

A Reflection on Insider Movements in Korean Church History

by John Kim

Introduction

The missiological term “insider movements” is often used to describe people movements to Christ from within socio-religious communities. New believers in these movements take initiative to bring their own problems to the word of God to get appropriate solutions. The people who live in these distinct socio-religious communities are called insiders. When insider movements occur they can give us a unique glimpse into the Kingdom of God and perhaps a better understanding of how that Kingdom can expand as Jesus movements in a context where a group of people shares space and time in a homogeneous way. It’s within this homogeneous context that the dynamics of group conversion and social transformation can occur.

This article reviews the Korean people movements to Christ in Korean church history from an insider’s perspective. Reflecting on Korean church history is important in order to revive the insider spirit and develop a self-theologizing/self-missilogizing approach in world missions amongst Korean churches. This might also give us some clues as to how to reverse the decline of Korean church growth. The underlying purpose of this paper is two-fold: first, the revival of Korean churches resulting in a genuine nationwide social transformation for the sake of the Kingdom; second, to illustrate the decisive role model in world mission of Koreans as the 11th hour workers. This understanding is tremendously important as Korea now faces both a critical spiritual and socio-political crisis.

Because Koreans have been insiders themselves for a long period of time, this paper is a retrospective evaluation from an insider’s point of view for the purpose of understanding the status quo and of meaningfully advancing the development of the Kingdom.

Insider Movements in the Dawn of the Early Korean Church

The year 1884, when Dr. Allen was sent as an official missionary from the US, is usually accepted as the first year of Protestant mission to Korea.

Editor’s Note: This article was first presented at the 2016 gathering of the ISFM (October 14–16, in Dallas, TX).

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However, as is commonly known in the history of Korean Christianity, Roman Catholicism had already been introduced a long time earlier and some of the scripture translation had already been made. The gospel was spreading throughout the Korean diasporas in Manchuria and in Japan (overseas Korean students), despite the turmoil on the Korean peninsula due to the competition of world powers. There are parallels in the book of Acts where in many cases the initial breakthrough for spreading the gospel was made by bicultural or intercultural indigenous people.¹ The main thrust of the Protestant mission force towards Korea began in the late 19th century when colonial powers including Japan, China, and Russia were aggressively competing for political and trade advantages. During that time, many of the Koreans who would later become believers were concerned about the fate of their home country, were living outside of it in multicultural contexts, and were open to accepting the gospel as good news for their own country.

Now let's look through some examples relating to what I would call insider movements during the early stages of the Protestant mission effort in Korea. As I mentioned earlier, Korea had to struggle with external colonial powers (especially Japan) which were not regarded as Western nor Christian. This was why the gospel was seen as very good news by Koreans. It was natural that the early Koreans who would later become believers had a strong motivation and took initiative to fight against the unwanted (and evil) forces outside of their country—in large part because of their understanding of the good news. I believe this happened because Koreans understood what they needed as insiders in the Korean context. David Cho explains the initiative the early Korean believers took:²

I believe that the Korean mission history needs to be explained in a distinctive way, different from the general missions understanding of Western missions initiatives in the other countries where the gospel was introduced mostly by

expatriates from the beginning. For example, some Koreans in Uijoo, Pyoungando put their lives on the line by bringing the Christian faith into Korea, even in violation of their country's laws, in order to introduce their people to life.... Korean mission movements had already dawned in 1870 when the first Korean Protestant Christians such as Lee Eung Chan, Paek Heung Joon, Lee Sung Ha, Seo Sang Ryun and Kim Jin Ki crossed the Amnok River (Yalu River) which divides Korea and China in order to bring the good news.... In 1882, Lee Eung Chan, Seo Sang Ryung and Lee Sung Ha took the gospel in Chinese with them back into Korea and translated Luke and John into Korean. In this way, an indigenous Korean mission began to take its own path in 1876 and continued on until 1882. And in the next year, i.e.



1883, the first two indigenous churches were established by Koreans in Uijoo, Pyoungando and Sorae, Hwanghaedo. The timing of the first foreign missionary from the US to come into Korea was ten years after the Koreans' indigenous mission initiative had already been established and three years after a couple of books in the gospel had already been translated by Koreans themselves.

