian, Dr. Scranton left the Royal Hospital dispensary. By September of 1885, he had established a dispensary of his own, which

became the basis of the hospital of the Methodist Episcopal Mission (W. B. Scranton, 1898:258). However, his patients were not the people of the court, but the poorest and the neediest. Dr. Scranton was particularly concerned with people suffering from contagious diseases who had been driven from their homes and left to become helpless beggars on the streets. Dr. Scranton's mission hospital later evolved into a hospital exclusively for the treatment of women and children. The Methodists emphasized medical care for the poorest strata of the society, while the Presbyterians concentrated on the development of hospital work and the training up of a native medical profession. Methodist medical work was augmented in October of 1887 with the arrival of a woman doctor and the establishment of a women's dispensary. In the 1890s, 18 large hospitals were opened throughout the country (Y. J. Han, 1986: 101-102).

The first medical missionaries were interested in using their medical training for the evangelistic advance of the church. The pioneer missionaries introduced western medicine to Korea. Western medicine proved to be effective in healing sick people. Therefore a positive attitude towards the missionaries meant that the influence of the Gospel, which the missionaries brought, grew. As the people began to realize the ineffectiveness of the Korean doctors' concoctions and magical practices as compared with Western medicine, they turned to foreign doctors. Thus, these physicians opened the way for the preachers, broke down prejudices and suspicion, and won the confidence of the people (Paik, 1970:125). Quite early, when it became apparent that hostility was being replaced by cordial acceptance, the Northern Presbyterian Mission wanted to give up medical work in large hospitals. As early as 1891, Dr. Gifford says,

"The day for preliminary work so ably conducted by Dr. Allen and Dr. Heron is now past and a foothold in the land is secured. The Koreans know we are here for evangelizing and consent to this"

(Gifford, 1891: 27).

The medical missionaries traveled with their fellow American preachers and their main purpose was to win a welcome for the Christian enterprise. As they treated their Korean patients, they hoped to win them to Christ. In fact, quite early the mission saw medicine not so much as a Christian service of love, but as a way of gaining a foothold in this land where churches could be produced (PCUSA, 1904:92). Soon they no longer saw the necessity of using medicine as a means for evangelism. In 1897, medical work in the northwest of Korea was also affected by the amazing church growth. By 1902, it had become the practice of all missionary agencies in Korea that no station should be opened in the interior without a doctor on its staff.

The tradition of medical service has been a well-known characteristic of the Protestant missionaries for the beginning of their activities. It was not limited to believers; it was open to everyone. Again and again, patients who had been restored to health had, at the same time, been led to Christ. They returned to their distant villages and, through their personal testimony, there formed little groups in their homes which later developed into flourishing little churches. In 1926, J. M. Rogers of Soonchun described his hospital's emphasis on holistic healing.

"This is a mission hospital; therefore, our main object is to preach by word and deed the gospel of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. We believe that the Great Commission includes healing as well as teaching and preaching, and that Christ healed many who never believed in him as personal Savior. So we feel it is his will for us to take healing to all whom we may, and to do this we want to give the best service we can enabled by all that modern scientific medicine has to offer. We also hope and believe that by our service we help to turn many to a saving

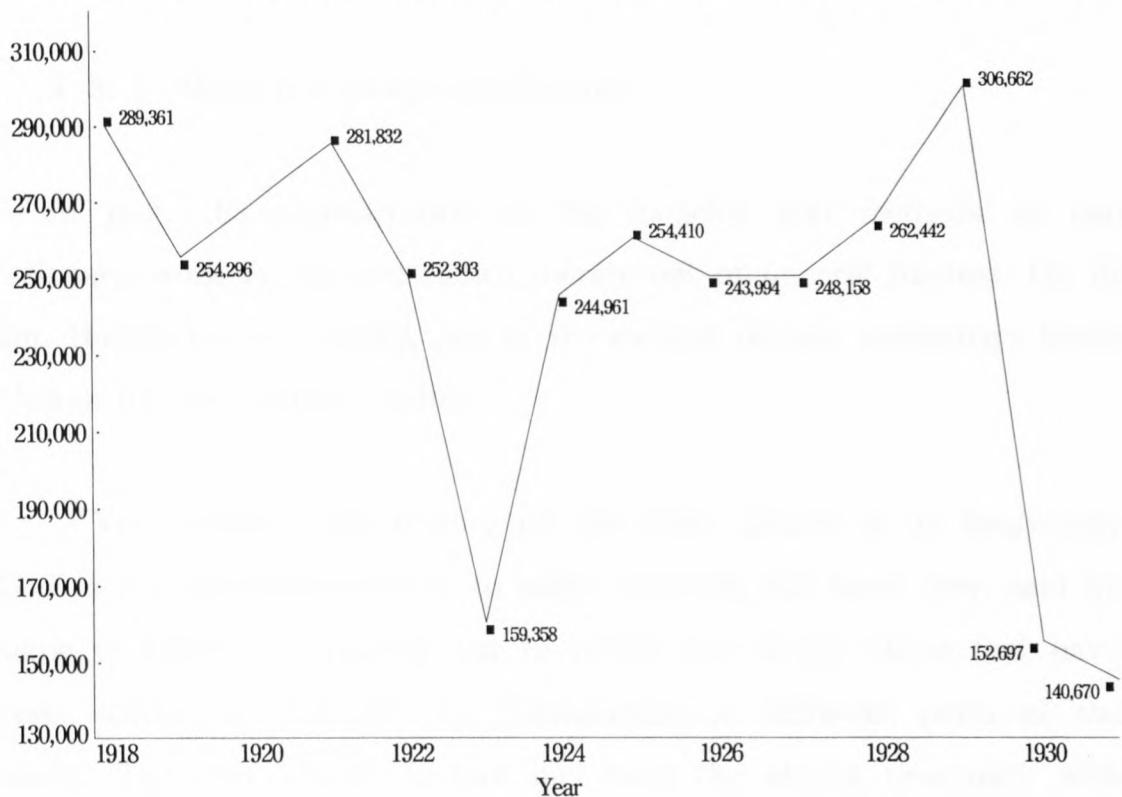
knowledge of Christ. In short, this a fertile field for the gospel message" (Coit, 1926: 485–486).

The Christian social service in the Protestant mission contributed to early church growth. In fact, the first social service work of foreign missions in Korea was begun by the Catholic church in 1880 by the establishment of an orphanage in Seoul (H. Y. Ryu, 1962b: 289). The first Protestant missionaries immediately saw the needy, the poor people, the widows, and orphans etc. In 1892, Horace G. Underwood started orphanage work in Seoul (*British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1886: 148, 1891: 136). In 1894, R. S. Hall, a Methodist missionary opened a school for blind girls in Pyongyang. This kind of Christian social service continued through Korean church history.

The number of inpatients in the hospitals run by the Presbyterian church in Korean during the Japanese colonial period is illustrated in Figure 3. The drastic drop in the number of inpatients in 1930 is not due to the actual decrease; rather it is attributed to the modification in reporting system. No reports are available after 1932.

In the history of the Protestant missions, several missions and Christian organizations were responsible for the care of the needy people such as orphans, disabled people and poor people. All these good works of the Western missionaries paved the way for Protestant evangelization and created a positive image of Christianity among the Koreans and contributed to church growth.

Figure 3: Number of Patients of Presbyterian Hospitals, 1918–1931



* for 1920 there is no report

(Source : *Minutes of General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1900–1942*

3. 3 THE REASONS FOR CHURCH GROWTH

The present numerical growth of Korean Protestant churches is itself showing evidence of influence of the foreign missionary method and policies. In order to understand church growth in Korea, in this part the author first deals with how the missionary methods and policies of the foreign missionaries were employed in their work and contributed to church growth through their methods, such as Nevius. In the past, when reasons were sought for the tremendous, fast growth of the Korean church, the writers often implied that missionaries and their methods were the primary causes of this miracle of church growth in Korea. The foreign missionary does not rank, however, first in his influence on the growth of

the church in Korea.

3. 3. 1 Mission Policies and Methods

In fact, the consideration of the policies and methods of early missionary work is not undertaken merely out of general interest. On this point, Horace G. Underwood, one of the earliest pioneer missionary leaders in Korea for many years, writes,

"Very early in the history of the work, almost at its beginning, God in his providence led us to adopt methods that have been said by some to have been unique, but in reality are simply those that have been adopted by numbers of missionaries in different parts of the world. The only unique feature has been the almost unanimity with which these have been followed by the whole missionary body in this land" (H. G. Underwood, 1951: 23).

The Nevius method has been regarded as one of the main reasons for the success of the mission in Korea by the mission scholars (Paik, 1970: 307). Charles A. Clark writes, "Come and see for yourselves what great things the Lord is doing here!" (C. A. Clark, 1937a: 6). Latourette has stated, "Distinctive of Protestantism in Korea was the active part of the Korean Christians in the spread of faith. One reason for this was a policy adopted by early at the suggestion of John L. Nevius, a Presbyterian missionary in China during a visit in Seoul" (Latourette, 1961: 448). Bishop S. Neill commented in his book, "The fruits of the Nevius method were clearly to be seen in the character of the church; there have been periods of tension between missionaries and Korean Christians have shown a spirit of independence which would not lie down under any kind of missionary domination" (Neill, 1964: 344). Sherwood Eddy writes,

"Christianity in Korea has been characterized by its rapid growth and its apostolic zeal in self-support, self-expansion, and self-government. It has furnished in many respects a model for all mission fields. The church in Korea has been a witnessing church, a praying church, a Bible-studying church, and a giving church" (Eddy, 1913: 69).

It is the Nevius method which most of the eminent scholars recognize as one of the chief factors in her rapid and faithful growth in the early years. David Cho writes, There seems to be a consensus among people that the phenomenal growth of the Korean church is a result of the adaptation of the so-called Nevius method by the early missionaries (D. J. Cho, 1983:69). Nevius writes,

"Some have felt that we are warranted, in the first presentation of Christianity, in withholding those doctrines which antagonize Chinese system and are apt to excite prejudice and opposition, presenting only those features which are conciliatory and attractive, thus drawing the people to us and gaining an influence over them, and afterwards giving them instruction in the complete system of Christian truth, as they are also able to bear it. I doubt whether such a course is justified by the teachings of Christ and the Apostles. God may and does, in His mercy and grace, make use of our incomplete presentation of His truth, and an imperfect apprehension of it in the conversion and salvation of men, but have we still not greater reason for expecting His blessing in connection with His truth given in its completeness?" (Nevius, 1953: 88).

In 1891, just a year after Nevius' visit, at its first Annual Meeting,

the Korea Mission had adopted and codified these principles into strict rules and By-Laws (C. A. Clark, 1937b:75–82). Although the Korea mission codified Nevius principles, the rules have been changed according to the changed conditions. For instance, in his book *The Nevius Plan for Mission Work in Korea*, Charles A. Clark indicated several changes in regard to the mission school policy, to the Winter Bible classes for leaders, and to lay leaders in the churches (C. A. Clark, 1937a:95).

It is a well known fact that the strong emphasis laid on financial self-support of the Korean congregations has been the most prominent feature of the application of the Nevius method to Korea. As early as 1902, we find *Methods of Misson Work* by Nevius in the list of books which first year missionaries were required to read. As a general rule, no financial assistance was given by the mission in building country churches. All other local expenses also were borne by the Koreans themselves (A. W. Wasson, 1934:29). In fact, one of the main reasons that the Nevius methods had been so attractive to the missionaries to Korea was the lack of sufficient funds and personnel.

However, the policy of self-support was made a basic principle for the operation of churches and in education. Most congregations were self-supporting. According to the Nevius method, if a congregation was not ready to pay the full salary of a pastor, it had to use a volunteer minister and become a surcharge of a larger congregation. For instance, the Presbyterian Church in Korea grew to 350 congregation in 1900, and of those, 270 were self-supporting churches. And according to the report on elementary education of the Northern Presbyterian Church, in 1907, 334 out of 337 schools were entirely self-supporting (Underwood, 1919: 112–123), and 1923, 386 out of 400 schools (96.5%) (C. A. Clark, 1937a: 171). In all, the Korean government bore about 75 percent of the costs of elementary schooling and around 25 percent of higher education in 1923 (H. S. Hong, et. al, 1966: 78).

Along with self-support, there was the principle of self-government in Korean churches. As for self-government, temporary officers would be appointed by the missionary for each congregation, but as soon as possible the church would choose its own deacons and elders. It was felt best not to superimpose upon an infant church a highly complex system of church government, but to encourage church machinery to develop only as far as the church was able to manage to support. On 17 September, 1907, the principle of self-government became official when the National Presbyterian Korean Church was organized as a presbytery and assumed independent jurisdiction over its own affairs. In the first meeting of the presbytery there were present thirty-eight missionary pastors and elders and forty Korean elders. From its first session there has been a majority of Korean delegates in the highest court, and that majority has always been well over two thirds (C. A. Clark, 1937b:144). In September, 1912, the Korean church became fully organized as a national church, and a complete constitution, written by the Korean church staff, was adopted for self-government in 1922. It was evident that the Koreans were much involved in the government of the church from the beginning. This created a strong church government which affected the church growth.

However, the real core of the Nevius methods was originally not its financial strategy or church government or self-propagation, but its emphasis on the Bible study system as the basis of all mission work, which encouraged every Christian to study the Bible and to be able to pass on to others what he found there. An impressive system of Bible classes was established. When the first class was held in Korea in 1890, there were seven men studying, which was exactly in accordance with Nevius plan. William B. Hunt, one of the strongest of all the supporters of the Nevius principles on the field, wrote of the classes in 1909:

"The education of the whole church, all of its membership, young

and old, literate and illiterate, is being undertaken systematically and largely by Training Classes in which the textbook is the Bible... Bible study is the object of the class, but prayer, conference and practical evangelistic effort are prominent parts of the work" (quoted in C. A. Clark, 1937b: 110).

Samuel A. Moffet says that it was in these classes that Korean Christian workers were first trained and developed, and here that colporteurs, evangelists, helpers and Bible women were discovered and appointed to work (S. A. Moffet, 1909:17). In fact, from the very beginning of mission work the authoritative and supernatural character of the Bible as the Word of God has been taken for granted, and it has been assumed also that if its teaching enters into the heart of a man it will manifest itself in the transformation of his life and practice. After 25 years of mission to Korea, Samuel A. Moffet made comment as follows:

"The Bible itself has been, of course, pre-eminently the greatest factor in the evangelization, as in all other countries, but it has certainly occupied a rather unique position in the work of Korea, and the Korean church derives its power, its spirituality, its great faith in prayer, and its liberality from the fact that the whole church has been, as it were, saturated with the knowledge of the Bible" (quoted in C. A. Clark, 1937b: 108).

Korean Bible women, evangelists and colporteurs traveled throughout the country, and all were witnesses to the fact that the primary mission method was the spreading of the inspired Word of God, given of God to reveal His holy will as to men's earthly lives and as to their eternal salvation (C. A. Clark, 1937b: 108). The phenomenal growth of the Korean Protestant church within half a century of its founding, having a

constituency of over 265,000, naturally raises the question in the minds of all those interested in Christian missions as to what has been the cause of or causes of this growth (T. S. Soltau, 1932:24). One has undoubtedly been the point of view which from the beginning governed the methods of the work and its development. Needless to say, much of the credit for the rapid growth of mission work in Korea was attributed to the Nevius method. In 1937, Charles A. Clark said of the Presbyterian Church in Korea:

"...somehow or other we find in that little country of Korea, today, apparently one of the most remarkable churches on any mission field in the world an independent, national church of 161,000 believers, fully self-governing in every sense of the word, preeminently self-propagating, and almost self-supporting: a church which seems to have solved most of the problems of comity or organic union with its neighbor churches and to have attained a large measure of control over the former mission institutions, yet with the most cordial relations continuing between itself and the missionaries and the boards that helped to found it fully without sacrificing its own autonomy" (C. A. Clark, 1937b: 13).

What made the Nevius method so attractive to the missionaries in Korea? There were several reasons. Perhaps one of the main reasons was the fragile political condition in Korea. If the church in Korea was to survive without the protection of America or other Western countries, the Nevius method of self-support, self-propagation and self-government had to be stressed. The missionaries were very much aware of the hands-off policy of the American government and the eventual annexation of Korea by Japan (S. H. Moffet, 1962:62). Arthur Brown said in 1912,

"We saw long ago that the independence of Korea was impossible and that the only practical question was whether Russia or Japan would rule the country. America generally believed that it would be better for both Korea and the world that Japan should dominate" (quoted in Moffet, 1962: 3).

Through the Nevius method, the Korean church learned self-confidence and gained a new sense of self-respect and independence of spirit which was so vital to their survival under the humiliation or foreign domination (Paik, 1970:413). Stephen Neill writes,

"The fruit of the Nevius method was clearly to be seen in the character of the church; there have been periods of tension between missionaries and Korean Christian leaders, but on the whole relationships based on mutual respect have been good; the Korean Christians have shown a spirit of independence which would not lie down under any kind of missionary domination, and they were thereby prepared to hold on in faith in the periods of trouble which were to come on this sorely tried church" (Neill, 1964: 344).

It must also be noted that this rapid growth of the church in Korea is to be attributed in part to the policy and methods of early missionary work. This emphasis on self-support and self-propagation and self-government made the Korean church grow and mature even during the Japanese occupation and the period of the communist war. The convergence of the mission policy with the Korean socio-culture and personality of the people made Christianity in general easily acceptable for many Korean people. As a result of the success of the application of the mission policy in the past, many Korean Christians continue to regard this mission policy as a key to success. The Nevius method of church

extension or planting is also responsible for church growth today. However, in addition to the good points about the mission policy as a factor in church growth, many negative points are also raised. Roy Shearer says, in relation to the Nevius method, that these could not answer the question why the church was growing so rapidly.

"I am not convinced that the traditional Presbyterian answer for growth in Korea (we used the Nevius Method) was correct. As I study the Methodist Mission, which did not conscientiously follow the Nevius methods, it is increasingly clear that any single answer is dangerously inaccurate. The reasons for growth in the Korean church are complex. Some areas where Methodists and Presbyterians worked side by side, each using slightly different methods, achieved the same amount of church growth" (Shearer, 1966: 165–166).

The Korean church history indicates that the Korean church stood foremost among all modern mission fields for the rapidity of growth and a strong church established through implementation of Nevius methods. Therefore, the missionary methods such as the Nevius method laid the foundation for a church which has become famous for its rapid church growth in the modern history of missions.

3. 3. 2 Evangelistic Revival Meetings

The awakening which brought about the revival movement gave to the Korean church a more zealous and passionate driving power for winning new converts. A new vision or a nationwide evangelistic Revival campaign began to grip the hearts of the Korean Christians. As mentioned earlier, missionaries and Korean ministers began holding revival meetings throughout the country in the early 1900s. A daring step toward the

realization of the vision was launched under the name of Million Movement in 1909 and 1910. This movement began with tremendous enthusiasm and evangelical fervor. G. T. Brown described three of the methods in the plan for evangelistic advance:

"First, there would be mass evangelistic rallies in the various centers. The second, a novel idea with a distinctive Korean flavor, was called the collection of days. Third a major effort would be made in the distribution of gospels and tracts" (Brown, 1962: 79).

The logical outcome or these mass meetings was nationwide revival. One of the efforts of the revival was widespread church evangelism in cooperation with different denominations. Denominational barriers were broken down, and Christians were reminded to join together in witness. The revival movement continued to spread through the whole nation. Two key leaders of the Korean revival movement were Sun Joo Kil (1869–1935) and Ik Doo Kim (1874–1950). Sun Joo Kil was renowned as one of the outstanding evangelists in Korea. Sun Joo Kil was born in March 1869 at Anju, Pyongan South province, where he spent most of his childhood in studying the ancient Chinese classics but failed in his commercial career. He visited famous temples in his attempts to master the Buddhist Truths, but no longer finding asceticism to his taste, he indulged himself in Taoism without reaching the inner solace he so desperately sought. Kil took up his career in commerce after mastering the Chinese herb medicine. He was converted to the Christian faith by Jong Sup Kim and discovered that salvation through Christianity satisfied his thirst for faith in religion. He became an outstanding evangelist of the Christian revival movement. He graduated from the Pyongyang Theological Seminary in 1907 and was renowned as one of the seven early Christian ministers; he was assigned to the congregation at Chandaihyun church for 15 years, during which time

he highlighted the revival movement throughout the country (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 132–133).

The sermons of Sun Joo Kil were not merely authoritative, fluent and graceful in tone but so inspiring that the audience on the floor repented of their sins. He had a miraculous power of alleviating suffering and the spiritual diseases of the congregation. His broad and deep knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the profound wisdom and biblical research not only elevated him as a scholar of the Bible but also played an essential role in the interpretation of the Book before the foreign missionaries. For ten years after 1924, Kil chiefly engaged in the revival movement throughout the country preached a number of sermons on more than 20,000 occasions; he converted 70,000, 30,200 of whom were baptized; he established 60 Christian churches (J. K. Kil, 1980:326). In 1935, he died while leading the morning devotion at Kochang church in Kangsu kun in Korea. R. S. Kim described the life of the evangelist Sun Joo Kil.

"You are a Korean hero, the Korean church was founded by your faith. The early morning prayer meeting that you started in Korea, became the world prayer meeting. You who were filled with the fire of the Holy Spirit made the Korea revival. More than three thousand people were baptized by you and seventy thousand were converted by just you" (R. S. Kim, 1968: 213).

And evangelist Ik Doo Kim led many people to be converted through his evangelistic ministry. Ik Doo Kim was born in November, 1874, in Taiwon, Hwanghaedo province. Before his Christian conversion, Kim was a notorious delinquent of the village. He became a reformed Christian in 1900 and was baptized in 1901 in a Presbyterian church, becoming the assisting minister in 1903. Upon his graduation from the Pyongyang Theological Seminary in 1910, he was ordained to ministry at Shinchon

church in Hwanghae province for 20 years and then ministered to the congregation of Seundong church in Seoul in 1920.

Although he is less academic, Kim's sermons reached the common strata and his biblical proficiency caught the audience up in an emotional experience. While leading the congregation of Shinchon church, Kim continued to motivate the revival movement throughout the country, helping to bring about a remarkable conversion of the people into the Christian churches in Korea. A great number of the multitude of people in his audiences were both mentally and physically diseased because Kim was widely known to heal and cure. Young Hun Lee described his ministry of signs and wonders as follows:

"When he led the revival conference at Daegu in April 1920, eight hundred and eight people were converted and one paralytic, Yu Kyuk Chang, was healed. When he prayed laying his hand on a lame man, Du Dyu Kim, in the revival conference, the lame leaped up, stood, and walked in May, 1920" (Y. H. Lee, 1978: 122).

The revivalists led the mass revival meetings throughout the country and brought great church growth. The mass revival meetings were usually held for the purpose of evangelizing the whole nation. This kind of revival meeting occurred during the first period of mission until 1910. After the annexation of Korea by Japan, Korean churches decided to evangelize one million. At the time of liberation in 1945 Chi Sun Kim proposed a Three Million Evangelization Movement to aspire for national evangelization. At the time, the total Christian community numbered about 400,000.

3. 3. 3 Christian New Life

3. 3. 3. 1 Bible Study

From the beginning the missionaries emphasized and taught the Korean Christians how to study the Bible as the Word of God, taking the position of strong conservative theology. A. J. Brown, who was general secretary of the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., commented on the theological opinion of foreign missionaries in Korea before 1911 as follows:

"The typical missionary or the first quarter century after the opening of the country was a man of the Presbyterian type. He kept the Sabbath as our New England forefathers did a century ago. He looked upon dancing, smoking, and card-playing as sins in which no true follower of Christ should indulge. In theology and biblical criticism he was strongly conservative, and he held as a vital truth the premillennial view of the second coming of Christ. The higher criticism and liberal theology were deemed dangerous heresies" (A. J. Brown, 1919: 540).

Samuel Moffet, the founding president of the Presbyterian Seminary in Pyongyang did not write many books, but his influence was great and his theology was conservative and Calvinistic. Recalling the first time he came to Korea, he said, "I have done what I prayed and decided before God when I first came to Korea. That is, I decided not to preach anything except the cross of Christ. If I preach any other gospel, I should be cursed" (quoted in Y. S. Kim, 1956: 173). We can see his theological thought in this saying. Chai Choon Kim writes,

"Since the nation had hopelessly failed to maintain political independence, the people's minds naturally became inclined toward the spiritual, otherworldly realm of religion, and found the answer to their search in Christianity" (C. C. Kim, 1966: 27–28).

Therefore, conservative Bible study made an important contribution to church growth in Korea. Bible Study played an essential role in the early Korean church and has become a main course in the churches growth. Many reports and statements indicate that the early Korean Church enthusiastically studied the Bible. Those who gathered for Bible study shared lodging and board together and enjoyed the Bible's teachings in a festive spirit. Korean missionaries at first emphasized Bible study for new Christians to grow well and to be trained as the leaders of the church.

One important reason why the Korean church could overcome the serious historical situation during the Japanese occupation and Korean War, and why the church could grow continually, was its diligent study of the Bible. Shearer described the Bible study as follows.

"The use of the Bible study as the basis of training new Christians and intensive Bible teaching are included in Nevius plan. The Bible training classes also were set up early in mission history. These classes also, especially in the northwest, were a powerful force in producing a strong church" (Shearer, 1966: 196–197).

In the early Korean church, the purpose of Bible study was to strengthen the faith of each Christian and to find and train promising laymen to be pastors. These studies took on three different forms. First, one single church or a few neighboring churches conducted Bile study sessions for the local people individually or as a whole. Once or twice a year local congregations sponsored Sakyenghoe (literally, Search the

Scripture Conference) lasting five to seven days. During this conference laymen and lay women would stream in from neighboring areas to study the Word of God systematically. Second, Bible study for the church staff was held for two or three weeks in the summer. Third, stemming from those forms, theological education was provided for the pastors.

3. 3. 3. 2 Prayer Life

Prayer life is also one of the strengths in Korean church and has played a vital part in the rise and growth of the church in Korea. The Korean church has been known for its emphasis on prayer. Every church schedules a daily early dawn prayer meeting. The origin of this early dawn prayer meeting goes back to 1906 when Pastor Sun Joo Kil started the pre-dawn prayer meeting at his church in Pyongyang, North Korea. This practice dates back to the great Revival of 1907 which was born out of a five-month period of prayer. In preparation for the Million Soul Movement pastor Kil and one of his elders went to church every day at four a.m. for two months. Others heard of it and desired to join them. It was announced that the church bell would ring each morning at four-thirty. On the first morning a large company had arrived by two a.m., and when the bell was rung, five hundred were present. From that time on the pre-dawn prayer movement spread to all other churches and has remained a daily part of the churches life (N. S. Kim, 1984b: 170).

3. 3. 3. 3 Family Evangelism

In the history of the Korean church, wherever the church grew rapidly, it grew through family evangelism. Even in areas of small growth, because of family solidarity, it is quite probable that believers came to Christ as families rather than as isolated individuals pulled outside their

family relationships (N. S. Kim, 1984b: 180).

In Korea, people are dealing with a society based on the family, not on the tribe. This family unit is strong and is the basic social unit in the country. The family society refers to the extended family living in one house: grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren. The society influenced by Confucianism must keep the order of the family. The master of the family is the grandfather; the entire family operates by the grandfather's commandments. If the grandfather decides to believe in Christ, all the family would believe in Christ; if he opposes Christianity, it is hard for one of the family to become a Christian. Paik gives an excellent description of the relationship between family evangelism and church growth:

"A Korean village is generally composed of a number of closely related families. If the first man converted in the village happened to be influential, his conversion might result in the mass conversion of the village. On the contrary, when a less important member of the village became a Christian he faced a hostile environment. If he was to continue to live in the village, he had to win others to his religion. There are certain village undertakings, such as offering sacrifices to village gods, which are contrary to Christian teachings. When a man's conviction was strong enough, he made an effort to win others in the community so that he might avoid social ostracism. Again, when the majority of a village turned to the new religion, the minority either conformed or withdrew. There was a fellowship among converts that was attractive to an outsider. The Christians were sympathetic toward each other and stood together in sorrow and joy. When a man had a friend who was not a Christian, he exerted himself to win his friend into the fellowship of the Church" (Paik, 1970: 296).

It is interesting to note that a Korean scholar indicates in his Korea research report the percentage of Korean clergy and laymen becoming Christian because of their family. His study indicates that 66.1 percent of the clergy and 47.9 percent of the laymen came to faith this way (K. S. Kim, 1982: 40). This means that family evangelism contributes to church growth in Korea. However, it must be remembered that such family conversions to Christ in Korea were not a mass movement in the sense that mobs of unconverted people were taken into the churches. It was rather a response of faith to the gospel, flowing unimpeded along the web of family relationships. Harry Boer has called attention to the significance of the family unit in the evangelism of the Christian church from its earliest beginning (Boer, 1961: 165-168). McGavran has eloquently called us to discern the many Bridges of God in the web of relationships provided by the extended family (McGavran, 1955: 71).

One of the most important methods of spreading the gospel in antiquity was by the use of homes (Sweazey, 1953: 89). The apostolic church relied on evangelism in homes. There are repeated references to this (Acts 5:42). Paul minded the elders from Ephesus, I have showed you, and have taught you publicly, and from house to house (Acts 20:20). In his book, *Evangelism in the Early Church*, Michael Green writes the following concerning the value of family evangelism.

"It had positive advantages; the comparatively small numbers involved made real interchange of views and informed discussion among the participants possible... The sheer informality and relaxed atmosphere of the home, not to mention the hospitality which must often have gone with it, all helped to make this form of evangelism particularly successful" (Green, 1970: 107-108).

3. 4 PROBLEMS AFFECTING CHURCH GROWTH

Churches, such as those in Korea, can never grow without the active intervention of the Holy Spirit. This fact, however, does not preclude our analyzing, from a human standpoint, possible reasons why Korean churches are growing.

The numerical growth of the Korean churches is phenomenal by any estimation. No conscious Christian could be unhappy or unthankful for such growth. This is because the Bible speaks in a positive sense about numerical growth, as when believers grew in number after Pentecost (Acts 2:47). Quantitative church growth is an indispensable requirement for countries like Korea where the majority of the population is still unevangelized. If a church does not aim at increasing her membership as a major goal, she is not healthy (N. S. Kim, 1985: 120).

A positive attitude toward the growth of Korean churches is held by this writer in spite of its weaknesses. My criticisms, therefore, are by no means intended to discourage Korean Christians from further efforts in evangelism or to keep Christians in other countries from learning from Korea's example. I would be the last to complain about the present growth. On the contrary, I write this criticism in the hope that growth may continue in a better and healthier way. My intention is to spur a galloping horse (N. S. Kim, 1985: 122).

