

A COMPARISON OF WESLEY'S EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
REVIVAL AND THE KOREAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT
- IN THE VIEW OF THE REVIVAL AND SOCIAL REFORM -

By

JONG TEACK OH

Submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS in THEOLOGY

in the subject

CHURCH HISTORY

in the Faculty of Theology

at the

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

SUPERVISOR: DR G A DUNCAN

PRETORIA

SEPTEMBER 2003



Student Number: 22273507

I declared that “ A comparison of Wesley’s Eighteenth Revival and the Korean Revival Movement” is my own work and that all the sources that I used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete reference.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'J T OH', written over a horizontal line.

SIGNATURE
(J T OH)

1st. Sep. 03

DATE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
ABBREVIATIONS	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. The Need and Aim of the Thesis	1
1.1.1. The Need of this Thesis	1
1.1.2. The Aim of this Thesis	5
1.1.3. Periodisation	5
1.2. Methodology and Outline of the Thesis	6
1.2.1. Methodology	6
1.2.2. Outline of the Thesis	8
CHAPTER 2: WESLEY'S REVIVAL MOVEMENT	9
2.1. The Historical Background of the Evangelical Revival in England	9
2.1.1. The Philosophical Situation	9
2.1.2. The Economical Situation	11
2.1.3. The Ecclesiastical Situation	13
2.2. The Progress of the Revival	16
2.2.1. John Wesley's Biographical Sketch and Ministry	16
2.2.1.1. First Period (1703-1725): the preparation for work	16
2.2.1.2. Second Period (1726-1739): the traumatic spiritual journal	17
2.2.1.3. Third Period (1739-1791): the Revival led by Wesley	20
2.2.2. The Organization of Wesley's Revival: the United Societies,	

	the Class Meetings, the Bands and the Select Societies	22
2.3.	The Results of Social Reform	27
2.3.1.	The Relief Works for the Poor and the Sick	27
2.3.2.	The Antislavery Movement	30
2.3.3.	The Reform of the Prison System	31
2.3.4.	The Reform of Popular Education	33
2.3.5.	The Activation of Foreign Missions	34
2.3.6.	The Upgrading of Woman's Rights	36
 CHAPTER 3: THE KOREAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT		 39
3.1.	The Great Revival of 1907	39
3.1.1.	The Background of the Revival	40
3.1.2.	The Progress of the Revival	42
3.1.3.	The Results of the Great Revival	44
3.2.	The Revival under Occupation by Japan (1908-1945)	46
3.2.1.	The Background of the Revival	46
3.2.1.1.	The March First Movement	46
3.2.2.	The Progress of the Revival	50
3.2.2.1.	Rev. I D Kim's Revival Meetings and His Miracles	50
3.2.2.2.	Rev. Y D Lee's Revival Meetings	51
3.2.2.3.	The Challenge of Liberal Theology	52
3.2.2.4.	The Movement against Shintoism	53
3.2.3.	The Results of the Revival	54
3.3.	The Revival "After Liberation" (1946-1970)	55
3.3.1.	The Background of the Revival	55
3.3.1.1.	The Political Background	56
3.3.1.2.	The Ecclesiastical Background	57
3.3.1.2.1.	The Theological Debate Concerning Indigenisation Theology	58
3.3.2.	The Progress of the Revival	60
3.3.3.	The Results of the Revival	60
3.4.	The Revival of "After the 1970's" (from 1970 to the present)	61

3.4.1.	The Background of the Revival	61
3.4.2.	The Progress of the Revival	63
3.4.3.	The Results of the Revival	64

CHAPTER 4: A COMPARISON OF WESLEY'S REVIVAL AND THE KOREAN REVIVAL MOVEMENT 65

4.1.	The Similarities of Both Revivals	64
4.1.1.	The Role of Individuals	65
4.1.2.	The Role of the Laity	68
4.1.2.1.	The Policy of Nevius Mission in Korea	70
4.1.2.2.	Bible Women	72
4.1.3.	The Role of Social Reform	73
4.1.4.	Four Works of the Early Mission in Korea (1884 - 1945)	75
4.1.4.1.	Medical Work	75
4.1.4.2.	Educational Work	76
4.1.4.3.	A Literary Movement and Diffusion of Hanguk (the Korean Alphabet)	76
4.1.4.4.	A Youth Movement	77
4.1.5.	Social Reform after 1945	79
4.2.	Contrasts of Both Revivals	80
4.2.1.	A Difference of Theology	81
4.2.2.	A Difference of Internal Ecclesiastical Politics	88
4.2.3.	The Korean Soil planted Evangelism: the dualistic mentality	89

