

**A THEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NON-CHURCH MOVEMENT IN
KOREA WITH A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE FORMATION OF ITS
SPIRITUALITY**

by

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**A Thesis Submitted to
The University of Birmingham
For the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

**School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion
College of Arts and Law
The University of Birmingham
June 2012**

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ABSTRACT

This study provides a new theological approach for interpreting the Non-Church Movement (NCM) in Korea. Previous studies have been written from a historical perspective. Therefore, an examination of the spirituality and characteristics of the NCM from a theological standpoint is a new approach.

The present study investigates the connection between the NCM and Confucianism. It attempts to highlight the influence of Confucian spirituality on the NCM, in particular the Confucian tradition of learning. It also examines the link between the NCM and Quakerism, in particular the influence of Quaker ecclesiology on the NCM. This too has not been examined in previous studies. The thesis argues that the theological roots of NCM ecclesiology lie in the relatively flat ecclesiology of the Quaker movement in the USA.

This research examines the appropriateness of Pete Ward's concept of "liquid church". A solid church is congregation-oriented and measures its success in terms of church attendance. In contrast, a liquid church is a communication-oriented community rooted in fellowship. Today, many are leaving the institutional church, while still regarding themselves as Christians. In other words, they no longer belong to the solid church. This study examines the NCM as a model of "liquid church" for Christian believers.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved mother, Ahn Young Soon, my dear aunt, Ahn Young Joon, my beloved mother-in-law, Lee Eun Soon, and my loving wife, Kim Yoon Hee.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I can never fully acknowledge my indebtedness to the many individuals who provided valuable assistance and prayed for me in the preparation of this thesis. Firstly, a special word of gratitude must go to my mother. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to my aunt, my mother-in-law, and my wife.

I particularly benefited from the experience and advice of my supervisor, Edmond Tang. I could not have completed the research without his constant advice, criticism, and encouragement.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to the numerous members of the Non-Church Movement in Korea, whose assistance and support enabled me to complete this study.

I wish to thank the two churches; Yeram and Eoullim in Seoul, South Korea, for supporting my study through prayer and financial aid. Especially my warmest thanks go to Rev. Park Yong-Shin, his wife Moon Eun Hee, Mrs. Park Esther, Rev. Hwang Du Yong, Mr. Park In Kyu, and his wife Kong Gyeong Hee.

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PART I: THE KOREAN NON-CHURCH MOVEMENT AND ITS BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Purpose of the Study

The Non-Church Movement (NCM) can be said to be an outcome of seeking a local expression of Christianity in East Asia. It was initiated in Japan by Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930) and later introduced to Korea in the 1920s.¹ The faith community the movement sought after contrasted with versions of Western Christianity adopted by the mainstream churches in East Asia.² This study explores the spirituality, ecclesiology, and other characteristics of the Korean Non-Church Movement and its contemporary relevance to Korean Christianity. The Non-Church Movement in Korea was started by Kim Kyo-sin and his colleagues who tried to offer Christian perspectives and practices unique to the Korean context.

In the history of world Christianity, Korean churches are considered remarkable because of their phenomenal growth. However, they have maintained the same denominationally specific ecclesiology that North American missionaries first introduced, assimilating Western theology, whether fundamentalist or liberal in orientation. In a sense it can be claimed that they have failed to produce a Korean ecclesiology that reflects the interaction between the Korean religious and cultural heritage and the Christian faith, though the movement of Minjung theology, a version of Liberation theology, is perhaps an exception.

¹ Regarding the name order, Uchimura is his surname, and Kanzo is his first name. In the main text, this research uses the order of Korean and Japanese names, where the surname precedes the given name. The footnotes and bibliography follow *the Chicago Manual of Style*, using the same English name as cited in the reference. When writing the Korean language, this research follows the rule of NIKL (National Institute of the Korean Language 國立國語院).

² See Jeong-hwan Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin: Geu Samgwa Mideumgwa Somang* [김교신: 그 삶과 믿음과 소망] *Kim Kyo-sin: His Life, Faith, and Hope* (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 1994).

Using the ‘solid church’ and ‘liquid church’ dichotomy proposed by Pete Ward, the mainstream church in Korea can be described as a congregation-oriented, institution-oriented, and Sunday worship-oriented solid church.³ However, Kim dreamt of a kind of “liquid church” that would vitalize the spirit of Korean people with the teachings of the Bible, while not being restrained by clericalism or denominationalism. He insisted that the emphasis should be on living as Christ’s body in the world.⁴

Kim regarded denominational factionalism among Christians as abhorrent,⁵ and believed that what was most needed for Koreans was the power of unity. Therefore he promoted a Korean Christian community of believers, which would value the experience of being both Korean and Christian. He believed that such a task could be accomplished through the continuous education of lay people.⁶

The purpose of this study is to explore theologically the spirituality of the NCM in Korea, in relation to Confucianism, Quakerism, the Radical Reformation, and Pietism. The study will also examine the appropriateness and contemporary relevance of the NCM as a lay theology, especially its suitability as a liquid church. For this task, it will be necessary to investigate the historical background, the connection between the NCM, Confucianism and Quakerism, and its particular features.

A study of Kim’s NCM is relevant today because of the decline in membership of ‘solid church’ in the West.⁷ Furthermore, it is also important for the Korean church

³ Pete Ward, *Liquid Church* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002).

⁴ Kyo-sin Kim, “Jiui Yeom, Seui Gwang,” *Seongseojoseon*, March 1931, 9; Kyo-sin Kim, “Ttangui Sogeumgwa Sesangui Bit,” in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip [김교신! 전집 The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin]*, ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2001), 4:67; Kyo-sin Kim, “Hananim Jungsimui Sinangeuro Doraora,” *Seongseojoseon*, December 1935, 1-2.

⁵ Kyo-sin Kim, “Seomdeula,” *Seongseojoseon*, November 1932, no page.

⁶ Kyo-sin Kim, “Baeulsu Itneun Saram,” *Seongseojoseon*, December 1933, no page; Kyo-sin Kim, “Jinjureul Tamguhara,” *Seongseojoseon*, August 1940, 2; Kyo-sin Kim, “Seongseojoseonui Hae,” *Seongseojoseon*, April 1935, no page.

⁷ Grace Davie, *Religion in Modern Europe: A Memory Mutates* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

because the solid church in Korea may eventually experience a similar crisis. It will also be helpful for a number of Christian intellectuals in the Korean church who have recently tried to create something similar to the Non-Church Movement.

1.2. Literature Reviews

There are a few studies whose primary focus is the NCM. Former Professor of Educational Studies at Korea University, Kim Jeong-hwan's book entitled *Kim Kyo-sin: Geu Samgwa Mideumgwa Somang* is a comprehensive study introducing Kim Kyo-sin's life and Non-Church thoughts from a historical perspective.⁸ As noted above, Professor of Theological Studies at Yonsei University, Seo Jeong-min's book entitled *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng* describes Kim as a nationalist and the Korean NCM as a form of Korean nationalist Christianity.⁹ Baik Soyoung's book entitled *Uriui Sarangi Uirobgi Uihayeo* identifies lessons to be learned from the NCM for the development of Korean Christianity by focusing on Kim Kyo-sin's and Ham Seok-heon's thoughts.¹⁰ *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon* by Yi Chi-seok and *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon* by Kim Sung-soo are biographies of Ham Seok-heon which help to understand the life and thoughts of Ham.¹¹ *Jonggyowa Insaeng* by Noh Pyeong-gu shows how NCM members view current affairs from a Christian

⁸ Jeong-hwan Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin: Geu Samgwa Mideumgwa Somang* [김교신: 그 삶과 믿음과 소망 *Kim Kyo-sin: His Life, Faith, and Hope*] (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 1994).

⁹ Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng* [겨레사랑 성서사랑 김교신 선생 *Love of Nation Love of the Bible Master Kim Kyo-sin*] (Seoul: Malsseumgwa Mannam, 2002).

¹⁰ Soyoung Baik, *Uriui Sarangi Uirobgi Uihayeo* [우리의 사랑이 의롭기 위하여] (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 2005).

¹¹ Chi-seok Yi, *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon* [씨알 함석헌 평전 *A Biography of Ssial Ham Seok-heon*] (Seoul: Sidaeuui Chang, 2005); Sung-soo Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon* [함석헌 평전 *A Biography of Ham Seok-heon*] (Seoul: Samin, 2006).

perspective.¹²

Professor Emeritus of Asian Studies at the University of British Columbia, John F. Howes's comprehensive study, *Japan's Modern Prophet: Uchimura Kanzo, 1861-1930*, is a biography of Uchimura Kanzo that explains Uchimura's life in depth from a historical perspective.¹³ *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo* by Suzuki Norihisa and *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura 1861-1930* by Miura Hiroshi provide essential information mainly about the life and thoughts of Uchimura Kanzo even though they are not large-scale studies.¹⁴ These three books are descriptive histories of Uchimura Kanzo. In contrast, Carlo Caldarola's book entitled *Christianity: the Japanese Way* is an attempt to analyse the meaning of the indigenous people's way of interpreting Christianity in the Japanese NCM through ethnographic fieldwork.¹⁵

Mukyokai shi kenkyukai (無教會史研究會) has written a four-volume history of the NCM under the title of *Mukyokai shi* [無教會史].¹⁶ The first volume deals with the period between 1901 and 1930¹⁷; the second volume between 1931 and 1945¹⁸; the third volume between 1946 and 1961¹⁹; the fourth volume between 1962 and 2000.²⁰ In contrast to this large-scale work, Mukyokai kenkyukai (無教會研究會) wrote a

¹² Pyeong-gu Noh, *Jonggyowa Insaeng* [宗教と人生] 3 vols. (Seoul: Ilsimsa, 1977).

¹³ John F. Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

¹⁴ Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo* [無教會主義者 内村鑑三 Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo], trans. Jin-man Kim (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995); Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura 1861-1930* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996).

¹⁵ Carlo Caldarola, *Christianity: The Japanese Way* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979).

¹⁶ Mukyokai shi kenkyukai [無教會史研究會], ed., *Mukyokai shi* [無教會史] 4 vols. (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shubbansha, 1991-2003).

¹⁷ Mukyokai shi kenkyukai [無教會史研究會], ed., *Mukyokai shi 1: Dai ikki seisei no jidai* [第一期生成の時代] (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shubbansha, 1991).

¹⁸ Mukyokai shi kenkyukai, ed., *Mukyokai shi 2: Keisho no jidai* [第二期継承の時代]. Tokyo: Shinkyō Shubbansha, 1991.

¹⁹ Mukyokai shi kenkyukai, ed., *Mukyokai shi 3: Rensai no jidai* [第三期結集の時代]. Tokyo: Shinkyō Shubbansha, 2002.

²⁰ Mukyokai shi kenkyukai, ed., *Mukyokai shi 4: Kesshu no jidai* [第四期連帯の時代]. Tokyo: Shinkyō Shubbansha, 2003.

relatively brief history of the NCM entitled *Mokyokairon no Kiseki* [無教會論の動躰].²¹ It mainly focuses on analysing the lives of nine NCM leaders: Uchimura Kanzo (内村鑑一三), Tsukamoto Toraji (塚本虎二), Kurozaki Kokichi (黒崎幸吉), Yanaihara Tadao (矢内原忠雄), Kim Kyo-sin (金教臣), Masaike Jin (政池 仁), Fujita Wakao (藤田若雄), Sekine Masao (関根正雄), and Takahashi Saburo (高橋三郎).

The most recent Japanese book, *Kim Kyo-sin no Shinkoto Teikou* [金教臣の信仰と抵抗 *The Faith and Resistance of Kim Kyo-sin*] by Niihori Kuniji (祈囑郡司), a Japanese YMCA member, is a short biography of Kim Kyo-sin.²² This book depicts Kim's life from his birth to his death, describing his study in Japan, his meeting with Uchimura Kanzo, and the beginning of Korean NCM. It includes a well-known clergyperson Kim In-seo's criticism of his teacher Uchimura Kanzo, and Kim Kyo-sin's response to Kim In-seo, as well as the latter's relationship with Kurozaki Kokichi and Yanaihara Tadao. Yet this book's interpretation of Kim Kyo-sin and his Korean NCM is not different from earlier works. Its significance lies in it being an attempt by a Japanese non-NCM member to introduce Kim Kyo-sin to twentieth century Japan.

1.3. The Significance of the Study

However, these works do not analyse the characteristics of the NCM from a theological perspective. This present study is, therefore, significant for several reasons. Firstly, it provides a new theological approach for interpreting the NCM in Korea. There are a small number of academic studies written in English, but they are all written from

²¹ Mukyokai kenkyukai [無教會研究會], *Mokyokairon no Kiseki* [無教會論の動躰] (Tokyo: Kirisuto Kyotosho Shubbansha [キリスト教圖書出版社], 1989).

²² Kuniji Niihori, *Kim Kyo-sin no Shinkoto Teikou* [金教臣の信仰と抵抗 *The Faith and Resistance of Kim Kyo-sin*]. Tokyo: Shinkyo Shubbansha (新教出版社), 2004.

a historical perspective.²³ Three PhD theses by Howes, Hugh, and Miura were written about Uchimura himself, one by Chung focuses on Kim Kyo-sin and Uchimura, and one by Chey examines the lives of Kim Kyo-sin and Ham Seok-heon and the history of the NCM in Korea. The works of Howes, Hugh, and Miura are primarily historical, Chung's work is historical and sociological, and Chey's work is a descriptive church history. Therefore, this present study's discussion of the spirituality and characteristics of the NCM from a theological standpoint is a new approach.

Secondly, this thesis investigates the connection between Quakerism and the NCM. Even though he denied it, Uchimura Kanzo appears to have been partly influenced by the late nineteenth century Quakerism of Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), U.S.A. Even though Quakerism may have influenced the form of the NCM, with its absence of hierarchy and clerical leadership, this connection has not been explored in previous studies.

Thirdly, this study is innovative in its attempt to highlight the influence of Confucianism on the spirituality of the NCM. As noted above, like Confucianism, the NCM tries to achieve its aim mainly through learning. Although NCM members sought to turn away from Confucianism by embracing Christianity, the resemblance between the two spiritualities is significant.

Fourthly, this study examines the NCM in relation to the "liquid church"

²³ John F. Howes, "Japan's Enigma: The Young Uchimura Kanzo" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1965); L. F. Hugh, "The Writings of Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930) with Special Reference to his Christian Patriotism" (MPhil Dissertation, London School of Oriental and African Studies, 1966-1967); Jun Ki Chung, "Social Criticism in Non-Church Christianity in Japan and Korea" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1987); Hiroshi Miura, "The Life and Thoughts of Kanzo Uchimura, 1861-1930" (MLitt Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1988); Soyoung Baik Chey, "Korean Non-Church Christian Movement, 1927-1989: Transcending the World and Transforming the Church" (ThD Dissertation, Boston University, 2003). In addition, there is a thesis written in Japanese by Hiroyasu Iwabuchi, yet which provides a brief summary in English. Hiroyasu Iwabuchi, "An Evaluation of the Non-Church Movement in Japan: Its Distinctives, Strategy and Significance Today" (DMiss diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1976).

ecclesiology of Pete Ward. The NCM's criticism's of the institutional Church is significant because similar criticisms are being made today. Responding to the questions raised by the Korean NCM in the early twentieth century may provide answers to the questions raised by present-day Korean Christian intellectuals. As a member of the clergy in Korea, the researcher is aware of fresh attempts to create a new type of church, distinct from the traditional institutional and minister-oriented church. It is possible to view these as attempts to replace the "solid church" with a "liquid church." A solid church is congregation-oriented and it measures its success by the number of people who attend Sunday services. In contrast, a liquid church is a communication-oriented community rooted in the fellowship of the Holy Trinity, and, instead of placing emphasis on church attendance, it stresses the importance of living as Christ's body in the world.²⁴ Thus, this study examines the NCM's appropriateness as liquid church, as depicted by Pete Ward.

1.4. Methodology

Data for this study has been collected from published books, journals, magazines, letters, diaries, and newspapers. The main primary sources are *Seongseojoseon*, the magazine of the Korean NCM and the collected works of the major figures such as Kim Kyo-sin, Ham Seok-heon, Song Do-yong, and Uchimura Kanzo.²⁵

²⁴ Pete Ward, *Liquid Church* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 97-98.

²⁵ Kyo-sin Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* [김교신 전집 *The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin*], ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2001); Ham Seok-heon *Jeonjip* [함석헌 전집 *The Complete Works of Ham Seok-heon*], 20 vols. (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1988); Du-yong Song, *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip* [송두용 신앙문집 *The Collected Works of Song Du-yong*], eds. Pyeong-gu Noh, Hui-se Yu, and Mun-ho Song, 6 vols. (Seoul: Seongseosinaesa, 1994-2001). Pyeong-gu Noh, *Noh Pyeong-gu Jeonjip* [노평구 전집 *The Complete Works of Noh Pyeong-gu*]. 16 vols. Seoul: Sigolmunhwasa, 1977-2000. The complete works of Uchimura Kanzo were translated into Korean. Kanzo Uchimura, *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip* [内村鑑三 全集 *The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo*], trans. Su-yeon Pakr and Ho-yun Jeon, 20 vols. (Seoul: Seolusa, 1975); Kanzo Uchimura, *Uchimura Kanzo Seongseojuseok* [内村鑑三 註解 *Uchimura Kanzo's*

This study includes a historical examination of the backgrounds of Kim Kyo-sin, Uchimura Kanzo, and other important NCM figures; the relations between them; the characteristics of the NCM; its spirituality; and its present-day relevance. Historical research is “the process of critical inquiry into past events to produce an accurate description and interpretation of these events.”²⁶ By understanding the past, it can be expected to understand the present and to make predictions for the future. This research mainly analyses the written works of the six founding members of the Korean NCM, including Kim Kyo-sin. In addition, the works of Uchimura Kanzo, the original founder of the movement, will be dealt with in depth, in order to fully comprehend the Korean NCM members who were inspired by him, as well as to investigate the correlation between them. Analysis will be carefully and comprehensibly carried out from a theological perspective.

1.5. Limitations of the Study

The first limitation of this study is that it focuses mainly on the theology of the founders of the Korean NCM in order to gain an understanding the movement, although Uchimura Kanzo’s works are reviewed in their Korean editions. The reason why Uchimura’s works are referred to is that the Korean founders largely followed his teachings. The focus of this study is the Korean NCM. Therefore it does not provide a comprehensive description of NCM members in Korea due to the similarity of their thoughts and practices with those of the founders. Neither does it focus on Uchimura’s disciples in the Japanese NCM. The primary sources used in this research are materials

Commentaries], trans. Seong-ho Lee. 17 vols. (Seoul: Seongseoyeonguwon, 2001); Kanzo Uchimura, *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip* [우찌무라 간조 전집 *The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo*], trans. Yugon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojeok, 2003).

²⁶ William Wiersma, *Research Methods in Education* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1985), 176.

written in Korean.

The second limitation is related to the scope of the subjects that have influenced the NCM, such as Confucianism and Quakerism. This work focuses on the relationship between Confucian spirituality and the NCM's spirituality. In particular, it focuses on the aspect of learning in Confucianism which is believed to have influenced the spirituality of the NCM. The study also examines the connections between the NCM and Quakerism, on the assumption that the latter's flat ecclesiology influenced the NCM. However, a comprehensive examination of all aspects of Confucianism and Quakerism is beyond the scope of the thesis.

1.6. A Brief Introduction of the NCM

1.6.1. Historical and Social Backgrounds

Korea, China, Japan, and other countries in the East Asia were greatly influenced by the West in terms of culture and religion in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. However, the culturally and religiously anti-western or anti-foreign movements were also conspicuous in those countries at that time.

The Meiji period in Japan (1868-1912) was in many senses revolutionary. During this time, Japan became the first nation-state in East Asia to attempt an exodus from the zone of influence of Chinese culture. Ahead of the other Eastern nations, Japan adopted modern Western political institutions and established a new constitution under the monarchy. As a result, the old feudal classes of samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants disappeared, and industrialization began ahead of other Asian countries, which enabled Japan to eventually become a great imperialist power.²⁷

²⁷ William G. Beasley, *The Meiji Restoration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 241-72; 325-49.

Japan attacked China in 1894 because of the latter's influence over Korea. Japan then colonized Joseon (the former name of Korea) in 1910, a colonization that lasted for 35 years until 1945. During the occupation (1910-1945), most Koreans had no hope for the future and nothing for which to strive. Therefore, especially this period in Korea can be characterized as one when anti-Japanese resistance movements took shape.²⁸

1.6.2. Classification

The NCM may appear to have the qualities of a sect or a cult. It depends upon the perspective adopted. Sociological classification of the NCM is helpful in understanding its features. Christians generally regard the institution of the church as an indispensable and helpful means of spiritual growth and advancement. Nevertheless, some radicals, such as the NCM, believe the institution of the church is unnecessary. The NCM rejects church organizational structures and clericalism, as well as organized Sunday worship services and rituals, such as the Eucharist and water baptism.²⁹

Taking this into account, how then should the NCM be classified? Ernst Troeltsch proposed a typology to explain the various forms of Christianity.³⁰ He defined the church as an institution endowed with grace and salvation which “seeks to be coterminous with the secular community and thereby accommodates itself to the

²⁸ Andrew C. Nahm, *Korea: Tradition and Transformation* (Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym International Corp., 1988), chaps. 6-8; Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 315-27. See 2.3.3.

²⁹ The NCM rejects traditional Sunday church services, which it regards as an empty ritual ceremony that is not faithful to the teachings of the Bible. Rather, NCM members believe that a Bible study will suffice. Yet it is interesting that nowadays some members use the term “Bible study” to refer to their meeting on a Sunday. See 7.4.3.2. Participant Observation.

³⁰ Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon, 2 vols. (London: George Allen & Unwin Brothers Ltd., 1931).

reigning social ethos.”³¹ He suggested that it tends to absorb the secular order, and that it tends to dominate the masses.

In contrast, Troeltsch defined a sect as a voluntary group whose members make an explicit commitment of faith and bear witness to an experience of rebirth. The sect places emphasis on law rather than grace, on the visible manifestation of religion in everyday life rather than on the preservation of inherited forms of worship and piety. What the sect apprehends is not the development of a wide-ranging organized theology but the living out of a strict ethic and the cultivation of a passionate hope for the future.³² The sect seeks to extract itself from the secular order.³³ Troeltsch discerns the sect-type in groups such as radical Baptists, the Anabaptists, and Methodists. He suggests that sects are opposed to the church even though sectarians see themselves as reformers of the faith itself.

A sect is a smaller, less highly organized grouping of committed believers, usually setting itself up in protest against what a church has become—as Calvinists or Methodists did. Churches normally have a formal, bureaucratic structure, with a hierarchy of religious officials, and tend to represent the conservative face of religion, since they are integrated into the existing institutional order. Most of their adherents are like their parents in being church members.³⁴

Sects are comparatively small; they usually aim at discovering and following 'the true way', and tend to withdraw from the surrounding society into communities of their own. The members of sects regard established churches as corrupt. Most have few or no officials, all members being regarded as equal participants. A small proportion of people are born into sects, but most actively join them in order to further their beliefs.³⁵

As opposed to both these two types, mysticism has a tendency to transcend external forms and rites in its search for an immediate or direct experience of God. It

³¹ Donald G. Bloesch, *The Church* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 2002), 190.

³² Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 996.

³³ Bloesch, *Church*, 191.

³⁴ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, 5th ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 546.

³⁵ Giddens, *Sociology*, 547: “A denomination is a sect which has 'cooled down' and become an institutionalised body rather than active protest group. Sects which survive over any period of time inevitably become denominations. Thus Calvinism and Methodism were sects during their early formation, when they generated great fervour among their members; but over the years they have become more 'respectable.' Denominations are recognized as more or less legitimate by churches and exist alongside them, quite often cooperating harmoniously with them.”

does not deny formal worship and doctrine, but its spotlight is on an entirely personal and inward experience. It brings making contact with God to a focus with all eyes turned upon Him. It “alone conceives Christian piety as a living creative movement of the present day, and as a factor in the universal movement of religious consciousness in general.”³⁶ Troeltsch discerns the mystical type in Thomas Münzer, the Quakers, and many other groups.

A fourth classification is the cult. Cults can be defined either theologically or sociologically. From a theological perspective, Ronald Enroth defines a cult “as a group of people gathered about a specific person’s interpretation of the Bible.”³⁷ Cults deviate considerably from historic Christianity. However, paradoxically, members insist on being classified as Christian. According to Walter R. Martin, while cults may “claim the distinction of either tracing their origin to orthodox sources or of being in essential harmony with those sources”,³⁸ cults adhere to major doctrines “contradictory to orthodox Christianity.”³⁹ For Martin, cultism “is any major deviation from orthodox Christianity relative to the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith.”⁴⁰

Gordon R. Lewis defines the cult as “any religious movement which claims the backing of Christ or the Bible, but distorts the central message of Christianity by an additional revelation, and by displacing a fundamental tenet of faith with a secondary matter.”⁴¹ The Evangelical theologian, Donald G. Bloesch, describes cults in the following terms:

There is an emphasis on charismatic leadership and conscious commitment to syncretism. The cult is

³⁶ Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 996.

³⁷ Ronald Enroth, “*What is a Cult?*” in a Guide to Cults & New Religions, (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity, 1983), 15.

³⁸ Walter R. Martin, *Rise of the Cult* (Minneapolis: Bethany Fellowship, Inc., 1965), 11.

³⁹ Martin, *Rise of the Cult*, 11.

⁴⁰ Martin, *Rise of the Cult*, 11.

⁴¹ Gordon R. Lewis, *Confronting the Cults* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., 1966), 4.

an excursus religion that is not interested in restoring pristine forms of piety and organization but in creating an entirely new spiritual ethos. The cult combines elements of the sect and the mystical society. It challenges the religious establishment not by calling for reform but by presenting a new vision for both the church and society. It is not indifferent to rites and ceremonies but frequently creates new rites for a new kind of religious and world order. The cult is a seedbed of a new religion rather than an effort to purify existing forms of religion.⁴²

Cults resemble sects, but have different emphases. They are the most loosely knit and transient of all religious organizations, being composed of individuals who reject what they see as the values of the outside society. Their focus is on individual experience, bringing like-minded individuals together. People do not formally join a cult, but rather follow particular theories or prescribed ways of behaviour. Members are usually allowed to maintain other religious connections. Like sects, cults quite often form around an inspirational leader. Instances of cults in the West today would include groups of believers in spiritualism, astrology or transcendental meditation.⁴³

Writing from within the Reformed theological tradition, Anthony A. Hoekema, identifies the distinctive traits of the cult as “an extra-Scriptural source of authority,” “the denial of justification by grace alone,” and “the group’s central role in eschatology.”⁴⁴ According to Hoekema, the four major cults are Mormonism, Seventh-Day Adventism, Christian Science, and Jehovah’s Witnesses.⁴⁵

On the other hand, sociologists, such as Bryan Wilson, tend to adopt a more inclusive definition of sects by including cults within their spectrum.⁴⁶ Thus, in contrast to Hoekema, Wilson does not distinguish between the sect and the cult, classifying the Unification Church, Christian Science, and Jehovah’s Witnesses as sects. Howard Becker, who categorises mysticism as a cult, states that “the cult is seen as a progression out of tendencies clearly visible in the sect, and denominations are merely mature sects.”⁴⁷

Therefore, from a sociological point of view, it is irrelevant to ask whether the Non-Church Movement is a cult or a sect as sociologists tend not to make a clear distinction between the two categories. From this perspective, the NCM can be regarded

⁴² Bloesch, *Church*, 192.

⁴³ Giddens, *Sociology*, 547.

⁴⁴ Anthony A. Hoekema, *The Four Major Cults* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1963), 1-8, 378-403.

⁴⁵ Hoekema, *The Four Major Cults*, 1-8, 378-403.

⁴⁶ Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects* (London: World University Library, 1970), 7-21.

⁴⁷ Michael Hill, *A Sociology of Religion* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1973), 64.

as a sect. On the other hand, theologically the NCM cannot be classified as a cult because it does not draw upon extra-Biblical sources, it does not deny justification by grace, and it does not insist on the central role of the group in eschatology. Thus, it seems close to the sect type or falls between the sect and mysticism, as described by Troeltsch.

The Evangelical theologian, P. T. Forsyth, recognized the positive role of the sects in restoring balance to the church: “The sects arose as gifts of God to the Church. They rose for a churchly need and purpose. They were appointed to recall the Church to this or that neglected point in the fullness of the gospel. They were parts and servants of the church, and should from the first have been so regarded.”⁴⁸ By challenging Christians to study the Bible and have a more Bible-centred faith, it could be said that the NCM has functioned as a sect. Emil Brunner rightly states that the sect furnishes an antidote to formalism, though it generally ends by creating a formalism of its own.⁴⁹

In his typology, Troeltsch made a sharp distinction between the sect and the church. Whereas the church is hierarchic and conservative, appealing to ruling classes for whom it operates as an agency of social control, the sect is egalitarian, radical and an expression of the depressed condition of underprivileged groups and is a subjective fellowship, a community in which personal holiness is emphasised.⁵⁰ However,

⁴⁸ P. T. Forsyth, *The Church and the Sacraments* (London: Independent Press, 1947), 40.

⁴⁹ Emil Brunner, *The Misunderstanding of the Church*, trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953), 97-98: “There results, however, from this very principle of the possible and necessary reproduction of the New Testament *Ecclesia* in its formal structure, the continued process of unceasing church reformations: for the so-called “sectarian” developments of those times were at bottom nothing but a protest against the insufficient radicalism with which the New Testament *Ecclesia* had been restored, the attempt to take more seriously the *imitatio ecclesiae* than the established churches had done—whether of the Lutheran or Zwinglian-Calvinistic variety. The never-ending fissure of new sects from the Church springs ever afresh from the impulse to approximate more closely to the *Ecclesia* of the New Testament, indeed to become completely identical with it in every particular. In these attempts, the salient feature was discovered now here, now there, so that there arose not only a great number but also a great variety of ecclesiastical structures, each one of which claimed and still claims to be the most faithful copy of the original.”

⁵⁰ Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 691-730; Wilson, *Religious Sects*, 22.

Troeltsch's typology was influenced by his European cultural perspective and historical context. While it could be said to have worked well in some European countries, it does not necessarily apply to other contexts.⁵¹ It is difficult to classify the NCM according to Troeltsch's typology, because it originated not in Europe but in the East Asia, where the voluntary principle of membership, a key characteristic of sects, is the hallmark of all contemporary religions.

Using Troeltsch's typology, the NCM would seem to fall somewhere between the sect and mysticism rather than fit clearly into one or other category. This may be because Troeltsch's research area was limited to the West, and consequently his analysis of religious groups did not include the NCM. In fact, it seems that he was not especially well acquainted with the sectarianism of his own time even in the West. Wilson points out that Troeltsch's analysis was only applicable to religious manifestations in Germany and in Anglo-Saxon countries.⁵²

Despite this, Troeltsch's typology is not entirely irrelevant to the East Asian context and it helps us to understand certain characteristics of the Non-Church Movement. In contrast to the church, the sect is a small separatist group with a voluntary membership and an exclusive character. Sects claim an alternative set of teachings, commandments and practices from orthodox Christianity. The substitute is fundamentally a set of changed emphases, with some elements added and some omitted.⁵³ However this substitute never means a comprehensive and full rejection of all basics in orthodox tradition.⁵⁴

Troeltsch stated that the church is integrated with the world, while the sect is

⁵¹ Wilson, *Religious Sects*, 24.

⁵² Bryan Wilson, *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 96.

⁵³ Wilson, *Religious Sects*, 27-28.

⁵⁴ Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 700-701.

totalitarian and at variance with the church, rejecting many of its associations and much of its culture. Yet the NCM is not totalitarian and is not opposed to engaging with society. Rather, it emphasises individualism. Kim Kyo-sin wished to involve himself in matters of development in Korea. Therefore, in this respect, the NCM does not seem to belong to the classification of a sect.

However, the NCM can be considered a sect when it comes to its identification with reformers of faith. Its aim is not the development of a wide-ranging organized theology but the living out of a strict ethic and the cultivation of a passionate hope for the future. It is egalitarian, radical and an expression of the depressed condition of underprivileged groups. It is a community in which personal holiness is emphasised, even though some features of the movement depart from the ideal sect typology.

However, in some respects the NCM also seems to fit the category of mysticism in that it rejects any institutional elements, emphasises lay experience and has an individualistic orientation.⁵⁵ Yet it does not have the most important element of mysticism: ‘inward experience-oriented-way of life.’ In mysticism, it is the free personal experience that matters most. However, for the NCM, inward experience is not important. Mysticism seeks for an immediate or direct experience of God, while not repudiating formal worship and doctrine.

Therefore it is not appropriate to classify the NCM as genuine mysticism.⁵⁶ Neither is it correct to refer to it as a sect, even though it can be said to have certain features of a sect. Hence it is necessary to place the NCM into another category: the movement.

A social movement is “a collective attempt to further a common interest, or

⁵⁵ Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 693.

⁵⁶ Troeltsch, *Social Teaching*, 993.

secure a common goal, through collective action outside the sphere of established institutions.”⁵⁷ A group of people involved in movements form informal interaction networks, and share the same beliefs, solidarity, ideas or aims. They participate in collective action focusing on conflicts.⁵⁸ To put it differently, a social or theological movement is a collective attempt of a large-scale grouping of individuals and (or) organizations focused on specific political or social or theological issues.⁵⁹ A social or theological movement consists of a number of people organized and coordinated to achieve some task or a collection of goals. Often, the participants are interested in bringing about social or theological change.⁶⁰ Compared to other forms of collective behaviour, movements have a high degree of organization and are of longer duration, but not so long as that of a group of mystics or of a sect.⁶¹

Religious movements have been omnipresent throughout history. They occur in waves and are regularly rediscovered. “New religious movements are an old and more

⁵⁷ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 642.

⁵⁸ Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 1999), 14-16.

⁵⁹ Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, “Introduction: Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing process – toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements,” in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 5-6: “A social movement is a sustained and self-conscious challenge to authorities or cultural codes by a field of actors (organizations and advocacy networks), some of whom employ extra-institutional means of influence.... Movements often have a range of actors pursuing numerous strategies in both institutional and extra-institutional venues.” See also, William A. Gamson and David S. Meyer, “Framing Political Opportunity,” in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 283.

⁶⁰ Kenneth T. Andrews, “Creating Social Change: Lessons from the Civil,” in *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*, ed. David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 106: “Social movements attempt to bring many different types of change. For example, in recent years feminists have attempted to develop parallel organizations, raise consciousness, change public opinion, reform mainstream institutions, and promote non-sexist language and informal behaviour.”

⁶¹ Jo Reger, “More Than One Feminism: Organizational Structure and the Construction of Collective Identity,” in *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*, ed. David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 172. “Initial structures may be shaped by the availability of mobilizing structures, but once a movement is active, it is the organizational profile of those groups purporting to represent the movement that become important. Organizational profiles, including strategies, tactics, and targets, are shaped by movement ideologies, which in turn influence the construction of organizational structure.”

or less continuous phenomenon. They have been a significant source of cultural and ideological innovation.”⁶² So it may be more appropriate to call the NCM a Christian social-theological movement aiming to transform social and theological matters of the time rather than to classify it as either a sect or mysticism. Among David Aberle’s four types of movement, it can be claimed that the NCM falls in between a transformative movement and a reformatory movement.⁶³ Therefore, the NCM can be regarded as a movement seeking to bring together Koreans of all denominations to explore the Christian faith in an open-minded and non-judgemental environment.

1.6.3. The Meaning of the NCM

What is the Non-Church Movement (無教會運動)? To some extent, the name is a misnomer as it does not mean that the movement is not a church in the broadest sense of the term. Uchimura’s definition was very inclusive.⁶⁴ For him, the word “non” reflected his own position. By its use, he was declaring both his independence of and dissatisfaction with traditional institutionalised churches.⁶⁵ *Mukyokai* or *Mugyohoe* sometimes preferred to be interpreted as a gathering for Christians who have no church to attend.

The Japanese scholar and NCM member, Suzuki Norihisa (1935-), seems to

⁶² Fred Kniss and Gene Burns, “Religious Movements,” in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2007), 697.

⁶³ David Aberle, *The Peyote Religion Among the Navaho* (Chicago: Aldine Press, 1966); Giddens, *Sociology*, 643: “Transformative movements aim at far-reaching change in the society or societies of which they are a part. The changes their members anticipate are cataclysmic, all-embracing.... Examples are revolutionary movements or some radical religious movements.... Reformatory movements have more limited objectives, aspiring to alter only some aspects of the existing social order. They concern themselves with specific kinds of inequality or injustice.”

⁶⁴ Raymond P. Jennings, *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura: A Study of the View of the Church of Kanzo Uchimura and its Significance for Japanese Christianity* (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1958), 54.

⁶⁵ Jennings, *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura*, 54.

prefer to explain it in relation to Buddhism.⁶⁶ The first word (無) means “nothing”, “naught”, “nil”, “nihility”, and “zero”; the second (教會) means “church”. In Buddhism, it is impossible for two independent substances of subjects and objects to exist, and humans suffer because they disregard this truth and seek selfhood or autonomy.⁶⁷ Buddhism states that this striving for autonomy is a desire for a false reality, and as long as one is caught up in this illusive desire, one is doomed to suffer. In order to free oneself from such illusions, Buddhism advocates ethical training and contemplation. The goal of such activity is to extinguish all desires and attachments, and to attain the state of “mu” (無) or “sunya”, which is a Sanskrit word for “mu” indicating “the emptiness” or “the void.” This condition allows one to grasp the impermanent and illusory nature of the self because “mu,” the highest state for a Buddhist, is a spiritual state in which human subjectivity does not exist. In this state of negation, one is no longer a prisoner to one’s base desires but is liberated from them and no longer does base deeds. It liberates one “from the self-mad prisons of cultural norms and postulational systems, and from the effort to gratify the insatiable demands of the senses.”⁶⁸

With this in mind, Suzuki suggests that the word “non” (無) is similar to a Buddhist term, meaning universal “nonbeing” or “nothingness.”⁶⁹ For Buddhists, the term indicates the attainment of complete enlightenment of the all inclusiveness of the universe.⁷⁰ In the same way that Suzuki asserts that the word “non” is being used in this

⁶⁶ Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo* [無教會主義者 内村鑑三 *Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo*], trans. Jin-man Kim (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995), 99-100.

⁶⁷ Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 53-54.

⁶⁸ Nolan Pliny Jacobson, *Buddhism: The Religion of Analysis*, 158.

⁶⁹ Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo* (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995), 99-100.

⁷⁰ Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism*, 60-66: “Nirvana is only attained when there is total non-

way in the NCM,⁷¹ Chung Jun Ki also tries to prove it in his PhD thesis.⁷² Yet this interpretation seems a little strained. Church-less Christianity would perhaps be a better way of explaining the meaning of the NCM.

1.6.4. The Origin of the NCM: the Search for Non-Denominational Christianity

Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930), a Christian lay thinker, was the founder of the NCM. Uchimura Kanzo was born in Tokyo, Japan, on the 28th of March 1861. His father, Uchimura Yoshiyuki, urged him to receive a traditional Confucian education as well as acquire a modern education, which would allow him to cope with the realities of his day and age. He graduated from Sapporo Agricultural College in Japan with a Bachelor of Science Degree in 1881.⁷³

Uchimura Kanzo's decision to become a Christian was, on the one hand, influenced by Western teachers at the college. He was baptized by Merriam Colbert Harris, an American Methodist missionary, in June 1878.⁷⁴ After graduation, he worked for the government for a short period (1883-1884). He married Asada Take on 28th March 1884. However, the marriage turned out to be an unhappy one: the marriage

attachment and letting go. Nirvana literally means extinction or quenching, being the word used for the extinction of a fire." See also Nolan Pliny Jacobson, *Buddhism: The Religion of Analysis* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1966), 158-59. Buddhists hold that the basic reality of human life is suffering. Human beings suffer because they posit themselves (subjects) as separate from the rest of the world (objects). According to Buddhism, this subject/object distinction is a great error. All phenomena, including ourselves, exist only by virtue of being linked to other phenomena. Therefore it is impossible for two independent substances of subjects and objects to exist in Buddhism. Humans suffer because they disregard this truth and seek selfhood or autonomy. According to Buddhism, this striving for autonomy is a desire for a false reality, and as long as one is caught up in this illusive desire, one is doomed to suffer.

⁷¹ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 99-100.

⁷² Jun Ki Chung, "Social Criticism in Non-Church Christianity in Japan and Korea," (PhD diss., Chicago University, 1987), 110-13.

⁷³ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip [우찌무라 간조 전집 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojok, 2003), 2:21; John F. Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 21, 88.

⁷⁴ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip [우찌무라 간조 전집 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojok, 2003), 2:32.

lasted less than nine months and he suffered harsh criticism because of the divorce.⁷⁵

Afterwards, Uchimura went to the United States in 1884, partly because he wanted to avoid the harsh criticism he was receiving due to his divorce, and partly because he wished to continue his education. He enrolled in Amherst College,⁷⁶ MA in September 1885 as a junior, where he studied Science, Biblical History, and Philosophy, especially Hegel. In 1888, he returned to Japan. While he was in Pennsylvania in the United States, he made some friends who were Quakers and was greatly influenced by them when it came to ecclesiology. His concept of “flat church” would appear to have been substantially influenced by Quakerism.⁷⁷

After returning to Japan in 1888, Uchimura Kanzo became a well-known figure in Japan and Europe because of his writings about Non-Church Christianity, including one of his famous books, *How I Became a Christian (Diary of a Japanese Convert)*, which was translated into English in Tokyo in May 1895, and later into German, Swedish, Finnish, Danish, and French. It was especially popular in Germany.⁷⁸

In many respects the NCM is the result of Uchimura’s criticism of the West. Uchimura found the Christianity that the Western church introduced into Japan through Western missionaries was not based exclusively on the Bible, but largely on the improper interpretations that Western value systems had made. Therefore it was Uchimura’s attempt to purify Western Christianity, which had begun to put down its roots in the soil of Japan. He wanted to develop a genuine form of Christianity devoid of Western-oriented values and culture. For that reason, he tried to create a Japanese

⁷⁵ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 28-29.

⁷⁶ This college has become one of the premier liberal arts colleges in the U.S.A since its founding in 1821. It is located in Amherst, Massachusetts, a town of 35,000 people in the western part of the state.

⁷⁷ Ben Pink Dandelion, ‘Issues in contemporary Quakerism.’ A Lecture of Ben Pink Dandelion at Woodbrooke College, Birmingham, 7 Feb 2005. The terminology, “flat church,” was used to describe Quaker leadership by Dandelion. See Ben Pink Dandelion, *A Sociological Analysis of the Theology of Quakers: The Silent Revolution* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), chap. 5.

⁷⁸ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 62-63.

Christianity, distinct from the Euro-American institutional forms of denominational churches.⁷⁹

For this reason, it is claimed by Soyoung Baik Chey that the NCM is the outcome of Uchimura Kanzo's attempt to establish a form of Christianity distinct from the Western institutional forms of denominational churches and free from the influence of Western Christianity.⁸⁰ Chey describes the NCM as the indigenous Christianity. Yet her use of "indigenous" is perhaps inappropriate because Uchimura did not incorporate elements of indigenous religions like Shinto.

Uchimura thought that Christianity in Japan at that time was denominational and influenced by Western values. He regarded it as a corrupt and impure expression of Christianity because it was obsessed with denominational competition and influenced by Western culture. He rejected it as unsuitable for non-Western people.⁸¹

As noted, one reason Uchimura took umbrage with Western Christianity was its denominational orientation.⁸² In his opinion, the churches in the West sought first the interests of their denomination rather than the Kingdom of God. He became aware of the matter of denominationalism when he encountered Christianity for the first time at Sapporo Agricultural College. During his studies in the United States, he was surprised and disappointed by the existence of a great variety of Christian denominations there. It led him to believe that the kind of Christianity that ought to take root in Japanese soil

⁷⁹ In Uchimura's thought, England produced Episcopalianism, Scotland produced Presbyterianism, and Germany, Lutheranism. As a result there is an English Christianity, a Scottish Christianity, a German Christianity, and an American Christianity; and similarly there could be a Japanese Christianity.

⁸⁰ Soyoung Baik Chey, "Korean Non-Church Christian Movement, 1927-1989: Transcending the World and Transforming the Church," (ThD diss., Boston University, 2003), 84.

⁸¹ Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura 1861-1930* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 93. It was reported that the number of Christian denominations in the world in Uchimura's time was over six hundred.

⁸² Uchimura Kanzo described Western Christianity as sectarian. But what he intended to mean by the word was not different from Ernst Troeltsch's use of the term. When Uchimura describes the churches in the West as sectarian, he means they are too denomination-oriented.

must be one without sectarianism.⁸³

As a result, Uchimura declared it wrong that there were so many Christian denominations in the United States. Therefore, he tended to hold the American missionaries in contempt. He believed that the original spirit of Christianity was its aspiration for goodness, charity, and brotherhood, but he could not find these elements in sectarianism. He was angry that many denominations made meaningless boasts about themselves, enjoyed being argumentative, were full of a competitive spirit, and were indifferent to one another. This fact filled him with indignation towards the Western missionaries. The American churches, on the whole, seemed less concerned with forming a spiritual community than with perpetuating their social clubs, namely their churches, or so it seemed to him.⁸⁴

When Uchimura Kanzo returned to Japan, he found that the state of Japanese churches was quite similar to that of American churches. He insisted that sectarianism was a symptom of the church's corruption and that it was the American missionary community that was largely responsible for this development. Consequently, he tried to create genuine Christianity, untainted by the churches of the West. In order to increase his audience, he published a magazine, *Seisho no Kenkyu* (聖書之研究 *The Biblical Study*), between September 1900 and April 1930.⁸⁵ He believed that Christianity in Japan was on the brink of schism and being swamped in ritualism.

⁸³ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga?* [How I Became a Christian?], in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip* [우찌무라 간조 전집 *The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo*], trans. Yungon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojek, 2003), 2:19-180.

⁸⁴ Kanzo Uchimura 内村鑑三, *Jonggyojwadam* [宗教座談 *Symposium of Religion*], trans. Ho-yun Jeon (Seoul: Seolusa, 1983), 9-11.

⁸⁵ Akio Dohi, *Ilbon Gidokgyosa* [일본 기독교사 *A History of the Protestant Church in Japan*], trans. Soo-Jin Kim (Seoul: Gidokgyomunsa, 1991), 177; Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 94-98; Uchimura, "Bonjiui Seongjil," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1900 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:248-49; Uchimura, "Gidokgyojeok Jabjiui Balhaeng," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1916 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:260-61.

1.6.5. Growing Criticism of Korean Churches

In the late nineteenth century, some Korean intellectuals criticized the Western missionaries' policy of non-involvement in political matters in Korea.⁸⁶ This resulted in the missionaries losing their credibility.⁸⁷ Min Gyeong-bae asserts that as a result the missionaries, in the midst of their frustration, decided to hold revival meetings.⁸⁸ This led to the Great Revival of 1907 in Pyeongyang.

In the early twentieth century, critiques of Korean churches came not only from socialists⁸⁹ and communists, such as Yi Dong-hui (1873-1935),⁹⁰ but also from intellectuals like Yi Gwang-su (1892-1950), who identified the fundamental problems inherent within the contemporary Korean churches.⁹¹ Yi's criticism was significant because he was an influential figure who represented the contemporary intellectuals.⁹²

In addition to voices from outside, Korean Christians such as Kim Jang-ho⁹³ and a number of YMCA members⁹⁴ also criticized Western missionaries and the kind of Christianity they had introduced.⁹⁵ Kim Jang-ho criticized the denominational consciousness characteristic of the European and American western churches, and

⁸⁶ Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukidokgyohoesa* [한국기독교회사 A History of the Korean Church], rev. ed. (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpanbu, 1993), 257-58.

⁸⁷ Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukidokgyohoesa*, 258.

⁸⁸ Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukidokgyohoesa*, 258.

⁸⁹ Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960* [한국기독교회사 1910-1960 History of the Korean Church 1910-1960] (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 202.

⁹⁰ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 187, 192; Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukidokgyohoesa*, 332, 338, 355, 402-408.

⁹¹ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 202; Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukidokgyohoesa*, 328-32.

⁹² Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 202.

⁹³ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 204, 208.

⁹⁴ Man-yeol Yi, *Hangukidokgyowa Minjokuisik* [한국기독교와 민족의식 Korean Christianity and National Consciousness] (Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 2000), 366, 371.

⁹⁵ Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukidokgyohoesa* [한국기독교회사 A History of the Korean Church], rev. ed. (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpanbu, 1993), 342-48; Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng* [겨레사랑 성서사랑 김교신 선생 Love of Nation Love of the Bible Master Kim Kyo-sin] (Seoul: Malsseumgwa Mannam, 2002), 29-30.

which was transmitted to the Korean context.⁹⁶ Surprisingly, one exception to this anti-foreign, anti-missionary criticism was Japanese colonial policy.⁹⁷

The motives and purposes of the critiques were diverse. For example communists aimed at dismantling Christianity. However, the intellectual, Yi Gwang-su, did not seem to have this kind of intention,⁹⁸ and as Park Yong Kyu admits, Yi's criticism was at least partially founded on facts.⁹⁹ It was in these circumstances that the NCM, under Kim's leadership, emerged with an awareness of the urgent need to create a Korean Christianity.

1.6.6. Introduction of the NCM to Korea and the influence of Uchimura Kanzo

Certain Korean intellectuals were greatly inspired by the personality of Uchimura Kanzo after he gave a lecture on Christianity, partially because there were no Western-value-oriented ideas in his teachings, nor did he share the high-handed attitude common among the Western missionaries.¹⁰⁰ Among these intellectuals were Ham Seok-heon, Song Du-yong, Jeong Sang-hun, Yu Seok-dong, Yang In-seong, and Kim Kyo-sin, who all played important roles in the Korean Non-Church Movement. They became the founders of the movement in Korea.¹⁰¹

These founders felt the need for the Korean people to preserve an identity of their own, but they wanted to ensure that this identity was constructive and virtuous.

⁹⁶ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 208.

⁹⁷ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 208, 211.

⁹⁸ Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa*, 329.

⁹⁹ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 202.

¹⁰⁰ Uchimura lived in Tokyo since 1907 until his death in 1930. During this period, he concentrated on studying the Bible and gave lectures every Sunday on the study of the Bible. Kim Kyo-sin attended Uchimura's Bible meetings in Tokyo for seven years from November 1920 to March 1927. The first lecture on Romans was held on 16 Jan. 1921. Since then Kim never missed a single class until his return to Korea in March 1927. Uchimura was 61 years old and Kim was 21 years old in Jan. 1921. See 3.3.1.

¹⁰¹ Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21 and "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26; Kyo-sin Kim, "Geondeuriji Malra," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1940, 2.

They were very opposed to church schisms and denominational splits, for which they held the early foreign missionaries responsible, and believed that such divisions weakened the church, which, in turn, weakened the nation. They devoted themselves to making their Non-Church Movement a “Joseon Christianity.”¹⁰²

The relationship between Kim and Uchimura was so special that it is not possible to fully appreciate Kim’s thought without studying his relation to Uchimura and Uchimura’s thoughts. The same was true of the other five founding members of the Korean NCM. Kim and his colleagues were impressed not only by Uchimura’s understanding of the Bible but also by Uchimura’s concern for the Japanese people. Significantly, it was Uchimura’s patriotism that most attracted their attention. What they found in Uchimura was what they most wanted to achieve in Korea. They saw in him a model for what they would try to accomplish. This point will be further examined in chapter three.

1.7. Features of the NCM in Korea

1.7.1. Anticlerical and Lay Movement

The NCM can be considered a Christian movement without the accompanying rites and institutions.¹⁰³ To put it differently, it is a form of Christianity that attaches little importance to rites and institutions.¹⁰⁴ NCM members challenged the need for clerical leadership since they regarded the clergy’s functions, quality, and excessive

¹⁰² Joseon or Chos n: the former name of Korea. Kyo-sin Kim, “Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya,” *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21 and “Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya,” *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26; Kyo-sin Kim, “Geondeuriji Malra,” *Seongseojoseon*, May 1940, 2. Profoundly influenced by Uchimura, they took a similar view on Korea. They intended to make the Non-Church Movement an all-encompassing response to the religious, moral, cultural, and political problems in Korea.

¹⁰³ Uchimura, “Sectarianism,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, November 1924 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 15:500-502.

¹⁰⁴ Uchimura, *Jonggyojwadam*, 8-15.

authority unacceptable.¹⁰⁵ They encouraged lay Christians to study the Bible for themselves.

The NCM maintains that institutions are artificial constructions with fixed qualities, which are set up by human beings to preserve social and political order. However, such institutions tend to go against the very essence of freedom in life and become mechanical; rules are made and structures are built primarily for the sake of perpetuating the institution. Therefore, the use of human life to serve institutions is a perversion of the purpose of institutions. Institutions should serve human life, rather than the other way around. Therefore, the NCM urged people not to lose sight of the original purposes for which institutions were made. Institutions must always be modified and must correct themselves so that they can better serve God.¹⁰⁶

NCM members tended to deliberately distinguish the two words: church and *ecclesia*. They use the word “church” as a cultic guild that tries endlessly to control and to take advantage of its members for the benefit of its higher ranks, without giving freedom to its members. In contrast, they used the word “*ecclesia*” as a gathering that exists for its members, not for its higher ranks, as there are no higher ranks in the NCM. Accordingly, the *ecclesia*, in their view, was simply interpreted as an assembly of Christians or a gathering of Christians in a communal context, where Christ is the centre, and love and faith draw them together. It is a family-like, loving community in which Christian fellowship grows outside the organized church.¹⁰⁷

But there is some inconsistency in their use of terminology, and they sometimes

¹⁰⁵ Kyo-sin Kim, “Hananim Jungsimui Sinangeuro Doraora,” *Seongseojoseon*, December 1935 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:242-243; Kyo-sin Kim, “Mugyohoe Mundap,” *Seongseojoseon*, March 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 254-55.

¹⁰⁶ Kyo-sin Kim, “Golrosaeseo Gangui 4 - Geuriseudoui Ingyeokgwa Saeop,” *Seongseojoseon*, February 1940, 26; Kyo-sin Kim, “Golrosaeseo Gangui 7 - Inseupgwa Yulbeopui Jibaeseo Seoklbangdoida,” *Seongseojoseon*, July 1940, 4.

¹⁰⁷ Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura 1861-1930* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 84-87.

used the terms “church” and “*ecclesia*” interchangeably in their writings. It is also necessary to note that the movement’s lecture meetings can be considered a church.

1.7.2. A Confucian Academy School Model

Kim Kyo-sin and other founding members were intellectually mature individuals, who not only had a good knowledge of the Confucian classics but also had an opportunity to learn Western thought in modern school systems. With this Confucian background, they either consciously or unconsciously introduced a version of the Confucian academy school model into Korean Christianity. In traditional Korean society, small children studied Confucian literature such as the Analects of Confucius at a village private school called a *seodang* (書堂).

The private school was not only the centre for learning but also an important part of the local community, in which important public discussions were held among the village people. The village *seodang* (書堂) had always been an unofficial educational institution exempt from the control of central government. Whoever wished to teach Confucian texts could develop and run a *seodang* and also close it at their own discretion. Each institution was composed of one teacher and a small number of students. The main teaching methods of the institution included reading, memorizing, and interpreting Confucian texts.¹⁰⁸

The Korean NCM can be said to have been a kind of a Confucian academy school model of Christianity that lacked traditional church participants, Sunday worship services, liturgy, and sacraments. Because of the absence of these features, mainstream churches relentlessly criticized the members of the NCM. This point will be further

¹⁰⁸ Hong-jik Yi, ed., *Guksataesajeon* [국사태사전 *Encyclopedia of Korean History*] (Seoul: Minjungseodang, 1997), 617.

examined in chapter four.

1.7.3. The Search for Korean National Identity

In order to understand the NCM, a patriotic attitude and nationalism must be distinguished from one another. Kim Kyo-sin may have tended to focus on Korean national identity but this should not be overemphasised. Some historical theologians such as Min Gyeong-bae and Seo Jeong-min endeavour to highlight the nationalistic aspect of the NCM and attempt to explain its salience in terms of a form of Christian nationalism. In their thinking, during the early twentieth century Korea needed to establish a national spirit through the power of a religious faith familiar to ordinary Koreans, in order to recover their lost country from Japanese domination.¹⁰⁹ According to them, the Korean NCM was used as a tool to achieve this purpose in the same way that Buddhism was relied upon during the time of the Mongol invasions. Like many other countries, Koreans had shown an inclination to seek after religion in response to threatening situations. For example, when the Mongols invaded Korea during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Koreans fought for as long as forty years, deriving comfort from Buddhist insights.¹¹⁰ However, these theologians go too far in explaining the NCM in these terms. For Kim, Christianity was not a political ideology, and he rejected all attempts to identify the gospel with any particular political ideology.

While the search for national identity is evident in both Uchimura's and Kim

¹⁰⁹ Gyeong-bae Min, "Kim Kyo-sinui Mugyohoejuuiwa Joseonjeok Gidokgyo [김교신의 무교회주의와 조선적 기독교 Kim Kyo-sin's Non-Church Movement and Korean Church], in *Mangye Jo Seon-chul Baksa Hoegapginyeomnonmunjip* [만계 조선출 박사 회갑기념 논문집 A Collection of Scholarly Papers for the 60th Anniversary of Doctor Jo Seon-chul], ed. Mangyeganhaengjip (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 1975), 181-206; Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng* [겨레사랑 성서사랑 김교신 선생 Love of Nation Love of the Bible Master Kim Kyo-sin] (Seoul: Malsseumgwa Mannam, 2002).

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Kyo-sin's works, it would be wrong to say that the NCM was based mainly on patriotic nationalism. While wishing for Korea's independence, Kim wrote euphemistically in his magazine to avoid the inspection of Japanese police. Kim stated that "Korea needs money, power ... Korea desperately needs Christianity ... Korea needs Him. [When] we get Him, we would get all things, [when] we lose Him, we will lose all things."¹¹¹ It is probable that for Kim the phrase ("get all things") meant to attain independence and to be strong in all dimensions, and the phrase ("lose all things") meant to lose independence.

1.7.4. Spirituality

This thesis will also examine the spirituality of the NCM. The concept of spirituality is not limited to the Christian religion and is in fact increasingly being used even beyond explicitly religious circles. When viewed in this broad sense, spirituality is used to depict an element of human experience. Spirituality here refers to the authentic human search for ultimate value, or the human person's "striving to attain the highest ideal or goal."¹¹² Thus, in this sense of the term, spirituality involves a "progressive, consciously pursued, personal integration through self-transcendence within and toward the horizon of ultimate concern."¹¹³

But Christian spirituality is different even though there are a great variety of Christian spiritualities. "When the ultimate values perceived and pursued are rooted in the God disclosed in Jesus Christ, through the power of the Holy Spirit active and

¹¹¹ Jeong-hwan Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin: Geu Samgwa Mideumgwa Somang* [김교신: 그 삶과 믿음과 소망 *Kim Kyo-sin: His Life, Faith, and Hope*] (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 1994), 33.

¹¹² Walter Principe, "Toward Defining Spirituality." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 12/2 (1983), 139.

¹¹³ Sandra M. Schneiders, "Spirituality in the Academy." *Theological Studies* 50/4 (1989), 684.

present in the community of discipleship called the church,”¹¹⁴ then a Christian spirituality has been specifically spoken of. In Christianity, spirituality can be defined as a way of seeking God and responding to the call to the holiness of life.¹¹⁵ It is the responsibility of a person to recognize, acknowledge, and respond to God’s action in one’s life. Spirituality is a stance (and state) out of which a person lives and acts and prays.¹¹⁶ It is a way of expressing one’s relationship to God, to others, and to the whole of creation, including one’s relationship to oneself.¹¹⁷

When faced with the sprawl of contemporary spiritualities, surveying the Christian tradition can offer useful insights for the task of recognizing authentic expressions of spirituality in our own day.¹¹⁸ Therefore, it is important to examine the spirituality of the NCM for two reasons. Firstly, even though it has been claimed that the NCM was influenced by Quakerism, there is little evidence of the influence of Quakerism in terms of spirituality. In particular, the NCM lacks the most important factor of Quakerism: the theory of inner light.¹¹⁹ Secondly, in relation to Confucianism’s aim of making people gain self-transformation through cultivation of the self,¹²⁰ learning is considered the most important path towards perfection.¹²¹ Since virtues must be firmly rooted in learning and study in Confucianism,¹²² it can be claimed that the NCM has adopted a Confucian spirituality of learning. This research

¹¹⁴ Michael Downey, *Understanding Christian Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 32.

¹¹⁵ Downey, *Understanding Christian Spirituality*, 15.

¹¹⁶ Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality and Theology: Christian Living and the Doctrine of God* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), 61.

¹¹⁷ Sheldrake, *Spirituality and Theology*, 34-35.

¹¹⁸ Downey, *Understanding Christian Spirituality*, 49.

¹¹⁹ See Uchimura, *Qeuisseucheonui Uiro [Consolations of a Christian]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip [우씨무라 칸조 전집 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Yugon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuisseuchanseojeok, 2003), 1:43; See Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 203-204; See chap. 5. This matter is to be examined more closely in chapter 5.

¹²⁰ Mary Evelyn Tucker, “Introduction,” in *Confucian Spirituality 1*, ed. Weiming Tu and Mary Evelyn Tucker (New York: The Crossroad, 2003), 6.

¹²¹ Xinzhong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 210.

¹²² Yao, *Introduction*, 210.

will examine this more closely in chapters four and five.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A brief examination of the historical background of the Korean Non-Church Movement (NCM) enables a better understanding of why the movement emerged in Korea and how it won support from Korean intellectuals. In the late nineteenth century, the Korean government was severely divided due to factional conflicts, which led to political unrest. The government lost its political power to defend its country and to control its society. In particular, it lost the traditional Confucian values that had sustained Korean society. Political unrest and the loss of Confucian values caused Korean society to begin to disintegrate rapidly.¹

Korea was in a state of disorder when the NCM started in the late 1920s. Politically, Korea was forcibly deprived of its sovereign rights, and its people were subjected to Japanese colonialism from 22nd August 1910 to 15th August 1945. Socially, Koreans suffered the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905).²

2.1. The Religious Background

Religiously, Koreans became so disillusioned with the traditional religions of Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, that they began to take an interest in a new religion, Christianity.³ But the teaching that the foreign missionaries propagated did not satisfy the spiritual desire of some Korean Christians, who tried to find an alternative way to meet their religious needs. It was against this background that the NCM was launched.