The negative aspects of rapid growth are, indeed, very real and alarming; they are not just imagined or anticipated. They are realities and their bitter fruits are beginning to be reaped. Unless fundamental self-criticism and reformation take place very soon, I seriously fear that the Korean churches might lose all that they have gained or that Christianity in Korea may be so distorted that all our labors may be lost.

3. 4. 1 Shamanizing Christianity

One such reason is the Shamanistic background of Korean culture which plays an important role in the present growth of Korean churches. Shamanism is the oldest religion in Korea, brought to the peninsula by the first settlers. As one of the most primitive natural religions of the world, Shamanism has almost no ethical teachings. Innumerable demons are believed to bless and curse men according to the demons' whims. Neither blessings nor curses are morally deserved. The demons are believed to be manipulated by Shamans using special occult techniques and offerings which amount to briberies. Both the blessings and curses are entirely worldly. Blessings include wealth, health, power and honor. Curses include disease, poverty, failure in business, etc. Shamans teach little about the next world (N. S. Kim, 1985:129).

3. 4. 1. 1 The Concept of God in Christianity and in Shamanism

The shamanistic Christian faith started right from the beginning with the coming of the gospel as brought by the Nestorians. Nestorian Christianity rendered a great modification to the Korean shamanistic conception of Heavenly God (S. B. Youn, 1972: 202). At the time Nestorianism was introduced to Korea there was a substantial exchange of culture and religion between the Chinese Tang dynasty and the Korean Shilla dynasty, and the Shilla dynasty enriched her civilization by importing and acculturating and later assimilating Tang's culture and religions (Stewart, 1928: 87). While in the process of this assimilation of Tang's civilization into Shilla's traditional cultural forms, there also began an effort in which the Nestorian concept of God became indigenized into the Korean traditional concept of tengri which means 'heaven'. Nam Sun Choi holds that the traditional Korean thought of God originated from

tengri, which is a Mongolian word meaning heaven. However, the problem is that when this Mongolian word was mixed and later syncretized with Chinese letters which would express the traditional thought of God in Korea, mixture and syncretism gave rise to various concepts of God in Korea. For that reason, *Tien* (heaven), and the Korean thought, Park (bright light), are very important factors formulating the Korean concept of God (I. S. Hong, 1959: 146ff.).

It is interesting to note that the *Tangun* Myth is claimed to be an indigenized form of the Nestorian concept which is Trinitarian.

It is further interesting to note that when missionaries translated the Christian scriptures into Korean, they chose the term *Hananim* to stand for God. The name *Hananim* is distinctive and very widely used. In a crucial decision this term was retained by the Protestants in Korea as the one best suited to be the Christian word for God. As early as 1890 one Protestant pioneer wrote, The name *Hananim* is so distinctive and so universally used that there will be no fear in the future translations and preachings. From this point, Koreans were prepared to understand God in Christianity. Palmer writes, They found that their inner thoughts were recorded in the Scriptures; their superstitions were like those in the days of Israel's decline; and their conclusions concerning life and the spiritual world were what the Bible concluded life to be (Palmer, 1967: 91).

Hananim is the shamanist Heavenly Spirit. Jones, a pioneer missionary in Korea, in his study of the spirits, correctly does not deal with the concept of a high God as *Hananim*, the word for God now used by Christians. Jones does not make the same mistake as some other writers who were prone to read into Korean thought Christian views of God, such as God is a Spirit. Such concepts were not present in

pre-Christian Korean concepts of *Hananim*. The belief in *Hananim* was,

"...far removed from crude nature-worship... The Koreans all consider this being to be the Supreme Ruler of the universe. He is entirely separated from and outside the circle of various spirits and demons that manifest all nature... The Koreans have never attempted to make any physical representation of *Hananim*. He has never been worshipped by the use of any idolatrous rites... As a rule the people do not worship *Hananim*. He is appealed to by the Emperor only..." (Hulbert, 1969: 404-405).

However, missionaries also confused worship by the Emperor at the Temple of Heaven in times of famine, drought, or other great calamity with the worship of *Hananim*. Hulbert says that because of this belief in *Hananim*,

"The Koreans are strictly monotheists, and the attributes and powers ascribed to this being are in such consonance with those of Jehovah that the foreign missionaries (Protestant) have almost universally accepted the term for use in teaching Christianity" (Hulbert, 1969: 404).

However, for centuries Korea had been plowed by shamanistic efforts to communicate with higher beings, and when the seeds of Christianity were placed in this rich, plowed soil, they flourished and produced the fruit of Christian disciples. Populations where shamanistic faith flourished were prepared to believe in a higher being (E. W. Kim, 1975:13-18). The value of using the term *Hananim* in the Christian church in Korea was greatly enhanced by the fact that this belief, while it was a belief in one god, was a belief in nothing else. Korean shamanistic faith gave the people an

awareness of a higher being (D. Richardson, 1981:64-71). They were glad to find a high God of love to replace the gods of fear they had known.

3. 4. 1. 2 The Influence of Shamanistic Faith upon the Korean Church

a) Shamanistic Faith in Material Blessings

In Korea when a family of the shamanistic faith opens a new business, the *Mudang* is invited for the rituals of material blessings because the ritual of blessing has the power for transforming evil fortunes into prosperity. The rituals are to be performed by the shaman annually at the beginning of the year for a flourishing business (Covell, 1983: 57). In the countryside, the shaman makes a visitation to each family in her territory at the beginning of the year and after the harvest to pray for the material blessing and peaceful life of the family. The believers, as a response, pay the shaman with money or grain (T. G. Kim, 1981: 431). Material blessing is one of the main goals of the shamanistic rituals. Both the Christians and the church in Korea adopted many elements from the shamanistic rituals, and those elements contributed to numerical church growth in Korea. The ceremonial services and special prayers for material blessings are believed to have influenced the idea of blessings among the Christians (C. H. Chung, 1981: 137). For instance, in the Korean church, there is an annual visitation program, which is called *dae shimbang* (Annual great visitation program of a church). The pastors and elders of the churches make a visit to each of their parishioners to bring a blessing for the peaceful life and abundant life of the church members. It is also popular in the Christian Church of Korea for church members to invite their pastor to perform a special ceremonial service of blessing at the birth of children, on the birthdays of the adult members, on the day of opening business.

Still, shamanistic faith praying for earthly blessings and happiness is predominant among Christians in Korea. The prayer of shamanistic Christians is primarily a petition for worldly blessings, happiness, health, material success and a higher social status. Having faith in Yahweh God is interpreted not differently from believing in the traditional spirit-gods who bless the followers with material wealth and longevity. The issue of material blessings has become a great concern to Korean Christians who speak of *kibok sinang* (belief in prayers for blessings) as being the principal spiritual problem facing their church.

b) Shamanistic Faith Healing and Exorcism

In the shamanism of Korea, diseases are believed to be caused by evil spirits. Bu Yong Lee also sees the greed of *wonkwi*, the evil spirits, as the cause of diseases in the shamanistic tradition (B. Y. Lee, 1982: 156). He writes, Korean Shamanistic faith, especially in healing of the body, is flowering under the banner of Christianity (B. Y. Lee, 1982: 169). The therapeutic emphasis of the rituals in the Korean church is deeply related to the traditional concept of diseases in Korean shamanism. The general concept of diseases as understood among Korean Christians is not so different from this traditional concept. According to Kwang Iel Kim's field research, most of the charismatic leaders of the Korean church assert that diseases are caused by evil spirits (K. I. Kim, 1979: 42).

c) Shamanistic Ecstasy and Mystical Experience

In the Korean Christian Church the experience of ecstasy and becoming one with God stands out as the characteristic feature of charismatic movements. At the revival meetings the charismatic leaders emphasize their subjective mystic experiences as the means of control and

authority over the believers. The believers also seek spiritual experiences, such as visions, psychic observation, trance, etc (G. Hur, 1980: 190). As was found in the shaman tradition, many charismatic Christians consider this ecstatic experience that they seek a mysterious union with God. (K. B. Min, 1971: 170). In the testimonies of Christians experience with the Holy Spirit, not a few similar examples are found in shamanistic experience; so that it is reported that it is impossible to differentiate between them (Y. K. Kim, 1982: 170).

As a recent phenomenon, mystical experience became a characteristic of the Christian life in the Korean Church. Priests of Korean shamanism get excited by the mystical power of spirits in the midst of their cults, and they show a supernatural ecstasy. It is not different in the charismatic revival meetings in the Korean Church. Songs of fast tempo are popular, particularly with hand clapping. Traditional drums and gongs are used by the leaders to intensify the spiritual experience of participants.

d) Shamanistic Initiation Illness and Spiritual Power

As discussed earlier, the experience of illness is an indispensable condition in the Mudangs initiation. Tae-gon Kim pointed out that a future shaman undergoes a terrible mental and physical illness with great pain (T. G. Kim, 1981: 194), until this person accepts the will of the possessing spirit and becomes a shaman. The experiences of the initiation illness turn out to be the motif of the ecstasy and source of the spiritual power. Mircea Eliade also pointed out the same phenomenon of initiation illness in Siberian shamanism. He said that the shaman acquires the technique of ecstasy (Eliade, 1964: 31) through the experience of initiation illness. The problem of the initiation illness seems to be parallel with the experience of the incurable diseases many of the Christian pastors of the Korean church confess to have had. It is considered a necessary condition to have this

experience of disease to become a spiritually powerful leader. On the grounds of their experiences of recovery, they become famous healers in the Korean church.

From the early period of the Christian mission, many of the church leaders claimed charismatic leadership on the grounds of divine revelations they insisted they had received during their prayers in the mountains. Pastor Sun-Joo Kil who was the center figure of the early revival meetings, heard the heavenly voice calling him on the third night of his prayer (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 133) before he became the major leader of the early charismatic revival meetings. Even before he was converted into Christian faith, this ecstatic experience was not unfamiliar to him. It was reported that Kil had experienced spirit possession in Daesung Mountain while he was chanting a spell (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 133). Pastor Ik Doo Kim, who led the first revival movement of the Korean church in 1907, had an experience of repentance in a mountain near his house (J. I. Kim, 1985: 116-118). It was not much different with Pastor Yong Do Lee, another great charismatic leader in 1930s. From the age of thirteen, he dedicated himself to overnight prayer and made it lasting habit. While he was praying and fasting, it was reported, he saw mysterious visions through which he convinced himself that it was the call of the Lord. This became the motif of his charismatic leadership in the revival meetings (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 338-344).

3. 4. 2 Turned their eyes from social problems.

Korea faced many difficulties under Japanese rule. The Japanese government relocated poor Japanese on the Korean peninsula and made them a new ruling class.

At the beginning of the Japanese colonization, the churches shared

the pain with the nation, but, the churches gradually turned their eyes from the social and national problems, and instead clung to their hope of the future life.

3. 4. 2. 1 Social Tendencies under Japanese rule

At the beginning of Japanese rule, the Korean people struggled to regain national independence. But, at the end of Japanese rule, Korean people surrendered all hope for independence and succumbed to defeatism because of the failure of the Independence Movement in 1919 and because of the control of Japan and its fostering of the Pro-Japanese group (N. S. Kim, 1990: 24; N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 37).

Some of the Korean Nationalists changed their position from the anti-Japan movement to the theory of improving their prospects through cooperating with the oppression and through conciliation with the Japanese government.

The press which had influenced the people directly surrendered to the oppression of the Japanese colonialists. They were careful about writing against the Japanese government (J. Choi, 1970: 311).

In the case of literature, the two major schools of thought, nationalism and socialism, argued with each other about their theories of literature. But in the 1930s, Korean literature had a tendency to be nihilistic, directly due to the unstable circumstance of the times.

During these times, churches were not concerned with the social problems but emphasized the growth of the churches and faith in the future life. As the result of these tendencies, churches lost the social influence and leadership which they had enjoyed in the beginning of Japan's rule.

3. 4. 2. 2 Economic Trials and the Challenge of Communism

Korea had great economic difficulties because of the world wide financial depression and Japan's policy of plundering Korea. The lives of workers and peasants grew increasingly impoverished. Under the poor working conditions, Japan regarded the workers as slaves and exploited them (K. H. Song, 1979: 108).

Korean peasants were in the same destitute condition as workers. They became poorer and poorer because of the Japanese government's policies.

One of the daily newspapers at that time, *Dong-A Il-Bo* commented on the subject in its editorial column. "Most of the responsibility of the Korean people's poverty is due to Japan, the Japanese government in general." (*Dong-A Il-Bo*, 2 Feb, 1926) The rape of Korea was obviously a criminal act perpetrated by the Japanese colonial rulers (Van Buskirk, 1931: 67).

These economic trials exacerbated the difficulties for the church. Christians sank in to the depths of despair (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 382).

Along with the economic trials was another problem, the challenge of Communism. The Korean churches began to recognize this problem after 1923. The youth of the period began to have a class consciousness, which spread widely during the economic trials.

The Communists were hostile to Christianity and challenged it directly. What was the response of the churches to their attitude? At first, the Korean churches did not know what Communism is and adopted a pro-Communist stance. The Communists drew near to the church in order to expand their power, and intended to encroach upon the church system slowly (D. S. Suh, 1980: 32-33).

3. 4. 2. 3 The Attitude of the Church to Solve Social Problems

At the beginning of Japan's rule, the Korean churches had a positive attitude to solve social problems. They led a movement to establish schools and hospitals, to publish various kinds of books, and to promote temperance in drinking and smoking.

But, during the latter half of 1920s, they became concerned about the growth of the church itself rather than society. Then churches withdrew from society. Why did this phenomena occur? There were several reasons.

First, one of the reasons is the policy of missionaries. Most of the missionaries who came to Korea had a background in Pietism (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 93-96). They were concerned with spreading the Gospel, changing Korea's religion, and establishing churches. And, many missionaries did not want to confront the Japanese government-general, if the issue was not connected with faith directly. The attitudes of these missionaries made the Korean churches non-political and emphasized the hope of heaven rather than being concerned with social problems.

Second, the isolation of the churches was the result of the revival movement which concentrated on the future life. The Korean churches grew rapidly after the great revival movement in 1907. As I have said above, the policy of missionaries and the mission movement of Korean church leaders played a great role in its growth. The mission of Korean church leaders concentrated on faith in the future life.

Rev. Sun Joo Kil, who led the revival movement in 1907, regarded *Pilgrim's Progress* as a guideline for his mission and he mainly preached from the Book of Revelation, emphasizing the second advent of Christ. He preached over 20,000 times as a revivalist preacher; 3,800,000 people heard his preaching, and he baptized 3,000 people.

Thus he had great influence (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 133, C. K. Kil, 1980: 233).

Rev. Ik Doo Kim succeeded Rev. Sun Joo Kil to lead the revival movement. He emphasized not only faith in the end of the world but also healing, and he gave the people who were suffering hope of heaven rather than this life (Y. K. Park, 1970: 125).

As Presbyterian ministers, Sun Joo Kil and Ik Doo Kim led a revival movement in the Korean churches. In the latter end of the 1920s, Yong Do Lee, who was Methodist minister, led another type of revival movement which had a mystical tendency. He was active during 1928–1933, leading a mystical movement and had great influence (N. S. Kim, 1987: 88–104; N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 331–346).

The revival movement of Yong Do Lee, disregarded physical life but pursued spiritual life. He insisted upon hope of heaven rather than this life.

These two major reasons the non-political policy of missionaries and the revival movement which was led by Korean church leaders made Korean churches concentrate on the growth of the church and the faith aspects of heaven's hope rather than on social problems.

3. 4. 3 Pro-Japanese Attitudes

As the Korean church under Japanese rule was characterized by the growth of the church and faith in the future life in heaven rather than focusing on social problems, there were many church leaders and Christians who wished to live comfortably by surrendering to Japanese rule. This was a problem with the growth of the churches. They tried to adjust themselves to Japanese rule and at the same time keep the many advantages which large churches had.

3. 4. 3. 1 The Appearance of Pro-Japanese Groups

As the oppression by Japan became more serious, one segment of the Korean Christians sought to keep their faith, while another wanted pro-Japanese acts by themselves. Many down-to-earth Christian leaders formed various pro-Japanese organizations which helped them to adjust to Japanese policy (N. S. Kim, 1990: 76-77, N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 404-408) The justification for the pro-Japan position was argued as follows.

First, they praised the war between Japan and China as "The Holy War of Great Thought," and they praised the bravery of Japanese soldiers.

Second, they argued that they had to cooperate with Japan to protect themselves against Communism because it was the enemy of the whole human race.

Third, they praised the Shinto-shrine worship. They said that it was not a religious activity but a national activity which was the obligation of the Korean nation. They regarded objections to such worship as resistance to the nation and king of Japan.

The people who had this point of view seized the real power of the churches. They changed the Christian faith in order to maintain their comfortable lives and they compromised the truth of the Bible by teaching this theory (N. S. Kim, 1990: 78-79).

3. 4. 3. 2 Pro-Japan Activities of Christians

The Japanese imperialists continued their exploitation policy in order to supply many goods to Japan. In those days, some Korean Christians fawned on Japanese policy. They held symposiums and lectures which encouraged Korean youth to volunteer in the Japanese

army. Japan pressed Korean youths into Japanese military service in an effort to win the Second World War, and churches praised their conscription (N. S. Kim, 1990: 81).

Some of the pro-Japanese activities appeared in churches concretely. The representative instance was the reopening of Pyongyang Theological School which had been closed because of the problems of the Shinto shrine worship. The teachers revised the theological education so as to make the students adjust to Japanese policy (N. S. Kim, & H. M. Conn, 1997: 428).

3. 4. 3. 3 The Establishment of a Pro-Japanese Denomination

The Pro-Japanese groups organized a Pro-Japanese denomination in 1943 which was regarded by the Korean Presbyterian Church and Methodist Church as a part of the Japanese church.

But, they organized a Presbyterian church of Japanese Christianity from the Presbyterian church and organised Methodist churches as one sect of the Japanese Christianity because of those in the Korean church.

They united all the denominations in Korea to make one denomination-The Korean Church of Japanese Christianity (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 435-437). As mentioned above, pro-Japanese groups were led by men who wanted to keep their fortunes and power which the fully grown Korean churches had under Japan's rule. They surrendered to Japanese policy and moreover helped promote Japan's rule. These were the problems in the growth of the Korean Church.

3. 5 SUMMARY

In spite of several persecutions, the Korean Presbyterian Church had gradually grown under Japan's rule. Establishment of churches,

education through Christian schools, and evangelism through medical services and social welfare were carried out. To obtain this growth, it was necessary for missionaries to adopt a mission policy based on the Nevius method which promoted the establishment of self-ruling church and revival movements through education and home missions.

In the background of the Korean church's growth, there were several problems. Korean Christianity tended towards shamanism. Christians turned their faces from social problems and had tended to escape from reality and focus on the hope of heaven.

In addition, the formation of pro-Japanese groups whose members wanted to lead comfortable lives formed two major streams of thought in the Korean church—conservatism and liberalism (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 177–264).

Along with its growth, the Korean church was confronted with a great problem—the Shinto shrine issue. There were two different attitudes, one accepted the Japanese government and the Shinto-shrine worship.

The other refused the Shinto shrine worship because they regarded it as violating the Ten Commandments, especially the first and second commandments: "Do not worship other gods". To study the nature of the persecution because of the Shinto-shrine policy, we need to understand the origin and character of Shintoism.

Thereby, we can clearly understand the reason why some Christians opposed Shinto shrine worship.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORY AND CHARACTER OF SHINTOISM AND KOREAN CHRISTIAN CONFLICT WITH SHINTOISM

4. 1 INTRODUCTION

We need a pertinent study of Shintoism whose followers severely persecuted the Korean church. This chapter will analyze the basic reasons for the persecution through the study of the history, character and shrines of Shintoism. It will also study the start of persecution from the perspective of Korean Christians' conflicts with Shintoism.

Some Japanese writers have referred to Shinto as the religion of the Japanese from time immemorial and have spoken of it as that which kept the soul of Japan alive, being the guardian of Japan's nationhood. Despite the changes in external conditions, there is one thing that has remained unchanged, and that is the soul of Japan(Hammer, 1962: 31).

Shinto, the way of Kami, is a national religion. It is the worship or reverence paid to the gods of Japan. In pure Shinto it is inconceivable that anyone should follow the way of the gods without being a Japanese or wishing to become one.

Shinto literature speaks of the eight myriads of gods, implying that the number is unlimited. Shinto has no systematic doctrine, and no philosophy of its own. Its code of moral behavior is an unwritten code, which in its modern expression owes much to Confucius and something to Buddhism. Pure Shinto does little to answer the questions or satisfy the needs of personal religion. It has only a very vague and shadowy

conception of a life after death.

Yet, in spite of these serious limitations, it is, or has been until very recently, a living religion capable of inspiring great devotion and fanaticism, the only vital religion for the majority of the 80,000,000 subjects of the Emperor of Japan(Anderson, 1972: 136). Our description, therefore, is of Shinto as it was maintained and practiced at the height of its influence in the years immediately before the second World War, and for that purpose a rough classification of the varieties of Shinto, as observed by the Japanese Government, is necessary.

At that time the Government made a broad classification into Shrine Shinto and Sect Shinto. Shrine Shinto was controlled by a bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs and included as a subdivision some three hundred shrines of State Shinto, entirely maintained by the central Government, with a priesthood which was a branch of the civil service. It also included a vast number (fluctuating, but something above 100,000) of local shrines, large and small, maintained by local authorities and voluntary contributions. Sect Shinto is a development of the last two hundred years which stands in a position by itself. It bears the same relationship to the Japanese State as Buddhism and Christianity in that country, and like them, was under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. It will very greatly help the understanding of Shinto if these distinctions are borne in mind, and if it is realized that Shrine Shinto is the original Shinto, and State Shinto and Sect Shinto are modern developments (Anderson, 1972: 136-137).

4. 2 THE HISTORY OF SHINTOISM

4. 2. 1 Shinto in the Tokugawa Era(1600-1860)

The extent to which State Shinto represented a departure from previous

religious history cannot be fully appreciated without discussing the character of Shinto in relation to Japanese understandings of religion before its creation. Throughout its modern history, there has been much discussion of whether it is appropriate to consider Shinto a religion. In fact, this sort of question has often been raised about Taoism, Confucianism, and the sacred traditions of nonliterate peoples as well. The question becomes one of "religion by whose definition?" The sociologist of religions Joachim Wach divided religion into three components: doctrine, rites, and communal observances(J. Wach, 1958: 12). Western scholarship's Christian, especially Protestant, heritage entails a predisposition to give most weight to doctrine (and the related attitudes of faith and belief), so much so that doctrine is commonly assumed to constitute the universal essence of religion. By comparison, rites and communal observances seem to be gratuitous appendages to the core of religious life. These complex assumptions about religion do not accord well, however, with indigenous constructions of religious life found outside the purview of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Certainly they do not accurately describe the traditional religious life of Japan, and they are especially unhelpful in attempting to understand Shinto.

Shinto has often been called the "indigenous religion of Japan." It is an ancient cult directed to native deities called *kami*, and included among these are deified emperors and heroes, spirits of nature, and deities of Japanese mythology. For the greater part of its history, Shinto has been highly local—as in the cults of clan or territorial tutelary deities. Functioning for the most part as the communal cult of small-scale social groupings, it assumes the values of society but does not (except in the case of its sectarian varieties, a nineteenth-and twentieth-century phenomenon) promulgate doctrine. It is primarily a liturgical practice(T. Kuroda, 1981: 12).

Until the end of the nineteenth century, Shinto knew no comprehensive organizational structure. Japanese Buddhism was divided into separate schools, the priests and temples of which were organized hierarchically. Shinto had no

comparable organization for its cult centers, called shrines by convention, to distinguish them from Buddhist temples. Shinto had no central figure analogous to a pope, nor were its priests trained in any unified doctrine or practice. Instead, we may think of Shinto during the Tokugawa period, which immediately preceded the creation of State Shinto, as existing in three layers, all of which were crosscut by Shinto's relation to Buddhism.

Known in some way to the greatest number of people, Shinto's first layer was constituted by the ritual practice of the imperial court, which maintained a formal schedule of elaborate ritual for both Buddhas and kami. The emperor presided over rites of the harvest, the equinoxes, worship of the four directions, New Year's, and a host of other rites(S. Haga, 1982: 52). One type of imperial enthronement ritual(the *daijoe* or *daijosai*), which consisted of the new emperor offering firstfruits to, and symbolically sharing a meal with, the imperial ancestors, was held in a Shinto style(R. Ellwood, 1973: 26). The calendar of imperial court rites was inherited from the *ritsuryo* system of rites and government(seventh to tenth centuries), when an elaborate ritual calendar was codified in the *Engishiki*(927), an important Shinto liturgical text.

During the Tokugawa era, emperors were assisted in carrying out a much reduced version of *ritsuryo* rites by members of the court (nobility itself constituting their qualification), especially by priests of the Yoshida and Shirakawa houses, who filled the office Jingihaku, Councillor of Divinities. By an edict of 1665 (R. Ellwood, 1973: 82), the Yoshida and Shirakawa were granted the authority to rank all shrines and priests (mainly on the basis of antiquity, lineage, and payments made to the two houses by the shrine or priest desiring an increase in rank). The Shirakawa had charge of those shrines linked directly to the imperial house, while the Yoshida supervised the remainder, the great majority. Both maintained separate cults of the eight tutelary deities of the imperial house, and this gave them special priestly authority in the conduct of imperial rites(S. Murakami, 1970: 52-56).

While there were many Shinto ceremonies, the rites of the court were by

no means exclusively Shinto in character. The emperor and members of the court also performed many Buddhist rites. The imperial family were officially parishioners of the Shingon school of Buddhism and were cremated according to Buddhist funeral rites. Many members of both the court and the imperial family joined Buddhist monasteries, and Buddhist memorial rites for the spirits of the imperial ancestors were a major part of court rites. In addition to Shinto rites of accession to the throne, the new emperor received "accession ordination" (*sokui kanjo*), a rite that paralleled the rite of taking the tonsure to become a Buddhist priest. To make matters still more complicated, Masters of Yin and Yang (*on yoshi*) were also employed at court to supervise other imperial rites (S. Murakami, 1977: 38-39).

Scarcity of funds prohibited fulfilling the entire ritual schedule because the shogun's government (the actual ruling body of the country and holder of imperial purse strings) was intent upon establishing the cult of its founder Tokugawa Ieyasu. Accordingly, it was little interested in permitting imperial ritual to be carried out on a comparable scale. The court's income, a rice stipend received from the shogunate, did not exceed that of a middle-ranking feudal lord (K. Fukaya, 1985: 50).

While imperial ritual continued to be performed on a diminishing scale at the court in Kyoto, the sacerdotal roles of the emperor were widely known to exist, but probably not understood in any detail by the rest of the populace. Feudal lords, who were frequently related to the court by marriage, were aware of the court and its ritual life. Many artisans and merchants were linked to various aristocratic houses as suppliers of goods used in ritual, and so they also were conscious of court rites. The people as a whole were required to observe mourning for deaths at court and therefore knew of imperial funeral and memorial rites. Ise pilgrimage, discussed below, had an indirect influence on popular awareness of the court and its affairs because a connection between the deities enshrined there and the imperial court was generally known (K. Fukaya, 1985: 52).

The second layer of Tokugawa Shinto was constituted by the practice of those great shrines of the nation large enough to have their own hereditary priesthoods, branch shrines, and extensive landholdings. In addition, the extensive development of pilgrimages further popularized the cults of transregionally known kami. Such shrines can be discussed as a group for the purposes of this chapter, even though they had no organizational connections and no common rites and doctrine, because they were alike in that their rites and deities were known to people in more than one domain. The phenomenon of branch shrines first developed in the medieval period in three main ways: (1) when clans or their subgroupings migrated to a new area and established a new shrine of the clan deity; (2) through the dedication of fiefs to shrines; and (3) through the appearance of worshipers of the original shrine's deities in a distant area. A branch shrine was officially linked to the original shrine through a ceremony in which the new shrine(S. Ono, 1963: 86). The result was a main shrine that received tribute and pilgrims from its distant branch shrines. Priests from the branch shrines in some cases were trained at the main shrine and then spread the word of the virtues of the main shrine's deities, and of pilgrimage to it, among the people living on the shrine's detached landholdings.

Consider, for example, the case of the Usa Hachiman Shrine in Usa City on the island of Kyushu, which enshrines, *inter alia*, the spirit of the deified Emperor Ojin as the deity Hachiman. This shrine, long the recipient of imperial patronage, is considered second in prestige only to the Ise Shrines. In 859 a branch of the Usa Shrine was built in Kyoto by a Buddhist monk and named the Iwashimizu Hachiman Shrine. The Minamoto house (of the Kamakura shogunate) regarded Hachiman as their clan deity, and when Minamoto Yoritomo, first of the Kamakura shoguns, moved his government to Kamakura, he founded a branch of the Iwashimizu Shrine, called the Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine in 1063, thus linking the new shrine to its immediate parent in Kyoto as well as to the Usa Shrine. Many more shrines dedicated to

Hachiman were founded around the nation, and now the Usa Hachiman Shrine serves as the central shrine for some twenty-five thousand Hachiman shrines throughout Japan(S. Weinstein, 1983: 181).

This phenomenon of branch shrine construction and, thereby, of proliferation of the cult of the main shrine's deities throughout Japan can be seen also in the case of the Inari, Kasuga, Tenjin, Konpira, Munakata, Suwa, and Izumo shrines. The priesthoods of these shrine's were generally organized as a sacerdotal lineage; their teachings were transmitted for the most part in rather esoteric ways, in texts that were closely guarded and not made available outside the priestly lines. Thus we can think of them as developing lineage theologies that were not widely known outside a particular lineage even among priests, to say nothing of the populace as a whole, which probably remained unaware of their existence.

Branch shrines constituted a vehicle for the transmission of the cult of their kami to large numbers of people across a wide geographical area. In addition to venerable shrines and their branches, another type of Shinto cult center emerged as an important part of popular religious life. There were shrines that developed as pilgrimage centers during the Tokugawa period, the Ise Shrines, the Konpira Shrine on Shikoku, or the Kanda Myojin or Nezu Gongen in Edo being important examples. These shrines were also important in drawing pilgrims from a wide geographical area, not only through advertising the boons available from their deities, but also through large markets held in connection with shrine festivals (T. Shinjo, 1960: 116). It is important to note that Buddhist priests participated widely in shrine rites, often leading villagers on pilgrimage or journeying to shrines to undertake austerities for their own spiritual practice. Even large shrines of this layer generally existed as one component of a temple-shrine complex, performing their rites side by side with a temple, generally for the same audience as the temple's rites. In such a complex, the Shinto priests were subordinate to their Buddhist colleagues, but at the popular level there was no thoroughgoing distinction

between the cults of Buddhas and kami(T. Sinjo, 1960: 120).