A Korean church historian, Jeon Taek Bu, deals with Korea's mission initiatives in a similar manner:³

It is said that the Protestant mission in Asia was pioneered by the London Missionary Society and the Netherlands Missionary Society. They approached Korea too, but the major initiative was later on by the American Board

of Commissioners for Foreign Mission. However, mission thrust within the mainland of Korea was made by Koreans themselves.... This is so peculiar because we rarely observe similar phenomena in any other countries. In other words, even before foreign missionaries came to Korea, the gospel had already been sowed not by an expatriate missionary force but by Korean indigenous believers. At that time, Korea was so dark and extremely closed towards anyone and anything coming from outside of the country. And various challenges were causing the Korean people to go through serious sufferings.... How then was the Christian mission possible under such barriers? How then could the Korean church experience so unprecedented a growth and development as it did in the history of world Christianity? Whatever the answer is, the truth is startling: foreign missionaries came to Korea not as the gospel sowers but as harvesters.

As we have briefly reviewed, the initial mission thrust correlated with the contemporary situation the Koreans faced at that time, and it was started at the initiative of Koreans themselves.

Can Such Rapid Growth be Ascribed to the Nevius Mission Method?

There were two major mission policies practiced by mainstream American missionaries in Korea: the policy of comity (or the division of geographic areas by denomination) and the Nevius mission method. In this section, by looking at the contextual situation of Korea at that time, we will try to see if the Nevius mission method was detrimental to the rapid growth of Korean churches as we often think it is. The Nevius mission method is understood as the indigenization of the local churches in three ways: self-support, self-governance, and self-propagation. However, in understanding the dynamics of rapid Korean church growth, the Nevius mission method is not as valid since the growth was not just an indigenization process. Rather, it was the result of the nationwide spreading of the self-initiated Bible study movement.

The Nevius mission policy was introduced when seven Presbyterian missionaries invited John Nevius and his wife (who were serving in China) as the main speakers for a two-week retreat in Seoul, Korea, on the seventh of June 1890. After long discussions, they decided to adopt the mission policy that had been introduced by Nevius. This was a valid and appropriate mission method for an initial breakthrough in Korea during which time there were not yet any comprehensive church structures.⁴ Its essence is the “three selfs” mentioned earlier. However, what happened in Korea through the method was the spreading of what became nationwide self-initiated Bible study. As a matter of fact, China was the main country where the Nevius mission method had been intensely practiced, but its effectiveness was really proven only in Korea. The difference was the self-initiated Bible study.⁵ Harvie M. Conn who served in Korea for many years examined its success as follows:⁶

The central theme of Nevius’ method is neither self-supporting nor self-governing. It is indeed an emphasis on the Bible as the foundation for all sorts of Christian ministries and training through the Bible study meetings. By doing so, the Bible was studied and applied to the hearts of the believers.

It is interesting to know that the Koreans were culturally self-aware and that they did the Bible studies at their own initiative. It was a conviction based on their belief that Koreans could become much more complete—more fully Korean—than ever before through the Bible study meetings. This principle was applied also to the education circles as a means to overcome the contemporary challenges faced by many Koreans at that time. Lee Man Youl states that this was the goal of Korean Christian educators. According to him, many Christian founders of educational institutions claimed the purposes of their establishment was either to “Make Koreans Better Koreans,” or to “Make Koreans Proud of Being Koreans,” or to “Make Korea Great Through Christ and His Teachings.”⁷

The effectiveness of the Nevius mission method was really proven in Korea. The difference was the self-initiated Bible study.

This self-motivation and awareness resulted in consecutive Korean-initiated movements in the areas of Bible translation, Bible study, and Bible distribution. When those movements spread, social transformation naturally followed. Christians were motivated to learn the Korean alphabet, Hangeul, for the purpose of Bible study. Because of their strong motivation to learn the Word of God, Korean women, who were limited in their educational opportunities, were motivated to improve women’s rights in the male-dominated society. Thus, the need for fair educational opportunities for women resulted from the self-awareness of Korean women which emerged through Bible study movements.⁸ I will share an example of an insider movement where the women’s role is decisive in the latter part of this paper. This example is an active model that is still alive in Korean communities.