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION 91

5.1.	Summary	91
5.2.	Conclusion	95

Bibliography	96
--------------	----

SUMMARY

This dissertation offers a comparison of Wesley's eighteenth century Revival and the Korean revival movement in the view of the revival and social reform. Wesley's revival movement is evaluated as not only the restoration of religious circles but pan-national revival movement based on Bible. He favoured the total reformation of society, which was against of the spirit of the Bible at that time. One of the most representative things was the antislavery movement. Also, what made him outstanding in the history of church was his organization ability for the converted. The so-called meeting of united religious society, class, selected society and band made by him become one of the things most representative of contemporary Methodism. In the case of the Korean Church, The Great Revival of 1907 was the landmark of Christian history in Korea. With this epoch-making event in the lead, the continuous waves of revival have been produced in Korea until now. However, the Korean revival movement began in various cultural areas of Buddhism, Confucianism and shamanism. It was also accomplished in a short time. Therefore, it was faced diverse problems. In comparison with Wesley's revival, the Korean Church lacked a consistent concern for the larger community in which they live. She must be concerned about the deeper needs of society. For the sake of this concern, she must succeed in beating the following two things: the 'Individual church First' and 'Dualism.' The former is the worst enemy not to display to her ability in the Korean society to the full. The latter separating the spiritual from the secular, also played an important role in not taking her prophetic responsibility to warn the state of its injustice. However, the positive utilization of the laity as ministerial partners is a key factor in terms of renewals of the Korean Church in the second century of mission.

KEY TERMS: John Wesley; Holy Club; Zinzendorf; the United Societies; the Class Meetings; the Bands; the Select Societies; the Great Revival; Gil Sun-Ju; Kim Ik-Do; Lee Yong-Do; The March First Movement; Liberal Theology; Shintoism. Indigenisation Theology; the Yusin Order; the Laity; Bible Women; Gu-Yek Service.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to many people for their assistance and support from beginning to end of this dissertation. Also, it is needless to say that it is the blessing of God.

It was my Supervisor, Dr Graham Alexander Duncan, whose enthusiasm kept me going when my study was deadlocking. His breadth of knowledge and depth of understanding have been a main source of encouragement throughout my studies to date.

The Department of Church History at UP has always provided a cordial atmosphere and centre for my studies while in South Africa.

Mrs Anamarie, Inter-lending Part Librarian at UP has given priceless aid in providing material of other area for this dissertation. Also, my fellow pastor in South Korea, Kim Kug-Jung, deserves a special mention in this regard.

I also very appreciate financial support of my senior pastor, Ma Pyung-Taeck, whose church gave me an ideal example of my future ministry. I would like to appreciate Rev. Park Jonah in this regard as well.

My friend and wife of long standing, Oh Hyun-Jin, first excited my curiosity of this study. She inspired me to believe that I could achieve a level of competence in the study of Church history.

My Friend, Jonadan, kindly proof read the next of this dissertation for me.

ABBREVIATIONS

Journal	The Journal of John Wesley.
MaT 2	Ministry and Theology 2. CD-Rom. Seoul: Duranno. 2001.
P.C.U.S	The Southern Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
P.C.U.S.A	Presbyterian Church in the United States of America or Northern Presbyterian Church
TGEoW 99	The Great Encyclopedia of World 99. CD-Rom. Seoul: Doosan Donga. 1998.
TLoCC 1	The Library of Christian Classics. Vol.1 CD-Rom. Song Tan: Institute for the Christian Information & Data. 1999.
TLoCC 2	The Library of Christian Classics. Vol. 2 Cd-Rom. Song Tan: Institute for the Christian Information & Data. 1999.
Works	The Works of John Wesley. Volumes 9, 18-23. ed by Ward W R, (Journal) & Heitzenrater R P (Manuscript Journal and Diaries). Nashville: Abingdon.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Revival of 1907 in Korea was the starting point of the revival of the history of Korean Christianity and since then the Korean Church has increased steadily both in number and in quality of commitment. Nonetheless, the contemporary Korean Church seems to be focused largely at maintaining its numbers. This attitude raises the question, what is the difference between now and then? There are numerous reasons as to why the present is characterized by backsliding. In attempting to make that exposition, we shall allude to the Wesley revival so much so that we can draw comparisons.

It is my strong conviction that administrative approaches among other factors impact strongly on the development of the church. My experience as a rector in Korea, if it is anything to go by showed that the secret of the growth of the church was due to the administration of 'Gu-Yek'. The 'Gu-Yek' was a small group of devotees charged with running the activities of the small community. Their style of coordination allowed for the development of solidarity amongst members hence the church steadily grew. Wesley provides a good precedent on that point. This small group could be compared with Wesley's conception of the 'Society', 'Band' and 'Select Society'.

1.1. The need and aim of the thesis

A comparison of Wesley's Revival and the Korean Revival in this thesis attempts to indicate a possible standpoint of the Korean Church in our society. At the same time, it intends to present possible and desirable directions for the Korean Church that is in a stagnant condition.