The third layer of Tokugawa Shinto encompassed by far the greatest number of shrines during the period, the local tutelary shrines of agrarian villages, the *ujigami* and *ubusuna* shrines (these terms are basically interchangeable, both connoting the idea of a territorial protective deity). Whereas the main shrines of the second layer of shrines might be called *jinja* ("shrines"), village tutelary shrines were generally known by the simpler title of "the *ubusuna* or *ujigami* ('tutelary deity') of such-and-such a place(M. Yoneji, 1984: 406).

In most cases village shrines did not have a professional priest but were served by adult men of the village on a rotating basis or their cults monopolized by village elites who formed a shrine guild (*miyaza* and other terms). While for the most part any villager might observe the festival of the village deity, actual participation was most frequently restricted in a manner mirroring the social hierarchy of the village, the most prestigious roles automatically accorded to those with the highest social standing. The status of parishioner (*ujiko*) of the village shrine was not accorded to all villagers but was usually reserved for those of wealth and/or long residence in the area(M. Yoneji, 1974: 11-23).

Having introduced these three layers of Tokugawa Shinto, we must examine how they were related to Buddhism. At the time of the Meiji Restoration(1868), it is estimated that there were 74, 642 shrines and 87, 558 temples in Japan(T. Umeda, 1970: 38). The shrines were administered under the jurisdiction of the Councillor of Divinities, and most were small, lacked full-time priests, and performed worship of local tutelary gods. The great majority existed as one component within a temple-shrine complex, in which temple and shrine functioned together as a single cultic center. The complex was generally controlled by the Buddhist clergy(S. Murakami, 1970: 60).

The relation between the cults of Buddhas and kami was expressed doctrinally in the theory holding that kami were the protectors and phenomenal

appearances (*suijaku*) of Buddhist divinities, who represented the purest, original form of divinity (*honji*). Implied was the idea that kami were beings of lower spiritual attainments than the Buddhas(A. Matsunaga, 1969: 170).

This combination of Buddhism and Shinto was pervasive and included even such large and venerable shrines as those discussed above as constituting Shinto's second layer, exceptions being the Ise and Izumo Shrines and shrines of the Mito domain after the rule of Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628-1700). Even at Ise, however, while there was a nominal ban on Buddhist observances, it was ignored. In 1868 there were nearly three hundred temples at Ise. Recitation of Buddhist sutras before the altars of the kami, on the theory that the kami needed these Buddhist rites in order to attain salvation, was common, and many Buddhist priests journeyed to Ise as pilgrims and to perform austerities(S. Nishigaki, 1983: 86).

The legacy of the *honji-suijaku* theory, the institution of temples and shrines, and the long-lived idea of the "unity of the three creeds" together constituted a popular religion that seldom made the thoroughgoing distinctions between Buddhism and Shinto that most present-day scholarship takes for granted. If anything, the populace at the end of the Tokugawa period probably perceived shrine priests as minor functionaries compared to Buddhist clerics, since in terms of relative status shrine priests' standing was at its nadir.

Shrine priests were subject to the temple registration system (*tera-uke*), according to which they had to become temple parishioners regardless of their beliefs, and they were almost always forced to have Buddhist funerals, a cause of considerable resentment. The temple registration system was Tokugawa Japan's nearest equivalent to a census system; in effect the Buddhist priesthood was charged with keeping records of all births, marriages, deaths, travel, and changes in residence or occupation. Shinto priests were not exempt by virtue of different religious beliefs.

Buddhist priests inevitably held higher positions and commanded greater administrative authority than shrine priests. Shrine priests were seated lower

than Buddhist clerics at village assemblies, and in the minutiae of diurnal etiquette, the lower status of the Shinto priesthood was made abundantly and humiliatingly clear. This situation did not pass entirely without protest, but organized resistance among Shinto priests transcending domain boundaries was virtually unknown before the Meiji Restoration. Priests of Iwami (present-day Shimane Prefecture) provided an example of protest by petitioning for seven years for exemption from the temple registration system, with but limited success (T. Fujitani, 1980: 39-40).

All forms of Tokugawa Shinto were pervasively influenced and restricted by Shinto's relation to Buddhism. As one might expect, there was considerable ill-feeling against Buddhism among the Shinto priesthood, but until the advent of National Learning (discussed below) as a grassroots nativist movement at the end of the period, there was little to be done.

The priesthood was unorganized and manifestly incapable of resisting Buddhist control. Almost all shrines of the second level were attached in a subordinate status to temples, and shrines of the third level most frequently were only informally staffed. Tutelary shrines confirmed communal ties, underwrote local status hierarchies, and affirmed popular values originating in communal life. To fulfill those functions, shrines required no special doctrines nor a professional priesthood. The role of the priest here, as in all levels of Tokugawa Shinto, was liturgical, not pastoral or theological.

4. 2. 2 Shinto After the Meiji Restoration

With the coup d'etat of 3 January 1868, a chain of political struggles and changes known as the Meiji Restoration was inaugurated. In addition to dismantling the rule of the shogunate and replacing it with the limited representational system of the Meiji Constitution (1889), the Restoration accomplished the political unification of the country, brought an end to hereditary social status, and gave the people freedom of residence and

occupation. Trade and diplomatic relations with the West began, and sweeping social reforms, including universal compulsory education and military conscription, changed the country drastically. It was at this point that the state's involvement in Shinto affairs increased in a way that would affect Japanese religious life as a whole. State Shinto begins with the Restoration.

4. 2. 2. 1 The Separation of Buddhism from Shinto

In 1868 an order calling for the complete separation of Buddhism from Shinto (*shinbutsu bunri*), intended to raise the status of Shinto and to secure its independence from Buddhism, was issued. Shinto objects of worship were to be removed from Buddhist temples and Buddhist appurtenances were to be stripped from shrines. Shrines and temples were to be set up independently. All shrine priests and their families would henceforth have Shinto funerals. The order for the separation of Buddhism and Shinto was accompanied by the unauthorized plundering of everything Buddhist, collectively known as *haibutsu kishaku*, in which the pent-up resentment of the Shinto, priesthood was unleashed in ferocious, vindictive destruction. Buddhist priests were defrocked, lands confiscated, statuary and ritual implements melted down for cannon. The extent of the damage varied regionally, but Buddhism suffered significant material loss as well as the loss of the state patronage it had enjoyed in the previous era (A. G. Grapard, 1984: 241).

This maneuvering did not, however, seriously undermine the attachment of the populace to Buddhism. As before, the people largely continued to maintain temple affiliations, based on funerals, grave sites, and ancestral memorial rites performed by temple priests. While statues could be removed, Buddhist influence upon Shinto was too deep to be expunged with a single stroke. Shinto still lacked doctrines capable of filling the void left by the separation. Thus the separation of Buddhism from Shinto did not immediately result in the establishment of Shinto as a fully independent religion.

Shinto gained ground, however, in an attempt to co-opt the cult centers of Shugendo, the cult of sacred mountains combining the worship of *gongen* (mountain deities), Buddhas, and kami with ascetic pilgrimages to the mountains. Shugendo's mountain ascetics, called *yamabushi*, were outlawed in 1871, and required to become Buddhist priests, Shinto priests, or return to lay life. It was declared that the *gongen* were really Shinto kami, although believers had not previously distinguished them as such. In this way, it was hoped, such pilgrimage sites as Mt. Fuji, Yoshino, Haguro, Gassan, and Yudono could be made into Shinto establishments, and thus their revenues would accrue to Shinto (Y. Yasumaru, 1980: 149).

4. 2. 2. 2 Building Institutions

Because each Shinto shrine had been so autonomous before Meiji, it was necessary to organize them in their new setting to insure smooth administration. The state attempted to bring all shrines in the nation under the umbrella of the Ise Shrines by ranking them according to a single hierarchy in 1868, with Ise at the top.

Thereafter all shrines held a certain rank or received the designation of "Unranked Shrine" (*mukakusha*). Whereas large shrines had previously been great landholders, shrine lands were confiscated in 1871 and replaced with limited compensation or promises of support. The state pledged to support those shrines with the rank of National or Imperial Shrine (*kokuhéisha*, *kanpeisha*) (W. Fridell, 1975: 154).

Once the shrines had been ranked, the state turned to the people themselves, and organized them as "parishioners" (*ujiko*) of shrines, a status previously restricted to those of high social status. In place of the former Buddhist temple registration system, shrine registration (*ujiko shirabe*) was instituted. According to the new system, every subject at birth became a parishioner by receiving a talisman from a local shrine. Everyone was to

register with a new shrine upon a change of residence, and at death the talisman was returned. In addition, subjects were to enshrine a talisman of the Ise Shrines in their homes. In this way, each household would be installing the "divided spirit" of the Ise deities in its domestic altar for the kami, as opposed to the simple purification instrument oshi – abolished in 1871 – had formerly distributed(M. Yoneji, 1984: 402). Symbolically speaking then, each household became a "branch shrine" of the Ise Shrines, thus linking all the populace to this cult center.

"Shrine registration was clearly intended to transfer from Buddhism to Shinto the census functions formerly undertaken by the temples, and the intent of talisman distribution was to unify the nation in the worship of the Ise deities. In fact, however, shrine registration was not carried out systematically, and the system soon fell into disuse" (M. Yoneji, 1984: 411). Nevertheless, the status of "parishioner" remained and operated as an important element of local government down to 1945.

4. 2. 2. 3 Disunity in the Department of Divinity

In 1868 the Department of Divinity (Jingikan) was established as the highest organ of government, even surpassing the Council of State (Dajokan). Secular politicians hoped that it would provide a symbolic legitimization for the new political regime. The department's establishment represented a victory for Shinto activists of the Restoration such as Fukuba Bisei. At last a central institution for the administration of religious affairs and conduct of state rites had become a reality. The Department of Divinity conducted rites for the spirits of the imperial ancestors, harvest and New Year's rites, as well as maintaining the imperial tombs, the cult of the gods of heaven and earth, and the eight tutelary gods of the imperial house. Its rites were performed as rites of state, and the other shrines of the nation were expected to make corresponding observances in concert(S. Haga, 1982: 86-87).

While the establishment of the Department of Divinity was a partial victory for those National Learning figures claiming to speak for all the shrines, however, they were unable immediately to displace the Yoshida and Shirakawa houses, which between them previously had controlled most such shrines. Whereas followers of National Learning had hoped to consolidate all rites on a single basis, the Yoshida and Shirakawa were not to be so easily dislodged from their customary prerogatives in relation to the imperial house. Fukuba was able to keep them out of the Department of Divinity itself, but he was not able to wrest from them the title of Councillor of Divinities, and on this basis they retained control of a separate cult of the eight imperial tutelary deities within the palace. Therefore the Department of Divinity and the palace remained two distinct ritual centers, and thus there arose a double character in national ritual at odds with the original ideal of those behind the department(S. Haga, 1982: 86-87).

The department aimed for complete, central control of the priesthood and shrines, thus abrogating the former Yoshida and Shirakawa prerogatives to appoint priests to certain ranks in exchange for "contributions." In actuality, however, the Department of Divinity retained direct control only of larger shrines of higher ranks: the Ise, Imperial, and National Shrines. The administration of smaller shrines, the great majority, was turned over to the prefectural governments. The national survey and ranking of shrines was supposed to concentrate control of shrines in the priesthood, but instead it gave the prefectures considerable autonomy in shrine administration. In these ways the desired central control of the Department of Divinity slipped away even before it was firmly established – to the Yoshida and Shirakawa in the case of imperial rites, and to the prefectures in the case of many of the shrines discussed in the introduction as Shinto's third layer (S. Haga, 1982: 97).

To make matters worse, Department of Divinity administrators were divided among themselves on a host of theological and policy matters, the

followers of Hirata constantly pitted against those of Okuni. The Hirata faction held that the department should be concerned exclusively with state rites, while the followers of Okuni, particularly Fukuba, emphasized its function of uniting the people in a common creed. Internally divided itself, the Department of Divinity could not command the full commitment of the Shinto priesthood, who were still not linked in any national organization(M. Uno, 1983: 180).

On 8 August 1871 the Department of Divinity was demoted to the status of a ministry and renamed the Ministry of Divinity (Jingisho), then on 14 March 1872 it was abolished and reconstituted in the Ministry of Education (Kyobusho). The reasons for this precipitous demotion after such grand beginnings lay in secular politicians' decreasing faith in the ability of Shinto administrators to fulfill the original mission of the Department of Divinity. Politicians were increasingly preoccupied with the question of treaty revision, and Shinto figures seemed to have no appreciation of the political realities of Japan's situation.

For example, Iwakura Tomomi, a court noble and an important political figure, had accepted the guidance of the National Learning figure Tamamatsu Misao and had been an advocate of the Department of Divinity. Iwakura's enthusiasm for Shinto causes began to fade as it became apparent how little Shinto leaders understood contemporary political issues. Tamamatsu Misao quarreled with Iwakura and left the government in high dudgeon when Iwakura refused to relent in his plan to move the imperial court to Tokyo so that there would be a single seat of government. Tamamatsu believed that any involvement of the throne in such mundane affairs would impugn the imperial dignity. Powerful politicians like Iwakura could hardly be expected to take such arguments seriously(Jinja Shinto Seikyo, 1976: 5-6).

Upon the forcible opening of the country, Japan had been required to sign a number of unequal trade treaties. Revising these became the government's most important political issue. Iwakura headed a mission to negotiate revision of the treaties, and everywhere he went he encountered the demand for

freedom for Christian missionaries to proselytize freely within Japan as a precondition for negotiation. Toleration in religious matters was clearly one of the accoutrements of a modern nation Japan needed to gain recognition as such by her trading partners. It was evident that some compromise with Christianity was inevitable, but Shinto leaders remained adamantly opposed(M. Uno, 1983: 192).

In the face of this harsh reality of international politics, the preoccupations of those at the Department of Divinity, who were still talking about revering the emperor and expelling the barbarian, must have seemed hopelessly antiquated, obscurantist, and unrealistic.

Another aspect of the mission of the Department of Divinity concerned the goal of unifying state rites. It will be recalled that during the Tokugawa period the Yoshida and Shirakawa houses exercised great influence over shrine priests and over the performance of imperial ritual. For the Department of Divinity to gain control of the entire priesthood and state rites, it would have had to unseat the Yoshida and the Shirakawa houses, but that proved to be a difficult task. The new Shinto administrators in government were unable to oust them from the palace, and thus it was principally under Yoshida and Shirakawa influence that the religious significance of the emperor and of the imperial rites took shape(M. Yoneji, 1984: 411).

4. 2. 2. 4 Reform of imperial ritual

Prior to Meiji, it was traditional for the emperor to send a proxy with offerings to major shrines on the occasion of their festivals. Following the example of the last days of his predecessor Emperor Komei, the young Emperor Meiji broke with tradition and began to visit shrines in person. When the palace was moved to Tokyo in 1868, he sent deputies with offerings to the most venerable shrines along his route from Kyoto, and he personally visited the Atsura Shrine where one object of the imperial regalia, the sword, was

kept. Arriving in Tokyo, he journeyed to the Hikawa Shrine, where he proclaimed the unification of rites and government (*saisei itchi*). In 1869 Emperor Meiji personally paid tribute at the Ise Shrines, which no reigning emperor had visited since the reign of Jito(686–697), a gap of more than a millennium(S. Murakami, 1977: 53–54).

The palace itself was a religious institution as well as the emperor's residence, and it enshrined the same deities as the Department of Divinity(S. Murakami, 1977: 56). Unlike premodern times, however, the Emperor Meiji's performance of palace rites was systematically made known to the populace. Thus when he performed the harvest rite Niinamesai in 1868, the whole population was ordered to worship the kami(S. Murakami, 1977: 68). An annual calendar of thirteen rites, replacing the traditional one, was created for imperial performance. These rites were observed as national holidays. Of these, only the Niinamesai had customarily been performed by emperors before the Restoration(S. Murakami, 1977: 71).

It was not only at the palace that these rites were observed. Under State Shinto the emperor's religious authority was based upon his unity with the imperial ancestors, collectively symbolized by the deity Amaterasu Omikami, whose principal seat of worship was at the Ise Shrines. This union guaranteed and manifested one of the symbolic hallmarks of State Shinto: the idea of an "imperial line unbroken for ages eternal," stretching back to the age of the gods and forward forever. Thus the emperor's rites and the rites of the Ise Shrines were carried out in tandem(S. Murakami, 1977: 73).

The rites of the Imperial palace and other rites performed by the emperor in concert with political officials, the military, and the populace constituted an important element of the state's symbolic legitimization. State rites, the heightened prominence of the emperor's religious roles, and a new relation between the state and the Ise Shrines became pillars of State Shinto.

4. 3. SHRINES AND THE RITES OF EMPIRE

4. 3. 1 Shrine Rites: Types and Standardization

In ritual as in so many other areas, shrines before 1868 conducted their observances on a local scale with little connection to cult centers and hardly any coordination among individual shrines. Shrine rites comprised only a part of the annual observances in popular society.

In addition to Buddhist rites, rites of passage, and the annual calendar of local shrine rites, there were five annual observances (*Josekku*), not necessarily carried out in shrines, that constituted an important core of Tokugawa-period popular religious life. Originally derived from Chinese calendrical lore, rites of the seventh day of the first month, the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, the seventh day of the seventh month, and the ninth day of the ninth month were marked with seasonal rites. These five days plus rites for the New Year and *oben* (traditionally observed in the eighth month, the occasion when ancestral spirits are believed to return to their families in this world) formed the core of popular annual rites (T. Hagiwara, 1975: 384-5). Added to these were rites of the rice cycle, typically directed to local tutelary deities, the *ujigami*. Some, but by no means all, of these rites of the rice cycle were conducted in shrines by persons in a priestly role. It goes without saying that each aspect of popular ritual life was subject to enormous regional variation, but the rites outlined here were widespread and typical. It can be readily appreciated that while shrine rites occupied an important position in ritual life, they did not predominate.

In the Meiji period a national calendar of rites centering on the nation and the Imperial house was introduced that dramatically altered the character of ritual life. While the emperor had always had a sacerdotal role, the people previously had been little aware of it. Now his rites were

to be their rites. The new calendar of rites gave him a high-profile, center-stage role as head priest of the nation.

The national ritual calendar meant the end of the Josekku, and some areas tried to abolish rites for obon, a move that failed virtually everywhere it was tried(S. Ariizumi, 1968: 66). The new calendar was comprised of the following rites:

TABLE 2
THE CALENDAR OF SHINTO SHRINE

Shihohai	January 1	Worship of the deities of the four directions to welcome the New Year
Genshisai	January 3	Rites for the New Year; emperor performs rites at the palace for imperial ancestor
Shinnen enkai	January 4	Rites for the New Year; palace rites feature a banquet for members of the imperial house and foreign emissaries
Komei Tennosai	January 30	Commemorating the emperor preceding Meiji
Tenchosetsu	February 3	Emperor Meiji's birthday
Kigensetsu	February 11	Commemorating the founding of the Yamato dynasty by Emperor Jinmu
Kinensai	February 17	To pray for the year's harvest and the peace of the emperor
Shunki Koreisai	Spring Equinox	Spring rites for the imperial ancestors
Jinmu Tennosai	April 3	Commemorating the day of Emperor Jinmu's death
Shuki Koreisai	Autumn Equinox	Autumn rites for the imperial ancestors
Kannanmesai	October 17	An offering of firstfruits of the harvest to the Ise deities by the emperor
Niinamesai	November 23	The emperor both offers and partakes of firstfruits of the harvest

Some of these rites had ancient precedents in the *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* or other ancient sources: the Genshisai, Kigensetsu, Jimmu Tennosai, Niinamesai, Kannamesai, and the equinoctial rites for the imperial ancestors. These rites were concatenated as a unified national calendar of rites for the whole nation during the 1870s. Thus they were observed simultaneously in the imperial palace, at the Ise Shrines, and at

the Imperial and National Shrines. Gradually the civic shrines came to observe them also, so that in theory, at least, the liturgy of all the shrines of nation was orchestrated according to a single plan, penetrating all areas and all levels of society. After millennia of local autonomy and uncoordinated shrine rites, the change was revolutionary (S. Murakami, 1970 : 130).

While the outline of a new national ritual calendar was established in the 1870s, it was not until much later that it really began to be observed. Diaries of the 1880s indicate that the police had to force people to fly the national flag on the new holidays, and that for the most part the populace continued to be attuned to the old customs. A famous diary of a village mayor of the period, the *Aizawa nikki*, does not even mention the new holidays until 1900. Like so many aspects of State Shinto, things really began to change after the wars with China and Russia. These rites began to be incorporated in the schools as of the first decade of this century, and it was also about this time that local authorities began to promote the new holidays in many areas (S. Arizumi, 1968: 70).

4. 3. 2 The Liturgical Structure of Shrine Rites

While it goes without saying that each of these rites embodies different symbols and conveyed a different meaning, the liturgies shared a common framework derived from traditional shrine rites. Beginning with prayers to invoke the relevant deities' presence, virtually all shrine rites included as a first step the presentation of offerings and making obeisance. Then, in the god's presence, priests read a prayer (*norito*) prepared for the occasion to announce the rite's purpose, to request the deities' aid in its accomplishment, and to invoke the deities' blessings in a general way. Lay persons assumed an attitude of obeisance during the reading of the prayer, and, depending on the character of the rite, they might afterwards make an

offering of a sakaki twig festooned with paper streamers symbolizing an offering of cloth. In some cases priest purified congregants by waving over them a large wand of paper streamers. The rite itself concluded, the food and drink offerings were removed and these might be consumed by the priests and lay people at a concluding meal(*naorai*).

Before the Meiji Restoration the imperial house was attached to the Shingon school of Buddhism and had as its patron temple a Kyoto temple called Sennyuji. In the palace itself the imperial ancestors were enshrined in Buddhist style, using memorial tablets (S. Murakami, 1977: 38-39). After the Restoration Buddhist memorial rites and ancestral tablets were eliminated from palace rites, Buddhist statues and other articles were removed, and Buddhist titles ceased being applied to members of the imperial house. The relationship with Sennyuji was abolished (S. Murakami, 1977: 55). The emperor then began to make personal visits to shrines, whereas previously a proxy messenger had been dispatched. When Emperor Meiji visited the Ise Grand Shrines in 1869, his was the first imperial visit since that of Emperor Jito (645-702 A.D.).

In 1889 three palace shrines, collectively called the *kyuchu sanden* were completed. Here the emperor personally performed rites for the imperial ancestors, as well as the other rites of the new liturgical calendar discussed above. One of the shrines, the *kashikodokoro*, had the character of a miniature version of the Ise Shrines, but combined with it the element of the emperor's direct attendance, thus transferring to him headship over Ise and hence over all shrines in the land (S. Murakami, 1970: 66).

Palace rites formed the basis for the emperor's liturgical function. Most numerous were the rites for imperial ancestors which upheld the idea of the unbroken line of emperors descended from the sun goddess, Amaterasu. The Genshisai rite celebrated the inception of the imperial line. The nation was presented as beginning with the accession of Emperor Jinmu, an occasion commemorated in the annual Kigensetsu rite. The

accession was thought to have occurred 2,530 years earlier, and in 1870 a system of counting historical time based on it was begun. Similarly, in the Jinmu Tennosai, a rite commemorating the anniversary of this first "historical" emperor's death, all provincial officials were to face the region of the dynasty's beginning, Yamato, and offer a spring of sakaki in parallel with a homologous rite conducted simultaneously in the palace. Members of the imperial family participated with the emperor in spring and autumn equinoctial rites for the imperial ancestors. The rite for Emperor Komei was a special sort of ancestral rite, directed to the immediately preceding emperor, and Tenchosetsu, the living emperor's birthday, completed the sequence of rites for living and dead imperial scions(S. Murakami, 1970: 82).

In a slightly different category, but still retaining the character of ancestral ritual, were those imperial rites focusing upon the harvest and the Ise Shrines. Here we bear in mind that along with Ise's significance as the main shrine of imperial ancestors, its deities were popularly perceived as harvest deities. This idea had a mythic expression in the story of Amaterasu giving her grandchild Ninigi rice grains when he descended from the High Plain of Heaven to the earthly realm. In this category of rites were the Kinensai, a rite praying for a good harvest, conducted simultaneously in the palace and at important provincial shrines, and the Kannamesai and Niinamesai. These latter two rites were both, in essence, harvest rites offering firstfruits of the harvest. In the Niinamesai, the emperor himself partook of the offerings, and in the Kannamesai firstfruits were offered to Amaterasu at the Ise Grand Shrines and in the palace.

Through these various rites, the emperor's religious authority was based on the unity of his person with Amaterasu, the apical ancestress of the imperial house. The idea that all other deities were putatively descended from her had a parallel in the notion that all the Japanese people were ultimately descended from the imperial house. Similarly, all

deities being ultimately linked to Amaterasu, all shrines were ultimately subordinate to Ise. Thus Ise was the apex of a pyramidal hierarchy of shrines; their rites should conform to imperial rites conducted both at Ise and in the palace. In the person of the emperor was bound up the unity of the nation and its people and myriad deities. This unity was symbolized in local society by shrines and shrine rites (S. Murakami, 1970: 132).

4. 3. 3 Shrine Observances Involving School Children

The incorporation of liturgy into educational institutions during the Meiji period had important precedents in the customary rites for Tenjin, the god of learning, at pre-Meiji temple schools (*terakoya*) and in the rites for Confucius typically held at domain schools. As early as 1875 schoolchildren in Nagasaki attended shrine rites, and such days were school holidays, but practices of this kind became truly widespread only after 1900 (Yamamoto & Imano, 1973: 60-61).

An important precursor of the involvement of pupils in shrine rites was the distribution of a photograph of the emperor to virtually all the nation's schools. This distribution began around 1882 and was virtually complete by 1888. The imperial photo eventually became part of a liturgical set, the other element of which was the school's copy of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), a text that came to be revered as holy writ. The scroll on which the rescript was written and the photograph had to be housed in some portion of the school not used for any other purpose. Sometimes a special room was constructed and a special night guard hired to protect them in case of fire or other emergency. They were placed in a shrine-like box, and offerings were set before them. When opening the box one had to bow low enough to place the hands on the knees, an obvious borrowing from shrine etiquette (Yamamoto & Imano, 1973: 71, 85).

Several texts taught people how to carry out the ceremonial readings which were held on Tenchosetsu, Kigensetsu, and Jinmu Tennosai. For a school's first reading of the rescript, the scroll had to be paraded to the school by teachers, pupils, local notables, the mayor, the post office chief, local people in government, and the area's eldest residents. A sacred space was prepared for the reading with fresh gravel and hung with red, white, and blue curtains. An offering of rice cakes was presented to the scroll as if it were a deity. The school principal assumed the priestly role, donning white gloves to intone the text (Yamamoto & Imano, 1973: 75-77). There were even cases of principals committing suicide to atone for mispronouncing a syllable.

At first schools found it difficult to motivate pupils to attend the ceremonial readings on national holidays. Why should a pupil appear in uniform on one of his/her few days off? One solution was to distribute sweets, and another was to link the holidays to exhibitions, music festivals, or athletic meets. With the wars against China and Russia, more rites to welcome returning soldiers were added. In spite of a general increase in patriotic expressions, however, local schools consistently complained to the Ministry of Education that the populace continued to be quite unaware of the significance of these holidays(Yamamoto & Imano, 1973: 101).

It might be objected that these observances, not being held in shrines, nor presided over by an ordained Shinto priest, do not properly belong in a discussion of State Shinto. There is an important connection between the priesthood and school rites, however, because priests who held the rank of *kundo* (second from the lowest) and higher were automatically qualified as primary school teachers (Kubota, 1966: 52). In fact, most priests of civic shrines had to take by-employment of some kind, and school teaching provided a ready-made opportunity. Furthermore, it was the shrine priesthood that was largely responsible for distributing the texts teaching

principals how to make ceremonial readings of the Imperial Rescript on Education (Kubota, 1966: 53).

From 1912 onward school rites such as those described above were greatly intensified, and schoolchildren were taken to shrines to participate in ritual with increasing frequency. Over 70 percent of schools had kamidana, shrines for the kami, in addition to the shrines for the imperial photo and the Imperial Rescript on education and many also enshrined a talisman from Ise. Local principals had the authority to decide how many holidays to declare for shrine festivals. One Tokushima Prefecture school had as many as seven such holidays per year. A Tochigi prefecture document of 1928 called for schoolchildren to visit the local shrine on Kinensai, Niinamesai, yearly school opening day, and graduation, all for the purpose of increasing their reverence for the kami. The document also called for monthly shrine cleaning by pupils. The role of shrine priests in these observances is not specified, but as pupils made formal offerings at the altar, priests must have been involved. From the mid-1920s the custom of holding morning reverence of the imperial palace became widespread (Yamamoto & Imano, 1973: 283).

Besides excursions to local shrines, school trips by whole classes to prominent shrines, especially the Meiji Shrine, Yasukuni, and Ise, became an important part of school life. These visits were encouraged as part of the local movement to improve the moral quality of village life that occurred in the Taisho period (1912–1926)(M. Komoto, 1978: 321). Some years later, in 1938, the annual festival at Yasukuni was declared a national holiday and all schools including kindergartens, had to worship the shrine from afar on that occasion(Yamamoto & Imano, 1973: 311).

The priesthood assumed an active role in encouraging the participation of schoolchildren in shrine rites. In Okayama priests instituted rites to "encourage learning"(kangakusai), in which new first graders were taken to shrines. They also supported regular worship at shrines by

schoolchildren, the custom of schoolchildren cleaning shrines, and services for local youth groups at shrines(M. Komoto, 1978: 333). A number of Shinto-influenced songs appeared in primary school textbooks. Priests were highly enthusiastic about shrine visits by schoolchildren, but their queries to their professional journals show that they encountered a good deal of trouble from obstreperous youngsters, and some incidents verged on lese majesty.

4. 3. 4 Customary Observances and Shinto

Before the Meiji Restoration many of the rites of the life cycle, communal rites, rites of kin groups, and rites of occupational groups were customarily performed informally, in private home without the attendance of a Shinto priest. A major, though subtle, change in Japanese religious life came about after the Restoration with the increasing tendency to hold such rites in shrines and to have them conducted by a Shinto priest. While it is very difficult to document this change precisely, contemporary Shinto scholars attest to it uniformly (M. Komoto, 1978: 92).