¹ Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 250-52.

² Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 300-345.

³ James Huntly Grayson, *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea: A Study in the Emplantation of Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 155-59.

2.1.1. Shamanism

In Korea, Shamanism is the most ancient religion.⁴ It seems to have existed in Korea before the tenth century B.C.⁵ Shamanism is a form of animistic nature worship consisting of a universal worship and fear of spirits.⁶ While good spirits were believed to bring good fortune to human beings, evil spirits were believed to bring misfortune. Shamanism has been criticised for its focus on temporal blessings and its neglect of ethical, social, and national concerns.⁷ When Western technology and science was introduced to Korea in the mid-nineteenth century, people started to regard Shamanism as irrational, unreasonable, unscientific, absurd, and superstitious.⁸ Nevertheless, even though it relinquished its hold as the leading religion to Buddhism and Confucianism in the fourth century⁹, it “existed as the substratum of Korean religious experience.”¹⁰

⁴ Dong-sik Yu, *Hangukmugyoui Yeoksawa Gujo* [한국무교의 역사와 구조 *The History and Structure of Korean Shamanism*] (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1997), 106.

⁵ Chu-kun Chang, “An Introduction to Korean Shamanism,” in *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea*, ed. Chai-shin Yu and Richard. Guisso (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988), 30.

⁶ Pil-ho Hwang, *Hangukmugyoui Teukseongwa Munjejeom* [한국무교의 특성과 문제점 *The Characteristics and Problems of Korean Shamanism*] (Seoul: Jibmundang, 2002), 48, 111-12, 115-18; Heung-yun Jo, *Hangukui Syameonijeum* [한국의 샤머니즘 *Shamanism of Korea*] (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2004), 24, 51; Yu, *Hangukmugyoui Yeoksawa Gujo*, 125, 213-14; Grayson, *Early Buddhism*, 221-25. There has been a debate about its origin, whether it originated in Korea or was introduced from outside as a syncretistic form affected by various shamanistic faiths. In the cosmology of Shamanism, the world is pervaded by spiritual beings which exert control over human affairs by dispensing blessings or curses. It is believed that people can manipulate the spirits by rituals performed by shamans or priests, who have a direct access to the spirits. In Korean Shamanism, spirits include the high god, deities and spirits. Some deities and spirits originate from human beings and not all spiritual beings are eternal. The highest god is eternal and recognized as the world’s creator, caring for the world but distanced from it, while spirits, ghosts, and ancestors’ spirits are regarded as more deeply involved in the outcomes of everyday lives. Korean Shamanism is concerned with this present life and dispensing blessings. In this sense, it may be regarded as a form of secularism because it is not concerned with the life after death. Its focus is on problem-solving in moments of crisis rather than ethical behaviour.

⁷ Pil-ho Hwang, *Hangukmugyoui Teukseongwa Munjejeom*, 111.

⁸ Sung-hae Kim and Seong-rye Kim, *Geuriseudogyowa Mugyo* (Seoul: Baorottal, 1998), 43; Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 335.

⁹ Hwang, *Hangukmugyoui Teukseongwa Munjejeom*, 166-68. See Daniel. L. Gifford, *Everyday Life in Korea* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1898), chaps. 6, 8. After the introduction of the two major religions, Shamanism sustained its popularity among the grass roots of the population during the period of the Three Kingdoms (57 B.C.–A.D. 935). However it faced oppression during the period of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) because the dynasty adopted Confucianism as its political and ethical principle and persecuted other religions. During this period, government high-ranking officials and Confucian literati

2.1.2. Buddhism

Buddhism has long influenced the Korean way of life.¹¹ However, during the early period of the Joseon Dynasty, when Buddhism was severely suppressed by the dynasty, it barely existed in the remote districts. It gradually lost its influence on the religious lives of Koreans between the late fourteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹² Many felt that its golden age had passed and that it would shortly disappear, yet it was not completely eradicated from the hearts and minds of the people of Joseon, and its influence remained deep in the Korean consciousness. While Confucianism continued to be the dominant influence on social ethics, education, and government, Buddhism appealed to the people's spiritual needs. However, it gradually became weakened, and by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had lost much of its influence, though since then it has experienced a revival.¹³ While at a grass roots level, most people

harshly criticised the grass roots' religion and regarded its ritual performances as superstitious and severely persecuted their practitioners. Nevertheless, Shamanism was a widely accepted religion among the people at the grass roots, particularly the women, and it remained an influential religion among Koreans until the end of the nineteenth century.

¹⁰ Grayson, *Early Buddhism*, 217.

¹¹ James Huntley Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History* (Abingdon: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 137; Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 159. Buddhism was once considered the national religion, but during the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910), it was oppressed because the latter supported Confucianism as a state religion and persecuted other religions. Buddhism seems to have been introduced to Korea during the period of the Three Kingdoms (57 B.C.–A.D. 935) and it had reached the northern and south-eastern parts of the Korean peninsula by the late fourth century. By the sixth century, it had spread throughout the whole of the peninsula and has remained a dominant religion in Korea, with government support. The rulers tried to convert people to Buddhism by building great temples and monasteries, and a high Buddhist culture was formed. Buddhism reached its peak in Korea during the period of Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392). "In the Koryo period, Buddhism was very influential, being as popular as well as aristocratic religion from the twelfth century. There was considerable state patronage, and Buddhist monks succeeded, in 1036, in getting the death penalty abolished. The entire Chinese Canon was printed in the twelfth century and a new edition was printed in the thirteenth century, using 81,258 wooden printing blocks (which are still in existence). In the fourteenth century, Buddhism dominated cultural life."

¹² Harvey, *Introduction*, 159; Grayson, *Korea*, 137. "Buddhism suffered a reversal in the Yi dynasty (1392-1910), when Neo-Confucianism from China came to be adopted as the state ideology. In the early fifteenth century, monastery lands were confiscated, monasteries were reduced to 242, then 88, and schools were reduced to seven, then to two umbrella organizations."

¹³ Grayson, *Korea*, 137-39, 184.

practiced a mixture of Korean Shamanism and doctrinal Buddhism,¹⁴ Buddhism did not function properly as a religion at the socio-political level because people regarded it as a decadent religion.¹⁵ Consequently, they became more responsive to Christianity.¹⁶ One of the founding Korean NCM members, Song Du-yong, grew up with a background in Buddhism.

2.1.3. Confucianism

During the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), Confucianism became the state religion as well as the ruling philosophy of the dynasty. Confucian temples were built in every town, and public and private Confucian institutes were established in many places. High-ranking government officials were usually trained in a public Confucian institute called *Seonggyungwan*. Consequently, until today, Confucianism has deeply influenced every sphere of Korean society; - its culture, ethical system, political structure, education system, arts, and literature - even though, since the nineteenth century, the influence of Confucianism has waned.¹⁷ Uchimura Kanzo was brought up in a Confucian culture, where he learned the Four Books and the Three Classics.¹⁸ Kim Kyo-sin also received a Confucian education during his childhood.¹⁹ Thus, it seems that Confucian spirituality became deeply and firmly ingrained within the mindset of the

¹⁴ Grayson, *Korea*, 137-39, 184-94.

¹⁵ Kenneth M. Wells, *New God New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896-1937* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990), 22. "Added to this political disadvantage was the loss of respect for Buddhism among the people: rumours and allegations of sexual immorality and financial misconduct by monks and nuns were rife at this time;" Grayson, *Korea*, 137-39, 184.

¹⁶ In-su Kim, *Ganchurin Hangukyohoeui Yeoksa* [간추린 한국교회역사 A Concise History of Korean Church] (Seoul: Hangukjangnogyochulpansa, 2002), 74-81.

¹⁷ See Jang-tae Keum, *Hangukyugyoui Ihae* [한국유교의 이해 Understanding of Korean Confucianism] (Paju: KSI, 2001); Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 117.

¹⁸ Yeong-sin Park, *Hyeondaisahoeui Gujowa Iron* [현대사회의 구조와 이론 Structure and Theory of Modern Society] (Seoul: Iljisa, 1999), 176.

¹⁹ Soyoung Baik, *Uriui Sarangi Uirobgi Uihayeo* [우리의 사랑이 의롭기 위하여] (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 2005), 78-79.

two major figures of the NCM. This point will be further examined in chapters three and four.

In the late period of Joseon, there was extreme political corruption in the Confucian government, and the corruptness of Confucian officials badly damaged the image of Confucianism.²⁰ In this context, ordinary people came to rethink the value of Confucianism until it was believed to be no longer indispensable to their lives. Rather, it was regarded as irrelevant and an obstacle to social development.²¹ Thus, Confucianism gradually lost its power in society. Instead, people began to search for new values and ideas to replace the traditional religion.²²

As a consequence, Confucianism was no longer popular among the general population of Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Therefore, when Protestantism was introduced to Korea in the late nineteenth century, the state religion of Joseon was not an obstacle to the progress of Protestant missions. In 1868, the government closure of all but forty-seven of the hundreds of Confucian academies in the country signalled the demise of formal Confucian influence in Korean society.

It is necessary to note that new creative works containing teaching different from traditional Confucian teachings were regarded as heresy by the Confucianism of that time in Korea.²³ This was the case with the NCM, influenced as it was by Confucianism.

²⁰ Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 249. Due to the vehement conflicts of political party struggles, common people suffered deep political and economic chaos. Furthermore, from the start, Confucianism was a religion for the ruling class rather than ordinary people.

²¹ Chi-ho Yun, *Yun Chi-ho Ilgi* [윤치호 일기 *A Diary of Yun Chi-ho*], 8 vols. (Seoul: Guksapyeonchanuiwonhoe, 1973-86), 3:227-29, 373; Min, *Gyohoewa Minjok*, 156.

²² Gyeong-bae Min, *Gyohoewa Minjok* [교회와 민족 *Church and Nation*] (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpansa, 1997), 100.

²³ Buyuki Kajino, *Yugyoran Mueotinga?* [유교란 무엇인가? *What is Confucianism?*], trans. Tae-jun Kim (Seoul: Jiyeongsa, 1999), 209-10.

2.1.4. Roman Catholicism in Korea

Christianity in Korea can be regarded as a form of self-propagating Christianity. From the seventeenth century, Christianity began to be introduced to Korea and it has gradually permeated the hearts of Koreans, to the extent that it eventually became one of the major religions in Korea. *Silhak*²⁴ thinker's interest in the new religion facilitated Roman Catholicism's introduction into Joseon in the seventeenth century. In the beginning, it was just out of intellectual curiosity.²⁵ In the eighteenth century, the Korean Catholic Church was developed in Korea at the initiation of some Confucian *literati*.²⁶ Because the ruling class initiated Korean Catholicism, it first spread its wings in the upper classes but was later preached to the lower classes. It is important to note that the Korean Catholic Church grew spontaneously among Koreans, without the help of foreign missionaries.²⁷ However, several periods of persecution by the government hindered its growth.²⁸

2.1.5. A New Korean Religion, *Donghak*

In the 1860s, a new religion appeared in Joseon called *Donghak* (Eastern Learning). It synthesized several important aspects of the traditional religions in Korea: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Interestingly, it also absorbed several features of

²⁴ See 4.3.4.

²⁵ See 4.3.4. The *literati* of Practical Confucianism approached Christianity from a perspective of intellectual curiosity rather than religious faith.

²⁶ Grayson, *Early Buddhism*, 72-77; Jang-tae Keum, *Hangukyugyosasangsa* [한국유교사상사 A History of Korean Confucian Philosophy] (Paju: KSI, 2003), 151-55. A group of Confucian scholars studied the doctrines of Roman Catholicism and practised them in 1777. This led to the establishment of the Korean Catholic Church in 1784. Thus the Catholic faith in Korea started as a scholarly pursuit of learning by Confucian *literati* who belonged to the ruling class.

²⁷ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 349. It had grown to four thousand members by the tenth anniversary of its founding in 1794. Neill describes the beginning of Korean Catholicism as “an astonishing example of lay Christianity creating and maintaining itself in a remote and inaccessible area.”

²⁸ See Seong-tae Kim, *Hanguk Cheonjugyohoesa* [한국천주교회사 A History of Roman Catholicism in Korea] (Seoul: Hangukyohoesayeonguso, 2010); Grayson, *Early Buddhism*, 77-83.

Shamanism and Christianity.²⁹ Gradually, it began to spread throughout southern Joseon. Its name was changed from *Donghak* to *Cheondogyo* in 1905.³⁰ This religion imbibed a doctrine of egalitarianism by adopting the notion of *In-nae-cheon* (人乃天), which carries the meaning that human beings, Heaven and God are identical. Thus, it taught the essential unity of humanity with God. By so doing, it encouraged people to transcend social status and class. Because of this, *Donghak* was very popular with the oppressed peasantry.³¹ It was a social movement for the downtrodden, the weak, and the oppressed, and this explains how the movement was able to spread rapidly among the people. It concerned itself primarily with the peasantry and the betterment of their social environment. Furthermore, most importantly, *Donghak* taught the creation of a new world, which instilled hope among the poor. Later, it provoked the most important peasant revolution in Korean history called the Uprising of the *Donghak* Peasant Army

²⁹ Don-gu Kang, *Hanguk Geundaejonggyowa Minjokjuui* [한국 근대종교와 민주주의 *Modern Religions and Democracy in Korea*] (Seoul: Jibmundang, 1992), 119-29; Haeseung Kim, *Hangukminjokjuui: Balsaengyangsikgwa Jeongaegwajeong* [한국민족주의: 발생양식과 전개과정 *A Study on the Origination and Development of Korean Nationalism*], Rev. ed. (Seoul: Bibongchulpansa, 2003), 206-69; Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 258-59. In Joseon, Western knowledge and technology was called *Seohak* (Western Learning), but in religious terms, *Seohak* (Western Learning) referred to Roman Catholicism. The founder of the new religion, Choe Je-u (1824-1864), wanted to oppose Roman Catholicism by establishing *Donghak*. In early 1860, he was struck with a strange disease which proved incurable by physicians. He reportedly had a vision of *Sangje*, the Taoist Ruler of Heaven (上帝 *Shangti* in Chinese), who asked him to proclaim a special doctrine to the world. In addition, he was given a piece of paper with a cryptic passage of twenty-one characters on it. When he swallowed this, he was instantly healed. This marked the beginning of *Donghak*. Choe Je-u went about quietly propagating his new religion, but in 1863 he was arrested on charges of seducing the people with a superstitious doctrine and sowing discord in the society. He was executed in Daegu in 1864.

³⁰ Grayson, *Korea*, 198-200, 202. Even though many of his followers hid in the mountains after his death, *Donghak* would soon revive with new vigour. After Choe Je-u's death, his nephew Choe Si-hyeong (1827-1898) succeeded him as leader. Choe Si-hyeong published a collection of Choe Je-u's writings and reorganized the followers. After the second leader's death, Choe Si-hyeong's disciple Son Byeong-hui (1861-1922) led the new religion. They also had to suffer governmental persecutions. In 1905, Son changed the name of the movement from *Donghak* to *Cheondogyo*. Grayson explains this religion as follows. The essential characteristics of *Donghak* are threefold: "the belief in a Supreme Being; the identity of the believer with this deity; and the belief in curative magic. The core system of its belief is clearly based upon the primal shamanistic religion of Korea with various additions and emendations drawn from Taoism, Buddhism, and, to a certain extent, from Christianity." In addition *Donghak* included some elements of Shamanism such as the chanting of magical formulas and worship of mountain deities. For all these reasons, the peasant population eagerly accepted *Donghak*. "This influence of Protestantism indicates that Protestant Christianity was the most dynamic religious force in early twentieth century Korea and consequently the model which was to be imitated."

³¹ Lee, *New History*, 258.

(1893 to 1894).³² This revolution soon led to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in late July 1894. It was the start of a full-scale state of turmoil in the religious, economic, and political arenas. Ironically, the chaotic circumstances made Koreans yearn for a new religion and made them more receptive to Christianity.

2.1.6. Protestantism in Korea

Significantly, before Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea in 1884, there already existed a small body of Protestant Christians, which had formed in a similar way as that of early Roman Catholicism in Korea.³³ The process of indigenous evangelisation took place especially through the distribution of Bibles.³⁴ Yi Eung-chan (?-1883), Baek Hong-jun (1848-1894), and Seo Sang-ryun (1848-1926), who were the colporteurs and peddlers, rendered great service in the distribution of Bibles.³⁵ In contrast to Roman Catholicism in Korea, Protestantism started its mission in Korea without persecution because there was no strong opposition from the Confucian

³² Carter J. Eckert *et al*, *Korea Old and New: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 214-22. *Donghak* also includes some features of Confucianism. “The leaders of the movement ... were inspired by the traditional Confucian ideal of realizing the Way of the Sages.”

³³ Gyeong-bae Min, “Hangukminjokgyohoeui Hyeongseonggwa Jeongtongui Munje [한국민족교회의 형성과 정통의 문제 The Formation of the Church in Korea and An Orthodox Matter],” *Munhwabipyong* 15 (1973), 52-53. As in the case of Roman Catholicism in Korea, Koreans read the Bible for themselves and converted to Protestantism. The only difference between the two was that the number of Protestant converts’ much greater than Catholic converts.

³⁴ Dae Young Ryu, *Gaehwagi Joseongwa Miguk Seongyosa: Jegukjuui Chimryak Gaehwajagang Geurigo Miguk Seongyosa [개화기 조선과 미국 선교사: 제국주의 침략 개화자강 그리고 미국 선교사 Joseon of the Flowering Time and American Missionaries: the Aggression of Imperialism, Self-Strengthening, and American Missionaries]* (Seoul: Hangukgidokgyoyeoksayeonguso, 2004), 196-97; Byeong-jun Jeong, *Hojujangnohoe Seongyosadeului Sinhaksasangwa Hangukseongyo 1889-1942 [호주 장로회 선교사들의 신학사상과 한국선교 1889-1942 The Theological Thoughts of Australian Presbyterian Missionaries and their Mission to Korea 1889-1942]* (Seoul: Hangukgidokgyoyeoksayeonguso, 2007), 401-15.

³⁵ Gyeong-bae Min, “Hanguk Chodaegyohoeui Gaecheokjadeul [한국 초대교회의 개척자들 Pioneers of the Early Church in Korea],” *Gidokgyosang* (April 1985), 30. For further debate of this subject, see Man-yeol Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik [한국기독교와 민족의식 Korean Christianity and National Consciousness]* (Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 2000), 35-200, 212-20; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. VI, *The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd., 1944), 420.

government. This explains, in part, why the Korean Protestant churches grew explosively. Koreans were sceptical of the traditional religions and wished for religious change. Therefore, when it was introduced, the Protestant faith was welcomed. It seems that Koreans had waited for a long time for the new religion.³⁶

The first generation of missionaries built institutions such as hospitals and schools,³⁷ and Protestantism began to supplant Confucianism in education. All this created a favourable impression of Protestantism. Consequently, many Koreans became interested and were converted. It seems that they hoped that Protestantism would contribute to the revitalisation of their nation.³⁸ This shows what Koreans expected from Christianity and explains why Christianity, especially Protestantism, was widely embraced by them during the late nineteenth century.³⁹ Christianity was regarded as a new means to reconstruct, revitalize, and transform the nation and, for this reason, many converted.⁴⁰ NCM members had similar hopes and regarded this new religion as a great gift for Korea and its people. The NCM was formed in Korea with the aim of creating a better future for their country.⁴¹

³⁶ Min, *Gyohoewa Minjok*, 99-100; Arthur. J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East: The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy in the Orient* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 516-24; Yeong-ryeol Yu and Jeong-ran Yun, *19 Segimal Seoyangseongyosawa Hanguksahoe [19세기 말 서양선교사와 한국사회 Western Missionaries and Korean Society in the late Nineteenth Century]* (Seoul: Gyeonginchulpansa, 2004), 11-35; Yong-Kyu Park, *Hanguk Jangnogyo Sasangsa: Hangukgyohoewa Seonggyeongui Gwonwi [한국 장로교 사상사: 한국교회와 성경의 권위 A History of Presbyterian Theological Thought in Korea: Korean Protestantism and Biblical Authority]* (Seoul: Chongsindaehakchulpanbu, 1993), 53-54. When Protestants started to evangelise in Korea during the nineteenth century, Koreans showed a rapid and positive response to it. From the mid 1880s, Western Protestant missionaries entered Korea and issued a magazine *The Korean Repository* (1892-1898).

³⁷ Homer Bezaleel Hulbert, *Hulbert's History of Korea*, ed. Clarence Norwood Weems, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), 241.

³⁸ Lee, *New History*, 239. Korean Catholics had also held the same thought that Catholicism would be “the means to correct the distortions in the social and political order.”

³⁹ Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik*, 206-21.

⁴⁰ See Kenneth M. Wells, *New God New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896-1937* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990).

⁴¹ Kyo-sin Kim, “Changgansa [창간사 A Commemorative Address for the First Publication],” *Seongseojoseon*, July 1927, 1-3.

2.2. The Social and Political Background

Joseon had followed a policy of isolationism until the late nineteenth century, when Japan forced Joseon to ratify the Treaty of *Ganghwa* in 1876.⁴²

2.2.1. The Modernization of Korea

In an effort to modernize Joseon, a progressive party called *gaehwapa* was formed in 1882.⁴³ It pursued the goal of modernization by adopting Western knowledge and technology. Recognizing the value of education, it encouraged the promotion of Christianity for educating the people and reforming society.⁴⁴ The rise of this progressive party created a situation favourable for the spread of Protestantism because party members embraced it as a means of transforming the country.⁴⁵ It is evident that Protestantism was viewed positively by many educated Koreans who tended to regard Western beliefs as the source of Western science and institutions.⁴⁶ NCM members

⁴² Joseon was afraid that events occurring in China, such as the Opium War of 1839-1842 and the Arrow Incident in 1856, would also happen in the Korean Peninsula. Therefore Joseon rejected the demands of Western countries and isolated itself for several decades until Japan forced Joseon to ratify the Treaty of *Ganghwa* in 1876, which brought about the end of isolationism and a start of turmoil.

⁴³ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 209.

⁴⁴ Yeong-hyo Park, "Gaehwae Gwanhan Sangsomun [개화에 관한 상소문 A Petition to the King for Opening the Door to Foreign Countries]," *Aseahakbo* 1 (1965): 736; Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik*, 209-10. His basic concept of Christianity was that if religion is developed, the state will become strong; if religion decays, the state will become weak. He regarded Christianity as the foundation of the Western countries' power. At this time, Confucianism and Buddhism were strong, and this explained why Joseon was weak. Accordingly, he insisted on accepting Christianity and hoped the new choice would bring about enlightenment and development to his country.

⁴⁵ Gyeong-bae Min, "Hanguk Gyohoesae Iteoseo Minjokui Munje [한국 교회사에 있어서 민족의 문제 A Matter of Nation in A Korean Church History]," *Gidokgyosasang* (April 1981), 149; Gwang-rin Yi, *Hanguk Gaehwa Sasang Yeongu [한국 개화 사상 연구 Studies on the Ideas of Enlightenment of Korea]* (Seoul: Iljogak, 1979), 221; Man-yeol Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik [한국기독교와 민족의식 Korean Christianity and National Consciousness]* (Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 2000), 208-209. One of the party leaders, Kim Ok-gyun (1851-1894), reported in a letter to King Gojong in 1884 the need for accepting a new foreign religion, that is Protestantism, and for establishing schools, in order to enlighten the people. For this purpose, he persuaded King Gojong and the Joseon government to allow the American Methodist Church to develop ministries of education and medical services, when an American, Robert Samuel Maclay (1824-1907), visited Joseon on 24th June 1884. This was before any Protestant missionaries had arrived in Korea.

⁴⁶ Richard Kroner, *Culture and Faith* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 239; Kenneth M. Wells, *New God New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896-1937*

shared this positive evaluation, believing that would eventually produce transformed lives and a transformed country.⁴⁷ Thus, the rapid receptivity to Christianity in Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be explained by this background.⁴⁸ The number of Presbyterian church members in Korea increased from 54,987 in 1906 to 73,8944 in 1907. The number of Methodist church members increased from 18,107 in 1906 to 39,613 in 1907.⁴⁹ It is reported that in 1934, the total number of Korean Christians had increased to about 300,000 out of twenty million Koreans.⁵⁰

2.2.2. The Military Mutiny, *Imogunran*, in 1882

However, not all the people wanted modernization.⁵¹ The conservatives, represented by Daewongun, maintained an isolationist policy for a long time. But when King Gojong was twenty-two years old, his father and the old adherents of isolationism had to transfer power to the open-door policy supporters, represented by Queen Min. Daewongun was not satisfied with the government's new policy. Discontent with the

(North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990), 27. Wells describes the progression as follows. "The more radical reformers began to regard Western beliefs as the source of Western science and institutions."

⁴⁷ Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik*, 210-11; Jai-pil Seo, "Segyeui Jonggyowa Gaehwamunmyeong," *Dongnipsinmun* [독립신문 *The Independent News*], 26 January 1897; "Ugie Cheohan Gurapa Jeongse," 13 March 1897; "Yesu Tanil," 24 December 1898. Seo Jai-pil (1864-1951), a leader of the progressive party, also had the same attitude towards Christianity. He viewed Protestant Christianity as a means of social development. In a newspaper, *Dongnipsinmun*, he first expressed his opinions about the relation between nation and religion. He believed that the countries which follow the teachings of Christianity became stronger, richer, more civilized, and more enlightened, and they enjoyed God's blessings. Similarly, Park Yeong-hyo (1861-1939) also emphasised the need of Christianity and recognized the importance of education. Park believed that Joseon needed to educate people and reform its society through Christianity, and in 1888 asked King Gojong to grant freedom of religion for the development of Joseon.

⁴⁸ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 249.

⁴⁹ In-su Kim, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoeui Yeoksa* [한국 기독교회의 역사 *A History of the Korean Church*] (Seoul: Jangnosinhakdaehakgyo Chulpanbu, 2002), 256.

⁵⁰ Kyo-sin Kim, "Myeongyesimui Daegoi," *Seongseojoseon*, November 1934, 2.

⁵¹ Woo-keun Han, *The History of Korea*, ed. Kyung-shik Lee, trans. Grafton K. Mintz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 371-72; Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1784-1910* [한국기독교회사 1784-1910 *History of the Korean Church 1784-1910*] (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 275-85. As the Regent, Heung-seon Daewongun (Prince of the Great Court, 1820-1898), the King's father, ruled from 1864 to 1874 on his twelve years old son's behalf. He stuck to the old Confucian tradition and took an isolationist policy until he retired. The policy lasted until Choe Ik-hyeon (1833-1906) impeached Daewongun.

current political situation, King Gojong's father planned to replace him with another of his sons as king, and then advanced to remove the advocates of the open-door policy. Daewongun's return to power was a victory for the proponents of an isolationist policy. Yet it brought about the intervention of two countries: China and Japan. Consequently, his victory did not last long. The mutiny simply gave a pretext for the two countries to dispatch heavily armed forces with naval warships to Joseon. The military forces entrenched themselves in Seoul,⁵² the capital city, and China and Japan began to interfere in Joseon's internal affairs. The Chinese army kidnapped Daewongun and despatched him to China, and the leaders of the rebellion were hunted down and executed. The revolt came to end, but the foreign intervention brought about more disorder.⁵³ However, the removal of the conservatives from power provided a better soil for Christianity to grow.

2.2.3. The Coup d'Etat, *Gapsinjeongbyeon*, in 1884

The Joseon government opened the door to foreign powers in 1876 and began

⁵² Before 1946, Koreans generally called their capital city Hanyang or Seoul. Yet since 1946, Seoul has been used as the official name of the capital city of Korea.

⁵³ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 205-208; Woo-keun Han, *The History of Korea*, ed. Kyung-shik Lee, trans. Grafton K. Mintz (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), 380; Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 273. In 1881, a special force armed with the modern weapons was established. King Gojong treated the force's soldiers with special favour, and the unit came increasingly under the control of Queen Min and her faction. However, the king's special treatment caused resentment among the rest of the troops. A Japanese officer had trained the special unit and it aggravated the resentment of the conservatives. In contrast, the treatment of the old-line units had increasingly worsened. To make matters worse, the government planned to scrap the old fashioned units, and the troops had not received their pay and rations for thirteen months. In the meantime, tax grain arrived at last from Jeollado, the southern part of Joseon. The government distributed the rations, but the officials in charge of the distribution mixed the grain with chaff in order to divert some of it to their own use. Consequently, there was a rebellion by the old-line soldiers: it was the beginning of the Military Mutiny, *Imogunran* of 1882. The soldiers of the old military units attacked Queen Min's officials and killed several of them. Daewongun was behind the military revolt, and the old-line soldiers supported his conservative policy. They broke into arsenals and proceeded to instigate a general campaign against their opponents. Daewongun privately and secretly encouraged and controlled the soldiers behind the scenes. Queen Min escaped in disguise and fled to her relative's house in a remote country, where she remained in hiding. Now for King Gojong, there was no choice but to recall Daewongun to power after nine years of retirement, because only he was believed to be able to control the perilous situation.

to import Western knowledge and technology. However, the government was not in a position to put in place a full range of reforms, as had happened with the Meiji Reform in Japan. Queen Min's faction, with Chinese support, controlled the government and instituted policies favourable to China, but the policies were not as innovative as the Japanese Reform.⁵⁴ In reforming the structure and society of Joseon, the progressive pro-Chinese faction of Queen Min encountered a big problem.⁵⁵ The harder they pushed their reform programmes, the stronger the opposition from the conservatives and reactionaries. As a result, the Progressives⁵⁶ concluded that they needed a more radical solution in the form of a coup d'état. Eventually they decided to eliminate the Queen and her faction at a dinner party in celebration of the opening of the new post office on 4th December 1884, with the support of Japanese legation guards.⁵⁷

Initially, the coup seemed to have been a success. A reform government was established on 5th December, enabling the Progressives to take over key government positions and announce their political programme. They were eager to implement political, economic, social, and cultural reform.⁵⁸ Yet the coup ended in failure when

⁵⁴ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 208. They did not go far enough, according to the progressives. The progressive party wanted to renovate the political process on the model of Japan's Meiji Reform; they sought to abolish class distinctions and reform the political process, but they were rather moderate. Moreover, party members wanted to achieve genuine national independence for Joseon by ending China's interference in Korean affairs.

⁵⁵ Han, *History*, 390. "The gradualism of the pro-Chinese Min faction aroused increasing impatience among the group which wished to follow the Japanese example, and sweep away the whole traditional structure of the Korean government and economy at a blow, to make Korea into a modern, self-reliant power like Japan."

⁵⁶ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 208-14. Regarding the title of the progressive, the researcher uses the term employed in this book.

⁵⁷ Homer Bezaleel Hulbert, *Hulbert's History of Korea*, ed. Clarence Norwood Weems, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), 2:236; Lee, *New History*, 275-78. They felt they needed to displace the Queen's group, end Chinese hegemony, and open the way for genuine modernization, but it was not aimed at deposing King Gojong.

⁵⁸ Han, *History*, 393. "The old class system was to be abolished and all people treated as equals. Corrupt officials were to be dismissed, taxation was to be reformed, and the national finances were to have a unified administration. The military forces were to be reorganized, a police force established, and criminal law revised. The government was to be headed by a policymaking council, to be composed mainly of members of the party."

the Chinese army supporting Queen Min and her faction intervened in Korean affairs.⁵⁹ Thus, the power of the Korean state was crumbling, and the society was in a state of flux when Protestantism came to Korea in 1884. Foreign missionaries concentrated on their missionary work, under the supervision of the government. The 1890s was a period of growth in the numbers of converts.

2.2.4. The Uprising of the *Donghak* Peasant Army in 1894

The most important peasant revolution in Korean history was the Uprising of the *Donghak* Peasant Army in 1894. The followers of *Donghak* took up arms and instigated the uprising, and the government was unable to stop it. In response to a request from the Joseon government, Chinese troops arrived to quell the uprising. Soon after, Japanese troops arrived, uninvited, in order to counter the Chinese. This revolt was the main factor behind the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, which resulted in the beginning of Japan's domination of Joseon. The *Donghak* uprising began as a protest movement when Jo Byeong-gap, the newly appointed magistrate of Gobugun, Jeollado (south western part of Joseon), fuelled the people's antagonism by his misconduct, which included the extortion of money and the misappropriation of farmers' wages. In the initial stage, it remained at the level of a protest. At first, the *Donghak* leaders and the peasants attempted to conduct a passive and non-violent protest against the government. But when the latter retaliated by arresting them and destroying their homes, the protest developed into an uprising.⁶⁰ The purpose of the uprising was firstly the

⁵⁹ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 208-214. The progressive party members sought refuge in Japan, and King Gojong cancelled all decrees made in his name during the coup. The reform program was scrapped, and the situation was restored to what it had been before the coup.

⁶⁰ Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1784-1910 [한국기독교회사 1784-1910 History of the Korean Church 1784-1910]* (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 643-47; Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (Albany: State University of New York,

annihilation of the ruling (*yangban*) class and secondly, the re-establishment of peace in the country and the promotion of safety. Initially, government forces were defeated, and the war seemed to have ended in victory for the *Donghak* peasant army, until the Japanese government sent its troops to Joseon in June 1894. Japanese aggression against the peasants started in the middle of autumn. The poorly armed, untrained peasant soldiers were no match for the modernized and well-trained Japanese soldiers and their machine guns, and the fighting eventually ended in January 1895.⁶¹ This soon led to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in the Korean Peninsula in late July 1894. At first, Uchimura Kanzo supported the war, but ten years later, during the Russo-Japanese War, he regretted his pro-war attitude and became an anti-war protester.⁶² He initially adopted a pro-war stance because he thought it would be good for Joseon if the war

1997), 32; Choy, *Korea A History*, 128-30. During the period, the Japanese, Chinese, and British flooded Korea with their merchandise. Foreign-made textiles exceeded all other imported goods. The native handicraft industries were ruined. Rice exported by the Japanese merchants in Joseon exceeded all other exports, and shortages in the rural areas became acute, leading to social unrest. Economically dependent on a primitive agrarian economy and handicraft industry, Joseon was a backward and stagnating country. Since the breakdown of the isolation policy, Joseon's foreign trade showed a rapid increase. From 1877 to 1881, imports increased eight times, and from 1885 to 1891 exports increased four times. It caused the decline of Korean merchants and, in the end, led the Korean government to incur heavy foreign debts, including indemnities owed to Japan estimated at \$90,000. By 1899, Korea's indebtedness to foreign powers grew to between 1.3 and 1.5 million *yen* (about \$900,000). The Korean merchants could not compete with the foreign merchants: the country was in a hopeless state. The penetration of foreign merchants, especially Chinese and Japanese, caused Korea to face bankruptcy. The heavy tax burden and the intolerance of corruption of government officials had already caused many uprisings by impoverished peasants. The severe grain shortage that developed following the drought of 1889 only increased their plight. In the circumstances, the life of the peasant was getting worse. Banditry became rampant. An increasing number of peasants joined armed bandit groups. To make it worse, rice exports to Japan jumped from 0 to 1,000,000 bushels, although grain production had declined. The Korean peasants forfeited their land to the Japanese merchants, especially the rice merchants and moneylenders. These Japanese merchants took advantage of the Joseon peasants. The peasants, who had no experience in business, needed money desperately to pay their taxes and, in many cases, sold their grain to the Japanese before the harvest, at a lower than market price. The difference was from 50 to 70 percent. Many peasants lost their lands to the Japanese because the Koreans could not pay their debts on the fixed day, yet the government had no power to intervene. This aroused anti-Japanese and anti-foreign feelings among the peasants, especially in the agricultural south. "At this point, the foreign powers, including the United States, Russia, and France, sent forces to protect their legations, nationals, and properties in Seoul. This move caused indignation among the discontented intellectuals, peasants, and lower social groups. The grievances of the masses against the do-nothing regime and the aggressive foreign powers, especially the Japanese, now gathered momentum and the *Donghak*-led peasant revolution broke out."

⁶¹ Lee, *New History*, 281-90.

⁶² Uchimura, "Naega Bijeonronjaga Doin Iyu," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:385-88.

made the country free from Chinese control.

2.2.5. The Reform, *Gapogyongjang*, of 1894-1896

Before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, Japan had presented a reform program to the Joseon government and pressed for its adoption. In fact, the real motivation was not to modernize Joseon but to strengthen Japan's control over Joseon. Japan was more interested in wringing economic concessions from Joseon than in reform itself. For this reason, Japan seized the Palace and ousted pro-Chinese figures such as Queen Min and her faction. As a result, the pro-Japanese and reform-minded officials were able to start the Reform program called *Gapogyongjang*.⁶³ This movement lasted for little more than sixteen months, from July 1894 to February 1896. During the period, Japan dominated Joseon politics as the victor in the Sino-Japanese War.⁶⁴

The Reform affected numerous vital aspects of the administration, economy, and social fabric of Joseon. It constituted a milestone in Korea's modernization process.

The Confucian civil service examinations were eliminated, and a modern administration

⁶³ The Japanese imposed their reform measures upon Korea in the name of strengthening Korea's national security and promoting political stability, social order, and economic and cultural progress. At the same time, they demonstrated in various ways that they were determined to keep Korea under their control. The reform program that the Korean government implemented under Japanese direction was called *Gapogyongjang*.

⁶⁴ Han, *History*, 416-27; Lee, *New History*, 290; Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 225-27. *Gapogyongjang* was the reform movement of the old Progressive Party in a new manifestation. The first objective of the Reform was to entirely establish Joseon's independence as a nation. Thus it aimed at ending the influence of China on Joseon. The reform officials abolished the various privileges the Chinese had enjoyed by revoking the unequal agreements Joseon had signed with China from 1882 to 1894. The second objective was to transform the traditional political structure of Joseon into a cabinet-centred constitutional monarchy, like a Japanese-style cabinet. The third objective was to develop a sound system of fiscal management and then to use the government's fiscal resources to create wealth for the country. The fourth objective was to improve Joseon's internal security and external defence capabilities by organizing a modern police force and military establishment. The fifth objective was to reform the educational system by abolishing the traditional government service examination and to establish a number of modern primary schools, secondary schools, and colleges. The sixth objective was to introduce a modern judiciary system characterized by separation of the judicial and executive powers. The seventh objective was to achieve a thorough social reform by totally abolishing class distinctions between the ruling class *yangban* and the ruled commoners.

system and a Western system of education were instituted. It meant the end of Confucian society and the start of the formal commencement of modernization. The NCM started in these circumstances, and its members were well versed in Confucianism and Christianity. Therefore, some elements of Confucianism were evident in the NCM, for example the Confucian spirituality of learning.⁶⁵ However, the Reform was unpopular among various conservative elements of Joseon society because it was carried out under the sponsorship of Japan. Consequently, it inevitably encountered strong opposition. Before the Reform could produce beneficial results, Russia, which did not want Japan to monopolize power over Joseon, began to hold Japan in check,⁶⁶ pressurizing it to withdraw from Manchuria. Japan was unable to withstand Russian pressure until 1904.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ See Chapter 4.

⁶⁶ Lee, *New History*, 307. Lee explains the situation as follows: “Japan would acknowledge Russia’s special position with regard to the operation of its railway in Manchuria, but at the same time the development of Japanese commercial activities was to be permitted. Russia, on the other hand, offered to recognize the paramountcy of Japan’s political and economic interests in Korea, providing Japan would guarantee not to use the peninsula as a staging base for military operations, but all of Manchuria was to remain outside the sphere of Japanese interests. Russia went on to propose that the territory of Korea north of the thirty-ninth parallel be declared a neutral zone into which neither country would be permitted to introduce troops. The tortuous negotiations went on through several sessions but no ground for compromise could be found. Having failed to achieve its purpose through diplomatic means Japan determined to seek a military solution.”

⁶⁷ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 228-29: “A consensus arose among anti-Japanese Korean leaders that their country might be freed from Japanese domination if only Russian assistance were forthcoming. Queen Min and her kinsmen, whose power had been weakened by Japanese influence, eagerly supported the new policy of reliance on Russia to check Japan.” See Lee, *New History*, 293-95; Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 229-30. The situation forced Japan to plan to eliminate Queen Min. The assassination was carried out in the palace precincts on 8th October 1895, when, at dawn, a Japanese named Takahashi Genji assassinated Queen Min. The King and the crown prince were held captive in the palace, which was surrounded by Japanese troops, and Kim Hong-jip, as the new prime minister, formed a new cabinet. The Reform was carried out while the nation was in a state of shock following the murder of Queen Min and the Uprisings of the *Donghak* peasant army. Therefore, the Reform aroused widespread and strong outrage and opposition. Guerrilla bands rose up throughout the country to wage an armed struggle against the Japanese troops. Usually, local *literati*, sometimes well-known Neo-Confucian scholars, led these bands. The Reform lasted until the King Gojong and his crown prince were rescued from the custody of the pro-Japanese reformers and the Japanese troops. During a battle between the Japanese troops and the local guerrillas, pro-Russian and pro-American officials succeeded in smuggling them to the Russian legation in the early morning of 11 February 1896. It brought an end to the Reform and Japanese dominance in Joseon, even though it was just temporary.

2.3. Power Struggles and Colonialism in Korea

The power struggles that foreign countries staged on the Korean peninsula led to a war between China and Japan in 1894 and a war between Russia and Japan in 1904. In each case, the victim was always Joseon and its people, and the two wars made the lives of Koreans much worse.⁶⁸

2.3.1. The Power Struggles of China, Japan, and Russia in Korea

In the late nineteenth century, China and Japan were trying to tighten their grip on Joseon. In the meantime, the Uprising of the *Donghak* Peasant Army broke out in 1894. This explosive situation soon led to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in late July 1894 in Joseon, which ended in a sweeping victory for Japan.⁶⁹ However, Japan failed to secure its hold over Joseon due to Russia's intervention in the internal affairs of Joseon. Japan demanded occupation of the Liaotung Peninsula as one of the conditions of the Shimonoseki Treaty. However, the demand evoked protests from

⁶⁸ Choy, *Korea A History*, 105-18.

⁶⁹ Han, *History*, 410-11. "Open war began on July 25 with an unprovoked attack upon the Chinese ships in the Yellow Sea near Asan Bay, which were sunk or driven off." When the revolt broke out, the Joseon government was unable to suppress it by itself. Therefore, it requested assistance from China. China regarded the request as an opportunity to strengthen China's position in Joseon and dispatched a force of 3,000 soldiers. In accordance with the Chinese's measures, Japan also ordered 8,000 troops to land at Incheon, a city near Seoul, in early June, under the pretext of protecting Japanese residents in Joseon from the *Donghak* insurgents. Eckert, *Korea*, 222-23. In the tensions between the two countries, Japan saw an opportunity to expand its influence in Joseon. There was a complex of reasons. Firstly, the Japanese army wanted to build a solid base on the continent before Russia could complete the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway. Secondly, Japanese businessmen were demanding protection from their Chinese competitors in Joseon. Thirdly, the Tokyo government desperately needed something like a foreign war to distract public attention from the domestic political crisis created by an opposition-dominated Diet. "Japanese troops then engaged Chinese forces in a series of land and naval battles in and around Korea from late July, scoring impressive victories at Pyeongyang and in a naval battle on the Yellow Sea in mid-September." A full-scale war between China and Japan broke out on 25th July 1894. However, it can be claimed that the Sino-Japanese War started on 23rd July 1894 when Japan suddenly put the royal residence under Japanese occupation. After brief fighting, the Japanese quickly disarmed the ill-prepared Joseon troops and drove them out. Immediately after the incident, Japan rushed into war with China. Japanese troops marched south from Seoul to attack Chinese units in Asan. The Chinese units were defeated on 29th July. Chinese forces had retreated completely from Korean territory by early October. The war ended in total Japanese victory on April 17, 1895 when a peace treaty was concluded in Shimonoseki, Japan, in which the Chinese recognized Joseon's independence, agreed to pay a large war indemnity, ceded Taiwan, and leased the Liaotung Peninsula of China to Japan for twenty-five years.

Russia, France, and Germany, so Japan had to withdraw it.⁷⁰ To make matters worse, pro-Chinese Queen Min and her faction started to consider the possibility of Russian assistance as a means of weakening Japanese influence, after seeing the Japanese yielding to the three powers (Russia, France, and Germany) in the Liaotung affair. Japan could not merely stand by and watch the rise of Russian influence in Korea. Therefore, Japan made plans to eliminate the pro-Russian faction and lessen its influence in the Joseon court.⁷¹ In the meantime, pro-Russian officials dismissed pro-Japanese officials from the court with Russian support, and the Japanese reform was repealed. A new, pro-Russian cabinet was immediately formed, and Russia became the only power to have influence over the Joseon government.⁷² In the meantime, King Gojong changed the country's name from Joseon to Daehanjeguk and proclaimed himself emperor in October 1897. The new government claimed that the authority of Korea was on a par with China and Japan.⁷³

Japan's strong antagonism against Russia grew when Russian troops occupied Manchuria following the Boxer Rebellion,⁷⁴ which broke out in China in 1900. In the meantime, the power struggle between Russia and Japan had developed into a full-scale

⁷⁰ Han, *History*, 428. The three nations were suspicious of a Japanese presence near the capital of China. Russia particularly felt its interests threatened by Japan's penetration. Japan could not withstand the pressure of the Western countries, but its resentment became deep and lasted long.

⁷¹ The plan was the assassination of the Queen. It was carried out by Japanese ruffians, with the help of the Japanese Army in the palace on 8th October 1895. The incident caused great resentment by Koreans towards Japan. It instigated wars of Korean righteous armies against Japanese troops. After the assassination, numerous armed uprisings occurred all over the country, from January to April of 1896.

⁷² Han, *History*, 433. Tension between Russia and Japan mounted. The Japanese occupied the palace and seized the King and his crown prince, but they were safely rescued with the help of the Russians and other legations on 11th February 1896. The King was ensconced in the Russian legation. "For the time being at least, the Japanese had to back down and see Russia become the paramount influence on the Korean government."

⁷³ James Hoare and Susan Pares, *Korea An Introduction* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1991), 48.

⁷⁴ Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 306. "A nationalistic resistance movement against foreign aggression, the Boxer Rebellion [義和團運動] finally was put down only by combined contingents of troops dispatched from the major Western powers [Great Britain, France, the U.S.A., Germany, Italy, Austria, Russia] and Japan. Russia had taken advantage of this opportunity to send a large force into Manchuria, and even after the rebellion had been subdued the Russian troops were not withdrawn."

war.⁷⁵ The Russo-Japanese War broke out when Japan opened fire on the Russian fleet off Incheon (a city near Seoul) and Port Arthur⁷⁶ on 8th February 1904.⁷⁷ The Japanese navy decisively defeated the Russian Baltic fleet on the 27/28th May 1905. In July 1905, Russia admitted defeat and consented to begin peace negotiations.⁷⁸ All the Manchurian concessions acquired by Russia were given over to Japan.⁷⁹ From that time onwards, the Japanese foreign office came to have full authority over all aspects of Korean's relations with other countries. The Korean government was forbidden to enter into any further treaties or agreements of an international character except through the medium of the Japanese government. It was the fully-fledged beginning of Japanese colonialism in Korea. The Japanese established a protectorate in Korea with the signing of an agreement on 17th November 1905. As a result, Korea became a part of the Japanese Empire.⁸⁰ After experiencing these two wars, Uchimura Kanzo became a pacifist, and his pacifism became an important characteristic of the NCM.⁸¹

2.3.2. Japanese Colonialism

After the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese policy in Korea was clearly directed toward the eventual annexation of Korea. This was accomplished on 22nd

⁷⁵ Lee, *New History*, 293-95, 306-311.

⁷⁶ Port Arthur is the old name of Lüshun City. It is a district in the municipality of Dalian, Liaoning province, China. It is also called Lüshun Port.

⁷⁷ Hulbert, *Hulbert's History of Korea*, 363. Before the war began, the Korean government declared its neutrality on 21st January 1904. However, Japan needed to control the Korean government so, ignoring the declaration, Japanese troops immediately landed at Incheon and marched into Seoul.

⁷⁸ Han, *History*, 447. "Russia officially conceded to Japan its political, military and economic interests in Korea, and, in addition, Russia virtually gave up its effort to control Manchuria."

⁷⁹ Lee, *New History*, 309.

⁸⁰ Hoare, *Korea An Introduction*, 118-124; Lee, *New History*, 310.

⁸¹ Uchimura, "Jeonjaengpyejiron," *Yorozu Choho*, June 1903 and "Pyeonghwai Bokeum," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1903 and "Choigenui Neukkim," *Yorozu Choho*, Sep. 1903 and "Jeonsie Daehan Bijeonjuuijau Taedo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1904 and "Naega Bijeonronjaga Doin Iyu," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1904 and "Bijeonronui Wonri," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, August 1908 and "Jeonjaengpyeje Gwanhan Seongseoui Myeongsi," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, July 1917 and "Jeonjaenggwa Jeondo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:327-416.

August 1910.⁸² The policy of Japanese colonialism consisted of political suppression, economic exploitation, and cultural assimilation. The Japanese colonial rule over Korea of thirty-five years (22nd August 1910 to 15th August 1945) can be divided into three stages. The first stage was the *Mundanjeongchi* (rule by military force) period (1910-1919). The second stage was the *Munhwajeongchi* (enlightened policy) period (1919-1930). The third stage was *Naeseonilche* (Japan and Korea oneness policy) period (1930-1945).⁸³

During the first stage (1910-1919), all Korean political organizations and institutions were forced to dissolve. The governor-general exercised absolute power over Korea.⁸⁴ According to Ki-baik Lee, in 1911, “some 7749 military police, or gendarmes, and 6222 regular police were employed throughout the country,”⁸⁵ and under this police state, “the slightest word or act by a Korean was potentially subject to punishment.”⁸⁶ During the second stage (1919-1930), after the March First

⁸² Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 313, 319-21. It provoked a revival of righteous army activity in the countryside, but it could not lead to a nation-wide protest. To eradicate Korean’s national sense, Japan set up a militaristic colonial regime and appointed extremist professional military leaders to be governors-general. They planned to assimilate the Koreans into Japanese culture and to construct a strong logistic base for Japan’s continental expansionism. The Japanese carried out many programs to achieve these aims. The use of the Korean language was forbidden; the study of Korean history was forbidden; Koreans were forced to abandon their Korean family names and had to adopt Japanese style names. Choy, *Korea A History*, 140. The Japanese colonial period lasted from 22nd August 1910 to 15th August 1945. “Japanese colonial policy consisted of political suppression, economic exploitation, and cultural assimilations. Koreans had no political or civil rights, and high government positions were not open to them; more than 85 percent of the total national wealth was under Japanese control; and no teaching of Korean history, culture, or language was allowed in the schools, where, instead, Japanese history, culture, and language were taught. The Japanese colonial rule over Korea of thirty-five years could be divided into three stages.”

⁸³ Choy, *Korea A History*, 140-52.

⁸⁴ Eckert, *Korea Old and New: A History*, 254-75; Choy, *Korea A History*, 143. The commander of the Japanese military police in Korea became simultaneously the chief of the Korean national police force. The local commander of the military police became the head of the local police in each province of Korea. The powers of the military police and local police were not limited. “They were given the right to enter any residence at any time, to arrest anyone without warrant, to serve as prosecutors in the court, and to pass summary judgments on those arrested.... In 1912, more than 50,000 Koreans were arrested by the police and gendarmes; in 1917 the figure was more than 130,000 ; and in 1918 there were more than 140,000.” The number of the police was more than 16,000. They outnumbered the teachers, physicians, priests, geomancers, and sorcerers, put together.

⁸⁵ Lee, *New History*, 314.

⁸⁶ Lee, *New History*, 314.

Independence Movement of 1919 (*Samilundong*) against Japan and the Japanese rule, there was a policy change from rule by military force to liberal policy. However, there was still discrimination between Japanese and Koreans.⁸⁷ During the third stage (1930-1945), Japan attempted complete assimilation of Korea to Japan under the slogan “Japan and Korea Oneness.” A series of incidents, including the Manchurian Incident of September 1931 and the second Sino-Japanese War that began in July 1937, increased the need to promote the Japanization of Koreans. Therefore, the political suppression and economic exploitation of Korea was accelerated.⁸⁸

2.3.3. The Koreans’ Resistance against Japanese Colonialism

Since the late nineteenth century, a new intellectual class emerged, who had been exposed to Western liberalism. They formed a variety of political organizations and struggled to secure people’s rights and the nation’s independence without foreign influence. The first such organization was the Independence Club⁸⁹ (*Dongniphyeophoe*) founded on 2nd July 1896.⁹⁰ The Club wished to safeguard the nation’s independence

⁸⁷ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 281-83; Choy, *Korea A History*, 146. A governor-general, Saito, announced a new policy, seemingly for the benefit of Koreans, including non-discrimination between Japanese and Koreans. However, Koreans felt that the new policy was hollow. “Japanese and Korean policemen who had the same education and the same official rank were paid differently; the former usually received from 20 to 25 percent more. The same was true of schoolteachers, industrial workers and business executives.”

⁸⁸ Eckert *et al*, *Korea*, 305-26; Lee, *New History*, 352-53. In September of 1931, the Japanese army attacked Chinese troops in Manchuria using the justification of a minor pretext that was actually manufactured. Thus Japan expanded its control over the East Asia. In 1937 Japan launched a full-scale assault on China and in 1941 boldly attacked even the United States. Japan started the Pacific War by its surprise attack on Pearl Harbour in Hawaii on 8th December 1941. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, the Koreans’ lives were getting worse and worse. During this stage, Japan tried to wipe out all vestiges of Korean identity, especially language and customs. Japan also needed to produce numerous skilled Korean workers in order to make war supplies. Korea was required to assume the role of strategic and economic base. Koreans had to share the expenses for a third party’s wars.

⁸⁹ The researcher has employed the general terms used in Korean history books written in English. For example, Eckert *et al*, *Korea*. Therefore the researcher uses the term ‘the Independence Club’ rather than ‘*Dongniphyeophoe* 獨立協會.’ The researcher has used Korean names in this thesis in describing Korean history. Therefore the use of the term “the Independence Club” might confuse some readers. Yet the researcher thinks it is better to follow the general term adopted in numerous Korean history books written in English.

⁹⁰ Lee, *New History*, 303-305. Korean title: *Dongniphyeophoe* 獨立協會. The club was founded on 2nd

and sought to promote a self-strengthening movement as a way of consolidating the achievements of the *Gapo* Reform, and initiated a democratic people's rights movement. The Club founded a newspaper called *Dongnipsinmun* and issued it three days a week from 7th April 1896. It was written half in English and half in Korean. The Club gave priority to the promotion of popular education. One way it accomplished this goal was to include a debating forum in the newspaper. Generally, members of the Club considered Christianity a means of transforming the country, and they challenged others to accept this. Thus, there were similarities with the ideas and activities of NCM members. However, the Club's patriotic efforts came to an abrupt end at the close of 1898, when King Gojong wrongly thought that the Club intended to organize a new democratic government.⁹¹ Besides this club, there were numerous other independence movements.⁹²

On 1st March 1919, there was a peaceful uprising against Japanese colonial rule called the March First Independence Movement (*Samilundong*).⁹³ The movement was

July 1896 by Seo Jai-pil (1864-1951) who had lived in exile in the U.S.A. since the abortive 1884 coup and had now returned to Korea. The club's movement was the most active and effective. The representative figures of the club were the founder Seo Jai-pil, Yun Chi-ho (1865-1945) and Yi Sang-jai (1850-1927) who were influenced by Western democratic thought, Namgung Eok (1863-1939) and Jeong Gyo (1856-1925) who might be characterized as Confucian reformers, and a youthful activist Yi Seung-man (1875-1965) who later became the first president of the Republic of Korea.

⁹¹ Choy, *Korea A History*, 132-36. "The Independence Club thereafter concentrated on internal reform issues and was able to convince the king to accept some of its proposals. In October 1898 a new cabinet was formed in which some Independence Club leaders became members, but the ousted reactionary group urged the king to dismiss the members of the Independence Club from the cabinet. The king reversed his policy, dissolved the cabinet, disbanded the club, and arrested its leaders."

⁹² Choy, *Korea A History*, 178-79. The resistance of Koreans against Japanese colonialism occurred not only inside Korea, but also outside Korea. "The exiled Korean patriots in Manchuria, Shanghai, Siberia, Vladivostok, and the United States (San Francisco and Hawaii) had been active for the cause of independence since the annexation. The Siberia-Manchuria group concentrated on military action and the Shanghai-United States group emphasised preparation and diplomacy." Korean nationalists abroad attempted to create a government in exile to unify the numerous disparate elements since the annexation. On 9th April 1919, the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea was formed in Shanghai, but it remained inactive until 1930. It was conservative and it had little contact with, or support of, the Korean people. However, after Kim Gu became the head of the government in exile in 1932, it became more actively involved in actions against Japanese colonialism, until 1945; Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 364-67.

⁹³ It began with the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence. It was caused by the economic

the first nationwide uprising, a well-planned programme led by middle-class intellectuals.⁹⁴ There were thirty-three representatives of the movement. Fifteen of them were members of *Cheondogyo* (its former name was *Donghak*), fifteen were Christians and the rest had no religious affiliation.⁹⁵ It was the Christians' insistence on non-violence that gave the movement its unique character.⁹⁶ The movement provided a catalyst for the expansion of the nationalist movement. Because of the fact that almost half of the representatives were Christian, this movement gave a good impression of Christianity to Koreans.⁹⁷ However, after the movement, Korean Christians and churches were persecuted by the colonial regime because the Japanese regime blamed Christians for instigating the protests. By the end of June 1919, many were arrested. According to reports issued by the Japanese authorities, 46,948 demonstrators were arrested.⁹⁸ Among them were 1,461 Presbyterians, 465 Methodists, 57 Roman Catholics and 207 other Christians.⁹⁹ 7,509 demonstrators were killed and 15,961 were injured.¹⁰⁰ It has been claimed by the Japanese regime that Christians played the major

exploitation of the Japanese, by their ironhanded military rule. It was also inspired by the Wilsonian principle of self-determination of the people and by the success of the Russian Revolution. Many Koreans, including peasants, factory workers, students, scholars, clergymen, children, and old men and women participated in the movement. The nationwide uprising that broke out on 1st March 1919 was an outcry for national survival, for the people could no longer tolerate the aggression, oppression and plundering which the Japanese colonialists, with the backing of military forces, had been perpetrating since 1875. The most basic driving force for the movement was the Korean people's sense of community.

⁹⁴ Min, "Hanguk Gyohoesae Iteoseo Minjokui Munje," *Gidokgyosasang* (April 1981), 155.

⁹⁵ Man-yeol Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik [한국기독교와 민족의식 Korean Christianity and National Consciousness]* (Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 2000), 335-55.

⁹⁶ Grayson, *Korea*, 160.

⁹⁷ Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukui Gidokgyo [한국의 기독교 Korean Christianity]* (Seoul: Sejongdaewanggyeomsaeophoe, 1999), 119.

⁹⁸ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 344.

⁹⁹ Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (Albany: State University of New York, 1997), 52-53; Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng [겨레사랑 성서사랑 김교신 선생 Love of Nation Love of the Bible Master Kim Kyo-sin]* (Seoul: Malsseumgwa Mannam, 2002), 27. Less than four months after June of 1919, the number of Presbyterians in jail had increased to 3,804. 1.5% of the Korean population at that time were Christians. To consider the Christian ratio in proportion to the total population, it was the Christians who most positively participated in the movement.

¹⁰⁰ Lee, *New History*, 344. "As many as 715 houses were destroyed or burned, along with 47 churches and two schools."

role in instigating the movement.¹⁰¹ Accordingly, the Japanese regime blamed the Christians much more than the others and conducted a nationwide persecution of Korean Christians and churches.¹⁰² It is important to note that this movement helped NCM members, especially Ham Seok-heon and Kim Kyo-sin, to recognize and consolidate the Korean identity.¹⁰³

Of those opposed to the Japanese policy, the independence movement consisted mainly of two social groups: one consisted of intellectual middle-class rightists and the other was made up of leftist intellectuals. The former included some Confucian *literati* and former government officials, and the latter included communists. During the period from 1905-1925, the former led the independence movement, including the uprisings of the righteous armies,¹⁰⁴ organized mainly by the Confucian *literati*. The guerrilla activity by the righteous armies reached a peak in 1908 but rapidly declined thereafter because the Japanese colonial government mounted large-scale counterstrokes.¹⁰⁵ It was the latter group that led the warfare against the Japanese forces in Manchuria and North China after 1930.¹⁰⁶ Ham Seok-heon was once caught between Christianity and Communism in choosing a way to save his country from Japan. Through Kim Kyo-sin's introduction, Ham met with Uchimura Kanzo and was very impressed with his

¹⁰¹ Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik*, 348.

¹⁰² Spencer J. Palmer, *Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification with Tradition* (Seoul: Hollym Corporation Publishers, 1967), 65; Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa [한국기독교회사 A History of the Korean Church]*, rev. ed. (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpanbu, 1993), 310-312.

¹⁰³ Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 48; Sung-soo Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon [함석헌 평전 A Biography of Ham Seok-heon]* (Seoul: Samin, 2006), 48.

¹⁰⁴ The righteous armies refer to *uibyeong* (義兵) in Korean language. Lee, *New History*, 315-16. "Resistance to the Japanese aggression in Korea took many forms. First there was the struggle of the royal house to restore its disintegrating sovereign power.... Among the Confucian literati there were those who resisted Japan in a way hallowed by tradition—by attempting to bring about the adoption of a national policy of resistance through offering memorials to the throne.... On the other hand, there also were those who engaged in an active, armed struggle against Japan by forming "righteous armies." The main component of the righteous armies that were organized under the leadership of the literati was the peasantry. But the combat effectiveness of these guerrilla bands was much enhanced when soldiers from the disbanded Korean army joined with the peasant fighters."