The early Korean mission was carried out by ordinary believers. In other words, during the period when there were no denominational structures or seminaries, the early breakthrough in the spreading of the gospel was accomplished by so-called laymen. They must have known what to do as Korean insiders. Here at this point, we can also introduce “oikos movements.” The earliest churches in Korean church history were established by Koreans themselves. They were actually just home-based Jesus movements. In 1882, Kim Chung Song started his own “oikos” at a Korean village in the West Manchuria area. And in 1883, Paek Hong Jun offered his house as a gathering place with Lee Sung Ha and Seo Sang Ryun as founders. The church that was started at Seo Gyung Jo’s house in the Sorae village in 1884 is another example. This was the result of the indigenous evangelizing effort on the part of Seo Sang Ryun. Seo Gyung Jo’s fellowship was one of the first fruits of his work. In this way, Koreans

spread the gospel through their natural networks and started believers’ gatherings in their homes.⁹

It was November 1884 when Lee Eung Chan and Seo Sang Ryun were baptized by a western missionary, John Ross, from Scotland. They helped John Ross to learn the Korean language. John Ross, who was involved in Bible translation, recalls his experience of visiting a Korean village in the West Manchuria area as follows:¹⁰

... we arrived at the first Korean village by sunset. Around thirty Koreans wearing white traditional robes welcomed us. We stayed at the chief villager’s house. I feel there is no way to express their hospitality.... A big change had taken place since something happened two years ago in this village. The gospel was introduced to this village in the valley two years ago. Since then, some hundreds of Koreans now enjoy their lives while following the way of the gospel. We cannot but be surprised when we think about their motivation, the growth of their faith in Christ, and the results. No missionaries had ever been in the village but just some Korean gospel messages and tracts.

Gospel Transformation Spreads Through Whole Classes of People

According to Jeon Taek Bu, the early Korean Protestant believers were not called Christians, but they were called *Yesu-jaengi* or *Yesu-kun*. Suffixes like “-jaengi” or “-kun” (attached to *Yesu* or *Jesus*) were commonly used in Korean society to identify those who had certain expertise in their professional areas. At that time, Korea (the actual name of the country was *Chosun*) had a social or class hierarchy with classes called *Yangban* (the scholar-officials), *Joongin* (literally “middle people” or technicians and administrators subordinate to the *Yangban*), *Sangmin* (farmers, craftsmen,

and merchants), and *Chunmin* (literally “despised people” or slaves and “unclean professions” such as leatherworkers, butchers, shamans, etc.). This system is not exactly the same as the caste system in India, but there is a great similarity. During this time, the gospel was spreading in Jesus movements among the lower classes such as the Sangmin and Chunmin. These were grassroots Jesus movements. Jeon Taek Bu said that Protestant Christianity had taken root among the lower classes and when faith in Jesus entered a village it spread like an epidemic. And those who accepted Jesus began to commit their lives to rescue their country (through the gospel) from the widespread suffering and hardship it was undergoing. Because of the Jesus movements, many Christian leaders later became the patriots who fought against the Japanese colonial force to achieve independence.¹¹

While the gospel was taking root and spreading among the lower social classes in Korea with names like Yesu-jaengi or Yesu-kun, at the same time there were also many high class national leaders who were concerned about the fate of the country. They established the *Dongnip Hyeophoe* (Independence Club) in 1896, and through this club, Seo Jae Pil (Philip Jaisohn) fostered the independence movements. He proclaimed the “Self-Reinforcement Spirit as the Sovereignty of People” and “Self-Reinforcement Movements for the Sovereignty of People.” In the editorial message of his bulletin dated 26 Jan 1897, he outlined his thesis about the gospel in a very positive manner by saying that the leading countries in the world had all adopted Christianity passionately and they were civilized and enjoying great blessings from God. When he was forced to leave Korea because of a conspiracy plot by the Russian Consular Officer Weber, and pro-Russia Korean politicians, his role was taken over by Yoon Chi Ho. Yoon Chi Ho publicly honored Seo Jae Pil in “An Honest Confession” which was his response to Pil’s farewell