Example of rites of passage that have come increasingly under the aegis of shrines since the Meiji period include the following: hatsumiya mairi, shichi-go-san, rites of coming of age, rites of marriage, and, to a lesser extent, funerals. Hatsumiya mairi is a ceremony in which a newborn child is taken to the shrine at which its parents are parishioners and presented to the deity, whose protection is invoked by a priest. This rite establishes the child as a shrine parishioner. Shichi-go-san means "seven-five-three," referring to the custom of taking five-year-old boys and three-and seven-year-old girls to the tutelary shrine to pray for their protection. Rites of coming of age marked the time at which young people were considered adult (Yamamoto & Imano, 1973: 312).

Before the Meiji period weddings were hardly ever celebrated at

shrines and priests did not routinely learn how to perform them. It was largely in imitation of the Christian wedding ceremony and in the basis of the Taisho emperor's shrine wedding that the custom spread widely, actively encouraged by the priesthood (M. Komoto, 1973: 93). Similarly, pre-Meiji shrine priests seldom performed funerals and it was only after Meiji that the ritual spread at all. Diaries of priests show that there was a brisk circulation of funeral manuals to teach priests how to perform the rite.

Besides rites of passage, communal and kin-group rites increasingly came under the supervision of shrine priests. Prior to the Meiji period, the annual festival for the tutelary deity (*ujigamisai*) had not necessarily been presided over by a priest. Frequently the responsibility for this rite passed in rotation among elite village men of a shrine guild, who underwent abstinences and purification to prepare for the year-long tenure of duty. In this way local tutelary shrines could be managed without an ordained priest. The takeover of these rites by Shinto priests coincided with the decline of traditional shrine guilds. Similarly, rites of the extended joint system family (*dozoku* and other forms) are frequently held privately before Meiji but thereafter came to be held increasingly in shrines and to be concluded by a Shinto priest (M. Komoto, 1973: 94).

It is mainly after Meiji that industries and occupational cooperatives such as fishermen's unions and brewers' associations begin to hold rites to pray for their success and safety by calling in a Shinto priest. Companies began to establish shrines on their premises or in their headquarters. Particular occupations tended to become associated with certain types of shrines. For example, brewers were identified with the Matsuo Imperial Shrine in Kyoto. In addition, the deity Inari had a generalised connection to success in business, regardless of the nature of the enterprise.

Finally, a number of occasional and miscellaneous rites came under Shinto influence after the Meiji Restoration. The custom of maintaining a

domestic altar for the kami, a kamidana, increased markedly. Many areas had the custom of all-night vigils ending with communal worship of the sun, known as *hi-machi*, "waiting for the sun". Whereas these had been performed without priests before Meiji, after that time priests were routinely called upon to officiate (Kubota, 1966: 60).

Priests were pervasively involved in rites sending soldiers off to war and in rites invoking divine aid in achieving victory. The diary of Tanaka Sen'ya shows this clearly in his time after the war with China in 1895. He and other priests were at the center of village send-offs for the soldiers and officiated at their funerals. In this way the priesthood acquired a close association with the military and within the popular mind. The growing strength of patriotic sentiments and the high tide of emotions involved when whole villages attended funeral rites for young men killed in battle gave the priesthood a social prominence and prestige it had not necessarily enjoyed universally before Meiji (M. Komoto, 1973: 96).

Shrines and their rituals were completely transformed by 1945 as a result of massive state manipulation of shrine affairs dating from the time of the Meiji Restoration. The state underwrote the construction of new shrines and systematically promoted the universalization of a cult of the Ise deities as the nation's highest ancestors and a cult of the war dead as prototypical ancestors and heroes. A strong association between Shinto and war was the inevitable result and the priesthood voiced no reservations about the use of shrines to glorify death in battle. Under the aegis of the state the Meiji Shrines became the nation's first and only shrine to be constructed by nationwide contributions of monies and labor and hundreds of shrines were built in the colonies. Furthermore, this chapter has shown how the unified ritual placed the emperor unambiguously in the role of head priest of the nation and symbolically coordinated the rites of all the shrines with palace and imperial rites (Yamamoto & Imano, 1973: 260).

All this was accomplished not according to a single blueprint agreed

upon from the beginning, but by fits, starts, advances, and retreats. Political support from public funds was erratic, unpredictable, and subject to significant regional variation. The priesthood was so distrusted by politicians that priests were virtually powerless to influence state funding consistently (M. Komoto, 1973: 111).

The cumulative effect upon popular religious life of this massive state intervention was very great, producing a unified, symbolic and institutional system where localized cult life and extreme diversity had been the norm for centuries. We have seen that shrines could link local and national communities and that shrine life and affiliation could provide an organizational vehicle for the promotion of individual and communal interests and a means of access to the prestige of the state. Whereas shrines had functioned in this way before Meiji only for a limited elite, these possibilities expanded greatly in the modern period (Kubota, 1966: 72).

Thus we can see that there were tangible incentives for the populace to support shrines and to participate in their rites. These incentives probably compensated considerably for the alteration of religious life as it had been before Meiji and sugarcoated the pill of shrine mergers and other locally disruptive policies. Undoubtedly State Shinto operated through a great deal of central direction, but it was much more than the unidirectional imposition of state policy. It depended equally upon the popular perception of the interest, value, and utility of shrines and shrine rites.

4. 4 THE KOREAN CHRISTIAN CONFLICT WITH SHINTOISM

From the earliest stages of Japanese rule in Korea, the governor realized that the most difficult obstacle facing him was to be the Korean Christians. In this transitional era, passing from nominal independence to complete loss of

sovereignty, many Koreans developed a positive (modern) nationalism through their association with the Christian faith, churches and schools (M. Y. Lee, 1987: 127). Many Korean nationalists sought new hope through the Christian teachings. The mixture of Christian faith and nationalistic consciousness in Korean Christians was inevitably the factor which made them the main object of Japanese persecution. In one of the reports of the Japanese governor to the Imperial Congress, Minami said, "In Korea, there are very bold soldiers, 400,000 not fearing death. They are Christians" (quoted N. S. Kim, 1990: 133).

Numerous Christians in Korea were severely persecuted, particularly through "The Korean Conspiracy Case in 1911," and "The Independence Movement." This was intensified by the Korean Christian leaders' active participation in the March First Independence Movement of 1919 which, at last, forced Japan to change its colonial policy in Korea, if only cosmetically. From that time on the Japanese governor ruled Korea under the so-called "Enlightened Administration." The new policy, however, was largely fraudulent and deceptive. Although the announced change was made in the police system, on the other hand police organs in fact were expanded and the number of police personnel increased. "Including the gendarmerie, police strength had grown to about 15,000 in the immediate aftermath of the March First Movement in 1919, and by 1938 it reached 21,782. At the same time more prisons were built and the number of arrests for "ideological crimes" swelled(K. B. Lee, 1989: 346-348). The change in policy was no more than a superficial and deceptive moderation of its earlier policy of forceful repression, carried out under the pressure of world opinion. On the contrary Japan's colonial policy became more systematic and deceptive under the name of "Enlightened Administration."

The 1930's began with a political upheaval in Japan which was to set the subsequent political and military course for the Far East, and drastically affect the fortunes of the Korean church and the life and work of foreign missions in Korea. As the militarists took control of political power in Japan, their policy

of expansion to the Asian continent became apparent. The militarists seized power in order to reinforce the policy of military expansion which the previous prime minister, Giichi Tanaka, had initiated by sending a considerable army to Manchuria, ostensibly to protect the Japanese policed south-Manchuria railway. In 1931, the Japanese militarists were successful in establishing a puppet government in Manchuria, so called "Manchukou," by means of the "Manchuria Incident," which was a prelude to war against China. Responding to this military conquest, the League of Nations protested against Japanese military aggression, through the report of the Lytton Commission. But the War Minister, General Araki, defiantly declared to Lord Lytton that "the actions of the Japanese army in Manchuria are the Imperial prerogative," withdrawing from the League in October 1931. Now separated from the West, Japan determined to proceed with her invasion of China, gradually moving southward(K. B. Lee, 1989: 350f).

Chiang Kaishek, in agreement with the Communist leaders, decided to unify the front line against Japan in a policy of resistance. Japan decided to launch an attack against China before it became united as a nation. The result was the incident of Lukowkiao bridge near Peiping 7 July, 1937, which opened a phase of Chinese resistance which, after 1941, merged into World War II.

Inevitably the change of policy in Tokyo and the course of events in China affected the relations of Japan with the people and government of Korea. For Korea, the chain of events set off by the Manchuria railway explosion led to an increasingly harsh colonial policy. General Minami, an out and out militarist, became Korea's governor-general in 1936, and he took control with an iron hand. This policy was exercised over every part of life of the Korean people. The Japanese language was made the official medium of communication and the only language of instruction in the schools. The Korean language was totally banned in order to accelerate the Japanese program of assimilation. Korean families were even forced to change their family names to Japanese forms(N. S. Kim, 1997: 49).

In this situation, the Japanese government strove to force their Shinto shrine policy on Korean Christians. Ancient forms of State Shinto were revitalized to whip the populace into more frenzied patriotism. As the process of national assimilation accelerated, Japan demanded Shinto shrine worship as one of the essential aspects of "mobilization of the national spirit." In fulfilling the policy, however, they took a very wily strategy. The first object of their attack was mission schools and then Korean churches.

This was the general background for the Japanese imposition of Shinto shrine-worship on Korean Christians, by which they intended to eradicate the solid foundation of Korean Christianity, for their effective colonial rule.

4. 4. 1 The Process of the Shinto Shrine Collaboration Demand

In 1932, the government's systematic pressure to force people to attend Shinto shrines was begun, especially concentrating on the schools. This quickly became a major problem for missions, then largely in control of the schools, which in turn placed the Korean church in the spotlight. It was reported that "The insistence of the government on school attendance at Shinto shrines seems to be pressed with greater urgency in Korea and Formosa than in Japan itself and continues to cause much anxiety to the Church" (*IRM*, 1938: 13).

In the fall of 1935, the Japanese governor of Pyongan-South Province met with Dr. George S. McCune, president of the Union Christian College, and Miss V. L. Snook, principal of the Soong Eui Girls' High School, in Pyongyang to investigate their attitudes toward the Shinto shrine issue. At their opposition, he suggested them to consider the matter for 60 days, with the threat that if they did not change their attitude, their educational qualifications would be taken away. They informed the missionaries in Pyongyang and the Mission Executive Committee of what had happened. Then they called a meeting of the Korean pastors of the 27 Presbyterian churches in the city. All but one strongly advised them to refuse to go to the shrines, no matter what

happened, saying:

"You have heard what has been said. We know that the worship of deified spirits at the shrines is contrary to God's commandments. We also know that many of us will not be able to withstand. Therefore, we ask you missionaries today, while we are able to speak, to protect the faith of the Church, no matter what happens" (quoted in A. D. Clark, 1971: 223-224).

At the end of the 60 days, a letter was sent to the governor thanking him for past favors and explaining why it was impossible for them to bow at the shrine. On this matter, Watanabe who was the educational director of the Japanese government-general in Korea, camouflaged the purpose of Shinto shrine policy to schools, contrary to the real nature of Shintoism, his letter to McCune:

"*Jinja* (shrines) and religion are distinctly separated by our national Law and the reason for requiring the school students and pupils to go and make obeisance at the *Jinja* is based upon education and the '*Keirei*' (obeisance) demanded of the students, pupils and school children is nothing else than to display their spirit of patriotism and allegiance" (quoted Y. S. Kim, 1971: 183).

Meanwhile, efforts were being made to find a means of satisfying the government's desire to foster patriotism without violating Christian principles. Step by step though, the pressure of authority was strongly exerted. As the missionaries were shut off from the schools, and Korean church leaders weakened in their attitude, gradually, Shinto shrine ceremonies came to be practiced in schools. Some schools were closed rather than discussing the principles that were involved. Some were transferred to other bodies which found it possible to carry on without violations of conscience. It was a time of confusion.

After the Japanese governor perceived that their Shinto policy had been

successful in the schools, they began to extend that pressure to the churches as well. At first, this pressure was forced on individuals, pastors and prominent Christian leaders instead of a frontal attack on the churches as a whole. Those who refused to comply to participate in Shinto worship were arrested and tortured.

Because of the strong resistance of church leaders, this policy was not so effective as they had expected. The authorities asked church leaders in Japan to visit Korea to exhort the Korean church leaders to accept the governmental position on the Shinto shrine worship. Finally, a committee of Japanese church leaders was brought over to Korea to tour the country, urging Korean church leaders to accept the government's interpretation, as they had done in Japan(N. S. Kim, 1997: 115).

The government, at last, decided to force the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church to formally approve Shinto shrine worship. Before the Assembly, the chief of police in Pyongyang summoned all the missionaries in the city to his office on 2 September, 1938. Showing his 'blue print' for the coming General Assembly to the missionaries, he required them to keep silent on the issue and warned them, "No debate will be allowed and no one will be permitted to vote against the motion as that would be insult to the emperor." (Blair, 1957: 103). Also all 400 delegates to the Assembly were summoned to their local police offices in advance and told that they must vote for the motion.

Under severe pressure and threats from the police, at last, the Presbyterian Church of Korea, which had been strong against the Shinto shrine worship, resolved the matter by passing a decision in the General Assembly in September 1938, as follows:

Obeisance at the Shinto shrines is not a religious act and is not in conflict with Christian teaching and should be performed as a matter of first importance thus manifesting patriotic zeal (Minutes of PCK).

At this General Assembly, Rev. William N. Blair had been named to protest against this matter by the missionary group. Upon the moderator's refusal to permit him to speak, Rev. Blair said, "Then I demand that my name be enrolled on the minutes as protesting this action as contrary to the laws of God and of our Church" (A. D. Clark, 1971: 229). There were eight or ten other missionaries who made the same demand, including Bruce Hunt, who asked to have a right to a negative answer on the motion. Right after the 27th General Assembly, some missionaries protested with a written paper to the moderator. They said:

Mr. Moderator:

We, the undersigned regularly elected Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea do hereby protest against the two actions taken at the Saturday (10th Sept., 1938) morning session.

The grounds of our protest is as follows;

1. We believe these acts to be contrary to the Word of God and to the constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Korea.
2. The Moderator declared these motions carried in spite of the fact that we as regularly elected commissioners were denied the right of speaking on the motions and all commissioners were denied the right of voting on the negative both of which are contrary to the constitution and rules of the Presbyterian Church of Korea.
3. The actions being taken under duress are contrary to the religious liberty guaranteed by His Majesty's Imperial Government.... (Minutes of PCK).

Three monthes later, the moderator of that General Assembly, sent a warning letter to all the congregations under the Assembly's jurisdiction,

stating that refusal to participate in obeisance at the Shinto shrines would be "a regretful act that is in opposition to the will of the Lord," and that "absolutely cannot be regarded as citizens, or as members of the church" and must be subjected to church discipline (*IBB*, 1940: 14-15).

The Shinto shrine-worship issue was a major factor in its effect on the Korean churches during Japanese rule, as well as after the liberation in 1945. It is related to idol worship to absolutize secular authority and to deify human kind over God, as a means of colonial rule. Therefore, its significance is to be traced not only to the perspective of Christian faith itself, but also to a true view of the church and Korean national integrity.

Up to the middle of the 1930's, the foreign policy of U.S.A. towards Japan was generous, but this began to change due to the expansion of Japanese imperialism to China, Manchuria, and South Pacific nations. Coincidentally, the change in American foreign policy toward Japan influenced the Japanese governor's against American missionaries in Korea. They began to persecute Korean Christians and American missionaries' activities in cultural areas; mission schools, hospitals, etc., under the name of "Enlightened Administration."

4. 4. 2 The Various Responses within Mission Boards in Korea

As the Korean Church faced the shrine issue, national leaders and missionaries on the field were divided on the matter. It was tragic and yet, perhaps, inevitable that the various denominations and missions could not maintain a unified front. The basic problem was whether or not State Shinto was merely a political act, as a demonstration of patriotism and loyalty to the Japanese emperor, or a religious exercise.

Most Korean Christians opposed the government's definition and refused to participate in Shinto ceremonies. Not all the missions answered these questions in the same way, but the majority of missionaries from the American

Presbyterian Church were against the Shinto shrine ceremonies, interpreting them as definitely religious (N. S. Kim, 1990: 146). We now need to discuss briefly the various positions of the foreign missions in Korea regarding this issue.

Roman Catholics, in place of maintaining their attitudes of 1918 and 1931 that participation in shrine ceremonies was idolatrous (N. S. Kim, 1990: 145), sacrificed their principles in 1936, on instructions from Rome, for the protection of their own organization. These instructions solved the Shinto issue as far as Roman Catholics were concerned.

The Methodists, the second largest protestant group, chose to accept the government's interpretation, after consulting with their leaders in Korea as well as in America, and then decided in 1937 to comply on the basis of official assurance that shrine attendance was a patriotic rather than a religious act. Their position is as follows;

1. To accept at face value the Government declaration that these observances are patriotic and non-religious.
2. To teach this to our students and church members, helping to educate them as to the distinction between Religious Shinto and State Shinto.
3. To embrace thus the opportunity of teaching Bible and of having our students in daily chapel services, instead of closing the schools, thus forcing Christian youth to get its education in governmental schools where all students must attend the Shrine ceremonies and who, in such schools, secure no training in Bible or Christian worship.
4. To live Jesus Christ before and among our pupils so that our teaching will have dynamic.
5. And if the day ever comes when some ultra-radical government forbids Christian education and ministries, we must oppose in according to our conscience and with fearlessness (*Journal*, 1938: 216-217).

However, the attitude of the Presbyterian missionaries, on the whole, was generally against participation in the shrine obeisance. There were voices among the missionaries urging moderation; it is interesting to note that the demands were primarily those of the educators on the mission staff, the group traditionally known to be more liberal than the ministers (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 222).

The Board of foreign missions of the United Church of Canada had not issued instructions to its missions, but the missionaries themselves were "preponderantly in favor of conformity (Paton & Underhill, 1940: 310). Although it was reported that there was at least one resignation in protest against the decision, they preserved their schools and institutions, and the staff and pupils regularly visited the shrines.

The Southern Presbyterian Mission, officially the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., took the strongest stand against the Shinto shrine ceremony. Despite all the attempts by the authorities to confuse the issue, despite the Koreans' intense desire to keep the schools open at all costs, and despite the differences of opinion among the other mission bodies, Southern Presbyterian missionaries came to the conclusion that the issue was clear-cut, between monotheism and polytheism (Brown, 1962: 152). This conviction was hammered out in various meetings and greatly strengthened by the visit of the executive secretary, Dr. C. Darby Fulton. He outlined the mission's attitude as follows:

"The mission was unanimously of the mind that we could not participate in the shrine ceremonies without compromising vital Christian principles. We were not dealing with something that lies in the realm of nonessentials, but with basic beliefs of the Christian faith: something so elementary as to be a simple question between monotheism and polytheism" (Fulton, 1938: 210).

They decided to close their schools and to retire from secular education

rather than comply with Japan's demands concerning shrine attendance.

On the other hand, the Northern Presbyterian Mission was seriously split over the issue, even though they decided to refuse to submit to the demands of the Japanese government regarding obeisance at Shinto shrines. This was due to the fact that a minority of missionaries, and the mission board in New York, were influenced by liberal theology and did not see any great harm in shrine worship (Rhodes & Campbell, 1965: 8). It should be noted that, in general, the missionaries were more compromising to the Japanese Shinto ceremonies. However, at the annual meeting of the Korean Mission in July 1936, when the proposed recommendations of the Executive Committee of the Board of Foreign Missions regarding the disposal of the missions educational institutions were presented, the following recommendation was adopted by a vote of 69-16: "Recognizing the increasing difficulties of maintaining our mission schools and also of preserving in them the full purpose and ideals with which they were founded, we recommend that the mission approve the policy of retiring from the field of secular education" (Minutes and Reports. 1936: 37).

Eventually both Presbyterian Missions closed their schools and the Northern Presbyterian Mission withdrew its support from the college in which it had been working in cooperation with other denominations.

In this situation, the position and attitude of the Australian Presbyterian Mission had a significant importance with regard to the Shinto shrine issue. Because the mission area of the Australian Presbyterian Missions (hereafter, APM), Kyungsang South Province, became a center of church renewal movement by ex-prisoners, after the liberation from Japanese occupation in 1945, due to their strong stand against Shinto shrine collaboration.

Australian missionaries, in general, took a strong and uncompromising stand against the shrine ceremony, though a minority, mainly educational missionaries, felt that it would be better to compromise in order to keep the mission schools open (S. K. Lee, 1996: 46). At a meeting of the Mission

Council in February, held at Masan, the APM unequivocably and unanimously passed a resolution refusing any association with shrine ceremonies. It reads:

"We desire that our schools should participate in all national ceremonies. But since we worship one God alone, Creator and Ruler of the universe, revealed also as the Father of Mankind, and because to comply with an order to make obeisance at Shrines which are dedicated to other spirits, and at which acts of worship are commonly performed would constitute for us a disobedience to His expressed Command, we therefore are unable to make such obeisances ourselves, or to instruct our schools to do" (Extracts from the Record Vol. 23: 78).

However, due to an attitude contrary to the mission's decision in 1936 by some principals of the schools under care of the APM, this decision had to be reaffirmed by the mission council in 1939. The theoretical basis of the majority of the members was that it meant denying the supremacy of God and admitting the false thesis of the divinity of the state and supremacy of the spirits of the Imperial ancestors of Japan. In spite of this strong stand against the Shinto shrine issue, some educational missionaries kept an intention to maintain their Christian witness in education, by what efforts they could make (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 246).

Along with these strong fronts against the Shinto shrine issue, the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions and the OPC Mission Board ordered its missionaries to seclude themselves from Shinto shrine collaboration and the Korean Presbyterian General Assembly, which complied with the Japanese Shinto shrine worship. The ministry and anti-Shinto shrine movement in Manchuria in the 1930's, led by the Hunts and other missionaries of the IBPFM and OPC, was among the strong expressions against the Shinto shrine worship.

In addition to the above reasons for the missionaries' attitude against this

issue, we need to understand another of their motives. One of the characteristics of American Christianity as a whole is the separation of church and state which distinguishes it from the European stream. The widespread acceptance of this doctrine was due to civil rather than theological propositions, arising from the historic situation of the infant United States. American churches have come to adopt it as an article of faith, and American missions have carried it into a variety of overseas spheres (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 247).

To demand a pledge of civil loyalty of a religious body by compulsory government regulations is to violate the body's religious character, even though the pledge may be a thing indifferent in itself. In demanding of Korean Christians and churches to cultivate a national spirit, the Japanese government treated religious bodies as a means to a political end. Those who stood against the government on this point because of Biblical convictions believed that the churches which complied with such official demands clearly perverted the church of the living God into an instrument for enhancing the greatness of the state, the Japanese imperial government.

The Japanese control over Korean churches in their character, functions, and doctrine, was a serious blow to the purity of the church. It was a dangerous rationalization for the majority of Korean church leaders to favor immediate, unquestioning compliance with such demands under the name of preserving the institutional church. In this situation, superficial interpretations of Scripture were used to justify compliance. This led to the danger of a serious distortion of the true view of the church among them (Romans 13:1 ; I Peter 2:13). Thus the conception of the church as the household of God, having a Head as well as members, was in danger of being distorted. Even more outrageous was the fact that they permitted the civil magistrate to usurp the place and functions of Christ the Head. The church's visibility and outward organization, though important, are by no means its most precious possession. Faith and a good conscience, and the honor of Christ the church's Head, are

far more precious (N. S. Kim, 1990: 170).

For those who believe the church must not compromise even in the face of government opposition, this distortion sacrificed the essential character of the church, in order to maintain the institutional church. Thus began the parade of divisions of Korean churches after the liberation in 1945. In this situation, the opinion of conservative Christians was that the attitude toward Japanese control over the church, whose head is Christ, by Korean church leaders should have been that "we ought to obey God rather than men." (Acts 5:29).

In the light of the nature of Shintoism and the view of the historic Christian church, many believed that in such a case non-compliance was the only course of action open to conscientious Christians. They also believed that keeping a Bible-centered faith by refusing to bow at Shinto shrines led them to a preserving of Korean national integrity, in which two factors were uniquely interrelated, since the purpose of imposing of Shinto shrine worship by the Japanese militarist government was to enhance an effective colonial rule in their occupied territories, including Japan (Y. Kim, 1987: 128).

But it was very sad for the Korean church that she could not reply with a unified voice to this demand. "Instead, several denominations among Protestants, even among Presbyterians, responded in different ways to the Shinto shrine collaboration issue, interpreting according to their own presupposition and profits" (F. Hamilton, 1952: 29).

Among missionaries, one major tendency was to assume that the magistrate's demands concerning control of the missions and churches through the Shinto shrine issue, were purely formal and technical. Some even welcomed legislation which set up state control over the church, as giving Christianity a legal status and protection against arbitrary action.

The danger was soon clear that a serious distortion could result as a result of which the church could lose her historic religious character, as well as her ceremonial, formal functions. During worship services, Shinto ceremony

had to be included. Pastors' sermons on some books of the Bible: Daniel, the Ten Commandments, Revelation, etc., were prohibited.

The church that complied with state control was a church that could not exist unless it fell with the political system. In this process, in the view of the conservatives, the Korean church became an apostate church (N. S. Kim, 1990: 167). According to the conservatives the Korean church which collaborated with Shinto shrine worship and was under the control of the Japanese government was regarded as a church which had lost its essence. For those who held to the historic Christian faith, the Church could only be a true Church, "if the pure doctrine of the Gospel is preached therein; if she maintains the pure administration of the sacraments as instituted by Christ; if church discipline is exercised in punishing sin," since the Confession giving these three characteristics as marks of the visible church.

Johannes G. Vos correctly summarized the position of the conservative church on the condition of the church under the control of the magistrate, "For the civil magistrate to control religion is an infringement of the people's religious liberty and a usurpation of Christ's headship over the church" (J. G. Vos, 1941: 18).

4. 4. 3 Concluding Critical Remarks

If the Korean church had been united in its battle against the Shinto shrine movement, she would not have yielded to this policy, compromising both her Christian faith in God and her Korean national integrity. But different responses to this issue according to each denomination's theology or interpretation of the issue made it easy for the Japanese governor to subdue the Korean churches. The Roman Catholic Church issued a decree on 26 May, 1932 requiring that Shinto shrine-worship be regarded not as a religious but as a state ceremony, first to Japanese Roman Catholic churches and then to Korean churches. Four years later, the Methodists declared that to worship

Shinto was a national duty. Canadian missionaries were generous on this matter from the beginning. And several missionaries from the American Presbyterian church expressed that for the sake of education, Shinto shrine worship was to be done. One of them was H. Underwood, who was a principal of the Chosen Christian College which had been established in 1915, in Seoul. This confusion was partially due to the unclear attitude of the mission board of the PCUSA toward this issue.

On the other hand, some church leaders who favored position and fame from the Japanese government, particularly who ingratiated themselves with the Japanese government, gave a serious blow to the Korean churches and Christians fighting against the Shinto shrine worship (N. S. Kim, 1990: 138).

At last, in 1945 the Korean Protestant Churches were forced into a merge with the Chosen Division of the Japanese Union Christian Church, which had complied with the Japanese Government's requests and command to construct a Japanized Christianity (N. S. Kim, 1990: 86-94). As a whole, it participated in the four elements of State Shinto; a polytheistic, patriotic, actual, and ancestor worshipping cult. The deterioration of the Church was intensified by the collaboration of the Korean Church leaders with the Japanese militarist government. The goal of the Japanese government in instituting Shinto shrine worship was fulfilled through totally usurping the essence of the Church. Korean Christians yielded to idol worship, thus compromising their faith in God as well as their Korean national integrity.

In this process we can see that the Shinto shrine issue had a role of being like a theological prism in the Korean church, reflecting the various theological perspectives which had existed in different denominations and mission boards (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 515).

In spite of the submission of the General Assembly in the Korean Presbyterian church, and other denominations, the consistent anti-Shinto shrine movement spread throughout Korea and Manchuria. Its main center was in Pyongyang. The Bible-centered faith and life which was created by the

Nevius mission method played a foundational role in this movement for Korean Christians.

4. 5 THE RESISTANCE AND PERSECUTION IN THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Since Korea was under Japanese rule from 1910 until the end of World War II in 1945, and was therefore forced to bow to Shinto shrines, the Church in Korea was also involved in the issue of the confrontation of Christianity and Shinto nationalism. It was almost more difficult for the Christian Church in Korea than in Japan itself, because Korea was subjected to political methods of compulsion by Japanese colonialism in that period(K. S. Lee, 1966: 152). Yet the more persecution, the more resistance there was in the Korean Church. The Church was severely persecuted on the issue of the Shinto shrine worship which was established by the government in most of the cities and villages in Korea with a view to the Japanization of the Korean people. It is regrettable, however, that the Church at large in Korea collapsed, just as did the Church in Japan when it made no united stand for an uncompromising faith on the shrine worship issue. Even so, the forces of resistances were much greater in Korea than in Japan(N. S. Kim, 1982: 357). That is why in this chapter we shall consider the resistance of Protestant Christians both in Korea and Japan.

Shintoism, which was transformed from a Japanese folk religion to a national ruling doctrine, sowed the seed of persecution in the Korean church.

4. 5. 1 Theological Views of Shinto Shrine

The conflict with Japanese Shinto nationalism began to reach critical

heights in its early stages in connection with the Christian school system, and therefore primarily among the mission community (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 243-250).

Educational work had long been the source of controversy between liberal and conservative missionaries. The shrine issue merely furnished one more opportunity to manifest an already apparent difference. From 1906, when educational work was begun at a college level in Pyongyang, discussion in the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., in particular, had seemed to reflect two divergent philosophies of education. These philosophies have, by some, been associated with liberalism and conservatism(S. C. Chun, 1955: 140ff). The missionaries in the Pyongyang center seemed characteristically to represent the evangelical tradition, those in Seoul to reflect a liberal point of view. In 1911, for example, the question of supporting one union college, Chosen Christian College, which would serve the entire nation reflected somewhat on these divergent streams of thought. "The conservative, pro-Nevius advocates were naturally against the Chosen Christian College, as was the Pyongyang group in the Presbyterian U. S. A. Mission, since it was located in Seoul..." (S. C. Chun, 1955: 143). The two streams may also have been reflected somewhat in the views of some of those of the Presbyterian Mission in Korea who favored registration of the mission schools in spite of an unwritten government attitude, reflected particularly in 1915, barring the teaching of religion or the holding of religious services in officially recognized schools (W. N. Blair, 1957: 83-85).