¹⁰⁵ Lee, *New History*, 317.

¹⁰⁶ Choy, *Korea A History*, 168-73.

teachings. Before meeting with Uchimura, Ham was uncertain if the church could perform its social duty and role in transforming the country. But after knowing Uchimura, Ham came to the conviction that it could.¹⁰⁷

Christianity, particularly Protestantism, has been an integral part of the Korean enlightenment from its inception. Many Protestant members involved themselves in resistance against Japanese colonialism. The Christian concepts of freedom, rights, and equality became a catalyst for Korean nationalism.¹⁰⁸ Schools established by foreign mission boards produced a large number of the leaders of the nationalist and the social reform movement.¹⁰⁹ Ham was one of the mission school products.¹¹⁰

2.4. The Theological Background

Since the 1890s, the number of converts to Protestantism increased due to the work of the missionaries.¹¹¹ From 1900 to 1910, there were considerable numerical gains in the membership of Korean churches.¹¹² The outstanding event of this decade was the Great Revival of 1907 in Pyeongyang,¹¹³ which quickly spread across the country and even into Manchuria.¹¹⁴ The power released in the Revival became the energy for the evangelisation of Korea by the Koreans themselves, and the features of

¹⁰⁷ Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 53-56.

¹⁰⁸ After the political pressure of the Japanese regime, even though most foreign missionaries maintained a political neutrality or aloofness in the Korean struggle against the Japanese, many of them, such as Homer B. Hulbert, Frederick W. Schofield and George S. McCune, came to deeply involved in Korea's fight for freedom.

¹⁰⁹ In-su Kim, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoeui Yeoksa [한국기독교회의 역사 A History of the Korean Church]* (Seoul: Jangnosinhakdaehakgyo Chulpanbu, 2002), 147-56.

¹¹⁰ Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 32-36.

¹¹¹ Grayson, *Korea*, 157.

¹¹² Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1784-1910 [한국기독교회사 1784-1910 History of the Korean Church 1784-1910]* (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 824-29.

¹¹³ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1784-1910*, 862-81. For further discussion, see Yong Kyu Park, *Pyeongyang Daebuheungundong [평양 대부흥운동 The Great Revival in Korea: Its Historical Character and Impact 1901-1910]*, 2nd ed. (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2007).

¹¹⁴ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 37.

the Revival still characterize Korean Protestant churches today: daily early morning prayer meetings, all-night prayer, and simultaneous prayer.¹¹⁵

Many Christians participated in the resistance movements against Japanese colonialism. However, according to Yi Man-yeol, after the March First Independence Movement, Christians became increasingly apathetic in political matters due to pressure from the Japanese regime.¹¹⁶ At the same time, foreign missionaries in Korea maintained a policy of non-involvement in political matters.¹¹⁷ Belief in the Second Coming was a major part of missionary teaching and of Korean Christians' concern,¹¹⁸ and the latter became increasingly absorbed in mysticism and millennialism after 1919.¹¹⁹

After the suppression of the March First Independence Movement, two groups emerged in Protestantism: the first, a theologically-liberal and socially-active group;¹²⁰ the second, a theologically-conservative group concerned purely with church affairs.¹²¹ The harsh circumstances might have influenced many Korean Christians to turn towards mysticism and disregard the dismal social, political, and economical realities. However, it is also true that many Korean Christians made considerable efforts on behalf of their country's independence and their people's enlightenment.¹²²

¹¹⁵ Anderson, *Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 37.

¹¹⁶ Man-yeol Yi, *Hangukidokgyowa Minjokuisik [한국기독교와 민족의식 Korean Christianity and National Consciousness]* (Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 2000), 325.

¹¹⁷ Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960 [한국기독교회사 1910-1960 History of the Korean Church 1910-1960]* (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 252.

¹¹⁸ Grayson, *Korea*, 160-62.

¹¹⁹ Kim, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoeui Yeoksa*, 242-67, 420-46. There had been a tendency towards mysticism after the Pyeongyang Revival of 1907. It would be right to state that the tendency became deepened after 1919.

¹²⁰ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 196, 549-61.

¹²¹ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 275-307.

¹²² Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 335-44; Gyeong-bae Min, *Iljehau Hangukidokgyo Minjok Sinangundongsa [일제하의 한국기독교 민족 신앙운동사 A Korean Christian History of the National Faith Movements Under Japanese Colonialism]* (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 1991), chaps. 5 and 6.

During the period of the 1920s and 1930s in Korea, there emerged numerous new Christian movements, cults, sects, and denominations other than the existing denominational churches and the NCM. Among them were *Jayugyo*, *Bokeum Gyohoe*, *Joseon Gidokgyohoe*, *Jeokgeuksinangdan*, and *Hanasimui Gyohoe*.¹²³ NCM members aimed at transforming Korea. While they were not mystics, they were not social-work-oriented Christians either. The NCM was rather a peculiar Christian movement that cannot easily be categorized.

Japanese persecution against the resistance of Korean Christians began on a large scale in 1935. The most serious issue was the participation of Christians in Shinto rituals.¹²⁴ The Japanese government ordered all educational institutions, including private Christian schools, to bow when attending the shrine ceremonies. Most Korean Protestants rejected the government's order and many Christians who refused to bow to the Shinto shrines were imprisoned, tortured, and even killed,¹²⁵ while Methodists and Roman Catholics, from the very outset, accepted the Japanese Government's interpretation of State Shinto rites as being patriotic rituals.¹²⁶

Almost all of the martyrs were conservative evangelical Christians.¹²⁷ A total of two thousand clergy of various denominations were arrested and about two hundred churches were closed down in 1938/1939. The number of Christians declined from 700,000 in 1938 to about 250,000 by 1941. By the middle of 1941, almost all foreign missionaries had left Korea. During this period, no church meeting could be held

¹²³ Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa* [한국기독교회사 A History of the Korean Church], rev. ed. (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpanbu, 1993), 357-85; Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, Chaps 6-10.

¹²⁴ Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960* [한국기독교회사 1910-1960 History of the Korean Church 1910-1960] (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 676-85.

¹²⁵ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 711-94.

¹²⁶ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 703-711.

¹²⁷ Gyeong-bae Min, "Iljema Hangukgidokgyoui Jeonhyang [일제말 한국교회의 전향 The Korean Churches' Conversion in the Late Period of Japanese Colonialism]," *Gidokgyosasang* (March 1990), 52.

without police permission or without the presence of police representatives.¹²⁸

2.5. Conclusion

The modernization of Korea started with a rapid and positive reception to Protestantism, but the modernization process led to a series of upheavals. The political, social, educational, economic, and ethical systems of Korea, based on Confucianism, were on the verge of collapse, a process that had started in the late nineteenth century. In the late 1800s and the early 1900s, Korea was blighted by several wars, colonialism, and economical exploitation by Japan. This series of the incidents made Koreans miserable and caused them to have anti-Japanese sentiments.¹²⁹

The NCM began in Korea in the 1920s, when Korea was under Japanese colonialism, and the country had been politically, economically, and religiously in confusion, turmoil, and convulsion for several decades. Under these circumstances, Koreans had lost faith in the traditional religions. Furthermore, Koreans had lost their land to the Japanese and, to make matters worse, Korea had lost its sovereignty.

Christianity spread for a variety of reasons. It can partly be explained by the zeal of the missionaries, the nature of Christianity and its appeal to Koreans. Also the weakness of rival religious systems, the spiritual hunger, and the sense of frustration brought about by Korea's political helplessness facilitated the growth of Korean Christianity.¹³⁰ The hope of patriots that Christianity might be a means of saving the country from foreign domination and domestic problems was another factor behind

¹²⁸ See Seung-tae Kim, ed., *Hangukgidokgyowa Sinsachambaemunje* [한국기독교와 신사참배문제 *Korean Christianity and Shinto Rituals*] (Seoul: Hangukgidokgyo Yeoksayeonguso, 1991).

¹²⁹ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 120-23; Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 313-27.

¹³⁰ Kim, *Ganchurin Hangukyohoeui Yeoksa*, 74-81.

Korean receptivity to Christianity,¹³¹ as was the breakdown of the old culture and the longing for a better and more stable society.¹³²

During this chaotic period, it is significant that many Koreans, especially the intellectuals, hoped that Christianity would transform their country. In fact, many Christians were enthusiastically involved in education for enlightenment and in various anti-Japan political movements, such as the March First Independence Movement for the recovery of Korea's nationhood. These activities created a favourable impression of Christianity, especially Protestantism, among Koreans, and this helps to explain its popularity. For Koreans, Christianity was not only a religious creed but also a political, social, and educational movement with the potential to bring about the transformation of Korea.

However, after experiencing the mystical Pyeongyang Revival of 1907 and persecution by the Japanese regime since 1919, most Christians came to limit their activities to the spiritual aspect of Christianity.¹³³ In addition, the qualifications of foreign missionaries and Korean clergy were questioned.¹³⁴ Furthermore, Christianity was faltering due to the clash between conservative evangelicals, represented by Park Hyeong-ryong (1897-1978), and liberal theologians, represented by Kim Jae-jun (1901-1987) in the 1930s.¹³⁵ Under these circumstances, the NCM was founded by people discontent with the traditional religions and the traditional denominational churches.

¹³¹ Wells, *New God New Nation*.

¹³² Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity VI*, 430.

¹³³ Grayson, *Korea*, 161; Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik*, 325-27.

¹³⁴ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 196-203.

¹³⁵ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 203-50, 489-570; In-su Kim, ed., *Saryo*

Hanguksinhaksasangsa [사료 한국신학사상사 Historical Records A History of Korean Theological Thoughts] (Seoul: Jangnohoesinhandaeahakgyochulpanbu, 2003), 455-510, 565-628.

CHAPTER 3: THE NON-CHURCH MOVEMENT IN KOREA

The Non-Church Movement (NCM) is an East Asian lay movement,¹ an ecclesiological association laying emphasis on the role of the laity in the Christian faith community. The NCM is known in Japan as *Mukyokai* (無教會 Non-Church) and in Korea as *Mugyohoe*. It stresses the radical simplification of church structures and has a strong sense of autonomy, refusing to rely upon professionally-trained religious leaders. The movement is widely known, in part, because of the work of Emil Brunner, who regarded it as a purely Japanese type of Christianity in tune with the Japanese spirit and responding to local aspirations.²

As noted in chapter one, in 1901, a Japanese thinker named Uchimura Kanzo (1861-1930) started the NCM in Japan. Uchimura was very critical of the contemporary society. In addition, he developed a rather critical attitude toward the Western style of church life in Japan.³ The movement was a result of Uchimura's searching for a true *ecclesia*. However, he did not intend to oppose or destroy the existing churches. Rather, he wanted to develop a form of Christianity that would be fully faithful to the spirit of

¹ "Japan: Kanzo Uchimura's Non-Church (1901)," in *A History of Christianity in Asia Africa and Latin America 1450-1990: A Documentary Sourcebook*, ed. Klaus Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), 104-105. The book does not contain any information about the author of the article.

² Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 55-56; Emil Brunner, *The Misunderstanding of the Church*, trans. Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), 111, 131. Brunner describes Uchimura Kanzo and the NCM as follows. "A particularly impressive example of such a non-churchly *Ecclesia* movement became known to me in Japan. There exist there, called into being by the powerful personality of the first Japanese evangelist, Kanzo Uchimura, a whole series of groups, mostly consisting of university professors and students, where the gospel is preached and divine service held in the simplest manner, which publish perhaps the best Biblical studies and quite a number of journals of native style, and which have no doubt done as much for the success of the Christian mission in Japan as have the official churches." See also Emil Brunner, "A Unique Christian Mission: The Mukyokai Movement in Japan," in *Religion and Culture: Essays in Honor of Paul Tillich*, ed. Walter Leibrecht. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), 287-90.

³ Mark R. Mullins, "Indigenous Christian Movements," in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, ed. Mark R. Mullins (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 144.

the Reformation.⁴

The NCM was introduced to Korea in the late 1920s by a small group of Koreans, who had studied the teachings of the Bible under Uchimura Kanzo. They were Kim Kyo-sin, Song Du-yong, Ham Seok-heon, Yang In-seong, Yu Seok-dong, and Jeong Sang-hun. The six members set out to spread the movement in Korea from the late 1920s onwards. Among them, Kim Kyo-sin, Song Du-yong, and Ham Seok-heon can be said to have been the representatives of the Korean NCM in the 1920s to 1940s. It is significant that Uchimura Kanzo stated that it was the Koreans who best understood his thought and teachings.⁵

The six Koreans, who were university students in Japan, had an opportunity to attend a lecture by Uchimura Kanzo on the Bible. Uchimura Kanzo impressed them, and they were inspired to listen to further lectures on the Bible by him while they stayed in Japan. They came to regard the NCM as a type of Christianity that could incorporate the spirit of the Reformation, which they believed to be the ideal expression of the church. Thus, these Koreans embraced a form of Christianity based on the NCM. After finishing their studies, they returned to Korea and began to propagate the movement by lecturing and, from July 1927, by issuing a magazine *Seongseojoseon*. It marked the beginning of the Korean NCM in publication.⁶ The use of the written media to promote the NCM increased its appeal.

⁴ Hori Ichiro and others, *Japanese Religion: A Survey by the Agency for Cultural Affairs* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1972), 82; Jin-gu Lee, *Mugyohoeran Mueotinya? [무교회란 무엇인가? What is Non-Church?]* (Seoul: Boram, 2003), 97-99.

⁵ Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo [無教會主義者 内村鑑三 Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Jin-man Kim (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995), 151.

⁶ Before NCM issued their magazine *Seongseojoseon*, there had been several Koreans who introduced Uchimura and his NCM thought to Korea, but their efforts were made only at a private level and failed to attract people's attention. See Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21 and "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26.

3.1. Christianity in Korea in the 1920s-1940s

As already noted, Christianity had been a significant influence upon the lives of Koreans since the eighteenth century and had been recognized as a useful means to bring about national transformation since the late nineteenth century. The Pyeongyang Revival Movement in 1907 catalysed the Korean church's rapid numerical growth.⁷ The number of Christian members increased up until the March First Independence Movement in 1919, but subsequently, the Japanese colonial government's intensive oppression caused Korean churches and their congregations to decrease in number.⁸ Because of this persecution, it became difficult for Korean churches to be politically active. The colonial government used force to try to depoliticise the Korean churches. After the March First Independence Movement, the colonial government urged Western missionaries to concentrate exclusively on religious matters. Korean churches could survive only when they kept themselves out of politics. The foreign missionaries needed to keep on good terms with the colonial government in order to maintain their rights and privileges and carry on with their missionary endeavours. Accordingly, most followed the colonial government's policy. An exception was Homer B. Hulbert.⁹ Gojong dispatched Hulbert to the Second Hague Peace Conference of Netherlands in 1907 to

⁷ Spencer J. Palmer, *Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification with Tradition* (Seoul: Hollym Corporation Publishers, 1967), 82-88; Young-hoon Lee, "The Korean Holy Spirit Movement in Relation to Pentecostalism," in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, ed. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (Carlisle: Regnum, 2005), 509-513; Chong Hee Jeong, "The Korean Charismatic Movement as Indigenous Pentecostalism," in *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, ed. Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang (Carlisle: Regnum, 2005), 557-61.

⁸ Byeong-jun Jeong, *Hojujangnohoe Seongyosadeului Sinhaksasangwa Hangukseongyo 1889-1942 [호주 장로회 선교사들의 신학사상과 한국선교 1889-1942 The Theological Thoughts of the Australian Presbyterian Missionaries and their Mission to Korea 1889-1942]* (Seoul: Hangukgidokgyoyeoksayeonguso, 2007), 418.

⁹ Samuel H. Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 52; Gyeong-bae Min, "Hangukgyohoeui Sinbijuuisa [한국교회의 신비주의사 A History of the Mysticism of the Korean Church]," *Gidokgyosasang* (May 1971), 73; Homer Bezaleel Hulbert, *Hulbert's History of Korea*, ed. Clarence Norwood Weems, 2 vols. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962); Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 311.

appeal for justice on behalf of Korea. Hulbert also supported the March First Independence Movement.¹⁰

The de-politicisation of Korean Christianity led to a weakening of the social and political influence of Korean churches. Since then, and until the colonial period ended in 1945, the mainstream Korean churches defined themselves as apolitical and separated politics from religion. Many Western missionaries wanted to avoid unnecessary social and political conflicts with the Japanese colonial government, while many Korean Christians confined themselves to the religious realm.¹¹ Since the Pyeongyang Revival, Korean churches tended to be apolitical.¹² Ahn Chang-ho, an important national leader, was antipathetic toward the Revival and expressed grief over what he regarded as the foolishness of Koreans.¹³ Ahn believed that the intention of the missionaries was to divert Koreans' attention away from political activities, such as the fight for national independence, toward spiritual matters. The March First Movement of 1919 led to the Japanese colonial government's persecution and to an acceleration of this apolitical tendency.¹⁴ From the 1920s to the 1940s, the mainline Korean churches

¹⁰ Woo-keun Han, *The History of Korea*, 450-51.

¹¹ Nak-jun Baek, *Hangukgaesingyosa* [한국개신교사 *A History of Korean Protestantism*] (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2002), 364-69.

¹² Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa* [한국기독교회사 *A History of the Korean Church*], rev. ed. (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpanbu, 1993), 259; Gyeong-bae Min, "Hanguk Gyohoewa Gyodan: Geu Hoegowa Jeonmang [한국 교회와 교단: 그 회고와 전망 *The Korean Church and Denomination: Retrospection and Prospect*]," *Gidokgyosang* (July 1981), 18; In-su Kim, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoeui Yeoksa* [한국기독교회의 역사 *A History of the Korean Church*] (Seoul: Jangnosinhakdaehakgyo Chulpanbu, 2002), 421-30. For the further study of thoughts of Gil Seon-ju and Yi Yong-do, see In-su Kim, ed., *Saryo Hanguksinhaksasangsa* [사료 한국신학사상사 *Historical Records A History of Korean Theological Thoughts*] (Seoul: Jangnohoesinhandaehakgyochulpanbu, 2003). The Revival Movement attracted many Korean Christians. The leaders of the movement, such as Gil Seon-ju (1869-1935), Kim Ik-du (1874-1950), and Yi Yong-do (1901-33), focused on individual spiritual regeneration and eschatological hope.

¹³ Gyeong-bae Min, "Hangukgyohoesasangui Yeeonundong [한국교회사상의 예언운동 *Prophetic Movements in Korean Church History*]," *Gidokgyosang* (March 1973), 53-54.

¹⁴ Man-yeol Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik* [한국기독교와 민족의식 *Korean Christianity and National Consciousness*] (Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 2000), 352.

became politically acquiescent.¹⁵ The de-politicisation and spiritualization of Korean churches forced many nationalistic Christians with higher educational backgrounds to lose confidence in Christianity. It was under these circumstances that the NCM emerged in Korea.

3.2. Uchimura Kanzo and the Non-Church Movement

3.2.1. Uchimura Kanzo and his Life

Uchimura Kanzo made a strong impact on Japanese Christianity and on inspiring Kim Kyo-sin and his colleagues to start the movement in Korea. Uchimura was opposed to the traditional Western ecclesiology, which he considered too hierarchical. He wanted to develop a more democratic structure for the church: an egalitarian community of common people without ecclesiastical titles. The faith community he wished to create was an independent group devoted to Bible study, but without organizational structures, clergy, creeds, sacraments, and fixed membership.

Uchimura wanted to follow both the spirit of Christianity and of Japan. He tried to inculcate Asian culture, specifically Japanese cultural traits such as Confucianism and the spirit of Samurai, into Christianity. His efforts distinguished him from other

¹⁵ It is evident that Korean churches came to have an exclusively spiritual orientation after the March 1st Movement of 1919. In the 1930s, the mystic tendency became stronger. Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa* [한국기독교회사 A History of the Korean Church], rev. ed. (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpanbu, 1993), 315, 327. In-su Kim, *Ganchurin Hangukgyohoeui Yeoksa* [간추린 한국교회역사 A Concise History of the Korean Church] (Seoul: Hangukjangnogyochulpansa, 2002), 142. For further discussion, see Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukminjokgyohoeheongseongsaron* [한국민족교회형성사론 A History of the Korean National Churches] (Seoul: Yon-se University Press, 1974). Grayson, *Korea*, 161; Myung-Soo Park, *Hangukgyohoe Buheungundong Yeongu* [한국교회 부흥운동 연구 A Study on the Revival Movement in the Korean Church] (Seoul: Hangukgidokgyo Yeoksayeonguso, 2003), 84-85, 98-99, 130; Dong-sik Yu, *Hanguksinhakui Gwangmaek* [한국신학의 광맥 A Seam of Ore of Korean Theology] (Seoul: Dasangeulbang, 2003), 67; Nam-sik Kim, "Choi Tae-yong-gwa Kim Kyo-sinui Mugyohoejuui Undong [최태용과 김교신의 무교회주의 운동 The Non-Church Movement of Choi Tae-yong and Kim Kyo-sin]," *Sinhakjinam* (Spring Summer 1986), 104.

Christians at the time and produced the NCM. Uchimura's passion for both Christianity and Japan is reflected in the following famous statement: "I love two J's and no third; one is Jesus, and the other is Japan. I do not know which I love more, Jesus or Japan. I am hated by my countrymen for Jesus' sake as *yaso*, and I am disliked by foreign missionaries for Japan's sake as national and narrow. No matter; I may lose all my friends, but I cannot lose Jesus and Japan."¹⁶ For Uchimura, the Christian faith, especially loving God, and patriotism cannot be separated. Rather, they complement each other.

Uchimura Kanzo was born on the 28th of May 1861. His grandfather and father were lower class samurai. The samurai (武士 *bushi*) were members of the military class, the Japanese warriors, the top five percent of the military elite group in the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868). A samurai lived his life according to the ethical code of *bushido* (武士道 the way of the knights).¹⁷ Strongly Confucian in nature, *bushido* emphasised concepts such as loyalty to one's teacher, self-discipline and respectful, ethical behaviour.¹⁸ Uchimura grew up adopting the way of the *bushido* from his grandfather, a typical samurai, and receiving education from his father Yosiyuki, an advocate of Confucianism.¹⁹

However, the samurai class was unable to maintain its special status as a ruling class, losing its power and privilege when the Meiji Reformation (1868-1912) started and the Meiji government deconstructed the traditional feudal system of Tokugawa

¹⁶ Kanzo Uchimura, "Two J's," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1926 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, ed. Suzuki Toshiro, 20 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1932-1933), 15:599.

¹⁷ Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (Stilwell: Digireads.com Publishing, 2005), 9-12. Nitobe explains *bushido* as follows. "Bushido, then, is the code of moral principles which the knights were required or instructed to observe. It is not a written code; at least it consists of a few maxims handed down from mouth to mouth or coming from the pen of some well-known warrior or savant."

¹⁸ Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, 19, 38-39, 46.

¹⁹ Uchimura, *How I Became a Christian* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 15:8-13.

Bakufu (徳川幕府). Soldiers recruited by the new government replaced the samurai. Therefore, young people from samurai families had to find other occupations. The common alternative was to become a scholar or a bureaucrat.

More than occasionally, Uchimura displayed the vestiges of *bushido* and Confucianism in his writings. In order to properly understand him, one needs to take into account that his grandfather was a samurai and his father was a good Confucian scholar, and he was brought up in this environment.²⁰ Like many samurai young people, who wished to be scholars or bureaucrats in the Meiji Period, Uchimura wanted to be a government officer. With this in mind, he went to the Sapporo Agricultural College when he was sixteen years old, where he majored in fishery in 1876.²¹ The new government built the college to develop the under-developed province of Sapporo. Children from samurai families could get government scholarships at the college.

Uchimura studied Christianity and Western technology at the Sapporo Agricultural College. Christianity had been prohibited in Japan for 250 years, but in 1873, the Japanese government revoked the ban on Christianity and authorised the new religion to be introduced to the public.²² William Smiths Clark, who was the first principal of the college, had a strong vision and will to carry out the mission as a self-supported missionary.²³ With the efforts of Clark, the ambience of the college was Christian. Under his influence, the college produced some of the most distinguished Japanese Christian leaders, not to mention the fact that many students converted to

²⁰ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga?* [How I Became a Christian?] (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip* [우찌무라 칸조 전집 *The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo*], trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojok, 2003), 2:19-21

²¹ Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga?*, 2:26.

²² Gwang Soo Kim, *Asia Gidokgyo Hwakjangsa* [아시아 기독교 확장사 *A History of the Expansion of Christianity in Asia*] (Seoul: Gidokgyomunsa, 1973), 155.

²³ Kim, *Asia Gidokgyo Hwakjangsa*, 164. Even though the official Japanese government document shows his title as assistant director and professor of agriculture and chemistry, he was, in effect, president of the college.

Christianity.²⁴

Uchimura had been a sincere follower of Shintoism until he encountered Christianity at the college.²⁵ Therefore, when his friends, who became Christians a little earlier than him, enthusiastically recommended Christianity to him, he considered their conversion a betrayal of Japan. The unpleasant situation made him entreat a guardian-god to destroy the new religion.²⁶ Nevertheless, he found himself increasingly interested not only in Western scientific thought but also in the Christian message. Eventually he became a Christian and was baptized by the American missionary, Merriam Colbert Harris on June 2nd 1878.²⁷ Uchimura also adopted the Christian name, Jonathan.²⁸ Exposure to English and American publications, such as the commentaries of Rev. Albert Barnes on Puritanism, helped to shape Uchimura's fledgling faith.²⁹

Uchimura and his six friends formed themselves into a little church in the dormitory room to further develop their knowledge and faith in Christianity, as well as to deepen their friendship.³⁰ Their group was entirely democratic. They met three times a week, the meeting had no formal rituals, and they took turns to lead. It was very similar in their eyes to the apostolic church. Each in turn assumed the clerical and

²⁴ Kim, *Asia Gidokgyo Hwakjangsa*, 165. He left some fine words for the students of the college when he left in 1877: "Boys, be ambitious!" The speech still impresses many in Japan and Korea.

²⁵ C. Scott Littleton, *Understanding Shinto* (London: Duncan Baird Publishers, 2002), 6-7. The belief system of *Shinto* is "intensely local, focusing on the spiritual power inherent in nearby topographical features and on the divine ancestors of clans and lineages." The most ancient and fundamental belief of Shinto is that spirit-beings govern the natural world. These spirits, or deities, are known as *kami*. *Shinto* is called the Way of the Gods (or Spirits). It is referred to both by the native phrase *Kami no Michi* and the synonymous term *Shinto*, a Japanese articulation of the Chinese *shen* (spirit) and *dao* (way).

²⁶ Uchimura, *How I Became a Christian*, 14-15: "I resorted to a heathen temple in the vicinity, said to have been authorised by the Government to be the guardian-god of the district ... I beseeched that guardian-god to speedily extinguish the new enthusiasm in my college, to punish such as those who obstinately refused to disown the strange god, and to help me in my humble endeavour in the patriotic cause I was upholding then."

²⁷ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:32. Harris was an American Methodist Episcopal evangelist and missionary administrator in Japan, Korea, and west coast U.S.A.

²⁸ Uchimura, *How I Became a Christian*, 21. The reason he named himself Jonathan was that he considered himself a strong advocate of the virtue of friendship. His best friend, Nitobe Inazo chose Paul.

²⁹ Uchimura, *How I Became a Christian*, 26.

³⁰ Uchimura, *How I Became a Christian*, 24.

teaching responsibilities for the day. The service consisted of prayer, Bible reading, a short sermon, and personal testimonies. Thus, the seven fledgling Christians set about creating a new brotherhood of believers.³¹ It may be assumed that Uchimura's faith was deeply influenced by the little church and its devotional activities.

Uchimura had the highest average in every subject in his class when he graduated on 9th July, 1881.³² Subsequently, he took a position as a supervisor of fisheries in Hokkaido. While working for the government, he founded a new church, the Sapporo Independence Church. A committee of five managed the church, and some members took turns to preach because the church did not have a full-time clergyperson. In founding the church, Uchimura wished to be free from the restrictions of strict creeds and complicated rituals and wanted the preaching of the gospel to be carried out by the Japanese themselves.³³

Uchimura resigned his post in April 1883 after serving less than two years.³⁴ In August 1883, he met Asada Take, a modern Christian girl. Despite his mother's opposition, he married Asada, but the marriage did not last more than seven months.³⁵ On 27th October 1884, he wrote to his best friend, Miyabe Kingo: "[S]he who I trusted to be my helper, my consoler, my co-worker, was found to be a rascal, – a wolf in sheep's skin."³⁶ The churches harshly criticised Uchimura because he divorced his wife. Their criticisms were supposed to have caused him to distance himself from the church

³¹ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:34-39.

³² John F. Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 41.

³³ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:66-78.

³⁴ Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura 1861-1930* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 28.

³⁵ Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930*, 53-54.

³⁶ Uchimura, *How I Became a Christian*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 15:125-129. Miyabe Kingo (1886-1951) was a friend of Uchimura's from their student days. He was a botanist at the Imperial University of Hokkaido.

and indirectly to have made him adopt the idea of Non-Church. He seemed to be tormented by his own sense of guilt more than by the social criticism surrounding his matrimonial break up. So Uchimura accepted the advice of his friends and left Japan for a time to find relief in America.³⁷

Uchimura had an image of America as a Christian country. His idea of the Christian America was that it was lofty, religious, and Puritan.³⁸ Yet when he arrived at San Francisco in November 1884, his expectation turned into surprise and disappointment. He was shocked by what he regarded as its vulgar culture and its lack of Christian moral standards. Writing of his first impressions of American Christendom, he confessed to a feeling of betrayal,³⁹ and this experience seemingly increased his antipathy towards western missionaries. His experience of the low level of American religious life led him to question the capacity of Americans to teach religion to the Japanese? He concluded that while Christianity is good, American Christianity is worthless.⁴⁰

After working at a hospital in Pennsylvania for eight months, he decided to study at Amherst College in September 1885.⁴¹ There he met Julius Hawley Seelye,

³⁷ Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930*, 56.

³⁸ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:91.

³⁹ Uchimura, *How I Became a Christian*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 15:91.

⁴⁰ Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo [無教會主義者 内村鑑三 Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Jin-man Kim (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995), 39; Uchimura, "America," in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:362-63; Uchimura, "American Christianity," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, August 1927 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15: 649-650. Uchimura describes American Christianity as follows. "There is a great difference between Christianity and American Christianity. The latter is essentially materialistic, which in the Biblical language is mammonistic; and we know that mammonistic Christianity is a contradiction in terms." Nevertheless, it should be noted that Uchimura also described America in a positive way, as a place of individual freedom. He also admired Americans for their frankness and the absence of an ethos of rigid morality, such as that found in Confucianism. However, he did not applaud American society for its moral superiority or democratic values.

⁴¹ This college has become one of the premier liberal arts colleges in the U.S.A since its founding in 1821. It is located in Amherst, Massachusetts, a town of 35,000 people in the western part of the state.

the president of the college, who later became his spiritual father.⁴² Seelye was a follower of German Pietism. The college was originally founded as a religious institution; it had many professors of religion, and Uchimura could receive education in Christian history, Hebrew, Greek, and Western history.⁴³ He graduated in July 1887 after two years of residence with a bachelor's degree in science. He then went to Hartford Theological Seminary in Connecticut for further training, following the recommendation of Seelye.⁴⁴ However, his seminary life lasted for only four and a half months because of his disappointment with the school and his ill health.⁴⁵ He returned to Japan in 1888, relieved that he had finished his spiritual journey.

After his return to Japan in May 1888, he was offered a post as the president of a college (北越學館) in Niigata, organised by a group of Christians and other leaders in the province. Yet his career in Niigata lasted for only four months because there was a serious disagreement between him and the Western missionaries over setting the college's curriculum. Uchimura wanted to teach Japanese religions, but the missionaries would not accept the idea.⁴⁶

After his resignation, Uchimura could not find a full-time job and he did part-time teaching jobs in small private schools. Meanwhile, he married Yokohama Kazuko, a friend from childhood, on July 31st 1889.⁴⁷ His second marriage seemed to be happy,

⁴² Uchimura, *The Complete Works of Kanzo Uchimura*, 15:116.

⁴³ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:124-28.

⁴⁴ Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo [無教會主義者 内村鑑三 Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Jin-man Kim (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995), 39. The seminary was established in 1833, when a group of Congregational ministers formed the Pastoral Union of Connecticut to train ministerial leaders for the churches.

⁴⁵ Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga?*, 144-58; Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 39.

⁴⁶ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 41-45.

⁴⁷ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 45-48.

until his wife died of pneumonia on April 19th 1891.⁴⁸ In September 1890, he obtained a position at the First Higher School in Tokyo, the most prestigious high school in Japan. The students who graduated from there moved on to the Tokyo Imperial University.⁴⁹ In December 1890, the new Imperial Rescript on Education (教育勅語 *Kyôiku Chokugo*) was introduced to the school.⁵⁰ Copies of the rescript were hung alongside the emperor's portrait, and everyone was required to bow to them.⁵¹ On January 9th 1891, at a special ceremony of the high school, all students and faculty members were ordered to bow to the imperial signature in the same manner that people used to bow before their ancestral relics as prescribed in Buddhist and Shinto ceremonies. However, Uchimura made a stand and did not bow.⁵² Because of the incident, he was called a traitor to his country and was subsequently forced to resign from the school. To make matters worse, he caught pneumonia and finally lost his job on February 3rd 1891.⁵³ Tragically, as Uchimura recovered his wife Kazuko caught the disease and died on 19th April.⁵⁴ Because he had been branded as a traitor, he could not get a position in teaching, so he had to leave Tokyo to find work.

In Osaka in 1892, Uchimura married Shizu, a daughter of a famous Osakan

⁴⁸ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 52.

⁴⁹ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 48; Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930*, 72. It is now the College of General Education at the University of Tokyo.

⁵⁰ Hori Ichiro and others, *Japanese Religion: A Survey by the Agency for Cultural Affairs* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1972), 26-27. The Imperial Rescript on Education (教育勅語 *Kyôiku Chokugo*) was signed by Emperor Meiji in 30th October 1890 in order to enunciate government policy on the guiding principles of education in Japan. The 315-word document was read at all important school events. Students were required to study and memorize the text.

⁵¹ The 315-word Imperial Rescript on Education was a document made by radical nationalists to reinforce patriotism among the Japanese through educational policy.

⁵² Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 50-51; Uchimura to Bell, 6th March 1891, in *Letters of Uchimura Kanzo in Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 20:206-212. Uchimura described the event in a letter of 6th March 1891 to David Bell, two months later. "I took my stand and did not bow! It was an awful moment for me, for I instantly apprehended the result of my conduct."

⁵³ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 51-52.

⁵⁴ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 52.

archer and judge.⁵⁵ In Kyoto, he started to earn a living by writing. This marked the beginning of his writing career. Between 1893 and 1896, he wrote many major books. As a result he became renowned as a writer.⁵⁶ It was in one of his books, *Consolations of a Christian*, that the word *Mukyokai* (Non-Church) was first used.⁵⁷

In January 1897, Uchimura became an editor of the *Yorozu Choho* (朝報社), the largest newspaper in Japan at the time.⁵⁸ He first wrote for secular periodicals and he wrote on almost any subject.⁵⁹ His analysis of the society was sharp: he pointed out that Japanese associations lacked social responsibility and criticised the hierarchical social structure. He held the position for five and a half years, until he wrote an article supporting the absolute abolition of war in relation to the Russo-Japanese War. In fact, his pacifist beliefs were quite a turnaround from the view he expressed ten years earlier, when the Sino-Japanese War broke out over control of Korea.⁶⁰ When he resigned his position as an editor, he had no guarantee of making a living, but fortunately, royalties from the German edition of his book *How I Became a Christian* saved him from bankruptcy.

Between 1898 and 1900, Uchimura edited and published the opinion magazine, *The Tokyo Dokuritsu Zasshi*.⁶¹ He also edited and published *Mukyokai*⁶² from 1901-

⁵⁵ Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930*, 83.

⁵⁶ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 58-65.

⁵⁷ Kanzo Uchimura, *Qeuriseucheonui Uiro [Consolations of a Christian]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip [우씨무라 칸조 전집 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojeok, 2003), 1:53. "I became *Mukyokai*."

⁵⁸ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 69-70. It was a popular tabloid in Tokyo. He worked for the newspaper from 1897 to 1903.

⁵⁹ Richard Henry Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 202-205.

⁶⁰ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 65-67, 119-20, 150-52. Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930*, 125-31.

⁶¹ 東京獨立雜誌 *The Tokyo Independent*; Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 76-93.

⁶² 無教會 *Non-Church*.

1902, and *Seisho no Kenkyu*⁶³ from 1900-1930.⁶⁴ Yet there were differences between his writings in the 1890s and those after 1900. From the 1900s, his social criticism was more subdued. Consequently, while his writings were circulated among several thousand readers of *Seisho no Kenkyu*, they started to lose their social significance.⁶⁵

In 1905, Uchimura moved out to Shinjuku and lived there for twenty-three years until he died in 1930. During this period, he concentrated on biblical studies, lectures, and publishing. *Seisho no Kenkyu* had an average monthly circulation of between two thousand and five thousand. Its production lay at the centre of Uchimura's works.⁶⁶

3.2.2. The Non-Church Movement

Uchimura thought the fact that there had been many local forms of Christianity reflected the diversity of humanity. There were numerous examples to illustrate this; for example, the contrast between the Anglican Church and English Christianity, the Lutheran Church and German Christianity, and the Presbyterian Church and Scottish Christianity. He believed that the many characteristics of human beings in specific times and places led to the establishment of diverse local forms of Christianity. Therefore, he had no doubt that he had the right to seek for a Japanese type of Christianity. Despite criticisms, he insisted that nobody had a right to call his form of Japanese Christianity, that is the NCM, heretical.⁶⁷

⁶³ 聖書之研究 *The Biblical Study*.

⁶⁴ Akio Dohi, *Ilbon Gidokgyosa* [일본 기독교사 *A History of the Protestant Church in Japan*], trans. Soo-Jin Kim (Seoul: Gidokgyomunsa, 1991), 177; Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 94-98. Uchimura, "Bonjiui Seongjil," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1900 and "Bonjiui Balhaenge Gwanhayeo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1900 and "Gidokgyojeok Jabjiui Balhaeng," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:247-82.

⁶⁵ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 94-98.

⁶⁶ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 97.

⁶⁷ Uchimura, "Japanese Christianity," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1926 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols.,

The NCM had a distinctly different shape from Japanese churches organized by Western missionaries in the 1800s, but it would be right to say that he had no intention of establishing a new, separated community until 1893, when he used the term “Non-Church” in his book *Consolations of a Christian*. Until then, his efforts to find a Japanese form of Christianity had been made at a private level. The tensions between missionaries of different denominations when he was in Sapporo had been an unforgettable experience for him.⁶⁸ He had never imagined the possibility of conflicts between Christian denominations.⁶⁹ The experience led Uchimura to make a careful examination of the history of Western Christianity, and this led him to conclude that the various factions of Western Christianity had mostly spent their time and energy condemning each other as heretics. The Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant churches had condemned each other as heretical, and many Protestant denominations had also opposed each other.

Uchimura emphasised the importance of being both Japanese and Christian. This meant that he wanted to find his identity both as a Japanese man and as a Christian. He wanted to combine the good virtues of the Japanese with the Christian life of faith. The NCM was formed while he struggled to find a way to combine both these virtues. He did not want to belong to any mission-led ecclesiastical organisation or to a particular denomination because he viewed the church as a human institution.⁷⁰ To him, institutions were society’s devices for managing corporate affairs. Uchimura’s basic

1932-33, 15:578-80.

⁶⁸ Richard Henry Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971), 182-83.

⁶⁹ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip [우찌무라 칸조 전집 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojek, 2003), 2:51-71.

⁷⁰ Uchimura, “Jedowa Saengmyeong,” 499-503.

concept was that institutions and life are incompatible.⁷¹ Institutions serve the interests of individuals but sometimes they infringe on the rights of the people they seek to help. Churches tend to place their own preservation above the matter of an individual believer's faith. According to Uchimura, sometimes this is detrimental to the spiritual lives of church members. To him, the NCM was an alternative to traditional denominational churches.⁷²

Between 1891 and 1900, Uchimura lived in Kyoto. During this period, he did not belong to or attend any local church, but instead he conducted his Bible study meeting.⁷³ In the meantime, he gradually developed his idea of Non-Church. He confessed he was a Non-Church believer, in the same way as some are Methodists.⁷⁴ Uchimura's Bible study meeting could be considered a church, but he preferred to use the word "gathering" or "family of believers" instead of "the church" when referring to the Non-Church community.⁷⁵ The NCM was founded for people who were unhappy with the traditional ecclesiastical system and who felt spiritually thirsty and needed guidance. He wanted to slake these people's spiritual thirst and help them through his Non-Church Movement.

Uchimura believed that there could be many forms of the Christian church, such as Roman Catholicism, the Methodist Church, and the Baptist Church, depending upon the requirements of individual situations.⁷⁶ He believed the difference between the NCM and the churches is that the NCM is better suited to the Japanese context, even

⁷¹ Uchimura, "Jedowa Saengmyeong," 499-503.

⁷² Uchimura, "Jedowa Saengmyeong," 499-503.

⁷³ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 97.

⁷⁴ Uchimura, "Mugyohoeron," *Mukyokai*, March 1901 and "Mugyohoejuuie Gwanhayeo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1927 and "Gyohoe Daehan Naui Taedo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:493-542,

⁷⁵ Akio Dohi, *Ilbon Gidokgyosa [일본 기독교사 A History of the Protestant Church in Japan]*, trans. Soo-Jin Kim (Seoul: Gidokgyomunsa, 1991), 179.

⁷⁶ Uchimura Kanzo, "Japanese Christianity," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1920 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:452-55.

though it may not be the best. Uchimura wanted to construct a true community of believers and he knew that pious believers prefer to form a faith community in which fellowship (*koinonia*) prevails, rather than an institution for power or fame in which clericalism or denominationalism flourishes. In his view, the institutional church could not offer a genuine fellowship, but the NCM could.⁷⁷

Uchimura's NCM aimed to build a community of autonomous Christian laity. In essence, it was opposed to the institutionalisation, denominationalism, and clericalism of the church, and it focused on religious faith being lived out, rather than merely being professed and talked about.⁷⁸ A disciple is one who embodies the message that s/he proclaims. The discipleship is expressed, not by participating in church activities but by "living sacramentally."⁷⁹ Uchimura's influence on Christianity in Japan was quite strong. The report of a veteran missionary, William Axling, after World War II, describes Uchimura's influence by telling us that in Japan, the collection of his books, *The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo*, was found in every clergyperson's library.⁸⁰

3.3. The Korean Non-Church Movement

3.3.1. Kim Kyo-sin and his Life

In Korea in the late 1920s, the NCM was directed by Kim Kyo-sin, Song Du-

⁷⁷ Uchimura, *Jeondoui Jeongsin [The True Spirit of the Christian Ministry]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1894) in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 1:220-23.

⁷⁸ James M. Phillips, *From the Rising of the Sun: Christians and Society in Contemporary Japan* (New York: Orbis Books, 1981), 197.

⁷⁹ Alan Kolp, "Friends, Sacraments and the Future," in *Friends and the Sacraments* by James Johnson and Wilmer Albert Cooper (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1981), 10-13; Kyo-sin Kim, "Jonjaeui Jeondo," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1937, 2; Uchimura, "Seryewa Seongchan," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1912 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:542-43; Uchimura, "Uriui Yebae," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1915 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:617; Uchimura, "Seongryeongeul Batneun Gil," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1929 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 4:510.

⁸⁰ Drummond, *A History of Christianity in Japan*, 207.

yong, Ham Seok-heon, Jeong Sang-hun, Yu Seok-dong, and Yang In-seo, who studied the Bible in Uchimura Kanzo's Bible lectures. Consequently, Uchimura strongly influenced them.⁸¹ It is thought that Kim was a representative figure among these founding members.⁸² Before them, there were already a few Koreans who were interested in the NCM and who subscribed to Uchimura Kanzo's magazine, *Seisho no Kenkyu* (聖書之研究 *The Biblical Study*). They were Kim Chang-je, Park Seung-bong, Ahn Hak-su, and Baek Nam-ju. Kim Chang-je had subscribed to the magazine since 1916.⁸³ Another early follower of Uchimura was Choi Tae-yong, who studied the Bible under Uchimura in Japan. After returning to Korea, Choi promoted the NCM from 1925.⁸⁴ However, Choi later distanced himself from Kim Kyo-sin and no longer called himself a member of the NCM.⁸⁵ Eventually, he started a new denomination named *Joseonbokeumgyohoe* in 1935.⁸⁶ The interest of Kim Chang-je, Park Seung-bong, Ahn Hak-su, and Baek Nam-ju in the movement remained only at a private level.

Kim Kyo-sin was born on 18th April 1901 in Sapor, Hamheung, the southern part of Hamgyeongnamdo in the north of Korea. His mother was Yang Sin and his father was a Confucian *literati*, Kim Yeom-hui, a descendant of a minor officer of the government, Kim Deok-jae. In 1903, when Kim Kyo-sin was two years old, his father died of lung cancer. His mother was determined to provide her children with a good

⁸¹ Masahiko Sawa, *Ilbon Gidokgyosa* [일본기독교사 *A History of Christianity in Japan*], trans. Daehangidokgyoseohoe (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 1995), 178.

⁸² Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960* [한국기독교회사 1910-1960 *History of the Korean Church 1910-1960*] (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 661-75.

⁸³ Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21 and "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26.

⁸⁴ Gil-seop Song, "Seongseojoseone Natanan Mugyohoe Sinanghyeongtae Yeongu [성서조선에 나타난 무교회 신앙형태 연구 *A Study of the Non-Church Faith Form in Seongseojoseon*]," *Sinhakgwa Segye* (Autumn 1986), 153.

⁸⁵ Hanguksinhaksasangyeonguso, ed., *Sinhaksasang 4* [신학사상 4 *Theological Thought 4*] (Seoul: Hanguksinhaksasangyeonguso, 1974), 24.

⁸⁶ Min, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa*, 366-71.

education and educated them with Confucian ethical admonitions.⁸⁷ Thus, Kim was brought up in an atmosphere of Confucianism and studied Confucian classics during his early life, imbibing the moral teachings of Confucianism.⁸⁸ In 1912, at the age of twelve, Kim married a girl, Han Mae, who was four years older than him. Kim and Han had two sons, Jeong-son and Jeong-min, and six daughters, Jin-sul, Si-hye, Jeong-hye, Jeong-ok, Jeong-bok, and Jeong-ae.⁸⁹

When he was nineteen years old, Kim graduated from the Hamheung Agriculture High School at Hamheung City, the regional capital of the north-eastern part of Korea, in 1918. The following year, he went to Japan for undergraduate study, where he stayed for eight years (1919-1927) until his return to Korea in 1927. In his absence, his wife Han Mae supported the family. Kim studied English at Shosoku Eigogakko, an English school in Tokyo, for two years.⁹⁰ In 1922, he entered the Tokyo Higher Education University, the best education university in Japan, where he majored in English Literature.⁹¹ The reason for his interest in English literature is unknown. Kim went to an education university mainly because he wanted to serve his country and infuse young Koreans with the Korean national spirit and a Korean sense of values. It seemed that he thought that the teaching profession would enable him to accomplish his aims.

During the following year, while studying at the school, Kim changed his major

⁸⁷ Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng, Seonsaeng [겨레사랑 성서 사랑 김교신 선생 Love of Nation, Love of the Bible, Master Kim Kyo-sin]* (Seoul: Malsseumgwa Mannam, 2002), 46-47.

⁸⁸ Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin*, 45. Reportedly he went to a private school for the study of the Confucian classics.

⁸⁹ Jeong-hwan Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin: Geu Sangwa Mideumgwa Somang [김교신: 그 삶과 믿음과 소망 Kim Kyo-sin: His Life, Faith, and Hope]* (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 1994), 107; Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 47

⁹⁰ Sang-ik Park, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Bokganhamyeonseo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:8.

⁹¹ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 17.

from English Literature to Geology and Natural Science.”⁹² The reason for this change is also unknown, but it may be assumed that his education in the Agricultural High School influenced his decision. It is probable that the environment was Kim’s genuine interest. Also Kim probably believed that geology and natural science would be more useful for Korea and Koreans. Anyway, it is certain that Kim had a passion for the subject both while he was studying and while he was teaching at high school after his graduation.⁹³

As stated above, Kim acquired a Confucian education. Confucius described the stages of the Confucian life as follows:

From fifteen, my mind-heart was set upon learning;
 From thirty I took my stances;
 From forty I was no longer doubtful;
 From fifty I realised the propensities of *tian* (*tianming*);
 From sixty my ear was attuned;
 From seventy I could give my mind-heart free rein without overstepping the boundaries.⁹⁴

Influenced by Confucianism in his early years, Kim tried to reach the moral level that Confucius prescribed. However, while studying Confucian culture and teachings, he recognised that it is extremely difficult to achieve the moral level of Confucianism. As a result, he became very frustrated and troubled.⁹⁵ However, this frustration gave Kim Kyo-sin an opportunity to encounter Christianity and hear the

⁹² Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 17. Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 47.

⁹³ Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 50.

⁹⁴ John H. Berthrong and Evelyn N. Berthrong, *Confucianism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2000), 25-26; Xinzhong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 23-24. At fifteen, Confucius set his heart firmly on learning; at thirty he firmly took his stand; at forty he had no delusions; at fifty he knew the Mandate of Heaven; at sixty his ear was attuned; at seventy “he had reached the peak of human transformation so that he could do everything following his own heart’s desire without transgressing the norm.”

⁹⁵ Eun-pyo Hong, “Joseoneul Seongseo Wie Seun Kim Kyo-sinui Saengae [조선의 성서 위에 세운 김교신의 생애 The Life of Kim Kyo-sin Who Founded Korea on the Bible],” *Bokeumgwa Sanghwang*, Feb. 1994, 58; Kyo-sin Kim, “Ibsinui Donggi [입신의 동기 The Motivation of Conversion],” *Seongseojoseon*, November 1928, 38; Kyo-sin Kim, “Ibsinui Donggi Sok [입신의 동기 속 The Motivation of Conversion A Second Series],” *Seongseojoseon*, September 1929, 19-22.

gospel. This occurred in Tokyo on the 16th April 1920 when he listened to message on the Sermon on the Mount preached by a young Japanese seminary student named Matzda, who gave him a copy of the New Testament.⁹⁶ In the Confucian understanding, human nature is inherently good; people possess the capacity to do good and can reach a perfect level of morality through self-cultivation. Before he heard this gospel message, Kim had thought that he would be unable to attain this level of perfection. However, he now understood that Christianity taught that people can become perfect through the Holy Spirit. Kim recognized the difference between the two religions and appeared to prefer Christianity. In the midst of his frustration over his inability to achieve the moral perfection described in Confucianism, he heard he could become perfect through the help of the Supreme Being of Christianity. Kim was deeply impressed by the Sermon on the Mount. It gave him hope that he would be better able to receive enlightenment through the Holy Spirit.⁹⁷ This explains why he turned his attention from Confucianism to Christianity.

After converting to Christianity, Kim gave up the Confucian understanding of human nature and accepted the Christian viewpoint. His belief in the Confucian notion of innate goodness was replaced by the Christian tenet of sinful human nature. Kim discovered that sanctification was primarily a work of God and confessed that God

⁹⁶ Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21 and "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26. Matzda was a student of the O.M.S. (Oriental Missionary Society 東洋宣教會) Bible Academy, founded by C. E. Cowman and E. A. Kilbolune. In 1973, it changed its name to OMS International. The aim of the institution was to raise missionaries. Matzda was a student of the O.M.S. Bible Academy.

⁹⁷ Kim, "Jeongjin Tto Jeongjin," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1939 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:166. The message made him interested in Christianity, because it asserted that people can achieve moral perfection through the help of the Supreme Being of Christianity. The message asserted that all people can be perfect by the Holy Spirit's power. He decided to believe in Christianity because he felt that the Bible was superior to Confucian texts and he would be better able to enlighten himself by studying it than by studying Confucian writings.

could make him morally perfect and completely virtuous.⁹⁸ He also believed that Christianity could bring about the transformation of his country which Confucianism had failed to achieve. Since the late 1800s, in Korea, Christianity was considered to be the source of development through Western civilisation.⁹⁹ There was a widespread belief that countries that had followed the teachings of Christianity became stronger, richer, more civilized, and more enlightened. This belief and hope led him to join the fellowship of a local church (Usikome Yaraijeong Holiness Church) in Tokyo on April 18th 1920.¹⁰⁰ This was two days after he had heard Matzda's preaching and received a copy of the New Testament. This was the beginning of his faith in Christianity.¹⁰¹

Thus, Kim Kyo-sin gained an expectation that his new Christian belief would make him perfect and move him to a higher moral level. He also expected Christianity to give him greater happiness. With this expectation, he attended Yaraijo church every Sunday, listened to the Sunday worship sermons and started reading the New Testament everyday.¹⁰² On 27th June 1920, Kim was baptised by Reverend Simizu Sunzo, who served the Yaraijo church.¹⁰³ Kim placed his trust in the church's ministers and was satisfied with the church's activities. He could see his faith growing. However, he stopped attending soon after he saw the way church members forced the very devout

⁹⁸ Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* [김교신 전집 *The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin*], ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2001), 2:276-78.

⁹⁹ Kenneth M. Wells, *New God New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896-1937* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990), 27.

¹⁰⁰ Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* [김교신 전집 *The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin*], ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2001), 2:276-78.

¹⁰¹ Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 51.

¹⁰² Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 17.

¹⁰³ Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960* [한국기독교교회사 1910-1960 *History of the Korean Church 1910-1960*] (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 662; Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* [김교신 전집 *The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin*], ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2001), 2:277. The church belonged to the Japanese Holiness Church (聖潔教) that was formed and influenced by the American Holiness movement in the nineteenth century. The movement was influenced by D. L. Moody.

church minister to resign from his post against his will as a result of factional rivalry. He saw no clear reason why the man's office should be revoked. Due to his disappointment, he did not attend Sunday worship service again until the end of 1920.¹⁰⁴ Kim became a Christian with the hope that the Christian faith would offer something better than the other traditional religions, but what he found in the church in less than a year was ugliness, unrighteousness, conspiracy, and falsehood. He could not understand that those things were present in the church, which he believed should be pure and holy.¹⁰⁵ The incident caused Kim to become bitterly disappointed both in the church and in Christianity itself. Consequently, he started to reconsider the value of Christianity.¹⁰⁶

Kim stopped engaging in church activities, including Sunday worship service, but instead he privately conducted a worship service on his own in his room every Sunday. His unaccompanied worship service lasted for several months, until he chanced to listen to a lecture given by Uchimura Kanzo at the end of 1920. Uchimura and his teachings moved Kim very much, and Kim's faith started to recover.¹⁰⁷ Kim attended Uchimura's lectures without fail for seven years from November 1920 to March 1927, until he returned to Korea at the age of 27. The framework of his Christian faith was constructed in Uchimura Kanzo's Non-Church circle during those years.¹⁰⁸ Thus Kim's Christian faith had nothing to do with Korean Christianity at least in its formative years. Kim was very impressed not only by Uchimura's understanding of the Bible but also by his concern for the Japanese people, and Uchimura's patriotism attracted Kim's

¹⁰⁴ Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21 and "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26.

¹⁰⁵ Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 52.

¹⁰⁶ Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," 277; Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 662.

¹⁰⁷ Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," 277-78. Firstly, it was through Uchimura's books that Kim first knew about Uchimura Kanzo. Later, he met Uchimura at his Bible lectures on *the book of Job* and *the Epistle to the Romans*.

¹⁰⁸ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 17.

attention.¹⁰⁹ The same was true of the other five founding members of the Korean NCM. As stated above, Christianity was regarded as the source of developed Western civilisation, especially among learned people.¹¹⁰

Kim graduated from university in March 1927 and returned to Korea, where he acquired a teaching position at Yeong-saeng Girl's High School in his hometown, Hamheung city.¹¹¹ From that year, he spent most of his career life as a geography and natural science teacher. After briefly teaching there for a year, he moved to Seoul, the capital city of Korea, and got a job at Yangjeong High School as a geography and natural science teacher in 1928. As stated above, by teaching, he wished to serve his country of Korea and infuse young Koreans with a Korean national spirit and sense of values. He retained this position for twelve years from March 1928 to March 1940. Subsequently, Kim came to teach at Gyeong-gi Boy's High School in Seoul for six months and then at Song-do High School in Gae-seong, Gyeong-gi-do for five months.¹¹² A historian of Korean Christianity, Seo Jeong-min, assumed that Kim's desire to awaken the Korean national spirit was the reason he wanted to teach in these secondary schools.¹¹³

In fact, during this time he had been offered employment by several colleges. Nevertheless, he enjoyed teaching teenage students and wanted to remain with them. Most importantly, he placed a value on his teaching work at high schools,¹¹⁴ as he believed that well-educated young students would contribute to the future of Korea. What he had intended to achieve through education was the enlightenment of the

¹⁰⁹ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 32-36.

¹¹⁰ See Wells, *New God New Nation*.

¹¹¹ Sang-ik Park, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Bokganhamyeonseo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:8-12.

¹¹² Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 60-63, 72-76, 156-57.

¹¹³ Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 73.

¹¹⁴ Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 66.

Korean people and eventually Korea's independence.¹¹⁵ He always tried to give more than just geographical or scientific information when he taught in his classes. He was quite content with his job, and many students respected him. One of his students was Son Gi-jeong who won a gold medal in the marathon at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. Unfortunately, however, his teaching career only lasted until 1942. From that year, he was unable to continue his teaching career because the Japanese colonial government in Korea regarded his patriotism as dangerous. Kim's fifteen-year teaching career ended on March 30th 1942 when the Japanese government expelled him from school.

When the Pacific War entered its final stage, the Japanese government forced the Korean people to stop using the Korean language, but instead to use only Japanese. It also insisted that geography teachers teach only Japanese geography. However, Kim could not accept the government's orders and he continued to use the Korean language and teach Korean geography. Besides this, he gave talks to his students on the heroic Korean ancestors in order to inspire them to learn the Korean spirit, to gain a Korean identity, and to love their country.¹¹⁶

Kim lived the life of a Confucian *literati*, with the virtues of moderation and discipline.¹¹⁷ Some of his daily activities showed how disciplined he was: he started his day with prayer and took a cold bath at four a.m. in a mountain valley.¹¹⁸ He prepared for the Sunday worship meeting on Saturday. After his schoolwork, he studied biblical

¹¹⁵ Pyeong-gu Noh, ed., *Kim Kyo-sineul Malhanda [김교신을 말한다 Looking Back on the Memory of Kim Kyo-sin]* (Seoul: Buki, 2001), 355-56.

¹¹⁶ Pyeong-gu Noh, ed., *Kim Kyo-singwa Hanguk: Sinang Gyoyuk Aegukui Saengae [김교신과 한국: 신앙 교육 애국의 생애 Kim Kyo-sin and Korea: A Life Faith, Education and Patriotism]* (Seoul: Ilsimsa, 1981), 162-63.

¹¹⁷ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 339-45. The Korean word for Confucian *literati* is *seonbi* (선비). Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 94-98.

¹¹⁸ Sang-ik Park, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Bokganhameyenseo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:9; Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 262.

Greek and Hebrew every Tuesday night so that he might acquire a more correct comprehension of the Bible. Also, he conducted a family worship service on Wednesday. All the work of writing, editing, publishing, and even mailing the magazine of the Korean Non-Church Movement, *Seongseojoseon*, was assigned to Kim. In addition, Kim led the winter Bible study meetings of the Korean NCM members.¹¹⁹

After Kim Kyo-sin's fifteen-year career as a teacher stopped in 1942, he and his NCM colleagues were imprisoned, because the Japanese colonial government falsely incriminated them for political reasons. Thirteen members of the Korean NCM were imprisoned for a year, because of the "Seongseojoseon Case", Kim Kyo-sin, Song Du-yong, and Ham Seok-heon among them. In this case, the Japanese prosecution indicted them for an article entitled "Jowa (A Lament for a Frog's Death)."¹²⁰ In the article, Kim expressed a feeling of relief after he found that some frogs had survived in a pond near his house in the late winter. The prosecution judged that the article revealed his belief in the independence of Korea and that it was meant to stimulate a spirit of independence among Koreans. For this reason, Kim and his fellow NCM members were imprisoned between March 30th 1942 and March 29th 1943.¹²¹

It should be noted that a significant change came about in Kim's lifestyle after his imprisonment and release. After release from prison, Kim no longer delivered his scholarly Bible lectures. Instead, he worked for a company, the Heungnam Nitrogenous Fertilizer Company, in which he took care of the physical health of five thousand Korean labourers. However, he may have been more concerned with their spiritual health. His experience of imprisonment seems to have made him more interested in

¹¹⁹ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 141-45.

¹²⁰ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 18.

¹²¹ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 667-68.

practical matters.¹²²

Yet Kim Kyo-sin's career in this practical field did not last long. On April 8th 1945, a vicious typhus endemic broke out at a village where the Korean labourers lived. As a result, many labourers died. In spite of the risk, Kim did not hesitate to take care of the sick people, against the advice of his friends. Unfortunately, he contracted the disease and was no longer able to care for the sick. Tragically, he did not recover and died on April 25th 1945 at the age of forty-four. This happened three months before Korea became independent from Japan on August 15th 1945.¹²³

3.3.2. The Participants of the Non-Church Movement in Korea

While studying in Japan, Kim met several Koreans who would later become members of the Korean NCM.¹²⁴ They were also studying in Japan and attending Uchimura's lectures with the hope that Christianity would transform Korea, just like many progressive intellectual Koreans of the time.¹²⁵ They also thought that the traditional religions had lost their vitality and were left with just hollow and irrelevant formalities. In 1925, they organized *Joseon Seongseoyeonguhoe* (A Society for Bible Study in Korea) to further study the Bible. They also studied biblical Greek for a deeper understanding.¹²⁶ In the meantime, they returned to Korea, one by one, after finishing their studies, and met together on a regular basis every week for Bible study.¹²⁷

After Kim Kyo-sin's death, Ham Seok-heon and Song Du-yong became the key figures in the movement. However, Ham declared his wish to be free of religious

¹²² Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 18-20.

¹²³ Seo, *Gyoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 131-55.