1.1.1. The need of this thesis

John Ireland (1832-1921), Archbishop of St Louis, preached to a Catholic Congress in 1889, in which he said the following:

We should live in our age, know it, and be in touch with it....
it will not do to understand the thirteenth better than the

nineteenth century.... We should speak to our age - of things it feels and in language it understands. We should be in it, and of it, if we would have its ear. For the same reasons, there is needed a thorough sympathy with our country. The Church of America must be, of course, as Catholic as even in Jerusalem or Rome; but as far as her garments assume color from the local atmosphere, she must be American. Let no one dare paint her brow with a foreign tint or pin to her mantle foreign linings (Vidler 1961:244).¹

Even though there were many misunderstandings concerning sayings at that time, they may stimulate us to evaluate the contemporary period and to suggest a sound evaluation of it. In addition, it is a great privilege and duty for Christians to do such a thing in regard of being the light and the salt of the earth.

In retrospect, from the apostolic age to modern times, we can see various periods in which revivals took place. To study such periods gives one who is trying to research church history considerable gladness and consolation. Kim (1997:409), a Korean Church Historian, mentioned that a history of church is 'moral and prophetic science looking forward to social practice as well as only theoretical science.' In addition, we can expect and imagine the eschatological achievement of the heavenly Kingdom that makes all knees kneel down in the presence of God Almighty and all the tongues confess to the Lord Jesus (Phil 2:10,11) through such periods. The churches of these periods were never satisfied with viewing religion separated from other aspects of life. Beyond such a dichotomy, those churches in the course of the revival had taken sanctions against all kinds of unrighteousness, taken root into society under the law of God. Most people of that time could not help regarding the voice of the church as God's voice demanding repentance for their sins and were struck with awe. Furthermore, because of the revival, unlawfulness decreased in society because individual conscience was sharp, philanthropy resulted from revival and was embodied as social-justice. Evil customs treading down the dignity of human beings were

¹ There is no the related reference in the next.

destroyed. Legal measures despising fundamental human rights were broken down. Such a trend of injustice and pleasure was on the ebb. Truth took precedence over all other values, public order was restored and all social functions were systematized. 'Justice flowed like waters and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream' (Amos 5:24) in people of all social standings without exception. Such phenomena have generally been proved, in the history of church, and belong to the real heritage of the revival movement. For example, the 'First Great Awakening' affected one of the chief factors that equalized all levels in America during the colonial period. It sowed more seeds of democracy than any other individual influences (Sweet 1944:41). The 'Second Great Awakening' in which Charles G. Finney (1792-1875) had played a decisive role had many noteworthy results. According to Walker (1959:508-510):

Voluntary societies were also organized for the distribution of Bibles and tracts, the promotion of educational interests and Sunday schools, and for the direction of charitable and reform efforts. Among the societies were the American Education Society (1815), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1817-1824), and the American Tract Society (1825). In the 1830's, these agencies mushroomed in size and increased in support and effectiveness.... Finney and hosts of the Revivalists utilized the voluntary society pattern to remake society by conducting great moral and humanitarian crusades. It was hoped that such evils as vice, licentiousness, juvenile, delinquency, and Sabbath-breaking might be eliminated, and such causes as temperance, peace, and the abolition of slaves be promoted. Temperance had aroused the efforts of the Presbyterian, The General Assembly and the Congregational Associations of Connecticut and Massachusetts in 1811. Lyman Beecher's sermons against drunkenness in 1813-repeated and published 1827-attracted great attention. The American Peace Society was organized in 1828. The greatest of the reform crusades, however, was for abolition... In 1813, the American Anti-slavery Society

was organized as part of the benevolent empire; Finney convert Theodore Dwight Weld (1803-1895) became its most powerful figure in spreading abolition sentiment among Evangelicals.

The marks of real revivalism necessarily contain like examples. Among these honourable periods, the English Evangelical Movement of the 18th century led by Wesley² can be viewed as one of the most remarkable revivals in the history of the church. By-products of the Revival affected England tremendously. Lane (1984:156) evaluated the Wesley's Revival in the following way:

The revival dramatically influenced the church in England. However, its effects were not merely ecclesiastical. Through the revival, the lower classes were touched by the gospel in a way that had not previously occurred. Indeed, all levels of society were affected and the moral tone of the nation changed significantly. It had been said that without the revival Britain would probably have faced a revolution like the French Revolution. In the nineteenth century, the 'nonconformist conscience' was a powerful factor in politics. The roots of the trades union movement and the Labour Party go back into Evangelism. The social and political life of the nation was profoundly affected in many ways.

A similar situation arose in the Korean Church, which 'has been getting over three hundred seminaries, about fifty thousand pastors, and nearly forty thousand churches within the past one hundred years since the beginning of the mission in 1884' (Chung 1998:21). Now, it is said that Christianity accounts for twenty-five percent to thirty percent of the population in Korea. Korea is probably the only country in Asia where Protestant Christianity is the strongest faith. In addition, through several periods of the Revival, the Korean Church has become the main instrument in positively transforming the Christian faith and society positively. For example, there can be no challenge in the view that

² From now on, Wesley points only John Wesley.

Christianity played a great role in the Independence of Korea from Japan, the process of modernization and democratisation of Korea.