message and which appeared in the newspaper *The Independent*:¹²

I cannot stress too much his work through the Korean and English editions of *The Independent* newspaper.... He educated Koreans with something special as follows: “All people are equal human beings when they are born. This truth didn’t come from Anglo-Saxon or Latin people, but from God to every one.... And the personal right and prosperity that foreigners enjoy are not gained accidentally but achieved by long term research, struggle, and even fight. If Koreans really want to achieve such right and prosperity, then they should do the same thing.”

In fact, the leaders representing the Independence Club such as Seo Jae Pil, Yoon



Chi Ho, and Lee Sang Jae were all believers—laymen who could also represent Korean church communities at that time. They were the initiators of grassroots movements based on the gospel when the fate of Korea was in such a vulnerable state. During the independence movements, a transformational change began to take place in Korean social hierarchy. As an example, a butcher who was from the lowest class called Chunmin, made an opening address where tens of thousands of Koreans gathered for the movement event. Those were grassroots movements indeed.¹³

Jeon Taek Bu stressed some characteristics of the nationwide revival movements that Korean churches experienced in the

early 20th century (1903–1910).¹⁴ While expatriate workers were really struggling in a foreign cultural context and suffering from serious self-doubt, defeatism, frustration, and loss of pride, early Korean believers experienced the special work of the Holy Spirit in a Pentecost-like event while praying collectively. This kind of Pentecostal experience was not strange to the early Korean Christian believers as they had already observed spiritual phenomena such as demonic possession in folk beliefs relating to the practice of shamanism. The well-known honored early Korean church leaders like Jeon Gye Eun and Kil Sun Joo were greatly impressed by the Pentecostal experience. It is interesting to note that they had all previously been deeply involved in Korean folk religion, Confucianism, the practice of Taoism, and animism (the belief in the spirits of mountains, etc.). However, in the crisis of the downfall of the country, the Pentecostal movements spread rapidly.

Kil Sun Joo is known as an early Korean church leader who ignited the fire of revival movements in the Pyoung Yang area. It is said that he became a man with superpowers at the age of 23, who mastered a secret form of spiritual concentration called “Charyeok.” But after becoming a Christian believer at the age of 28, in 1896 he became a Pentecostal and started early-morning prayer meetings with his fellow elder Park Chi Rok in 1905. These early-morning prayer gatherings have become a tradition of Korean Christianity.

A Brief Analysis of the Early Breakthroughs of the Gospel in Korea

Foreign missionaries came to Japan and China much earlier than to Korea. In terms of geographical and cultural proximity, we cannot find a big difference. However, a meaningful breakthrough of the spread of the gospel took place only in Korea. Jeon Taek Bu analyzed the difference by looking at four factors:¹⁵

- 1) a patriotic spirit of self-defense for

the motherland arose among Koreans due to the occurrence of frequent invasions by other countries such as China and Japan;¹⁶ 2) an awareness of the need for a more progressive civilization dating from the 1700s; 3) a unique sense about a “Supreme Heavenly God” which existed in Korean traditional folk religion;¹⁷ and 4) a consciousness of and a pride in the Korean language which was based on Korean ethnicity.

Agreeing with this analysis, Lee Man Youl goes on to raise the issue of true independence with Korean churches nowadays. It has been a long time since Korean churches celebrated the 100th anniversary in 1984 of the introduction of Protestant Christianity in 1884. However, since that time, dependency on the West has become very common in almost all forms of Korean Christianity including theology, doctrinal faith confessions, worship forms, Christian lifestyles, and even gospel songs and hymns. Many Korean Christians are now merely recipients and consumers of those Western forms of Christianity in a passive way.¹⁸