¹²⁴ They were Ham Seok-heon, Song Du-yong, Jeong Sang-hun, Yu Seok-dong, and Yang In-seong.

¹²⁵ For further discussion, see Wells, *New God New Nation*.

¹²⁶ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 18.

¹²⁷ Dal-yeong Ryu, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Ganhaeng (chopanbon) Hamyeo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:8-15.

responsibilities on July 4th 1953 and finally left the movement about ten years later. He converted to Quakerism in 1967.¹²⁸ Ham Seok-heon is a well-known figure in Korea, not just within NCM circles, but for his struggle for democracy against the military government. Song Du-yong is also a well-known figure, both in NCM circles and for his philanthropic life.

Unfortunately, there is little detailed information about the last three members: Jeong Sang-hun, Yu Seok-dong, and Yang In-seong, except for some writings published in *Seongseojoseon*. Jeong and Yu left the movement before 1953, and Yang could not escape from communist North Korea.¹²⁹ Apart from this, it is difficult to discover how they lived their lives and to trace their thoughts and their faith. Therefore, it would be probably be correct to say that Kim Kyo-sin and Song Du-yong were the main representatives of the NCM in Korea, even though some have considered Ham Seok-heon to have also been a representative.¹³⁰

However, there has been some misunderstanding about the importance of these figures. For example, Chey Baik Soyoung introduces Ham Seok-heon as a representative of the Korean NCM in her dissertation.¹³¹ Very few would support this view in NCM circles. Very few Korean NCM members have viewed Ham as an NCM member since 1953, even though they still respect him as a great thinker and pacifist.

Jeong Sang-hun (1901-?) majored in theology in Japan. Jeong was in charge of editing and publishing the *Seongseojoseon* from the 1st (July 1927) up to the 15th issue (March 1930). After coming back to his hometown of Busan in 1930, Jeong did not

¹²⁸ Seok-heon Ham, *Sijip Supyeongseon Neomeo* [詩集 水平線 너머] in *Ham Seok-heon Jeonjip* [함석헌 전집 *The Complete Works of Ham Seok-heon*], 20 vols. (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1988), 6:256-260.

¹²⁹ Ham, *Hangukgidokgyoneun Mueoteul Haryeoneunga?* in *Ham Seok-heon Jeonjip*, 3:137.

¹³⁰ Soyoung Baik Chey, "Korean Non-Church Christian Movement, 1927-1989: Transcending the World and Transforming the Church," (ThD diss., Boston University, 2003).

¹³¹ Chey, "Korean Non-Church Christian Movement," chap. 4.

contribute any further articles to the magazine.¹³² Yang In-seong (1901-?) was Kim Kyo-sin's cousin. Yang also majored in the same subject Kim Kyo-sin did, in the same university that Kim attended, and subsequently obtained a position at the Seoncheon High School in Hamgyeongnamdo, the northern part of Korea. He occasionally contributed articles to the magazine and his last article appeared in the August 1937 issue. After Korea's liberation from Japan in 1945, it seems that he stayed in Communist North Korea.¹³³ Yu Seok-dong (1903-?) came from Okcheon, Chungcheongbukdo, in the central part of South Korea. Yu graduated from Yangjeong Boy's High School two years earlier than Song Du-yong, and then majored in English Literature in Japan's Waseda University. He taught English at Yangjeong Boy's High School and he wrote some summaries and introductions of English novels and poems in the *Seongseojoseon*. However, in a letter to Kim Kyo-sin on February 8th 1934, he revealed his wish to sever his relationship with Kim. In this letter, he suggested that they should follow Jesus in solitude. It is difficult to find any trace of him after the time.¹³⁴

Ham Seok-heon is a well-known thinker and pacifist in Korea. Due to his pacifist movement, he acquired the name: the Gandhi of Korea. He was recognised as a symbol of Korea's conscience as he engaged in protests against oppression, violence, and restraint of freedom throughout the period of Japanese colonialism, communist totalitarianism in North Korea, and military dictatorship in South Korea.¹³⁵

Ham was born in Yongcheon in the northern part of Pyeonganbukdo on 13th

¹³² Jeong-hwan Kim, ed., *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip* [성서조선 명논설집 *Seongseojoseon Selections*] (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 2003), 247-48. For more information of the other key participants of the movement, see *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 248-51.

¹³³ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 248.

¹³⁴ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 248.

¹³⁵ Sung-soo Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon* [함석헌 평전 *A Biography of Ham Seok-heon*] (Seoul: Samin, 2006), 64-70, 142-53. For further information, see Sung-soo Kim, "An Examination of the Life and Legacy of a Korean Quaker, Ham Sok-hon (1901-1989): Voice of the People and Pioneer of Religious Pluralism in Twentieth Century Korea," (PhD diss., University of Sheffield, 1998).

March 1901 and died in Seoul on 4th February 1989. He went to Pyeongyang High School and graduated from Osan High School in 1923. In 1924, he attended Tokyo Education University where he majored in History, graduating in 1928. Subsequently, he obtained a position teaching history at O-san High School in 1928.¹³⁶

In 1919, as a student at Pyeongyang High School, Ham participated in the March First Independence Movement.¹³⁷ Through his participation, he began to acquire a degree of self-consciousness as a citizen of an oppressed nation. Due to his participation, Ham was forced to leave high school by the school authorities. Two years later, he went to O-san High School in Jeong-ju of Pyeonganbukdo, where he met a renowned national leader, Yi Seung-hun (1864-1930), and his lifelong teacher, a religious thinker, Ryu Yeong-mo (1890-1981).¹³⁸ Yi was a founder of the school and one of the leaders of the March First Independence Movement, while Ryu was an erudite scholar in Asian religions.¹³⁹ Ham's life was deeply influenced by the two teachers, and as a result of Yu's influence, he later came to study the classics of Taoism.¹⁴⁰

While Ham was studying in Japan, Marxist theory was winning over the minds of Japanese students.¹⁴¹ Meanwhile, the Joseon Communist Party was organized in 1925. Ham himself was attracted by Marxist theory but because of his Christian faith he could not agree with the anarchists' advocacy of terror and Communism's promotion of

¹³⁶ Kim, *Ham, Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 57-64.

¹³⁷ See 2.3.3.2. The First March Independence Movement. The Movement was a national protest aimed at focusing world attention on the oppressive colonial rule of Japan.

¹³⁸ Chi-seok Yi, *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon [씨알 함석헌 평전 A Biography of Ssial Ham Seok-heon]* (Seoul: Sidaeuui Chang, 2005), 103-125.

¹³⁹ Yeong-ho Park, *Daseok Ryu Yeong-mo [다석 류영모 Daseok Ryu Yeong-mo]* (Seoul: Du-re, 2009). Yi, *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 120-24.

¹⁴⁰ Yi, *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 103-125. For further research, see Sung-soo Kim, "An Examination of the Life and Legacy of a Korean Quaker, Ham Sok-hon (1901-1989): Voice of the People and Pioneer of Religious Pluralism in Twentieth Century Korea," (PhD diss., University of Sheffield, 1998).

¹⁴¹ Yi, *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 143, 155-63.

atheism.¹⁴² Ham grew up in a Christian environment, and from childhood attended a conservative Presbyterian church that taught the inerrancy of the Bible. He was reluctant to abandon his Christian faith and accept Marxism. However, he questioned whether Christianity could really save Koreans. For a long time, he felt there was a conflict between Christianity and socialism, until he met Uchimura Kanzo.¹⁴³ It was when Ham participated in Uchimura's Bible lectures that he became convinced that a belief in Christianity could help his country.

While staying in Tokyo, Ham met Uchimura Kanzo in the Spring of 1924 through Kim Kyo-sin's introduction and attended his lectures. Impressed by the teachings of Uchimura, he became involved in the NCM and later, with his Korean colleagues, spread the movement in Korea.¹⁴⁴ It seemed that Uchimura's teachings progressively assuaged his concerns over Christianity and led him to become a committed Christian.¹⁴⁵ What most fascinated Ham was Uchimura's love for his country and his loyalty towards it.¹⁴⁶

Yet Ham did not want to restrict himself to Christianity, nor even to the NCM, even though he still maintained his Christian faith.¹⁴⁷ Finally on 4th July 1953, he declared that he wished to be free from any denomination and any religion.¹⁴⁸ Immediately following the Korean War, Ham met a group of Quakers and was very

¹⁴² Sung-soo Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon* [함석헌 평전 *A Biography of Ham Seok-heon*] (Seoul: Samin, 2006), 53-56.

¹⁴³ Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 56.

¹⁴⁴ Yi, *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 164-65, 175.

¹⁴⁵ Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 54-57.

¹⁴⁶ Yi, *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 170; Kanzo Uchimura, "Two J's," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1926 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, ed. Suzuki Toshiro, 20 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1932-1933), 15:599-600. Apart from Kim Kyo-sin and Ham Seok-heon, many others were touched by Uchimura's patriotic confession: "I love two J's and no third; one is Jesus, and the other is Japan." Although Kim and other Korean NCM members would have replaced the word "Japan" with "Choseon (Joseon)".

¹⁴⁷ Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 71, 111.

¹⁴⁸ Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 76, 98.

impressed by their humanitarian activities and pacifism.¹⁴⁹ Actually, prior to this, while still studying in Tokyo, Ham had already attended a Quaker meeting in Japan with Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo, Uchimura's best friend.¹⁵⁰ It seems that his interest in Quakerism had hibernated for several decades until it was rekindled in the 1960s and he finally became a member of the Society of Friends in 1967.¹⁵¹ As a Quaker, he looked to Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu in order to seek the truth, just as his teacher Ryu Yeong-mo did.¹⁵² He believed that the truth could not be limited only to the NCM, or Christianity, or even to Quakerism.¹⁵³

Considering Ham's declaration in 1953 and his conversion to Quakerism in 1967, it would be difficult to regard him as a member of the NCM after 1967, even though he contributed to the introduction of the NCM to Korea. Yet some NCM members seemed to have a different view¹⁵⁴ as Chey Baik Soyoung does in her dissertation on the NCM.¹⁵⁵ She insists that it was Ham who actually inaugurated a new generation of the Korean NCM. However, the majority of Korean NCM members do not support this view. After Kim Kyo-sin's death, it was not Ham or Song but Noh Pyeong-gu who led the Korean NCM. Noh was a disciple of Kim Kyo-sin and

¹⁴⁹ For further information about the relationship between Ham and Quakerism, see Sung-soo Kim, "An Examination of the Life and Legacy of a Korean Quaker, Ham Sok-hon (1901-1989): Voice of the People and Pioneer of Religious Pluralism in Twentieth Century Korea," (PhD diss., University of Sheffield, 1998).

¹⁵⁰ Ham, *Hangukgidokgyoneun Mueoteul Haryeoneunga?* in *Ham Seok-heon Jeonjip*, 3:168.

¹⁵¹ Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 115-17, 122-23.

¹⁵² Lao-tzu (老子), Chuang-tzu (莊子). See Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963). Park, *Daseok Ryu Yeong-mo*, 33-34, 162-69.

¹⁵³ Kim, *Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon*, 98. In his writings, Ham tried to rewrite history from the viewpoint of the neglected, alienated, and oppressed. He compared Korea with Christ. He thought that Korea was suffering as Christ suffered. As Christ suffered for his mission from God, so Korea was suffering for its mission from God.

¹⁵⁴ Some within the circle of the NCM in Korea assert that Ham did not leave the NCM on his own, but he just needed a group he could rely on, after being criticised and rejected by many NCM members. Most of those who suggest this seem to be disciples of Ham or the students of Ham's disciples.

¹⁵⁵ Soyoung Baik Chey, "Korean Non-Church Christian Movement, 1927-1989: Transcending the World and Transforming the Church," (ThD diss., Boston University, 2003), 142-54.

Tsukamoto Toraji (1885-1973).¹⁵⁶

Ham did not restrict his thoughts and theology to Christianity nor to the NCM. This was because of the influence of his teacher, Ryu Yeong-mo, who had an Oriental understanding of Christianity based on Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. It is possible that Ham needed a religion that could accommodate his diverse beliefs.

Song Du-yong (1904-1986) lived a life of a philanthropist and educator.¹⁵⁷ He grew up in a Buddhist environment and attended a private school for the study of the Confucian classics. In his youth, he had severe neurasthenia and was forced to leave for Japan in 1925 for medical recuperation.¹⁵⁸ While he was there, Song's health seems to have improved a little as he was able to engage in study. While attending Tokyo Agricultural College, in May 1925 he met Uchimura Kanzo and made friends with Kim Kyo-sin, Ham Seok-heon, and the other founding members of the Korean NCM.¹⁵⁹ Song professed to have come to faith in Christianity after Jesus appeared and spoke to him in an audible voice. He claimed that at the same time, he was healed from his disease.¹⁶⁰ This happened in 1925 when he was twenty-one years old. After returning to Korea, Song Du-yong engaged in agriculture and education of poor children, while spreading the gospel through the NCM in Gyeonggido and Incheon. Song was passionate about prayer, reading the Bible, and helping people in difficulty. While Kim worked as an educator, and Ham worked in the social and political field, Song worked

¹⁵⁶ Jin-u Seok, "Uriui Jeonmanggwa Isang [우리의 전망과 이상 Our Prospects and Ideals]," *Seongseosinang*, Jan.-Feb. 2010, 1-2.

¹⁵⁷ Jin-gu Yi, *Yi Jin-gu Sinangmunjip [이진구 신앙문집 The Collected Works of Yi Jin-gu]* (Seoul: Boram, 2010), 309; Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 256, 268-69.

¹⁵⁸ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 247.

¹⁵⁹ Du-yong Song, "Jabji Balgane Daehayeo," *Sinaetonggwon*, October 1967 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip [송두용 신앙문집 The Collected Works of Song Du-yong]*, eds. Pyeong-gu Noh, Hui-se Yu, and Mun-ho Song, 6 vols. (Seoul: Seongseosinaesa, 1994-2001), 3:408-410.

¹⁶⁰ Du-yong Song, "44nyeon-eul Mat-go-seo," *Yeongdan*, April-May, 1947 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip [송두용 신앙문집 The Collected Works of Song Du-yong]*, eds. Pyeong-gu Noh, Hui-se Yu, and Mun-ho Song, 6 vols. (Seoul: Seongseosinaesa, 1994-2001), 5:232-34.

with the poor, the alienated, and the oppressed.¹⁶¹

Song Du-yong inherited a large fortune from his father, but he spent it all on philanthropic work. His continuous study of the Bible and his prayer life led him to his philanthropic activities. He opened his house to anyone in need. He brought young beggars off the street and raised them, and he helped leprosy patients in Ganseokdong of Incheon. He tried to live a life fulfilling the commandment of Jesus: “Do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing.”¹⁶² He lived his life as a “Good Samaritan”, trying to emulate the example of Jesus. After 1945, Song Du-yong led a Bible study meeting and published his own private NCM magazines in order to spread the gospel.¹⁶³ He independently issued several magazines: *Yeongdan* (May 1946 - July 1947), *Sumeun Sallim* (March 1950 - May 1950), *Seongseoyeongu* (June 1953 – November 1955), *Seongseoinsaeng* (June 1955 – March 1964), and *Seongseosinae* (July 1964 to December 1981).¹⁶⁴

3.3.3. The NCM in Korea and its Activities

Under Japanese colonialism, Koreans were mistreated, many suffered from poverty and many were forcefully enlisted and died in the Pacific War, not for their country but for the oppressor. Many modern Koreans were critical of Confucianism because it was extremely hierarchical. They also criticized Buddhism because it had become plagued by corruption. They were also harshly critical of Shamanism because they believed it caused widespread superstition.¹⁶⁵ They regarded traditional religions

¹⁶¹ Kim, “Urireul Iyonghara,” *Seongseojoseon, January 1940* in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:213-14.

¹⁶² *Matthew* 6:3.

¹⁶³ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 268-69.

¹⁶⁴ Song, *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*.

¹⁶⁵ Wells, *New God New Nation*, 21-25; Carter J. Eckert *et al*, *Korea Old and New: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 180-92; Grayson, *Early Buddhism*, 131, 136, 184; Sung-

such as Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism as futile in fulfilling the important work of building a strong country. Neo-Confucianism was thought to suppress Koreans' creative thought and mental independence.¹⁶⁶ Many forward-thinking Koreans at that time felt that it was the loss of creativity and lack of an independent spirit that brought about Korea's poverty and weakness. Confucianism was believed to be the cause of this loss of people's creativity.¹⁶⁷ The founding members of the NCM wanted to overcome this time of tribulation by transforming Koreans and their country. They believed that Christianity would help to achieve their goal.

To make matters worse, Koreans had a negative view of themselves and tended to accept any situation as fate. This negative way of thinking and fatalistic attitude were thought to be an obstruction to Korea's development.¹⁶⁸ The progressives regarded Christianity, and especially Protestantism, as an alternative option. Of course, for NCM members, Christianity was the sole channel of salvation,¹⁶⁹ but it could also be a way of positively transforming Koreans' thoughts and Korea's colonized condition. Thus, they believed that Christian salvation would entail the transformation of Korea.¹⁷⁰ Koreans needed to think creatively, to make independent decisions, to have a positive view of themselves, to cope with fatalism, to cultivate individual virtues, and to form a national spirit through accepting the gospel, in order to transform themselves and their country.

hae Kim and Seong-rye Kim, *Geuriseudogyowa Mugyo* (Seoul: Baorottal, 1998), 43. Progressive Koreans would attribute poverty and difficult situations to Neo-Confucianism, which was responsible for the Korean hierarchical order. The hierarchical order was believed to make Koreans passive and unwilling to bring about changes, whether good or bad, to their country. Neo-Confucianism was believed to have lost its meaning as an ethical system among the progressive. The progressives thought that Neo-Confucianism no longer had any validity and that it was detrimental to many Koreans.

¹⁶⁶ Jang-tae Keum, *Yugyosasangwa Jonggyojeok Segye* (Paju: KSI, 2004), 113; Ten Aiming, "On Chu Hsi's Theory of the Great Ultimate," in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, 95.

¹⁶⁷ Wells, *New God New Nation*, 32, 52-55, 108.

¹⁶⁸ Wells, *New God New Nation*, 150.

¹⁶⁹ Kim, "Yuilui Jonggyo," *Seongseojoseon*, July 1930 and "Nauui Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1936 and "Nauui Yesugyo," *Seongseojoseon*, December 1932 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:83-86; Kim "Yuilui Guwon," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1935 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:88.

¹⁷⁰ Dal-yeong Ryu, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Ganhaeng(chopanbon) Hamyeo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:14.

They hoped and believed that Christianity would achieve this.

To realise these aims, the NCM members utilised Christian faith and education. Through Bible lectures, Bible study meetings, classrooms, and publications, they challenged Koreans to accept the gospel and to transform themselves.¹⁷¹ They believed the efficacy of education, as the Confucian *literati* did. They focused mainly on learning through personal and group Bible study, lectures on the Bible, and articles on the Christian faith.¹⁷² Most of the founding members worked in institutions of education. Kim, Ham, Yang, and Yu obtained positions at high schools, and Song ran a private academy for the unprivileged.¹⁷³ Kim (1927-1942) and Yang taught geography and science; Ham taught history; Yu taught English. They all tried to teach their students something beyond the content of their particular subjects, specifically faith in Christianity and a sense of national identity.¹⁷⁴

3.3.4. Publication

Kim Kyo-sin, Song Du-young, Ham Seok-heon, Jeong Sang-hun, Yu Seok-dong, and Yang In-seong, the founding members of the Korean NCM, organized *Joseon Seongseoyeonguhoe* (A Korean Society for Bible Study) in Japan in 1925, in order to gain a deep understanding of the Bible and to spread the gospel in Korea.¹⁷⁵ Later, after their return from Japan, they started the NCM in Korea in July 1927 by issuing a magazine, *Seongseojoseon (Bible Korea)*.¹⁷⁶ Their message was mainly spread through the magazine.

¹⁷¹ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 212-51.

¹⁷² Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 17-23, 40-47, 18-84.

¹⁷³ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 246-48.

¹⁷⁴ Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 92.

¹⁷⁵ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 18.

¹⁷⁶ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:315-23. *Seongseojoseon (Bible Korea)* was a NCM magazine edited and published by Kim and his colleagues between January 1927 and March 1942.

In the beginning, *Seongseojoseon* was a quarterly magazine of about forty pages. Until May 1930, all six members wrote and edited the magazine.¹⁷⁷ After 1930, they had difficulty producing the magazine owing to several reasons,¹⁷⁸ Jeong Sang-hun left for his hometown of Busan in March 1930 and was unable to assist in its production.¹⁷⁹ Kim was then left alone to edit and publish *Seongseojoseon*.¹⁸⁰ He continued to produce a monthly issue until March 1942, when the magazine was outlawed by the Japanese colonial government.¹⁸¹ Other members continued to contribute articles to the magazine, but it was Kim who devoted himself to editing, publishing and dispatching it to its three hundred subscribers. These included Yi Seung-hun, Kim Jeong-sik, Jang Gi-ryeo, Yi Chan-gab, and Ryu Yeong-mo.¹⁸²

NCM members wanted to use the magazine to preach the gospel in Korea. As a Christian magazine, *Seongseojoseon* generally carried articles on Christian faith and the Bible, commentaries on Bible texts, and essays on Christian faith and miscellaneous subjects.¹⁸³ It also carried articles on current issues in early twentieth century Korea. Often these articles encouraged readers to have a sense of Korean identity,¹⁸⁴ but in a covert way because of the Japanese colonial government's strong censorship of all publishing in Korea.¹⁸⁵ Therefore to properly understand their meaning, one had to read between the lines.

¹⁷⁷ Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 91-92.

¹⁷⁸ Jeong-hwan Kim, ed., *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip [성서조선 명논설집 Seongseojoseon Selections]* (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 2003), 237-38.

¹⁷⁹ Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 94-95.

¹⁸⁰ Sang-ik Park, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Bokganhamyeonseo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:9.

¹⁸¹ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 18; Sang-ik Park, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Bokganhamyeonseo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:9.

¹⁸² Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 91-130; Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 243.

¹⁸³ Jeong-min Seo, *Gyeoesarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 94-95

¹⁸⁴ Dal-yeong Ryu, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Ganhaeng(chopanbon) Hamyeo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:13-15.

¹⁸⁵ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 238-39; Dal-yeong Ryu, "Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjipeul Ganhaeng(chopanbon) Hamyeo," in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:14.

Seongseojoseon was published for fifteen years between July 1927 and March 1942 with 158 issues and it had about three hundred regular readers.¹⁸⁶ Among these were several national leaders, including Yi Seung-hun.¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, it is reported that many government ministers were among its regular readers.¹⁸⁸ Kim's contribution was essential to the publication of the magazine. The fifteen-year publication of *Seongseojoseon* would have been impossible without his sacrifice, efforts, passion, and aspiration. Despite the unfavourable political circumstances, Kim continued his work of teaching, leading Bible study meetings, writing, editing, and dispatching the magazine.¹⁸⁹

However, the magazine was outlawed in March 1942.¹⁹⁰ The three hundred regular readers of the magazine were required to report to police for more than ten days.¹⁹¹ The Japanese colonial government accused Kim, his associates and the magazine's readers. Kim and his twelve colleagues were arrested on 30th March 1942 and were imprisoned for a year without a trial. They were released on 29th March 1943.¹⁹² It could be claimed that the significance of *Seongseojoseon* lies in the fact that it was a Christian magazine, not written by religious professionals, such as seminary

¹⁸⁶ Seo, *Gyeoresarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 95.

¹⁸⁷ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 243.

¹⁸⁸ Kim, *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip*, 245.

¹⁸⁹ Seo, *Gyeoresarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 95.

¹⁹⁰ See 3.3.1 Kim Kyo-sin and his Life. In the final issue, Kim wrote an essay entitled "Jowa 弔蛙," a story about the sadness Kim felt regarding the death of frogs in the sudden cold weather and the sense of relief after finding that some frogs were still alive. The Japanese colonial government assumed the story was an allegory expressing the Koreans' hope for independence from Japan. The journal of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, *Sinhakjinam*, ceased to be published in 1940. See Yong-Kyu Park, *Hanguk Jangnogyo Sasangsa: Hangukgyohoewa Seonggyeongui Gwonwi* [한국 장로교 사상사: 한국교회와 성경의 권위 A History of Presbyterian Theological Thought in Korea: Korean Protestantism and Biblical Authority] (Seoul: Chongsindaehakchulpanbu, 1993), 284; Kyo-sin Kim, "Jowa," *Seongseojoseon*, March 1942, 2.

¹⁹¹ Seo, *Gyeoresarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 125.

¹⁹² Seo, *Gyeoresarang Seongseosarang Kim Kyo-sin Seonsaeng*, 125-30; Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 18. The Japanese authorities arrested all the readers of the magazine *Seongseojoseon*, charging them with harbouring dangerous ideas, and abolished the magazine itself. The case was dropped after they had spent one year in prison.

professors, but by members of the laity. It is reported that several clergy subscribed to the magazine.

3.4. The Theological Characteristics of the Non-Church Movement

The NCM seeks to affirm that it follows the central tenets of the Protestant Reformation, such as a belief in biblical revelation, justification by faith, and especially the priesthood of all believers. For NCM members, the most important factor in ecclesiology was the notion of the priesthood of all believers.¹⁹³ Furthermore, members also sought to point out that the Protestant churches were incomplete, and that reform had not gone far enough.¹⁹⁴ The NCM's theological tenets will be examined further below.

In Korean and Japanese NCM, the tenets have not changed since the beginning of the movement.¹⁹⁵ The difference between the two is one of degree, not kind. The six Korean founding members understood Uchimura's thoughts and teachings, and faithfully followed them.¹⁹⁶ It could be claimed that this reflects its conservative tendency. However, the six Koreans did not provide many writings about the tenets. This may be because their teacher Uchimura had already written numerous essays on the subject, and therefore they felt it sufficient to quote his writings, even when arguing with other Christians belonging to the existing denominations.¹⁹⁷ For these reasons, one has to resort to Uchimura's writings when explaining NCM tenets in Korea. Basically,

¹⁹³ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 82.

¹⁹⁴ Uchimura, "Peuroteseutanteujuui," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1909 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:597; Hiroyasu Iwabuchi, "An Evaluation of the Non-Church Movement in Japan: Its Distinctives, Strategy and Significance Today," (DMiss diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1976). In fact, many NCM members have discussed the matter from a similar point of view.

¹⁹⁵ Akio Dohi, "The Historical Development of the Non-Church Movement in Japan," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 2 (Sep. 1965): 452-68.

¹⁹⁶ Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo* [無教會主義者 内村鑑三 *Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo*], trans. Jin-man Kim (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995), 151.

¹⁹⁷ Kyo-sin Kim, "Nai Mugyohoe," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1936, 1.

there was little difference between the Korean founders and their teacher regarding the tenets.¹⁹⁸ In addition, contemporary Korean NCM members have maintained the tenets as propounded by the six founding members.

3.4.1. Christianity without Churches or Churchless Christianity

Regarding the main characteristics of the movement, what stands out is its doctrine.¹⁹⁹ As noted previously, ‘Non-Church Movement’ means Christianity without the church,²⁰⁰ where ‘church’ denotes the institutionalised, traditional hierarchical organisation. Thus, the NCM involves a form of Christianity without traditional hierarchical church structures.²⁰¹ Specifically, the NCM tries to remove the institutionalised characteristics within itself. However, any faith community, including the NCM, cannot perform its mission without some stable organisational features. Therefore, it would be more correct to maintain that the NCM tries to diminish the institutional elements of the church, as much as possible.

The leading principle of the NCM is its opposition to the institutional church.²⁰² It is very critical of the existing institutional churches.²⁰³ Yet this does not mean that the

¹⁹⁸ Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo*, 151.

¹⁹⁹ Kanzo Uchimura, *Jonggyojwadam* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1900), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip* [우치무라 칸조 전집 *The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo*], trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojeok, 2003), 1:316-21; *Ruteosaengae Gangyeon* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1924) in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:501-504; Uchimura, “Seongseoe Iteoseoui Gyohoe,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1910 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:417-21 and “Sinangui Gongdongjeok Yuji,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:428-30; Uchimura, “Mukyokai,” March 1902 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:433-35; Uchimura, “Gyohoeui Jalmot,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1913 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:458-61; Uchimura, “Gidokgyogyehyeoksini Pilyo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1919 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:478-83.

²⁰⁰ Raymond P. Jennings, *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura: A Study of the View of the Church of Kanzo Uchimura and its Significance for Japanese Christianity* (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1958), 54-57.

²⁰¹ Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930*, 368.

²⁰² Veli-Matti Karkkainen, *An Introduction to Ecclesiology: Ecumenical Historical and Global Perspectives* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 167-74.

²⁰³ Uchimura, “Seongseoe Iteoseoui Gyohoe,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1910 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:417-21 and “Sinangui Gongdongjeok Yuji,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:428-30; Uchimura, “Mukyokai,” March 1902 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:433-35; Uchimura,

NCM aims to abolish all of them.²⁰⁴ The NCM members thought that the institutional church deviated from the central teaching of the Bible. On this point, members took a standpoint similar to the Anabaptists of the Radical Reformation. In their view, life and institution were quite the opposite.²⁰⁵ Churches were understood to be concerned with their own preservation rather than their faith. NCM members did not want to belong to a hierarchical system where a religious professional ruled over others. Rather, they wanted to belong to a group where people loved, encouraged and helped each other, without any religious status or hierarchy.²⁰⁶ They believed that the ecclesiology of the Bible was accurately reflected in their movement, which was a churchless Christianity.²⁰⁷ Sometimes they are criticised for not having an interest in separating the church from the Kingdom of God.²⁰⁸

The NCM seems close to a congregational form of church government with a

“Gyohoeui Jalmot,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1913 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:458-61; Uchimura, “Gidokgyogyehyeoksiniui Pilyo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1919 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:478-83.

²⁰⁴ Uchimura, *Jonggyojwadam* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1900), in *Uchimura Kanzo*, 1:316-21; Uchimura, “Gyohoe Daehan Naui Taedo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:524; Uchimura, “Muje (Naneun Mugyohoejuuireul),” 内村鑑三 追憶文集, March 1931 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:542; Kim, “Gyohoegea Georukhanya?” *Seongseojoseon*, June 1936 in *Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:221-22; Kim, “Gagyohoe,” *Seongseojoseon*, May 1936 in *Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:223-24; Kim, “Gyohoe Daehan Uriui Taedo,” *Seongseojoseon*, April 1935 in *Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:224-27; Kim, “Gyohoeua Uriui Gwangye,” *Seongseojoseon*, July 1935 in *Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:227-30; Kim, “Gyohoeua Jinheunghoe,” *Seongseojoseon*, June 1935 in *Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:230-32.

²⁰⁵ Uchimura, “Jedowa Saengmyeong,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1916 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:499.

²⁰⁶ See John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, n.d.), 4.1.4. and 4.1.7; Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1938), 572. “The unity of the church is not primarily an external, but an internal and spiritual character.” NCM members often borrow the notion of the invisible church and apply it to their movement. The visible church is the church as Christians on earth see it. It is the group of people who come together each week to worship and profess faith in Christ. The visible church will always include some unbelievers. According to Calvin, the invisible church is comprised of the totality of the elect. The NCM tends to highlight the invisible church rather than the visible church. Its ecclesiology makes a sharp distinction between the invisible and visible church. Sometimes its ecclesiology seems to identify the invisible church as the flock of believers in Christ and the visible church as the institutional church. It tends to distinguish faith in Christ from the rites of the church, and spiritual life from human organizations.

²⁰⁷ Uchimura Kanzo, “Mugyohoeron,” *Mukyokai*, March 1901 in *Mugyohoeran Mueotinya? [무교회를란 무엇인가? What Is the Non-Church Movement?]*, ed. Jin-gu Yi (Seoul: Boram, 2003), 96.

²⁰⁸ Uchimura, “Seongseoe Iteoseoui Gyohoe,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1910 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:417-21; Uchimura, “Gyohoe Munjee Daehayeo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March, April, May 1928 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:444-51.

single elder.²⁰⁹ Yet there are differences. In the congregational form, clergy do not have sole authority over the congregation. In contrast, in the practice of the NCM, teachers who take leading roles in the churches have authority. Furthermore, the NCM refuses to have any paid employees, which seems similar to the Quakers.

Any institutionalisation of faith, has a tendency to harden the dynamic dimension of faith. NCM members wanted to avoid this. They also preferred a small community because they believed that this would provide a better chance of maintaining this dynamism and purity of faith.

3.4.2. Anticlericalism

Another noticeable characteristic of the NCM is anticlericalism.²¹⁰ The NCM distinguishes between Christianity pure and simple, and Christianity garnished and dogmatised by its professionals.²¹¹ The disappointing experience of Christianity in the U.S.A. led Uchimura to conclude that while Christianity itself is good, Westernised or Americanised Christianity was inappropriate for Japan.²¹² Kim Kyo-sin also thought clergy-centred Christianity was unhelpful for Korea.²¹³ He was concerned about the schisms and feuds among denominations in Korea.²¹⁴ For NCM members, sectarianism caused by religious professionals and Western missionaries need to be removed.

²⁰⁹ For a description of the congregational form of church government, see Wayne Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1994), 928.

²¹⁰ Jennings, *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura*, 52-54.

²¹¹ Kyo-sin Kim, "Hananim Jungsimui Sinangeuro Doraora," *Seongseojoseon*, December 1935, 1-2; Kyo-sin Kim, "Uriui Mugyohoe," *Seongseojoseon*, June 1937, no page number; Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:161.

²¹² Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo [無教會主義者 内村鑑三 Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Jin-man Kim (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995), 39. Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:91-180; Uchimura, "Jonggyogarseoui Migukin," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1913 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:707-713; Uchimura, "Migukinui Dongwa Geu Bokeum," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, July 1919 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:713.

²¹³ Kim, "Yesu Geuriseudoreul Jeonhara," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1936, 2.

²¹⁴ Kim, "Gagyohoe," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1936, no page number.

Even though Kim respected certain clergy such as Gil Seon-ju (1869-1935),²¹⁵ he felt the existing clergy-centred churches inadequate for the task of evangelism.²¹⁶ For Kim, the institutional nature of the church was detrimental to the health of Christians' souls,²¹⁷ because he thought they put their own preservation above the cultivation of faith.²¹⁸ In his view, Christianity should be a spiritual search, yet he had to admit that not all Christians were spiritual seekers.²¹⁹

It is clear that Kim blamed the Christians' heavy dependence on the clergy. This led him to question the need for clerical leadership, and to further strengthen his anticlerical attitude.²²⁰ Kim's remarks seem to give the impression that he entirely disapproved of the clergy. However, it should rather be understood that he wanted the clergy to be more prepared, not that he believed them to be unnecessary.²²¹ He believed in a faith community without the clergy, but did not insist that all forms of Christianity should adopt the NCM model.²²² This is demonstrated by the fact that Kim attended a Presbyterian church, made offerings for the construction expenditure of the church, and accepted invitations to lead revival meetings organised by traditional churches.²²³

3.4.3. A Lay Movement

The significance of the NCM lies in the fact that it was initiated not by the clergy but by the laity. As noted earlier, there were already many Christians in Korea

²¹⁵ Kim, "Geumhuui Joseon Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoseon*, February 1936, 1. Gil was a leader of the 1907 Pyeongyang Revival in Korea and of the 1919 March First Independence Movement.

²¹⁶ Kim, "Hananim Jungsimui Sinangeuro Doraora," *Seongseojoseon*, December 1935, 1-2.

²¹⁷ Kim, "Gyohoe Daehan Uriui Taedo," *Seongseojoseon*, April 1935, 1-2.

²¹⁸ Kim, "Mugyohoe Mundap," *Seongseojoseon*, March 1936, 1-2.

²¹⁹ Kim, "Gyohoe Daehan Uriui Taedo," *Seongseojoseon*, April 1935, 1-2; Kyo-sin Kim, "Gyohoega Georukhanya," *Seongseojoseon*, June 1936, 2.

²²⁰ Kim, "Gidokgyodoui Isang," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1938, 2.

²²¹ Kim, "Mugyohoe Ganpan Cheolgeoui Jeui," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1937, 1.

²²² Kim, "Gyeongjaenghoepi," *Seongseojoseon*, December 1936, no page number.

²²³ Kim, "Buheunghoeui Gamsang," *Seongseojoseon*, March 1932, 22-24; Kyo-sin Kim, "Gyohoe Daehan Uriui Taedo," *Seongseojoseon*, April 1935, 1-2.

before the arrival of Western missionaries. They read Bibles imported from China and converted to Christianity independently. The character of the Korean NCM can be understood as an extension of this autonomy.

Belief in the priesthood of all believers was the important theological standpoint of the NCM.²²⁴ Because no human mediators are required to encounter God, and all believers are priests.²²⁵ This meant that during the Sunday worship service, any NCM member could preach the gospel, rather than having to listen to a member of the clergy.²²⁶ Interestingly, while Uchimura wrote several essays on the priesthood of all believers, the six Korean founders did not include any articles in *Seongseojoseon* on the subject. This was probably because they took it for granted and felt there was no need for further debate.

NCM members believed that Korean Christians should be encouraged to study the Bible for themselves in order to become mature Christians. Many depended too much on the interpretations of the clergy and, as a result, they could not understand the Bible independently.²²⁷ Therefore, NCM members tried to reduce the influence of the clergy within the faith community, while attempting to increase lay involvement.²²⁸ In the NCM, it was the laity themselves who conducted ministerial duties from start to finish. The movement did not have paid clergy because members believed that financial independence was closely connected to spiritual independence. They considered that holding a secular job would make the ministry more effective and faithful to the

²²⁴ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 43.

²²⁵ Uchimura, "Jesajangiran Mueotinga?" *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1911 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:461.

²²⁶ Uchimura, "Geuriseudowa Gatidoira," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:367.

²²⁷ Kyo-sin Kim, "Joleopsaengege," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1941, 5-6; Kyo-sin Kim, "Gyeomheohan Simjeongeul," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1937, 14.

²²⁸ Uchimura, *Guanrok [Search after Peace]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten 1893) in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 1:119, 121-25.

teachings of the Bible.²²⁹ Financial independence from the congregation was understood to be a guarantee against compromise and was expected to result in a purer form of Christianity. Furthermore, the NCM did not require its leaders to undergo formal theological education.²³⁰ A deep personal calling from God was considered more important. Yet recently this has changed somewhat. A few members, such as Han Byeong-deok and Son Hyeon-seop, have received academic training in biblical studies and theology.²³¹ Nevertheless, formal theological training was never meant to be regarded as a necessary requirement for becoming a leader in the NCM.

3.4.4. A Bible-Centred Form of Christianity

As noted previously, NCM tenets have not changed in both Korea and Japan since the beginning of the movement. The NCM is a Bible-centred form of Christianity. It believes that it is only through the Scripture that faith comes and is sustained, and only the word of God is required to encounter God. No human mediator is necessary. For this reason, Bible study lies at the centre of the search for a direct relationship with God.²³² It also means that rituals, such as baptism and sacraments, are not considered indispensable.²³³ NCM members have a strong belief in the Bible as the word of God and are opposed to ecclesiastical and extra-biblical traditions.²³⁴ This can be explained both by the influence of Confucianism and by the influence of Puritanism and Pietism.

²²⁹ Kyo-sin Kim, "Gyohoe Daehan Uriui Taedo," *Seongseojoseon*, April 1935 in *Mugyohoeran Mueotinya?* [무교회회란 무엇인가? *What Is the Non-Church Movement?*], ed. Jin-gu Yi (Seoul: Boram, 2003), 13.

²³⁰ Carlo Caldarola, *Christianity: The Japanese Way* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 124-130.

²³¹ Han leads the Jongno meeting in Seoul, and Son the Oryudong meeting in Seoul.

²³² Kim, "Seongseojoseoneun Mueotinga?" *Seongseojoseon*, February 1931 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:322; Kim, "Seongseo Yeonguui Mokjeok," *Seongseojoseon*, February 1932 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:77.

²³³ Uchimura, "Mugyohoejuuii Jeonjin," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1907 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:513; Ichiro, *Japanese Religion*, 82.

²³⁴ Akio Dohi, *Ilbon Gidokgyosa* [일본 기독교사 *A History of the Protestant Church in Japan*], trans. Soo-Jin Kim (Seoul: Gidokgyomunsa, 1991), 178-79.

Yet it had nothing to do with Korean Christianity that had a Bible-centred faith. The NCM started earlier than the quickening period of Korean Christianity in 1907.

Confucianism influenced the Bible-centred approach of the NCM and its spiritual methodology of learning.²³⁵ Uchimura, Kim, and the other founding members grew up in Confucian cultures and received Confucian education. Studying and teaching Confucian classics has an important role in Confucianism. NCM members believed that the most efficient means of becoming deeply spiritual was through studying the Scripture. Accordingly, they focused their whole energy on this. Their Bible lectures, magazine articles, and scholarly studies of biblical Hebrew and Greek show clearly that the NCM was a Bible-centred form of Christianity.²³⁶ This will be examined further in the next chapter.

In addition, the influence of Puritanism and Pietism cannot be ignored in explaining the NCM's Bible-centred attitude. While Confucianism directly influenced both Uchimura and his Korean followers, Puritanism and Pietism only directly influenced Uchimura. Yet it is likely that Puritanism and Pietism had an indirect influence on the Koreans' Bible-centred attitude through Uchimura's teachings, considering the fact that they faithfully followed Uchimura in every detail.

Both Puritanism and Pietism share a belief in the possibility of hearing God's voice in the Bible.²³⁷ William S. Clark, the first president of Sapporo Agricultural College where Uchimura was a student, was from a Puritan family. Under Clark's influence, all the first-year students became Christians. Julius Hawley Seelye, the

²³⁵ See 4.4.3.

²³⁶ Uchimura, "Mugyohoejuuii Jeonjin," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1907 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:513.

²³⁷ Hugh Martin, *Puritanism and Richard Baxter* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1954), 76; Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, rev. ed. (Grantham: Evangel Publishing House, 1996), 48-56; Louis Dupre and Don E. Saliers, eds., *World Spirituality: An Encyclopaedic History of the Religious Quest*, vol. 18, *Christian Spirituality: Post-Reformation and Modern* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1989), 315, 350-353.

president of Amherst College which Uchimura attended while in the USA, was a follower of German Pietism. Uchimura was deeply influenced by Seelye's pietistic faith. For Puritans and Pietists, the Bible was the means of sustaining the individual believer's life and reforming the church.²³⁸

The influence of Confucianism and the emphasis on the Bible shaped the worship style of the NCM. Their mode of worship was similar to that of Confucian *literati* learning Confucian classics. The main focus of the worship service was studying and teaching. It could be said to be a Confucian style of worship service, rather than a traditional Christian worship service. Strictly speaking, there were no sermons and no sacraments. Instead there were Bible lectures, and study of the Bible took the place of religious ceremonies. Music was seldom used. Study of the Bible was considered sufficient for gaining spiritual maturity. For NCM members, studying the Bible, rather than the practice of religious rituals and sacraments, were considered important for salvation or sanctification.²³⁹ It was only through the word of God that faith develops and is sustained.

3.5. Response from the Korean Church

The Korean NCM members sought to autonomously develop a faith by themselves. They believed that neither American Christianity nor European Christianity, including the Anglican faith, was best for Korean Christians. It was believed that these expressions of Christianity were the descendants of the sixteenth century Reformation

²³⁸ Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, 48-56.

²³⁹ Kyo-sin Kim, "Mugyohoe Mundap," *Seongseojoseon*, March 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 255. Kim, 2:255; Uchimura, "Seryewa Seongchan," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1912 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:539-45; Uchimura, "Serye Seongchan Pyejiron," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, February 1901 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:545-49; Uchimura, "Seryewa Sinang," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1907 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:549-51; Uchimura, "Gidokgyoui Sinang," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1902 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:70.

that ended as an incomplete movement. In contrast, under the influence of Uchimura, they thought that the NCM was the best form of Christianity, one which incorporated the spirit of the Reformation, even though it could be also referred to as a Japanese faith. Therefore, they had no scruples about accepting and spreading it in Korea.

NCM members expected the movement to help Korean Christians avoid schism, but to their disappointment, the movement did not develop into a large group or gain much support among Koreans because the majority of Korean churches criticized its ecclesiology.²⁴⁰ A renowned Presbyterian, Reverend Kim In-seo (1894-1964), criticized Uchimura Kanzo and the NCM in a journal of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, *Sinhakjinam*, in 1930.²⁴¹ Kim In-seo's criticism mainly focused on the NCM's view of the church. Kim In-seo was a disciple of the famous revivalist Gil Seon-ju, who was a leader of the Pyeongyang Revival in 1907 and of the March First Independence Movement in 1919.²⁴²

Actually, Kim In-seo's criticism can be understood to represent the mainline Korean conservative churches' evaluation of the NCM. Kim In-seo insisted that the NCM's ecclesiology had many faults. For example, NCM members believed that the

²⁴⁰ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 672-63.

²⁴¹ In-seo Kim, "Mugyohoe Juujia Uchimura Kanzossie Daehayeo [무교회 주의자 우찌무라 간조씨에 대하여 On a Non-Churchist, Uchimura Kanzo]," *Sinhakjinam* 12, no. 4 (July 1930): 37-42. For further information of Kim In-seo, see In-su Kim, ed., *Saryo Hanguksinhaksasangsa [사료 한국신학사상사 Historical Records A History of Korean Theological Thoughts]* (Seoul: Jangnohoesinhandaehakgyochulpanbu, 2003), 513-64. See Gyeong-bae Min, *Gyohoewa Minjok [교회와 민족 Church and Nation]* (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpansa, 1997), 333-61; Gyeong-bae Min, "Hangukgyohoeui Sapyo Kim Kyosingwa Kim In-seo [한국교회의 사표 김교신과 김인서 The Paragons of the Korean Church, Kim Kyo-sin and Kim In-seo]," *Bitgwa Sogeu*, January 1987, 81-85.

²⁴² Hyeon-hye Yang, "Kim Kyo-singwa Mugyohoejuui (3) [김교신과 무교회주의 (3) Kim Kyo-sin and the Non-Church Movement (3)]," *Gidokgyosang* 427 (May 1994): 125. In-su Kim, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoeui Yeoksa [한국 기독교회의 역사 A History of the Korean Church]* (Seoul: Jangnosinhakdaehakgyo Chulpanbu, 2002), 420-23; In-su Kim, ed., *Saryo Hanguksinhaksasangsa [사료 한국신학사상사 Historical Records A History of Korean Theological Thoughts]* (Seoul: Jangnohoesinhandaehakgyochulpanbu, 2003), 129-229; Yong Kyu Park, *Pyeongyang Daebuheungundong [평양 대부흥운동 The Great Revival in Korea: Its Historical Character and Impact 1901-1910]*, 2nd ed. (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2007), 249-57.

church itself was the cause of the depravity of Christianity. Admitting that churches were corrupt, but refuting the NCM's understanding of the church, Kim In-seo insisted that when men and women are pure, the church is also pure, whereas when men and women are depraved, the church is also corrupt.²⁴³ Interestingly, Kim In-seo professed to have three C's to love: Choseon (Korea), Christ, and Church, whereas Kim Kyo-sin used to say that he loved two C's: Christ and Choseon.²⁴⁴

Kim Kyo-sin felt he had to respond to Kim In-seo's criticism. Firstly, he refuted Kim In-seo's criticism in two issues of *Seongseojoseon* in 1930.²⁴⁵ Kim Kyo-sin summarised the NCM with the phrase, "there is salvation outside the church" as against the phrase "no salvation outside the church".²⁴⁶ He made it clear that it was Martin Luther's Reformation that insisted on using the phrase, "there is salvation outside the church".²⁴⁷ Kim Kyo-sin clarified that belonging to the church is not essential for salvation.²⁴⁸

Kim In-seo's other reason for not accepting the NCM was because of its origin

²⁴³ In-seo Kim, "Mugyohoe Juuija Uchimura Kanzossie Daehayeo [무교회 주의자 우찌무라 간조씨에 대하여 On a Non-Churchist, Uchimura Kanzo]," *Sinhakjinam* 12, no. 4 (July 1930): 39.

²⁴⁴ Kim, *Saryo Hanguksinhaksasangsa*, 560-62. The NCM members seemed to be inspired by the phrases; Kanzo Uchimura, "Two J's," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1926 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 15:599-600.

²⁴⁵ Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya [내촌삼론에 답하여 Responding to the Criticism of Uchimura Kanzo]," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21. Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya [내촌삼론에 답하여 Responding to the Criticism of Uchimura Kanzo]," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26; Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21 and "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26.

²⁴⁶ For a discussion of this matter from a Catholic perspective, see Hans Kung, *The Church* (New York: Image Books, 1976), 407.

²⁴⁷ Kyo-sin Kim, "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1930, 14-21 and "Naechongamsamrone Dabhaya," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1930, 21-26.

²⁴⁸ Kim, "Nauui Mugyohoe," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:245-50; Kim, "Sinangui Jugwan Gaekgwon," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:250-51; Kim, "Uriui Ibjangeul Geondeuriji Malra," *Seongseojoseon*, November 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:257-58; Kim, "Gyeongjaenghoepi," *Seongseojoseon*, December 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:259-60; Kim, "Mugyohoe Ganpanui Cheolgeo," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1937 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:260-62; Kim, "Uriui Mugyohoe," *Seongseojoseon*, June 1937 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:262-63; Kim, "Bipan Gonggyeokui Jojong," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1937 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:266-69.

in Japan and because its founder was a Japanese from a samurai clan.²⁴⁹ In his eyes, Uchimura was a religious imperialist.²⁵⁰ Historically, it was true that the Japanese Congregational Church,²⁵¹ strongly supported by the Japanese colonial regime, was trying to annex Korean Christianity at that time.²⁵² Kim In-seo's criticism is understandable, considering the circumstances of life under the colonial regime.²⁵³

The Japanese treated Korean Christians harshly. Many Korean churches were burned by Japanese troops. The colonial regime applied pressure incrementally in order to obtain their adherence to attendance at shrine worship.²⁵⁴ Many Christians were executed. In this way, the Japanese authorities attempted to gain control over the various annual church meetings, including the conferences of the Methodist Church and the presbyteries of the Presbyterian Church.²⁵⁵

One of the major denominations in Korea has long been the Presbyterian Church that follows the teachings of John Calvin and John Knox. For Calvin, the marks

²⁴⁹ In-seo Kim, "Mugyohoe Juujia Uchimura Kanzossie Daehayeo [무교회 주의자 우찌무라 간조씨 에 대하여 On a Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo]," *Sinhakjinam* 12, no. 4 (July 1930): 42.

²⁵⁰ Yang, "Kim Kyo-singwa Mugyohoejuui (3)," *Gidokgyosasang* 427 (May 1994), 127.

²⁵¹ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 278-80. Shimeta Niishima (1843-1890), well known in the West as Joseph Hardy Neesima, started the Japanese Congregational Church in 1886 by uniting the thirty-one churches founded by Congregational Church missionaries from America and Europe. He was the founder of Doshisha (now Doshisha University) in Kyoto. He studied in America, where he was ordained and accepted by the American board as a missionary. The Japanese Congregational Church was called *Kumiai Kyokai* 組合教會 in Japan. The Church produced Ebina Danjo, a theologian who rationalised the annexation of Korea and Japan as the providence of God.

²⁵² In-su Kim, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoeui Yeoksa*, 382. For the relationship between Korean and Japanese churches during the time, see Gyeong-bae Min, "Iljehai Hanilgyohoegwangye [일제하의 한일교회관계 The Relationship between Korean and Japanese Churches under Japanese Colonialism]," *Sinhaknondan* (February 1989), 187-224; Man-yeol Yi, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik [한국기독교와 민족의식 Korean Christianity and National Consciousness]* (Seoul: Jisiksaneopsa, 2000), 339.

²⁵³ See Gyeong-bae Min, "Iljemalgi Hangukgyohoeui Saengtae [일제말기 한국교회의 생태 The Mode of Korean Churches in the Late Period of Japanese Colonialism]," *Gidokgyosasang* (August 1974), 52-65.

²⁵⁴ Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (Albany: State University of New York, 1997), 62. "To Christians, the presence of the Shinto religion became a serious issue after 1935, when the government ordered all educational institutions, including private Christian schools, to pay obeisance by attending the shrine ceremonies."

²⁵⁵ Min, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa*, 310-312.

of the true church were that the word of God should be purely preached and heard, and that the sacraments should be rightly administered according to Christ's institution.²⁵⁶ He stated that the true church is indeed to be found where the Gospel is rightly preached and the sacraments rightly administered. In the early twentieth century in Korea, most churches had similar views concerning the church. In contrast, the NCM practiced neither preaching nor the sacraments.

Importantly, the NCM came to deny the legitimacy of the Korean church by regarding established churches as corrupt. The NCM insisted that it alone was righteous and that others were not. To defy the church and to deny the existing denominations were understood to negate Christianity itself. For these reasons, it was difficult for the NCM to make people believe in its faithfulness to the teachings of the Bible.

However, not all Christians were against the movement. A renowned Presbyterian, Reverend Son Yang-won, liked reading Uchimura Kanzo's books. A very important national and church leader, Yi Seung-hun, was close to Ham Seok-heon and Kim Kyo-sin. It is reported that he subscribed to *Seongseojoseon*.²⁵⁷ Moreover, some scholars, like Baek Nak-jun and Min Gyeong-bae, highly praised NCM's efforts to establish a Korean national church, one that did not excessively rely on foreign missionaries and their teachings.²⁵⁸

3.6. The Current NCM Groups in Korea

Now there are ten NCM meetings in Korea. Four meetings in Seoul: Jongno, Daebangdong, Oryudong, and Ilsimhoegwan. Six meetings in other six cities: Busan,

²⁵⁶ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.1.9.

²⁵⁷ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 150.

²⁵⁸ Gyeong-bae Min, "Minjokui Seonhan Mokja Kim Kyo-sin [민족의 선한 목자 김교신 A Good Shepherd of the Nation, Kim Kyo-sin]," *Yonsechunchu*, June 30 1975.

Daegu, Gwangmyeong, Gwangju of Jeollanamdo, Hongseong, and Incheon. It was hard to estimate the total number of NCM groups in Korea because the NCM had not issued official documents to provide information about its history, previous activities, the number of its members, and even their magazines. It seems that NCM members have not been interested in keeping a record of their history. Furthermore NCM members were very reluctant to tell the details about the number of NCM members and NCM meetings. However, a rough survey uncovers that attendance at each Sunday Bible meeting is generally from ten to twenty.²⁵⁹ And a rough survey gives the total number of groups as three hundred.

Oryudong Jibhoe, *Jongno Jibhoe*, *Daebangdong Jibhoe*, and *Incheon Jibhoe* are viewed as the representatives of the NCM in Korea after Kim Kyo-sin's death. Song Du-yong initiated *Oryudong Jibhoe* and ran it until 1986. After Song's death, one of Song's disciples, Lee Jin-gu, has managed the meeting to date and has still issued a magazine with the same title, *Seongseosinaesa*. Noh Pyeong-gu (1912-2003), a representative disciple of Kim Kyo-sin, had ran *Jongno Jibhoe* until 1999. One of Noh's disciples, Han Byeong-deok, has managed the meeting since then. Interestingly, this group has issued two magazines *Geuriseudoui Saram* by Han Byeong-deok and *Seonggyeongyeongu* by Choi Jeong-il.

Daebangdong Jibhoe, which was previously called *Miadong Jibhoe* before it moved its meeting place to *Daebangdong* from *Mi-a-dong* in Seoul. This group is the largest one. Yu Hui-se (1919-) attended Noh's meeting, until Yu started his own meeting in the early 1970s at Noh's recommendation. Today the periodical this group has issued is *Seonggyeongmulsseum*. Choi Byeong-in, one of Yu's disciples, is in charge

²⁵⁹ See <http://cafe.daum.net/nonchurch> (accessed 24 January 2012)

of the editing of the magazine. Some existing members of *Oryudong Jibhoe* newly formed *Incheon Jibhoe* on the first Sunday of March in 1971 at Song's recommendation. This group has so far issued a magazine *Seongseosinang*.

When researcher interviewed twenty-four NCM members in September to October 2009, the average age of the interviewees was 68.4. Many members are retired or current teachers and professors at universities. The gathering place for their Bible study meeting varies according to the size of the group. Larger groups rent halls or modern office buildings. Smaller groups usually meet in private homes. They normally meet once a week on Sunday. The NCM Bible study meeting does not follow a formal liturgical pattern. The NCM service is simplified. The teacher compares some passages with others on the same subject in order to determine their genuine meaning through a balanced and scholarly exegesis.²⁶⁰ As Carlo Caldarola reveals in his book entitled *Christianity: The Japanese Way*, what the researcher finds out in the fieldwork was that NCM Bible study meeting is much more than intellectual seminars for NCM members. Caldarola depicts it “the spiritual enjoyment of the word of God and “an intense spiritual contact with God.”²⁶¹

3.7. Reflection

Since its beginnings, the NCM has had the following features: it is a Bible-centred form of Christianity, which takes the Bible seriously as the word of God; it uses the teacher-disciple relationship to deepen Christian understanding and faith; it has no ordained or paid clergy; its members pay some fee for administration, usually a specified sum which is used to meet the congregation's expenses; it has no formal

²⁶⁰ Carlo Caldarola, *Christianity: The Japanese Way* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 69.

²⁶¹ Caldarola, *Christianity*, 70.

organisation; each NCM congregation publishes its magazine on a regular basis; generally, and its members rent halls or use private homes for their Sunday services, lectures, Bible classes, discussions, and prayer meetings. Both the Korean and Japanese NCM have preserved these features, which are commonly found in any group of the NCM, regardless of its location or nationality.²⁶²

It would not be wrong to maintain that, to a degree, the members gravitated toward individualistic piety. Considering the community-oriented culture and the value system of East Asia, it is perhaps surprising that the founding members of the NCM insisted on the importance of spiritual and individual independence. This was uncommon in the Asian context of that time. While there was a danger in becoming too individualistic, they were willing to take this risk in order to be more spiritually independent and mature. Yet this does not mean that members disregarded the value of community. In fact, they were unconcerned that Christians would be too individualistic to form a spiritual community. In a sense, it is right that they focused on the personal rather than community dimension. It was a reaction to the overemphasis on a community-oriented way of life. They stressed the importance of self-study of the Bible to gain maturity. This seemed to lead them to articulate the aspect of individualism.

It is important to examine why the Korean NCM began to consider the expectations of Korean Christianity of its day. As James Grayson points out, many hoped that Christianity would bring about national transformation, yet most Korean

²⁶² Jeong-hwan Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin: Geu Samgwa Mideumgwa Somang* [김교신: 그 삶과 믿음과 소망 *Kim Kyo-sin: His Life, Faith, and Hope*] (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 1994), 138-55; Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura 1861-1930* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 113. Miura properly describes the features of the NCM as follows. (1) The NCM is a Bible-centred form of Christianity. (2) It uses the teacher-disciple relationship to hand on the Christian faith. (3) There are no ordained clergy or paid ministers. (4) NCM members pay an admission fee. (5) It has no formal organisation. (6) Each NCM congregation publishes its own magazine on a regular basis. (7) Its members rent halls or use private homes for their various meetings.

churches were more concerned with church affairs owing to the after-effects of the colonial regime's suppression.²⁶³ For this reason, socialists and communists criticised Korean Christianity for making people passive in the face of the existing social injustice.²⁶⁴ They regarded Christianity as a religion for the rich and strong rather than the poor and weak, despite the fact that churches had engaged in social missions such as building hospitals and schools.²⁶⁵

An article in a magazine named *Cheongchun* and published in March 1917 devaluated Korean Christianity. The author, the renowned novelist Yi Gwang-su, even though he was not a socialist, harshly criticised Korean Christianity for its hierarchical structure, its polarized attitudes to the world and the church, its under-qualified clergy, and its superstitious beliefs.²⁶⁶ To make matters worse, many Korean Christian leaders were imprisoned or went into exile because of the March First Independence Movement. This led to the debasing of Korean church leaders.

However, this evaluation is not really fair. As Park Yong-kyu insists, Korean churches did engage in public welfare service,²⁶⁷ though not to the extent that satisfied the critics. Whatever was the case, some intellectuals had a low opinion of the Korean Church, and the reputation of Korean Christianity was in decline.

The NCM started in these circumstances with the hope that it could complement Korean Christianity,²⁶⁸ as well aspiring about national transformation,

²⁶³ Grayson, *Korea*, 161; See this thesis 2.3.3.

²⁶⁴ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 190-96.

²⁶⁵ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 335-44.

²⁶⁶ Gwang-su Yi, "Yasogyoui Joseone Jun Eunhye," *Cheongchun*, July 1917 in *Yi Gwang-su Jeonjip*, 20 vols., by Gwang-su Yi (Seoul: Usinsa, 1979), 10:17-19.

²⁶⁷ Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 335-44.

²⁶⁸ Sang-hun Jeong, "Joseone Pilyohan Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoseon*, July 1928, 7; Chi-jun Noh, "Mugyohoejuuiwa Hanguk Gyohoeui Banseong [무교회주의와 한국 교회의 반성 The Non-Church Movement and the Korean Churches' Reflection]," *Bokeumgwa Sanghwang* (June 1995), 90.

including liberation from Japanese rule.²⁶⁹ Members also wanted to establish a Christian community free from the influence of Western denominational churches,²⁷⁰ because in their opinion Western Christianity's sectarianism was detrimental to the movement's aims.²⁷¹ Moreover, NCM members including Uchimura and Kim seriously raised the question of Western Christianity's faithfulness to the teachings of the Bible.²⁷² Consequently, they sought freedom from the influence of Western forms of Christianity.²⁷³ The number of Korean clergy and missionaries in the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church was 1,458, and the number of foreign missionaries was 335. It is reported that 80 per cent of the missionaries were from the U.S.A.²⁷⁴ The influence of the Western missionaries was so strong that the Korean churches and their members were under their control.²⁷⁵ The NCM members did not want matters to continue as they were. Rather, they wanted to stand on their own feet in the evangelisation of Korea.²⁷⁶

Referring to the work of H. Richard Niebuhr, Dohi Akio regards the NCM as

²⁶⁹ Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 34; Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (Albany: State University of New York, 1997), 37. Besides Christian leaders, many Korean national leaders had the same belief that Christianity was the best way to lead to the independence of Korea. For the debate, see Wells, *New God New Nation*.