Despite that, these Korean revivals were of short-duration and they left their mark manifest in the form of theological problems. Solution is needed in the conflict with liberalism, the charismatic movement, the sect of heterodoxy, the theology of prosperity, the separation of denominations, lack of the ordained ministry's ethical conscience and the ministerial quality produced from the establishment of seminaries without approval. The contemporary Korean Church seems to be drifting and is at risk of losing its sense of direction.

1.1.2. The aim of this thesis

The aim of this study is to investigate the hypothesis that real revival, inevitably brings social reform. Furthermore, by comparing two periods of Revival, we can discover a great deal of insights about the future direction of the Korean Church, which is in its second century of mission. There will be several points of similarities between the two because it is the same God, who does the work through all of us in and beyond space and time. In addition, there will be several points of differences between the two because the Gospel is always presented within the unique context of culture of each country. Among them, needless to say, we have to grasp the good things and not to repeat the bad things. In addition, we shall attempt to distinguish between the true and false revival.

1.1.3. Periodisation

The period covered by this study concerning English Methodism will be confined to the years 1730 to 1830. One of the two causes of the division is that the decline of the Church of England and the revival of the Church of Dissenters coincided with during this period. The other is that the evangelical Methodist movement had started with the other dissenters from 1730.

The Korean Revival will be divided into four periods: the first period- 'the Great Revival of 1907', the second period- 'the Revival under

Occupation by Japan' (1908-1945), the third period- 'the Revival After Liberation' (1946-1970) and the fourth period- 'the Revival from 1970 to the present day'. These revivals fall into different epochs of Korean politics. These defined revival periods are generally agreed to, in spite of a slight difference.³

1.2. Methodology and Outline of the thesis

1.2.1. Methodology

The methodology of this research will investigate the relevant writings of each Revival. In the Wesleyan case, the Journal and works of John Wesley as well as his diary, notes on the Bible, and other writings about the Revival will be considered in this research. This research will focus specifically on the social results of both revival movements because real religion not only exists for itself but also influences the secular world. Looking over the acquired results of Wesley's research until the present in accordance with this purpose, Halevy evaluated, in his *The Birth of Methodism in England*, the influence of Wesley's Revival on the hypothesis that:

It is generally agreed that the influence of Methodists contributed a great deal, during the last several years of the eighteenth century, to preventing the French Revolution from having English counterpart (Halevy 1971:51).

This view repeated similar contentions by Semmel (1974:7), in his *The Methodist revolution*, saying that,

Methodism may have helped to block a violent English counterpart to the French Revolution by preempting the critical appeal and objective of the Revolution.

In addition, Bready, an English social historian, described the situation

³ Kim (1992:8-10) added another chapter, which is the title of 'the Korean Church of After 1930's' between the second chapter and the third chapter, but on the other chapter Lee (1978:6-10) united and dealt with them without division. Kim (1997:9-16) divided by four periods like my opinion.

of England before and after the revival and highly appraised the Wesley's socio-reformative achievement in his *England: Before and After Wesley* (1938).

In case of the Korean revival, dissertations, writings and journals of the revival, especially written by the conservative stance, will be considered. Even though the Korean theology has several types, it is generally accepted that as Kim pointed out:

First, there is a conservative and evangelical Christianity represented by Kil Sun Ju, Park Hyung Ryong. The second thing is a progressive theology of social movement represented by Yoon Chi Ho, Kim Jae Joon and so called 'Christianity Presbyterian Society'. Third thing is a cultural theology of liberalism represented by Choi Byeng Hen, Jyung Kyung Ok and so called 'Methodism'. But the most representative theology of Korean Presbyterian can be a first thing (Yoo s a: 29-30 in Kim 1998:16).

Therefore the following sources have been used significantly: Kim's *A History of the Korean Church* (1992) and Chung's *Korean Church and Reformed Faith* (1996). Kim wrote a history of the Korean church with the Presbyterian Church as the central pivot because of two reasons. The first reason, as mentioned in the prologue of his book, is that Presbyterianism began the mission to Korea with Methodism first and developed the representative church. The other is that he respected the Reformed tradition of Korean Presbyterianism, especially the Calvinistic tradition. He regarded it as the course that the Korean Church should take in the future (Kim 1992:5). Chung described the Reformed faith and the Korean Church, focusing on the great historical preachers. The reason in bringing Presbyterianism into focus in considering the Church history of Korea is that it is by far the largest Church, and adheres to the traditional Calvinistic faith. Materials made from CD-Rom⁴, also contain many dissertations and writings, and were used frequently because there are not too many books available in South Africa.

⁴ See the bibliography for details.

1.2.2. Thesis outline

The content of this thesis is as follows: The second chapter will consider the historical survey - philosophical, ecclesiastical and economical phase - of the milieu of the period affecting Wesley's life and ministry. It will consider how Wesley and Methodists developed the activities of social reform at that time and the results thereof.