Reflecting on the early spread of the gospel in Korea, I have come to believe that a strong awareness of the spirit of being Korean, including a sense that they as insiders were spreading a Korean gospel—was the main cause for this breakthrough. Koreans at that time were facing a real political crisis and had to be ready to cope with rapid change and external challenges. They had firsthand awareness that the gospel was good news. Even before the American missionaries had begun official missionary work in Korea, Bible translation and the establishment of church fellowships or home gatherings had been already initiated by Koreans themselves. And the earliest Christian communities extended their influence to the grassroots level of Korean lives without any assistance from Western theological seminaries or Christian institutions. The gospel-spreading movements had an intrinsically Korean dynamic, as Koreans, who were insiders, took initiative and recognized the need for social forms and patterns

Before official American missionary work began, Bible translation and the establishment of church fellowships had already been initiated by Koreans.

which would ensure their survival against the backdrop of the diminishing power of the rulers of the country. In fact, revival movements broke out which clearly showed their spiritual vitality. The early-morning prayer meetings, their fasting and overnight prayer practices, and the unique Pentecostal spiritual gifts are all part of Koreans’ indigenous religious traditions. These strongly correlated with each other and were regarded as the evidences of God’s special intervention on behalf of all Koreans. This is truly an insider’s perspective.

It is true to say that Korean Christianity experienced amazing growth in a relatively short time in mission history. Over time, an organizing process came naturally. However, at the present time, when we are observing a worrisome decline in Korean Christianity, I am concerned about the loss of the insiders’ perspectives and initiatives because Korean Christianity has become so dependent on Western forms. In my conclusion, I will try to discuss a little bit more about this retrospective reflection and I will attempt to suggest appropriate corrections for the future.

The Yang Sil Community: A Living Example of an Insider Movement

Although the intrinsically Korean dynamics, central to the spreading of the gospel among Koreans, seem to be declining, there has actually been an amazing church growth in Korea since the Korean War in the 1950s. The growth has come along with industrial and economic development not only in the modality structures—mainstream Christian denominations—but also in sodality structures—student/campus Christian movements like CCC, Navigators, UBF, ISF, YWAM, etc. However, in almost all of those cases, the movements and the

structures were imported from Western countries, mostly from the US. In a sense, whenever true contextualization has not occurred in the Korean context, the foreign and Western-initiated structures and movements have not really successfully penetrated the hearts of Koreans. The situation and context in Korea have been changing. The kind of motivation and initiative that drove many early Koreans who later became believers is not present any longer.

However, here in this section, I will gladly give an example of a current Korean insider movement that is still ongoing. Here is the short story of “Yang Sil Hoi.” In fact, under the name “Yang Sil Hoi,” the people formed a legal entity in 1991. The name means a community where people live their lives according to their consciences and based on their faith. The story goes back to the time before the Korean war.

In (North Korea) before the Korean war, there was a woman called Cha Young Eun. She was just an ordinary wife but a woman of prayer. She had been committed to praying every day for ten years early in the morning for the independence of Korea from Japan (which had occupied Korea since 1905). One day while praying, and in a vision, she heard a voice saying that she should leave (North) Korea as there would be serious trouble in the near future. She realized it was a vision given by God to help women. In 1946, she came down to Seoul, South Korea, with around 100 people accompanying her and settled in a village. It wasn’t long before the number of the community members grew to 300. She emphasized the role of wife was that of being a helper to her husband. She taught that playing the right role of a wife was the first step in loving the country.

Even though there has been some degree of breakthrough in women’s rights

since then, at that time, women were an unreached people group and were isolated from the main society. After settling down in the village, she continued the prayer fellowship among women. The leadership mantle was passed on to a woman called Park Geum Jung. Park Geum Jung adopted the passion and prayer style of the fellowship but also started to make her own leadership decisions. After Cha Young Eun passed away in 1967, Park Geum Jung continued on in the same role

In 1967, Park Geum Jung started a new community where most of the members consisted either of women from broken families or of women who had suffered painfully from a male-dominated society. She helped those women through prayer and faith counseling. Many women were moved by her committed service and began to experience recovery which was demonstrated by changes in their lives. As a result, many husbands and children joined the women to try to recover their family relationships again and the community began to grow. These families in the community took it upon themselves, according to their faith in Jesus, to help other women in trouble and other families in crisis by establishing “Yang Sil Hoi” in 1978. And the first woman lawyer in Korean history, Lee Tae Young, became involved in the community life and advised opening the Sindang branch of legal counsel for families in 1983. Then they established a children’s day care center and offered to support careers for women. Volunteers and supporters joined the community and the community continued to move up into the society. In 1991, “Yang Sil Hoi” became a registered legal entity and a community church was also established. This church and community don’t belong to any denominational structure; however, their social service and community life is very active. Now they are also actively involved in social service activities including family health and multicultural family care programs.