²⁷⁰ Kyo-sin Kim, Diary, 5th Feb. 1933, in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2002), 5:112.

²⁷¹ Sang-hun Jeong, "Joseone Pilyohan Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoseon*, July 1928, 7.

²⁷² Jeong, "Joseone Pilyohan Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoseon*, July 1928, 7.

²⁷³ Geol Im, "Kim Kyo-sinui Jajeongeong Sinhak." in *Haeseokhakgwa Tochakhwa* (Seoul: Handeul, 1999), 352.

²⁷⁴ Eun-pyo Hong, "Kim Kyo-sinui Sinangsasang [김교신의 신앙사상 Kim Kyo-sin's Faith and Thought]," *Bokeumgwa Sanghwang*, March 1994, 66.

²⁷⁵ Noh, "Mugyohoejuuiwa Hanguk Gyohoeui Banseong," *Bokeumgwa Sanghwang* (June 1995), 91.

²⁷⁶ Kyo-sin Kim, Diary, 5th Feb. 1933, in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2002), 5:112; Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 34; Kyo-sin Kim, Diary, 1st Feb. 1931, in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2002), 5:41; Yeon-hye Yang, "Kim Kyo-singwa Mugyohoejuui (1)" *Gidokgyosasang* 425 (May 1994), 120; Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 33. In this sense, it can be claimed that the NCM was an attempt to make Korean Christianity independent from Western missionaries and their denominational theologies. To achieve this goal, the members emphasised personal and in-depth study of the Bible. Moreover, they did not neglect to put the teachings of the Bible into practice in society and challenged believers to take a prophetic stances in relation to current social matters.

the transformer of culture.²⁷⁷ The founding members had a relatively positive attitude toward culture.²⁷⁸ Unfortunately, however, they were unable to achieve much in terms of social mission, despite their good intentions.

With all its merits, the NCM tended to lose contact with other Christians because of its censorship of the institutional church. The belief that the NCM alone could save both the country and individuals became a point of contention rather than a path to unity. Because of their perception that they were following the true way and established churches were somewhat corrupt, other Christians were reluctant to accept NCM members as one of them. Division and distrust occurred between the NCM and established churches because the former regarded itself as more devoted to Christ. The more the movement emphasised its rightness, the more wrong it saw in others. Consequently, NCM members increasingly regarded those outside its clique as inferior and unworthy of its concern. In such an atmosphere, the body of Christ began to disintegrate, and walls of separation were erected rather than torn down.

Furthermore, by focusing on the matter of *ecclesia*, the NCM's theology lacked a broad perspective. Although it stressed *koinonia*, it can be claimed that the NCM lacked a deep sense of fellowship because the focus of its *koinonia* tended to be on the relationship between teachers and students.

In Korea, the NCM was criticized because of its origins, its flat ecclesiology, and its non-practice of the sacraments.²⁷⁹ Considering Korea's position as a colonial state and Korean Christianity's conservatism, it was understandable that many Koreans

²⁷⁷ H. Richard Nieburh, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper One, 2001), 190-229; Akio Dohi, *Ilbon Gidokgyosa* [일본 기독교사 A History of the Protestant Church in Japan], trans. Soo-Jin Kim (Seoul: Gidokgyomunsa, 1991), 175-76.

²⁷⁸ Kyo-sin Kim, "Seongseojoseonui Hae," *Seongseojoseon*, April 1935, no page number. They believed that Christianity would help their country to transform itself and they wanted to be transformers of their own country.

²⁷⁹ Kim, "Choi Tae-yonggwa Kim Kyo-sinui Mugyohoejuui," *Sinhakjinam* (Spring Summer 1986), 105.

simply rejected it because of its Japanese origins, its distinctive ecclesiology, and its non-practice of the sacraments, which might have appeared heretical.²⁸⁰ Therefore, its lack of popular appeal can be explained by these factors, and especially its Japanese origin.

Intellectualism was an important criticism that the NCM found difficult to refute, despite its emphasis on in-depth Bible study among individual lay Christians.²⁸¹ The NCM wanted to become a movement for the masses.²⁸² Yet its scholarly atmosphere and elitist nature precluded this. Considering the scholarly atmosphere of the movement and the fact that the illiteracy rate of the 1930s was more than 80 per cent, its lack of popular appeal is understandable. These two factors created a problem with regard to its evangelistic outreach to the masses.

NCM members endeavoured to fashion a Korean form of Christianity.²⁸³ Min Gyeong-bae acclaimed it for that reason. Certainly, it was quite different from the established churches such as Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches. Yet it would be difficult to claim that it differentiated itself from Japanese NCM of Uchimura Kanzo. While its attempt to be independent from Western denominational churches was successful, it is also true that the Korean NCM was largely shaped by the thoughts and theology of Uchimura.

This research tries to examine the NCM's appropriateness as Pete Ward's

²⁸⁰ For example, John Calvin's ecclesiology is still the standard viewpoint of the theology of the church in Korea.

²⁸¹ Gyeong-bae Min, "Kim Kyo-sinui Mugyohoejuuiwa Joseonjeok Gidokgyo [김교신의 무교회주의와 조선적 기독교 Kim Kyo-sin's Non-Church Movement and Korean Christianity]," in *Mangye Jo Seon-chul Baksa Hoegapginyeomnonmunjip [만계 조선출 박사 회갑기념 논문집 A Collection of Scholarly Papers for the 60th Anniversary of Doctor Jo Seon-chul]*, ed. Mangyeganhaengjip (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 1975), 181-206.

²⁸² Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin*, 40.

²⁸³ Kyo-sin Kim, Diary, 11th Dec. 1934, in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2002), 5:243.

concept of “liquid church”.²⁸⁴ According to Grace Davie’s book entitled *Religion in Britain since 1945*, many are leaving the church, while still regarding themselves as Christians.²⁸⁵ Therefore the church in the twenty-first century is required to consider taking a new type of church in order to solve the problem. There is a supposition in the mind of the researcher that the movement may have a potential to transform itself into liquid church because it is quite faithful to the teachings of the Bible and is free from stiff formalism as shown in the Sunday Bible study meeting.

In the liquid church, leadership no longer depends on appointment and authority. Instead, worshipers will gravitate toward those they perceive as being enlightened.²⁸⁶ As Pete Ward depicts the leadership in the liquid church, leadership is being made in the NCM. Furthermore liquid church abandons “congregational structures in favor of a varied and changing diet of worship, prayer, study, and activity.”²⁸⁷ As examined above, the NCM does not stick to congregational structures. Pete Ward shows liquid church as the networked church that “would connect individuals, groups, and organizations in series of flows.”²⁸⁸ For this point, NCM members may insist that the movement is a community of constant communication through writing and reading essays carried in NCM magazines.

Then can the NCM be a model of Pete Ward’s liquid church? Unfortunately, except the matter of leadership, it would be right that the NCM does not succeed in showing its sufficient quality of being liquid church. The NCM has a very simplified service, yet it is very stiff simplified service too. Therefore it is uncertain that the NCM

²⁸⁴ Pete Ward, *Liquid Church* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002).

²⁸⁵ Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), chap. 6 “Believing Without Belonging.”

²⁸⁶ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 90.

²⁸⁷ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 89.

²⁸⁸ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 87.

will change its structures in favour of a varied and changing diet of worship, study, and activity.²⁸⁹ Instead, it seems that the movement will stick to the assumption that what is offered in the Bible study meeting is good for you, even though it might be boring.

²⁸⁹ NCM members generally meet once a week, yet it cannot be judged that the members have a lack of communication with each member. Rather it is obvious that NCM members constantly communicate each other through writings in NCM magazines. However it must also be pointed out that their communication might appear more like an interaction between scholars in a seminar.

PART II: THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE NON-CHURCH MOVEMENT AND ITS THEOLOGICAL ROOT

CHAPTER 4: CONFUCIAN SPIRITUALITY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE NCM

Spirituality is a way of seeking the Absolute Being. It is a stance out of which a person lives and acts and prays. It is a way of expressing one's relationship to the Absolute Being, to others, and to the whole of creation, including one's relationship to oneself. It can be defined as the efforts of a person to recognize, acknowledge, and respond to the Absolute Being's action in one's life. It also refers to the authentic human quest for ultimate value or the human person's "striving to attain the highest ideal or goal."¹ According to Alister McGrath, "spirituality concerns the quest for a fulfilled and authentic religious life, involving the bringing together of the ideas distinctive of that religion and the whole experience of living on the basis of and within the scope of that religion."² For Gordon Wakefield, spirituality has to do with "the constituent of human nature, which seeks relations with the ground or purpose of existence."³

This chapter begins with the insight that the NCM has been influenced by Confucian spirituality. In understanding the Confucian characteristic of the NCM, it is important to pay attention to the remarks of Noh Pyeong-gu (1912-2003), who led the KNCM after Kim Kyo-sin died. After he finished the Sunday Bible study meeting, he always asked the participants to go home as soon as possible and review what they learned on the day in order not to forget it.⁴ This shows how the Sunday Bible study

¹ Walter Principe, "Toward Defining Spirituality," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 12, no. 2 (1983), 139.

² Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Spirituality* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 2.

³ Gordon S. Wakefield, *The Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), v.

⁴ Jin-u Seok (seventy-nine-old male) key leader of the Incheon NCM Meeting and the KNCM), in an interview with him on 7th October 2009. This interview was conducted while the researcher was doing the case study of chapter six in 2009. The interview place was the office of Incheon Meeting (#301 Ire Bilding, Naedong 164, Junggu, Incheon). The interview lasted for an hour (from 6 pm to 7 pm).

meeting was understood as a process of learning. It remains a characteristic of the movement.

4.1. A History of Confucianism in Korea

It is necessary to briefly discuss the history of Korean Confucianism in order to properly understand its influence on the NCM. It is not clear exactly when Confucianism was introduced to Korea.⁵ It was probably not later than the second or third centuries.⁶

4.1.1. The Confucianism in the Three Kingdoms and in Goryeo (918-1392)

The Three Kingdoms stressed the inculcation of the Confucian ethos as a means

⁵ There is still an argument among Korean historians about the time when Confucianism was introduced to Korea. Seug-guk Ryu, *Dongyangcheolhakyongu [동양철학연구 A Study of Asian Philosophy]* (Seoul: Geunyeokseojae, 1983), 68. There has not been any agreement in views about the time when Confucianism was introduced to the Korean Peninsula. Some scholars insisted that primitive Confucianism (an older form of Confucianism before Confucius) was introduced around the 12th century B.C., when Gija (箕子 Jizi) was exiled from the Yin Dynasty. However, this theory has a problem in that it does not have enough decisive evidence to prove the validity of the theory. For more information about this, see Byeong-do Lee, *Hanguksa Godaepyeon [한국사 고대편 An Ancient Korean History]* (Seoul: Eulymunhwasa, 1959), 92-114; Jang-tae Keum, *Hangukyugyosasangsa [한국유교사상사 A History of Korean Confucian Philosophy]* (Paju: KSI, 2003), 9; Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, Edward, trans. W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 16. Some scholars assumed that Confucianism was introduced around the 2nd century B.C, when Wiman (衛滿), a leader of refugees from the Yen Dynasty, came to Old Joseon. During this period of incessant political turmoil, increasing numbers of people took refuge in areas further to the east, and Wiman was one of them. When Wiman came to Old Joseon with his followers, King Jun of Old Joseon entrusted him with the defence of north-west border. Wiman strengthened his power base among the refugee population and drove out King Jun and usurped the throne of the king of Old Joseon (sometime between 194 and 180 B.C.).

⁶ Eul-ho Yi, *Hanguk Gaesinyuhaksa Siron [한국 개신유학사 시론 A Study of the History of Korean Neo-Confucianism]* (Seoul: Pagyongsas, 1980), 11-29. At least, the time of the diffusion of Confucianism in Korea does not seem to have been later than the early period of the Three Kingdoms. Korean historians, like Yi Eul-ho, state that before the advent of Confucianism in Korea, there was a primitive form of folk philosophy that had certain essential similarities to Classical Confucianism. In the myth of Dangun, the three relationships of the five fundamental Confucian relationships were shown: (1) the relationship between the Lord of Heaven, Hwan-in, and his son, Hwan-ung; (2) the relation between Hwanung and his subordinates; and (3) the relation between Hwan-ung and the Bear Woman. This means that Koreans accepted the three relationships and made a social life based on them before the advent of Confucian philosophy. Even though the folk philosophy was not a form of Confucianism, the mindset made it easier for Koreans accept the formal system of Confucian philosophy. See also Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, Edward, trans. W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 16.

of maintaining their aristocratic social orders.⁷ Goguryeo ran some Confucian academies.⁸ The same was true of Baekje,⁹ and Silla.¹⁰ The precept of fidelity among the Hwarang Troop (an army of aristocratic youth) was important in welding the Silla society together and fastening it upon the authority of the throne.¹¹

⁷ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 58. The distinction of Confucian influence is noticeable in the Three Kingdoms in its political system and philosophy. In the fourth century, Goguryeo (37 B.C.-A.D. 668) and Baekje (18 B.C.- A.D. 660) began to absorb Confucianism. Confucianism came later to Silla (57 B.C.- A.D. 935) than to its neighbouring kingdoms.

⁸ Keum, *Hangukyugyosasangsa*, 25. In Goguryeo, a national college (a National Confucian Academy) for the education of the sons of the aristocracy, Taehak, was established in 372. Subsequently, private Confucian academies, Gyeongdang, were established in each locality, at which unmarried youth studied Chinese texts and archery. As a Confucian educational institution, the function of Goguryeo's Taehak seemed to be closest to the Confucian school in the times of Emperor Wu of Han.

⁹ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 58; Keum, *Hangukyugyosasangsa*, 20, 26. In Baekje, Confucian thought and letters were accepted when Buddhism was introduced in the 4th century. Teachers of the Chinese Classics got the title of savant (baksa in Korean; doctor in modern term). Therefore, it would be naturally assumed that Confucian educational institutions also must have existed. Go Heung, a Baekje scholar, wrote *Seogi*, the first connected history of Baekje, in 375. Confucianism was transmitted to Japan through the Baekje scholars, A Jik-gi and Wang In.

¹⁰ Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 50. In Silla, Confucianism contributed significantly to the creation of a social ethos that would foster national unity among the Silla people. Confucian moral values were as widely propagated among the people as in its neighbouring kingdoms, even though Silla started to absorb Confucianism later than Goguryeo and Baekje, and it had no formal school of Confucianism. See also Keum, *Hangukyugyosasangsa*, 26. Following the unification below the Daedong River in the Korean Peninsula, the appearance of Confucianism was a new phenomenon in the Silla of the middle period. Silla, for the first time, established a national Confucian college, Gukhak, in 682, for the education of the aristocratic youth. The college was renamed Taekakgam around 750. See also Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 83. The Confucianism in Late Silla (Unified Silla) went through a complete change by adopting the literary style of the flourishing Tang (712-756). In 717, portraits of Confucius, the ten philosophers (the 10 representative disciples of Confucius), and the seventy-two Confucian worthies, were brought from Tang and installed in the college. The National Confucian Shrine was established to officially venerate Confucius and his seventy-two chief disciples. In the period of late Silla, many Confucian scholars of Silla went to Tang to study. A civil service examination (examination in the reading of texts in three gradations) called Dokseosampungwa was established in 788 to employ bureaucrats. The examination was based on the texts studied at Taehakgam.

¹¹ An eminent monk, Wongwang (579-632) who went to Chen Dynasty China in 581 to study Confucianism, proposed five rules called the Five Secular Injunctions for laymen: (1) Serve the king with loyalty (2) Obey your parents (3) Be honourable with friends (4) Never retreat from battle (5) Be selective about taking a life. The first three laws are taken from Confucian thought. After Baekje and Goguryeo were defeated in 660 and 668 by the alliance of Silla and Tang, there existed two Kingdoms in the former territory of the Three Kingdoms: Silla and Balhae. Silla dominated the area below the Daedong River (territory of the southern part of Goguryeo and whole territory of Baekje and Silla) and a newly born Kingdom, Balhae (698-926), in the area of modern Tunhua in Chilin Province, dominated the central and the northern part of Goguryeo. The two kingdoms definitely seemed to be under Confucian culture, as was the case in the Three Kingdoms. Balhae consisted of the direct political descendant of Goguryeo, and a large Malgal population, then living in eastern Manchuria. Therefore it may also be thought of as Goguryeo's cultural and social successor. There is enough evidence that Balhae was under the political and cultural influence of Confucianism. The structure of Balhae's government bureaucracy and the names of the various ministries were modelled on those of Tang. This indicates that Balhae was strongly influenced by the Confucian culture of Tang. A large number of students were sent to Tang to study, as was the case with Silla. Many of them passed the Tang civil service examinations. Sanggyeong, the

In the following dynasty, Goryeo, Confucianism spread and developed, as in the Three Kingdoms, even though Buddhism remained the dominant intellectual and religious force.¹² Confucianism continued to influence especially the apparatus of government, gained wide support among the aristocracy and developed to the point where it was eventually able to suppress Buddhism.¹³ Confucianism spread through the National Confucian College and the private Confucian academies in Goryeo.¹⁴ In 1290, a new form of Confucian philosophy was introduced from China to Goryeo by An Hyang (1243–1306).¹⁵ This was Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism.¹⁶ Neo-Confucianism is

capital city of Balhae, was constructed on the pattern of Changan, the capital city of Tang.

¹² Andrew C. Nahm, *Korea: Tradition and Transformation* (Elizabeth: Hollym International Corp., 1988), 59-61. The growing strength of the castle lords weakened the hold of the central government of Silla over the countryside. Because of the growing strength of the castle lords, the central government of Silla could not collect taxes from the peasants. Therefore, in 889, the government resorted to the forced collections of taxes from the provincial and county areas. But this was too heavy for the peasants. As a result, they forsook their land and wandered the countryside. Some of them joined together into brigand bands. The government's decision to levy taxes from the peasants and its effect, was to drive the peasantry into rebellion. Thus Silla began to collapse progressively. A series of revolts took place and the central government could not put down these rebellions. Two new major states emerged among those forces of rebellion Later Baekje Gyeon-won, founded in 892, and Taebong Gung-ye, founded in 901, which later changed its name to Goryeo and brought the three kingdoms under its authority by integrating Silla in 935 and Later Baekje in 936.

¹³ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 129.

¹⁴ In 992, Goryeo established a national Confucian college, Gukjagam, which later changed its name to Gukhak in 1275, to Seonggyungam in 1308, to Gukjagam again in 1356, and finally to Seonggyungwan again in 1362. However, the college was not as popular as those private academies among the sons of aristocratic families. The success of the private schools forced the government to establish official academies, hakdang, in the countryside. The private Confucian academies flourished by the end of the kingdom and the flourishing of the private academies fostered more growth of Confucianism in Goryeo. Even though Confucianism in Goryeo exercised certain cultural influences, for example, the creation of a historical literature, it remained an ethical and political philosophy until the end of the 12th century. After the 13th century, Confucianism was generally concerned with the governing of the nation. The philosophical motivation of society passed from Buddhism to Confucianism, but ordinary people other than aristocratic the class, still believed in Buddhism. To be precise, in the Goryeo Dynasty, Buddhism was the religion of the grass roots population and Confucianism was the religion of the aristocratic classes. At the end of the Goryeo Dynasty there was a new phenomenon, a collision between Confucianism and Buddhism. Until Ahn Hyang introduced Neo-Confucianism into Goryeo, harmony had existed between Confucianism and Buddhism. However, after the introduction of Neo-Confucianism, the harmony gradually degenerated into a confrontation between them. Choi Chung (984–1068) was a top government official and an eminent Confucian scholar. After retirement, he established a school, Gujaehakdang (the Nine Course Academy), in 1055. This was the beginning of the private academies. In the academy, students studied in nine specialized areas. The academy focused on helping its students to pass the civil service examination, and it succeeds in making many of its students pass the examination. Its success encouraged Goryeo Confucians to establish more private academies. Following Choi Chung's academy, many more private academies sprang up. They were known as *Sibido* (12 Academies). Many of the founders were former high officials and eminent scholars of the day.

¹⁵ Keum, *Hangukyugyosangsa*, 42.

a philosophical Confucianism that explains the origins of humans and the universe in metaphysical terms. It was developed during the late Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127) and the early Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279) in China, and was brought to its final form by Chu Hsi (1130-1200).¹⁷

4.1.2. Neo-Confucianism in Joseon (1392-1910)

The next Korean dynasty, called Joseon, brought Confucianism to a position of dominance. The interests of the Confucians in the early period of the Joseon Dynasty were more philosophical and abstract.¹⁸ The previous kingdoms just adopted some principles from Confucianism for the purpose of administration, but Joseon was founded on Confucian philosophy, with the help of Confucian scholars such as Jeong Do-jeon and Gwon Geun. Confucianism came to influence society more deeply.¹⁹ The

¹⁶ Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 104. "Confucianism in Korea was now moving from being one among several political and cultural influences, to being the primary social influence." Ahn went to Beijing among the retinue of the prince, who later became King Chung-seon. There Ahn came into contact with Chu Hsi's books that were distributed in Beijing, and he copied the Chu Hsi's books and brought back the copied books with him. Ahn became fascinated with the Neo-Confucianism and propagated the new Confucian philosophy in Goryeo. As a result, Confucianism in the Korean Peninsula was transformed from a system of practical ethics into a metaphysical system.

¹⁷ Neo-Confucianism was a new trend in Confucianism that had been brought to completion by Chu Hsi (1130-1200) in the Sung dynasty. A philosophical explanation, influenced by Buddhism, about universe, human beings and the connections between the universe and human beings, was combined with primitive Confucianism. Primitive Confucianism was supplemented by a metaphysical theory of humanity's relationship to the universe. Thus, Neo-Confucianism came into existence. It was a monistic theory of principle.

¹⁸ Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 115. "They had three principal philosophical concerns: a theory of the nature of the universe, a theory of knowledge, and a theory of morality." At the end of the Goryeo Dynasty, General Yi Seong-gye seized actual power over the government with military force, and he received support from a large group of Confucian literati. The military strength and the support of this large group of Confucian literati enabled Yi Seong-gye to establish a new dynasty, Joseon (1392-1910) and he became its first ruler.

¹⁹ Andrew C. Nahm, *Korea: Tradition and Transformation* (Elizabeth: Hollym International Corp., 1988), 108-109. Jeong Do-jeon (1342-1398), having the ear and favour of Li Seong-gye, played a major role in establishing the new Dynasty on the basis of Neo-Confucianism. Through his efforts, Neo-Confucianism was established as the ideology of the newly formed Joseon Dynasty. Jeong, who absorbed himself in Neo-Confucianism, thought that principle (*li*) was the basic concept of Confucianism, material force (*qi*) the basic concept of Taoism and mind, that of Buddhism. Because material force (*qi*) and mind only operates based on principle (*li*), he thought Buddhism and Taoism to be incomplete religions and envisaged a state freed from the pernicious influence of those two religions. Especially attacking the Buddhist ideas of the cycle of birth and rebirth and the concept of cause and effect, he conformed with

Confucian *literati*'s attempts to create a totally Confucian society were made persistently from the beginning of the Dynasty. Consequently, the nature of Joseon society was radically reshaped under Confucians such as Kim Jong-jik (1431-1492), his disciple Jo Gwang-jo, and their followers in the fifteenth century. In Joseon, many Confucian *literati* were educated through the academies.²⁰ There were many Confucian academies, besides the national Confucian institutes such as *Seonggyungwan*. The *seowon* were private Confucian academies, and the *hyanggyo* were government-sponsored regional academies. There were 650 *seowon* and 325 *hyanggyo*.²¹ There had been two major streams in Neo-Confucianism in the first half of the Joseon Dynasty, established by the two Confucian scholars, Yi Hwang and Yi I. They continued until a new school, Silhak or Practical Confucianism, emerged in the seventeenth century.²²

Chu Hsi's Philosophy of Nature and Principle. Gwon Geun (1352-1409) established the Confucian tradition of the Joseon Dynasty, along with Jeong Do-jeon. He wrote several books, such as *Saseoogyeonggugyeol* (an introduction to the Confucian Classics) and an elementary introduction to the work of Chu Hsi (*Iphakdoseol*) that were transmitted from generation to generation as the teaching material for the youth of Joseon. Later scholars, such as Yi Hwang, were greatly influenced by *Iphakdoseol*, which was rich in cosmological diagrams. He clarified the concepts of Heaven, men, and human nature in his books.

²⁰ A theoretical basis of Neo-Confucianism in Joseon was well established by the middle of the sixteenth century. However, the group of Confucian scholars split up into two distinct schools: the *Juripa* (Principle First School) and the *Jugipa* (Matter First School). The first school, *Juripa*, believed that Principle was the fundamental element of the universe. On the other hand, the second school, *Jugipa*, thought that Material Force was the fundamental element of the universe. The representative of the Principle First School was Yi Hwang (1501-1570) and the representative of the Matter First School was Yi I (1536-1584). See Keum, *Hangukyugyosasangsa*, 107. Even though the two schools differed in how to understand the essential element of the universe, they also had many things in common with each other. The scholars of the both schools assumed that there was a direct correlation between the order which exists in the material universe and the order which exists in human society. They also held that the essence of human beings is good. What's more, they believed that humans' character could be brought into a better, if not a perfect state, through the performance of ritual propriety and social virtues. They both stressed the importance of unity and harmony in all relationships.

²¹ Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 116. Since the first *seowon*, Baekundong *seowon*, was established in Punggi in 1543, the *seowon* had come to replace the *hanggyo*.

²² Jang-tae Keum, *Confucianism and Korean Thoughts* (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2001), 100-101, 143. Keum Jane-tae explained and compared their philosophies as follows: "When Yi Hwang espoused the theory that *li* and *qi* generate each other on the basis of the duality of *li* and *qi*, it was related to the fact that, going through the frequent political purges, he recognised the reality in which justice and injustice confronted each other.... Born a generation later than Yi Hwang, Yulgok put forward the theory that *qi* generates *li* and that *li* takes on *qi* on the basis of the sameness of *li* and *qi*. The theory that *qi* generates *li* and *li* takes on *qi* is not the claim that the *qi* of reality proceeds *li*, nor is it that only *qi* works and *li* does not work. Rather, it is that *li* cannot realize itself apart from the reality of *qi*. And conversely,

4.1.3. The Learning of the Mind Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming

In Korea, Chu Hsi's Confucianism became dominant after Yi Hwang rejected the doctrines of the Idealistic School of Wang Yang-ming which was also called the Learning of the Heart/Mind.²³ For a long time, Neo-Confucianism consisted only of Chu Hsi's doctrine. Any *literati* who deviated from the learning of Chu Hsi were oppressed and excluded from politics. Yet despite the risks, a number of scholars within the Neo-Confucian school became dissatisfied with the orthodox interpretations and cautiously developed their own dissenting views. They accepted the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming (1473-1529),²⁴ but they did not see his ideas as antithetical to those

that the reality of *qi* is not separate from *li*, for *li* is inherent within all the workings of *qi*. The reality of *qi* does not digress from *li*." Yi Hwang and Yi I were the two fundamental pillars of Neo-Confucianism in Joseon. They are distinguishable from each other by their theories. See Jang-tae Keum, *Hangukeui Seonbiwa Seonbijeongsin* [한국의 선비와 선비정신 Korea's Literati and Literati Spirit] (Seoul: Seoul University Press, 2001), 164-65. Yi Hwang (pen name: Toigye, 1501-1570) and Jo Sik (pen name: Nammyeong, 1501-1572) were representatives of Confucianism in the middle of the sixteenth century in Joseon. Seong Ho (pen name: Ugye, 1535-1598) and Yi I (pen name: Yulgok, 1536-1584) were representatives in the later sixteenth century. They brought Joseon Neo-Confucianism into full bloom.

²³ Bary, Wm. Theodore de and Haboush, Jahyun Kim, eds., *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 256.

²⁴ Keum, *Hangukyugyosangsa*, 143; Kenji Shimada, *Shushigaku to Yomeigaku* [주자학과 양명학 Chu Hsi's Philosophy to Wang Yang-ming's Philosophy], trans. Seok-geun Kim and Geun-u Yi (Seoul: Kka-chi, 1986), 143-92. In China, there were alternative forms of Neo-Confucian philosophy, such as the system of Wang Yang-ming. See Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 135. "Unlike that of Chu Hsi, Wang's system was not dualistic but monistic, placing emphasis on knowledge to gain enlightenment about the nature of the universe. *Li* and *qi* were unified in *li*, making the essence of the universe mental." See also Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 108-109. Two groups in China criticized Chu Hsi. They were the Practical Learning and the Idealistic School. The former was led by Cheng Liang (1143-94) and Ye Shi (1150-1223) who insisted that scholarship must be of use to the state and to the people. Wang Yang-ming, who was dissatisfied with Chu's devotion to isolated details of principle and his advocacy of exegetical studies, led the latter. The Idealistic School asserted that the Confucian way to sagehood must be easy and simple, and thus labelled Chu's philosophy of moral cultivation as being pointless, drifting and difficult. This school became of parallel importance in the development of Neo-Confucianism in China. While Chu Hsi stated Principle as the Supreme Ultimate, which contains and underlies all things and beings, Wang Yang-ming insisted that the heart/mind is the Supreme Ultimate and contains the whole universe and all principles as well as all virtues. In the Idealistic School, "the heart/mind is principle and the heart/mind is what Heaven has endowed us with. All men have this mind, and all minds are endowed with this principle." For Wang, self-cultivation focused on inward transformation rather than outward imitation. Wang Yang-ming believed that everyone has sagehood within and that reflection on the innate heart/mind is the only way to enlightenment. Because his theory has simplicity and directness of its spiritual cultivation, the school gained a large number of followers. Confucian literati such as Nam Eon-gyeong (1528-1594) and his disciple Yi Yo in Joseon began to study cautiously and accept the doctrine of Wang Yang-ming. Also, a number of Confucian scholars such as Choi Myeong-gi (1586-1647), Jang Yu

of Chu Hsi. Rather they sought to bring them into harmony, because they regarded the two schools of thought as mutually reinforcing.²⁵ Because Wang Yang-ming's doctrine was considered heresy, they could not reveal their thoughts in public and set up their own academic tradition until the early eighteenth century.

4.1.4. Silhak, Practical Confucianism

In Korea, the sixteenth century was the golden age of Korean speculative philosophy and the seventeenth century was the era of practical philosophy: *Silhak*.²⁶ After the war between Joseon and Japan (1592 to 1598), there was a great deal of turmoil, disorder, collapsed agriculture, disrupted economy, and social decay in Joseon society. A new philosophy needed to emerge and be put into practice in order to solve the pending problems of the seventeenth century. The new trend of Neo-Confucianism in Joseon, Silhak, arose out of these severe problematic circumstances. It is worth noting that the Silhak School implicitly rejected the social efficacy of Chu Hsi's thought, during the time that his orthodox interpretations exclusively prevailed in Joseon. Silhak

(1587-1638) and Jeong Je-du (1649-1736) spread the doctrine in Joseon.

²⁵ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 243. Keum, *Hangukyugyosangsa*, 145-46. These scholars tended to outwardly profess loyalty to Chu Hsi Confucianism, in order that they would not be labelled heretical in the Chu Hsi philosophy-oriented society. The most significant figure among the scholars was Jeong Je-du, who set up the tradition of the *Ganghwa* Island scholars who followed the thought of Wang Yang-ming. When he was young, like his contemporaries, he studied Chu Hsi's philosophy. However, it did not take a long time before he came to reject it, taking up Wang's thought instead. He endeavoured to go back beyond the Chu Hsi's interpretations, to find the original meaning of the Classics.

²⁶ Keum, *Confucianism and Korean Thoughts*, 128. While the two Confucian schools in the first half of the Joseon Dynasty focused on doctrinal matters (formative principle and energizing force), a new school that focused on practical matters emerged in the latter half of the Joseon Dynasty, especially in the seventeenth century. It was called Silhak, meaning practical Confucianism or practical learning. Silhak, a liberal movement within the Confucian tradition, was used to refer to a new ideological system originating from the seventeenth century, with some common interests, for example in methodological matters and matters dealing with specific areas or developments during specific periods in history. See also Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 115-17. "The sixteenth century may be the golden age of Neo-Confucianism thought." Neo-Confucianism in Korea took on a very strict dogmatic character with regard to what was considered orthodox. It was barely flexible enough to respond to changes in society and was not at all open to other ideas from different Confucian trends and religions as well. So long as Neo-Confucianism focused on dogmatic matters, insensible to social changes, sticking only to its philosophy, it could not be helpful to the life of ordinary people in the Joseon Dynasty.

scholars were concerned with illuminating the history and present-day workings of political, economic, and social institutions. They proceeded to elaborate their visions of how an ideal society might be achieved. Practical Learning was the response to the people's request for change.²⁷ The accent of their inquiries was not on the theories of the superiority of the formative principle (*li* 理) or of the energizing force (*qi* 氣), but on technology, social science, and natural science.²⁸

²⁷Jang-tae Keum, *Hangukyugyoui Ihae [현국유교의 이해 Understanding of Korean Confucianism]* (Paju: KSI, 2001), 153. It was a new scholarly trend or a reformist stance in intellectual history that can be distinguished from the previous school of moral philosophy. It sought to reform the institutionalised Neo-Confucianism of the Joseon Dynasty. There were a few causes to cause Silhak to emerge in the Joseon Dynasty in the seventeenth century: the criticism of the ruling Neo-Confucian philosophy, a realistic effort to solve problems like disorder after the war between Joseon and Japan, the impact of Western civilization via China, and the inroads made by Chinese culture during the heyday of the Qing dynasty and its continuing influence. It would be correct to state that Silhak originated in the writings of Yi Su-gwang (pen name: Jibong, 1563-1628) who stressed that true knowledge is found in practice and pointed out that knowledge is false if it cannot manifest itself in practical use. He left behind an encyclopaedic work called *Jibongyuseol*, which was especially influential in inspiring younger scholars to confront the social and economic realities of their day. See Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 131. A radical Silhak scholar, Yu Su-won (1694-1755), insisted that *yangban* system (aristocracy in Joseon Dynasty) should be eliminated and that the four-class social structure (the scholarly, agricultural, industrial, and mercantile classes) should be abolished, and that the equality of all work and occupations should be recognized, and that equal opportunity for specialized education in various occupations should be guaranteed to all people. See Keum, *Hangukyugyoui Ihae*, 161-62. One of the representative Silhak scholars and the greatest of these scholars was Jeong Yak-yong (pen name: Dasan, 1762-1836). He was the scholar who applied the institutional approach in the most comprehensive fashion. He wrote many books, and in one of his books, *Mokminsimseo*, he proposed reforms in local administration. Jeong's thoughts thoroughly exposed the aspects of the new trend of Neo-Confucianism, Silhak. Jeong took on the task of synthesizing Silhak thought from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. See Eul-ho Yi, *Dasanhakui Ihae [다산학의 이해 Understanding the Thought of Dasan Jeong Yak-yong]* (Seoul: Hyonamsa, 1975), 184-204. Jeong acquired a deep understanding of Western science and participated in the early Catholic movement. As a result of the Catholic Persecution in 1801, he lived in banishment for seventeen years and was released in 1818. Furthermore, he embraced the teachings of Wang Yang-ming, whose ideas were considered to be a heterodox doctrine in Joseon in interpreting the concept of enlightenment and virtue. By critically incorporating, synthesizing and creatively restructuring the diverse ideological currents of the time, Jeong presented an original philosophy.

²⁸ It should be emphasised that they did not blindly follow past traditions or accept unchallenged the views of their predecessors. They concentrated on reform in two areas: agriculture and commerce. They concerned themselves more and more with the practical matters of the reformation of rural society and of the nation itself. Along with their practical interests and social criticism, they created a fundamental critique of Neo-Confucianism itself.

4.1.5. Christians with Confucian Practice: The Eighteenth Century Confucian Scholars and Roman Catholicism

Interestingly, as has been noted previously, when Christianity began to be introduced to Korea in the sixteenth century, it was not as a result of the Western missionaries' propagation, but by the Korean Confucian *literati*'s reading of the Bible.²⁹ They read the Bible for themselves and believed the God of Christianity independently, without the assistance of foreign missionaries. Silhak Confucianists initially took an interest in Western learning, including the new religion, that is, Roman Catholicism.³⁰ However, at an early stage, those interests were nothing but a purely intellectual curiosity.³¹ More than a century later, the Catholic faith was propagated in Korea by Silhak Confucian *literati* Yi Ik and Gwon Cheol-sin.³² At this stage, Catholic converts

²⁹ The formative stage of Christianity in Korea was dominated by the aristocracy and typified by intellectual and scholastic concerns. Western Learning came to Joseon in the early stages of the transmission of Western culture. A Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) entered Macao in 1582, and other Jesuit missionaries came to China for missionary work in 1583. The European Jesuit missionaries residing in Ming China translated western science books on astronomy, mathematics, geography, and Christianity, into Chinese. The subjects, including Christianity (Roman Catholicism), were called Western Learning. The missionaries distributed these books as a means to propagate missionary activities, and the books were also disseminated into Joseon. Therefore, Confucians in Joseon could learn Roman Catholicism, not through Western missionaries, but through reading those books on their own.

³⁰ Yi Su-gwang (1563-1628) made reference to Matteo Ricci's *The True Principles of Catholicism* (天主實義) in his book, *Jibongyuseol*. Many Silhak scholars, interested in Roman Catholicism, read the Bible and treatises brought back from China such as *First Steps in the Catholic Doctrine* (天學初函), and discussed them in their writings. A Confucian scholar, Jeong Du-won (1581-?) went on a diplomatic mission to the Ming court in 1630 and met an Italian priest Rodrigues (1561-1633). Upon his return to Joseon, he brought several books of a scientific nature that had been translated by the Jesuits into Chinese.

³¹ It took about 150 years after Western Learning was introduced to Joseon that Korean Confucians with deep belief in Roman Catholicism, like Yi Byeok (1754-1786) and Yi Seung-hun (1756-1801), emerged.

³² Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 239. A Silhak Confucian, Yi Ik (pen name or literary name Seongho, 1681-1763) was the significant figure who inspired his many disciples to be interested in Christianity and finally to become Christian. The Catholic faith spread swiftly among the members of the circle of Yi Ik. Yi Ik, who founded the Seong-ho School, one of two streams of the Silhak School in Korea, was interested in Christianity, and his many disciples with the same interest developed a profound interest in Christianity. Particularly those scholars who belonged to *Namin*, a political faction, developed Catholicism in Korea. "What they sought in Catholicism was the means to correct the distortions in the social and political order caused by the concentration of political authority in the hands of a few powerful families." See Seong-bae Yi, *Yugyowa Geuriseudogyo* [유교와 그리스도교 Confucianism and Christianity] (Waegwan: Bundochulpansa, 2001), 29. A most famous Confucian scholar of that age, Gwon Cheol-sin, and his disciples studied together about philosophy and the matters of life on the basis of Confucianism at a local Buddhist temple called *Cheonjinam Jueosa* near Seoul in 1777 or 1779. They

were mainly from the ruling class, *yangban* and the middle class, *jungin*.³³ To explain the circumstances of that time, except for some members of the ruling class, the majority of the people were going through all sorts of hardships under the domination of powerful political families, wealthy farmers, and rich merchants. Therefore, the Catholic doctrine of the equality of every person seemed fresh and attractive to many people, especially the Silhak Confucian *literati*.³⁴ Nevertheless, until the middle of the eighteenth century, their interest had remained on the level of academic curiosity.³⁵ Yi Byeok initiated the first Korean Catholic Church with Yi Seung-hun in 1784. In the meantime, some Silhak Confucian *literati* were converted to Christianity through the influence of Yi Byeok.³⁶ However, in 1785, Roman Catholicism was proscribed,³⁷ and

studied and discussed all sorts of subject including the books of Western Learning, and they became to take an interest in a new religion, Catholicism, and they finally put into practice what they read and knew from the books of Western Learning. For example, they prayed on their knees every morning and evening and on every seventh day, they concentrated on contemplation and prayer and even practised abstinence.

³³ Yi, *Yugyowa Geuriseudogyo*, 42. The converts consisted mainly of Confucians from the ruling class *yangban* such as Yi Seung-hun, Yi Byeok, Jeong Yak-yong, Jeong Yak-jeon, Jeong Yak-jong, Gwon Cheol-sin and Gwon Il-sin, and people from the middle class, *jungin* such as Kim Beom-u, who became the first martyr in Korea in 1786.

³⁴ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 239. The Catholic doctrine of the equality of every person and original sin, unlike that of Neo-Confucianism based on Chu Hsi, seemed fresh and attractive to the people sitting at the outer edge of political power, wealth and the scholarly world. "Those reform-minded Silhak thinkers, desperately searching for ways to improve the dismal conditions surrounding them, took fresh hope for creating a heavenly kingdom on earth through belief in the new religion."

³⁵ Yi, *Yugyowa Geuriseudogyo*, 32. While Korean Confucians took an academic interest in Christianity and it remained on the level of academic curiosity before the middle of the eighteenth century, Korean Confucians after the middle of the eighteenth century took a religious interest in Christianity. Yi Byeok (1754-1786) was the one of significant figures in the initial period of Catholicism in Joseon. While Yi Ik inspired his disciples to take an interest in Christianity, Yi Byeok initiated the first Korean Catholic Church with Yi Seung-hun in 1784. One of Yi Byeok's friends was Yi Seung-hun (1756-1801). He was the first baptized Catholic convert in Joseon. He planned to accompany his father in a diplomatic entourage to Beijing in 1783. Before the journey, Yi Byeok met Yi Seung-hun, and asked him to make contact with the Catholic priest there and to learn about the tenets about Christianity while he was in Beijing and to bring home books of Western Learning when he returned, and to be baptized if possible. When Yi went to Beijing, he received baptism by a French priest, J. J. de Grammont, under the baptized name, Peter, in February 1784.

³⁶ Jang-tae Keum, *Hangoogyugyoui Ihae [한국유교의 이해 The Understanding of Korean Confucianism]* (Paju: KSI, 2001), 263. On his return to Joseon, Yi Seung-hun brought back many books and items related to Christianity. Yi Seung-hun baptized Yi Byeok at Yi Byeok's house in September 1784. Therefore, that year was the starting point for Korean Christianity (especially for Roman Catholicism). After 1784, they began to act more seriously regarding their interest in Christianity. Together, they began to evangelise amongst their friends and neighbours. Yi Byeok evangelised his friends: the most well-known Silhak thinker Jeong Yak-yong (1762-1836), Jeong Yak-jeon (1758-1816), the most renowned contemporary Confucian scholar Gwon Il-sin (1742-1792), and other Confucian scholars. He also tried to

in 1791, a persecution was initiated against Christians.³⁸ Subsequently, the main targets of the mission changed from the *literati* to the middle class, the lower class, and women.³⁹ The number of converts increased to four thousand in 1794 and ten thousand in 1800,⁴⁰ but there was a major wave of persecution in 1801.⁴¹ As the result of the first major persecution of Catholicism, the scholarly church of the aristocracy came to an end.

But the persecution did not stop there. Waves of persecution ensued one after another until the end of the nineteenth century. The second major persecution, called *Eulhaebakhae*, broke out in 1815, the third one, *Jeonghaebakhae*, in 1827, the fourth one, *Gihaebakhae*, in 1839 and the fifth nationwide persecution, *Byeonginbakhae*, in the period 1866 to 1871. During the last major persecution, more than eight thousand people, including nine French clergy, were martyred. This was more than half of all church members.⁴²

evangelise the middle class people. Therefore Yi played trigger role in forming a Christian community, even though he died at the age of 32 in 1786.

³⁷ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 240. A papal ruling in 1742 clarified that ancestor worship and belief in Christianity were incompatible. It came to raise many problems for the Western missionaries already working in China and the Chinese Christian believers. Jeongjo designated Catholicism as a heresy and proscribed it in 1785.

³⁸ Yi, *Yugyowa Geuriseudogyo*, 48. The importation of books of any kind from Beijing was forbidden in 1786. To make it worse, there was an incident called *Sinhaebakhae* in 1791 in which a convert named Yun Ji-chung was executed because he failed to prepare an ancestral tablet for his deceased mother. This persecution caused many of the ruling class *yangban* converts to separate from the faith community. In 1794, a Chinese priest, Chou Wen-mo came to Joseon for the mission.

³⁹ Yi, *Yugyowa Geuriseudogyo*, 49.

⁴⁰ Yi, *Yugyowa Geuriseudogyo*, 48-49.

⁴¹ Yi, *Yugyowa Geuriseudogyo*, 50. There was another wave of Catholic persecution in 1801 called *Sinyubakhae*. This occurred after Jeongjo, who had been backed by a political faction *Namin Sipa*, which was moderate in political, social and religious matters, died. Sunjo ascended to the throne through the influence of a political faction *Namin Byeokpa*, which was very uncompromising to its political opponents, and was very conservative in the matter of ancestral worship, and adhered to Neo-Confucianism, based on Chu Hsi's doctrine. More than 300 converts, including Yi Seung-hun, Yi Gahwan, Jeong Yak-jong and the Chinese priest Chou Wen-mo, were executed in the persecution.

⁴² Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 146.

4.1.6. Christians with Confucian Practice: Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

After the first major persecution in 1801, during the nineteenth century, the main body of Christians in Korea changed from being the aristocracy and the Confucian scholars to being the middle and the lower class people. Therefore, when Protestantism was disseminated to Joseon in the late nineteenth century, its recipients were from a much broader section of society than in the eighteenth century. By the late nineteenth century, Joseon was crumbling and its culture was in a state of flux. Many were seeking new solutions to questions of national development and the creation of a better economy. Protestantism was introduced to Joseon at that time. Therefore, unlike the case of Catholicism, many Koreans warmly received Protestantism.⁴³

Many Korean leaders belonged to the Protestant Church. Most important leaders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as Seo Jae-pil (1864-1951), Lee Sang-jae (1850-1927), Yun Chi-ho (1865-1945) and Yi Seung-man (1875-1965), the first president of Korea, had Christian backgrounds. Interestingly, they all had Confucian education and were well acquainted with Confucianism. The Korean Protestants all expected Christianity to play a key role in the revitalisation of Korea.⁴⁴

⁴³ In-su Kim, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoeui Yeoksa [한국의 기독교회의 역사 A History of Korean Church]* (Seoul: Jangnosinhakdaehakgyo Chulpanbu, 2002), 104-09, 109, 112, 115, 137-39. Until the arrival of the first official Protestant missionaries on Easter Sunday 1885, there were several contacts made by Western protestant clergymen, like Robert Jermain Thomas (1839-1866), in order to proselytise Koreans. Yet those attempts did not have any long-lasting influence on Korea. It was John Ross (1842-1915) who was the first missionary to have any impact on Korea. With the help of Korean friends, he translated the Bible into Korean and tried to distribute the Korean bibles in Korea, even though they were just a portion of the whole bible. He finished translating the New Testament into Korean by 1887. Before his translation, Koreans had the Bible that was written in Chinese. Therefore, only a few of the intellectuals could read the Bible. As a consequence of Ross's translation, many in Korea could easily have the opportunity to read the Bible. The translation's distribution made it possible for the process of indigenous evangelisation to take place before 1884, when a number of missionaries came to Korea. Horace Newton Allen (1858-1932) came to Korea as a medical missionary in 1884. Korean Protestantism has been considered to have begun in that year. The first official Protestant ordained missionaries; Horace Grant Underwood (1859-1916) and Henry Gerhard Appenzeller (1858-1902), came to Korea in 1885. Following Allen, Underwood and Appenzeller, many missionaries became to work in Korea in the 1890s.

⁴⁴ See Kenneth M. Wells, *New God New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896-1937* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990). Interestingly even some non-Christian national

It is worth noting that Protestantism was warmly received, not only as a religious creed but also for its political, social, educational, and cultural ideals and activities, because many Koreans thought that Christianity would remedy the failings of Korean society. Korean Christians in the late nineteenth century hoped that Protestantism would contribute to the revitalisation of the nation, thus acting as a substitute for Confucianism. In fact, they did not ignore their duties to engage enthusiastically in the political, social, economical, and educational spheres, as Confucian *literati* had previously done.⁴⁵

4.2. Confucianism in the Non-Church Movement

In Neo-Confucianism, learning is considered an important means of attaining spirituality⁴⁶ and the most important path to perfection. This may appear unfamiliar to NCM members who might not have noticed the similarity between their movement and Neo-Confucianism. Yet, the chief and most useful means of the attaining spirituality for

political leaders, like Kim Ok-gyun (1851-1894), had the same conviction.

⁴⁵ See Kenneth M. Wells, *New God New Nation* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990).

⁴⁶ Wei-ming Tu, *Humanity and Self-Cultivation* (Boston: Cheng & Tsui Company, 1998), 85. The most noticeable representative of Neo-Confucianism is Chu Hsi. Neo-Confucianism is a system of philosophy developed during the late Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1127) and early Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1279). From its start in the Sung dynasty, Neo-Confucianism had been popular among the newly rising scholar-official class in the provinces south of the Yangtze River. Tu Wei-ming explains Neo-Confucianism as follows: "Historically Neo-Confucianism is a spiritual tradition in China dating from the eleventh century to the seventeenth. It can be considered an intellectual response to the challenges of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism and religious Taoism in a predominantly Confucian value-oriented society." Through summarising and synthesising aspects of the thought of the preceding Confucians, like Chou Tun-I (1017-73), Chang Tsai (1020-1077), Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085) and Ch'eng I (1033-1107), who was Chou's favourite Confucian thinker, Chou explained the essential elements for the ethical and metaphysical concepts of Neo-Confucianism in his writings. Repeatedly, Chu Hsi is the acknowledged exponent of Neo-Confucianism. However, besides Chu Hsi's philosophy, there was another major form of Neo-Confucianism in China. It was the philosophy of mind by Wang Yang-ming (1473-1529) in the Ming Dynasty. Moreover, the Neo-Confucianism of Wang Yang-ming replaced Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism in China. See Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History*, 135. However, the Confucianism in Korea has been mainly under the influence of the great scholar. Actually, in the period of the Joseon Dynasty, to speak of Neo-Confucianism meant to speak of the philosophy of Chu Hsi. It would not be an improper statement to say that Korean Confucianism has been exclusively influenced by Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism. Wang Yang-ming's philosophy was not accepted on a large scale as a form of Neo-Confucianism in Joseon Dynasty.

the NCM is studying (learning), just as it is in Neo-Confucianism. Furthermore, the lifestyle of NCM members is reminiscent of Confucian *literati*. Their approach to the truth creates an impression of self-cultivation similar to disciplined Confucian *literati*. It is also interesting to note that NCM members tend to value highly their teachers' writings, repeatedly reading and studying them, just as Confucian *literati* did. For NCM members, their teachers' writings take precedence over other Christian literature written by theologians and by ordained clergy.

However, that is not to say that the NCM is a form of Neo-Confucianism or that it is syncretistic, adopting fundamental elements of both Christianity and Confucianism. This analysis is not intended to degrade the value of the NCM nor undermine its authenticity. Rather, it is an attempt to try to explain the way that Confucianism has influenced the NCM, especially in the matter of spirituality. It is also an attempt to explain how the NCM has made use of Confucian spirituality, either consciously or unconsciously, to deepen its Christian faith, without losing its Christian identity.

Confucianism is an ideology developed by a man named Confucius,⁴⁷ whose

⁴⁷ Xinzhong Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 22. The East Asian culture has been linked with Confucianism for 2,500 years since Confucius (551-479 B.C.) began to teach. He was born in a small state of Lu that is now Shantung Province, in East China. That state was famous for its preservation of the traditions of the ritual and music of the Zhou (c. 1100–249 B.C.) civilisation. His ancestors seem to have been members of the aristocracy of Shang Dynasty (c. 1600-1100 B.C.), but his family suffered from poverty by the time of his birth and his father died when Confucius was only three years old. Confucius lived in a chaotic period, the Spring and Autumn period of the Zhou Dynasty. When the Zhou Dynasty (c. 1100–249 B.C.) that was founded on feudalism, lost its administrative power, the feudal system began to collapse. Within the country, power struggles began so that the states came to compete with one another and finally this led to wars between the states. In this disordered and frenzied situation, Confucius tried to find the cause of chaos and disorder and wanted to solve the problems: the misuse and abuse of ritual/propriety and music. He thought that the first thing he should do to stop the chaotic situation was to bring back the value of rituals and to spread the rules of propriety. Confucius believed that governing officials only worked in accordance with the true values of their roles. He thought that the recovery of rituals and propriety could only be achieved under a good government. “To establish a righteous government, the ruler and his ministers must act according to what was established in ancient rites, because what made a government good was the power of moral virtues, rather than the power of cruel and punitive laws. Moral virtues could produce trust and faith in the people, while punitive measures might stop wrongdoing only for a moment. A ruler who governs the state through his virtue is like the pole star which stays put while the other stars revolve around it.” Therefore, for Confucius, it was important to perform rituals and play music rightly in order to secure governing

life was an expression of self-cultivation. Confucius believed in the possibility that ordinary human beings could become sages. He believed that human beings are teachable, open to improvement, and able to attain perfection through personal and communal endeavour. This belief is fundamental to Confucianism and is deeply rooted in the Confucian heritage. Confucian ethics have served as the basis of East Asian society for at least 2,000 years.

The lineage of Japanese Neo-Confucianism can be traced back to the late-Ming and Ching dynasties in China, and the Joseon dynasty in Korea.⁴⁸ Uchimura Kanzo who previously acquired Confucian education before he converted to Christianity, might have naturally, though unconsciously, used Confucian learning.⁴⁹ Kim Kyo-sin and Song Du-yong also received Confucian education.⁵⁰

The writings of Uchimura Kanzo occasionally reveal the influence of *bushido* and Confucianism. He learned the Four Books and the Three Classics of Confucianism from his father,⁵¹ a good Confucian scholar, who could repeat from memory almost every passage in the writings and sayings of the sages. Thus, Uchimura's early education was Confucian. Uchimura confessed to being imbued with the general

virtue. There would be no state of sincerity and loyalty without performing rituals and playing music rightly. He wanted to restore social and moral excellence and the cultivation of purity within the heart of individuals through the right performance and playing of rituals and music. He endeavoured to revitalise and innovate the lost ancient ways. Confucianism was his way of restoring the lost ancient values, and so far East Asian culture has been influenced by Confucianism.

⁴⁸ Takehiko Okada, "Neo-Confucian Thinkers in Nineteenth-Century Japan," in *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture*, ed. Peter Nosco (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 215; Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 121, 128; Hori Ichiro and others, *Japanese Religion: A Survey by the Agency for Cultural Affairs* (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd., 1972), 108, 114-15; Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan, and Herman Ooms, eds., *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam* (Los Angeles: University of California LA, 2002), 376-85. The dominant Neo-Confucian school in both countries was Chu Hsi's philosophical one. Until the late 1800s, Neo-Confucianism was at the peak of its development during the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) in Japan, and in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) in Korea. Neo-Confucianism had largely shaped the ethical traditions of Japan for the preceding three centuries, and those of Korea for five centuries.

⁴⁹ Yeong-sin Park, *Hyeondaisahoeui Gujowa Iron* [현대사회의 구조와 이론 *The Structure and Theory of Modern Society*] (Seoul: Iljisa, 1999), 176.

⁵⁰ So-young Baik, *Uriui Sarangi Uirobgi Uihayeoye* (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 2005), 78-79.

⁵¹ Yeong-sin Park, *Hyeondaisahoeui Gujowa Iron*, 176.

sentiments of Confucianism, even though he could not understand its ethical-political precepts. In his opinion, filial piety was taught as the source of all virtues in Confucianism. To Uchimura, this seemed akin to the Solomon's precept "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."⁵²

Bushido literally means "way of the warrior". *Bushido* was the code of the samurai that has greatly influenced the culture and people of Japan. It was developed in Japan between the Heian and Tokugawa ages (ninth to twelfth centuries), and all samurai were required to observe the moral principles of the code. It emphasised the moral principles: rectitude, courage, benevolence, politeness, veracity, honour, the duty of loyalty, education, training, and self-control.⁵³ Actually, *bushido* reflects Confucian values. Uchimura often boasted about *bushido* and its proximity to Christianity. In January 1916, he wrote as follows:

Bushido is the finest product of Japan, but Bushido by itself cannot save Japan. Christianity, grafted upon Bushido, will be the finest product of the world. It will save, not only Japan, but the world. Now that Christianity is dying in Europe, and America by its materialism cannot revive it, God is calling upon Japan to contribute its best to His service. There was a meaning in the history of Japan. For twenty centuries God has been perfecting Bushido with this very moment in view. Christianity grafted upon Bushido will yet save the world.⁵⁴

Before his conversion to Christianity, Kim Kyo-sin respected Confucius, and his concern was to achieve moral perfection as soon as possible in his earthly life. As noted previously, in *the Analects*, Confucius said, "at fifteen, I set my mind-and-heart on learning. At thirty I stood on my own. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew heaven's decree. At sixty, my ears were in accord. At seventy, I followed the desires of

⁵² Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip [우씨무라 칸조 전집 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojek, 2003), 2:21.

⁵³ See Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (Stilwell: Digireads.com Publishing, 2005).

⁵⁴ Uchimura, "Musadowa Gidokgyo (1)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1928 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:529-34; Uchimura, "Musadowa Gidokgyo (2)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, July 1923 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:534-40; Uchimura, "Musadowa Gidokgyo (3)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1916 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:540; Uchimura, "Musadowa Gidokgyo (4)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1918 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:541.

my mind-and-heart.”⁵⁵ Kim once wished that, by the age of fifty, he would have reached the level that Confucius reached at the age of sixty.⁵⁶

After his conversion, Kim Kyo-sin still referred to the classics of Confucianism. He wrote an essay entitled “The Biggest Idol” in *Seongseojoseon*, issued in May 1934, in which he discussed the matter of education in Korea. He lamented the fact that schooling had become the biggest idol for modern people, that the passion for ancestor worship had turned into a form of descendent worship, and that, consequently, people who had once possessed a sense of fair play had become shameless in the matter of their children’s higher education entrance examination.⁵⁷ They prayed that their children would have the opportunity to get higher education, not minding whether or not they cheated in the exam. Kim cited a passage from *the Analects*, that filial piety, benevolence, restrained remarks, and other virtues must precede learning itself.⁵⁸

Uchimura Kanzo and Kim Kyo-sin wrote several essays concerning Confucianism, and they referred to Confucius and Confucianism many times in their writings. For example, Uchimura stated that he would rather imitate a Confucian scholar, Jinsai Ito, than hundreds and thousands of modern Christian teachers.⁵⁹ In general, they spoke well of Confucius. Yet this does not mean that they regarded Confucius on the same religious level as Jesus.⁶⁰ For them, it was clear that the Saviour was not Confucius but Jesus Christ. After conversion, they still looked up to Confucius as a

⁵⁵ *The Analects*, Book 2 爲政, chap. 4. 子曰 吾十有五而志于學 三十而立 四十而不惑 五十而知天命 六十而耳順 七十而從心所欲 不踰矩.

⁵⁶ Kyo-sin Kim, “Ibsinui Donggi,” *Seongseojoseon*, November 1928 and September 1929 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* [김교신 전집 *The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin*], ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2001), 2:126-31.

⁵⁷ Kim, “Choidaeui Usang,” *Seongseojoseon*, May 1934 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:78-80.

⁵⁸ *The Analects*, Book 1 學而, chap. 6. 子曰 弟子入則孝 出則弟 謹而信 汎愛衆 而親仁 行有餘力 則而學文.

⁵⁹ Uchimura, “A Great Confucianist,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:410. This article was written in May 1917.

⁶⁰ Uchimura, “Gidokgyowa Bulgyo Mit Yugyo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:223.

great teacher and respected other Confucian *literati*. Yet they made a clear distinction between Christianity and Confucianism.

In an essay of April 1917, entitled “Confucius and Jesus,” Uchimura made it clear that there is a fundamental difference between Confucius and Jesus. By doing so, he distinguished Confucianism from Christianity. He once wrote an essay about a Japanese baron who insisted there was no difference between the teachings of Confucius and Jesus. The baron’s American host answered that there is a big difference; that the former is dead but the latter is alive. In April 1917, Uchimura wrote as follows:

To a Japanese baron, who was visiting America, and who, in addressing the Bethany Sunday-School in Philadelphia, said that the teachings of Confucius and Jesus were the same, and that there was no need of changing his faith, John Wanamaker, the superintendent of the school, and the baron’s host at the time, answered as follows: “There is this vital difference between Confucius and Jesus. Confucius is dead and buried, and he will remain in his grave until Jesus Christ tells him to arise. But our Christ’s grave is empty. He is living. He is here in this room today.” To this we say Amen, and wish to add our strong conviction that, in this case, the American was right and the Japanese was mistaken.⁶¹

4.3. The Influence of Confucianism on the Non-Church Movement

Uchimura Kanzo apparently did not seem to accept the view that individuals are absolute units and are somehow protected from public intervention. It is true that he emphasised individualism more than traditionalists, but it is also true that he seemed uncomfortable with such an atomistic view of society. He seemed irritated by the intrinsic nature of diversity and instability in Western democratic societies, even though he admitted that the countries in the West consisted of a lot more conflicting interests and different opinions. He revealed his uncomfortable feeling about individualism as follows:

Modern people are extreme individualists. They think of themselves first. After that they think of people related to them. They do not think about other things except those. They do not think about the affairs of the world. They do not think of the affairs of their nation either.⁶²

⁶¹ Uchimura, “Gidokgyowa Bulgyo Mit Yugyo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:225-26.

⁶² Kanzo Uchimura, “Gaeinjuui,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1923 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:189.

These remarks reflect a Confucian view of organic society.