The conflict of Shinto with Christian education began to reach its climax in the north in 1935, when Dr. George McCune, president of Pyongyang Union Christian College, was ordered to go to the shrine as a representative of the college. After his consistent refusals (A. D. Clark, 1971: 193), Dr. McCune was deposed by the government, forced to return to America, and the government pressure turned now on all secondary

mission schools in Korea. In this controversy, many elements played a part in the decisions which the Missions sought to reach regarding Shinto, its meaning, and their relation to it. Was state Shinto merely a political act, a token demonstration of patriotism and loyalty to the Japanese empire? Or was it a religious exercise, an act of religious worship? Western writers seem to be consistent in arguing that Shinto was an act of religious worship, although many note that "the issue was greatly confused, perhaps intentionally, by the attitude of the Japanese authorities. They insisted time and again that the ceremonies in question were patriotic and had nothing to do with religion. To support this contention, they made a distinction between state Shinto and sect Shinto. Participation in the former was declared to be a patriotic act which could be rightfully required of all citizens. Participation in the latter was recognized as an out-and-out religious exercise. However, when questioned more closely, it was difficult for the state officials to give an interpretation of the shrine ritual which did not sound very religious" (Brown, 1962: 150). Even if it was a religious act, or was not, would closing the Christian schools not force the Korean Christians into government schools where they must attend the compulsory shrine ceremonies?

Not all the Missions answered these questions in the same way. Nor did every member or the same Mission agree with the ultimate decision of his group. The Methodist Mission agreed with the Korean Methodist Church, accepting at face value the word of the Japanese authorities that the ceremonies were patriotic and had nothing to do with religion. They kept their schools open, although, by the end of the war years, their Christian character had been radically altered. "These schools survived the war, but not as Christian schools" (Fulton, 1946: 132).

The attitude of the Missions connected with the Korean Presbyterian Church was, on the whole, generally against participation in the shrine obeisance. But there were voices among the Missions urging moderation

and it is interesting that the voices were primarily those of the educators of the mission staff, the group traditionally more liberal than the ministers. The United Church of Canada, for example, did not issue instructions to the Korea Mission and the Mission ultimately was "preponderantly in favor of conformity" (Paton & Underhill, 1940: 310). The Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church of Australia spoke strongly against the shrine, but there were apparently enough voices in the Mission suggesting "a certain amount of compromise" that the Mission found it necessary to repeat its action again in January, 1939. Eventually the Mission of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. withdrew from the field of higher education also, although not without strong disagreement within the Mission as to how to withdraw, and not without some notable lapse of time before the completion of the withdrawal. The disagreement seems to appear most clearly in the debate that raged at the annual meeting of the Korea Mission in July, 1936, over the proposed recommendations of the Executive Committee regarding the disposal of the Mission's educational institutions. The wording of the main section, eventually adopted by a vote of 69-16, is as follows: "Recognizing the increasing difficulties of maintaining our Mission schools and also of preserving in them the full purposes and ideals with which they were founded, we recommend that the Mission approve the policy of retiring from the field of secular education. To do this in an orderly manner will require some time; it will also involve the questions of the future management of the schools and of the use or disposal of the property. Close cooperation with the officials of the government will be necessary." A substitute motion, proposed by Dr. Horace H. Underwood was eventually defeated by a vote of 61-19. Underwood's proposals provided that Mission schools should be closed separately and only when the actual persecution materialized. It was also much more explicit than the main motion in urging "the desirability of turning over the schools to such bodies as will most nearly conserve the

original purposes for which the schools were founded". As a result of the motion, some schools were closed and others were transferred to Korean management (Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., *Minutes* 1936, 17-18; 37-38). Rhodes & Campbell note, in connection with the gradual withdrawal from education by the Mission, that "there was a considerable minority of the Mission who were opposed to the Mission's policy" (Rhodes and Campbell, 1965: 14). It was in 1941-42 that the final school relationship was severed by the Mission of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A., five to six years after the initial action taken. By contrast, the Mission of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. decided in late 1935 to withdraw, and by September, 1937, the last of the ten mission schools had been closed. Part of the reason for the delay on the part of the "Northern" Presbyterian Mission seems to have been the hesitancy of the home Board in supporting the Mission policy against the shrine. The study of Rhodes and Campbell rather glosses over the intensity of this struggle of Mission against Board. One obtains a better taste of it in some of the writings issued at that time by some who eventually withdrew from the Mission because of it, and other reason. "A minority in the Mission took the position that they could accept the government's statement that the ceremonies were not religious and comply with the order. However, it should be added that only a few of this minority actually went out to the shrines" (Rhodes & Campbell, 1965: 8). Another minority in the Mission felt such strong dissatisfaction with the home Board over the shrine and over liberalism in the Mission that many resigned. Rhodes and Campbell note about fifteen resignations from the Korea Mission since 1936 for these reasons. "About half of these missionaries returned to Korea under the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions"(Rhodes & Campbell, 1965: 16).

It was among the Missions very strongly conservative in theology that Shinto was most vigorously opposed. The "Southern" Presbyterian

Mission's attitude was outlined by their executive secretary at the time, Dr. C. Darby Fulton. "The mission was unanimously of the mind that we could not participate in the shrine ceremonies without compromising vital Christian principles. We were not dealing with something that lies in the realm of nonessentials, but with basic beliefs of the Christian Faith: something so elementary as to be a simple question between monotheism and polytheism." In contrast to the Mission of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., the schools of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. were not to be sold, rented or given away to any group who could not operate them according to the Christian standards for which the Mission had always stood (Brown, 1962: 153-155). Missionary members of the fledgling Presbyterian Church of America, recognized by the Korean General Assembly as a cooperating church, also took a strong stand against the shrines, but they were not associated with any Mission schools.

It is necessary at this point to remember that there were many factors, besides theological ones, that affected missionary and national in the consideration of their relation to Shinto, and that may have led them to conclusions not completely consistent with conservative theological principles. There were, for example, some who regarded the issue as "so nebulous, so mixed with politics, so on the border line, that it must be decided by the individual conscience, leading invariably to honest differences of opinion. Some missionaries had felt that they could conscientiously go to the shrine and had done so (none in our mission). Others say that while personally, on conscientious grounds, they cannot go to the shrine, they are unwilling to condemn those who differ with them on the question" (Brown, 1962: 151). On the other hand, there were one or two outstanding *opponents* of shrine worship who were liberals, but who opposed it because they were pacifists and against the ultra-nationalism that shrine worship seemed to inculcate.

Still, after admitting such qualifications and exceptions, we come

again to the same conclusion as one writer: "The problem of the great persecution of the Shinto shrine was a mark of the distinction between the conservative and liberal wings as well as a severe trial for the church" (C. Y. Kim, 1960: 115). The outcome of the Missions' varied approaches to the question "was a division of view-points in theology as well in policy" (C. Y. Kim, 1960: 111).

4. 5. 2 The Resistance and Persecution in Korean Presbyterian Church

After the Presbyterian Assembly of 1938, the police ruthlessly forced the Korean Christian Church to bow before the Shinto shrines. The Christian pastor of each local church was the main object of the persecution, being required to follow the Assembly's resolution, and on his refusal the police would arrest him and ask the church to discharge him from ministering to the church because he did not obey the Assembly's resolution. "Nearly two hundred local churches closed their doors, about two thousand persons were arrested, and among them more than fifty died in prison, and twenty or so were released at the end of the war" (Y. S. Kim, 1956: 43). At the same time each presbytery charged those who resisted in its district as non-licensed and removed them from the minister's lists and when any congregation did not follow the order of a presbytery the church was closed by the police. In such cases Christians would gather at Christian homes for their worship and prayers, strengthening their fellowship and their resistance (N. S. Kim, 1990: 153).

The resisting ministers, evangelists, elders and deacons visited the still courageous, sympathetic church groups and individual Christians to persuade them against shrine worship, which activities were often called Shinsa Bulchambe Undong (Jinja Fusampai Undo in Japanese) or Non-Shrine Worship Movement. They used every possible occasion for strengthening and linking the resisting Christians together, and they even

called upon the ministers and Christians who had already complied to return to the original faith. In order to prevent the spread of such ideas among Christians, secret police agents pursued them constantly; wherever they stayed, the hosts of the houses were carefully questioned as to what was discussed among them. All their words and deeds were recorded in detail by the police and later, when they were arrested and imprisoned, the serious charge was laid that they were violators of the law for maintaining public order and peace. Fortunately, however, such records are good sources from which we are able to discover what happened among non-compromising Christians at that time, facts which would otherwise be unknown to us (N. S. Kim, 1990: 154; N. S. Kim, 1997: 126).

The first reaction among the Presbyterians to the resolution of the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1938 was generally one of strong disapproval throughout the country, but by the unusual suppressive measures taken by the local police, many complied with shrine worship. Those who could not face the issue uncompromisingly went into hiding for their faith's sake. The strongest resistance, however, was shown in the provinces of Pyongan-south and north, and Kyungsang-south, and also among the Korean Christians in Manchuria(N. S. Kim, 1990: 152).

4. 5. 3 Background of anti-Shintoism

Japan's demand to worship at the Shinto shrines was a kind of religious aggression and it created major problems in the Japanese church as well as the Korean church. When the Japanese government demanded worship at the Shinto shrine, the Christian Association in Japan opposed it at first, but soon they accepted it as a nonreligious policy of the government.

Especially, when the law of religious organizations was passed, the shrine issue became more politicized.

In Japanese churches, the nonchurch movement of Uzimurah Ganzho and his disciples resisted Japanese militarism. Especially the doctrine of the four-fold Gospel of the Holiness church was disliked by the militarists and the pastors were persecuted by them (R. T. Baker, 1947: 160-161).

Oppressive measures against Christians were taken by the militarist's Shinto. Even though those who struggled for their faith were few, they were both in Korea and Japan. Especially, it is necessary to investigate here, whether the Korean martyrs have any common characteristics. The background of Anti-Shintoists will be considered.

4. 5. 3. 1 Theological Background of Anti-Shintoist

The most anti-Shintoist were the Presbyterians who embraced the conservative and Reformed faith (N. S. Kim. 1990: 165). They believed the Holy Bible to be the only rule of faith and action. Indeed, should have been they suffer and die a martyr because of 'theological ignorance'? Some peoples say that their faith disregarded of this world and they did not fulfill their responsibility here. The question is: Is this opinion correct? (H. U. Chung, 1966: 45 ; P. B. Park, 1970: 197).

The anti-Shintoists had an attitude of faith where by they simply believed the Word of God and obeyed it. This was their theology and faith, and it was the fountainhead that motivated them to risk confronting the Japanese imperialists. Now, we analyze their theological background from various perspectives. K. S. Lee describes the background of anti-Shintoists: (1) Obedience to the commandments of God and love for the church; (2) Eschatological expectation and personal commitment to Christ's Kingship; (3) Uncompromising witness to Divine truth and Christian responsibility to the church and state (4) A high value on martyrdom and the glory of God (K. S. Lee, 1966: 183-194).

We will consider this background from various perspectives in this

chapter.

i) Love of God

The anti-Shintoist's background of theology and faith is ardent love for God (E. W. Kim, 1966: 417). Because God loved us, we also ought to love God. This simply was the foundation of their faith. Rev. Nam Sun Choo preached on chapter 4 in 1 John under the title "Love of God" and he gave the reasons why we ought to love God as follows.

God gave us His one and only Son.

God gave us the Holy Spirit.

God gave us the commandment to love other.

We ought to obey God due to His love for us (K. S. Shim, 1976: 125).

The absolute obedience of these pastors to the love of God was shown in action in that they opposed worship at the Shinto shrine. And that was the foundation on which they could keep their faith through a great many adversities.

ii) Absolute submission to the commandments of God

To absolutely submit of the commandments of God is true love as seen when we love the church. As to the anti-Shintoist's Biblical views, they believed in the Bible as exactly true and without error in the same way as clarified in the Presbyterian Creed, and they emphasized that the church and believers ought to absolutely submit to the Word of God. Worshipping at a Shinto shrine means to disobey the commandment of God; mainly it is to disobey the first commandment, "You shall have no other gods before me" and the second, "You shall not make for yourself an

idol." They believed that such worship was absolutely not permitted for Christians. Therefore, no matter how the assembly may have decided, they could not follow its decision and they had the attitude of faith that together they would suffer joyfully any trouble accruing from this refusal to obey man's decision (K. S. Lee, 1966: 183)

They endeavored to submit perfectly to the commandments of God, and they had took a position contrary to the compromising churches and pastors. Among the pastors who worshipped at the Shinto shrine were some who had received baptism, *Misogi Barai*, from gods in Japan, and that act was contrary to the truth of Christianity (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 500).

They believed that the believer's responsibility is to perfectly obey the Word of God and to live in the faith. This conviction formed their theological foundation.

iii) Eschatological Expectation

The anti-Shintoists believed the Holy Bible is the exact and inerrant Word of God and that all prophecies in the Bible will be fulfilled literally. They believed the words of Matthew chapter 24 which described the signs of the end of the world, that is, that trouble, famine, persecution, false Christs, and false prophets will appear, and that Jesus Christ will come back. In addition they expected that in that day nations and peoples will be released. Their eschatological faith, in the expectation of the second advent of Christ was the power that helped them to overcome all trouble in the present. Because they believed in the coming Kingdom of God, they only lived for the glory of God (K. S. Lee, 1966: 50).

Their faith in the hope of the second advent of Christ should be distinguished from a fanatic or partisan faith. The anti-Shintoists'

millenarianism differs from the exclusive Messianic faith that believes only in self-salvation. They emphasized Jesus Christ's reign as the King during the millennium kingdom(N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 503).

In this way the anti-Shintoists' attitude of faith was concretely expressed in their sermons and at the conclusion of a preliminary trial, and for this faith they were able to overcome troubles in the present. Concerning this, we present a case study in the following chapter.

iv) Witness to Divine Truth

The anti-Shintoists desired to witness to Divine truth by every way possible. They regarded evangelism as the great commission (Matt. 28:18-20) to the churches and saints, and they tried to live according to this command. So they made evangelistic opportunities of their suffering experiences.

The Church in Korea encountered difficulties as a colony, so they sought opportunities to bear witness to Gospel. They made evangelistic opportunities during prison life. In this arena, it is necessary to consider the church-state relationship. D. J. Bosch presented the five historical models of the church-state relationship; Constantinian, Pietist, Reformist, Liberationist, and Anabaptist. But the models are rarely found in a pure form; in most situations one encounters a mixture of two or more (Bosch, 1993: 89). Therefore, in our mission to Caesar we should remember that, in the long run, a society can only survive if it can rely on the assumed virtue of its citizens. It can only succeed if certain controls and morals have been implanted into its citizens (Bosch, 1993: 95).

Evangelism was one of the ways of carrying out the saints' responsibility for the church-state relationship, and it was an expression of love. The anti-Shintoists used all ways as much as possible, in order for the truth of God to be rightly witnessed to the authorities. At this time,

they tasted the joy of Christ by suffering, and sought to carry out their role in prophetic mission (N. S. Kim, 1990: 171).

v) The Enthusiasm for Martyrdom

The anti-Shintoists' principle for life was obedience to God's word. In case some were against the Word of God, the anti-Shintoists' were willing to die to defend it. Therefore, death itself meant obedience to the Word of God, and they chose this rather than to continue living. We can find many believers with the same attitude. We are able to see the enthusiasm of martyrdom in the sermon of Ki Chul Choo on the subject of *Ilsa Kago* ("Be Ready to Die"). Sang Dong Han said, "We are ready to die, when we are confronted with suffering and the need to take action to defend the truth" (S. D. Han, 1950a: 27). And Rin Hee Kim, Wei Hyumm Park, Yoon Sub Kim, etc., promised to resist the anti-commandment policy by death. An enthusiasm for martyrdom clearly appears in Kwan Choon Park's confession:

The one who is awakened greatly is the man who does something for the benefit of his nation and people. Therefore be not afraid of sacrifice. Instead, rejoice in it and if government doesn't carry it out, we should understand the government concerning that even if we spill blood (Y. C. Park, 1982: 471).

What do we think today of the enthusiasm for martyrdom? Should we take a pessimistic view? In a way, such people might be frustrated with reality. Perhaps they might have been frustrated the hope of independence because Japan ruled over Korea for a long time, but this fact did not remove the enthusiasm for martyrdom. Because while some stayed in prison, ever for five or six years, and were utterly worn out, nevertheless

they planned that if God permitted them freedom, they would train new workers. This proved they did not have a pessimistic attitude but sought the glory of God, and they also sublimated their faith through the sacrifice of martyrdom.

The anti-Shintoists did not suffer martyrdom because of their "theological ignorance." To condemn them as devoid of a consciousness of social ethics, or to criticize them for their lack of social participation is a logic which neglects the historical situation. At the same time, to condemn the anti-Shintoists, by comparing them to Bonhoeffer in Germany, is a logic that completely neglects the historical and ideological situation in Germany and Korea.

Therefore the anti-Shintoists thought the center of life to be the Word of God, and they were faithful to this. Even when they were subjected to pain, they accepted it joyfully. They kept the theological attitude that fulfills the believer's responsibility for church and state.

4. 5. 3. 2 Nationalistic Background of the anti-Shintoists

In order to maintain the piety of faith, they expressed their faith in action. But, we should ask: Can we find a nationalistic element in the Korean church leaders who had suffered under the colonial imperialism of Japan? This question raises a problem.

When the Japanese government persecuted the anti-Shintoists, they said that the anti-Shintoists disrespected the Japanese Emperor and the revolution of the national constitution. The Japanese government had the view that anti-Shintoists were an anti-Japanese movement under the guise of religion.

The militaristic Japanese policy of continental advance needed a

supply base. When they attempted to unify and control Korean thoughts through the Shinto religion, the persons who rejected the Shinto shrine worship as Koreans and as believers, did have a racial motive (N. S. Kim, 1990: 173).

When these persons suffered on account of the movement to reject shrine worship, Korean leaders in all walks of life were converted into subjects of the Japanese Empire and the policy to liquidate Korean identity by Japanese imperialism became to the extreme (N. S. Kim, 1990: 174).

In general, the persons who rejected shrine worship did not have to be involved in the patriotic movement. But they believed that "true faith is just patriotism." Their faithful behaviour to God meant simply to participate in the patriotic movement as Koreans.

At the time, the preaching in churches mainly emphasized the "Exodus Event" and the salvation predicted by the prophets of Israel. There was much written about the day of liberation which was called the Exodus by the Koreans.

The person who rejected the shrine worship, resisted Japan for the sake of the faith. When many leaders refused to throw away the self-respect of national identity in all walks of life whether voluntarily or accidentally, they embraced the church and nation and, cried loudly to "the people to not disobey the Word of God, and to perish by all means." This is a manifestation of nationalism.

4. 6 SUMMARY

We have made an in depth study of Shintoism in this chapter. The purpose was to find the reasons for the persecution the Korean Presbyterian Church through a missiological and theological analysis of Shintoism. As a nationalistic and imperial tool, Japanese political leaders utilized Shintoism to control and regulate the thoughts of its colonial

subjects. Shintoism has been a spiritual prop and stay of the Japanese as their folk religion. As a religion worshipping 8,000,000 folk gods, Shintoism calls for a proper understanding. D.J. Bosch argues for a proper understanding of world religions from the Christian perspective, as well as the problems Christians face today: "the Christian church of today is faced with totally unprecedented challenges. It would be correct to say that we have reached the point where there can be little doubt that the two largest unsolved problems for the Christian church are its relationship (1) to world views which offer this -Worldly salvation, and (2) to other faiths" (Bosch, 1991: 476-477). Shintoism offered not only worldly salvation through promotion of a certain life style, but it also served as the leading political ideology and ruling doctrine of imperial Japan. Shinto nationalism showed its true colors in this phase. It had an adversarial relationship with Korean Christians in that it persecuted those who opposed the Shinto shrine worship and who continued to resist it.

This chapter mainly dealt with the persecution of the Korean church because of the Shinto shrine issue. In addition, we also examined the persecution of the Japanese church. Especially, I wanted to make clear the reason why Christians were opposed to the Shinto shrine worship rather than to describe how they resisted it. We demonstrated that this worship was not a political but a religious issue. Christians refused the Shinto shrine on the basis of the Word of God. As a result, many spent from five to seven years in prison or became martyrs.

The persecutions of Christians occurred throughout Manchuria, North and South Korea. This chapter discussed the major motives of the leaders. The next chapter will further illustrate the ministry of Christian leaders and how they witnessed their faith, by presenting case studies.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WITNESS OF FAITH : CASE STUDY OF KOREAN CHRISTIAN RESISTANCE LEADERS

5. 1 INTRODUCTION

Forcible Shinto shrine worship on the part of the Japanese imperialists resulted in the bloodshed of resisters in the Korean church. Korean Christians suffered great persecution because of forced worship at the Shinto shrine.

Some could not help surrendering to the idol worship because of the pressure of Japan. Some surrendered voluntarily, but a few who wanted to obey God absolutely did not surrender to the oppression and refused idol worship.

The opposition movement against the Shinto shrine worship was undertaken by church leaders in organizations in North and South Korea and Manchuria.

I will study the character of their resistance in this chapter by looking at the leaders' lives and faith.

5. 2 THE RESISTANCE AND PERSECUTION IN NORTH KOREA

The Korean Christians' resistance in Pyongan, both south and north Provinces, centered on Pyongyang, a Protestant Christian city known as the "Jerusalem" of Korea. The Presbyterian Seminary had been located in that city since 1901 and it was well populated by Presbyterians. The

stronghold of the Presbyterian Church in Korea was in Pyongan Province and Pyongyang came to be the center of the resistance to shrine worship. We shall discuss a few of the many who fought on this issue.

5. 2. 1 Ki Chul Choo

The Rev. Ki Chul Choo (1897-1944) was the most eminent Calvinist engaged in this struggle. He was called in 1936 from Masan Moonchang Presbyterian Church in Kyungsang-south Province to be the minister of the Sanchanghyun Church, one of the largest churches in Pyongyang. In his inaugural sermon Rev. Ki Chul Choo strongly opposed a politically motivated faith, which had often been seen in this Church at that time due to hope of political independence for Korea; he rejected cultural and ethical motives in the Christian faith, but stressed regeneration through the atonement of Jesus Christ, confessing Christ as Lord and taking up the cross along with the Lord (Y. Kim, 1987: 88). Through his spiritual emphasis and his fight to the death against the idolatry of shrine worship, his congregation was led to a strong resistance on the shrine issue. His determined loyalty to Christ was a great encouragement to his colleagues also involved in the non-Shrine Worship Movement.

On the other hand, Ki Chul Choo was a great thorn in the flesh of the authorities because he was against their policy to establish the Shinto ideology in Korea; a thorn also to the compliant Church organizations and ministers who obeyed such organizations, for they were hindered in their cooperation with the government by such resistance as Ki Chul Choo launched.

Tomida Mitsuru, later Superintendent of the Nippon Kirisuto Kyodan visited Korea under government arrangement to persuade the Korean Christians to cooperate on the shrine issue. After being held under police surveillance, Ki Chul Choo stood up and said, "We admire your excellent

and rich knowledge. Nevertheless, we cannot accept shrine worship, according to God's Word written in the Bible" (Y. Kim, 1987: 34-35). It was a dangerous period which Japan had begun with the Manchurian Incident and China Affair and increasing pressure on the shrine issue was gradually applied to the Christian Church in Korea. When he was free for some time after his second arrest and just before the last general arrest which took him to be with the Lord from prison on April 21, 1944, he preached at his church for the last time. He made his prayer request that he might conquer the power of death, that he might even endure long suffering and torture in prison, which was much worse than a death sentence; he committed his aged mother (she was then eighty years old), his weak wife and little children, and his beloved congregation into the Lord's hand, and asked that he might live and die in righteousness, committing his life to the Lord.

5. 2. 1. 1 The Ministry of Ki Chul Choo

Ki Chul Choo was, without a doubt, the most outstanding of those who engaged in the battle of the Non-Shrine Worship Movement. He was born in the rural country near Masan, 25 November, 1897(as the fourth son with seven sisters and brothers). After graduating from primary school, he was sent to Osan school, from which he graduated in 1916. He went on to Yon Hee College (now Yonsei University), but had to drop out because of an eye disease. While at the Osan school, he was greatly influenced by Seung Hoon Lee and Man Sik Cho concerning national identity. About the time of the March 1st Independence Movement, the outstanding revivalist Rev. Ik Doo Kim visited the Moonchang Presbyterian Church in Masan to lead a revival meeting. While attending there, Choo was called by God into the ministry. In 1921, he entered the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Pyongyang and graduated from there

in 1926(Y. H. Lee, 1978: 210).

His ministry can be divided into three periods: the Choryang Church in Pusan(four years), Moonchang Church in Masan(five years), and Sanchunghyun Church in Pyongyang.

His first ministry began at the age of thirty in the Choryang Church. "For the first time in its 33 year history, a growth in numbers occurred during his tenure as a pastor(1925-1931)" (*Choryang Kyohoi 80 Nyunsa*, 1972: 129).

His strength as a pastor was his emphasis on organization. He introduced the Financial Year System in the Korean Churches for the first time. He reformed the sunday school and spent much time ensuring proper church administration and church politics. From the beginning of his pastorate he emphasized the sovereignty of God and the impropriety of idolatry and he became a leader of the Non-Shrine Worship Movement. On June 1931, he moved to Moonchang Church in Masan where he proved himself as a successful minister. Four years later an education building was added to the church.

At this point, the Sanchunghyun Church was looking for a pastor and asked Choo to be their pastor. Due to much opposition from his congregation, he turned the invitation down. But Man Sik Cho, his former teacher in the Osan school and an elder in Sanchunghyun Church at that time persuaded him that this was the will of God for him. Since he believed that protecting Korean churches from the idolatry of shrine worship was God's calling for him, he yielded to the so-called 'Jerusalem' of the Orient, Pyongyang, the stronghold of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. Finally, he accepted Elder Cho's invitation (Y. H. Lee, 1978: 212).

This acceptance took him to the front line of the battle of the Non-Shrine Worship Movement. Though his personality and character are revealed in his sermons, from his colleagues we can get more direct, firsthand information. Rev. Yang Won Son related his impression of Choo

as follows :

"He was sent to Korea by God. He was a man of God and righteous before God. I am thankful that I am one of those who was directly influenced by his faith. In earlier days I was a student in his class at Kyung Nam Bible Institute. His class was like a revival meeting full of God's grace. And his zeal for the Lord and his ardent passion were typical of his contemporaries" (R. S. Kim, 1958: 7).

The relation between Choo and Son was that of teacher and pupil and they were like-minded on the issue of the Shinto shrine worship. Therefore, Rev. Choo once said to Son and Sang Dong Han, "You fight in the south, while I go north"(R. S. Kim, 1958: 8).

Rev. Yon Ho Kwon commented about him as follows(R. S. Kim, 1958: 10).

"Of my contemporaries, Rev. Choo, a martyr, is highly respected for his extremely strong faith, and his faultless, pure upright life. What's more, his martyrdom, made him an example for ages."

Rin Suh Kim, the author of Choo's biography and sermon collection, wrote in the preface of his biography(R. S. Kim, 1958 : 12),

"Rev. Ki Chul Choo of Korea is the eminent figure of all 20th century Christendom. He fought a good fight, led a virtuous life and died a martyr's death. He had a true faith before God. He lived life with a pure heart and clean hands, and his death was guaranteed by a huge crowd of witnesses."

From these three remarks about him we may somewhat ascertain his

Christlike character as a minister.

5. 2. 1. 2 The Thought of Ki Chul Choo

It is not an easy matter to analyze a person's thoughts. To make it worse, Choo never wrote a book or article. Nevertheless, we have his twenty-five sermons which he proclaimed during the regent period. To get to know a person's faith, thought and life, much material is needed. Since one's personality, faith, and thought are condensed into a sermon, through one's sermons we may know his theology, character and life. Rev. Choo's sermons were proclaimed before a Korean people who were suffering and struggling in frustration and resignation. His sermons were expressed in their own language, filled with both joys and agonies. Therefore, when Korean christians heard them, these words reached their hearts with a touching power. They suggested to Korean christians how they should live, what true pastorship was, what a sermon was, and what a church was.

a) A God-centered concept in his sermons

The most outstanding concept in Choo's sermons was God-centeredness. This was the very reason that he risked his life to stand against shrine worship. On 1 September, 1936, he led a revival at the chapel service of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Pyongyang. This time he spoke of "*Il-sa-ka-go*"(being ready to die) in which he confessed he would perish for the Lord:

I have no other thing but my life to dedicate to the Korean church. For the Lord, I am resolved to die first(C. N. Kim, 1972: 161).

In this sermon, he stressed three things: first, be ready to die in order to follow Jesus; second, be ready to die for other souls in leading them to Christ; third, be ready to die to witness the truth of the resurrection. He said:

Shall we live denying Jesus? Or shall we die following Jesus? It is a real death to deny Jesus and live, while to die for Jesus means to live in the real sense of the word. The time when Jesus was welcomed is past; now it is the time of persecution and suffering; let anyone who does not want to follow after Jesus, go! But all those who are willing to follow after Jesus are required to deny themselves. Why are we Christians hesitating to abandon our lives for the Lord? Have we no hope for the resurrection?

No, we have eternal life. Then, why are we afraid?

Is it enough for you seminarians to discuss theology? Gentlemen, let us pass on the gospel transmitted with the blood of saints!

Why should we remain firm to the end in obedience to God's commandments, confronting the idolatry of the Shinto shrine at the cost of our lives? Without question, it is because of the idea of a God-centeredness. Calvinists always put God in the center of their thoughts, because God is worthy to receive glory, as Paul said in Romans 11:36, "For from Him and through Him and to Him be glory forever. Amen." God is the beginning, the process and the consummation of all things(R. S. Kim, 1958: 140-150).

Thus Rev. Choo's sermons show the truth and faith of Calvinism. In his sermons we hear the same cry, "*Soli Deo Gloria*", which Calvinists proclaim.

Dr. Aaron Park commented distinctively on Rev Choo's theological ideas as follows:

"Rev. Choo's theology of "Il-sa-ka-go"(being ready to die) was based upon the idea that we Christians should be ready to die to keep

the first commandment, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me.' To put it another way would be 'the idea of God's honor' because the reason we keep the first commandment is to glorify the Creator God. Of the Ten Commandments, the first must be considered as the most important(the top priority of the first commandment). The top priority of the first commandment is the idea that we human beings must serve only Jehovah God, the Creator, and bring glory and honor to God. Therefore, though the two ideas are expressed in different terms, they are the same in their content. The two ideas also are much the same as the idea of "*Soli Deo Gloria*" which Calvinism has developed from the ideas of Calvin, Augustine, and Paul" (A. Park, 1980 : 115).