The third chapter will consider the history of Christianity in Korea. The historical background, processes, characteristics and results of each period, as mentioned above in four periods will be studied in the 'chronological, social and ministerial' points of view.

In the fourth chapter, will be considered the similarities and contrasts of both revivals.

Chapter five will outline the results of research and several suggestions will be made concerning the possible future direction of the Korean Church.

Chapter 2: Wesley's Revival Movement

2.1. The historical background of the Evangelical Revival in England

The England of the eighteenth century during Wesley's time (1703-1791) was a period of enormous upheaval and dynamic social change, which affected the philosophical, the economical, and the ecclesiastical spheres of Wesley's world. Whiteley (1938:27 in Bosch 1995:1) has sharply pointed out, regarding this fact that:

The century opened in an age pregnant with dynastic changes and political revolutions; ...Everywhere the rights of man were receiving a practical illustration whether from the pen of the theorist, the sword of the warrior or the axe of the executioner. All human institutions were shaken to their foundations, all past authority was ignored or repudiated.'

Unfortunately, the result of these changes resulted in corruption itself in every field of that society and left many problems to be solved. Tuttle (1978:31-32) postulates that:

Some, understandably, refer to this period as the "cesspool" of the last two millenniums, if not for its filth then certainly for its morals. Debauchery was epidemic, affecting the nobility, the middle classes, the lower classes, the members of court, and even the members of parliament.

A detailed description of three aspects will help to evaluate precisely the value of this revival.

2.1.1. The Philosophical Situation

The main trend of thought at that time can be called Deism, which contradicts the Bible as a special revelation and did not believe in a God who is concerned with present affairs, and which had shaken the roots of faith in the religious society of England (The Korea



Society for Reformed Faith and Action 1978:582). A main theme of Deism was the reasonableness of natural religion, to which all religions have to conform (Gonzalez 1975:306).

Two representatives of Deism were John Toland (1670-1722) and Matthew Tindal (1655-1733). Toland mentioned, in his *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696), that

All that is valuable in Christianity can be understood by the human, that revelation is not necessary, that all the elements of mystery to be found in traditional Christianity are either borrowed from paganism or inventions of the clergy (:306).

As stated above, he claimed to endorse all the essentials of Christian, but stressed the primacy of reason and the subordinate role of revelation in merely supplying supplementary information. Similarly, Tindal (:307), argued, in his *Christianity as Old as Creation*⁵ (1730), that:

The purpose of the gospel was not to bring an objective redemption - not even to give a new revelation - but simply to show that there is a universal natural law that is the basis and content of all religion, and thereby to free humanity from superstition.

According to Robertson (1917:207), Matthew Tindal 'so much enjoyed making the clergy mad.'

Like this, the value of reason was maximized, but on the other hand, religion remained to be thrown away to the outer edge of life. However, the intelligent class of England did not hold its tongue against Deism.⁶ Moreover, these attempts were not ecclesiastical but philosophical. Brady (1971:39) described the situation of The Church of England under Deism in the following way:

⁵ This book was hailed as "the Deists' Bible." More than a hundred writers condemned his attempt to suggest that true revealed religion was simply a republication of the religion. However, its translation into German extended Deistic influences to the Continent (Charley 1974:976)

⁶ 'The real answer to Deism came from three men who were able to break out of the restricted orbit in which eighteenth century rationalism moved: Law (*The Case of Reason*, 1731), Berkeley (*Alciphron*, 1732) and Butler (*The Analogy of Religion*, 1736)' (Cragg 1960:163).

A National Church with vocal organs extracted and with right and left wings so clipped as to fetter the flight of Faith, could only bicker with the Deist and skeptics; It could give them no vital demonstration of the living and transcendent power of practical, spiritual Christianity. Increasingly, therefore, theology became as deistic as the Deist; reason, first hailed as a defence for Faith, came finally to be acclaimed as a substitute, while the religious impulse, squeezed officially into a strait-jacket, came to be regarded as a sort of spiritual police-politicians imagining that a religion thus committed to inaction.

McGiffert, writing as an avowed modernist, concluded his survey on *Rationalism in England* with the following significant verdict: 'That religious faith and devotion still survived and flourished was due, not to the apologists, but to altogether different influences, of which the Great Evangelical Revival was the most important' (McGiffert s a:243 in Bready 1971:39).