4.3.1. Hierarchical View in the Non-Church Movement

Uchimura Kanzo praised the female virtue of self-sacrifice in his early years, for example, in his book, *How I Became A Christian*.⁶³ However, in his later years, he insisted that the Bible recognised the superiority of men over women. He thought that the kind of relationships common among Westerners were contrary to the Bible. In the magazine *Seisho no Kenkyu*, issued in March 1930, he seemed to presuppose a hierarchy between men and women in his exegesis of Ge. 2:18-15. Uchimura explained the verses as follows:

Namely, women were created for helping and serving men, like cattle and poultry. This is a vulgar and shallow view of women and modern people cannot accept it. Yet the view that women were created for men can be seen throughout the Bible. Even if modern people go against this view, the Bible remains unshakable on this matter. The prophets were all men, except for two or three. Christ descended into the world as a man. The apostles that Christ appointed were all men.⁶⁴

Concerning this, Yoshinaga Keiichiro asserts that Uchimura “was consistent in his Confucian hierarchical view of men and women, regardless of his sporadic progressive views.”⁶⁵ Uchimura’s hierarchical view appeared more apparent in his exegesis of 1 Co. 11:2-13 and Eph. 5:22-24 in the December 1920 and March 1921 issues of *Seisho no Kenkyu*.

The ideas such as human equality, indiscrimination of the upper and lower classes, and equal rights for men and women, are not from the East but imported from the West.... It is not rare to confuse the ideas with the thought of Christianity and to equate the former with the latter.... Christian thought appears apparent in the Bible. In many respects, it is different from the so called ideas of the West.... About the matter of men and women, what the Bible says is just the opposite of what the Westerners,

⁶³ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:22.

⁶⁴ Kanzo Uchimura, *Genesis*, vol. 1 of *Uchimura Kanzo Seongseojuseok [内村鑑三 註解 Uchimura Kanzo's Commentaries]*, trans. Seong-ho Lee, 17 vols. (Seoul: Seongseoyeonguwon, 2001), 1:82.

⁶⁵ Keiichiro Yoshinaga, “City upon a Hill from afar: Confucianism and Christianity in Uchimura Kanzo,” *Japanese Religions: NCC Center for the Study of Japanese Religions* 29, no. 1 and 2 (2004), 56.

especially Americans, teach. The Bible never speaks about the American type of equal rights for men and women.... Therefore wives are required to obey their husbands absolutely, as their husbands are required to obey Christ absolutely.⁶⁶

In contrast, it is hard to find this kind of hierarchical view in the writings of Korean NCM members like Kim, Song, and Ham. Interestingly, they do not even cite these kinds of statements of their teacher, Uchimura. Korean leading figures, such as Kim and Song, acquired a Confucian education in their early years, but it is almost impossible to find such a hierarchical view in their writings. Strictly speaking, Confucianism places an emphasis on the principle of virtuous reciprocity, rather than the hierarchical order and blind obedience. Namely, Uchimura's understanding of the relationship between men and women may be more influenced by *bushido* than by Confucian reciprocal virtues. It would be more appropriate to regard Uchimura's view as being influenced by the mind-set of samurai.

4.3.2. The Confucian Way of NCM Members

At the time of Uchimura Kanzo, many Japanese students went to European countries and the United States of America in order to learn the advanced technology and science of the West. They were interested in industrial development and business enterprise, and their importation to Japan. Koreans were also interested in industrial development and business enterprise. Progressive individuals in both countries at that time tended to equate Christianity with Western civilisation. Therefore, they believed that accepting Christianity would lead to the progress of their countries and the enlightenment of their people. However, in contrast, the NCM members represented by Uchimura Kanzo and Kim Kyo-sin clearly distinguished between the two things. They

⁶⁶ Kanzo Uchimura, *I Cor.*, vol. 12 of *Uchimura Kanzo Seongseojuseok* [内村鑑三 註解 Uchimura Kanzo's Commentaries], trans. Seong-ho Lee, 17 vols. (Seoul: Seongseoyeonguwon, 2001), 12:124-25.

questioned whether progress and enlightenment had fully compensated for the loss of spiritual independence and maturity. For them, the moral perfection of the individual was much more important than the development of civilisation. Moral perfection was the aim of Confucianism. In their post-conversion understanding, moral perfection was expected to be achieved through the eternal life that Jesus Christ gives to his followers (John 14:6).⁶⁷

Instead of resorting to the Confucian way, Kim Kyo-sin wanted to attain a morally high status through Christianity.⁶⁸ Before conversion, Kim was desperate to be a sage. Yet, soon he found himself in the depths of despair, because he found out that he was not able to achieve this high morality. It was Christianity that challenged him to have the courage to try again to achieve a high moral status. Kim wrote about the endeavour as follows: “Since then I have started to try once again. It was an effort to rapidly acquire the Confucian morality that I longed for through the power of the Holy Spirit that Christian evangelists propagandised.”⁶⁹ The quest for the moral perfection of the individual was an important factor in his conversion.

Attaining a high level of morality was also the primary concern of Uchimura Kanzo. The term was mentioned many times in his works. His objective was to be a warrior in *bushido* and a sage in Confucianism. He thought that commonplace religions have low levels of morality. The reason why these religions easily captivate many people is that they do not demand high levels of morality. But Uchimura asserted that religion without morality is no longer religion. He criticised the widely-held belief that

⁶⁷ In-seong Yang, “Gidokgyowa Yeongsaeng [기독교와 영생 Christianity and Eternal Life],” *Seongseojoseon*, June 1930, 18-21.

⁶⁸ Kyo-sin Kim, “Ibsinui Donggi [입신의 동기 The Motivation of Conversion],” *Seongseojoseon*, November 1928, 38; Kyo-sin Kim, “Ibsinui Donggi Sok [입신의 동기 속 The Motivation of Conversion A Second Series],” *Seongseojoseon*, September 1929, 19-22.

⁶⁹ Kim, “Ibsinui Donggi,” *Seongseojoseon*, November 1928, 38; Kim, “Ibsinui Donggi Sok,” *Seongseojoseon*, September 1929, 19-22.

heavenly blessings can be acquired irrespective of good morals.⁷⁰ Yet he did not identify religion with morality. He insisted that the former must have priority over the latter.⁷¹ Rather, he was seeking after a higher level of morality based on God's grace rather than a sense of compulsion.⁷² However, in Uchimura's thinking, the possibility of achieving this kind of morality was beyond the majority of humans. Moreover, such a morality rarely seemed to be believed in by the students and professors of theological seminaries.⁷³ Knowledge is power. It produces prosperity and increases happiness. Yet it needs morality to be complete. Like Confucian *literati*, Uchimura placed emphasis on the achievement of a high level of morality, but unlike them, he thought the source of it could only be found in the Christian God.⁷⁴

The first generation NCM members were brought up in a Confucian culture. Confucianism has a profound sense of religiosity and spirituality. As a form of religious humanism, it identifies the moral or virtuous with the religious or transcendental. Acquiring morality is important in Confucianism in order to become a *junzi*.⁷⁵ A *junzi* is someone who has succeeded in cultivating virtues and is thereby distinguished from those who are uncultivated. The contrast between a *junzi* and a *xiaoren* (a small man 小人) is the contrast between a person of virtue and a mean or vulgar person. This contrast is manifest in all areas of life. In terms of psychological character, the former is broad-minded while the latter is partisan. In terms of behaviour, the former always aims at

⁷⁰ Uchimura, "Dodeok Isangui Jonggyo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1905 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:246.

⁷¹ Uchimura, "Dodeok Isangui Jonggyo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1905 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:248.

⁷² Uchimura, Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:150.

⁷³ Uchimura, Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]*, in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:150.

⁷⁴ Uchimura, "Jeongsinjeok Gyoyukiran Mueotinga?" *Seiho no Kenkyu*, 國民之友, January 1895 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:152.

⁷⁵ Yao, *Confucianism*, 215.

what is righteous while the latter understands only what is profitable. Internally, the former is calm and at ease while the latter is full of tension and ill at ease. In personal relationships, the former only makes demands upon him/herself, while the latter makes demands upon others. Considering that the NCM founders' background was deeply influenced by Confucianism, it can be assumed that early members had a similar understanding of morality to the Confucian *literati*. Their search for moral perfection was also a search for a transcendental experience, enabling them to breakthrough their moral limitations as ordinary human beings.

4.4. Confucian Spirituality

Confucians emphasise the importance of learning at both a personal and social level.⁷⁶ Even when Heaven establishes kingship, its important task is to educate people.⁷⁷ The goal of Confucian spirituality lies in becoming a sage.⁷⁸ The Confucian worldview is dualistic, dividing the world into the learned and the ignorant, the cultivated and the uncultivated, and the civilised and the barbarian.⁷⁹ But it is not the same as the notion of good and evil in Christianity. Life is understood as a process of development from the ignorant to the learned, from the uncultivated to the cultivated, and from the barbarian to the civilised.⁸⁰ The final stage of the process is to be a sage

⁷⁶ John H. Berthrong and Evelyn N. Berthrong, *Confucianism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2000), 45-49. Confucianism searches for peace and harmony by cultivating virtues. It also searches for harmonised family relationships by cultivating the sense of mutual responsibilities between family members. By establishing a virtuous government, it searches for a way to reduce the chance of violent conflicts. The primary task of Confucianism is to reduce evil and to increase goodness.

⁷⁷ Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 163-64.

⁷⁸ Stanislaus Lokuang, "Chu Hsi's Theory of Metaphysical Structure," in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism* ed. Wing-tsit Chan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 73; Ten Aiming, "On Chu Hsi's Theory of the Great Ultimate," in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, 103; Julia Ching, *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 105.

⁷⁹ Xinzhong Yao, *Confucianism and Christianity* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 1997), 33; Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 154.

⁸⁰ Yao, *Confucianism*, 154.

who is morally perfect and intellectually brilliant, one who does not fail to do the will of Heaven.⁸¹ A sage is a person who brings benefits to people and peace to the world. Beyond being an admirable model for others to emulate, a sage, who has been able to fully develop his own nature, also enables other humans to develop their own nature.⁸² Furthermore, a sage can enhance the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth sustaining the whole universe, thereby assisting in the transformation of the universe. Thus, a sage possesses a power on a par with Heaven and Earth.⁸³

4.4.1. Self-Cultivation through Meditation

NCM members are noted for their piety. The lifestyle of NCM members is characterized by sobriety and austerity⁸⁴ and models the Confucian ethical code. Personal behaviour is reserved, dignified, and motivated by a strong inner sense of

⁸¹ John H. Berthrong and Evelyn N. Berthrong, *Confucianism: A Short Introduction*, 29-30.

⁸² Julia Ching, *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 75, 110, 113.

⁸³ Regarding human nature, Mengzi and Xunzi propagated two doctrines. Mengzi insists that human beings are born with goodness while Xunzi asserts that humans are born with bad tendencies rather than an inclination to morality. Xunzi explains that human beings are born with natural instincts that, if not directed and managed, will cause bad behaviour and endanger social justice and communal interests. Their theories were subsequently combined or adapted by later Confucians. Whatever position it takes, the primary substance of Confucian spirituality is to reduce evil and to increase goodness. For Mengzi, the innate goodness is so fragile that it should be preserved and cultivated. For Xunzi, propriety and righteousness are not innate in humans so that they should be created. The essence of Confucian spirituality lies in the belief and concept that there are virtues, principles, and the Supreme Ultimate in human nature. It means humans have these properties in their within themselves. Therefore they can develop these characteristics to become virtuous and to be a sage if they want to. Humans have the sources and resources to becoming good within themselves. Heaven endows humans with the heart of 'the Way' that provides the foundation for humans to be good. This is the basis of Confucian spirituality, but it is entangled with our physical needs, even though it is subtle. Moreover, the power and will to search for our own destinies comes from the 'heart of the Way'. Namely, the heart of the Way (*daosin* 道心) desires and seeks the satisfaction of Heaven. In contrast, a human heart (*rensin* 人心) desires and seeks the satisfaction of physical needs. The human heart works against the heart of the Way. The basis of Confucian spirituality is the belief that people have the sources and resources to of become good, within themselves. See Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 107. "As principle, human nature is endowed with filial piety, loyalty, humaneness, righteousness, propriety and wisdom, which is the heart/mind of the Way (*dao xin* 道心). Humans are also born with material force, endowing their physical nature and their 'human heart/mind' (*ren xin* 人心) with feelings and desires." See also Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 161. "Whatever erosion or corruption one may suffer, one's original goodness cannot be totally eradicated. Learning and education would be sufficient to help one seek the lost heart, and by natural growth and conscious cultivation, one's original goodness could be restored."

⁸⁴ Kim, "Yeosiasin," *Seongseojoseon*, January 1940 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:177.

modesty and self-control. NCM members are men and women of fastidious moral character, meticulous, sensitive, and demanding of themselves.⁸⁵ They practise a general personal austerity. They tend to abstain from tobacco and alcohol; they love simplicity and sobriety in their surroundings; they place emphasis on diligence, accuracy, and hard work in the performance of their daily duties. Full time Bible teachers live in voluntary poverty, as was the case with Uchimura Kanzo and Noh Pyeong-gu. The modest revenues from the sale of their publications and the free offerings of disciples were not enough to provide subsistence.

Confucianism emphasises self-restraint, understood as self-denial, self-control or self-abnegation.⁸⁶ Overcoming oneself through self-restraint is to regain one's true self.⁸⁷ This self-restraint can be realised through meditation, that is Confucian meditation.⁸⁸ It is a process of synthesizing with Dao by letting go and allowing the Way of Heaven to emerge.⁸⁹ It enables one to detach the ego and attain mental freedom. It teaches how to find the truth and create social change. It also teaches self-awareness, self-enhancement, self-discipline, and self-actualisation.⁹⁰ This mental process aims to revitalize moral consciousness through mindfulness that leads to an awareness of the

⁸⁵ See Jang-hui Yi, *Joseonsidae Seonbiyeongu* [조선시대 선비연구 A Study of Confucian Literati in Joseon] (Seoul: Bakyeongsa, 1998).

⁸⁶ Seung-hye Kim, *Yugyoui Ppurireul Chajaseo* [유교의 뿌리를 찾아서 Searching for the Root of Confucianism] (Seoul: Jisikeuipungkyeong, 2002), 213.

⁸⁷ John H. Berthrong and Evelyn N. Berthrong, *Confucianism: A Short Introduction*, 31.

⁸⁸ Gang-Dae Yi, *Jujahakui Inganhakjeok Ihae* [주자학의 인간학적 이해 An Anthropological Understanding of Chu Hsi's Philosophy] (Seoul: Yemunseowon, 2000), 167.

⁸⁹ Chung-Ying Cheng, "Chu Hsi's Methodology and Theory of Understanding," in *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism*, ed. Wing-tsit Chan (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 185.

⁹⁰ Yi I, *Yulgokjeonseo vol. 20* [栗谷全書 卷20], *Seonghakjipyo* [聖學輯要] 2, Je 2 Sugi (第2修己), chap. 3 "Suryeom (收斂)," Geogyonggi Gungniui Geunboni Doime Daehayeo. 收放心爲學問之基址 蓋古人自能食能言 便有教 動罔或悖思罔或逾 其所以養其良心 尊其德性者 無時無事而不然 故格物致知工夫 據此有所湊泊 今者 自少無此工夫 徑欲從事於窮理修身 則方寸昏擾 舉止踰違 其所用功 若存若亡 決無有成之理 故先正教人靜坐 且以九容持身 此是學者最初用力處也 然所謂靜坐者 亦指無事時也 若應事接物 不可膠於靜坐也 況人主一身 萬機叢集 若待無事靜坐 然後爲學 則恐無其時 但不問動靜 此心未忘 持守不解 如許魯齋所謂雖在千萬人中 常知有己 則無事而虛寂 可養其體 有事而照察 可正其用 聖學根本 於斯立矣 聖賢之訓 昭然不誣 願留睿念焉。

real self and of the universal energy interconnection.⁹¹ Through this process of meditation a person can become a sage who is highly self-disciplined and able to integrate various social developmental strategies for large-scale social applications. Thus, meditation is a most important means of practising Confucian spirituality.⁹²

In Confucianism, human beings are believed to have the ability to know how to become good. Becoming good can be achieved through observation and meditation.⁹³ Confucianism believes that human nature and the mind contain innumerable principles. The mind is the reservoir of those principles. Therefore, meditation is required to work in the mind in order to attain sagehood. Confucian meditation is also called quiet-sitting. According to Rodney Taylor, its “task is the calming of the mind and the elimination of anxiety and desire that keep the mind from reaching a stage of quietude.”⁹⁴ It is a means of “guiding the development of the inner life”,⁹⁵ so that one’s life is not “reduced to baseness” nor diverted by the ways of the world.⁹⁶ Chu Hsi himself practised a form of daily meditation. However, his meditation was different from the one practiced in Buddhism and Taoism, which focuses on forgetting the world and

⁹¹ Ching, *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi*, 101, 107, 113, 120-23, 147-48, 176.

⁹² Wing-tsit Chan, *Chu Hsi: New Studies* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 255-68.

⁹³ Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 158. “For example, through observing the growing and withering of plants and trees, we can understand the regularity and punctuality of the heavenly principle and understand the importance of abiding by ritual/propriety in human community.” In becoming good, there exists another way of meditation. It is to contemplate on our own mind. Contemplation will enable people to fully understand their internal potential and to make maximum use of it, because everyone has the resources to become good, in their minds. Heaven is sometimes identified with the principle (*li*) and the Principle of Heaven (*tianli*) is another name for the Way of Heaven. On other occasions, Heaven is identified with the mind. Precisely, the Way of Heaven is in the mind. Moreover, in different ways, Heaven, the Way of Heaven, principle, nature and the mind are regarded as being essentially the same. Therefore, the principle of Heaven cannot be understood unless the mind has been extended. An individual cannot become one body with Heaven unless s/he has explored her/his own nature. Observation is to deal with external things and meditation is to deal with internal things, that is, mind. The former is an action of introspection of everything except oneself. The latter is an action of reflection on oneself. The Way of Heaven manifests itself in nature, society and individuals. Therefore, it is possible to observe the principles. If one can observe the principles within themselves, s/he will know the principles by which everything exists and every being lives.

⁹⁴ Rodney L. Taylor, *The Confucian Way of Contemplation* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 35.

⁹⁵ Taylor, *The Confucian Way of Contemplation*, 35, 27.

⁹⁶ Taylor, *The Confucian Way of Contemplation*, 35, 27.

abandoning one's self. In contrast, Chu Hsi's quiet-sitting was oriented to this world and aimed at perfecting one's self. Confucian meditation does not require the cessation of all thinking. Rather, its meditation is characterised by quiet introspection that helps to balance the various aspects of one's personality.⁹⁷

The essence of Confucian meditation consists of the experience of absolute unity between subject and object. In the same way that Confucian *literati* try to gain insight of the real self and awareness of the universal energy interconnection through meditation, as a means of approaching reality, NCM members regard Christianity as an experience charged with deep meaning and filled with vital content rather than merely a philosophy or a theology. This experience can be described as either an "enlightenment" or a "conversion", one that entails the start of a new realm of consciousness through which the enlightened person views the self and reality from a different perspective. Therefore, it can be argued that in this matter, Confucian spirituality and NCM spirituality have much in common.

The literature of the NCM abounds in similar statements that describe the feeling of the presence of God in one's self and in nature. Takahashi Saburo stated that he would precede his Bible lectures with some time spent in prayer under the trees near his home. He confessed that in the shadow of the trees, he was "immersed in nature and felt as if he was resting on the breast of Christ."⁹⁸ In an essay entitled "Cosmic Prayer," Mitani Takamasa defined prayer as "the continuous breathing of human and all other living creatures."⁹⁹ Through prayer, one can converge on God, the origin and end of all

⁹⁷ Julia Ching, "What Is Confucian Spirituality?" in *Confucian Spirituality 1*, ed. Weiming Tu and Mary Evelyn Tucker (New York: The Crossroad, 2003), 89.

⁹⁸ Saburo Takahashi, "Heiwa o Tsukuru Mono [The Peacemaker]," in *Gendai to Kirisutoshu [The Christian and the Present Time]*, ed. Masaik Jin (Tokyo: Yamamoto Shoten, 1965), 13-25.

⁹⁹ Takamasa Mitani, *Mitani Takamasa Zenshu [The Collected Works of Mitani Takamasa]*, 5 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 5:653-59.

existence. For Takamasa, the value of “the intellectual labours” lies in the “articulation of a cosmic prayer. The prayer is God-implanted. Our sincerest prayer is, in all probability, God’s own ardent prayer. Man prays with God.”¹⁰⁰

In comparison, Confucian quiet-sitting is understood to engage in spiritual cultivation and thereby gain a sense of oneness with all. The quiet-sitter is merged with the Great Transformation until there is no differentiation.¹⁰¹ The principle of Heaven can then be understood, and knowledge becomes complete. Complete knowledge makes intentions true. True intentions make the mind set in the right. The set mind makes persons cultivated. Cultivated persons establish harmony in the household, and household harmony leads to a well-governed state.¹⁰²

Unlike most Christian leaders of his day, Uchimura Kanzo, who read Confucian classics and books, understood prayer to be more than petition to the Absolute Being. He wrote as follows: “I do not pray myself. I let God pray for me. I let Him do it for me and precisely because its contents are not my wishes and desires, but His holy will.”¹⁰³ For Uchimura, the focus of prayer is not prayer itself or petition, but God.¹⁰⁴ As Confucian *literati* tried to gain insight about the real self and awareness of the principle of Heaven through meditation,¹⁰⁵ Uchimura approached prayer in the same fashion. He

¹⁰⁰ Mitani, *Mitani Takamasa Zenshu*, 5:653-59.

¹⁰¹ Rodney L. Taylor, “The Sudden/Gradual Paradigm and Neo-Confucian Mind-Cultivation,” *Philosophy East and West* 33, no. 1 (1983), 25-27.

¹⁰² *The Great Learning* [大學], chap. 5; Daniel K. Gardner, *The Four Books: The Basic Teachings of the later Confucian Tradition* (Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2007), 5. This book purports to teach people how to learn and practise ‘the Great Way.’ In this book, the author explains what a person should do if s/he wants to govern the whole world well. The goal cannot be achieved by arms, nor by power or law, but only by moral strength and moral virtues.

¹⁰³ Uchimura, “Gidoe Gwanhayeo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1923 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:582; Uchimura, “Prayer,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1923 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:490.

¹⁰⁴ Uchimura, “Gido,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1911 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:181; Uchimura, “Suyanggwa Gido,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, February 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:441; Uchimura, “Gidokgyoui Suyang,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1902 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10: 38-40.

¹⁰⁵ Rodney L. Taylor, *The Confucian Way of Contemplation* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 78-83.

understood prayer as a process of union with the universal truth, God, or as fellowship with God. He explains it as follows: “Prayer is not a duty but a pleasure; it is a friendship with God; it is a talk to Father.”¹⁰⁶ Importantly, he believed that one can find the innermost truth of the universe within oneself. Uchimura’s Confucian way is shown in his writing entitled “the universal truth,” which was published in *Seisho no Kenkyu* (*The Biblical Study*) in October 1928.

I seek the universal truth, the truth which I can find in my home, in my study, within my soul, without travelling far and wide, without attending conferences of men and women who *must* congregate in order to be wise. I seek the truth which is applicable to all men, high and low, rich and poor, wise and unwise, “the light which lighteth every man,” without distinction of races, nationalities, religions and sects. The universal truth is as deep as it is wide; as deep as the soul which reaches the centre of Being. And the worth of human life lies in this, that in it alone, and nowhere else, the innermost truth of the universe reveals itself; and every man finding it within himself can become a universal man, and so be above himself and the world.¹⁰⁷

Confucian spirituality concerns harmony with heaven, knowing the destiny that heaven endows, and accepting and practicing that destiny. A person who can reach that level is called a saint. The most important thing in Confucian spirituality is to be in harmony with heaven, because the way to live a life will be determined in accordance with the way to make harmony. Therefore Confucian spirituality seeks to be in harmony with heaven, with other people and a harmony between body and mind. A question will be raised: how can one attain this harmony? Harmony can be achieved through self-cultivation. The way of attaining harmony is self-cultivation. In Confucian understanding, it is considered good to be in harmony and it is thought to be evil not to be in harmony. A saint is a person who has achieved this harmony. To attain harmony and to be a saint requires a great deal of effort, but Confucianism teaches that everybody can be a saint, because all the resources needed to become a saint are in every person,

¹⁰⁶ Uchimura, “Gidou Jeulgeoum,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, February 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:587.

¹⁰⁷ Uchimura, “The Universal Truth,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1928 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:540.

and people know how to be good, in other words, how to be in harmony. In addition, it can be possible for everybody, because classics guide people into the right path and help people to keep their destiny. Thus, Confucian spirituality aims to make people one with Heaven: that is the source of Confucian spirituality. Heaven is defined as the Supreme Ultimate. Confucians seek an experience of being united with heaven through self-cultivation. In Confucianism, human nature consists of principles implanted in the human mind. Human nature is considered to be perfectly moral, and derived from the law or principle of the universe. Yet, morality can be clouded by the physical element or material force, inherent in matter and in the mind. However, not all Confucians have agreed with this thought. According to Xunzi, goodness does not exist innately in human nature. However, Neo-Confucianism established Mengzi as the orthodox transmitter of the Confucian way, and his understanding of the goodness of human nature as the authentic Confucian doctrine. Although, since Mengzi and Xunzi, there have been numerous understandings of human nature; the essence of the understandings is to increase good and to decrease evil.

Song Du-yong is also noted for his life of prayer. Song understood that prayer should be more than and should be differentiated from petition for long life, wealth, and rank.¹⁰⁸ He showed that he had a deeper understanding of prayer compared to his contemporary Korean Christian leaders. He prayed in order to communicate with God.¹⁰⁹ For him, prayer meant seeking the mind and Spirit of Jesus Christ. In

¹⁰⁸ Du-yong Song, *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip* [송두용 신!앙문집 *The Collected Works of Song Du-yong*], eds. Pyeong-gu Noh, Hui-se Yu, and Mun-ho Song, 6 vols. (Seoul: Seongseosinaesa, 1994-2001), 2:22-27, 3:491-95.

¹⁰⁹ Song, "Saleun Yesu Geuriseudo," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1929 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 1:9; Song, "Godogaja," *Seongseojoseon*, November 1929 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 1:9; Song, "Mitneun Janeun Gidohanda," *Inseang*, October 1960 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 1:197-98; Song, "Gidodaero Salja!" *Seongseosinang*, February 1965 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 1:250-51; Song, "Pyeonghwareul Uihan Gidoreul!" *Seongseosinang*, February 1965 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 1:251.

Confucianism, Heaven is sometimes identified with the principle (*li*), and the Principle of Heaven (*tianli*) is another name for the Way of Heaven. On other occasions, Heaven is identified with the mind. Precisely, the Way of Heaven is in the mind. Confucians are developing or realizing the Heavenly Principle within, and removing human desires.¹¹⁰ Song sought the mind of the Absolute, as did Confucian *literati*.

Kim Kyo-sin is noted for his cold-water rubbing at dawn and prayer at daybreak. All year round, he would rise before 04:30 and go to a valley near his home, where he would perform his cold-water rubbing and prayed.¹¹¹ In a diary entry on 14th March 1939, Kim recorded that he went to a valley to pray in the early morning.¹¹² He sometimes used the term meditation instead of prayer, and he understood that prayer is petition as well as self-denial.¹¹³ Kim tried to be in harmony with God through the way of self-denial.¹¹⁴ Confucian spirituality seeks to be in harmony with Heaven. The way of attaining harmony is through self-cultivation.¹¹⁵ In Confucianism, the heart of the Way (*daosin*) desires and seeks the satisfaction of Heaven. In contrast, a human heart (*rensin*) desires and seeks the satisfaction of physical needs. The human heart works against the heart of the Way. Therefore, for one to be a sage, s/he must deny the human heart to prevent it from working against the heart of the Way. To use Confucian terms,

¹¹⁰ Julia Ching, *Confucianism and Christianity* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1977), 164. “Confucians place greater emphasis upon the knowledge of the moral self—of one’s own strengths and weaknesses—in view of achieving self-improvement, of becoming more perfect in the practice of virtues and the elimination of vices.... It does not require the attainment of a state of intellectual and emotional impassivity. Thoughts may come and go.”

¹¹¹ Jeong-hwan Kim, *Kim Kyo-sin: Geu Samgwa Mideumgwa Somang* [김교신: 그 삶과 믿음과 소망 *Kim Kyo-sin: His Life, Faith, and Hope*] (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 1994), 179, 220, 262, 339; Kim, “Naengsumachalgwa Jonggyo,” *Seongseojoseon*, September 1940 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:245-48.

¹¹² Kyo-sin Kim, Diary, 14th March 1933, in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2002), 7:45; Kyo-sin Kim, Diary, 15th March 1933, in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2002), 7:46.

¹¹³ Kim, “Jeongjin Tto Jeongjin,” *Seongseojoseon*, May 1939 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:166-67; Kim, “Salrya Jukeulrya,” *Seongseojoseon*, May 1932 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:198-99.

¹¹⁴ Kim, “Bisang Siguke Cheohan Sinang Taedo,” *Seongseojoseon*, October 1937 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:199-202.

¹¹⁵ *The Doctrine of the Mean* [中庸], chap. 1. 致中和 天地位焉 萬物育焉. “Perfect balance is the great foundation of the universe; harmony is the Way that unfolds throughout the universe.”

Kim sought the heart of the Way by self-denial.¹¹⁶

This raises a number of questions. Is cold-water rubbing at dawn a Confucian ritual? Why must beginning every day with daybreak prayer or meditation be regarded as a Confucian practice rather than a Shamanistic or Buddhist one? These questions are valid. For example, worshippers who believed in Shamanism prayed fervently to divine spirits at dawn. This involved prostrating before a bowl of clear water placed on the ground.¹¹⁷ In Buddhism, meditation was performed at dawn under the guidance of a meditation teacher. Most meditations were performed with legs crossed in the half or full lotus position. The general effects of meditation were a gradual increase in calmness and awareness.¹¹⁸

Yet it must be remembered that Kim learned Confucian classics and books from the perspective of Neo-Confucianism.¹¹⁹ Kim highly respected Confucius.¹²⁰ Neo-Confucianism is a philosophical Confucianism that explains the origins of humans and the universe in metaphysical terms. Neo-Confucian *literati* disdained Shamanism and suppressed Buddhism.¹²¹ For Confucians, Buddhism was regarded as barbarian.¹²² For this reason, it is unlikely that Kim's cold-water rubbing at dawn and daybreak prayer can be explained in terms of Shamanism or Buddhism.

Yet does Kim's habit of prayer provide solid evidence for the influence of

¹¹⁶ Kyo-sin Kim, "Sipjagau Do," *Seongseojoseon*, June 1938, 1-2; Kyo-sin Kim, "Ibsinui Donggi," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1929, 22.

¹¹⁷ Dong-sik Yu, *Hangukmugyoui Yeoksawa Gujo* [한국무교의 역사와 구조 *The History and Structure of Korean Shamanism*] (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1997), 258-72.

¹¹⁸ Sung-hae Kim, chap. 5 "Daeseungbulgyoui Seongrip-gwa Junggwansasang," in *Seonbulgyowa Geuriseudogyo* [선불교와 그리스도교 *Zen Buddhism and Christianity*], by Sung-hae Kim, Chong-bum So, and Hee-sung Keel (Seoul: Baorottal, 1996), 71-89.

¹¹⁹ So-young Baik, *Uriui Sarangi Uirobgi Uihayeo* (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 2005), 78-79.

¹²⁰ Kyo-sin Kim, "Isangu Inmul," *Seongseojoseon*, July 1928, 36-38.

¹²¹ Carter J. Eckert and others, *Korea, Old and New: A History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 102.

¹²² Yi I, *Yulgokjeonseo vol. 20* [栗谷全書 卷20], *Seonghakjipyo* [聖學輯要] 2, Je 2 Sugi (第二修己), chap. 4 "Gungni [窮理章第四]." 佛者 夷狄之一法. Buddhism was regarded as barbarian.

Confucianism on the NCM? While acknowledging the probable influence of Confucianism on Kim's prayer habits, this research does not regard this as the sufficient evidence to prove that Confucianism profoundly influenced the NCM. Neither does this research maintain that Kim's prayer at daybreak signifies he was deeply influenced by Confucianism.

What this research tries to highlight is that there were parallels between the lifestyles of Kim and Confucian *literati*. As Kim began his daily life with cold-water rubbing and daybreak prayer so Confucian *literati* rose at dawn, washed, and spent time in meditation.¹²³ A well-known Confucian scholar Yi I (1536-84) recommended that people should get up in the early morning and meditate in his book *Jagyeongmun* (自警文).¹²⁴ Yi Hwang (1501-70), who was known as the Chu Hsi of Korea, provided similar guidance in his book *Seonghaksipdo* [聖學十圖]: “You should get up early at dawn; wash; comb your hair neatly; get dressed properly; sit calmly; collect your scattered mind.”¹²⁵

In considering the guidance given in the Confucian books, it is apparent that Kim's life is reminiscent of Confucian *literati*. Yet the resemblance between the two is not sufficient evidence of Confucian influence on Kim and the NCM. It just signifies the possibility that Confucianism might have influenced Kim. Therefore, solid evidence

¹²³ Choi-sik Yun, *Ilyongjigyeol* [日用指訣]. This book was written by Yun Choi-sik (尹最植) in 1880. It was a guidebook for Confucian *literati*. It was made up of 57 clauses explaining how to live a daily life as Confucians.

¹²⁴ Yi I, *Yulgokjeonseo* [栗谷全書] vol. 14, *Jagyeongmun* [自警文]. 曉起 思朝之所爲之事 食後 思畫之所爲之事 就寢時 思明日所爲之事 無事則放下 有事則必思.

¹²⁵ Hwang Yi, *Toigyejip* [退溪集] vol. 7, *Seonghaksibdo* [聖學十圖], chap. 10 “第十夙興夜寐箴圖.” 雞鳴而寤 思慮漸馳 盍於其間 澹以整之 或省舊愆 或紬新得 次第條理 瞭然默識 本既立矣 味爽乃興 盥櫛衣冠 端坐斂形 提掇此心 皦如出日 嚴肅整齊 虛明靜一 乃啓方冊 對越聖賢 夫子在坐 顏曾後先 聖師所言 親切敬聽 弟子問辨 反覆參訂 事至斯應 則驗于爲 明命赫然 常目在之 事應既已 我則如故 方寸湛然 凝神息慮 動靜循環 惟心是監 靜存動察 勿貳勿參 讀書之餘 間以游泳 發舒精神 休養性情 日暮人倦 昏氣易乘 齋莊整齊 振拔精明 夜久斯寢 齊手斂足 不作思惟 心神歸宿 養以夜氣 貞則復元 念茲在茲.

for the NCM having been influenced by Confucianism must be found elsewhere. For this we need to consider the role of learning in the NCM.

4.4.2. The Confucian Model of Christianity

For NCM members, the Bible is the word of God, but not a book written by God himself.¹²⁶ It is a record of the past, but it is also a book of the present. It appears dead but is actually very much live. It exists to demonstrate God's acts in human history. The Bible is the one and only textbook about God. However, it is not an object of veneration, but something to use.¹²⁷ By studying the Bible one is brought to the source of eternal life, so no part of the Scripture should be discarded. Moreover, no part should be interpreted mechanically, as if it depended upon rational interpretation. Thus, NCM members learn to seek in the Bible the basis of faith in God.¹²⁸

The NCM is a Bible-centred form of Christianity that seeks the truth through learning the teachings of the Bible, in the same way that Confucian *literati* resort to learning to become a *junzi*. The NCM uses the master-to-disciple (or teacher-to-student) relationship commonly practiced in Confucian academies like *seowon* (書院) and *seodang* (書堂).¹²⁹ The students learn the teaching of the Bible and how to live in the world from their teachers, and they consult their teachers for guidance in their Bible studies and for advice on major decisions. Through their writings and their exemplary life, the teachers had a strong influence on the personal values and lives of their

¹²⁶ Song, "Seongseoe Gwanhayeo," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1930 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 2:62-70.

¹²⁷ Kanzo Uchimura, *Jonggyojwadam* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1900) in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 1:331-38.

¹²⁸ Uchimura, "Bonjiui Seongjil," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1900 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:248-49.

¹²⁹ Jang-tae Keum, *Hangukeui Seonbiwa Seonbijeongsin* [한국의 선비와 선비정신 *Korea's Literati and Literati Spirit*] (Seoul: Seoul University Press, 2001), 35-52.

disciples.

Because of the teacher's strong influence on the students, there might be a concern the NCM could become authoritative and hierarchical. Yet there have been no signs that the leaders abused their leadership, nor have members made complaints about the excessive use of authority.¹³⁰ In the NCM, the students respect their teachers so much that they regard the teachers as the living voice of God. Yet the relationship is based on the principle of virtuous reciprocity, rather than rank.¹³¹ This is reminiscent of Confucianism.

The teacher is essentially an instrument of God, and there is no formal training. Anyone who feels divinely inspired can form his own group and teach the Bible, just as any Confucian *literati* can open his own private school for the study of Confucian classics and books.¹³²

As the main teaching-learning methods of the Confucian school included reading, memorizing, and interpreting Confucian texts, the chief methods of the NCM includes reading and interpreting the Bible. In private or at a study meeting, NCM members practise the reading and interpretation of the Bible. This becomes the point of departure for building an intensive spiritual life, and the gradual dissolution of the self in God.

All NCM members need is the Bible. Of course, it would be preferable for them to have a qualified, erudite teacher, well-informed about the Bible. They believe that if

¹³⁰ So-young Baik, *Uriui Sarangi Uirobgi Uihayeo* (Seoul: Daehangidokgyoseohoe, 2005), chap. 10 "Hangukgyohoeui Mugyohoejeok Daean."

¹³¹ Jang-tae Keum, *Yugyosasangwa Jonggyojeok Segye* [유교사상과 종교적 세계 Confucian Philosophy and Religious World] (Paju: KSI, 2004), 59.

¹³² There seems to be a difference between the Korean NCM and the Japanese NCM. See Carlo Caldarola, *Christianity: The Japanese Way* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 124. In Japan, "the decision is not made without extensive consultation with his own *sensei* and other Mukyokai leaders, who often curb the enthusiasm of the young and inexperienced by recommending more extensive participation in a thoroughly Christian life. As a result, a Mukyokai member rarely becomes a *sensei* before reaching full physical and intellectual maturity." In contrast, the decision tends to be made more freely in Korea.

they have the Bible, they have enough to learn the truth revealed in the Scripture.¹³³ This is reminiscent of the typical Confucian *literati*'s attitude toward Confucian classics and books.¹³⁴ According to NCM members, one only needs to read the Scripture to encounter the presence of God and have faith. The Scripture is an important means through which one can grasp the message of God and engage in a dialogue with Him. Salvation is achieved directly through Christ; faith alone is sufficient. It is through the reading and learning of the Bible that all this is achieved. The sacraments are not necessary for salvation. The Bible alone is sufficient for knowing God.¹³⁵ In reading and understanding the Bible, the role of the NCM teachers is essential, just as the role of the Confucian masters was.

Julia Ching highlights the lack of a priesthood in Confucianism.¹³⁶ Likewise, in the NCM, when humans seek the truth, there is no need for mediators like professional clergies. Thus, the NCM has never needed an organized, ecclesiastical priesthood. Hence, the lack of priesthood in the NCM is reminiscent of Confucianism.

For NCM members, the greatest Christian's act is evangelism, and they try to attain their aims through the Bible. They know they cannot reform the church and the world without reforming people's fundamental view of life. To put it another way, they seek to interpret the Bible and apply its lessons to contemporary life, thereby infuse

¹³³ Song, "Seongseo Gwanhayeo," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1930 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 2:62-70; Kyo-sin Kim, "Yuilui Seojeok," *Seongseojoseon*, November 1933 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* 2:61-62; Kyo-sin Kim, "Jingwa Mi," *Seongseojoseon*, April 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* 2:66-67; Kyo-sin Kim, "Seongseo Yeonguui Mokjeok," *Seongseojoseon*, February 1932 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* 2:71-77.

¹³⁴ The Confucian canon is almost exclusively attributed to human beings. It includes the works of founding figures such as Confucius and Mencius, and cover subjects ranging from the origins of civilisation and good government to the history and protocol of early dynasties. There are Five Classics and Four Books. The former includes *the Classics of Changes*, *the Classics of Documents*, *the Classics of Poetry*, *the Record of Rites*, and the Spring and Autumn Annals. The latter includes *Analects*, *Mencius*, *Great Learning*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*.

¹³⁵ Song, "Seryewa Seongchanmunje," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1939 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 2:123-29; Uchimura, "Serye Seongchan Pyejiron," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, February 1901 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:545-51.

¹³⁶ Ching, *Confucianism and Christianity*, 102.

their country with the Christian worldview.¹³⁷ Thus, they try to influence people and transform society through their writings, just as Confucians tried to do by writing books.¹³⁸

4.4.3. The Role of Learning in the Non-Church Movement

The Analects start with an emphasis on learning.¹³⁹ *The Doctrine of the Mean* places emphasis on studying widely.¹⁴⁰ In *The Great Learning*, moral cultivation must start with the investigation of all things. All things embody principle, and to gain knowledge of principle one must investigate things in order to extend one's knowledge. By extending one's knowledge of all things, one extends the knowledge of one's nature.¹⁴¹

The spirituality of the NCM is found in learning.¹⁴² The Confucian influence on the NCM is clearly seen in its way of learning.¹⁴³ As learning is important in Confucian spirituality, it also has an important position in the spirituality of the NCM.¹⁴⁴ In Confucianism, learning is a process of reading, understanding, and deliberating, but it

¹³⁷ Uchimura, "Jeondowa Seongseo Yeongu," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1915 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:110-12; Uchimura, "Yeonseol Seolgyo Cheongtakeul Sajeolhaneun De Gwanhan Il," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1915 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:113-14.

¹³⁸ Kim, "Seongseojoseon Changgansa," *Seongseojoseon*, July 1927 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:19-21; Kim, "Seongseojoseonui Hae," *Seongseojoseon*, April 1935 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:21-23.

¹³⁹ *The Analects*, Book 1 學而, chap. 1. 學而時習之不亦悅乎. The Master said, is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?

¹⁴⁰ *The Doctrine of the Mean*, chap. 20. 博學之 審問之 慎思之 明辨之 篤行之.

¹⁴¹ *The Great Learning*, chap. 5. 所謂致知在格物者 言欲致吾之知 在即物而窮其理也 蓋人心之靈 莫不有知 而天下之物 莫不有理 惟於理 有未窮 是以 大學始教 必使學者 即凡天下之物 莫不因其已知之理而益窮之 以求至乎其極 至於用力之久而一旦豁然貫通焉 則衆物之表裏精粗 無不到而吾心之 全體大用 此謂物格이며 此謂知之至也.

¹⁴² Yeong-nam Kim, "Hyeondae Hanil Mugyohoeui Teukjing [현대 한일 무교회의 특징 The Characteristics of the Contemporary Non-Church Movement in Korea and Japan]," *Hangukgidokgyowa Yeoksa* 11 (1999), 131-165.

¹⁴³ Uchimura, "Gidokgyoui Suyang," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1902 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:38-40.

¹⁴⁴ Kim, "Hoiorong," *Seongseojoseon*, July 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:85-86; Kim, "Gyeomheohan Simjeongeul," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1937 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:95-96; Kim, "Baeulsu Itneun Saram," *Seongseojoseon*, December 1933 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:96-97; Kim, "Jeongjin Tto Jeongjin," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1939 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:166-67.

is the study of the Way of Heaven rather than a purely academic activity. Learning is considered to be the most important path towards perfection. Confucian learning is not simply the reading of books but it is a special kind of practice or moral training that covers all aspects of social life.

What Heaven imparts to humans is human nature. To follow this nature is the Way. In the Confucian doctrines of the Way, there is no clear line that can be drawn between Heaven and humanity. The Way of Heaven and the Way of Humans are always related in one form or another, and cultivating the Way is education.¹⁴⁵ Through self-cultivation, Confucian spirituality can be sought. This self-cultivation can be attained through observation and meditation, but observation and meditation alone cannot lead to the ideal, the sagehood, without a full mastery of the classics and a life that does not transgress the Way of Heaven. To be a sage, one's life must be in full agreement with the Way of Heaven. Without keeping the mandate of Heaven, it is impossible to be a sage. Therefore, it is essential to know the mandate of Heaven to become a sage, and without learning, nobody can know the Way of Heaven. Accordingly, the role of learning is thought to be imperative in Confucian spirituality, in order not to violate the Way of Heaven and to attain sagehood.¹⁴⁶ As Confucian spirituality is impossible

¹⁴⁵ Julia Ching, "What Is Confucian Spirituality?" in *Confucian Spirituality 1*, 11A of *World Spirituality: An Encyclopaedic History of the Religious Quest*, ed. Weiming Tu and Mary Evelyn Tucker (New York: The Crossroad, 2003), 87. In Confucian understanding, the principle is embodied in all things. Namely, the principle of things is also the one of our nature, and vice versa. It is called *qiongli* (窮理), to recognize the principle embodied within things, and it is called *zhijing* (居敬), to restrain the eruption of human feelings. Therefore self-cultivation is the matter of *zhijing qiongli* (居敬窮理). "Chu Hsi offers the dual formula of *zhijing qiongli*, of abiding in a disposition to reverence and pursuing exhaustively the principles (*li*) of things." If one recognizes the fact and continues her/his efforts in investigation things, s/he will get a thorough comprehension of all the multitude of things and this will finally lead to complete enlightenment. Accordingly, *Great Learning* [大學] states that self-cultivation must start with the investigation of things. To gain knowledge of the principle, it will be necessary to investigate things. It is important to extend one's knowledge, because by extending one's knowledge of things, one extends the knowledge of one's nature. If one does not make an exhaustive investigation of things, s/he will not be able to grasp the Supreme Ultimate, attain enlightenment or to manifest the heart/mind of the Way.

¹⁴⁶ Gang-Dae Yi, *Jujahakui Inganhakjeok Ihae* [주자학의 인간학적 이해] *An Anthropological*

without learning, NCM spirituality is unfeasible without learning.

If Confucian spirituality is a wagon with two wheels, one wheel is meditation and the other one is learning.¹⁴⁷ Confucius said, “Your minds would be gloomy without learning and thinking. It would be dangerous without thinking and learning.”¹⁴⁸ Violating the Way of Heaven is considered the most serious crime. Those who are against Heaven must be punished. Next, the question of how to know the Way arises. Without knowing the Way, it is impossible to conform to the Way. Concerning this question, Confucianism states that studying human affairs, and things on the lower level, leads to understanding the Way of Heaven. That is to say, the Way of Heaven can be known through the study of things on the lower level. If one studies a thing, the study does not remain just at that level but will lead to an understanding the Way.¹⁴⁹ In other words, the study of human life is the path to understanding the Way. Thus, people can know principles on the higher level. For this reason, Confucianists devote their life to learning, education, and the transmission of ancient culture. The chief aim of learning is to keep the Way of Heaven, and apply one’s understanding to social, family, and personal life, and finally to attain sagehood. This is regarded as essential to understand Heaven.¹⁵⁰

The best way to study principles and complete knowledge is reading, especially reading the Confucian classics,¹⁵¹ but learning must go beyond reading books. Rather, it must include the study all aspects of life. Without learning, Confucian spirituality is

Understanding of Chu Hsi's Philosophy] (Seoul: Yemunseowon, 2000), 140-63.

¹⁴⁷ Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 158.

¹⁴⁸ *The Analects*, Book 2 爲政, chap. 15. 子曰 學而不思則罔 思而不學則殆.

¹⁴⁹ Chu Hsi, 朱子大全 vol. 15, 大學或問. 萬物各具一理 而萬里同出一原.

¹⁵⁰ Yao, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 213.

¹⁵¹ Kenji Shimada, *Shushigaku to Yomeigaku* [주자학과 양명학 *Chu Hsi's Philosophy to Wang Yang-ming's Philosophy*], trans. Seok-geun Kim and Geun-u Yi (Seoul: Kka-chi, 1986), 126-28; See Ohama Akira, *Beomjuro Boneun Jujahak* [A Category of Chu Hsi's Philosophy], trans. Hyeong-seong Yi (Seoul: Yemunseowon, 1999), chap. 11.

not valid. To be a sage, it will not only be necessary to learn, but also to love learning. Learning is also the way to balance one's own character and actions. Without the love of learning, people are liable to foolishness, deviation from the right path, and harmful behaviour. Accordingly, learning is considered to be the most important path towards perfection.

Therefore, in Confucianism, it is also important to be a scholar, even though the ultimate goal is to be a sage. Being erudite and well informed, to understand the sages' sayings, and to quote them precisely are important in Confucian learning. The same is true of the NCM. If one wants to grasp the true meaning of the Bible as the message of God, then one must avoid mistaken interpretations. Therefore the NCM tradition has always put an emphasis on the scientific study of the Bible.¹⁵² They emphasise sound methods of exegesis and scientific analysis of the Bible as a means of deeply comprehending Christianity.¹⁵³ They aim to provide an accurate interpretation, free of the cultural limitations and other cultural frameworks that might mislead the minds of the members. To this end, in order to grasp the original meaning of the Bible, they try to study Greek and Hebrew. In addition, they compare the bible passages on the same subject in order to find out their true meaning through a balanced and scholarly exegesis.¹⁵⁴ Critics may complain about the highly intellectual character of their Bible study because many NCM members strive to read the Bible either in Greek or in Hebrew, and also demonstrate an aptitude in other foreign languages.

¹⁵² Kim, "Seongseo Yeonguui Mokjeok," *Seongseojoeseon*, July 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:71; Kim, "Geumhuui Joseon Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoeseon*, February 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:98; Kim, "Iseong Jonjung," *Seongseojoeseon*, January 1942 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:112.

¹⁵³ Kim, "Geumhuui Joseon Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoeseon*, February 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:98.

¹⁵⁴ Kim, "Wonmun Guwon," *Seongseojoeseon*, February 1942 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:67-68; Uchimura, "Seongseo Iyagi," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1900 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:45; Uchimura, "Seongseo Yeongubeope Daehayeo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1900 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:198-201; Uchimura, "Godeungbipyounge Daehayeo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1908 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:267-70.

In the NCM, the equivalent of the traditional worship service is the Bible study meeting. NCM members do not call their meeting a worship service. Moreover, there is no preaching or sermon in the NCM Sunday service. Instead, there are lectures. The NCM service has a very simple form. It is a lecture with some hymns and prayers added on. Hence, the main focus and purpose of the NCM service is learning. If we take a look at the order and contents of a typical NCM service, it is clear that the spirituality of the NCM lies in learning. Most of the time in an NCM service is assigned to the lecture, which differs from preaching. It is a time of learning. For example, the order and contents of a recent service at the *Oryudong Jibhoe* NCM group in Seoul are as follows:

Date: 10:30 am 6th September 2009
 Duration: 60 minutes
 Lecture: *What is Christianity?* by Hwang Yeon-ha (male) (50 minutes)
 Hymn: 487
 Scripture: Col. 1:13-23
 Prayer: Jo Gyu-cheol (male)
 Hymn: 405
 Prayer: Yi Jin-gu (male)

The order of service at the *Jongno Jibhoe* NCM group in Seoul is simpler still as we can see from the following:

Date: 14:05 27th September 2009
 Duration: 60 minutes
 Hymn: 539 (I Monui Somang Muenga)
 Scripture: John 12:44-50
 Lecture: *Summary of Jesus' Teachings* by Han Byeong-deok (male) (53

minutes)

Prayer: Han Byeong-deok (male)

However, in the NCM, learning the Bible does not mean an intellectual assent to prescribed dogmas and formal creeds; it is more than that. The purposes of learning the Bible are to gain the power to live a true life.¹⁵⁵ It is considered to involve an encounter with God. Through learning, NCM individual members try to come into God's presence and experience fellowship with Him. Therefore, the way of learning of the NCM can be defined as a contemplative approach to the presence of God through the scientific study of the Bible.

As stated above, the sacraments themselves are of little real importance to NCM members. However, Bible study meetings, as a way of learning, are of central importance. Outsiders have often equated their passion for Bible study with an intellectual fascination with its contents. However, for NCM members, Bible study meetings are much more than intellectual seminars. They insist that their meetings are for the spiritual enjoyment of the word of God and to realise an intense spiritual encounter with God.¹⁵⁶

NCM members want to encounter God on a one-to-one basis through the Bible. For them, Christianity is an intimate personal union of the believer with the living person of Christ, during which an individual becomes entirely possessed by the Spirit and guided by it in his or her daily life. They believe that if Bible-reading is pursued in this manner, one enters a world of faith where there is no other authority but Christ.¹⁵⁷

In Confucianism, creative works revealing something new and different to

¹⁵⁵ Kim, "Seongseo Yeonguui Mokjeok," *Seongseojoseon*, July 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 2:72.

¹⁵⁶ Song, "Seongseo Gwanhayeo," *Seongseojoseon*, October 1930 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 2:62-70.

¹⁵⁷ Masao Sekine, *Mukyokaishugi to Seisho [Non-Churchism and the Bible]* (Shizuoka: San-itsu Shobo, 1950), 40-42.

traditional Confucian teachings are regarded as heresy.¹⁵⁸ Even a very small difference or innovation is not permitted.¹⁵⁹ It is called *byeokidanjeongsin* (闢異端精神). This shows the conservative aspect of the Confucian way, and explains why Korean Confucianists generally had little interest in anything new in the sphere of learning. Interestingly, the NCM has a similar tendency. NCM have little interest in new interpretations of the Bible or new trends in theology. Generally, NCM members are reluctant to contemplate theology that is different from their teachers. They tend to be satisfied with simply reading the Bible and quoting the classics written by their NCM teachers, rather than try to initiate a new interpretation of the Bible. For example, Kim Kyo-sin revealed that the purpose of his writings was not to display originality but to take masterpieces and assimilate and spread them.¹⁶⁰

The question arises whether the tendency to refuse to study creatively may be explained in relation to the influence of Confucian education. Are there any other factors that might explain the movement's conservatism? This research does not deny the possibility that there might exist a better explanation than Neo-Confucianism's *byeokidanjeongsin* (闢異端精神).¹⁶¹ According to Bryan Wilson's typology, the NCM

¹⁵⁸ Buyuki Kajino, *Yugyoran Mueotinga?* [유교란 무엇인가? What is Confucianism?], trans. Tae-jun Kim (Seoul: Jiyeongsa, 1999), 209.

¹⁵⁹ Jang-tae Keum, *Yugyosasangwa Jonggyojeok Segye* [유교사상과 종교적 세계 Confucian Philosophy and the Religious World] (Paju: KSI, 2004), 111-13.

¹⁶⁰ Kyo-sin Kim, "Pyojeol Munje," *Seongseojoseon*, August 1937, 2.

¹⁶¹ *Dongmunseon* [東文選], vol. 105, 辯: 堯舜之誅四凶. 以其巧言令色方命圯族也. 禹亦曰. 何畏乎巧言令色. 蓋巧言令色. 喪人之心. 方命圯族. 敗人之事. 聖人所以去之而莫之容也. 湯武之征桀紂也. 一則曰. 予畏上帝. 不敢不正. 一則曰. 予不順天. 厥罪惟均. 天命天討. 非己之所得而辭也. 夫子曰. 攻乎異端. 斯害也已. 害之一字. 讀之令人凜然. 孟子之好辯. 所以距楊墨也. 楊墨之道不距. 聖人之道不行. 故孟子以闢楊墨爲己任. 其言曰. 能言距楊墨者. 亦聖人之徒也. 其望助於人者. 至矣. 墨氏兼愛. 疑於仁. 楊氏爲我. 疑於義. 其害至於無父無君. 此孟子所以闢之之力也. 若佛氏則其言高妙. 出入性命道德之中. 其惑人之甚. 又非楊墨之比也. 朱氏曰. 佛氏之言. 彌近理而大亂眞者. 此之謂也. 以予昏庸. 不知力之不足. 而以闢異端爲己任者. 非欲上繼六聖一賢之心也. 懼世之人惑於其說而淪胥以陷. 人之道至於滅矣. 嗚呼. 亂臣賊子. 人人得而誅之. 不必士師. 邪說橫流. 壞人心術. 人人得而闢之. 不必聖賢. 此予之所以望於諸公. 而因以自勉焉者也.

is a sect.¹⁶² Could the reason why the NCM is conservative be explained in relation to its sectarian qualities? Wilson classifies sects into seven categories: introversionist, utopian, revolutionary, conversionist, thaumaturgical, manipulationist, and reformist.¹⁶³ However, Wilson's sect typology does not seem to explain why the conservative aspect has existed in the NCM. Moreover, it is not easy to find alternative explanations other than *byeokidanjeongsin*. Consequently, this research adopts the tentative view that the NCM's conservative features came from Confucian teachings.

This conservative tendency is much more obvious in the Korean NCM than in the Japanese NCM. The conservative nature of Confucianism in Korea might explain this. In contrast to the Korean NCM, the Japanese NCM is not so conservative in terms of the learning process. For example, Tsukamoto Toraji developed an ecclesiology that was much more exclusive and isolated from the other denominational churches in comparison with his teacher, Uchimura Kanzo. He consistently implied that the church is an institution controlled by a diabolical spirit and not related to Christ.¹⁶⁴ Yet again, a disciple of Tsukamoto, Sekine Masao, developed a theology that was much closer to that of the traditional churches. However, in the Korean NCM, it would be hard to find such innovations and differences. Therefore, it can be assumed that the conservativeness of the NCM, especially of the Korean NCM, reflects the influence of Confucianism.

One feature that differentiates Confucianism from other teachings is its commitment to the study and transmission of ancient classics. Confucians prefer to recite, quote, and interpret the classics. Confucius himself was a great editor and commentator of the classics. In the same way, NCM members prefer to read, quote,

¹⁶² Bryan Wilson, *Religious Sects* (London: World University Library, 1970), 7-21.

¹⁶³ Michael R. Welch, "Analyzing Religious Sects: An Empirical Examination of Wilson's sect typology," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 16 no. 2. (Je 1977): 126-27.

¹⁶⁴ Caldarola, *Christianity*, 66-67, 58-59.

interpret, and deliberate on the writings of their teachers. When reading and understanding the Bible, NCM members tend to rely on the interpretations of their teachers. This means there exists more potential for abusive leadership, even though there are no reports of this happening in the NCM. Yet it does suggest that there exists a degree of hierarchical order between the leaders and the ordinary members, at least in the religious realm.

In living a spiritual life, NCM members depend to a great extent on their teachers' writings, as Confucians do on theirs. Confucian *literati* devote their life to learning, education, and the transmission of ancient culture. Similarly, NCM members tend to stress learning and education. Interestingly, a considerable number of NCM leaders are university professors and high school teachers.¹⁶⁵ NCM members also devote themselves to issuing magazines for the purpose of propagating Christianity and transmitting their own thoughts. In these magazines, space is allowed for their teachers' writings. For example, *Seongseosinae* December 2011, issued by NCM *Oryudong Jibhoe*, carries a long article by Tsukamoto Toraji.¹⁶⁶ *Seongseosinang* November and December 2011, issued by NCM *Incheon Jibhoe*, also carries articles by Sekine Masao and Yanaihara Tadao.¹⁶⁷

In Confucianism, the order of learning is as follows: study extensively, inquire accurately, think carefully, sift clearly, and practise earnestly. Interestingly, NCM members try to follow the same pattern in their learning of the Bible. Hence, there are

¹⁶⁵ Gil-seop Song, "Seongseojoseone Natanan Mugyohoe Sinanghyeongtae Yeongu [성서조선에 나타난 무교회 신앙형태 연구 A Study of the Non-Church Faith Form in Seongseojoseon]," *Sinhakgwa Segye* (Autumn 1986), 162.

¹⁶⁶ Toraji, Tsukamoto (塚本虎二), "Yesujeon Gongbu (76)," trans. Hyeong-cheol Kim, *Seongseosinae* December 2011, 3-13.

¹⁶⁷ Masao, Sekine (関根正雄), "Hananimeul Eodiseo Aneunga?" trans. Jin-u Seok, *Seongseosinang* November and December 2011, 21; Tadao, Yanaihara (矢内原忠雄), "Auguseutinuseuui Chamhoerok Ganghae (27)," *Seongseosinang* November and December 2011, 22-27.

similarities between the way of learning in the NCM and in Confucianism.

How has this come about? According to James Grayson's theory of emplantation, there must be a resolution of conflicts of core values between the new religion and the existing religion if the new religion is to develop within its new cultural setting.¹⁶⁸ While the first generation of Korean Protestant Christians were attempting to accommodate their Christian beliefs to the Confucian values, they created a ritual called *chudo yebae* which "became a successful Protestant substitute for the performance of Confucian ancestral rites, thus avoiding a conflict between Confucian morality and Christian concerns over idolatry."¹⁶⁹ Grayson explains its three stages as follows:

There were three stages in the successful emplantation or transmission of a religion, namely 1) Contact and Explication, 2) Penetration, and 3) Expansion. Based on a study of the first six centuries of Buddhist history in China, my research showed that the key stage in this model was the first phase, Contact and Explication, where three issues had to be resolved before firm progress in the development of the new religion could occur. These issues were: 1) linguistic and conceptual barriers impeding the explication of the teaching of the new religious tradition, 2) toleration of the new religion by the political elite of the receiving society, and 3) contradictions between the core values of the receiving culture and the religion being transmitted to it. Of these three issues, the resolution of the conflict of core values was essential. My research indicated that even if a resolution of the other two issues had been achieved, without a resolution of the conflict between core values a new religion could not make significant progress within the receiving culture.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ James Huntley Grayson, "The Kwallye Samga of Korea: A Failed Attempt at Christian Accommodation to Confucian Culture," *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 no. 1-2 (2007): 125-140.

¹⁶⁹ Grayson, "The Kwallye Samga of Korea," *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 no. 1-2 (2007): 125-26; James Huntley Grayson, *Korea - A Religious History* (Abingdon: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 165-66. "Although the Protestant churches are often criticised for not showing sufficient accommodation to local Korean culture, this is not strictly speaking the case. Centuries of Confucian influence on society stressing filial piety and its ritual expression through the performance of the ancestral or *chesa* [ancestral worship] ceremonies led to a conflict for Christians between the need to ritually express filiality and the fear of participating in idolatrous rituals. From the beginning of Protestant missions, Christians often placed great emphasis on the fifth of the Ten Commandments to honour your father and your mother reflecting their innate attitude of filial piety. As a result of this thinking, by the 1920s Christianised ancestral memorial rituals were being performed which, in varying formats, have now found their way into the books of liturgy of every Protestant denomination. These rites, called *chudo yebae* (service of recollection), are different from the Confucian *chesa* rites in that they are normally performed for one's immediate relatives such as parents and grandparents, although there is no formal prohibition against going further back."