This idea is also seen in Choo's other sermons, such as "Love God Ardently," and "Living Before God's Presence."

b) The *Coram Deo*(before the face of God) concept in his sermons

Another distinctive concept in Choo's sermons is the *Coram Deo* concept. This idea was embedded in his pastoral life and in his sermons, just as Calvin's theology of *Coram Deo* was not only in his theology but also in his life and sermons(S. K. Chung, 1996 : 108).

On 20 July, 1937, at Sanchunghyon Church in Pyongyang, he delivered a message entitled, "Be Perfect Before God," from Genesis 17. Its outline was as follows:

Firstly, be perfect by being devout before God.

Secondly, be perfect by being honest before God.

Thirdly, be perfect by being calm before God.

Godliness, honesty and calmness in this context come from the idea of *Coram Deo*. To Rev. Choo perfection is not achieved through our own

work but only through the redemptive work of Jesus Christ. He explains :

"It is impossible for us to be perfect even before men, much less before God. But, by virtue of our Lord's redemptive work, we are made clean from sins and with the power of the Holy Spirit, we obtain access to perfection. We ought to be godly in our speech and even in our heart. This is the practice of godliness. Just being godly in one's heart does not make any difference from the perspective of a heathen or Pharisee who holds an outward form of godliness but rejects its real power. It would be ungodly and profane if silly talk or a matter of indecency should be exchanged among the congregation; likewise, it would not be right for our human merits or works to be boasted upon from the pulpit; the cross of Christ ought to be boasted upon. Yet, it is dreadful that we see such ungodly attitudes in churches. Be a perfect saint by leading a godly life and by offering God a godly worship" (R. S. Kim, 1958: 156).

He could therefore be said that the idea of godliness in Choo's sermons is derived from the idea of *Coram Deo*.

He rejected the so-called dualism, into which Christians easily fell. He stated that God claims our absolute loyalty and exclusive devotion. All of our thoughts and words and doings, the totality of our life should be devoted to God. That is, we should be godly before God. Choo's sermons are in accord with Calvin's theology which did not separate theology from piety. Doctrines are for piety and piety is personified doctrine. The piety which Calvin had in his mind was not merely an outward form of godliness in behavior, speech and voice, but rather a matter related to the love of God which is brought about by knowing how deep God's grace is(S. K. Chung, 1996: 109).

c) The victory of God's grace in his sermons

Sola Gratia, one of the principles of Reformed theology, is found in Choo's messages. He proclaimed that we human beings cannot be righteous before God on our own but only by God's grace. When serving in Sanchonghyon Church, he preached a message, "By the Grace of God I Am what I Am," from I Cor. 15: 10, in which the most impressive confession was made as follows: (R. S. Kim, 1958: 190-191).

That I who had been a heathen, a pupil of Confucius, became a disciple of Jesus is by God's grace. That I came to believe the gospel which has been passed on by Jesus, Peter, Paul, and Augustine is due to God's grace. That I who had been a disciple of science which denies the existence of the world to come and the resurrection of human beings came to faith in the heavenly Kingdom and the resurrection is by the grace of God. Today when theology yields to modernism and rejects the faith of Jesus' resurrection, the fact that I am looking forward to the coming of Jesus and am living in the hope of the world to come is also by the grace of God. And, how about you? I am sure that you, too, were called by God when you were under miserable conditions which kept you from being a Christian, perhaps by being a Confucianist, or drunkard, and so on. That was also by God's grace.

Choo realized that salvation comes from God alone. Thus, his sermons were filled with the confession that all was by God's grace; no trace of human autonomy can be found in his sermons. Nevertheless, some Korean theologians are reluctant to express a high opinion of Rev. Choo's martyrdom. Prof. Pyong Mu Ahn criticized him, saying, "His seemingly heroic behavior was cursed by his wrong heroism; he was looking purposely for an opportunity to be martyred for his honor." Likewise, Prof. Jae Choon Kim made mention of Choo's death, saying that because the

Korean church had no well-founded theological principle for resistance against the Shinto shrine worship, his struggle against the worship is not worthy to be discussed. But, as we have seen in Choo's sermons, his thought was not guided by any heroism but by the grace of God. The opposing views of professors Ahn and Kim cannot be justified by any means. They fail to consider issues in the light of church history; the shrine worship issue was the same old problem that the Apostolic Church faced under the Roman Empire, in a 20th century form(A. D. Clark, 1971: 454). It is surprising to find a remarkable resemblance between the worship of the Roman emperors and Shinto shrine worship. We quote the following from Merrill C. Tenney's *Interpreting Revelation*(1985: 24):

"Not only was the empire tolerant of the deities of subject nations, it fostered them in order to utilize the religious loyalties of the people as a cement for the empire. The worship of the emperors was the most vigorous and also the most dangerous of the cults. The emperor was the living head of the state and the guardian of its welfare.... Here at last was a real person whose position and powers made him worthy of worship, and the Roman populace acclaimed him as Dominus et Deus.... The imperial cult became increasingly strong and pointed the way to a totalitarian state which should become not only a political entity but also a religion."

Is it then right for them to disregard the resistant church leaders, while they esteem those who complied with the secular authority to sustain an institutional church or school at the sacrifice of (the) biblical truth and faith? No, and it never will be right and so Choo's sermon continues(R. S. Kim, 1958: 192):

"Ministers, elders and deacons in today's church are put in their

posts by God's grace. If they were appointed only by men, just as cabinet members, their offices would not be due to God's grace. But their offices do come from God. Therefore, they have glorious and honorable tasks. If someone is not appointed by a Presbytery, even though he is called directly by God, he should have the same authority as a messenger of God... As for me, I never dreamed to be a minister and I am not qualified to hold that office. Nevertheless, God called me to be an evangelist so that I may preach the gospel. So, by the grace of God, I am what I am! Not only I, but you also are by God's grace."

Here we see God's compulsory grace in putting someone into a post in His church. And Choo's view of the spiritual leadership agrees with that of J. Oswald Sanders when he said that spiritual leaders are not made by an election or appointment of men but only by God's calling. Again, I mention that Rev. Choo stood firm in his conviction: "By the grace of God I am what I am."

d) His Aspiration to Martyrdom

Since the days of serving in Choryang Church in Pusan, Choo had a burning aspiration to die to enhance God's absolute sovereignty and truth. Once he said, "Many people think that a martyr is made by his own will, but it is not true. Martyrdom comes only when God allows it"(Chung Nam Kim, 1972: 140). Choo's aspiration to martyrdom is reflected in all his sermons. This is especially apparent at the end of a message from Philippians 4:13 when he said(R. S. Kim, 1958: 188):

"How did Paul overcome sufferings? ... Being beaten with rods, he thought of Jesus being beaten ... He could endure severe trials and suffering by thinking of Him who conquered the power of death on the cross... Finally, Paul went so far as to be martyred following after

Jesus. From the Apostolic age until this day, all those who suffered martyrdom overcame severe persecutions for the Lord Jesus Christ who was crucified on the cross."

5. 2. 2 Kwan Choon Park

A prophetic witness, the elder Kwan Choon Park (1875- 1945) of Pyongan-south province, had been well aware since 1935 of the danger for the Korean Church inherent in the Shinto issue and he was very conscious of his prophetic responsibility to the Church and the State. When the Christian schools faced the shrine issue, he not only visited the leading missionary Dr. G. S. McCunne in Pyongyang and the Korean church leaders, urging them to stand firmly for the distinctive Christian witness, but also visited the Provincial Governor, as well as the Governor-General of Korea, Ugaki Kazunari, and warned them against making Shinto obeisance at shrines compulsory. When Minami Jiro took over the post of Governor-General and began to press hard on the issue, Kwan Choon Park visited him personally and wrote him more than five times, rebuking the religious policy directed against the Christian church. One of his letters to the Governor-General read as follows:

"It is said that the nations are governed in accordance with the ordinance of God in His pre-knowledge and His providence from eternity Knowing what the result would be if shrine worship was forced on the Church, I cannot keep silent, but must speak of the danger of our nation ... At a crisis for the nation as well as for the Church, a man of truth must play his part in warning of the danger. So I feel that I, as a Christian who knows God's truth, am obliged to tell you that you must let the Church be free on the matter of shrine worship. To be sure, through human weakness in fear of death men

often fail to speak... That the Korean Church through its weakness is not warning the government, is not to the State's advantage, but it harms her, in fact" (Y. C. Ahn, 1956: 83, 88).

Kwan Choon Park was then arrested twice; but having been released on bail, he made a daring journey to Tokyo to protest against the promulgation of the Religious Bodies Law which was submitted for parliamentary approval in 1939. While there was no protest from the Church in Japan or Korea, Kwan Choon Park, a layman, was strongly convinced by faith that he was to be God's witness to the parliament of Japan. Every Korean who crossed the Korean Straits was asked for a police certificate for travelling to Japan, and for Kwan Choon Park, of course, it was impossible to get such permission (N. S. Kim, 1990: 151; N. S. Kim, 1997: 129).

He was accompanied by Miss Ei Sook Ahn, who had studied in Japan at a woman's college and who while teaching at a Girl's school in Pyongyang, was forced to resign from the school because of her refusal of shrine worship. Kwan Choon Park and Ei Sook Ahn believed God was calling them to the parliament and left for Tokyo without a police certificate. On the way no one asked them for a passport or anything else, and so they overcome the first difficulty. In Tokyo his son, Young Chang Park, joined them and made arrangements to visit the ex-Governor-General, Ugaki Kazunari, some of the Christian leaders, and some of the members of parliament. While they were visiting these leaders and discussing the problems of shrine worship and the Religious Bodies Law, they received sympathy from some of them, but they could not see any prospect of help for their plan to prevent the law being passed or at least to reach the parliament to present their view on the issue (Y. C. Park, 1982: 125).

Kwan Choon Park finally decided on an extraordinary action: he and

E Sook Ahn went into the gallery of the House of Representatives on the day when the Religious Bodies Law was to go through and they took seats on the second floor. All the representatives and the cabinet members were present. As soon as the president of the House declared the session open, Kwan Choon Park threw down a warning letter he had prepared for the president of the House, and he shouted these words: "Yehoba Kami no Daishimei" or "This is the Great Message of Jehovah God." The whole House suddenly fell into pandemonium for a while, just as though a bombshell had been dropped; Kwan Choon Park group was immediately arrested and imprisoned for a month in a Tokyo police station. When it was known that they had no political intention in their action, they were sent back to Korea and carefully watched by the police. At the general arrest in 1940 Kwan Choon Park and Ei Sook Ahn were imprisoned and his son fled to China(E. A. Kim, 1977: 170).

5. 2. 3 Ki Sun Lee

The Rev. Ki Sun Lee(1879-1950), was a revivalist and one of the leading figures of the Non-Shrine Worship Movement. He rejected the Shinto shrine worship, for he believed in a clearcut distinction between the Creator God and all the so-called false gods and idols. He judged the Shinto Kami worship to be a violation of God's commandment against idolatry. The Tenno of Japan was for him a ruler appointed by God, but not the Absolute monarch of Japan. He might forfeit his authority, if God had so planned and if, at the same time, Japan was rebellious against God's will on the shrine issue. He interpreted war incidents in the world(especially in Manchuria and China), flood, famine, diseases and persecution of Christians by the Shinto militarist State as identical with the eschatological phenomena described in the twenty-fourth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew(N. S. Kim, 1983: 87-88).

Ki Sun Lee expected Christ's coming to be at the end of tribulation and that Christ at his Second Coming would destroy all the nations on earth and establish the millennial kingdom upon earth, according to God's will. Therefore, until that time, Christians should cooperate in God's eternal plan; that is to say, they should join the Non-Shrine Worship Movement. God's kingdom is at hand, and Christians should keep God's commandments to the end in order to be saved. To cooperate in shrine worship is to commit the sin of idolatry, but to be members of the millennial kingdom Christians should be opposed to Shinto worship at shrines(Y. C. Ahn, 1956: 273, 276).

Since shrine worship was considered as spiritual adultery and contradictory to Christian doctrine, Christians should not send their children to schools where shrine worship was performed; the churches complying with it should not be attended by Christians. Rather a type of home church was preferred. Ki Sun Lee emphasized that Christians should actively persuade friends to support the Non-Shrine Worship Movement, so that they could overcome the power of the compromising section of the church and prepare for the coming of Christ and the millennium(Y. C. Ahn, 1956: 45). Ki Sun Lee encouraged the faithful saints in their suffering with the triumphant examples of Daniel and Elijah and urged them to persevere. The compromising ministers and Christians were urged to come back to their original faith and repent of their idolatry(Y. C. Ahn, 1956: 26). A real loyalty to the authorities, according to Ki Sun Lee, should not be a blind obedience or an obsequious fear, but a faithful obedience to God's word and His will by faith, seeing that the authorities were ordained by God and a disobedience to God would bring God's punishment to individuals and to the nation (N. S. Kim, 1990: 153).

He, after his activities for the Non-Shrine Worship Movement, finally was arrested and imprisoned in 1940, being accused of organizing an anti-national structure, and violating the peace and order of the country.

During his imprisonment 1940–1945, he was ever thankful to the Lord for refining his faith by this trial. By God's mercy he was crowned with a triumphant release alive from prison at the end of the war, a complete defeat of the Shinto State. After his release in 1945 he was active in the re-establishment of the church in North Korea until he was finally re-crowned with martyrdom in Christ by the Communist persecution in 1950 (Y. C. Park, 1982: 267).

In North Korea, especially Pyongyang, Christians were the opinion forming group and the Christian church influenced the Korean society. The church leaders were leaders in the community and their faith and life affected Korean citizens.

Most church leaders followed the Presbyterian, Reformed, conservative tradition, and they opposed worshipping at the Shinto shrine because such worship disobeyed the Word of God, and so they died as martyrs.

5. 3 THE RESISTANCE AND PERSECUTION IN SOUTH KOREA

5. 3. 1 Sang Dong Han and His Fellows

Another strong group active for the Non-Shrine Worship Movement was in the Kyungsang-south province. Rev. Sang Dong Han (1901– 1976) (S. D. Han, 1953; K. S. Shim, 1977) of Moonchang Church in Masan, Rev. Nam Sun Choo (1888–1950) (K. S. Shim, 1976) of Kuhchang Church, Rev. Chul Do Hwang(1900–1965) (K. S. Shim, 1995) of Chinju Church, were the central figures of the movement in this area.

Rev. Ihn Chae Lee was born in 1906. When a theological student at the Presbyterian Seminary in Pyongyang he took up the voluntary work of liaison between North and South for a united stand on the Non-Shrine Worship Movement.

The principle of the resistance was the same as that of Ki Sun Lee

and others in Pyongyang (N. S. Kim, 1990: 153). From a biblical point of view shrine worship was considered as idolatry, violating God's commandments; the Tenno of Japan was ordained by God to rule over Japan, but he is not a deity, and his authority might possibly be taken away by God Himself; the destiny of Japan also depends on God's providence and obedience to God; the compulsory shrine worship was contrary to God's will, and the suppression of resistance was a grave mistake of the Japanese State; Christians should stand for God's truth against man's power. The Christ's return to earth would bring in the millennial kingdom ruled by the King, the Christ; until that time Christians should be faithful, preparing for it.

Among them the following practical steps were agreed upon:

- (a) In order to lead the complying presbytery in the province to disband, this movement intends to prevent the commissioner's attendance at the presbytery and intends to prevent the local member churches from giving their financial quotas to it.
- (b) A new uncompromised presbytery shall be organized at as early a date as possible.
- (c) Among the resisting Christians mutual assistance and encouragement should be given in cooperation.
- (d) Let the new converts not be baptized by the complying ministers. The pastors received from Shinto priests the *Misogibarai* (The Shinto form of Baptism). Cf. N. S. Kim, "Misogibarai", *The Christian Encyclopaedia*, vol. IV. (Seoul: Christian Literature Co., 1981).

- (e) Worship services and prayer meetings should be held in homes to provide true Christian fellowship for those who stand for the true witness, and propagate the movement by way of personal evangelism, visiting individual Christians in order to persuade them not to compromise(The

Protocol, X. 8).

Rev. Han was a minister of Moon Chang Church, who not only fought personally in defence of biblical truth, but also preached it (N. S. Kim, 1990: 155).

His faith was strong, as he was willing to die a martyr's death if it was necessary, and he was a powerful preacher who constantly proclaimed the glory and sovereignty of God, despite many extreme difficulties. He often used to say:

"God initiated the campaign against the worship at the Shintoist shrines, but I never did because I was an able man. I could endure five years of prison life because my living God had led me there."(quoted T. K. Ko, 1954: 169).

Rev. Han not only exalted God, but he also looked ahead to the future needs of the Korean churches. He continually urged Christians to arm themselves with prayer, repentance, and love to prepare for greater tribulations to come(T. K. Ko, 1954: 170).

Rev. Han was called a living martyr who prayed and entreated in tears on behalf of all(the) churches and God's sheep.

5. 3. 1. 1 Life of Sang Dong Han

Rev. Sang Dong Han was born in Oji, Kimhae County, Kyungnam province on 30 July, 1901. His parents were Mr. Jae Hun Han and Mrs. Bong Ae Bae. He was the fourth child among four brothers and four sisters.

In fact, Rev. Sang Dong Han's suffering and loneliness haunted him from his very early childhood long before he gained any discernment about the world (T. K. Hahn, 1984: 25).

Suffering and loneliness also became the factors which determined his

whole life. So he once wrote:

"... At the age of six, I left my parents to be adopted to one of my father's male cousins. From that time on, I was doomed to a lonely life far away from my parents and other brothers and sisters. When I was twenty-one years old, I began to worry about my future life. Finally I decided that I could not help the problems of my life. But, I happened to attend a church in the spring when I was twenty-four. At the age of twenty-five, I was baptized. However, my Christian life brought devout followers of persecution from the family. Traditionally our family enjoyed ancestor worship. Because I was an adopted son to my childless relatives, my opposition to their ancestor worship became a very serious matter. Under those circumstances, I was disowned by my foster family, just as I had expected..."(S. D. Han, 1976: 3).

Probably such a lonely wandering for twenty years and conversion to Christ influenced him to struggle for truth but also to live as a minister of love and patience. Eventually, persecution of the young Sang Dong Han resulted in him being disowned, after a family meeting.

When he was twenty-seven years old, he taught students at Jinju Bible School which was run by an Australian missionary. Later, he also taught at Pierson Bible High School. Then he moved to Haglim, Goseong town, Kyungnam Province to engage in missionary work.

The above remarks show us that, as a minister, Rev. Han remained virtuous in believing in God, and also overcame every hardship with faithfulness. A minister or a preacher cannot be judged without asking how he has led his own life. Dr. Yune Sun Park, who up to that time had been one of the two greatest authorities for 15 years since the foundation of Korea Theological Seminary, commented on Rev. Han's life and his

personality: "It glorified the history of the Korean Church that the late Rev. Sang Dong Han took the initiative in campaigning against worship at Shintoist shrines during the later period of Japanese Imperialism. It was only for the glory of God that he lived a victorious life by enduring sufferings in prison for six years. Moreover, after he was released out of prison during Liberation from Japan, he humbly served in the Lord's churches. He also kept silent about his past sufferings most of the time. I believe he did so because his firm faith enabled him to exalt only God. I still remember that he had made all possible efforts to walk with God for fifteen years since we founded Korea Theological Seminary. His every effort has evidenced his outstanding devotion to God" (Quoted in K. S. Shim, 1977: 115).

Dr. Park mentioned above that Rev. Han walked with God devoutly and modestly. But he also had a prophetic spirit and courage which would not tolerate injustice. He not only did his best to preach God's word at its face value, but also was a servant of the kingdom of God. At the same time, his personal appearances were imposing enough to look authoritative.

5. 3. 1. 2 His Ministry and Campaign for Non-Shinto Shrines

After Rev. Sang Dong Han taught students at Pierson Bible School, he first began his ministerial work in Haglim, Goseong, Kyungnam Province. The people in that area clung to their traditional customs so firmly that he could not preach the gospel because they would not listen to a stranger. So he prayed and fasted for a week that they might open their minds to his preaching later. After two years he started his new ministry in Jingyori, Hadong which was notorious for having many vagabonds. As an assistant pastor young Sang Dong Han began to experience the power of praying. He usually knelt in prayer up to two or three o'clock in the morning for those vagabonds to return to God and for their repentance (N.

S. Kim, 1990: 155).

In 1937, Rev. Han graduated from Pyongyang Theological Seminary. He started as a new assistant minister at Pusan Choryang Church. In those times, it was very uncommon for a pastor to serve a church as an assistant. Churches looked down on assistant missionaries. But Rev. Han did not mind such treatment. Soon each prayer meeting at dawn became a good time for the attendants to receive the abundant grace of God. Later Rev. Han expressed his feelings during that period this way:

"Even I myself could feel changed far more in preaching and praying than before. Every early morning over one hundred people attended the prayer meetings and received blessings from God. Those who could not attend the prayer meeting at dawn regretted their absence very much. I've never skipped a single prayer meeting through all the years at any church. My God let me know that the Holy Spirit Himself had worked through me" (S. D. Han, 1953b: 23).

Rev. Han felt extremely burdened before he had to give a sermon at Choryang church. He prayed all night without sleeping for his first official preaching. At last he completed the manuscript based on his own Bible study and experiences. In this way, he let the grace of God abound to the audience through his preaching. Choryang church discarded its initial prejudice against Rev. Sang Dong Han in less than two months(K. S. Shim, 1977: 111).

In March 1937, Rev. Han was invited to take charge of Munchang Church in Masan. It was the famous church at which Rev. Seog Jin Han and Tae Young Han had served. Rev. Ki Chul Choo also served there for six years after he left Choryang Church. At first many young deacons were opposed to invite Rev. Han, because they thought he did not have enough ministerial experience. Rev. Han sensed such atmosphere and

offered a "blood-and-tears prayer" a few days before he started his new ministry there.

"Heavenly Father! If it is not Thy will for me to serve Masan Church, please stop me from going there. Mighty God! If it is Thy will, I will delight to do Thy will. If I should be expelled from the church, and I should have no more chance to serve another church in the world, I will be willing to follow Thy will. Heavenly Father, I do not care about my future at all, but Thy will be done, Amen"(S. D. Han, 1953b: 13).

Those church members later came to Rev. Han, repented of their misunderstanding, and asked for his forgiveness. Serving Masan Church, Rev. Han was already determined to lead the campaign against worship at Shintoist temples. His determination is found in his writings from prison: (S. D. Han, 1953b: 14)

"Oh, Lord, I present my body to Thee. If my opposition to worship at Shinto temples could be only for the glory of God, I would be satisfied. Almighty God, Thy will be done, Amen."

This demonstrated his faith and his determination to glorify only God. In addition to God-centered faith, his willingness to die for God appears. Later the Masan police held a consultation meeting on the current situation and forced the deacons in Masan city to attend. During that meeting the police chief and a school principal insisted that the churches should take the initiative in worshiping at Shintoist shrines. This Rev. Han rejected flatly: "We Christians cannot believe in such a demonic spirit which is kept in a shrine." After the event police interrogation afflicted Rev. Han severely. Rev. Han knew that his church was afraid that it would be

persecuted due to his stand, so he resigned his ministry there and moved to Pusan. There he began to lead a full-scale campaign against worship at Shinto temples all across the country. He was very emphatic about the necessity of a strong campaign against Shintoism. His preaching awakened many sleeping souls. It was the proclamation of his conscience to meet the needs of the time. He continued preaching tours through many regions in Kyungnam Province. Rev. Ihn Chae Lee and Rev. Han proposed several actions for the christian community.

1. Do not attend the churches that allow worship at Shinto shrines.
2. Do not be baptized by any pastor who has worshiped at Shinto temples.
3. Do not tithe or donate any offering to those churches that allow worship at Shintoist shrines.
4. Get Christians together and hold services.

At last Rev. Han was arrested and put in prison again on 7 March in 1940. He went through unbearable tortures. He was treated like an animal by investigators. He was beaten and his legs were nearly broken. In spite of such torture he gave thanks, fully expressing "Compared to Jesus' sufferings on the cross, how could I not endure these tortures?"

The police conducted strict examinations about his involvement in the independence movement, some missionaries provided financial assistance for the anti-Shinto shrine movement. Plans were made to overthrow the national structure as a millionaire who attempted to build a new kingdom. A year later on 10 July, 1941, he was taken to Pyongyang prison and shared a prison cell with Rev. Ki Chul Choo for a short time. There he overcame all hardships through faith, prayer and endurance until his liberation day.

Listening to the news about the defeat of Germany, he mapped out a

few plans in prison with an expectation of a Japanese defeat to follow soon.

"First I'll establish a religious house so that those who went against their religious conscience under the rule of Japanese Imperialism may make a new start in life by cultivating their minds there. Second I'll reopen the Theological Seminary which was closed by Japan with a view to training faithful spiritual workers who are willing to die for the truth. Finally, I'll educate many preachers who will initiate a grand evangelization movement" (Y. S. Kim, 1956: 146-147).

At last Rev. Han was released as a 'living martyr' from Pyongyang Prison two days after Liberation Day, 15th August, 1945. We owe the vision and growth of the Korean Churches to many past martyrs and Lord's servants who overcame all difficulties in prison. Rev. Han became one of the most outstanding figures who had served in prison and was a powerful spiritual leader in the Korean churches.

One of his prominent achievements was the establishment of the Korea Theological Seminary. When Korean churches were in a chaotic state, he founded the seminary in Pusanjin as a place for the cultivation of ability. For thirty years he worked for it. The formalites of its foundation are as follows. As soon as they were released out of prison, Rev. Nam Sun Choo and Rev. Han crystallized their plan to establish a seminary, which had already been mapped out in prison. Ten months after their release, Rev. Yune Sun Park was invited to give the first theological course. The first class lasted from 13 June until 28 August, 1946 in Jin Hae. The first auditors helped to rent the building of Ilshin Girls School in Pusanjin, and the opening ceremony of the Theological Seminary was held on 20 October, 1946 (S. G. Hur, 1996: 40).

Later, they moved the seminary to Rev Han's Choryang Church.

From that time on, the seminary has grown to be the present Korea Theological Seminary and Koshin University. In the course of its growth, there have been great hardships such as property disputes, legal actions and counteractions.

5. 3. 2 Yang Won Son

Rev. Yang Won Son, the apostle of love, was one of the greatest ministers, preachers and martyrs that Korea had ever had. He was called the "Atom Bomb of Love". In the martyrology of modern Christianity, the martyrdom of Rev. Yang Won Son reveals the love which the Lord showed on the cross to save His people. It is a blessing, glory, and pride of the Korean people, the white-clad folk (Y. C. Ahn, 1962: 302).

On 21 October, 1948, Tong In and Tong Sin, two sons of Rev. Son, were martyred. On 28 September, 1950, Son followed his two sons in their martyrdom, while leaving his flock of about 1,000 Christian lepers' souls in the dangers of war. He is gone, having made a mark on the history of Korean Church (D. H. Son, 1994: 330-331; K. Y. Lee, 1995: 55).

5. 3. 2. 1 His Life and Martyrdom

Rev. Son was born on 3 June, 1902, as the first son of an elder in South Kyungsang province. In 1908, he became a Christian like his father and entered a private school(So Dang) to study Chinese classics. On 3 October, 1917, he was baptized by missionary F. J. S. McRae. When in Japan to study, he came in touch with the Holiness Church in Tokyo, whose pastor, Nakata Ahigeharu, impressed him deeply through his sermons. Having returned home, he entered the Kyungsang Bible Institute and became a deacon of a church in his hometown (D. H. Son, 1994: 25).

The following year, he married Yang Soon Chung. In 1925 when he

graduated from the Bible Institute, he came into contact with Ki Chul Choo. After graduating from the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in 1933, he went to South Cholla Province to minister at a church for lepers. At this point, the Shinto shrine worship problem was becoming acute. He joined Ki Chul Choo, a strong resister of shrine worship, and was put in jail until the liberation of Korea in 1945. The Shinto shrine worship, even as a form of patriotism, and the Ten Commandments, especially the first commandment, were in no way compatible. It was a matter of life or death to the committed Christians of Korea in this period (R. S. Kim, 1962: 179). His two sons suffered martyrdom on the occasion of the Communist Revolt in 1948. During the Korean War, he was captured by communists and was later shot (K. Y. Lee: 1995: 120).

Let us look at a sermon and memorial speech delivered at a memorial ceremony for the martyr Yang Won Son. They will show us his life clearly(Y. C. Ahn, 1960: 274f). Before we examine them, we are led to observe an article from that time carried in *The Christian Union Times* (31 October, 1950) under the headline "Keeping God's Revelation unto Death: The Martyrdom of Rev. Yang Won Son." The text says:

"It is said that the Rev. Yang Won Son was shot by communists who were being routed under the attack of our Forces. Rev. Son had been faithful unto death to keep his flock of lepers who had been earnestly following Christ for 25 years. Rev. Son had been in prison for 6 years due to the Non-Shrine Worship Movement and was freed at Liberation. Two years ago, he offered his two sons as sacrifices, but he rescued the communist Jae Sun Ahn, who had killed his sons, and adopted him as his son. The apostle of love, Son was martyred at the age of 49 on 28 September. And there was to be held a memorial service to the memory of the late Yang Won Son, at the Namdaemoon Church, Seoul, 29 October, at 2 p.m."(*The Christian Union Times*, 31

October, 1950).

Now we will look at the sermon of Rev. Chi Sun Kim, who was in charge of the Namdaemoon Church and on duty to bring the message. He preached by comparing Rev. Son's life with Joseph's life. At the end of his sermon he said, "Just as Joseph was faithful to the last breath, Rev. Son remained faithful to the point of martyrdom. Then, from where did their strength to be faithful unto death come? Their strength came from their faith in God and from their love and hope." And he closed his sermon with these words:

"Through Rev. Son's martyrdom, our nation shall be Christianized. Therefore, his martyrdom was invaluable beyond expression. As the Apostle Paul said, we have to run the race with our best efforts, even to the point of death. Following Rev. Son's example, I believe we Korean Christians shall produce many martyrs" (Y. S. Kim, 1971: 282).

It was this passionate sermon that gave hope and conviction to the Korean Church. Following, Dr. Hyong Nong Park, made a speech looking back upon the memory of Rev. Yang Won Son. In summary, his message was as follows:(Y. S. Kim, 1971: 197-199).

Firstly, Rev. Son was a great, godly man. Making his prayer his breath and the Bible his food, he was indifferent to his poverty. Instead, full of the Holy Spirit and with thanks to God, he sang praises to God without ceasing. He was such a godly person.