2.1.2. The Economic Situation

The economic condition of England before Wesley's revival can be summarized in two words: slave-trading and bubble-finance (:99-115). Nowhere, perhaps, is the *Zeitgeist* of the earlier half of eighteenth century Britain more clearly reflected than in the popular acclaim which greeted the Asiento clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), by which England wrung from Spain and France the virtual monopoly of the slave trade; one hundred forty four thousand negroes were supplied to the Spanish West Indies within thirty years (Harris 1933:3 in Bready 1971:99). Nowhere, on the other hand, is the marked change of *Zeitgeist*, which within a century had swept silently over England, more unmistakably registered than in the clauses of the Treatises of Vienna and of Paris (1814-15) which anathematised the whole slave traffic and committed British policy and British diplomacy to nothing short of its world-overthrow (Warner s a:239 in Bready 1971:21). The Stuart policy, after the Restoration, made slave traffic a recognized and regular avenue

of England's high seas commerce, and members of the Royal Household had no hesitation in sharing in its sordid gains. After 1713, Britain extracted fabulous wealth from slave trading (:100). As Robertson (1917:2) mentioned, 'the treaties of Utrecht mark a definite stage in the expansion of the British Empire, whose groundwork was now firmly laid.' However, these treaties, in the long run, injected more enormous and social poisons into the British body than benefits. For example, in London these nefarious agents, working in bands, seduced lusty youths into questionable quarters, and there entrapping them, spirited them off to "lock-up" houses and other secret detention dens 'until they could be sold into the hands of Bengal ship captains' (Sidney s.a:353 in Bready 1971:106). Moreover, the appalling death rate, among these East India crews often exceeded the death rate prevailing among "slaver" crews. Early in the Restoration period the kidnapper, or "spiriter" of children and young persons who sold workers (virtual slaves) to American plantations, was becoming a social pestilence (:106).⁷

The slave trade, on the one hand, was connected with a chartered trading corporation, which was half-commercial and half-political, known as the South Sea Company. This caused the sudden collapse of the stock market of England (1720) and the financial crisis of England (:110-111).⁸

In the instability of the national economy, the difficulties of personal economy was as clear as day. 'Adam Smith's terrible dictum that no poor man could reach forty years of age without suffering oppression under the Caroline Settlement Acts at some time or another tells its own tale' (Robertson 1917:206).

The farming techniques were improving but the industrial methods were extremely primitive. Life was cheap. I've watched them hang ten and twelve a day from the gallows at Tyburn near Marylebone in London where Charles now lies dying. They hung a ten-year-old one-day for stealing a loaf of bread. I became so sick of reading the accounts of scores

⁷ See Bready pp. 106-110 for details.

⁸ According to Bready (1971:114) 'the year is still remembered as that of the most colossal and dramatic financial swindle in British history. As its last days ebbed away it seemed that South Sea stock, which a few months before had sold at 1060 per cent, was utterly worthless.'

of murders and public executions where, I'm afraid that had I read farther, I would have found them described in vivid detail (Tuttles 1978:32).

In spite of such decadence, this was also a period of increasing prosperity among the powerful few. Whereas the vast majority of people were hungry and diseased, there was a fine veneer of sophistication above them (:32). Without exception, the penal code, together with its legal administration and the prison system, even more than the corruption of politics, reveals the thinness of the cultural veneer disguising the deep savagery of much of the eighteenth century. Even, when Blackstone was elaborating the glories of "our unmatched Constitution," not only adults but children of both sexes, enjoyed the liberty of being hanged for no less than 160 different violations of the law (Bready 1971:127). Not infrequently seven, ten or fifteen culprits, were executed at the same time and place, and these events came to be popularly known as "Hanging shows" (:127). The hanging shows, however, were but symbolic of the spirit behind the penal code (:129). The prison system was no exception. On February 3, 1753, Wesley wrote:

I visited one in the Marshalsea prison, a nursery of all manner of wickedness. O shame to man that there should be such a place, such a picture of hell, upon earth! And shame to those who bear the name of Christ that there should need any prison at all in Christendom! (Works 1991:444-445).

After investigation of that prison system, Dr. George, Hálevy and other scholars verified conclusively that the earlier half of the century, particularly from 1720 to 1750, was a time of social retrogression, perhaps without parallel in modern times (Bready 1971:133).

2.1.3. The Ecclesiastical Situation

As has been noted above, England had been in the grip of enormous corruption. The Church of England felt unable to cope with these situations.



The Hanoverian Church of England, despite its redeeming qualities, stood sorely in need of reform. The age of reason had forgotten certain fundamental human needs; natural religion might satisfy the minds of some, but the hearts of multitudes were hungry. The weakness of the established church, its failure to provide adequate care, the inflexibility of its parish system, its neglect of the new towns left a vast and needy population waiting to be touched by a new word of power (Cragg 1960:141).

The fact that phenomenal social and moral degeneracy existed during this period is indisputable. The manifold causes of that degeneracy, though interrelated, are more elusive, nevertheless, three unmistakable causes, are of vital importance to the unfolding of our subject: The Anti-Puritan Purge, The Expulsion of Non-Jurors and The Suppression of Convocation (Bready 1971:20-30). The Act of Uniformity (1662), the Conventicle Act (1664), and the Five Mile Act (1665) stabbed at the very heart of Puritan religion, Puritan ideals, Puritan education, and Puritan culture. Taken together, they represent perhaps the most nefarious and most thoroughly un-British legislation ever placed on the Statute Book of England. In preparation for the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Prayer Book was revised by Convocation in an anti-Puritan direction to the extent of including several hundred alterations (Warner and Marten s a:410 in Beady 1971:21).