¹⁷⁰ Grayson, "The Kwallye Samga of Korea," *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 no. 1-2 (2007): 127; James Huntly Grayson, *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea: A Study in the Emplantation of Religion* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), 13-15.

Grayson states that *chudo yebae* was the means by which Protestant Christianity became adapted to the Confucian culture of Korea. The ritual resolved the critical conflict of values between concerns for pure faith and fears about participation in idolatrous acts. Grayson concludes that *chudo yebae* has been a successful model of spontaneous cultural accommodation or indigenisation.¹⁷¹ The role of learning in the NCM has developed in much the same way as *chudo yebae*.

4.5. Reflection

It would be right to understand that, consciously or unconsciously, NCM members have developed their own thoughts on the foundation of Confucian spirituality. Moreover it means that they have been under the influence of the philosophy of Neo-Confucianism. Confucianism was at the peak of its development during the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) and the Joseon dynasty, and it was not the Idealistic School of Wang Yang-ming but Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism that was the mainstream.

An important text of Confucianism, *the Analects*, begins with this sentence: "To learn and rehearse it constantly, is this indeed not a pleasure?"¹⁷² Kim Kyo-sin loved the expression.¹⁷³ He wanted to be a man who is capable of learning.¹⁷⁴ It would not be an exaggeration to say that Kim Kyo-sin was like a well-disciplined Confucian *literati*. This expression may also be applied to other NCM leading figures because they have continued practising Confucian virtues, even after conversion.

Japanese NCM members value the virtues of *bushido* like rectitude, courage,

¹⁷¹ Grayson, "The Kwallye Samga of Korea," *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 no. 1-2 (2007): 128.

¹⁷² *The Analects*, Book 1 學而, chap. 1. 子曰 學而時習之不亦悅乎. "The Master said, to learn and rehearse it constantly, is this indeed not a pleasure? To have friends come from afar, is this indeed not a delight? Others do not know him, yet he feels no resentment, is he indeed not a superior man?"

¹⁷³ Kim, "Seongseojoseoni Jeonhanneun Bokeum," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1935 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:95.

¹⁷⁴ Kim, "Geumhuui Joseon Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoseon*, February 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:97.

benevolence, politeness, veracity, honour, the duty of loyalty, and self-control.¹⁷⁵ They also regard highly the Confucian virtues like humaneness, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness.¹⁷⁶ In Uchimura's thought, if one could keep the teachings of Confucius, it would make a perfect Christian country.¹⁷⁷ NCM members believe they can retain these virtues in their Christian faith because they are compatible with Christian virtues.¹⁷⁸ In fact, the virtues of *bushido*, Confucianism, and Christianity, partially overlap one another. Uchimura Kanzo believed that Christianity grafted onto the virtues of *bushido* would be the finest product of the world.¹⁷⁹ Likewise, Christianity grafted upon the Confucian virtues was expected to have similar qualities.

In chapter three, it was mentioned that NCM's Bible-centred attitude seemed to have been influenced by Puritanism and Pietism. This cannot be overlooked. However, it is argued here that Confucianism played a more important role in influencing the NCM's attitude than these two Christian movements. Reading, memorizing, and interpreting Confucian texts were the major teaching-learning methods practiced in Confucian academies. Likewise, NCM members focus on reading, quoting, and interpreting the passages of the Bible. Moreover, as the Confucian classics were the key textbooks for Confucian students, the writings of Uchimura, Kim, Song, and Ham are the essential textbooks for NCM members. These NCM classics are considered the source of spiritual life for members.

¹⁷⁵ Nitobe, *Bushido*, 16-49. Uchimura, "Bushido and Christianity," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1916 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:392.

¹⁷⁶ The five Confucian virtues: humaneness (仁), righteousness (義), propriety (禮), wisdom (智), and faithfulness (信).

¹⁷⁷ Kanzo Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoge Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893) in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip [우찌무라 칸조 전집 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojek, 2003), 2:163.

¹⁷⁸ Akio Dohi, *Ilbon Gidokgyosa [일본 기독교사 A History of the Protestant Church in Japan]*, trans. Soo-Jin Kim (Seoul: Gidokgyomunsa, 1991), 175-76.

¹⁷⁹ Uchimura, "Bushido and Christianity," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1916 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:392.

While Buddhist cultivation aims at spiritual emancipation or Nirvana, Confucian cultivation focuses on the practice of morality. Self-cultivation, as an important element of Confucian spirituality, includes the practice of morality. However, it is not easy to become cultivated and attain to this ideal because of our human weaknesses. People tend to prefer to satisfy their physical desires rather than pursue learning. Confucianism believes that this may also result from social vulnerability in a hostile environment.

Therefore, Confucianism emphasises both the preservation of human nature and the pursuit of righteousness through social interaction, in order to become a sage.¹⁸⁰ The complexities of external matters can frustrate the moral and spiritual propensity inherent in human nature. It can lead to corruption of the heart/mind, which plays an important role in Confucian self-transformation. Therefore, it is considered important to remove these external, environmental causes. This explains “why Confucianism takes it as its first responsibility, to participate in political life and to reform social structure.”¹⁸¹ This also explains why the NCM, which was influenced by Confucianism, highly values participation in reforming social structure through the power of education. Expressing in Confucian terms, the Way of Humans inevitably enters the social and political realm. The transcendental in the Confucian tradition is not an escape from reality. Rather, it enters reality and poses a challenge to it. Many of leading figures of the March First Independence Movement of 1919 were strongly influenced by Confucianism.

In the early stage of Japanese colonialism, Christians played a key role in protesting against Japanese policies.¹⁸² In 1901, foreign missionaries in Korea promised

¹⁸⁰ Yao, *Confucianism*, 184.

¹⁸¹ Yao, *Confucianism*, 157.

¹⁸² Gyeong-bae Min, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa [한국기독교교회사 A History of the Korean Church]*, rev. ed. (Seoul: Daehangidokgyochulpanbu, 1993), 215-28; Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukgidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*

the Japanese government that they would not interfere with political policy.¹⁸³ Consequently, Korean Christians, influenced by the neutral attitude of these foreign missionaries become less passionate about protesting against colonial government policy. The loss of political zeal was also caused by the Japanese government's harsh policy against Koreans after the Movement of 1919.¹⁸⁴ Following 1919, there was a general sense of political apathy among Korean Christians, who preferred to restrict them to the religious field.¹⁸⁵ They were more interested in the Second Coming of Christ than in the independence of Korea.¹⁸⁶ However, NCM members in general did take an interest in the social realm, even though they did not actually practice social missions very much. For example, Song took care of orphans and the poor; and Kim and Ham instilled a Korean national consciousness into their students in the classrooms during the colonial period.¹⁸⁷

One of the most important concerns of Confucian humanism is how to become a sage through self-effort. The final objective of Confucianism can be summarised as cultivating one's potential to become a sage.¹⁸⁸ Thus, Confucian spirituality prescribes self-cultivation as the chief way to become a sage. Without being cultivated, human beings would not be different from animals. Humans have the potential to become sages, but this potential within individuals is not enough to enable a person to become a sage. It can only be attained through self-cultivation. Thus, the necessity for self-

[*한국기독교회사 1910-1960 History of the Korean Church 1910-1960*] (Seoul: Saengmyeongui Malsseumsa, 2004), 160-72.

¹⁸³ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 133-38.

¹⁸⁴ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 252.

¹⁸⁵ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 197.

¹⁸⁶ Park, *Hangukidokgyohoesa 1910-1960*, 275-307.

¹⁸⁷ Jeong-hwan Kim, ed., *Seongseojoseon Myeongnonseoljip [성서조선 명논설집 Seongseojoseon Selections]* (Seoul: Hanguksinhakyeonguso, 2003), 246-47.

¹⁸⁸ Jang-tae Keum, *Confucianism and Korean Thoughts* (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2000), 81.

cultivation.¹⁸⁹

Learning has remained the most important means of attaining spirituality in Confucianism. As we have suggested, Confucianism influenced the first generation NCM members, and they also considered learning to be an essential means of attaining Christian spirituality. This trend has continued to this day. Their incessant Bible study meetings and magazine publications, which were the result of their study of the Bible, may be evidence of the influence of the Asian religion on the NCM. These activities can be considered a reflection of their Confucian values of learning.

Grayson's explanation for *chudo yebae* helps us understand how NCM members have sustained Confucian values in their Christianity.¹⁹⁰ Although there was a confrontation between Confucian and Christian values in the nineteenth century, as Grayson states, "Korean Protestants had developed a Christian ritual response to this conflict of values with the creation of a Christian liturgy popularly called *chudo yebae*."¹⁹¹ According to Grayson's theory, *chudo yebae* resolved what was essentially a conflict of values.¹⁹² Thus, Korean Protestants made contribution to the Christianisation of a Confucian rite. In the same way, NCM members constituted their contribution to the Christianisation of Confucian spirituality. Although they were Christians, NCM members retained an essentially Confucian outlook on matters such as the means of gaining of spirituality. It is possible that NCM retained their Confucian spirituality out

¹⁸⁹ Uchimura, "Gidokgyoui Suyang," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1902 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:38-40; Uchimura, "Samuleul Boneun Beop," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, August 1926 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:51-58; Uchimura, "Jagi Suyange Daehayeo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1922 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:58.

¹⁹⁰ See 4.4.3.

¹⁹¹ James Huntley Grayson, "The Kwallye Samga of Korea: A Failed Attempt at Christian Accommodation to Confucian Culture," *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 no. 1-2 (2007): 128. "In 1935 the first formal, printed version of this rite appeared in the Korean Methodist book of liturgy, and by the early 1980s it was present in the books of liturgy of virtually every other Protestant denomination."

¹⁹² Grayson, "The Kwallye Samga of Korea," *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 no. 1-2 (2007): 138. "Religions grow when conflicts of core values are resolved."

of a desire to affirm both their Confucian culture and their Christian beliefs. Yet this led to one important limitation of the NCM. It was not Christian enough to appeal to Christians nor Confucian enough to satisfy Confucianists.

It would be right to surmise that the management of NCM meetings was similar to that of a Confucian academy. In a Confucian academy, the teacher and the students sit in a circle in a room, and the teacher begins teaching, while the students listen and learn.¹⁹³ Moreover, in Confucianism, if a book is given to people and they want to learn, then anyone who learns well can become a teacher. A similar pattern occurs in the NCM.

As has been noted, Christianity in Korea was begun by Korean Confucian *literati* rather than foreign missionaries. The tradition of Confucianism is that Confucianists read classics, discuss what they read, and conduct research. The classics provide all they wish to know and what is need for them to achieve their goals. To put it simply, in their textbooks, they sought the presence of the Ultimate Being. Historically, from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries during the formative stage of Roman Catholicism in Korea, Korean Confucian Catholics researched and understood the Bible for themselves similarly, rather than by passively learning from foreign missionaries.¹⁹⁴ In the same way, even during the early stages of the introduction of Protestantism, NCM members, influenced as they were by Confucianism, did not feel the necessity to receive help from foreign missionaries in studying, understanding, and practicing the teachings of the Bible. For understanding and teaching, the Bible alone was sufficient, and they were confident that they could know what the Bible teaches, without outside help. This

¹⁹³ Gil-seop Song, "Seongseojoseone Natanan Mugyohoe Sinanghyeongtae Yeongu [성서조선에 나타난 무교회 신앙형태 연구 A Study of the Non-Church Faith Form in Seongseojoseon]," *Sinhakgwa Segye* (Autumn 1986), 161.

¹⁹⁴ Klaus Koschorke, Frieder Ludwig, and Mariano Delgado, ed., *A History of Christianity in Asia, Africa and Latin America 1450-1990: A Documentary Sourcebook* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), 46-47.

mirrored the way of Confucianism, at least in its spirituality.¹⁹⁵ NCM members found out how to appropriately use the Confucian way of learning in seeking the presence of God in Christianity.

Incidentally, there are a few points that suggest that the NCM does not exceed the limits of Confucianism. In the case of Uchimura Kanzo, he still regarded society and the world from a hierarchical point of view and did not challenge the social hierarchical class system. He could not overcome the contradiction between the values of the Japanese vertical social order and that of the Western horizontal social order.¹⁹⁶ The fact that he was brought up in the *samurai* culture might explain why he did not try to challenge the hierarchical social order.

However, in contrast to Uchimura Kanzo, Kim Kyo-sin was critical of Confucianism because it was extremely hierarchical, although, fairly speaking, it was not Confucianism but the Confucian culture that produced the hierarchical social order. In principle, Confucianism merely insists on reciprocal responsibilities. Even though this is true theoretically, in regard to practice, Confucianism cannot be completely exempt from these criticisms. It is evident that Kim Kyo-sin harshly criticised the hierarchical order, but it is also clear that he developed his Christian faith and thoughts on the basis of Confucian spirituality. He was in favour of adopting the spiritual methodology of Confucianism in seeking God, but was not in favour of supporting the hierarchical social order.

¹⁹⁵ Pyeong-gu Noh, "Mugyohoe Sinang," *Seongseoyeongu*, March 1962 in *Mugyohoeran Mueotinya?* [무교회회란 무엇인가? *What Is the Non-Church Movement?*], ed. Jin-gu Yi (Seoul: Boram, 2003), 72; Pyeong-gu Noh, "Mugyohoe Sinangui Apnal," *Seongseoyeongu*, August 1965 in *Mugyohoeran Mueotinya?* [무교회회란 무엇인가? *What Is the Non-Church Movement?*], ed. Jin-gu Yi (Seoul: Boram, 2003), 73-74.

¹⁹⁶ Keiichiro Yoshinaga, "The City upon a Hill from afar: Confucianism and Christianity in Uchimura Kanzo," *Japanese Religions: NCC Centre for the Study of Japanese Religions* (Kyoto) 29, no. 1 and 2 (2004), 45-63.

So it is evident that the NCM members had a negative view of some aspects of Confucianism. Nevertheless, it is also evident that they resorted to Confucian spirituality, consciously or unconsciously; that is, they adopted the merits and disregarded the demerits of Confucianism, according to their judgement, in seeking the Ultimate Being.

Furthermore, it seems that NCM members are conservative in relation to accepting anything new or different, which also reflects the influence of the conservatism of Confucianism. Rather, they prefer to remember, quote, use, and practise the works of NCM leading figures. Their attitude towards innovation is reminiscent of Confucianism. Confucianism's conservativeness tended not to allow people to act creatively. Creative works that reveal something new and different to the traditional Confucian teachings are regarded as heresy in Confucianism. Instead, it was recommended to quote and explain the sages' sayings, but not to be creative.

Thus, Confucianism has influenced the NCM both positively and negatively. With regard to its spirituality, the NCM can be said to have adopted several important elements of Confucianism. The first generation NCM members did not disregard Confucian spirituality; they studied the Bible in the same manner that Confucianists had previously adopted in their study of Confucian texts. They volunteered to take roles in the social and political realm, as Confucianists did. They strongly wanted to reform the structure of their society through education.¹⁹⁷ In this sense, it can be maintained that Confucian spirituality played an important role in the NCM movement.

However, it does not mean that the NCM belongs to Confucianism or that it is an expression of the old Asian religion. Rather, it would be fair to say that the NCM

¹⁹⁷ Uchimura, "Gyoyukui Mokjeok," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1929 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:143; Uchimura, "Gyoyukui Gichorseoui Sinang," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1911 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:151-53.

seeks the presence of the God of Christianity, mainly by using the methods of Confucian spirituality, particularly its way of learning. Thus, it is a form of Christianity that makes use of Confucian spirituality in seeking the Triune God of Christianity. To borrow Uchimura's expression (Christianity grafted upon Bushido),¹⁹⁸ it is Christianity grafted onto Confucian spirituality.

¹⁹⁸ Uchimura, "Musadowa Gidokgyo (1)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1928 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:529-34; Uchimura, "Musadowa Gidokgyo (2)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, July 1923 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:534-40; Uchimura, "Musadowa Gidokgyo (3)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1916 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:540; Uchimura, "Musadowa Gidokgyo (4)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1918 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:541.

CHAPTER 5 QUAKER THEOLOGY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE NCM

Quakerism had its beginnings in England in the middle of the seventeenth century. George Fox (1624-1691) is generally credited as being the founding father of the Quakers, who were known in the beginning as the Publishers of Truth and the Children of the Light.¹ However, some have questioned whether Fox should be regarded as the founder of Quakerism. Initially, there were three significant figures, sometimes referred to as the three apostles of Quakerism: George Fox (1624-1691), William Penn (1644-1718), and Robert Barclay (1648-1690). Their experiences and thoughts made it possible for a new religious movement to develop into Quakerism. According to Wilmer A. Cooper, “the Society of Friends arose out of the radical Puritan attempt to purify the Church of England, except that the Quakers wanted to go a step further and purify the Puritans.”² He also notes the importance of the Light of Christ Within for early Quakers. This was a call to Christian perfection, resulting in practical righteousness. Early Quakers, such as William Penn, believed that their particular expression of Christianity was essentially a revival of primitive Christianity. Quakerism arose during a time of religious, economic, and political turmoil in England during the English Civil War. Thus, it can be considered a response to these events, as well as a call to righteous living.³

Quakers wanted to restore primitive Christianity by rejecting forms and ceremonies and priestly pretensions, even though the Protestant Reformation had taken place in revolt against the claims of Popery. They wanted to return to the spiritual worship and the simple church life of the apostolic days. Quakerism arose out of these

¹ Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: Beliefs and Practice of the Society of Friends since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1953), 8.

² Wilmer A. Cooper, *A Living Faith: A Historical and Comparative Study of Quaker Beliefs*, 2nd ed. (Richmond: Friends United Press, 2006), 1.

³ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 10-13, 112.

desires.⁴

Their adversaries first used the word ‘Quaker’ as a derisive term because it was observed that in their ministry Fox and his followers used to quake in the power of the Spirit. Quakers believe in the centrality of a direct inward encounter with God and revelation. They prefer a voteless way of doing church business, based on the idea of corporate direct guidance. They stress the spiritual equality of everyone and the idea of the priesthood of all believers.⁵ They are well known for their preference for pacifism rather than war, and a commitment to other forms of social witness.⁶

It may be helpful to consider some aspects of Quaker theology that can be found in the NCM, in order to appropriately understand the theology of the movement. This chapter begins with the suggestion that the NCM has been influenced by Quaker theology. The main elements of NCM theology exhibit the characteristics of Quakerism. It is suggested here that, apart from the theory of the Inner Light, Quaker theology forms the main framework of NCM theology.

After graduation at Amherst College, Uchimura Kanzo entered Hartford Theological Seminary (HTS) in Connecticut, but he stayed there for only four and a half months because the theological education of HTS proved a bitter disappointment to him.⁷ In fact, Uchimura had not been able to adapt himself to traditional theology and the church. Before going to America, he had not made known his non-church theology. However, after his return to Japan, he revealed his radical theology, which was similar to Quakerism. This chapter sets out to explain how this came about by investigating the

⁴ Leonard S. Kenworthy, *Quakerism: A Study Guide on the Religious Society of Friends* (Kennett: Quaker Publications, 1983), chap. 1; Douglas V. Steere, “Introduction,” in *Quaker Spirituality, Selected Writings*, ed. Douglas V. Steere (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1984), 8.

⁵ Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years*, 70, 119.

⁶ Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years*, 161; Cooper, *A Living Faith*, chap. 1.

⁷ John F. Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 67.

parallels between the NCM and Quakerism.

Many NCM members have failed to notice the degree of compatibility between the two theologies. This seems rather strange. However, this is not to say that the NCM is a form of Quakerism or that the NCM is syncretistic, adopting fundamental elements from both mainstream Christianity and Quakerism. The following is not intended to disparage the value or authenticity of the NCM. Rather, it is an attempt to explain the relationship between the two movements in the matter of theology, especially ecclesiology.

5.1. The Link between the Non-Church Movement and Quakerism

While Uchimura Kanzo was studying in the U.S.A., from November 1884 to May 1888, he made a few close American friends, including some Quakers and a Unitarian. Because of his friendship with the Unitarian, Uchimura suffered from the unwarranted criticism that he was Unitarian.⁸ Uchimura's thinking never revealed the influence of Unitarianism. In fact, he wrote about Unitarianism as follows: "Unitarianism as a system of doctrines is shallow and incomplete, I think."⁹ However, it is apparent that he shared many aspects of Quaker theology and that the influence of Quakerism came from his Quaker friends, especially Wistar Morris and his wife Mary Morris. Uchimura showed an affection for Quakerism. In an article entitled "Protestantism", published in September 1909, he stated that whereas Martin Luther,

⁸ Kanzo Uchimura, *Qeuriseucheonui Uiro [Consolations of a Christian]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip [우씨무라 간조 전집 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Yu-gon Kim, 10 vols. (Seoul: Qeuriseuchanseojek, 2003), 1:43. Uchimura found employment in a boarding school for mentally retarded children in the town of Elwyn in suburban Philadelphia. Isaac Kerlin was the director of the hospital and he became one of Uchimura Kanzo's American spiritual fathers. The criticism came about because Mrs Kerlin was a Unitarian.

⁹ Kanzo Uchimura, "Unitarianism," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1924 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu [内村鑑三全集 The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, ed. Suzuki Toshiro, 20 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1932-1933), 15:490.

John Calvin, and John Wesley failed to bring about pure Protestantism, he admired George Fox,¹⁰ the founding father of Quakerism, as the person epitomizing the spirit of pure Protestantism.¹¹

In order to understand the connection between the NCM and Quakerism, it may be helpful to take a look at Uchimura Kanzo's acquaintance with some Quakers in Philadelphia, especially the Morris's. He was introduced to them by an American Quaker William N. Whitney, whom he met in Japan before his departure to America. The Morris's were the successful owners of a railroad company. Because of their interest in Japanese people, they used to invite Japanese students to their house to dine with them and to listen to a clergyman one Saturday a month.¹² Sometimes they even gave financial assistance to the Japanese students.

Uchimura Kanzo's best friend, Nitobe Inazo (1862-1933), often visited the Morris's. Nitobe also went to Sapporo Agricultural College (now, Hokkaido University) with Uchimura Kanzo. They entered and graduated from the college at the same time. Under the influence of the Quaker couple, in 1886, Nitobe Inazo joined the Society of Friends.¹³ In 1891, he married a Quaker woman named Mary Patterson Elkinton, who was from a prominent Philadelphia family under the care of the Philadelphia Monthly

¹⁰ Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity* (Peabody: Prince Press, 2010) 2: 199. George Fox (1624-91), "founder of the Quakers differed from other spiritualist leaders in that he paid great attention to the community of believers and to its social obligations."

¹¹ Uchimura, "Peuroteseutantejuui," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1909 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:597.

¹² Uchimura, *Naneun Eotteoqe Qeuriseucheoni Doieotneunga? [How I Became a Christian?]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 2:107-23; Norihisa Suzuki, *Mugyohoejuuija Uchimura Kanzo [無教會主義者 内村鑑三 Non-Churchist Uchimura Kanzo]*, trans. Jin-man Kim (Seoul: Sohwa, 1995), 30-33.

¹³ Raymond P. Jennings, *Jesus Japan and Kanzo Uchimura: A Study of the View of the Church of Kanzo Uchimura and its Significance for Japanese Christianity* (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1958), 57; Helen J. Ballhatchet, "The Modern Missionary Movement in Japan: Roman Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox," in *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, ed. Mark R. Mullins (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 45; Naomi Toda, "America no Kirisutokyo no Insho, 3 [Impressions of American Christianity, No. 3]," *Seiyaku*, January 1955, 13. Naomi Toda's pamphlet mentions the visit of Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo to a Quaker meeting in the city in 1885. Unfortunately the researcher was unable to confirm this with the headquarters.

Meeting (Orthodox).¹⁴ When Elias Hicks (1748-1828) did not admit the Bible as authoritative, Quakers began to split into two groups: Orthodox Friends and Hicksites (Liberal Quakerism).¹⁵ It is evident that the Quaker couple also had an important effect on Uchimura Kanzo.¹⁶ This goes some way to explaining why the theologies of the NCM and Quakerism overlap.

The Morris's were a committed Quaker couple.¹⁷ In a letter to Miss Graham, written on the 8th October 1924, Uchimura Kanzo himself confessed to being disappointed not to be regarded as a full member of the Society of Friends by his Quaker friends:

Your very kind note of Sept. 17 is received with many thanks. It makes me feel extremely sorry that the dear old Mrs. Morris has gone at last. It was just 40 years ago that I was received at her home, and during 3 and half years that I stayed in the United States, she almost did me a mother's service, till the very last day of my departure for my homeland. And, all these years, I was conscious that she was a partner in my Christian works. She often told me that "thee is almost a Quaker theeself" and I was always sorry that I was "almost" and not "entirely."¹⁸

This suggests that Uchimura assimilated various ideas of Quakerism. Therefore, in order to understand the NCM, the connection between Uchimura and his Quaker friends in Philadelphia needs to be taken into consideration. In one of his books, Uchimura wrote that, in his time, people in Japan called him a Hicksite, a Unitarian, a madman, and other names.¹⁹ Considering that his Quaker friends belonged to the

¹⁴ Nobuya Bamba and John F. Howes, "Introduction: The Setting for Japan's Pacifism," in *Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition*, ed. Nobuya Bamba and John F. Howes (Vancouver: The Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1978), 7; George M. Oshiro, "Nitobe Inazo and the Sapporo Band: Reflections on the Dawn of Protestant Christianity in Early Meiji Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34, no. 1 (2007): 117-18.

¹⁵ Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 85-87.

¹⁶ Mark R. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 57.

¹⁷ Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan*, 57.

¹⁸ Uchimura to Miss Graham, 8th October 1924, in *Letters of Uchimura Kanzo in Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu [The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, 40 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980-1984), 39:176-77.

¹⁹ Uchimura, *Qeuriseucheonui Uiro [Consolations of a Christian]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip, 1:43. "Hicksite (ヒクサイナイト)."

Orthodox Quaker Meeting, it is strange that he was called a Hicksite, the name of another group of Quakers, founded by Elias Hicks (1748-1828).²⁰ However, in contrast to the criticism that Uchimura was Unitarian, labelling him Quaker can be considered justifiable in view of the similarities between the theology of the NCM and Quakerism. For example, both Quakerism and the NCM have a “flat church” ecclesiology, adopting an egalitarian form of community. The term “flat church” is used by Ben Dandelion to describe Quaker leadership.²¹ Cooper defines the Quaker flat ecclesiology as follows. “The church is a gathered holy community. The church is a fellowship of people gathered by Christ and made alive by God’s Spirit. The church is not, therefore, a building or an institution bound by the organizational structure of time and place.”²² Also neither movement has clergy or elders.²³

5.2. The Search for an Anti-Institutionalised Community, Simplicity, and Freedom

As stated above, Quaker theology was characterized by a flat ecclesiology based on the gospel order of the 1660s, laid down by Farnworth, Fox, and Fell as “the divinely ordained structure for the chosen people to work within”.²⁴ In a flat ecclesiology, the people of God are a community with a vision of truth, a community committed to the covenant of God, a prophetic people rather than a cultic people concerned with liturgical tradition. They are a people on a mission, a worshipping and

²⁰ For more on the Hicksites, see Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 80-88. Why Uchimura was called a Hicksite is not known.

²¹ Ben Pink Dandelion, ‘Issues in contemporary Quakerism.’ A Lecture of Ben Pink Dandelion at Woodbrooke College, Birmingham, 7 Feb 2005; Ben Pink Dandelion, *A Sociological Analysis of the Theology of Quakers: The Silent Revolution* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), chap. 5; Alister E. McGrath, *Historical Theology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 162-63.

²² Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 92-93.

²³ Pink Dandelion, *The Quakers: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 45. Some Quaker meetings have pastors but their role is very different from the ones in other denominations.

²⁴ Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 205, 48.

praying people, who are morally and ethically sensitive with a living relationship to the Spirit of God.²⁵ In their flat ecclesiology, it was not the clergy but the laity that Quakers abolished. That is, Quakers abolished the laity and became a fellowship of ministers. This idea was then expanded into a theory of anti-institutional ecclesiology. The same was true of the NCM.²⁶ NCM members are extremely reluctant to adopt a system that relies on the clergy. By abolishing the laity and replacing it with a fellowship of ministers, they want to enjoy more spiritual independence. Like the Quakers, NCM members seek after the spiritual rather than outward religious forms. They prefer simplicity, in the same way that Quakers have done so historically.²⁷

I care for spirits and not for forms. Forms are very misleading; some of the worst spirits had the most beautiful forms, and some of the most beautiful spirits had the ugliest forms. We cannot judge spirits by the forms they assume. And the error of the modern way of looking at things lies I think in too much attention being paid for forms, and too little ability to discern spirits. This mania for arts and the artistic is an indication that mankind now is after forms and not after spirits, everybody wishing to appear beautiful and not to be beautiful.²⁸

And even in religion itself, forms are most essential things. What are Roman Catholicism, Anglican Catholicism, and a majority of Protestantisms (sic) even, without forms? With modern Christians of Europe and America, formless Christianity is no Christianity at all—a nebulous hazy dreaming thing, practically non-existent. But strange to say, the Christianity of the Bible, as I understand it, is essentially spiritual, and only very little formal.²⁹

A parallel between the NCM and Quakerism is clearly evident. Both of them do not highly value outward forms and systems, because they believe that Christianity is not

²⁵ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 92-93.

²⁶ Kyo-sin Kim, "Sinangsaenghwal," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1939 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* [김교신 전집 *The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin*], ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2001), 1:152; Kim, "Nauí Gidokgyo," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* 2:84; Kim, "Gyohoegea Georukhanya," *Seongseojoseon*, June 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* 2:221-22; Kim, "Gagyohoe," *Seongseojoseon*, May 1936 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* 2:223-24; Song, "Gidokgyowa Hyeongsik," *Seongseoyeongu*, January 1954 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 2:307. Uchimura, "Seongseoe Iteoseoui Gyohoe," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1910 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:417-21; Uchimura, "Dongnippgyohoeui Cham Tteut," *Mukyokai*, March 1902 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 8:433-35.

²⁷ Du-yong Song, "Heoyeonggwa Oisik," *Yeongdan*, October 1946 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip* [송두용 신앙문집 *The Collected Works of Song Du-yong*], eds. Pyeong-gu Noh, Hui-se Yu, and Mun-ho Song, 6 vols. (Seoul: Seongseosinaesa, 1994-2001), 1:23-24; Uchimura, "Seongseoga Malhaneun Jayu," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, November 1913 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:176-77.

²⁸ Uchimura, "Spirits and Forms," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1927 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:619-20.

²⁹ Uchimura, "Spirits and Forms," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, January 1927 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:620.

just about beliefs and rituals, but about a faith to be lived out.³⁰ Thus, both seek a practical, ethical, and functionally religious approach to life.

Historically, Quakers have tended to be anti-church and pro-sectarian, as in the case of the Anabaptist tradition of the Radical Reformation. According to Owen Chadwick, Anabaptists “believed that the true Church was called out of the world and therefore most of them repudiated the idea that the magistrate should uphold the true Church.”³¹ He refers to the Anabaptist Confession of Schleithem (1527), which proclaimed adult baptism and separation from the world, including attendance at parish churches.³² The primary concerns of Quakers have been the dignity of the individual, the Inner Light, and direct and immediate religious experience, rather than outward religious forms and rites.³³ The early Quakers were preoccupied with the image of the apostate institutional church as the Antichrist and subsequently rejected the professional ministry, creeds, liturgy, relics, ritual, religious rites, and sacraments because they believed them to be products of the visible, temporal, and corrupt church. The notion of the apostasy of the church made them keen to recover the true New Testament church. Their anti-church stance was focused on the apostate church rather than what they regarded as the true church revealed in the New Testament. Thus, they wished to revive a form of primitive Christianity. For Quakers, they seemed to be human products. Instead, Quakers called for a spiritual ecclesiology, without the traditional institutional

³⁰ Kim, “Gobaekui Hyogwa,” *Seongseojoseon*, May 1940 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:170-71.

³¹ Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 189.

³² Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 189.

³³ A favourite passage of the writings Quakers often refer to is John 4:24 (God is spirit and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and truth.). Moreover, Paul’s writing in the New Testament and Psalms in the Old Testament has been used to disclose the presence of God among Quakers. The Quaker understanding of God was formed on the basis of the belief that people can have a direct and immediate encounter with God by way of the Christ within. This divine-human encounter is called mystical experience. Even though there is a wide fissure between God and human beings, human beings can encounter God on the bridge of the direct and immediate experience of God through the Christ within. The bridge covers the deep gap between the two.

forms and structures.³⁴

The Quakers' attitude towards the so-called apostate institutional church is similar to the way NCM members regard the church. As already noted, NCM members have no paid clergy, no creed, no religious rites, and no sacraments. This raises the question of how to understand the kind of authority possessed by teachers in the NCM. It is possible to view the teacher-student relationship in the NCM as hierarchical rather than egalitarian. Yet NCM members do not see it this way. They can be criticised for inconsistency in the way they respect their teachers but ignore the clergy. However, NCM members do not think this odd. It is possible that they regard teachers and clergy differently. That is, they accept the authority of their teachers, but do not accept the authority of the clergy. Apart from the matter of the authority given to teachers, NCM members wish to enjoy the loosely organised fellowship of believers, finding their inspiration in the Bible alone. In their view, the institutional church seemed to have obscured the core of the Christian faith. Thus, they regard it as apostate.

The odium of Christianity is in its churches. Many have left and are leaving Christianity because they hate churches. They hate the priest because they hate the surplice.... Christianity minus churches is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. There is no reason for leaving Christ and His Gospel, because churches which are its institutional vestments are soiled and odious. Churchless Christianity will be the Christianity of the future.³⁵

Thus, both the NCM and Quakerism repudiate the value of the institutional church. Specifically, both see the church as a human institution, and from their perspective, institution and life are incompatible. Institutions that go against the very essence of freedom in life tend to become mechanical. Rules are made and structures are built up primarily for the sake of the perpetuation of the institution itself. The use of human life to serve institutions is a perversion of the purpose of institutions. Institutions

³⁴ See Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, chap. 4.

³⁵ Uchimura, "Churchless Christianity," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1929 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:544.

should serve human life, rather than the other way around. Both the Quaker movement and the NCM object to ecclesiastical authoritarianism, the institutionalisation of a living faith, and the deification of the church.³⁶ Thus, opposition to systematisation and the Church as a human institution are important features of the two movements.³⁷

Furthermore both movements reject a paid ministry.³⁸ Why does the NCM have such a negative view? As noted previously, Uchimura had a short period of formal theological study at Hartford Theological Seminary. Considering a seminary is a college where clergy are trained, it is unlikely that he acquired his view there. The answer is more likely to be found in Uchimura's writings, where he identifies himself as a member of the Society of Friends.³⁹

5.3. Universal Salvation

Ham Seok-heon held fast to the theory of universal salvation, and developed this further during his lifetime. He did not believe the truth is found only in Christianity. Rather, the essence of all religions is one. That is to say, he believed that all people will be saved, and the truth can be found in any religion.⁴⁰

In the NCM, the term 'universalism' is used to describe the theological belief that all human beings, without exception, will eventually attain salvation. All people will be saved, irrespective of whether they have heard or responded to the Christian

³⁶ Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 26, 33; Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 89-91.

³⁷ Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 26, 33; Pink Dandelion, *The Liturgies of Quakerism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 22; Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 89-91; Sang-hun Jeong, "Cham Gyohoe [참 교회 True Church]," *Seongseojoseon*, January 1928, 1; Uchimura, "Jedoreul Baecheokhanda," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, August 1908 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:589.

³⁸ Uchimura, *Qeuriseucheonui Uiro [Consolations of a Christian]* (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 1:125.

³⁹ Uchimura, "Sinhakeul Sileohanda," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:575; Uchimura, "Sinhakui Pilyoseong," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1907 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:582.

⁴⁰ Seok-heon Ham, "Hangukgidokgyoneun Mueoteul Haryeoneunga?" in *Ham Seok-heon Jeonjip [함석헌 전집 The Complete Works of Ham Seok-heon]*, 20 vols by Seok-heon Ham (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1988), 3:155.

proclamation of redemption in Christ. That is, there will be universal salvation because God wills for all to be saved.⁴¹ In the patristic period, Origen held an almost equivalent view that God would eventually restore all things to their originally created order at some point in the future, including restoring Satan to a perfect state. In an essay entitled “Universal Salvation”, published in October 1916 in his magazine *Seisho no Kenkyu* (*The Biblical Study*), Uchimura revealed his view on this issue as follows:

If ever God elected me unto salvation, it must not be that I alone might be saved and the rest be lost, but that through me as a chief of sinners, many, if not all, be saved. I can be sure of my salvation only upon the condition that God is willing and able to save all sinners, that there never was, and is, and will be a sinner that God is not willing and able to save. Universal salvation as a dogma may be an offence to some particular theologians and ecclesiastics, but as an individual conviction and assurance for one’s final salvation, it is an extremely comforting doctrine. If God is going to save all, I am sure and certain that I too shall be saved.⁴²

As might have been expected, the three key Korean NCM leaders, Kim Kyo-sin, Song Du-yong, and Ham Seok-heon followed their teacher by adopting a similar position of universalism. In an essay entitled “Maninui Guwon (Salvation of All People)” in the January 1928 edition of the Korean NCM magazine, Song Du-yong wrote that the aim of God and the duty of Jesus are to ensure that all people will be saved.⁴³ In a similar fashion, Kim Kyo-sin, in an essay entitled “Dasuguseungron”, written in May 1932, expressed his views on universalism.⁴⁴ Kim believed that there will be none who will not be saved. In short, the sovereign love of God is bound to save everyone eventually. He knew that there existed various theories on the extent of salvation, and each theory had some biblical grounding. Therefore, for him, it was all right for anyone to adopt whichever theory they preferred.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Uchimura, *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:445-52.

⁴² Uchimura, “Universal Salvation,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1916 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:402.

⁴³ Song, “Maninui Guwon,” *Seongseojoseon*, January 1928 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 1:3-4.

⁴⁴ Kyo-sin Kim, “Dasuguseungron,” *Seongseojoseon*, May 1932, 2.

⁴⁵ Kyo-sin Kim, “Dasuguseungron,” *Seongseojoseon*, May 1932, 2.

Thus, it is clear that NCM members tend to value the nature of the love of God. The notion of omnipotent love functions as the central idea of the NCM's universalism. In the end, love will conquer all, making the existence of hell an impossibility. In a commentary on the biblical text 1 Peter 3:8-19, Uchimura laid an emphasis upon the nature of the love of God.⁴⁶ Universalism does stand to reason for him. While he considered both universalism and particular redemption to have biblical foundations, he judged the former as having more validity, considering the nature of God, who is love itself.⁴⁷ It was mentioned above that Uchimura was called a Hicksite. The reason he was criticised by this name would probably be best explained by his position of universalism. Uchimura did not change his belief in universal salvation throughout his life.

Quakers have always claimed that the "Light of Christ Within" is universally available to all humanity.⁴⁸ It is the fundamental and immediate experience for Quakers. It guides each person in their everyday life and brings them together as a community of faith. It is, most importantly, people's direct and unmediated experience of God.⁴⁹ There have been very divergent opinions about Jesus Christ among Quakers, and they do not seem to have been precise about the meaning of Christ Within. Among Quakers, there have existed other terms to designate the Christ Within: the Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit, the Light Within, the Inner Light, the Seed, and that of God in everyone.

⁴⁶ Kanzo Uchimura, *I Peter*, vol. 14 of *Uchimura Kanzo Seongseojuseok* [内村鑑三 註解 Uchimura Kanzo's Commentaries], trans. Seong-ho Lee, 17 vols. (Seoul: Seongseoyeonguwon, 2001), 14:275. See also Uchimura, "Dasi Maninguwonseole Daehayeo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 192? (sic) in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:452.

⁴⁷ Uchimura, "Dasi Maninguwonseole Daehayeo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 192? (sic) in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:448.

⁴⁸ Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: Beliefs and Practice of the Society of Friends since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1953), 36-39.

⁴⁹ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, *Faith and Practice: A Book of Christian Discipline, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends* (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 2002), 16.

These have been used interchangeably by Quakers to designate the resurrected Christ.⁵⁰ The phrase, “that of God in everyone”, which George Fox used more than a hundred times, is a key to understanding the Quaker doctrine of God, as well as of Quakerism. The phrase means that human beings can encounter God through that of God in everybody. It also means that God should be encountered rather than merely studied. Therefore, the Quaker doctrine of God has focused on learning how to experience God rather than studying who God is. Quakers have long taken it for granted that God is to be experienced inwardly. The Christ Within is not known by natural reason. The phrase, “that of God in everyone,” is a key to the understanding the Quaker doctrine of humanity and salvation. Whatever Fox’s original intent, the phrase has become an essential tenet concerning human nature in Quakerism.⁵¹ Humans can be redeemed and regenerated through “that of God in everyone”, even though humans fell into disobedience and rebellion toward God and, as a result, all people inherited a pervasive sinfulness. It leaves open the possibility of perfection for people alienated from God. Thus, Quakers basically have an optimistic view about human nature, as Confucianists do. That is, even though humans are in a state of sinfulness, if they follow the Inner Light, they will easily overcome sin.⁵²

The early Quakers were generally in sympathy with other Christian groups in the matter of how to understand human nature. The difference would be their more cautious attitude towards the seriousness of sin.⁵³ According to Cooper, George Fox “believed that although God intends the salvation of all, some may not respond in

⁵⁰ Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 200-204.

⁵¹ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 147.

⁵² Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 203-204.

⁵³ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 70. “It is true that Friends never preoccupied themselves with theories of human depravity in the same way that their seventeenth century Puritan counterparts did.”

obedience.... In this sense, he was not a universalist in salvation doctrine.”⁵⁴ Friends also accepted the concepts of heaven and hell, even though their emphasis was on the present experience of salvation. However, this view of salvation, according to Cooper, has changed among the Quakers. Liberal Quakers, such as the Hicksite Friends, tended to spiritualise the redemptive process by “disengaging the Light Within from its identification with the historical Christ.”⁵⁵ This resulted in a humanistic understanding of the self, “which is quite alien to traditional Quaker reliance upon the power of the Lord to overcome sin and to get salvation.”⁵⁶

Even though the early Quakers admitted the sinfulness of humans, they thought that humans could easily overcome sin through Christ and by the power of the Holy Spirit. For the early Quakers, sin was understood to be disobedience to God’s will, resulting in inherited sinfulness. Furthermore, humankind sinned by their own wilful choices, falling short of both their own personal standards and also of God’s moral law. This means that all humans are sinful and are separated from God.⁵⁷

George Fox, Robert Barclay, and Isaac Pennington all agreed with the notion that sin is humanity’s deliberate disobedience of God’s will. They also agreed that humans are in the chronic condition of sin, in a state of enmity against God, and that humans inherit sinfulness.⁵⁸ However, they did not regard sin to be as serious as Puritans viewed it.⁵⁹ For the early Quakers, sin was being “out of God,” or, to put it

⁵⁴ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 147.

⁵⁵ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 147.

⁵⁶ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 147.

⁵⁷ Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 2-3.

⁵⁸ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 73. About sin as an inherited condition, Barclay had a slightly different view of human nature than the other two early Quakers. He “refused to ascribe Adam’s guilt to anyone, until that person had adopted Adam’s sin through an act of disobedience.”

⁵⁹ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 70.

another way, sin was a deviation from the Truth.⁶⁰ They did not believe that evil really exists; rather, that evil is being separated from the Truth, i.e. God.⁶¹

Thus, according to Quakerism, all people have a way to salvation within themselves even if they have never heard of Christ and accepted Him. Robert Barclay says that “all men (sic), even the heathen, may be saved: for Christ was given as a light to enlighten the Gentiles.”⁶² According to Carole Spencer, Barclay believed that

the universal light is a seed in all persons (grace), which, when received in the heart (justification) and allowed to bring forth its natural effect (sanctification), causes Christ to be formed within, to deliver one from all sin (perfection).... This seed or light or grace is a real spiritual substance ... from which that real, spiritual, inward birth in believers arises.... For Barclay, perfection was not merely individual but corporate. The principle of perfection is also the basis for the Quaker peace testimony.... For the majority of Quakers, Barclay’s *Apology* remained the official.... Even during the first divisions ... between Orthodox and Hicksite, both sides could still appeal to it to support their positions.... [However] it is considered antiquated and outmoded by most liberal Quakers today.⁶³

Certainly, it seems evident that Quakers believe that all people and all of creation will finally become reconciled with God.

Chey Baik Soyoung, in her dissertation, argues that the background to the NCM’s universalism is the Confucian concept of a human being as being primarily a communal or relational being.

Kim rejected the idea of predestination that says that God would save parts of creation in an exclusive way. Regarding the issue of salvation, Kim even announced that, although his assertion is non-biblical, he still cannot accept his own salvation, if there is one man who would not be saved. Kim and other KNCC members, who had a traditional Confucian concept of a human being as being primarily a communal or relational being, could not accept the doctrine of individual salvation as Western Christianity taught because, to them, it seemed to be a selfish idea. Traditional Korean religions, especially Confucianism, had taught Koreans that the self is constituted through its relations to significant others; such as parents, spouse, children, and friends. It also implies Kim’s possession of the collective Korean mind, as manifested in the idea of *han*, which instructed that an individual is ontologically connected with God, other human beings and nature and that ultimate goal of the universe is to reach the state of the unity among God, human beings and nature.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 71.

⁶¹ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 71.

⁶² Robert Barclay, *Apology* (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1908), prop. V-VI, sect. XXV, 180.

⁶³ Carole Dale Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism* (Colorado Springs: Paternoster, 2007), 77, 82. See also Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 147.

⁶⁴ Soyoung Baik Chey, “Korean Non-Church Christian Movement, 1927-1989: Transcending the World and Transforming the Church,” (ThD diss., Boston University, 2003), 134-35.

But the question arises whether Christian Confucianists historically have been reluctant to accept the doctrine of particular salvation because of their traditional Confucian communal concept. Chey's argument is unconvincing because it is unlikely that NCM members insisted on universal salvation due to their sense of community and fellowship. It is harder to find a connection between the NCM's universalism and the Confucian sense of communality than between the universalism of the NCM and Quakerism. There is no concept of salvation and no strong sense of innate human evil in Confucianism. In contrast, there is such a concept in both the NCM and Quakerism. Furthermore, it is clear that both have points of resemblance in their doctrine of salvation. In addition universalism has not been a major point of contention among Korean Christianity. Therefore, this research suggests the possibility that there is a connection between the two movements regarding the idea of the universalism.

5.4. Pacifism

Quakers are famous for their simple life style because they have long sought for a life of plainness, self-denial, and the avoidance of vain and empty customs.⁶⁵ They have been averse to public displays of vanity. However, what enhanced their reputation was not so much their simplicity but their pacifism. George Fox interpreted the New Testament as forbidding Christians to fight.⁶⁶ For him, bearing arms was wrong, and people's consciences, enlightened by "that of God in everyone," would not allow themselves to take up weapons to fight. Following him, Quakers have long been against revenge, war, discrimination, swearing, and oath taking. Consequently, Quakerism

⁶⁵ Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 101-108.

⁶⁶ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 22.

became identified with pacifism.⁶⁷ Yet it is not intended here to insist that pacifism is unique to Quakerism. Rather, it is to cautiously highlight a point of resemblance between the two movements, and to suggest that the influence of Quakerism best explains the pacifism of the NCM. This is supported by the fact that the Quakerism introduced to Uchimura had the Peace Testimony, and by Uchimura's own confession that he considered himself a Quaker.⁶⁸

Quakers generally maintained an agreed position to neither enlist in nor help the army. Abstaining from bearing arms and serving in the military were clear consequences. Rather they believe in the positive power of love and reconciliation to overcome evil. Through the power of love and reconciliation, they believe that they can bring about peace and justice as well as the transformation, not only of individuals, but also of the whole world. Believing the doctrine of perfection, they envision the possibility of a peaceable kingdom.⁶⁹ This inspired William Penn (1644-1718) to try the Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania.⁷⁰ Penn believed that if properly constituted, Pennsylvania would be a model in which everyone lives in peace with the rest of the world. "Penn also wanted to model Quaker principles of peace and fair dealing in his relations with

⁶⁷ Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years*, 160. "Friends arrived at their pacifist position in the same two ways by which they reached their other social testimonies: they followed the Light of Christ in their consciences and they followed the words of Christ in the New Testament." See also Howard Brinton, *The Peace Testimony of the Society of Friends* (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1951); Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 162, 168. "The Richmond Declaration speaks for them that all war is utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our divine Lord and Law-giver, and the whole spirit of His Gospel." However, it must be mentioned that the Peace Testimony became contested territory at the beginning of the twenty-first century. "For some Friends, particularly in unprogrammed meetings, it is foundational, and peacemaking and conflict resolution movements in the United States still have a disproportionate Quaker presence. For probably a majority of American Friends, especially in pastoral meetings and churches, the place of the Peace Testimony is not as clear."

⁶⁸ Uchimura to Miss Graham, 8th October 1924, in *Letters of Uchimura Kanzo in Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu [The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, 40 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980-1984), 39:176-77.

⁶⁹ Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years*, 48-50.

⁷⁰ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 24-29.

the native peoples of Pennsylvania.”⁷¹ Due to his effort, Pennsylvania remained at peace for over seventy years from the 1670s to the 1740s.⁷²

In the same fashion, NCM members have maintained their opposition to war since their earliest days. Since Uchimura Kanzo used the term non-resistance in an essay written in March 1904, they have kept to the principle of non-resistance, as Quakers have done, and are well known for their pacifism.⁷³ How then can this be explained? Uchimura never formed relationships with other peace churches of his time, such as the Mennonites and the Brethren. Thus, his connection to Quakerism is the most likely explanation.

NCM members view pacifism and non-resistance as God’s will, conformity to the teachings of Christ, and living according to the Holy Spirit. They see it as simply obedience to God. Uchimura confessed that after believing in Christ he came to dislike any kind of quarrels, and even though he did not know the reason or cause, he came to have an aversion to any kind of war.⁷⁴ In an essay entitled “War-Abolition Argument” published in a newspaper on 30th June 1903, prior to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War on 8th February 1904, he insisted on the abolition of war.⁷⁵ However, he did not embrace this position until that time. For example, when the war between China and Japan broke out for hegemony over Korea in 1894, he justified the war in an essay entitled “Justification of the Corean War”, and this disappointed his Quaker friends.

But no one will doubt the existence of righteous wars in history. That was a righteous war that Gideon fought against the Midianites, when with “his sword and the Lord’s” he slew a hundred and twenty thousands of them upon the waters of the Jordan.... We believe that the Corean War now

⁷¹ Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 28.

⁷² Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 28.

⁷³ Uchimura, “Mujeohangjuuiui Chamtteut,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:624; Uchimura, “Mujeohangjuuiui Uiryeok,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:637; Uchimura, “Mujeohangjuui,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1909 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:638.

⁷⁴ Uchimura, “Uriui Bijeonron,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:625; Uchimura, “Yureop Jeonjaenggwa Gidokgyo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1916 in 7:303-308.

⁷⁵ See 2.3. of Chapter 2.

opened between Japan and China to be such a war—I mean, a *righteous war*.... But China behaved against us, now for more than a score of years, as unneighborly and insolently as we have ever been able to bear in our history.... Let Japan have this opportunity of serving the world.⁷⁶

Yet on 22nd May 1895, Uchimura became disappointed with his government, because the Japanese government did not act according to its promises after the war ended with a Japanese victory and the peace treaty was signed. In a letter to his friend David C. Bell, he deplored the fact that he had described the war as a holy one as follows: “A righteous war has changed into a piratic war somewhat, and a prophet who wrote its justification is now in shame.”⁷⁷ The experience led him to be an antiwar protester, and he wrote his article entitled “War-Abolition Argument”. Previously, he maintained his support for war, while resisting the words of his Quaker friends, but now he supported the ‘absolute’ abolition of war and never deviated from this position until his death.⁷⁸ He wrote numerous articles about pacifism, non-resistance, and the abolition of war.⁷⁹ If there had not been the wars in Korea, the Quaker influence on the NCM would have not been evident. In this sense, some critic may say that then Uchimura’s pacifism was motivated not theologically but contextually.

Kim Kyo-sin, Song Du-yong, and Ham Seok-heon all faithfully followed their teacher’s pacifism, non-resistance, and anti-war spirit. Kim’s articles clearly showed his stance as an anti-war protester.⁸⁰ As a well-known pacifist, Ham was the one who best followed his teacher’s non-resistant spirit. Ham was nominated several times for the

⁷⁶ Uchimura, “Peace Peace,” *Yorozu Choho*, 19 March 1897 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 16:26-36. See also 16:82-83.

⁷⁷ Uchimura to Bell, 22nd May 1895, in *Letters of Uchimura Kanzo* in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu [The Complete Works of Uchimura Kanzo]*, 40 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1980-1984).

⁷⁸ Uchimura, “Jeonjaengpyejiron,” *Yorozu Choho*, June 1903 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:327-28.

⁷⁹ Uchimura, “Mujeohangjuuiui Chamtteut,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:624; Uchimura, “Yureop Jeonjaenggwa Gidokgyo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1916 in 7:303-308; Uchimura, “Mujeohangjuuiui Gyo-hun,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 10:313-20.

⁸⁰ Kim, “Bijeonron Muyongsidae,” Seongseojoseon, March 1934 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip*, 1:202-204.

Nobel Peace Prize. Song was also a strong advocate of pacifism, compared with other NCM members.⁸¹ For him, under no circumstances is force necessary as a last resort. He regarded war and violence as inconsistent with the Christian holiness to which people are summoned in Christ.⁸²

Quakers believe that every human being is a child of God with a measure of God's Light.⁸³ War and other instruments of violence and oppression ignore this reality and violate our relationship with God. In the life of one respecting this fact, there would be no occasion for violence. Uchimura also took a pacifist stance. For Uchimura, war is wrong, since it violates Jesus' command to love everyone.⁸⁴ How can people love a person and at the same time kill him or her? Thus, according to Uchimura, the teachings of Jesus, the whole spirit of His Gospel, and the provisions of His grace, call us to live at peace with all men. War and violence, even in self-defence, are wrong because they violate the commands of Christ and are incompatible with the holiness of life to which all Christians are called. To refuse to counter violence with violence may bring suffering and even death.⁸⁵

Thus both Quakerism and the NCM have points of resemblance in their pacifism, and the reasons why the NCM came to adopt this spirit of non-resistance best

⁸¹ Chi-seok Yi, *Ssial Ham Seok-heon Pyeongjeon [씨알 함석헌 평전 A Biography of Ssial Ham Seok-heon]* (Seoul: Sidaeuui Chang, 2005), 469-89.

⁸² Song, "Wonsureul Igeun Yuilhan Bangbeop," *Seongseosinae*, June 1967 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 1:304-306; Song, "Pyeonghwa Pyeonghwa Pyeonghwa," *Seongseosinae*, April 1979 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 1:461; Song, "Gidokjau Jeonjaeng," *Seongseosinang*, June 1966 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 3:327-330; Song, "Jeonjaengiyeo Annyeong!," *Seongseosinae*, January 1968 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 3: 438-39.

⁸³ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 16-23.

⁸⁴ Uchimura, "The Christmas Bell, 1915," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1915 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:392; Uchimura, "Christianity and War (1)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:410; Uchimura, "Christianity as Love," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1922 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:472.

⁸⁵ Uchimura, "Christianity and War (1)," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1917 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:410; Uchimura, "War in Nature," *Kobe Chronicle*, April 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:332-35; Uchimura, "War in History," *Kobe Chronicle*, May 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:335-37.

finds its answer in its connection to Quakerism. Yet it may be right to say that there is no direct influence of Quakerism on Korean NCM leaders.

5.5. The Quaker View of the Sacraments in the NCM

In an article, entitled “Seryewa Seongryemunje” and published in September 1939,⁸⁶ Song Du-yong wrote that he regarded the sacraments as dead ceremonies. He tried to explain why the Lord’s Supper and Christian baptism are not indispensable for Christian living, often quoting Uchimura Kanzo’s writings to support his argument.⁸⁷ Ham Seok-heon also thought that these sacraments were contrary to the truth,⁸⁸ as did Kim Kyo-sin who believed that a true understanding of the Gospel must render these sacraments irrelevant.⁸⁹ Thus, NCM members do not regard the Lord’s Supper and baptism as efficacious. Uchimura Kanzo explains it as follows:

Even if those sacraments appear magnificent and solemn, they have no power to save people from sin. The water used in baptism is just water. It is nothing but water. It has no power to solve the matter of sin. The bread and wine used in the Lord’s Supper are just bread and wine. They are nothing but bread and wine. They have no power to provide eternal life. It is not through the sacraments that God’s grace is given to us. The evidence is that there are wicked men who take the bread and the wine of the Lord’s Supper. In contrast, there are good men who do not take them. Moreover there are Christians who keep both participating in the Lord’s Supper and committing crimes with no regret. Therefore the sacraments practised in the church have nothing to do with salvation.⁹⁰

Quakers, who call for a wholly spiritual ecclesiology, also regard the sacraments as spiritual by focusing on inward baptism and communion (the Eucharist). They emphasise the spiritual nature of the sacraments. Thus, Quakers reject sacraments, religious rites, and the paid ministry because they regard them as by-products of the

⁸⁶ Du-yong Song, “Seryeseongryepyujiron,” *Seongseojoseon*, September 1939, 12-15.

⁸⁷ Song, “Seryewa Seongchanmunje,” *Seongseojoseon*, September 1939 in *Song Du-yong Sinangmunjip*, 2:123-29.

⁸⁸ Seok-heon Ham, “Mugyohoe [무교회 Non-Church],” *Seongseojoseon*, April 1936, 82.

⁸⁹ Kyo-sin Kim, “Uriui Mugyohoe,” *Seongseojoseon*, June 1937 in *Mugyohoeran Mueotinya? [무교회란 무엇인가? What Is the Non-Church Movement?]*, ed. Jin-gu Yi (Seoul: Boram, 2003), 10.

⁹⁰ Uchimura, “Seryewa Seongchan,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1912 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:539.

temporal and corrupt church. For Quakers, sacraments are considered to be humanly artificial forms. Instead, Quakers believe in and practice spiritual baptism and spiritual Eucharist in their worship. Quaker sacramental theology does not focus on what God did in the past but on the real presence of God in the act of worship and what God will do in the future. In their beliefs, outward forms, rites and ceremonies are considered part of the old Jewish covenant. After Jesus Christ, a new spiritual covenant was established, free from ritual, ceremony and symbolism. Therefore, the cultic practices of the old covenants were superseded and replaced by the new spiritual ones through Christ. Furthermore, Quakers do not see the sacraments as having been founded on the teachings of Christ. There is no report of his baptizing others (John 4:2), and the Trinitarian reference occurs only in Matthew. Furthermore, there is no record of its actual use in New Testament times. Quakers interpret the story of Cornelius (Acts 10:44-48) as indicating that water baptism is unnecessary. As Cooper notes, for the Quakers, “the inward way of the Spirit is not dependent on specific visible signs. Any outward sign may become a hindrance to experiencing the presence and grace of God. It is only the living presence of Christ that is efficacious for reconciliation with God.”⁹¹

The primary concern of Quakers is to help worshippers directly and immediately experience the presence of God. They want to experience Christ’s grace, power, and transforming love at firsthand, not by hearing second-hand reports from the clergy. They regard the traditional sacraments as mediatory, indirect, worthless, and irrelevant, because they hold that worship is only efficacious insofar as one touches and experiences God directly in the act. Therefore, they aim to do away with the unnecessary mediatory system and instead establish spiritual sacraments. By this, they

⁹¹ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 122.

mean the liturgy of silence. In the spiritual sacraments, believing the inward way of the Spirit does not require reliance on rites, ceremonies, and liturgical aids. It is an encounter with God through the help of the Inner Light.⁹²

Thus, members of both movements regard the sacraments as unnecessary. Since Uchimura Kanzo, the founding father of the NCM, developed his thoughts on this, there has been no change in views about the sacraments among NCM groups.⁹³ For NCM members, the practice of the sacraments is simply an expression of Christians' love for God and gratitude to God. Yet the practice of the sacraments is not obligatory. Therefore, the inner state can be expressed in other ways preferred by individual believers. For example, instead of taking bread and wine, one can go to a mountain valley and spend time there praying for God's grace, or one can share one's food with the poor in order to please Christ.⁹⁴

In Quakerism, Jesus is the primordial sacrament, because God was incarnate in Jesus Christ.⁹⁵ People are called to become living signs of the invisible reality of God's presence if they wish to become Christ's disciples. For Quakers, the call to discipleship is not to participate in the sacraments but to "live sacramentally."⁹⁶ Likewise, NCM members place an emphasis on the sacramental life. Practising the sacraments is not just

⁹² See Pink Dandelion, *A Sociological Analysis of the Theology of Quakers: The Silent Revolution* (Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 1.4.1; Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 101-102, 113-14. Major changes occurred in the worship and ministry of Orthodox (Gurney) Quakers in America in the 1850s and 1860s due to the influence of Wesleyan revivalism. As a result, a pastoral/programmed form of worship and ministry was adopted among Quakers, which called for pastoral training of ministers. Since the late eighteenth century, there have existed several views of the sacraments among Quakers. Some groups of Quakers regard the sacraments as an impediment to experiencing God; other groups of Quakers allow for the practise of the sacraments.

⁹³ Du-yong Song, "Seryeseongryepyejiron," *Seongseojoseon*, September 1939, 12-15.

⁹⁴ Uchimura, "Serye Seongchan Pyejiron," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, February 1901 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:547-48.

⁹⁵ Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 200-203; Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 46-50, 112.