Secondly, Rev. Son was a great evangelist. The record of his life amounted to 500 pages because, taking advantage of his imprisonment, he used his time before the public prosecutor to bring the teachings of

Christianity to the government officials who heard his case. His sermons, based upon biblical truths, stated his experience of faith with the power of the Holy Spirit. Naturally, his messages moved the hearts of the audiences.

Thirdly, Rev. Son was a great warrior of faith. Because of his strong messages against the Shinto shrine worship, he persevered through six long years of imprisonment.

Fourthly, Rev. Son was a great friend of the lepers. His first ministry was as a student pastor at a leprosarium in Pusan. Even after becoming a pastor, he served at the Aeyangwon leprosarium(Garden of Loving Care) near Yosu. He had devoted most of his pastorate of about 25 years to ministering to lepers.

Now, he himself and his two sons rest in the churchyard of Aeyangwon. Where can we find such a good friend of the lepers as Rev. son?

Fifthly, Rev. Son was a great person who loved his enemies. When a communist was on the brink of being executed by the Armed Forces, Son rescued him by sending his daughter Tong Hee and a local pastor to the authorities. Finally, Rev. Son was able to adopt him as his son. Son brought him up with Christian faith and sent him to a Bible Institute to be a servant of God. Where can we find on earth such a man as Son? I believe that Son was the greatest follower of Jesus in practicing His love.

Sixthly, Rev. Son was a great martyr who was crowned with a crown of righteousness. It was 28 September, three years after he lost his two sons, that he was shot by the fleeing communist army in an orchard near Mipyong.

5. 3. 2. 2 The Thought of Yang Won Son

Why did Son suffer imprisonment for six years under the Japanese rule? It is said that his suffering was due to his resistance to shrine worship. How did he take his stand against the shrine worship? It was through his sermons.

Rev. Son, being conscious of his period, foretold the defeat of the Japanese Empire and the ultimate victory of Christ. As we need light when it is dark, he revealed the light of God's Word in the darkest period. No matter how dark the times and situations were, he would not yield to the circumstances. He firmly believed that only God's Word would prevail ultimately over darkness (K. Y. Lee, 1995: 85).

We now observe the written opinion of Son which Kaneshiro Hisao, a constable at Yosu police station, sent to Motohashi Kyotaro, the public prosecutor at the Kwangju district court. The constable found fault with Son's sermons, which were delivered around March, on the 12th year of Japanese Emperor Taisho. In a written opinion, Son's views on the Bible, God, the world, the nation, eschatology and the second coming of Christ were stated. According to the opinion, Son's thoughts were Calvinistic. The following are the supposed crimes of Yang Won Son:

- 1) Between 6 and 7 in the evening on a Sunday in Nov. 14th year of Showa (1939), at Aeyangwon Church, Shinpoong Ni, Yulchon Myon, Yosu Kun, to the elder Kyong Ho Kim(62 years old at the time) and 710 or so members of the congregation who were kept in the leprosarium, Yang Won Son preached a sermon entitled "The Pastors that the Present Period Requires," which was our first piece of evidence. He preached that our Korean churches were in an emergency situation and in an oppressed period. He stated that, since nation was rising against nation by engaging in wars, since there were famines,

floods, droughts and sickness increasing year by year, and since these were the signs of the end of the world, then they knew that Christ would soon come back to earth. In such an age, the churches required pastors who preached Biblical truth exactly, without adding to it or subtracting from it. According to Son, when Christ comes back to earth, he will destroy the militaristic government systems, which are ruled by the devil, and establish the Kingdom of God, consisting of a new earth and a new heaven, where Christ is the head (K. Y. Lee, 1995: 91).

2) On a certain Sunday in the middle of April, on the 15th year of Showa, at Aeyangwon church, Shinpoong Ni, Yulchon Myon, Yosu Kun, from 2 o'clock until 3, to the elder Kyong Ho Kim and 710 or so members of the congregation who were kept in the leprosarium, Yang Won Son preached on the subject of "The Lord's Return to Earth and Our Hope," which was the second piece of evidence. He preached that now was the end of this age and that Christ's return to earth was at hand. Therefore, the time for Christ to destroy the ruling systems of nations which were under the power of the devil had come. First, Christ would come in the air and then the Armageddon war would be waged on the earth for seven years. In that war, Jehovah, God, would give Christians the victory. After that, Christ will come to earth and put all those who were conquered into the lake of fire. It goes without saying that the unbelieving Japanese Emperor would be thrown alive into the lake of fire with nonbelievers. Here is the purpose of Christ's second coming: He would transform the present political systems of this whole world. Christ would come as the King of Kings and the Judge to reign over the world, destroying the political systems of nations and driving the devil away from the earth. Diseases, poverty, thirst, and the roaring of guns would cease. The leprosy from which you are suffering would be dispelled completely from the earth, They

all together would live in a peaceful and happy new earth' the Kingdom of God. It was clear, this opinion stated, that from the "undisputed" evidence mentioned above that Yang Won Son ought to be indicted under Article 5 of the Law on Security Maintenance(Y. C. Ahn, 1956: 140; K. Y. Lee, 1995: 96-97).

To suffering Korean people, Son's sermons presented hope in Jesus Christ who would solve their problems and eradicate all abuses.

In short, Yang Won Son stressed Non-Shrine worship, which was joined to the anti-Japanese feeling. It is remarkable that Son's messages implied salvation of a nation as well as that of the individual. In his sermons, the context of the nation, which is connected directly is considered along with the problem of the life of the people.

These same facts are found in the sermons of Ki Sun Lee, Ki Chul Choo, Sang Dong Han, and others who were in agreement about the Non-Shrine Worship Movement. Eventually all of the problems on earth would be put down. Making the present suffering and tribulation a stepping-stone to triumph, looking forward to Christ's return, and keeping their faith, believers should not bow their heads before shrines till the day of the victory. In other words, these preachers all stressed keeping the First Commandment.

The resistance in South Korea was propelled by Revs. Sang Dong Han and Yang Won Son. But Sang Dong Han's resistance was greater and more systematic and positive. They learned that local churches worshipped at the Shinto shrines so among themselves they strongly expanded the Anti-Shinto shrine Movement. In the 1950s, they formed the Koshin group.

5. 4 THE RESISTANCE AND PERSECUTION IN MANCHURIA

Manchuria was part of the ancient Korea. Koreans formed the majority of denizens and the Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Korea commissioned pastors to Manchuria.

Manchurian churches structured their own presbytery and became a part of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. Therefore, the discussion of Presbyterian Church in Korea will include the anti-Shinto shrine movement in Manchuria in addition to the mainland Korea.

In Manchuria many Korean christians formed churches and the missionary Bruce F. Hunt (his Korean name is Han Bu Sun, 1903-1990) from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church of America was the central figure of the resistance to Shinto shrine worship(B. F. Hunt, 1966).

When he was discharged from the moderatorship of a church session by the presbytery, he also asked for his discharge from the Bongchun Presbytery, because of the shrine issue. Many Korean Christians, however, consisting of twenty-three local churches, supported him in Shinto ceremonies. They refused to allow their children to go to the schools where Shinto obeisance was accepted. Certainly they made one of the strongest displays of resistance and at least three were killed in prison(B. F. Hunt, 1966: 38f).

Among Korean Christians were those who suffered arrest and torture several times, through which they finally agreed to put their signatures to a paper declaring their approval of Shrine Worship. There were many such in Korea so that the forces of resistance were, it appeared, gradually decreasing. Those who fled to Manchuria were encouraged again by the resistance group there and their conscience was uneasy because they had cooperated on the issue. They could not rest, and again took up their yokes for the testimony. Recanting their previous recognition of Shrine Worship they were re-arrested and died faithful in prison for the name of

the Lord, who showed Himself faithful for them and who commanded his followers to be faithful until death (Hunt, 1966: 90f).

5. 4. 1 Life of Bruce F. Hunt

In 4 June, 1903, Rev. Bruce Finley Hunt was born of pioneer missionary parents in Pyongyang, Korea. In Pyongyang there was a major mission station from the Northern Presbyterian Foreign Mission. His father, Rev. William B. Hunt(1869-1953)was appointed as a missionary to Korea in 1897 by the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Until his first furlough, William Hunt stayed in Pyongyang. It is necessary to mention more detail about William Hunt for better understanding of Bruce Hunt and his family background as well as the early missionary situation in Korea (S. K. Lee, 1997: 40).

In 1898 he was married to Miss Bertha V. Finley, a sister of a newspaperman, Dr. John Finley, who later became a prominent editor of the *New York Times*, and was recognized to be able in language. Unfortunately she died on May, 1905 leaving two young children, Dorothy and Bruce Hunt(S. K. Lee, 1977: 40).

On 20 September, 1906 William Hunt remarried Miss Anna Lloyd while on furlough in the United States. To this marriage were born two daughters, Margaret and Mari. When they came back to Korea from that furlough, the Hunts were sent with three other missionary families to open a new mission station in Chairyung, Hwanghai Province. Until Bruce Hunt was sixteen years old, this town was "home" to him. His parents continued to live there until their retirement in 1939. "It continued to be the 'old home' to me and is still, in a sense, my original 'home town' ", Bruce Hunt said.

Remaining in Chairyung until 1939, William Hunt had a foundational role in developing and constructing the Chairyung Dong Bu Church

through which many other churches were developed around this area. This church had been established in 1895 but after Hunt came as Pastor, the church dedicated its building in 1906 and developed steadily(U. K. Park, 1991: 84).

Bruce Hunt grew up as a missionary's son among missionaries and he thought they were some of the finest the world has known. He personally knew Dr. H. G. Underwood, a Presbyterian, one of the two first ordained Protestant missionaries actually to reside in Korea. The Hunts had family worship in English(singing, Bible reading, and prayer) every morning, when his father was on one of his frequent itinerating trips to preach and teach in the country. His father when home or his mother had worship every day in Korean with Koreans who worked for them. His parents were very strict in rearing their children in the Christian faith, particularly in keeping Sabbath observance. On Sunday afternoon he used to memorize Bible verses and catechisms.

The year of 1919 was a meaningful time in his personal life and to Korean Church history as well. In this year Hunt went to the United States for further study. At sixteen he witnessed the historic March First Independence Movement before he left. One of reporters of *The Tribune-Sun News Paper*, Naomi Baker, testified of Hunt's witness of this event as follows:

"Hunt told of having climbed a tree with a play mate as a youth in 1919 and having watched a throng of Koreans waving secretly made Korean flags and shouting "Tai Han Tong Nip Man Sei" (10,000 years to the independence of Korea). He told of Japanese soldiers hacking down the fleeing crowd with bayonets and taking many of them prisoness. He said, "Thousands were imprisoned, tortured and killed merely for shouting their independence. Since that time on I have

watched the Japs continue their vain attempts forcibly to assimilate the Korean people"(N. Baker, 1945: 4).

The brutal methods used by the Japanese to quell this movement, seen with his own eyes, were fresh in his memory when he left Korea for study in the United States. Better than any other, he was well aware of Korean suffering caused by the Japanese invasion from his direct experience in Korea, his birthplace. This historic event imposed a long-lasting impression on the young teen-aged Hunt:

"One of my teen-age prize possessions, when I left Korea to study in America at age sixteen, was a hand-made Korean flag which I had picked up on an athletic field of the mission school where Japanese soldiers had charged an unarmed throng of Koreans demonstrating for their independence. Hand-drawn and crude as it was, I had it framed and kept it hanging in my dormitory rooms in America through college and seminary" (Hunt, 1972: 7-8).

From his own experiences, as a second generation missionary and American "made in Korea," Hunt wrote numerous articles on the Korean situation in order to propagate it fairly to the world public. This was more than any other missionary did both during and after the Japanese annexation, through newspapers, magazines, and Christian journals. For example, He wrote a letter to President Ronald Reagan on 6 September, 1983. Even after his retirement in 1976, Hunt was active on this matter as an American "Made in Korea." In his letter to the then President of the U.S.A., Ronald Reagan, right after the tragedy of the Russian massacre of the passengers on the unarmed Korean passenger plane in 1983, Hunt described himself like this, "we (Rev. and Mrs. Bruce F. Hunt) were 'Made in Korea' Americans." He criticized Russia, "As I understand, the

Russians prevented this United Nations supervised, all-Korea, election so that this geographically small, but fifteenth largest country in population in the world(over 30,000,000 people)has been left cruelly divided.... It seems to me that the barbaric shooting down of an unarmed plane would be a good time to open up the whole subject, not only of some trade agreements, or matters of grain shipments, but the suffering caused to over 30,000,000 people through the division of their country contrary to international treaty, by a foreign power with the silent consent of the nations, an issue, it seems to me that involves the very integrity of the United Nations." (Hunt's Collection, 1995).

From 1924, Hunt began to attend Princeton Theological Seminary something with which we will deal later.

After Hunt returned to Korea in 1928, he met Katharine Blair, who used to play with him in their childhood. In Pyongyang, one time the largest Presbyterian mission station in the world, they grew up, attending the Pyongyang Foreign School for missionaries' children. After she finished her education at Park College and Iowa University, Blair was teaching in the Pyongyang Foreign School. Before she came back to Korea, Katharine Blair had been an English teacher in Herculaneum High School, Missouri from 1926 to 1929.

In 1932, at 29, Hunt married her. Hunt remembers their wedding ceremony. "An American wedding is a big event out there, and as we were both 'children of the mission', ours was quite a cause of celebration."

Katharine Blair was born in 1904 in Pyongyang to another pioneer missionary family, Dr. and Mrs. William N. Blair who were witnesses of the Korean Revival Movement of 1907, one of the historic meetings in Korean Church history.

5. 4. 2 Hunt's Anti-Shintoism Activity in Manchuria

5. 4. 2. 1 The background in Manchuria

Manchuria, Bruce Hunt's other mission field, played a significant role in introducing Christianity into Korea. Through the activities of the pioneering Scottish missionaries, John Ross and John McIntire, several Korean converts played a foundational role in establishing Christian communities in Euiju, Sorai in the Korean Peninsula, even before American missionaries arrived.

Koreans in Manchuria were, in a sense, 'diaspora,' scattered by Japanese plundering of farmland and property even before the annexation in 1910 and during the subsequent Japanese occupation. They sought to seek land to cultivate for their living. Manchuria, which had been a territory of Korea Koguryu and Balhae, was a good place for them. After the annexation, the number of Korean immigrants in this area reached about 1,060,000. According to one report, there were only 1,596 Korean Christians who were baptized before 1921, but by 1941, the number was multiplied to 10,503 (Shearer, 1966: 63). For the purpose of evangelism and church planting among them, Korean churches sent leaders, evangelists and financial support. Most of the mission boards in Korea, however, concentrated on missionary work in the Korean peninsula.(H. K. Jang, 1970: 146; Y. S. Kim, 1971: 141-142). In 1932, one of the missionaries from the PCUSA, Rev. Lloyd Henderson was shot during political disturbances in Manchuria. Even though the mission board continued to regard its work among Koreans in Manchuria as an important field, most of the missionaries in Manchuria transferred to other fields.

In this situation, missionaries were sent by the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions and their missionary work, "a trilingual mission project" in Manchuria, had a great significance during the

Japanese annexation. In their deplorable situation, the people in Manchuria needed missionaries more than ever. The formation of the trilingual mission in Manchuria under the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions had a historic significance, not only in succeeding the Scottish missionaries' early work, but also in caring for the oppressed diaspora. As the Korean Christians in Manchuria played a foundational role in the early stage of the Korean church, this writer believes that they will again have an indispensable function in propagating the Christian faith to North Koreans. Such a mission project has been very rare in the history of missions. It was also a very efficient means of missionary care for the peoples in that area. At that time, there were about 30 million Chinese in Manchukuo, of whom about one out of a thousand was a professing Christian; one million Koreans, and Japanese in increasing numbers.

Thus, Bruce F. Hunt became one of the missionaries to follow the example of the historic missionary activity left by the former missionaries in Manchuria and to take care of the Koreans among them, the helpless people in a disastrous situation. They were oppressed and persecuted by the Japanese police and by Chinese residents, due to anti-Christian and anti-Korean prejudices. During the year of 1935 five church buildings were burned by bandits (Rhodes, 1965: 73).

When Bruce F. Hunt came to Manchuria in 1936 as a missionary for Koreans in that area by the IBPFM, Manchuria had been under the rule of Japanese imperialism since 1931. Like the situation in Korea, the Shinto shrine worship was forced upon the people of Manchuria. By persuading the emperor of Manchoukuo, this policy was practiced without serious opposition from the government. Hunt mentions in one of his letters, "On this visit(the second visit of the Emperor of Manchoukuo to Japan) the Emperor intends to create a new faith for his forty million subjects....which will make it possible to realize..... Kodo.... in the conduct of the government in Manchoukuo.

The Manchuria Daily News commented on the situation of Manchuria regarding the Shinto shrine issue, "Kodo, springing from the unique polity of the Japanese Empire, enjoins that government shall be conducted in a manner fully conforming to the divine will of the Sun Goddess. Divinity and government are thus inseparable"(25 June, 1940; Hunt's Collection).

One Japanese-owned newspaper, written in the English language, reported:

"At the signal of the shrieking of sirens, at the precise hour of the arrival of His Majesty at the Yasukuni Shrine, thousands of citizens of Dairen, Port Arthur, Hsinking, Mukden and other centres in Manchuria bowed in worship before the War Monuments to offer a minute's silent prayer to the spirits of our national heroes. Gratitude is hardly the word to describe the deep emotion which every loyal Japanese feels as he stands in venerable posture before these monuments. The feeling is a mixture of genuine thankfulness, reverence and worship" (*The Manchuria Daily News*: 16 Apr., 1939, in Hunt's Collection).

5. 4. 2. 2 Hunt's Groundbreaking Mission Work in Manchuria

The Hunt's missionary work in Harbin, Manchuria began with Korean worship services with their cook and their family until the congregation got big enough to rent a room of its own. Through establishing several Christian communities, his ministry to Koreans in Manchuria was greatly expanded by adoption of the Nevius mission method. He mentioned:

"When we left the Northern Presbyterian Church and went to Manchuria, under the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, I began to start churches along this line(Nevius mission principles) among the Koreans

in North Manchuria. When war came and we were forced out of Manchuria I was the lone ordained minister trying to care for 25 little churches who were supporting three lay-evangelists. Altogether there were 500 covenanted members in these twenty five groups and the average attendance, according to carefully kept rolls, was over 800 people in these twenty five groups" (Hunt's letter to Geertsema, 29 Apr., 1982, from Hunt's Collection).

In Manchukuo a "Temporary Ordinance for the Control of Religious Temples and Preachers", which was issued in September, 1938, provided the civil magistrate a basis to suspend any preachers who opposed local customs from their ecclesiastical office. The civil magistrate could revoke a particular church's permission to exist, either because in the magistrate's judgement the existence of such a church was contrary to the public welfare, or for other reasons. This ordinance made the very existence of the church as a religious body contingent upon the express permission of the civil magistrate, which had to be applied for and obtained. Persons who established, dissolved or united churches without having obtained the magistrate's permission could be fined or imprisoned. Under this circumstance, approximately seven thousand temples, churches and shrines were registered (J. G. Vos, 1944: 13).

Hunt's ministry to Koreans in Manchuria proceeded from his firm faith in God and His Word. Later, when the churches were scattered because of their opposition to shrine worship, Christians frequently gathered in Hunt's home. In spite of threats and dangers Hunt continued his ministry faithfully, encouraging Christians in their fight against shrine worship. Katherine Hunt described the situation of that time: "We often wondered whether the police were coming to break up the meeting. Also, in these days, I was never sure when my husband went to visit churches in other cities, whether he would return. Much of Hunt's ministry had

been along the line of expecting persecution.

In testimony, the situation of the Hunts under this severe persecution is described vividly as follows:

"The Hunt children were literally laid upon the altar in faith that they were as truly in God's protecting hands as were the Korean children whose fathers and mothers were in prison. And I, as one who helped to care for these children in a physical way, can testify now, one year after the great test came upon us, that God did take care of those children. Mrs. Hunt said that they never had been in better health than they were during those nine months when their father and we who had been their doctors were locked away in prisons and later in internment camps. One day someone asked Mary, one of the two-year-old twins, "Where's daddy?" and she answered, "Daddy's in prison, for Jesus' sake, Amen"(B. S. Byram, 1942: 10).

Under the expectation of persecution Hunt held several Bible conferences and continued his itinerating evangelistic visits to Christian groups scattered throughout North Manchuria, for the purpose of encouraging and strengthening Korean Christians and training church leaders. In the Bible conferences, he taught various books of the Bible, Thessalonians, Ephesians, the Ten Commandments, Ezekiel 1-18, Revelation. In the Bible Institute, he taught Bible doctrine, Genesis, and Korean, had taken quite a strong stand against the Shinto shrine-worship while they were on the field (Hunt, 1966: 110).

Also through printed evangelism and literary works, Hunt contributed greatly to the propagation of the Christian faith in this area. In spite of persecution, Hunt was enabled to start a work among the Koreans which grew into about 25 groups with about 500 covenanted members and finally adopted a 'covenant' condemning shrine worship and government control

of the church(Hunt, 1982: 8).

5. 4. 3 A Covenant

After the Presbyterian General Assembly compromised on the Shinto shrine issue in 1938, some Christians began to meet separately for worship, withdrawing themselves from the compromised church in Korea and Manchuria. Some of them even fled to Manchuria.

In 1939, after the Mukden Presbytery of the Korean Presbyterian Church had deposed Hunt as pastor of the Christian groups in North Manchuria for his refusal to cooperate in bringing them under the government laws for controlling religious bodies, Hunt still felt a strong responsibility to the Christians. In this situation, he urged them as individuals and groups to testify against the action of the Korean Presbyterian General Assembly which declared Shrine Worship to be consistent with true Christianity. He urged them to refuse to submit to the government's law for controlling the church.

"Having seen the Korean church weakened through compromise and the absence of a clear statement on the 'patriotic' requirements"(Hunt, 1943: 19), Hunt felt a need for some creedal pronouncement. Also with the increasing numbers there was a necessity to declare the standard for membership under the circumstances, both for the receiving and the disciplining of members, for the sake of the church. They needed standards by which the qualifications of those who would be local leaders could be determined. These needs resulted in their drawing up a Presbyterian Covenant(*IBB*, 1942: 23).

The Independent Board Bulletins informs, "In Manchuria a Covenant was drawn up and agreed to by many individuals binding themselves to refuse obeisance as idolatry and to refuse registration because only God, not the State, is the Head of the Church. The Covenanters, The Orthodox

Presbyterian and the Independent Board Missions, led in this effort and supported" (*IBB*, 1942: 23).

The Japanese Government demanded that 1) Christian schools should do obeisance at the State Shinto shrines, 2) The Christian Church as such should also do obeisance officially at the shrines, 3) All Christian Churches, Church agencies and workers should register (Such a law which required all registrants to obey, had been tried out in Manchoukuo first, then promulgated by the Central Government in Japan), 4) All Protestant Churches in the Empire should unite in one organizations (*IBB*, 1942: 23).

Hunt describes the situation as follows:

"The problem arose as to who should be invited to lead such meetings. Could Christians who had not formally broken from the compromised church, but who might attend such meetings, be asked to lead? Several of those, men and women, who were later imprisoned, including Kim, Yoonsup, Bible woman Kim, Sinbok, and Bible woman Pak, and Myungsoon met in our home for couple of days, after a full day of fasting and prayer, to discuss this matter. Following the example of the Scotch Covenanters, a statement was drawn up, pointing out the Biblical teaching on Shrine worship and the necessity of breaking completely from those who condoned idolatry. From then on, no one was baptized who did not give consent to this document and no one was allowed to lead services who had not subscribed" (Hunt, 1968: 11).

Under the leadership of Hunt, there were about 25 Korean Christian groups in north Manchuria which subscribed to this covenant, with 500 covenanted baptized members and an average attendance for all groups of about 800 people on each Lord's day.

Hunt was clearly opposed to the Shrine Worship and the

governmental control of the church which violated Christian conscience, the Presbyterian form of government, and the Japanese Constitution. Being opposed to the governmental control of religion, Hunt accepted his name be dropped from the Mukden Presbytery's rolls in September 1939, since it was under the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church that had yielded to Japanese religious control, including Shinto shrine Worship. He did this because he found that the church had lost the marks of the true church in the light of the Word of God.

The OPC Mission Board too, after a careful consideration of the Shinto shrine issues, passed an action, "ordering their missionaries to withdraw from any connection with the Korean church, and the missionaries have relinquished to us any prior interests they might have in the organized work of this field"(B. F. Hunt, 1939: 2).

Regarding his imprisonment by the Japanese police, Hunt said that it was caused by the teaching that such worship was idolatry and an infraction of the first and second commandments. It was not because of his refusal to bow to Shinto, since they only required this of their own subjects. In the judicial trial of the "prisoners of the Lord," including Hunt, four charges were laid against them:

That they had organized a band with a death pact;

That they were endeavoring to establish the millennial kingdom;

That they were fostering a movement against the Japanese Government;

That they were disturbing the peace (J. G. Holdcraft, 1942: 3-5).

They were called the "Jesus people "in prison, because Japanese police said, "we are going to put you in prison and keep you there until Jesus comes."

Many Korean Christians in Manchuria who were under the leadership of Hunt were put into prison, including Bible women, several native-supported evangelists, Dr. and Mrs. Byram and Hunt himself. The fearless stand taken by these Christians, however, became widely known throughout Manchuria and Korea and became a source of great strength to many who were standing out against the idolatrous demands of the Japanese government (N. S. Kim 1990: 161).

The Covenant creed played a crucial role in guiding Korean Christians who were scattered throughout North Manchuria, to a right attitude toward God, church, and nation. It was especially helpful in overcoming various hardships brought on by their strong stand against Shinto shrine Worship and by the word of their testimony sealed in this covenant. Hunt testifies, "We believe that the open doctrinal statement of the covenant clarified issues in the minds of our Christians and that, by their making it their confession, they were helped spiritually and mentally to withstand their enemies." This creed, called "A Covenant", was drawn up in January 1939. By January 1941, on Hunt's last trip among the churches, twenty-three covenanted groups were meeting regularly for Sunday and midweek services, having a total on their attendance rolls of seven hundred and seventy-seven. Of this total roll, two hundred and fifty were covenanted baptized Christians; "more serious adherents," one hundred and seventeen were covenanted catechumens preparing for baptism, and sixty-four were baptized infants of covenanted parents for a total of four hundred and thirty one covenanted men, women and children.

Several Korean church historians and theologians critically comment that the Korean Church has not yet created her own creeds of faith, theology, and Christian culture though remarkably grown up in outward things. In this sense, the production of "A Covenant" in 1939 by the Korean Christian community in Manchuria under Hunt's leadership has a great significance. It was a direction of their life in the midst of such

persecution, an expression of their faith in God, and an example of a right way to be truly patriotic to their nation, Korea. The creed of "A Covenant" was a milestone for the confession of faith of the Korean church. It has meaning not only in its creation itself, but also in its effects on Christians who fought against the imposing of Shinto shrine Worship by the Japanese militarist government. Their faith and life in this situation was a living testimony to the church and to other Christians around the world.

The greatest contributing factor to the fight against Shinto shrine Worship was the Word of God implanted in the hearts and in the witness of those "Jesus people." Bible-centered faith was the foundation for opposition against the Shinto shrine worship for Hunt and his congregations. Even in replying to the questions of the Japanese police while in prison, they relied on the guidance of the Word of God. Hunt said, "In replying to questions we had sought to base our answers on the Bible rather than on our private opinions"(Hunt, 1966: 92, 95-103).

In relation to the Japanese imperial authority, Hunt's protest was founded on the conviction that "I believe it is wrong for the state even to claim the right to forbid what God has commanded (Hunt, 1966: 99).

"A Covenant" which was drawn up by Hunt and several Korean Christians in Harbin, North Manchuria was later used by other groups throughout Manchuria and Korea and Hunt also found it in use in Pusan in 1946, when he returned to Korea. Later, the influence of Hunt and the Korean Christians covenant movement against the Shinto shrine worship was reflected in the self-discipline of 40 days suspension upon pastors, elders, and helpers, so that they could not perform their duties in church, for their former obedience to the Japanese orders for Shrine Worship, by the Mukden Presbytery, which was newly reorganized in the winter of 1945 (S. K. Lee, 1996: 48).

5. 5 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I looked at the lives and faith of the leaders who resisted and struggled against Shintoism in North and South Korea and Manchuria. They refused idol worship because of absolute obedience to the Word of God, organized the opposition movement against the Shinto shrine worship and led Korean christians to hold to a sound faith. Among them, some became martyrs, and some spent several years in prison. But, their sacrifice became a model for years to come. The leaders and Christians who refused to participate in the Shinto shrine worship and, were persecuted or became martyrs, are the pride of the Korean church and a model which others can emulate. As mentioned in this Chapter, these anti-Shintoism leaders resisted worship of Japanese gods, not as a form of political protest but as a means to live by the God-centered faith and life.

Korean Christian resistance leaders were not politically motivated when they pursued anti-Shintoism. They were motivated by their desire to obey God's commands. Their faith became instrumental in Christian missions, and their affliction and the martyrdom provided the foundation for the growth of the Christian church. The number of martyrs and witnesses greatly exceeds the few examples discussed in this chapter. During the persecutions, the number of the churches decreased on the surface level. However, there was a renewal of the churches, and it became the legacy of Korean churches.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Many Korean Christians resisted Japanese Shintoism. In the sufferings due to opposition to Shinto nationalism, it might be said that ascetism was the motive. Because Korea had been a Japanese colony for thirty-six years, it cannot be utterly denied that the more Japan's power grew, the more desperate Korea longed for her political independence. Because of this, Christians in Korea were largely ascetic in their belief in Christ, and their eschatological expectation of the millenial kingdom was much stronger than among Christians in Japan.

Also, those who were in prison for a long period (after the general arrest it was five and half years before they were released) had no hope of physical survival, humanly speaking, because they did not know when the war would come to an end nor which side would win, and in the case of Japan's victory, Christians would be in even more difficulty.

It, however, would not be correct to say that the suffering of the resisters was strongly motivated by ascetism. We have clear evidence, as we have mentioned already, that their resistance was largely motivated by respect for and obedience to God's Word for the glory of God. They suffered and gave their lives to the Lord in unflinching defense of His truth against the evil of idolatry. If they compromised, they believed it would be a great dishonor to God's glory. They understood that their surrender to Shinto nationalism through shrine worship would constitute disloyalty to Christ's lordship. In that sense they were strongly conscious that they should honor God by a consistent life and witness by keeping God's commandment, that they should love God with all their heart, all

their soul, and their mind—in other words, with the whole of their total personality (K. S. Lee, 1966: 203; Hunt, 1966: 75; E. A. Kim, 1977: 121; N. S. Kim, 1990: 167).