The immediate result of this Act was that nearly two thousand rectors and vicars, whose consciences were not subservient to the dictates of state, were turned adrift from their living without compensation. Among them, were Dr. Samuel Annesley and John Wesley, the Grandfathers, and Dr. Bartholomew Wesley, a great-father, of the famous eighteenth century evangelists-John and Charles Wesley (:21).

The second tragedy, the expulsion of non-jurors happened as a result of the rejection of the Oath of Allegiance of William III. The result was that eight prelates and over four hundred clergy of the extreme right wing refused to subscribe. On August 1, 1689, they were suspended; and on February 1, all were deprived of their living. Among these Non-Jurors, as the new outcasts were named, were such courageous leaders as



Sancroft, the Primate, and such saintly souls as Bishop Ken, the hymn writer, while, on the succession of George, they were joined by the famous mystic William Law. Four hundred spiritual sons of Laud suffered in 1690; for conscience sake, the same fate as the two thousand spiritual sons of Luther suffered in 1662 (Abbey and Overton s a:3, 58f in Bready 1971:25). With this second tragedy, the Church found herself shorn of both left and right wings. Zealous priests and flaming prophets were now cut off. The moderates, reasonable men, the time-servers, self-seekers, and pluralists-only were left (:25).

The third tragedy, The Suppression of Convocation, is so closely associated with the second that it might almost be said to have sprung from it. In 1711 came the nefarious Occasional Conformity Act with its bitter persecution and fierce fines upon Dissenters. In 1714 the Schism Acts followed, striking at the educational institutions of Nonconformity, by “forbidding anyone to teach without a bishop’s license.” Not until the middle of the nineteenth century was Convocation again permitted to transact business (:29).

The results of triple tragedies were as follows.

Not only was “National” Church shorn of left-wing prophet and right-wing priest, even her vocal organs were torn from her... These Triple Tragedies, with their co-related events, contributed lamentably to the moral and spiritual stagnation which Bishop Berkely, in the year of Wesley’s conversion, so deeply deplored (:29).

Under such influences, the social-moral condition of England became much paralysed. Cragg (1960:151) summarized the relationship between such situations and Wesley’s Revival as follows:

Many features of the Methodist revival can be explained in terms of the needs of the times and the gifts of the man who was raised up to meet and the gifts of the man who was raised up to meet them. In both social and religious matters, England was ready to listen to Wesley’s message.

2.2. The progress of the Revival

As we have seen above, in the first half of the eighteenth century, the churches in England, both Established and Dissenting, sank into a state of decline, with formal services, cold, intellectual beliefs, and a lack of moral power over the population. Because of this condition, England was awakened by a group of earnest preachers led by the brothers John and Charles Wesley (1707-1788) and George Whitefield (1714-1770) (Hurlbut 1970:138).

2.2.1. John Wesley's Biographical Sketch and Ministry

For convenience, the whole of Wesley's life can be divided into three general periods. The first period (1703 to 1725) -the preparation for work, the second period (1726 to 1739) - the traumatic spiritual journey, and the last period (1740 to 1791) - the Revival led by him.

2.2.1.1. First period (1703-1725): the preparation for work

John Wesley was born on June 17, 1703, the son of the Rev Samuel Wesley and his wife Susanna, nee Annesley. Charles, destined to become one of the greatest hymn-writers of all time, was born some four years later. The Rev Samuel Wesley's father and grandfather were clergymen. Both had been evicted from their parishes in 1662 because they refused to accept the conditions laid down in the Act of Uniformity of that year. So did Susanna Wesley's father, who was the Rev Dr Samuel Annesly a prominent non-conformist minister and a friend of Richard Baxter (Hulley 1987:1). Certainly as the history of her family demonstrated, she was a remarkable woman by any standards. To great natural ability, she united a strong sense of duty and responsibility as the mother of a large family. Her system of child training was stern in its simplicity. The first essential was to break the unregenerate will of a child, the second, to guide him by strict discipline in the way in which he ought to go (Cragg 1960:141). Also, owing to her theological sophistication, the relationship between John and his mother was not only based on the level of son and mother, but he also turned to her for consultation and advice for his own theological development especially during his student days at Oxford



(Hulley 1987:5). It seems to go beyond that, Piette (1979:258 in Hulley 1987:5) said that 'His mother's ideas will be met with in all sermons that John is to deliver for more than half a century.' The fact that Susanna Wesley had a formative influence on John's life, including his theological thinking is however well taken. The Wesley home at Epworth reflected the influence of the puritan strictness towards life and the loyalty and piety of the devoted Anglican. Green summarized it as follows:

The liturgy, loyalty and piety of late seventeenth-century Anglicanism, finding reflection in the learning and zeal of Oxford were ... decisive factors in Samuel Wesley's change of allegiance. These blended with a Nonconformist background to give the household at Epworth something of its distinctive quality (Green 1961:43 in Hulley 1987:5).