⁹⁶ Alan Kolp, "Friends, Sacraments and the Future," in *Friends and the Sacraments* by James Johnson and Wilmer Albert Cooper (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1981), 10-13; Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 212-16.

participating in the rituals, but it involves living a perfect life.⁹⁷

Both the NCM and Quakerism reject the sacraments. They regard the outward rituals, such as the Lord's Supper and water baptism, as by-products of the temporal and corrupt church. In their view, the sacraments are mediatory, and thus non-essential in finding the way to God.⁹⁸ Yet there is one difference between them. Quakers seek to encounter God through silence. The liturgy of silence is the spiritual sacrament for Quakers. In contrast, NCM members seek to know the way of God through the learning of the Bible, because they believe they can experience the presence of God this way. Thus, for NCM members, learning is regarded as the spiritual sacrament leading them into the right path. For them, the real sacrament is to study the Bible with piety.⁹⁹

5.6. The Quaker Belief in the Priesthood of All Believers as an Element in NCM Ecclesiology

As noted previously, NCM members regarded the Reformation as a failure because it did not bring about the priesthood of all believers as Quakerism did. For both NCM members and Quakers, Protestantism is an obsolete and failed religious movement, because, in their view, true Protestantism must involve the direct experience of God without mediation.¹⁰⁰ Yet Protestantism did not achieve the objective of bringing about a flat, egalitarian ecclesiology. Therefore, the NCM believed there is a

⁹⁷ Uchimura, *Matt.*, vol. 8 of *Uchimura Kanzo Seongseojuseok* [内村鑑三 註解 Uchimura Kanzo's *Commentaries*], trans. Seong-ho Lee, 17 vols. (Seoul: Seongseoyeonguwon, 2001), 8:441-44.

⁹⁸ Uchimura, "Serye Seongchan Pyejiron," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, February 1901 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:545-49.

⁹⁹ Uchimura, "Seryewa Seongchan," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, September 1912 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:542-43.

¹⁰⁰ Uchimura, "Jonggyogaehyeokeul Dasi Hal Pilyo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1928 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:175; Uchimura, "Uriui Peuroteseutanteujuui," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, July 1904 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:567.

need for a New Protestantism to supersede the Old Protestantism,¹⁰¹ one that is free of clergy and characterized by the priesthood of all believers.

Quakers and NCM members believe that one essential factor of the Reformation was the emphasis on the egalitarian relationship of all believers. Because the Reformation did not succeed in establishing this, NCM members want to do so by fulfilling the Quaker quest for a flat ecclesiology.¹⁰² While the two movements emphasise the priesthood of all believers, there is a subtle difference between their approaches. NCM members claim that Christianity should be a lay movement without the clergy, while Quakers insist on becoming “a fellowship of ministers” by abolishing the laity.¹⁰³ Yet the laity in the NCM is expected to take up priestly duties by mediating between God and people. NCM members prefer to be called the common people rather than the nobility. Likewise, they prefer to be lay people rather than priests and clergy.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the laity in the NCM is expected to function as the priesthood. Precisely speaking, all Christians are able to operate in the priestly office.¹⁰⁵

The egalitarian nature of the revelation available to all and the priesthood of all believers are the most important features in Quaker theology. Quakers have a strong conviction that people can have a direct and immediate relationship with God who is the author of their faith and human existence. According to Carole Spencer, it is this

¹⁰¹ Uchimura, “Need of Re-Reformation,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1928 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:534; Uchimura, “New Protestantism,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1928 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:534-36.

¹⁰² Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 205-206.

¹⁰³ Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 206.

¹⁰⁴ Uchimura, “Pyeongmingwa Pyeongsindo,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:366-67; Uchimura, “Pyeongminui Chingu,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:367; Uchimura, “Geuriseudowa Gatidoira,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 3:367; Uchimura, “Hananimi Saranghasineun Saram,” *Tokyo dokuritsu zasshi*, June 1900 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:545-47; Uchimura, “Cham Pyeongmin,” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, July 1921 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 9:548-49.

¹⁰⁵ Uchimura, “Jesajangiran Mueotinga?” *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1911 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 6:459-61.

emphasis on firsthand religious experience that is the basis of their authority, and this makes them not dependent upon clerical authority.¹⁰⁶ In this sense, everyone is equal, and anyone who has the Light within can have a relationship with God, without the help of other intermediaries. Thus, like the NCM, Quakerism thoroughly adheres to the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers.¹⁰⁷

Some critics may raise the question of how the emphasis on the priesthood of all believers in Quakerism and the NCM differs from other denominations. After all, the priesthood of all believers is also typical of Pentecostalism, Presbyterianism, and Methodism. Yet, NCM members and Quakers do not think that these denominations adhere completely to a doctrine of the priesthood of all believers because they do not have a flat ecclesiology. To put it differently, for NCM members and Quakers, these denominations are judged a failure because they have retained a dichotomised system of clergy and laity. In contrast, the NCM and Quakerism are judged a success because they do not have such a system,¹⁰⁸ that is, they do not have clergy.

The foregoing has shown that Quakers and NCM members both insist on the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Both place an emphasis on the egalitarian relationship among Christians, that is, a flat ecclesiology.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, similar to the Quakers, NCM members regard tithes as neither necessary nor compulsory. In the egalitarian community, tithes are considered unnecessary. In Quakerism, with its understanding of direct revelation through the Light within, all participate in the intimacy with God and all are part of the priesthood of all believers. Ministry is freely given and freely received. All financial giving and support for ministry must be

¹⁰⁶ Carole Dale Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism* (Colorado Springs: Paternoster, 2007), 15.

¹⁰⁷ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 18-22.

¹⁰⁸ Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 21-22, 205-206.

¹⁰⁹ Pink Dandelion, *The Liturgies of Quakerism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 29.

voluntary.

5.7. The Influence of the Radical Reformation

Especially in the areas of church polity and discipline, NCM tenets have certain affinities with groups belonging to the Radical Reformation, such as the Anabaptists, the Mennonites, and the Church of Brethren. This is probably because the Radical Reformation represented by Anabaptists exerted an influence on Quakerism, which in turn affected the NCM.

Many points that Quakers and NCM members emphasise are found in the groups associated with the Radical Reformation. It is quite probable that George Fox, consciously or unconsciously, partook of a varied religious menu served up by Seekers, and other Christian groups of the Radical Reformation.¹¹⁰ According to Dandelion, “The Seekers were a group who eschewed the outward forms as part of worship, convinced they were trappings of apostasy. They met in silence until their minister addressed them.”¹¹¹ Brinton suggests that the Seekers “ripe for Fox’s message”.¹¹² They were an unorganised, fluid group, consisting of those who had departed from all established forms of religion to seek for something better. Sometimes they did this through waiting on the Lord in silence.¹¹³ In addition to the Anabaptists, there were other groups, such as the Spiritualists and the Rationalists in the Radical Reformation. The term, “the Radical Reformation,” has been used with increasing frequency to refer to the Anabaptist movement. In other words, it refers to the wing of the Reformation

¹¹⁰ See Douglas Gwyn, *Seekers Found: Atonement in Early Quaker Experience* (Wallingford: Pendle Hill Publications, 2000), 93-94; William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story: An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 303.

¹¹¹ Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 14.

¹¹² Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years*, 9.

¹¹³ Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years*, 9.

that went beyond what the mainline Reformers, such as Martin Luther (1483-1546), Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), and John Calvin (1509-64) envisaged, and those who wanted a more far-reaching Reformation than that sought by the Reformers.

The Radical Reformation placed an emphasis on sanctification rather than justification. Its theology admitted the possibility of attaining a state of perfection. Furthermore, the radicals believed that they could establish a holy church.¹¹⁴ This belief proceeded further in the direction of sectarian divisions. The same phenomenon applied to Pietism, Quakerism, and the NCM. This is reminiscent of the claims of the NCM, not to mention the soteriology of Quakerism. They all have a passion for achieving moral perfection.

NCM members, who aspire to a life of perfection, have argued that the traditional and denominational churches are critically ill and devoid of the spirit of the Reformation. Consequently, they urge the necessity of a Re-Reformation as the Radical Reformation did.¹¹⁵

The world needs the Re-Reformation of the Christian Religion. The Reformation of the sixteenth century ended as an arrested movement. Institutionalised Protestantism was a return back to the discarded Roman Catholicism. We need another Reformation to bring Protestantism to its logical consequences. The new Protestantism must be perfectly free, without a trace of ecclesiasticism in it—a fellowship, not an institution—free communion of souls, not a system or an organization. Practically, it will be churchless Christianity, calling no man bishop or pastor, save Jesus Christ, the Son of God.¹¹⁶

As noted, Anabaptists, Quakers, and NCM members have several common points, including a general distrust of external authority and an emphasis upon pacifism

¹¹⁴ It was a reaction against an over-intellectual faith. Unlike the mainline Reformers, the Anabaptists did not think sin as bondage of the will. In the Anabaptist theology, the concept of sin is not dealt with so seriously as in the Reformed theology.

¹¹⁵ Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1999), 204-206.

¹¹⁶ Uchimura, "Need of Re-Reformation," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, April 1928 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:534; Uchimura, "Radical Reform," *Yorzu Choho*, September 1897 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 16:266; Uchimura, "On Reforms and Reformers," *Yorzu Choho*, March 1898 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 16:409-411.

and non-resistance. Anabaptist worship mainly consisted of two things: Scripture reading and annotating of the verses.¹¹⁷ It is evident that this style of worship is reminiscent of the NCM's Sunday Bible lectures.

Some Anabaptists actually proclaimed the eventual salvation of all persons, as did the Quakers and members of the NCM. Hans Denck, the contemplative Anabaptist, who insisted on universal salvation, was a key figure of this group.¹¹⁸ They showed distinctive features such as adhering to a simple life, non-resistance, and believers' baptism.¹¹⁹

They regarded Anabaptism as a form of Christian Primitivism, and as a way to overcome the matter of the decline of the church, in other words, as the restoration of the true church.¹²⁰ In the same way, the NCM has also claimed to be a form of primitive Christianity and tried to achieve the restoration of the true church.

Thomas Müntzer (c.1488-1525) and the Anabaptists in Münster believed that God's revelation still continued, and he rejected infant baptism. Müntzer's anticlericalism is mirrored in the NCM.¹²¹

On the other hand, Hans Denck (c.1495-1527), who emphasized the love of God, represented the contemplative or spiritualistic Anabaptists.¹²² The Contemplative Anabaptists stressed the Inner Word as Quakers highlighted the Inner Light. Denck believed that the Inner Word is in each person, and people can walk in God's way by the

¹¹⁷ Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 188-197.

¹¹⁸ Chadwick, *The Reformation*, 188-197.

¹¹⁹ Franklin H. Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (Paris: The Baptist Standard Bearer, 1958), chaps. 3 & 4.

¹²⁰ Littell, *The Anabaptist View of the Church*, chaps. 3 & 4.

¹²¹ Tom Scott, *Thomas Muntzer: Theology and Revolution in the German Reformation* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 36-37, 165-67. Andrew Bradstock, *Faith in the Revolution: The Political Theologies of Muntzer and Winstanley* (London: SPCK, 1997), 21, 32-35; George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952), 46-48.

¹²² Estep, *The Anabaptist Story*, 116. Interestingly, the Unitarians, Quakers, and Baptists have claimed Hans Denck (c.1495-1527) as one of themselves.

power of it.¹²³ In his opinion, even the devil would eventually be saved. This notion of universal salvation is also echoed in both Quakerism and the NCM. God created all persons equal, and Jesus is the normative model for Christians.¹²⁴ Like Denck, NCM members have tried to establish an egalitarian community of common people without ecclesiastical titles, and maintain a passion for perfection.

5.8. The Influence of Pietism

It seems evident that there are also certain affinities with Pietism within the NCM. This is because Jacob Boehme (1575-1624) of Radical Pietism influenced the founding father of Quakerism, George Fox, and George Fox's Quakerism in turn influenced the NCM.¹²⁵ Moreover, the Anabaptism of the Radical Reformation is generally considered one of the roots of Pietism.¹²⁶

It is worth noting that a German radical pietist, Jacob Boehme, influenced George Fox. Boehme was a shoemaker and mystic who united a concern for personal religious experience, in reaction to Lutheran scholasticism, with speculation about the nature of God and his relation to creation.¹²⁷ He believed that God commanded him to write the visions he had seen. His pacifism, universalism, and spiritualistic interpretations of the church became the basis of Radical Pietism. Universal Restoration,

¹²³ Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, 2:436.

¹²⁴ Dyck, *An Introduction to Mennonite History*, 64. John Baillie, John T. McNeill, and Henry P. Van Dusen, gen. eds., *The Library of Christian Classics*, vol. 25, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers*, eds. George Huntston Williams, Angel M. Mergal (London: SCM Press, 1957), 101. In order to understand the Scriptures correctly, believers need the presence of the Spirit who inspired the authors. In his thought "the Word was in human beings for this purpose, that it might divinise them, as happens to all the elect;" Alfred Coutts, *Hans Denck* (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1927), 198. He thought that Jesus Christ is the true Light, but in some way, the Logos incarnate in humanity is more important than the Logos incarnate in Jesus Christ.

¹²⁵ Hartmann, *The Life and Doctrines of Jacob Boehme* (n.p: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.).

¹²⁶ Dale W. Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, rev. ed. (Grantham: Evangel Publishing House, 1996), 15-18; Jill Raitt, ed., *World Spirituality*, vol. 17, *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1987), 335.

¹²⁷ See Franz Hartmann, *The Life and Doctrines of Jacob Boehme: The God-Taught Philosopher* (n.p: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.).

Spiritualism, Inner Word, Noncreedalism, Communalism, Celibacy, and Millennial Kingdom have all been used to explain Radical Pietism. Boehme emphasised the indwelling Spirit above the Bible and rejected the institutional church. It is believed that George Fox read the writings of Jacob Boehme, which were translated into English, and often quoted from the German mystic.¹²⁸ Boehme believed that letters kill human souls, and therefore believers should be guided not by the Bible but by the Holy Spirit, who still inspires believers. Many common points between them can be found in Fox's work, *the Journal*. Evelyn Underhill insisted that Quakerism was greatly influenced by Jacob Boehme.¹²⁹

The Thirty Years' War (1618-48) left Germany devastated, and shattered the unity of church and society. Ordinary Christians were tired of theological controversy. As Gerald R. Cragg points out, while the church seemed blind to the need for people, "logic, pedantry, and the parade of learning had sometimes usurped the central place even in worship."¹³⁰ Rigidity appeared to be triumphant. Pietism was started under such circumstances. "It was the protest of living faith against a lifeless and unbending orthodoxy."¹³¹

Pietism assigned its emphasis on God to the members of the church, or to the inner person. Its two basic concepts were edification and godliness, and it believed in the importance of a fruitful life. Pietists desired the reform of the visible Church, that is, the people known by their possession of the Scripture and sacraments. However, their focus was not on doctrine but on the impure life. They wanted to maintain and continue

¹²⁸ Jean Hatton, *George Fox, the Founder of the Quakers* (Oxford: Monarch Books, 2007), 72, 97.

¹²⁹ Evelyn Underhill, *Mystics of the Church* (Harrisburg: Morehouse Publishing, 1975), 219.

¹³⁰ Gerald R. Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 99-100.

¹³¹ Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789*, 100.

the fruits of the Reformation.¹³² Christianity was not meant to be a complicated system of puzzling tenets, but the practice of a transforming way of life. Faith must find outward expression.¹³³

Against the accusation that they were indifferent to doctrines, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) repeatedly spoke of apostolic simplicity.¹³⁴ Gerald R. Cragg states that Spener “showed that simplicity and evangelical fervour could make preaching once more relevant to daily needs.”¹³⁵ Pietists stressed the simplification of life criticising the luxury and extravagance that the German upper class copied from Versailles.¹³⁶

For early Quakers, the Bible was an important part of their religious lives and activities. They also acknowledged its authority, spent much time in reading it, and took it seriously as a religious guide for their lives. Yet they did not consider it as a supreme touchstone to judge doctrines, religions, and opinions. In Quakerism, the Bible is esteemed as a secondary rule of faith, subordinate to the Holy Spirit. In their opinion, the Holy Spirit gave rise to the Scripture, not the other way round. The Scripture is compared to a stream that flows from a fountain, which is the Holy Spirit. The Bible is only a reflection of the fountain; it is not the fountain itself.¹³⁷

In contrast, for Pietists, the Bible was the means for the reformation of the

¹³² Carter Lindberg, ed., *The Pietist Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 86-87. For Pietists, the Church is distinguished between the invisible Church, that is the true believers known only to God, and the visible Church, that is the people known by their possession of the Word and sacraments.

¹³³ Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789*, 101.

¹³⁴ Carter Lindberg, ed., *The Pietist Theologians*, 84-114; Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, 32-33. There were two important doctrines: “acknowledgment of our unholiness and incapacity; and faith in Christ the Son of God, who is true man, who has made satisfaction for us, who has gained for us forgiveness and reconciliation, and who has given power and impulses to our new life.”

¹³⁵ Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789*, 101.

¹³⁶ Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789*, 105.

¹³⁷ In fact, they made use of the Bible in their preaching many times. Early Quakers, like George Fox, William Penn, and Robert Barclay, thought that it was the Holy Spirit, which they saw as a touchstone and guideline. Namely, the Holy Spirit is the source of the Bible. Therefore, people should listen to the former rather than the latter even though the Bible is the word of God.

church. Pietism exalted the supremacy of the Bible, in the same way that Puritanism and Protestantism did. The Bible is the source and norm of correct doctrine, and is regarded as above the Creeds. It led to undercutting of the authority of the church, and it opened the door to private interpretation of the Bible by the laity. For this reason, Pietists were criticised for substituting private for churchly interpretation. Pietism put an emphasis on the teleological application of the Bible in daily life. Pietists understood the purpose of the Bible as to educate, comfort, encourage, caution, reproach, and help the church and its members, as well as to lead people to God by bringing about repentance and change. According to Brown, "For Pietists, the Bible became a devotional resource more than a source of doctrine, a guide to life rather than just the source of belief and faith.... Pietism's view of the authority of the Bible and of the necessity of the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit nurtured significant practical exegetical implications, which were to lead to greater freedom and subjectivity in hermeneutics."¹³⁸ For Pietists, a Spiritless Bible would paralyse the very religious life. They regarded the Bible as a dead book without the Holy Spirit who enables the dead letter of the writings to become a living power within people. The internal testimony of the Holy Spirit enlightens the mind of the believer in understanding. Philipp Jakob Spener was different from liberal Quakerism in that he insisted that the Bible and the Spirit could not be separated. For him, the Word is the seed as the Spirit the husk. True exegesis was the work of the internal testimony of the Holy Spirit in Pietism. In their understanding of the Bible, Pietism taught that the regenerate could understand the Bible better than could the unregenerate.¹³⁹ Comparing the two understandings of the Bible, it seems clear that the

¹³⁸ Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, 48, 51

¹³⁹ Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, 48, 51

NCM's understanding is closer to Pietism's view of the Bible.¹⁴⁰

While Quakers' yearned for holiness of life, Pietists craved new birth. Against a faith that is morally indifferent, Jakob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) called for a living faith. According to McGrath, Pietism reflected "a growing disillusionment and impatience with the sterility of orthodoxy in the face of the shocking social conditions"¹⁴¹ after the Thirty Years' War. "For Pietism, a reformation of doctrine must always be accompanied by a reformation of life."¹⁴² For Pietists, the Christian faith can be summarised as repentance, faith, and a new obedience. Repentance forms the first stage on the way to salvation. Pietists believed that regeneration must always be preceded by agonies of repentance.¹⁴³ Also obedience to God involves the imitation of Christ. This reflected Pietism's desire to bring faith and works into a living relationship. Faith and good works should be bound together like the sun and its rays. In Pietism, justification and sanctification are understood as bound together in perfect coordination. For Pietists good works were seriously considered to be marks of true faith. Good work was thought to be a necessary attribute of saved sinners. The NCM had similar aspirations. In an essay entitled "Perfection and Humility", published in March 1922, Uchimura stated:

Perfection is the greatest possible attainment of life.... Perfection is attained so very slowly in our actual experiences.... By little and little the Merciful Father will drive imperfections out from within our hearts, lest by becoming perfect too suddenly, worse imperfections may multiply against us than the imperfections of flesh and mind, and desolation reign in the domain of spirit. So then, in the matter of perfection, as in every thing else, may His will be done, and not ours.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Uchimura, "Yuilhan Chaek," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1911 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:21-22; Uchimura, "Seongseoui Jonguihan Kkadak," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1929 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:23; Uchimura, "Seongseoui Jonguihan Iyu," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:23-24; Uchimura, "Hananimui Malssemeuroseoui Seongseo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1923 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:67-68; Uchimura, "Pyeongminui Chaekuroseoui Seongseo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1914 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:270-71.

¹⁴¹ McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 73.

¹⁴² McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 73.

¹⁴³ McGrath, *Christian Theology*, 73.

¹⁴⁴ Uchimura, "Perfection and Humility," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1922 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:468; Uchimura, "Faith and Perfection," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1923 in *Uchimura*

German Pietism also influenced Julius H. Seelye, the president of Amherst College in Massachusetts, and Seelye in turn influenced Uchimura Kanzo. Consequently, both Pietism and the NCM have several important points of resemblance, for example, respect for the authority of the Bible. For this reason, the NCM can be called a descendent of Pietism. Actually, Quakerism was also inspired and influenced by German Pietism.

Pietists advocated religious freedom. Spener and Francke took a stand against the coercive hand of the state in religious matters.¹⁴⁵ According to Gerald R. Cragg, Pietism “paved the way for the humanism and the universalism of the Enlightenment.”¹⁴⁶ The profound upheaval of the Thirty Years’ War, understood to be a consequence of human depravity, caused the Pietists to greatly yearn for peace and want to avoid all violent conflicts between confessions.

Even though Spener and Francke acknowledged a functional distinction between the clergy and the laity, they believed that all Christians could be priests. Spener defined spiritual priesthood as “the right which our Saviour Jesus Christ has purchased for all men, and for which He anoints all believers with His Holy Spirit, in virtue of which they may and shall bring sacrifices acceptable to God, pray for themselves and others, and severally edify themselves and their neighbours.”¹⁴⁷ In this way, Pietism placed a new emphasis on the role of the laity in the church. Spener

Kanzo Zenshu, 20 vols., 1932-33, 15:480; Uchimura, “What Can Be Done without Righteousness?” *Yorozu Choho*, September 1897 in *Uchimura Kanzo Zenshu*, 20 vols., 1932-33, 16:269.

¹⁴⁵ Brown, *Understanding Pietism*, 33. Pietists showed a more irenic and tolerant attitude toward other religious groups; such as the Reformed, the Eastern Orthodox, and even Roman Catholics. Pietists claimed “heresy should be fought vigorously with the weapons of prayer for unbelievers, love for heretics, persuasion instead of physical force and argumentation by pious example.”

¹⁴⁶ Cragg, *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648-1789*, 106.

¹⁴⁷ Philipp Jakob Spener, *The Spiritual Priesthood*, trans. A. G. Voigt (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1917), 15.

wanted more participation of lay people in church polity and sought to establish a more democratised polity. It led to an increased democratisation of polity. He also developed small private gatherings (*collegia pietatis*). The NCM had a similar emphasis on edification and godliness, the need for reformation of both doctrine and life, religious freedom, and the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Hence, it suggests a likely link between Pietism and the NCM. Moreover, as stated above, it seems clear that the NCM's approach to the Bible is close to that of Pietism.¹⁴⁸ For this reason, it can be tentatively suggested that the NCM faithfully reflects the teachings of Pietism.

5.9. Quaker Spirituality

As has been argued, it seems evident that Quakerism, influenced by the Radical Reformation and Pietism, was a significant influence upon the NCM. But there are important differences between them, even though it seems that the NCM borrowed many theological principles from Quakerism. For instance, it is hard to find evidence of Quaker spirituality in the NCM. As noted, Quaker spirituality is based on a conviction that revelation is still ongoing. Quakers believe that God, who revealed Himself to His people through the mouth of prophets and apostles, still speaks today. Therefore, it is possible for people to hear the voice of God directly and immediately. Thus, Quaker spirituality involves a search for divine experience and aims at enabling people to experience God's presence directly. For Quakers, silence is the most important means of achieving this. It has made Quakerism distinct from other Christian groups and religions.

¹⁴⁸ Uchimura, "Yuilhan Chaek," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, October 1911 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:21-22; Uchimura, "Seongseoui Jonguihan Kkadak," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, May 1929 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:23; Uchimura, "Seongseoui Jonguihan Iyu," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, December 1906 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:23-24; Uchimura, "Hananimui Malssemeuroseoui Seongseo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, June 1923 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:67-68; Uchimura, "Pyeongminui Chaekeuroseoui Seongseo," *Seiho no Kenkyu*, March 1914 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 5:270-71.

George Fox, one of the founding fathers of Quakerism, claimed to have experienced several direct revelations or “openings”. Quakers prefer the word “openings” to direct revelations. For example, Fox’s experience of direct revelation in 1647, recorded in his journal, was the foundation stone for Quakerism: “Then the Lord did let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give him all the glory; for all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, and faith, and power.”¹⁴⁹ Another important revelation, which influenced Fox’s theology, occurred in 1648:

Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God. All things were new, and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency (sic), and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, so that I say I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell.¹⁵⁰

Fox’s *Journal* describes his openings precisely. From these experiences, George Fox came to be confident that people could experience God directly and immediately. Consequently, he tried to invite people to gain a direct spiritual experience with God. It was an invitation into the freedom of a new corporate fellowship: a plain and simple Christian fellowship, without the authority of an infallible Church or an infallible Bible or the ever-present authority of a professional clergy. Since then, Quakers have tried to achieve this encounter through silence. Thus, in Quaker spirituality, divine reality is achieved through silence. They believe that the fire of the Holy Spirit within comes to people not via the liturgy, or the faithful reading of the Bible, or by sermons, or singing and reading aloud set prayers, but by silence and waiting. Thus, the core of Quaker

¹⁴⁹ George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox* (Philadelphia: Religious Society of Friends, 1997), 11.

¹⁵⁰ George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox* (Philadelphia: Religious Society of Friends, 1997), 27.

spirituality involves the search for experience with God through silence. According to Steere, Quakers yearned to have their sense of being with God intensified, or to put it differently, to have an experience of Christ Within rather than a mere knowledge about the transforming power of Christ Within. Robert Barclay wrote of his transforming experience as follows: “When I came into the silent assemblies of God’s people, I felt a secret power among them, which touched my heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me and the good raised up.”¹⁵¹

For Quakers, to encounter God, only silence is required. Other things such as liturgy, sermon, and sacraments are unnecessary. In some Quaker groups, music is used in worship, but it is not an essential part of worship. They believe that nobody can truly experience the presence of God apart from silence. This suggests that they are following the path of Christian mystics, such as Teresa of Avila (1515-1582) and John of the Cross (1542-1591) rather than Ignatius Loyola (c. 1491-1556).¹⁵² Quaker spirituality is an apophatic spirituality rather than cataphatic one. Philip Sheldrake explains the difference between these two spiritual paths in Christian spirituality as follows:

The words apophatic and cataphatic have often been used to describe different spiritual paths: apophatic, emphasizing silence, darkness, passivity and the absence of imagery; and cataphatic, emphasizing by contrast the way of images and the positive evaluation of creation or human relationships as contexts for God’s self-revelation.¹⁵³

Teresa of Avila and John of the Cross resorted to an apophatic method, while Ignatius Loyola mainly depended on a cataphatic method.

What must not be forgotten is that Quakers place emphasis on the experience of the whole worshiping community gathered in corporate prayer. They seek to experience the presence of God through corporate prayer and worship. This means that the

¹⁵¹ Douglas V. Steere, “Introduction,” in *Quaker Spirituality, Selected Writings*, ed. Douglas V. Steere (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1984), 15.

¹⁵² Dandelion, *The Liturgies of Quakerism*, 28-29.

¹⁵³ Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality and History* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 199.

individualism, pride and possessiveness that often creep into private prayer are lessened. Thus, for Quakers, worship is not a matter just for individuals but a matter for the corporate body of Christ.¹⁵⁴

In corporate worship, all participants are assumed to be willing vehicles for a message. If any feel inwardly drawn to speak, they rise and share with others in the meeting. Quakers believe that in the exercise of vocal ministry, the constant love of God is forever speaking to people. In the ministry, communication between participants and God is intensified. In Quaker worship, the vocal ministry is used to articulate the love of God and to confirm and consolidate what participants have already been inwardly experiencing. As noted previously, Quakers also make provision in the meeting for business. The meeting is not run by voting but by seeking the Inward Light within together. The spirit of corporate worship is applied to decision-making. Therefore, the corporate spirituality of Quakerism not only deals with spiritual realm but also earthly one.¹⁵⁵

It is difficult to find the Quaker emphasis on silence in the NCM. Moreover, the corporate nature of Quaker spirituality is only present in a weak form. This raises the question of why the NCM does not follow Quaker spirituality. This can be explained by the fact that the NCM adopted the Confucian spirituality of learning as its spiritual methodology rather than the Quaker spirituality of silence. As previously noted, in their childhood, the early members of the NCM were educated in the Neo-Confucian tradition. Thus, they all learned the way of Confucian spirituality in their formative years. Following their conversion and adoption of most of the Quaker tenets, including the principles of flat ecclesiology, it seems that they were reluctant to abandon this

¹⁵⁴ Dandelion, *The Liturgies of Quakerism*, 94-99.

¹⁵⁵ Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 106-108.

spirituality as a means of seeking the presence of God.

In both Korea and Japan, the Principle School of Chu Hsi prevailed, rather than the Idealistic School of Wang Yang-ming. However, in terms of spirituality, Quakerism resembles the Idealistic School of Wang Yang-ming rather than the Principle School of Chu Hsi. In Quakerism, as has been noted, spiritual experience with God is most important, while preaching, theology, and the study of the Bible are downplayed. Likewise, in the Idealistic School, the most important thing is not learning, but reflection. Sometimes it seems that learning is of no use in becoming a sage in the Idealistic School.

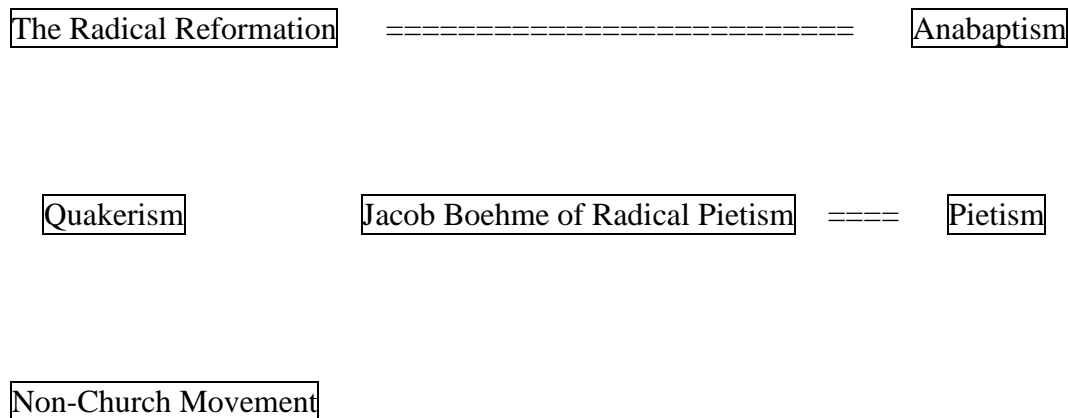
However, the Principle School of Chu Hsi focuses more on learning than on reflection. In this school, while quiet sitting and reflection are important, it is considered impossible to become a sage without learning. In Wang Yang-ming's Neo-Confucianism, however, it is considered desirable to achieve enlightenment through reflection, without the help of learning. Therefore, both Quakerism and the Confucian Idealistic School seem to have similar methods for encountering divine reality. Yet NCM members, who were moulded in the Confucian spirituality of learning during their formative years, were reluctant to abandon this in favour of the Quaker spirituality of silence, which is similar to Wang Yang-ming's spirituality. This is analogous to the fact that Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism, once accepted in both Korea and Japan, did not yield its initiative to Wang Yang-ming's teaching.¹⁵⁶

5.10. Summary

From the foregoing, it is evident that many important factors of the Radical

¹⁵⁶ Many Korean Confucians, like Yi I (pen name: Yulgok, 1536-1584), could not accept Wang Yang-ming's theory after once adopting the Principle School's theory.

Reformation, Pietism, and Quakerism came to be inextricably intertwined in the NCM. Thus, the NCM has incorporated the spirit of the Radical Reformation, Pietism, and Quakerism, and, in a sense, it might not be wrong to call the NCM a descendent of the three movements. This is illustrated in the following model:



There were clearly interactions between the different groups of the Radical Reformation. Howard H. Brinton presumed that mystics in Rhineland Germany, such as the Friends of God and the Brethren of the Common Life, who had much in common with Quakers, might have gone to Britain to escape persecution, and thus influenced the shape of Quaker theology.¹⁵⁷ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Anabaptists were eager to print and distribute the religious writings of the Friends of God in Germany.¹⁵⁸ Cornelius J. Dyck clarifies the point that Quakerism shows signs of influence from Anabaptism. “As early as 1535-36, twenty-five Dutch Anabaptists were arrested and brought to trial in England. Anabaptist writings were known there even earlier. Most of

¹⁵⁷ Howard H. Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years* (Wallingford: Pendle Hill Publishing, 1994), xii.

¹⁵⁸ Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, 2:433-34; Jill Raitt, ed., *World Spirituality*, vol. 17, *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1987), 158. “These groups encouraged one another to seek the most intimate union with God.” One of important leaders of the mystics was John Tauler (1300-1361) who was a royal disciple of Henry Suso (1295-1365) and Meister Eckhart (1260-1328). The phrase “Friends of God” has a biblical origin (John 15:14). Interestingly, Quakers have also used the term “friends” to refer to themselves.

these early refugees came to escape the wrath following the tragedy of Münster.”¹⁵⁹ William R. Estep also alludes to the probability of the influence of Anabaptism on Quakerism. He notes that the largest number of Quaker martyrs in Britain came from areas where the activity of Anabaptism had been strongest from 1560 to 1568. George Fox and other Quakers travelled extensively among the Mennonites in the Netherlands and Germany in the seventeenth century. Estep cautiously states that George Fox’s many ideas were current in contemporaneous movements, and he consciously or unconsciously took the various religious thoughts of Seekers and other small religious movements.¹⁶⁰ According to Dandelion, Seekers eschewed the outward forms as part of worship, and met in silence.¹⁶¹ Owen Chadwick believed that part of George Fox’s message was that of many Anabaptists.¹⁶² According to William C. Braithwaite, a group of Baptists in Nottinghamshire became the channel through which George Fox and his followers were infected with Anabaptism.¹⁶³ Yet Estep insists that Quakerism was not simply a pale reflection of some previous religious movements.¹⁶⁴

Thus, it seems that the roots of Quakerism can be traced to the Radical Reformation and Pietism, and, as has been shown, Quakerism influenced the NCM. Concerning the reason for the influence of Pietism on the NCM, it could be partly explained by the fact that Uchimura’s spiritual father, Julius H. Seelye, the president of

¹⁵⁹ Cornelius J. Dyck, *An Introduction to Mennonite History* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1993), 117-19.

¹⁶⁰ William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story: An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 303-304.

¹⁶¹ See Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 14.

¹⁶² See also Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 241-44. The common factors were a repudiation of oaths and military service, a radical suspicion of external forms of religion, a belief that the simplest might wait upon the Spirit and a conviction that learning and study afforded no advantage in interpreting the Bible.

¹⁶³ William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1961), 43-45.

¹⁶⁴ William R. Estep, *The Anabaptist Story: An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism*, 304.

Amherst College, built his faith on the basis of German Pietism.¹⁶⁵ Consequently, numerous significant theological facets of the Radical Reformation, Pietism, and Quakerism came to be interwoven in the NCM.

However, NCM members have kept silent about these commonalities, especially those between the NCM and Quakerism. It seems that Uchimura Kanzo never publicly spoke of the influence of Quakerism on him, even though he confessed privately that he almost considered himself a member of the Society of Friends. Nevertheless, it is probable that Quakerism significantly influenced the NCM. This understanding can best explain why and how the NCM has come to have so much in common with the Radical Reformation, Pietism, and Quakerism.

We have noted the clear similarities between NCM theology and the tenets of Quakerism. Yet it is also true that there exist certain inconsistencies. For example, NCM members have not adopted the Quaker emphasis on silent worship for seeking the presence of God, and they respect the authority of the Bible more than the members of the Society of Friends do. Moreover, the NCM does not focus on the communal dimension of the Sunday meeting in the same way as Quakerism. Quaker worship is “a group experience of communion with Christ who is present in the midst of His gathered people.”¹⁶⁶ However, NCM members tend to be steeped in individualism and have perhaps overemphasized personal responsibility before God at the expense of communal dimension.

The main difference between the NCM and Quakerism is in the area of spirituality. NCM spirituality involves the search for divine experience through learning,

¹⁶⁵ John F. Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet Uchimura Kanzo 1861-1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 65; Uchimura, “Nai Sinanggobaek,” *Ikugo zasshi* (六合雜誌), November 1891 in *Uchimura Kanzo Jeonjip*, 7:449.

¹⁶⁶ Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 207.

while Quaker spirituality seeks direct divine experience through the communal worship service. The question why is there no Quaker spirituality in the NCM is important. Yet this research has failed to find sufficient evidence to explain this. However, a possible explanation is that the Confucian spiritual methodology of learning developed in the mind of Uchimura Kanzo before he adopted many of the teachings of Quakerism. And this Confucian spirituality previously formed in his mind took precedence over the Quaker spiritual methodology of silent liturgy even after he had absorbed aspects of Quaker theology.

This chapter has described the link between the NCM and Quakerism, which in turn had been influenced by the Radical Reformation and Pietism. NCM members have failed to notice this link and the commonalities between the two movements. The reason for this is still uncertain. Officially, Uchimura Kanzo never asserted the fact that Quakerism influenced him, though he did privately confess that he considered himself a member of the Society of Friends. The fact that the NCM tenets have much in common with Quakerism, as well as his private confession, indicates that Uchimura Kanzo was in fact greatly influenced by Quakerism. For the reasons mentioned above, this research makes the tentative suggestion that Quakerism is the basis for some of the NCM's important ideas.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

This thesis has explored the theological and spiritual aspects of the NCM by examining its contexts, by investigating its tenets, and by exploring the current NCM groups. It attempts to highlight the Confucian influence on the spirituality of the NCM and in particular its emphasis on learning. If spirituality is understood as seeking God and responding to the call to the holiness of life,¹ then the NCM tries to achieve this mainly through learning. The spiritual method enabled NCM members to think independently rather than to depend upon the thoughts and confessions of others. NCM members' strong sense of independence in seeking of God is based on Confucian learning. Previous theses written in English on the NCM have all been from a historical viewpoint. This thesis offers a new approach by discussing the spirituality and characteristics of the NCM from a theological perspective.

The NCM began in Korea in the 1920s, when Korea had been politically, economically, and religiously in turmoil for several decades. Under these circumstances, as stated in chapter two, Koreans had lost faith in the traditional religions and were desperately seeking a new religion to replace the old. Convinced that only a true religion would save both the country and individuals, many chose Christianity instead of the existing major religions of Shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. However, for some Korean Christians, the new Western religion brought to Korea by foreign missionaries and propagated by Korean clergy was not fully acceptable because it did not seem to be totally based on the Bible but largely on supposedly improper

¹ Michael Downey, *Understanding Christian Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 15.

interpretations that were influenced by Western value systems.² NCM members were among those who rejected this institutionalized and Westernized form of Christianity.

For NCM members, Western Christianity is denomination-oriented and clergy-oriented, and is dominated by ecclesiasticism. The NCM believes that the Reformation did not develop an ecclesiology comparable to its rediscovered soteriology. For them, the Reformation ended prematurely. In their desire to fulfil it and in their longing for the complete transformation of Christianity, NCM members feel they need to accurately understand what the Bible teaches.

In order to gain an in-depth understanding of the Bible and to live a faithful life as Christians, NCM members, who were brought up in a Confucian culture, unconsciously or consciously adopted Confucian learning as their main means of attaining spirituality. As a process of reading, understanding, and deliberating, Confucian learning is the study of the ways of Heaven and humans, which are always interconnected in one form or another.³ The best way of learning for Confucianists is reading, especially reading the Confucian classics as a means of studying principles and completing knowledge. Yet learning is not confined to the realm of reading; it is more than a purely academic exercise. For Confucianists, education is intended to cultivate the ways necessary for reaching sagehood. Cultivation can be accomplished through observation, meditation, and learning. Most importantly, without learning, it is impossible to be a sage. One's life must be in full agreement with the ways of Heaven and humans to attain sagehood.

² Emil Brunner, *Christianity and Civilisation*, 2 vols. (London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1947), 5. The NCM members' most powerful motive for trying to disengage Christianity from the concept of Western civilisation was the realisation that the Christian ideals they admired were not commonly upheld in the so-called Christian nations of that civilisation.

³ Julia Ching, "What Is Confucian Spirituality?" in *Confucian Spirituality 1*, ed. Weiming Tu and Mary Evelyn Tucker (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 2003), 87.

Therefore, it is indispensable to know accurately the ways of Heaven and humans, and to faithfully keep those ways in order to become a sage. The role of learning is regarded as crucial in Confucian spirituality, in order not to violate the ways but to keep the mandate of Heaven and attain sagehood. It is the most important path towards perfection. Confucian learning is not simply the reading of books, but a practice or moral training that covers all aspects of social life. Without learning, Confucian spirituality is invalid. According to Confucianists, without a devotion to learning people are prone to foolishness, deviation from the right path, and harmful behaviour. Moreover, being erudite and well informed, understanding the sages' sayings and quoting them accurately, are all important in Confucian learning. For NCM members influenced by this Confucian spirituality, what was most important was to properly interpret the Bible. A failure to grasp the true meaning of the Bible as the message of God can be compared to the failure to understand and apply the ways of Heaven and humans in Confucianism. Accordingly, NCM members devoted their lives to learning and education, in order to avoid mistaken interpretations of the Scriptures. The emphasis on learning in Confucian spirituality lies at the centre of the NCM, as the essential spiritual methodology. For example, as we have shown, the key element of the NCM worship service is the Bible lecture, in which gaining an erudite and well informed understanding of the Bible, and precisely quoting the sayings of authoritative experts, is expected.

NCM members believe that the movement represents a challenge to authoritarian ecclesiastical power which they regard as a hindrance to the individual believer's free and independent reflection on their faith. They are confident that their movement provides the opportunity for the laity to be agents in the process of

theological reflection and biblical interpretation. The NCM has proved that lay people can be motivated and equipped for ministering to those in need. Historically, in the seventeenth to nineteenth century, Korean Confucian Catholics interpreted the Bible for themselves rather than passively accepting what foreign missionaries propagated. Korean Christianity has been described as “an astonishing example of lay Christianity creating and maintaining itself in a remote and inaccessible area.”⁴ This emphasis on the autonomy of the individual is an important feature of Confucianism.

This thesis has investigated the connection between Quakerism and the NCM, and compared their theological, especially their ecclesiastical characteristics. Even though Quakerism may have strongly influenced the form of the NCM, this influence has not been examined in previous studies of the NCM. This thesis offers a fresh perspective on the NCM by tracing its theological roots to Quakerism. It has shown the way that the NCM has close affinities with Quakerism and the Radical Reformation when it comes to its theology, and especially in terms of its flat ecclesiology and the nature of its egalitarian fellowship. In both Quakerism and the NCM, as we have shown, all Christians are regarded as priests. Furthermore, the features of Quakerism, such as the emphasis on pacifism and the belief in universal salvation, are also found in the NCM. The NCM does not completely reject denominational forms of Christianity. Yet it opposes institutional expressions of Christianity that prevent believers from gaining a deep understanding of Christianity and living a sound Christian life.

However, despite the NCM’s clear ecclesiological affinities with Quakerism, we have noted that the two movements have little in common when it comes to spirituality. Quakers believe that people all have the Inner Light, and that those who

⁴ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 349.

have the Inner Light can hear the voice of God directly and immediately. Quaker spirituality aims at enabling people to have a direct divine experience through the discipline of silence. Thus, silence is the most important method of achieving spirituality and experiencing divine reality. In Quakerism, the performance of liturgy and the sacraments are not considered necessary to encounter God. In their corporate worship, all participants are assumed to be vehicles for a message from God, and when anybody feels inwardly drawn to speak, s/he rises and shares with the meeting.

The thesis has shown that NCM members have a similar view to Quakerism regarding the liturgy and the sacraments. Yet it is difficult to find the spiritual method of silence in the NCM. Rather, it is the Confucian spirituality of learning that has influenced the NCM. As we have suggested, NCM members seek to know God through learning, rather than by following the Quaker method of silent corporate prayer. In other words, the theology, and especially the ecclesiology of the NCM has been influenced by Quakerism. Yet its spirituality bears the marks of the emphasis on learning in Confucian spirituality. This can be explained by the fact that the founding father of the NCM, Uchimura Kanzo, and his pupils were brought up and educated in the Neo-Confucian tradition. Thus, they all learned the way of Confucian spirituality in their formative years, and they used this as a means of experiencing the Christian God after their conversion. This suggests a reluctance to accept Quaker spirituality, even though they adopted most of the ecclesiological tenets of Quakerism, especially its flat ecclesiology. Quakers seek after spiritual baptism instead of practising the sacraments. In the NCM, the spiritual sacrament is the learning of Neo-Confucianism.

The study has also noted that the Radical Reformation and Pietism influenced the NCM indirectly through Quakerism. Just as Pietists called for a living faith, so

NCM members have sought after a living faith that produces sanctification. Traditionally, sanctification is regarded as both instantaneous and progressive. Sanctification is an ongoing process of growth in conformity to the image of Christ. Like Pietism, the NCM is impatient with the sterility of the traditional churches. The NCM demands repentance, faith, and obedient lifestyles because it believes that faith involves more than knowledge of the Bible. Obedience, according to the NCM, involves imitating Christ, but obedience should come from faith and the power of the Spirit, rather than a person's own power and struggle.

As we have argued, the ardent aspiration for perfection of the first generation NCM members can be partly explained in relation to the goal of Confucianism. Confucian *literati* aim to become sages, although it requires a very difficult process of learning and cultivation. A *junzi* is someone who has made great achievement in cultivating her or his virtues and is thereby distinguished from those who are uncultivated. It is so difficult that only a few are expected to attain this goal. Many of the early members of the NCM underwent Confucian education when they were young, and so were aware of Confucian teachings and values. In a sense, it is possible to assume that they all aimed to be a *junzi*. In the case of Kim Kyo-sin, his ambition is reflected in his aim to attain the goal that Confucius attained at sixty, when he was only fifty.⁵ A sage is a person of virtue, a superior man, a princely man, an ideal man. Therefore, when they converted to Christianity, it could be reasonably assumed that they expected to go beyond the status of a Confucian sage. This aspiration led the early NCM members, in particular, to place an emphasis on sanctification.

⁵ Kyo-sin Kim, "Ibsinui Donggi," *Seongseojoseon*, November 1928 and September 1929 in *Kim Kyo-sin Jeonjip* [김교신 전집 *The Complete Works of Kim Kyo-sin*], ed. Pyeong-gu Noh, 7 vols. (Seoul: Buki, 2001), 2:126-31.

6.2. NCM and Liquid Church

The NCM has gained a reputation for being passionate about learning and being faithful to the teachings of the Bible, for maintaining a clean Christian image, and for being devoted to individual spiritual growth. Therefore, through theological analysis, this study has examined the appropriateness of the movement as liquid church, as depicted by Pete Ward, with the hope that it may provide a proper role model for struggling solid churches.⁶ As noted in chapter one, a solid church is congregation-oriented,⁷ while a liquid church is a communication-oriented community rooted in fellowship.⁸

Today, many have left the church, but they are still Christians.⁹ Liquid church takes as its starting point the change that Grace Davie describes as “believing without belonging.”¹⁰ Church attendance in the West is at a very low level. For example, church attendance in England is only about 3% of the population.¹¹ Some researchers are predicting that 60% of all existing Christian congregations in America may disappear before the year 2050.¹² Some mainline denominations lack the necessary finances to maintain their bureaucratic structures and specialist personnel. Smaller congregations are finding that they are no longer economically viable. These struggling churches may be forced to close or amalgamate with other churches. It is also true that the number of Christians in Korea has been in decline, and there is a decline in the number of students taking the Master of Divinity degree. Korean congregations are aging and their numbers

⁶ Ward, *Liquid Church*.

⁷ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 18.

⁸ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 56.

⁹ Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), chap. 6 “Believing Without Belonging.”

¹⁰ Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945*, 93-116.

¹¹ Eddie Gibbs and Ian Coffey, *Church Next: Quantum Changes in Christian Ministry* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 192.

¹² Norman Shawchuck and Gustave Rath, *Benchmarks of Quality in the Church* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 12.

are shrinking. Based on what has happened in the past and predicting what will happen to the churches in North America and Korea, there is a growing concern that a collapse in church attendance and a decline of mainline denominations could eventually happen in Korea, if current trends continue.

Traditionally, church members gather in one place for worship. The traditional church is like a sports club, where active members keep the club going through time-consuming committees. The church has tended to measure its success in terms of the number of people who attend the Sunday worship service. Thus, churches have focused on building larger buildings to hold more people and process more activities.¹³ In the West, many people are leaving the church, yet they are not abandoning their faith in Christianity.¹⁴ They simply do not belong to the solid church.¹⁵ Recently, the number of Christians in Korea has been in decline. Yet it is not because people are uninterested in spiritual experience, but because contemporary churches fail to provide the appropriate spiritual motive to inspire them.¹⁶

As we have noted, Pete Ward, in his book *Liquid Church*, refers to the traditional format of the church as “solid church”. He proposes “liquid church” as a remedy to the problems associated with “solid” churches. Liquid church takes into account contemporary culture and seeks to express the message of the Bible within that culture. In liquid church, communication is more important than gathering, and congregation is replaced with communication. Thus, liquid church is a communication-oriented rather than a gathering-oriented community. That is, it is a network-based community. Small-group meetings are part of liquid church. The early church also met

¹³ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 20.

¹⁴ Davie, *Religion in Britain*, chap. 6.

¹⁵ Davie, *Religion in Britain*, chap. 6.

¹⁶ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 74.

in homes in small numbers. More discussion and participation are likely in this smaller setting. Gibbs and Coffey insist that “the never-churched need to be enveloped by small communities of believers, so that they can see the impact of the gospel in their relationships.”¹⁷

According to Ward, the concept of liquid church involves abandoning congregational structures in favour of a varied and changing diet of worship, prayer, and activity, in order to meet people’s deep spiritual desire.¹⁸ Whereas the solid church ordains those who are safe and steady and willing to maintain the current system church, in the liquid church worshipers “gravitate toward those they perceive as being enlightened and in the know, and these people will emerge as the leaders.”¹⁹

As this thesis has shown, the NCM promotes a flexible pattern of faith community life that seeks to respond to consumer demands. Voluntary, flexible, and occasional bonds seem to work more effectively in binding people together than more rigid ecclesiastical structures. NCM members have enjoyed the benefits of a loose group formation and its associated warm personal relationships. Most importantly, the laity is not the subordinate object but the subject in the movement. Because Jesus was not of the priestly class, the priesthood of all believers is asserted. Furthermore, there is neither physical nor financial burden in the movement because it has no fulltime clergy to support and no church buildings to maintain. The NCM does not focus on increasing the size of their faith community; it is primarily concerned with the individual Christian’s freedom and spiritual growth.

NCM members seek to facilitate a strong sense of independence in seeking God. Leadership is not based on formal appointment and authority. Instead, enlightened

¹⁷ Gibbs, *Church Next: Quantum Changes in Christian Ministry*, 80.

¹⁸ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 89.

¹⁹ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 90.

people emerge as leaders. Leaders are like fellow travellers narrating stories of their experiences along the spiritual journey. This journey may be less comfortable and more demanding compared to what it is like in the solid church, yet NCM members are willing to walk along these pathways.

The NCM, possessing some characteristics of liquid church such as leadership from example,²⁰ is expected to find ways to help people to fulfil their desire for a deeper spiritual life and ministry. Yet it is unfortunate that the movement has not shown that it can appeal to many Christians apart from a small number of those who feel that their spiritual desires are being fulfilled. The NCM has succeeded in appealing to a few intellectuals, but not many ordinary people.

NCM members continually communicate with each other through writing in their magazine and expressing their opinions in the Sunday meeting. Membership is not measured by attendance at the Sunday meeting but in terms of commitment to the movement's beliefs. As we have noted, the NCM is a community based on communication rather than formal gatherings. Writing is a way of enjoying connection with one another. In this sense the NCM is may be regarded as a network-based community. Yet it is also true that the NCM falls a little short of the kind of network-based community that is important for the liquid church. While NCM members earnestly exchange their own Christian convictions and theological insights with each other, to outsiders the NCM might appear more like an interaction between scholars in a seminar than a loving fellowship of Christian brothers and sisters. In addition, critics might argue that the NCM has not achieved its aim of establishing strong ties between members. Through participant observation, the researcher has found that the members

²⁰ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 90.

generally do not desire intimate relationships with each other any more than traditional church members. It seems that this led the NCM to lose an opportunity for growth from the very start. Even when the Korean church grew explosively in the 1970s, the movement did not grow much.

Liquid church abandons congregational structures if it feels this is necessary, especially when it needs to appeal to many people.²¹ The NCM has simplified congregational structures. In this sense, the NCM seems close to liquid church. Yet it is doubtful whether the NCM will abandon its current structures. It is unlikely that it will change its Bible-lecture-centred meeting because learning is regarded as the most important factor in encountering God. Therefore, it is questionable whether the NCM can be called a liquid church because it does not accept any other method apart from learning. It is unlikely to carry out further structural change despite abandoning congregational structures a long time ago “in favour of a varied and changing diet of worship, prayer, study, and activity.”²² Ward explains that liquid church might begin to explore the idea of prayer walks or spiritual journeys instead of adhering to traditional worship service.²³ However, NCM’s Bible study meeting has become just like another traditional worship service. Thus, some doubt remains whether the NCM qualifies as a liquid church because it is unlikely to be willing to make further changes to its structures. The NCM has not been able to meet people’s request of change. It seems that the movement has not grown much for this reason. The Church has changed and adapted its harvesting tools down the ages. Yesterday’s methods may not work today. Yet it does not seem that the movement has such a good ability to adapt to change. The NCM should watch the change in people’s thinking and try to meet their spiritual desires

²¹ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 89.

²² Ward, *Liquid Church*, 89.

²³ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 89.

rather than to simply stick to its traditional method.

As far as the leadership is concerned, the NCM is similar to the liquid church. Ward explains that people in the liquid church gravitate toward those they perceive as being enlightened, and it is the enlightened who emerge as the leaders. In contrast, the solid church ordains those who are safe and steady and willing to hold to the current system.²⁴ In the liquid church, leadership is not based on appointment and authority. Moreover, when Christians seek more committed spiritualities than those they are fed week by week in the pew, liquid church looks for “ways to develop and expand this evident interest in spiritualities of depth.”²⁵ According to Ward, in liquid church, the comfortable lifestyle of solid church is replaced by more demanding spiritual exercises.²⁶ The NCM has tried to find ways to set people free to participate in its Bible study meeting as an expression of their desire for a deeper spiritual path.

Ward describes the solid church’s worship as a regular and regulated weekly diet. In contrast, a more attractive and imaginative approach to events and activities is regarded as an important feature that the liquid church must possess.²⁷ The problem with solid church is its tendency to turn religious activity into a routine even though it was once quite attractive.²⁸ In contrast, “liquid church would see that the short term and an offer for a limited period only will be attractive and catch the eye of the discerning consumer.”²⁹ One of the important things for liquid church to do is to run events for short periods. Liquid church is expected to adopt a regular cycle of new releases, events,

²⁴ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 90.

²⁵ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 91.

²⁶ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 91.

²⁷ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 92.

²⁸ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 93.

²⁹ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 93.

and product launches.³⁰ Ward maintains that if the church fails to produce a new product line in the liquid world, it will eventually face great difficulty in the matter of church growth.³¹

From this perspective, can the NCM be regarded as a model of liquid church? As examined in chapter four, the worship form of the NCM has not changed, and has remained very simple and short. Therefore, it is unlikely that there will be any changes in response to the demands of the liquid world. From this it is apparent that the NCM does not have this feature which Ward thinks is an important one for the liquid church. Definitely, the NCM lacks an attractive and imaginative approach to events and activities. Rather, NCM members seem indifferent to adopting a new approach in order to make the Gospel more appealing to non-Christians as well as Christians who hunger for a deeper spirituality. It has not succeeded in responding to the religious expectations and demands of ordinary people. Instead, the NCM has given the impression that it teaches the Gospel with a somewhat highhanded attitude when compared to the way that Jesus took the initiative in ministering to the multitudes and encouraged his disciples to go where the multitudes are. This attitude creates a problem with regard to any evangelistic outreach to ordinary people. It is commendable that NCM members have sought to avoid compromise with amoral, secular, and materialistic worldviews and practices. Yet they can be criticized for not attempting to find more efficient methods of preaching the Gospel. Therefore, in this sense, the movement has limitations in terms of its appeal to the grassroots.

Ward expects worshippers to be able to participate in a varied and individual

³⁰ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 93.

³¹ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 94.

way in liquid church.³² This research has shown that while the NCM has a simple form of worship, its Bible meetings are rather inflexible and static. In this sense, it is similar to Ward's solid church which is characterized by a largely static and passive congregation.³³ It is true that the NCM does not have the congregational style of corporate worship that is typical of solid church.³⁴ But this study suggests that it does not have the liquid church's capacity to take "congregationally designed buildings and re-create them as imaginative and creative space."³⁵ The reason why it has no congregational style of corporate worship seems not to be because it is liquid church but because its scholarly atmosphere does not appeal to many people.

Nevertheless, it may be possible to provide approximate statistics for the total NCM Sunday attendance because Park Sang-ik's private internet homepage contains information about NCM meetings in Korea.³⁶ Park is an NCM member in Daegu. Even though this is not an official website, it is unlikely that there are NCM meetings not mentioned on the website. According to this, there are ten NCM meetings. There are four meetings in Seoul: Jongno, Daebangdong, Oryudong, and Ilsimhoegwan. And there is one meeting in each region: Incheon, Gwangmyeong, Daegu, Busan, Gwangju of Jeollanamdo, and Hongseong.

The researcher participated in NCM Sunday Bible meetings eight times from September to October 2009. The attendance level in the meetings was low. Attendances were as follows: *Oryudong Jibhoe* on the 6th September 2009, 16 (male 9, female 7); *Incheon Jibhoe* on the 13th September 2009, 12 (male 4, female 8); *Daebangdong Jibhoe* on the 20th September 2009, 20 (male 13, female 7); *Daebangdong Jibhoe* on the

³² Ward, *Liquid Church*, 96.

³³ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 97.

³⁴ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 97.

³⁵ Ward, *Liquid Church*, 97.

³⁶ <http://cafe.daum.net/nonchurch> (accessed 24 January 2012).

27th September 2009, 13 (male 10, female 3); *Jongno Jibhoe* on the 27th September 2009, 11 (male 6, female 5); *Incheon Jibhoe* on the 4th October 2009, 14 (male 7, female 7); *Oryudong Jibhoe* on the 11th October 2009, 14 (male 6, female 8); *Jongno Jibhoe* on the 18th October 2009, 9 (male 5, female 4). The average attendance number was 13.6. The average age of the twenty-four interviewees in the four NCM meetings was 68.4. Thus, not only is the membership small, it is also rapidly aging.

The NCM has so far not compiled statistics on the total number of its members. NCM members do not record their Sunday attendance numbers, and there have been no official documents to provide information about its history, previous activities, and even their magazines. In many cases, the researcher had difficulty acquiring information about NCM meetings and the various NCM magazines each meeting has published because current NCM members were unable to recall details of its history and there were no written records of NCM activities. It seems that they are not interested in keeping a record of their events.

6.3. Postscript

This study intended to explore the spirituality and theology of the NCM, and its appropriateness as liquid church. In relation to spirituality, it has shown that the NCM has been influenced by the Confucian spirituality of learning. In relation to theology, it suggests that the NCM has appropriated a Quaker form of ecclesiology. The NCM's passion for learning and the flexibility of Quakerism would suggest that it could provide a form of liquid church capable of solving the problems of solid church. Yet the study has failed to show that the NCM as an example of liquid church. The NCM could have adopted a more attractive and imaginative approach to events and activities because it is

not limited by a fixed format. As a lay movement, it has the potential to demonstrate how lay Christians can grow spiritually through ministering to one another without having to rely upon the clergy.

As far as church growth is concerned, the NCM must worry about its chances of survival. Why has the NCM not become a more attractive and imaginative liquid community? One reason might be its withdrawal from the other denominational Christians. Another could be its conservative tendency that has made it difficult for it to respond effectively to new spiritual demands. Further research is needed to explore this issue.

As stated above, it is apparent that the NCM has some features of liquid church. Therefore, for this reason, it might be possible to regard the movement as an example of liquid church. Yet considering the fact that Ward's intent was to offer a remedy to the current problem of a decline in church attendance, it must be doubted that the NCM is a viable alternative to the solid church in tackling this problem. First of all, it needs to find a way to save itself from extinction.

How should we understand the reason why ordinary people have disregarded such a lay movement, with its passion for learning and devotion to the Bible? It would be fair to assume that people have not been able to accommodate themselves to the NCM's academic culture. It appears that most people are looking for something more than learning in their worship services. What precisely this is is a matter for further research.

The researcher admits that this study may be unsatisfactory and unsettling for both NCM members and the existing denominational churches. Yet the study has endeavoured to provide a balanced assessment of the NCM in relation to Korean culture

and Christian tradition. It is hoped that it has highlighted aspects of the movement from which the traditional mainline churches can learn. It has also noted certain issues that the NCM will need to address if it is to reverse its numerical decline and attract members at the grassroots. The movement might benefit from the lessons of the history of Christianity, from engaging in dialogue with other churches, and by recognizing that all movements need to be open to change in response to changing contexts. There is a danger for Christians to emphasise their differences rather than their commonalities. This can be detrimental to their spiritual health and development.

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