Through a beautiful commitment of a woman of prayer motivated by a

vision from God, many Korean women experienced restoration of their broken families and they determined to serve others in similar trouble. Eventually Lee Tae Young (the woman lawyer) came to work with them for social transformation through faith in Jesus, and the community is still actively serving Korean society as it faces challenges in a more multicultural context. Three generations of Koreans have been part of this Jesus movement, have been involved in the community’s life dynamics, and, as Korean insider believers, continue to share the spirit of Jesus with other Koreans.

I believe that this is a beautiful example of a Korean insider movement that is still active. When they continued to take initiative to deal with their problems and



reflected on their faith in Jesus through prayer, they had the momentum to keep maintaining their faith traditions and their community life dynamics. Since they didn’t belong to any one denomination, their impact on women and families with problems was much more straightforward and positive than that of denominational Christian institutions.

Conclusion

A brief review was presented in this short article of how the early breakthroughs of the spread of the gospel took place in Korea . . . We have seen that the local indigenous people (the Koreans) were determined as insider believers to face the crisis together regarding the fate of their country. They desired to

find ways to resolve their contemporary problems through a Korean style of prayer and of Bible study movements. The impact was nationwide and even the barriers from the social class structure were overcome. Even though there had been expatriate workers who had tried to influence the local Koreans, many of them were really in great confusion due to the huge cultural gap.

Parallel to the economic growth, the modality and sodality structures seemed to become great Christian movements throughout the whole country. However, such movements which were fostered in Western organizational forms and Western denominational structures are already stagnating, or even declining. The problem is most of these movements still feel very foreign and have Western styles. At this point, I strongly feel that Koreans need to find their fully indigenous identities as Korean insiders in the Kingdom of God again.

As an example of a Korean insider movement that is still ongoing, I introduced “Yang Sil Hoi.” As they have not been connected with any westernized denominational structures or mission organizations, when they dealt with social problems such as women’s rights or the issues of broken families, they were able to approach the local people without any prejudice. Because of that, many local people have joined the community and have been willing to serve others in the same way that they themselves have been served.

In conclusion, here are some suggestions I would like to share for how to possibly overcome the declining situation of Korean Christianity—something about which many Christian leaders have been concerned.

First, Bible study meetings and fellowships need to be encouraged to be in an “oikos form” of family and community life. Koreans have an intrinsic spirit of community. This is very clear as we see how Koreans enjoy holidays and seasonal festivals with their extended

families. Many times, Christian westernized organizational structures have interrupted or even halted family life rhythms and dynamics when husband and wife have not been part of the same faith in Jesus. An institutional church-oriented Christian life may not be the best way to lead families in present-day Korea into the Kingdom of God.

Secondly, there is another point that continues on from the first one: examples of Korean insider movements that are not related to existing Western structures need to be identified more. “Yang Sil Hoi” is just one example. The institutional church-oriented life which does not result in social transformation can be a great hurdle for the majority of currently unreached Koreans.

Third, while Korean churches enjoy many holidays brought over from Western countries and denominations, Korean traditional festivals in different seasons are regarded as non-Christian. This means Korean faith communities have not really yet gone through a genuine contextualization process. In many ways, Korean church communities look like miniatures of American church communities. Korean Christians need to be encouraged to redeem their own Korean traditions themselves.

Fourth, the present political situation that Korea faces looks similar to that which confronted the country during the early stages of the spreading of the gospel in the late 19th century. After the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, colonial Japan started ruling Korea in 1910. Even though independence from Japan was achieved in Korea in 1945 after the Second World War, the Korean peninsula was forcefully divided into two countries, North and South Korea, by other countries like the US and the Soviet Union. In these days, Koreans need to be motivated to take the initiative once again, to come together through prayer and indigenous Bible study movements, and to seek the Lord for the right direction for the fate of their country.