The General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church was called in September 1938. As has already been noted, Japanese police checked delegates to the General Assembly who were strongly against bowing at the shrine, and they were refused permission to travel (N. S. Kim, 1982: 370). Only those who would vote for shrine worship or would maintain silence on the issue at the meeting were allowed to go. The General Assembly was held in Pyongyang under police surveillance. An affirmative vote for shrine worship was called for and given scattered assent, but no negative vote was called for (K. S. Lee, 1966: 168). The missionaries tried to protest the moderator's unlawful procedure, but police interrupted their protests. Thus, the Presbyterian church was manipulated into giving its approval to shrine worship. Then the vice-moderator together with the representative of each presbytery was appointed to go to the shrine at Pyongyang to represent the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (K. S. Lee, 1966: 169).

The Methodist bishop had already submitted to shrine worship, as had the representatives of the Holiness Church and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. Also the Roman Catholic priests had submitted.

Although the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and other ecclesiastical bodies gave in to the demands of accepting Japanese Shintoism, a minority of ministers and Christians stood against the issue. Nearly two hundred local congregations closed their doors, about two thousand persons were arrested, and among them more than fifty died in prison and twenty to fifty were released at the end of the war.

After the General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1938, the police forced Christians to worship at the Shinto shrine, but the ministers who resisted courageously stood against shrine worship. They

began the "Non-Shrine Worship Movement" (K. S. Lee, 1966: 170f). They used every possible means to strengthen and to link resisting Christians together to fight for the faith. In order to prevent the spread of resistance among Christians, secret police agents pursued the ministers constantly. Words and deeds were recorded in detail by the police and later, when the ministers were arrested and imprisoned, they were charged with violating the law of public peace and order (K. S. Lee, 1966: 171).

"The anti-Shinto shrine worshippers held firmly to conservative Presbyterian theology. This belief can be summarized from their testimonies as follows:

1. They believed the Bible to be God's infallible Word that should be applied to their Christian faith and life. They tried to yield total obedience to God's Word and commandments.
2. They believed in the surety of the second coming of Jesus Christ as is prophesied in the Bible. They believed that the last days of this world were near. Submitting to Jesus and relying upon Him, they resisted anti-Christian beliefs at the cost of their own lives.
3. They were convinced that spreading of biblical truth benefited the country and mankind. 'If only for the sake of God's glory,' they were willing to be loyal to God to their death. In contrast, those who submitted to Shinto shrine worship did so because according to liberal theology they were helping to build Christ's kingdom under the Japanese imperialists. The Shinto shrine issue was, therefore, not only a severe trial for the Korean church, it also drew the line between conservative and liberal theology" (Oh, 1983: 224-225).

Oh clearly summarises the ideology of the anti-Shinto shrine worshippers, who tried to live "God-centered" lives by living according to the scriptures.

On 15 August, 1945, when Japan's surrender ended the second World War, Korea became politically and religiously independent. On 17th August anti-Shinto shrine worshippers were set free from imprisonment where they had suffered for five to six years. Among them were Rev. Sang Dong Han and Rev. Nam Sun Choo who had been praying in prison for a three-way plan to rehabilitate the Korean Church if God would give them an opportunity (K. S. Shim, 1977: 224). Their plan was as follows:

"First, build reclusive prayer houses for pastors whose Christian consciences were tainted under the Japanese persecution in order to help them become strong believers.

Second, seminaries which were closed because of refusal to accept Shinto-Shrine Worship should be reestablished to train pastors who would fight for biblical truth at the expense of their lives.

Third, large numbers of evangelists should be trained to help start revival meetings" (Oh, 1983: 230).

In September 1946, pastors Han and Choo established the Korea Theological Seminary in Pusan in order to help train pastors who would be orthodox in faith and pure in life. During the past fifty-four years, Korea Theological Seminary has trained many Christians to be faithful servants of God in Korea and in other countries. The churches which have a close relationship to Korea Koryo Seminary are called "Koryoists" or "Koshinists." This denomination is a steadfast stronghold of Korean Reformed theology.

Since 1950, schisms have become a serious problem. There are now several major and minor Presbyterian bodies in Korea. The schisms have been caused, first, by the issue of Shinto shrine worship, and second, by theological problems (Y. S. Kim, 1956: 249, 286). Sung Chun Chun noted that two major causes of schism are dogmatism and economic depression:

"Although many factors were involved in the schism of the Protestant churches of Korea, the basic causes of the conflict among church leaders were primarily theological and economic. Whenever pronounced social change took place, as in the case of the Japanese persecution, these two factors became more aggravated. The problem of higher education which became apparent from 1906 to 1915 brought the first evidence of theological conflict among missionaries" (S. C. Chun, 1955: 147).

Although most conservative ministers' primary concern was to preserve their theological position and improve their church, reality made them aware of their economic instability. The arrival of a liberal competitor was more than a threat to their ideas, it was also a threat to their economy. Chun noted:

"Post-independence Korea experienced economic hardship which also applied to churches. Economic depression created conflict within the church and sometimes became one of the causes for church divisions and schisms.

The fight for survival drew the conservatives and liberals into tighter and tighter opposition. Economic and theological opposition gave birth to localism in the churches because geographical division often followed theological lines" (S. C. Chun, 1955: 154).

Among the problems Korean churches have schism is one of the most serious. Almost all Korean churches hope to keep their churches growing qualitatively and quantitatively and wish to keep the faith pure, according to I Thess. 1:6-7:

"You also became imitators of us and of the Lord, having received

the word in much tribulation with the joy of the Holy Spirit, so that you became an example to all the believers in Macedonia and in Achaia."

From the above findings, we can make several important conclusions. First, the Shinto shrine problem is the main point of division in the Korean Presbyterian Church. The persecution which was due to the opposition to the Shinto shrine worship was an important factor in the growth of Korean church. The Presbyterian church, which was introduced into Korea in 1884, organized a presbytery in 1907. After organizing a General Assembly in 1912, they maintained one denomination until 1950.

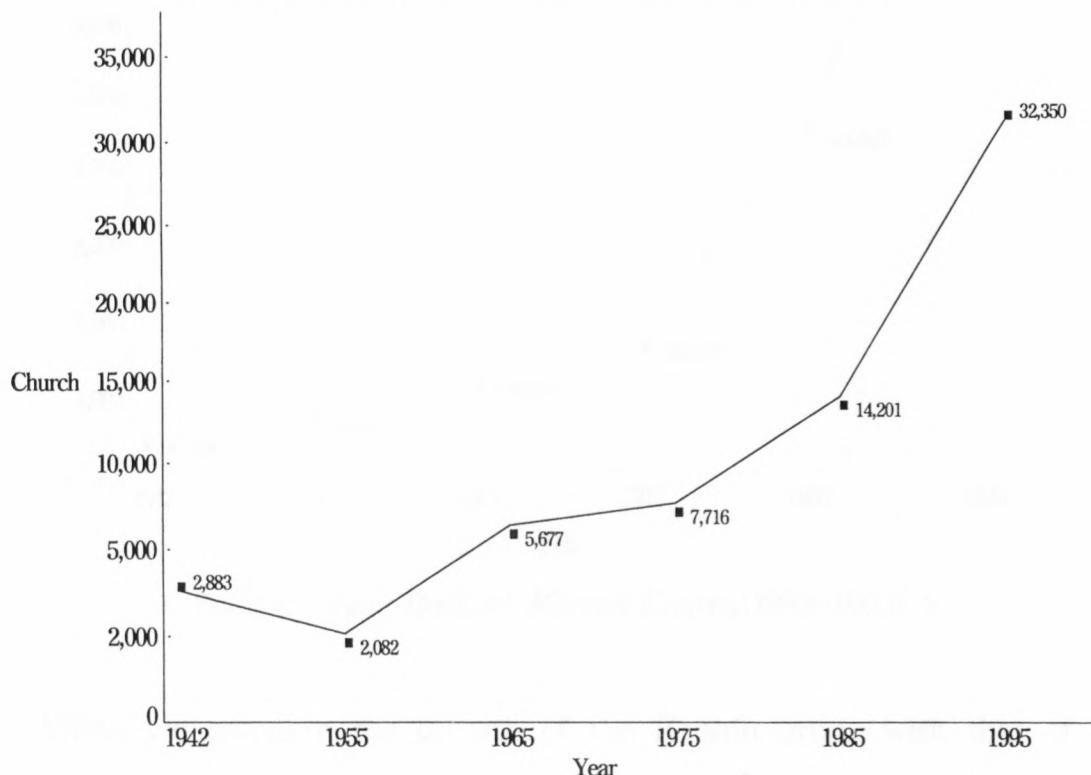
But, the Korean Presbyterian Church divided into several groups in 1950. The first reason was the attitude concerning the Shinto shrine issue. Anti-Shintoism groups formed a conservative denomination which is called the Presbyterian Church in Korea (Koshin Group · Korea Theological Seminary group). A liberation group which participated Shinto worship is called the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (Kijang Group · Hankook Theological Seminary group). They departed from the main Korean Presbyterian Church and developed their own denominations. Though the beginning of division was in the 1950s, the fundamental reason was the decision concerning the Shinto shrine issue at the General Assembly of PCK in 1938.

These two groups had different standpoints in their theological thinking. The Koshin group has maintained the traditional Reformed theology and emphasized the purity of faith. In contrast, the Kijang group has maintained liberal theological thought and has focused on social problems. And, their attitudes to matters of faith were closely related to the growth of the church.

Second, among the Korean Presbyterian churches, the ones which suffered persecution subsequently obtained a higher growth rate. The

Korean Presbyterian church has grown most rapidly compared to other denominations in Korea. It was only one denomination until 1950, but it divided into several groups after that. (See figures 5 and 6 below, which show the total growth of the Korean Presbyterian churches.)

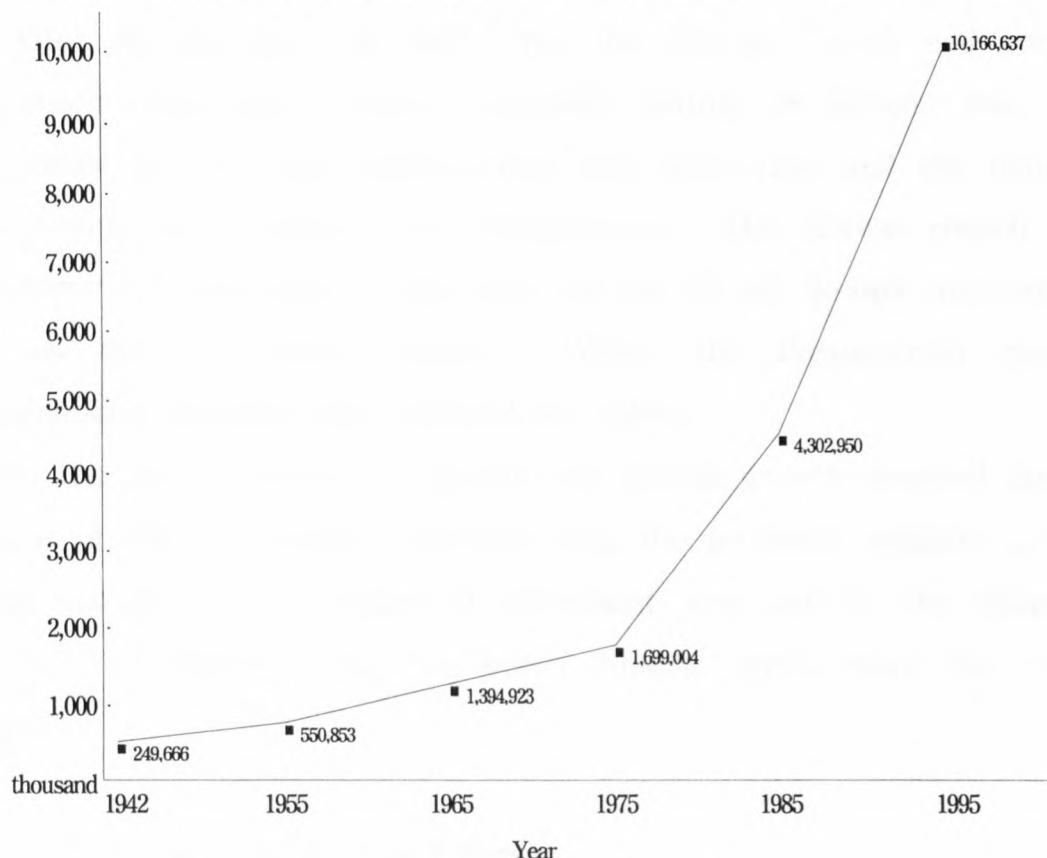
Figure 4. Number of Korean Presbyterian Churches



* For 1945 there is no report.

< Source : *Minutes of General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Korea, Year Book of Korean Church (1945 - 1995)*>

Figure 5 Number of Korean Presbyterian Church Members, 1945-1995



< Source : *Year Book of Korean Church(1945-1995)* >

When we compare the growth of the Koshin group with that of the Kijang group which had different views concerning the Shinto shrine issue, we can ascertain the growth of the persecuted church. The figure below indicates the number of churches in the two groups.

The Kijang group started with 546 churches. By the end of 1996 it had 1,205 churches, with 326,076 members, and the Koshin group started with 51 churches, and by the end of 1996 consisted of 1,378 churches with 408,134 members (*The Christian Press*, 1 Nov. 1997). The main reason for decrease in members in the Koshin group was because of repeated mergers and schisms. In 1960, Koshin group and Sungdong group, another group in the Presbyterian Church in Korea, merged. This merger was short-lived due to a split of the merged group in 1963. At this time about 150 churches remained in the merged denomination and this decrease in

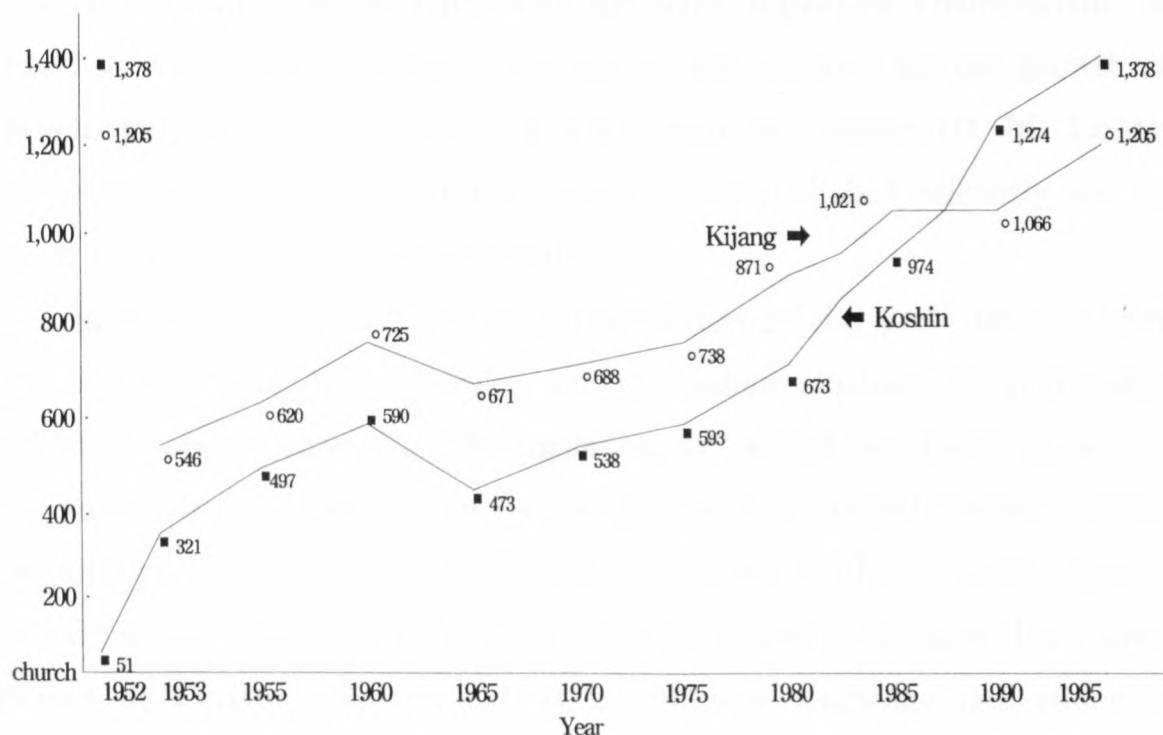
size is well reflected in the 1965 statistics.

After the liberation of 1945, both the Korean church and society experienced chaos and turmoils, especially during the Korean war. In three years of civil war, many people lost their lives and the national infrastructure was devastated with destruction. The Korean church also experienced hardships and in turn saw the rise of cult groups and heretics such as the Unification church. Within the Presbyterian church, denominational schisms continued and abounded.

In the 1970s, however, a significant church growth resulted due to the rise of the evangelical movement and the economic stability of the Korean nation. The evangelical movement was led by the churches adhering the Biblical faith, in which Koshin group were the prime examples.

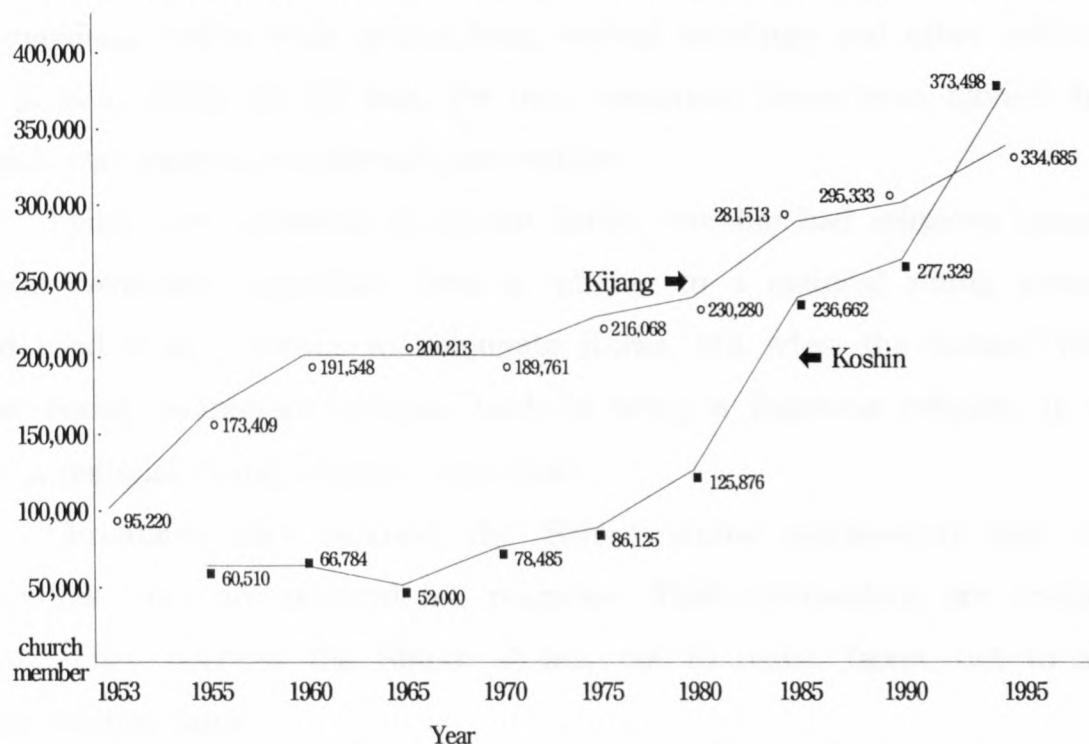
This can be diagramed as follows.

Figure 6 The Church Growth of 'Koshin' and 'Kijang' Church



<Source : *Year Book of Korean Church(1945-1995), Minutes of Koshin and Kijang(1953-1995)*>

Figure 7 Number of Church Members of 'Koshin' and 'Kijang' Church



< Source : *Year Book of Korean Church(1945-1995)*, *Minutes of Koshin and Kijang(1953-1995)* >

We can make several conclusions from this diagram. First, a strong adherence to the biblical faith was the most important characteristic of churches with higher growth. There are several reasons for the growth of church, but persevering faith is a very important reason (D. M. Kelley, 1997: 20-21). The growth of the church is accomplished primarily not by social factors but by reasons of faith.

Second, the churches which had persevering faith grew because they concentrated their best energies on evangelism instead of responding directly to social problems. The major reason behind the church growth in the post-liberation period was the perseverance of church leaders during the difficult period of colonial control, during which the personal liberties as well as the religious freedom had been taken away. Because these small groups of Christian leaders upheld the Biblical teachings and ethics in difficulties, these testimonials became the seeds for Korean church growth after the liberation. Thus growth of the Korean church was the fruit of

evangelism and persevering faith. There were Bible conferences, family evangelism, nation wide evangelism, revival meetings and other activities (J. J. Kim, 1996: 80-88) But, the most important factor was biblical faith which was maintained through persecution.

Third, the opponents to Shinto shrine worship had religious reasons. Japan developed Shintoism from a religion to a national ruling ideology and used it as a means to subjugate Korea, but when the Second World War ended, Shintoism reverted back to being a Japanese religion. It was not a national ruling ideology any more.

Christians who opposed the Shinto shrine emphasized that their activities were not political but religious. Their confessions are fruits of faith. They opposed the Shinto shrine, not to resist Japan, but to keep their biblical faith.

They were not motivated by nationalism or the Independence Movement. The reason why they resisted was as a result of the way they held onto their faith. This faith made them obey the Word of God unconditionally. The Korean Presbyterian church grew even during the period of persecution. It divided into several groups later, but had remained only one denomination until 1950.

Even though different views concerning the Shinto shrine issue were held by the anti-Shinto shrine group and pro-Shinto shrine group, we can conclude that church of God keeps growing in spite of severe persecution.

We studied above how the persecution of the Presbyterian Church in Korea under Shinto Japanese colonial rule effected the growth of the Korean Presbyterian church after the liberation. Especially, we compared the Kijang group of pro-Shintoists with the Koshin group of anti-Shintoists believers.

However, we must notice the respective weaknesses of both groups. The Kijang group preferred a social mandate to a spiritual mandate and

they developed the "Minjung theology." Minjung theology is a theological product issuing from the background of the Korean political situation of the 1970s. Minjung theology starts by condemning traditional Constantinian Christianity as the religion of the ruling class. It presupposes the crying scream of the suffering *minjung*, takes the Exodus event of Old Testament and the crucifixion of New Testament as paradigmatic references, and applies socio-economic hermeneutics to today's Korean socio-political context. In contrast, the Koshin group were interested only in church ministries, and revealed a weakness by feeling spiritually superior to other churches and of ignoring the social mandate. A further weak point is that the Koshin group indulges in self-righteousness. "The words 'conservatism' and 'orthodoxy'" are often heard in the Korean church (K. C. Han, 1995: 291) and are used in a self-laudably way.

At this point it is necessary to refer briefly to what the church's missionary mandate implies. Churches should make every effort to fulfill it. The Christian churches must realize their responsibility towards both preaching grace and doing justice. When it places an overemphasis on one of them, the church fails to fulfill both mandates adequately. Then a onesided growth in numbers (numerical growth) may be evident, but such growth may lack the dimension of organic growth. David J. Bosch exactly explains about this tension.

'One attempt is to solve the enigma of the relationship between evangelism and social responsibility is to distinguish between two different mandates, the one spiritual, the other social. The first refers to the commission to announce the good news of salvation through Jesus Christ; the second calls Christians to responsible participation in human society, including human well being and justice' (Bosch, 1991: 403).

J. Verkuyl also describes the missionary mandate of the church and

outlines various means of proclaiming the Gospel of God's Kingdom (*kerygma*) (Verkuyl, 1978: 206– 210), fulfilling its diaconal responsibility (*diakonia*) (:211–220), communicating the Gospel through fellowship (*Koinonia*) (:221–222), and contributing to justice (:223–224).

The church's growth is achieved by the will of God. But God achieves the church's growth through the faith of the Christian community and obedience to the missionary mandates.

One of the problems of the Korean church is the tendency to adopt extremist points of view. Although balanced church growth stems from the balanced adherence to the missionary mandate and the social mandate, Korean churches tend to lean toward extreme opinions. The conservative churches have not paid attention to the social concerns in the society, and the liberal churches focused only on the social justice. It seems clear that the Korean church of the future needs to grow both by preaching grace and by doing justice.

We can now return and in conclusion look at how the Shinto shrine issue effected both Shintoism and the Korean Presbyterian Church after World War II. This can be done from several viewpoints, of which we wish to point out the following:

Firstly, prior to World War II, the Japanese had always considered the emperor to be "man-god"(現人神). They believed he was both god and man and worshipped him as such. After the war, however, they proclaimed their emperor to be only a human being and gave up claims regarding the deity of their emperor.

The governor-general of Korea was commanded to celebrate in strict secrecy the Shinto offering which commemorated the end of the war through each provincial office. This was to be done continuously with

special offerings in each shrine.

At the end of World War II, ceremonial articles and shrines from the Korean Shinto Temples were transported to Japan.

But many shrines in Korea were destroyed by fire on the day of liberation and on the next day. During the first eight days, following the liberation, 136 more shrines were destroyed by fire (N. S. Kim, 1990: 182). When the U. S. Armed Forces stationed in Korea withdrew, the Japanese remained in Korea, and they appointed the withdrawal date of soldiers, temples, and prostitutes. Shintoism was the tool by which the Japanese militarists ruled Korea and the plan that was to concretize their thoughts.

The enforcement of Shinto shrine worship caused many Christians in Korea to become martyrs and disrupted the Presbyterian Church in Korea because of the ideological polarization and this contributed to the defeat of Japan (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997: 514).

Secondly, the Shinto shrine issue polarized Presbyterian theology. As previously stated, the Shinto shrine issue stimulated the polarization of Korean Presbyterian theology by strengthening the two currents of conservatism and liberalism. When the conservative leaders died as martyrs, were imprisoned, went abroad, and retired on account of the Shinto shrine movement, the liberals extended their influence to fill the vacuum.

The liberal leaders obtained the hegemony of the Korean church and a theological circles for some years after the Korean independence from Japan. They tried to continue their leadership. However, when the conservative leaders were freed from prisons and returned from abroad, the conflict between the conservatives and the liberals started to grow.

The liberals with Chosen Theological Seminary in the center, disagree with the current of conservative theological circles in Korea and have asserted what is called liberation theology (N. S. Kim & H. M. Conn, 1997:

515). The conservative persons in prison were released with the 15th August 1945 liberation from Japan and the conservative theologians who had gone abroad came home.

Then they rebuilt the Korean church and theological seminaries. Thereafter, with the Korea Theological Seminary in Pusan and the Presbyterian General Assembly Theological Seminary in Seoul, the polarization of Presbyterian theology increased.

This polarization has continued to the present day. On the one hand conservatives still preach what they regard as the historic Reformed faith without compromise while the liberals have continued to move further, away from historic Reformed theology.

Thirdly, the Shinto shrine issue was the beginning of the disruption of the Presbyterian denomination. Thus it can be argued that the split in the Korean Presbyterian church began in 1930. Although the problem of regionalism within the church with the ecclesiastical authority in the center, was the most important reason, the unlawful resolution of the Shinto shrine issue in the 27th of General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Korea in 1938 directly caused the split of the Korean Presbyterian church after liberation (Y. S. Kim, 1956: 149).

The interpretation of the Shinto shrine issue should not be treated as a "devotion" problem, but must be interpreted as a theological problem. This is manifested as the decisive factor in the split of the Korean church as it is connected directly with the issue of ecclesiastical authority.

The effects of the Shinto shrine problem are not over as a once for all event. Since it was the direct cause of the split in the Korean church on account of disagreement as to how to handle the problem, its effects continue to be felt in the Korean Presbyterian Churches.

Fourthly, the impact of Japanese colonial rule upon the witness and

growth of the Korean Presbyterian Church can be summarised as follows: Although it resulted in a higher growth rate amongst the more conservative churches which had resisted Shintoism, there was also a negative side to this. These churches developed an one-sided understanding of witness and mission. They emphasized the vertical dimension of the gospel, while neglecting the horizontal dimension. The evangelistic mandate was upheld at the expense of the social mandate. In addition, a tragic lack of sense of the unity of the body of Christ became more and more painfully evident as schism followed upon schism and the church was split over and over again, something which Bosch (1991:466) calls nothing less than a "Protestant virus".

During the years when Korea experienced an economic boom, this kind of verticalized and personalized religion flourished. However, at the close of the last decade of the twentieth century, economic hardships are beginning to confront the Korean people. Conservative churches, with their emphasis on evangelism, will be forced to reconsider the social mandate and to recognise that this also is part of the Biblical mandate for mission. They will be challenged to come to a new and deeper understanding of the scope of a holistic Christian mission. They will need to make real the command to love your neighbour by reaching out to those in need and serving them in their need with deeds of love. They will need to stand with them in their hardships by both prophetically challenging what is wrong in society as well as ministering as servants to the suffering and the exploited (Verkuyl 1978:201-203).

At the same time the mandate to proclaim the Good News of salvation to all people of the world should never be neglected. This proclamation should include the challenge to all who hear to believe in Christ as Messiah, as Saviour, as well as accept him as Lord over all of

life. This will involve a call to conversion to Christ and of submission to his Lordship. This aspect of mission may never be disregarded or neglected (Verkuyl 1978:198–200).

Alongside the call to proclaim the gospel and the responsibility to serve the needs of the poor and suffering by seeking to counter every form of evil and ill in society, the witness of the church in mission also will mean that the question of the unity of God's people will be taken seriously. Proclamation of the Word must lead to the gathering, preserving and adding to the people of God – the planting of the church. This involves the formation of a new community, united not by economic or political or cultural ties but by their faith in and love for Christ (Verkuyl 1978:199–200). Thus the building up of the body of Christ in unity becomes part of the mandate for mission in the New Testament (cf Mt 28:19). Or, in the words of D J Bosch (1991:464 – his italics), "the mutual coordination of mission and unity is *non-negotiable*". This is derived from God's gift of unity in the one Body of Christ: "God's people is one, Christ's body is one" (*ibid*).

The body of Christ needs to be built up in unity. A stand has to be taken against the "proliferation of new churches" (Bosch 1991:466). Also, in the discharge of its mandate for mission in the world, the church will need to recognize more than ever before the need for mission in unity, as well as for unity in mission. This means nothing less than what Bosch has tried to spell out so emphatically in his work *Transforming Mission* (1991), namely an ecumenical missionary paradigm. Here, as she enters into a new millennium, lie the challenges facing the church, not only in Korea, but also in the entire world.

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