They were able to approach the local people without any prejudice when dealing with social issues such as women’s rights or the issues of broken families.

Accomplishing world missions might include the issue of the unification of the two Koreas, but any new growth of Korean Christianity will require the recovery of Koreanness in our own Korean context through the Good News once again. **IJFM**

Endnotes

¹ In this world of globalization, we may expect the acceleration of the expansion of the Kingdom as we see so many people living in multicultural situations. Many of those in the Korean diasporas who were scattered throughout Central Asia and China during the period when the Communists came to power may become the seeds for a new Korean world missions thrust.

² David Cho (조동진), *People and Religion – An Analysis of Mission History during the Western Colonial Period* (민족과 종교 - 서구 식민사에 얽힌 선교사의 해부) (Star Book Pub. 도서출판 별: 1991), pp. 315–317 (in Korean; the given English translation is mine).

³ Taek Bu Jeon (전택부), *History of Korean Church Development* (한국교회발전사) (Korea Christian Book Publisher 대한기독교출판사: 1987), p. 14 (in Korean).

⁴ Young Jae Kim (김영재), *Korea Church History* (한국교회사) (개혁주의신행협회: 1992), p. 92 (in Korean).

⁵ Yong Gyu Park (박용규), *History of Korean Presbyterian Philosophy* (한국장로교사상사) (Chongshin University Press - 종신대학출판부: 1992), pp. 110–120 (in Korean).

⁶ Ibid., p. 113 (This English translation is mine. You can see the original English sentences given by Conn, *Studies in Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church*, 29).

⁷ Man Youl Lee (이만열), *Korean Christianity and Historical Perception* (한국기독교와 역사의식) (지식산업사: 1981), p. 18 (in Korean).

⁸ Ibid., p. 21 (in Korean).

⁹ Taek Bu Jeon (전택부), *History of Korean Church Development* (한국교회발전사) (Korea Christian Book Publisher 대한기독교출판사: 1987), pp. 98–103 (in Korean).

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 99 (The contents are re-translated from the Korean in the book into English by the author of this paper).

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 117–118 (in Korean).

¹² Ibid., p. 136; Lee Gwang Lin (이광린), *Research on the Christian Civilization Idea* (기독교개화사상연구: 일조각; 1979), p. 139 (in Korean).

¹³ Ibid., p. 137 (in Korean).

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 159–160 (in Korean).

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 163–165 (in Korean).

¹⁶ This spirit of self-defense is probably related to the situational contexts in which Korea has found herself throughout her history. Around 1300 years ago, Korea defeated an invasion by China (Su Dynasty) with a united front led by the general Euljimunduk. Later on, Korea had to fight against Mongolia during the period of the Korea Dynasty and then later yet against Japan during the Lee Dynasty (Chosun). Throughout all these invasions by other countries over the centuries, the spirit of self-defense has only grown stronger in the minds of all Koreans. Especially in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries, when the ruling power of the Korean leaders was declining and the people had to become ready to fight against foreign powers again, the spirit of self-defense was purposefully revived by remembering the historical incidents. Koreans got used to reacting collectively to crises created by external causes. In the modern age, when the foreign monetary crisis threatened the economic stability of Korea, they overcame the crisis by the nationwide collaborative action of collecting gold. This ability to pull together and act collectively for the common good seems to be rooted in the spirit of self-defense that has been formed in the minds of Koreans throughout their long history.

¹⁷ Yoo Dong Sik asserts that Koreans could accept the biblical God who has a relationship with humans without serious difficulty due to an existing consciousness about the Heavenly Being found in Koreans’ folk shamanistic beliefs. (*Korea Religion and Christianity* [한국종교와 기독교] Daehan Christian Book Publisher [대한기독교서회], 1973), p. 93 (in Korean).

¹⁸ Lee Man Youl (이만열), *Korea Christianity and Historical Consciousness* (한국기독교와 역사의식) (지식산업사, 1981), p. 135 (in Korean).