2.2.1.2. Second period (1726-1739): the traumatic spiritual journey

At the age of seventeen John went to Christ Church, Oxford, and in due course became a fellow of Lincoln College in 1726. Charles followed him to Christ Church, and was responsible for assembling the little band of seekers known as the 'Holy Club'. Wesley recorded the events as follows:

In November 1729, at which time I came to reside at Oxford, your son [Mr. Morgan], my brother, myself, and one more, agreed to spend three or four evenings in a week together. Our design was to read over the classics, which we had before read in private, on common nights, and on Sunday some book in divinity (Journal 1987:5).

They were faithful in attendance at the ordinances of the church, and pledged themselves to assist the needy, the poor and the prisoners. In the meantime, Wesley's views of the sacraments changed and coincided with the convictions of the members of the group, under Charles' leadership, that one should attend the Lord's Supper regularly. However, Oxford was predominantly a clerical community; that such a programme

should have provoked ridicule is a revealing commentary on the condition of the Hanoverian church (Cragg 1960:142).⁹

However, the members of the Holy Club were ardent men of boundless energy. Wesley became an Anglican deacon in 1725, and a priest in 1728. Seven years later, in search of a more exacting service, he set sail for Oglethorpe's new colony of Georgia as a missionary (Gonzalez 1975:280). It was on the voyage across the Atlantic, when a storm threatened the ship, that he was impressed by the humility and meekness of the Moravians who were prepared to serve their fellow passengers as an expression of their faith (Hulley 1987:11). The significance of this example of simple service was important to him as an inspiration to be acquainted with the Moravians and learn their lessons. Gonzalez (1971:281) commented, that the Moravians 'helped him in his struggle for faith and self-worth.'

The Wesley brothers labour in Georgia was strenuous, although a failure at the end. Charles Wesley returned home in disgust and ill health in 1736. John worked indefatigably, yet with little peace of mind or comfort, for others. He returned to England in 1738 due to a relationship he had established with a lady (Walker 1959:458). Finally, on May 24, 1738, the famous Aldersgate experience took place. Here is Wesley's own description:

In the evening, I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.... And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea,

⁹ The other students ridiculed their piety and seriousness and called the various names: they were styled Enthusiasts, Sacramentarians, Biblemoths, Followers of Perfection club, Holy Company, Saints Club (Hulley 1987:8).

fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror (Journal 1951: 49-50).

The experience in Aldersgate Street made such a strong impression on Wesley that he wrote he believed a Christian to be 'one who so believed in Christ as that sin hath no more dominion over him. In addition, in this obvious sense of the word I was not a Christian until May 2 last past' (Baker 1980 25:575 in Hulley 1987:14-15).

As the Moravians had impressed him on a number of occasions, Wesley decided to travel to Germany, where he met with Zinzendorf (1700-1760) and visited Herrnhut.¹⁰ He took every opportunity to share in their devotional exercises and hear their preaching. He also made careful notes concerning everything he learnt from the testimonies and experiences of the people and of their organizational structures and practices. As before, he was moved by the depth of conviction of the Moravians, and by their moral and religious life. Davies and Rupp (1965:51-52) stated:

With his eager eye, he noted the organization and the educational system. The Moravians grouping of brethren into 'classes' and 'bands' had already been used by Wesley in Georgia, and the early Church practice of '*Agapae*' and '*vigiliae*' came into Methodism from the Moravians as the Love-feast and the Watch-night services. The hymn-singing beloved of Moravians became a feature of Methodist services.

However, he was not entirely convinced that he ought to follow them in all things, especially in what to his active temperament seemed as

¹⁰ In 1722, a group of Bohemian Brethren who were undergoing persecution accepted Zinzendorf's invitation to settle on one of his estates in Saxony. Subsequently Zinzendorf became the leader of the Moravians. Because of their origin, these Bohemian Brethren came to be known as "Moravian"- and also as "Herrnhuters," after the village of Herrnhut, which they found on Zenzendorf's property. Their interest in mission resulted not only from their own direct spiritual descendents, but also other Protestant churches that have existed alongside them. Their impact on Wesley can be seen not only in Wesley himself, but also in the future entire Methodist tradition (Gonzales 1971:278-279).

unwarranted quietism, and in their mystical inclinations. For some time after his return to England, he maintained friendly relations with the Moravians. However, eventually he was forced to enter into controversy with them, and to distinguish his movement from theirs.

In the meantime, George Whitefield had become a successful evangelist continuing with preaching missions in both England and America. He had a mission in Bristol, which reaped a rich harvest and wanting to return to America, wrote to Wesley to come and take over the work. Wesley was fully occupied running his Fetter Lane Society and accepting invitations to preach. Initially Charles Wesley was strongly opposed to John's going to Bristol but eventually saw it as God's will. Wesley went and joined Whitefield and preached in various societies in Bristol.

2.2.1.3. Third period (1739-1791): the Revival led by Wesley

On Monday 2 April, 1739, Wesley said that:

submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city, to about three thousand people' (Works 19 1990:46).

By the Wednesday,

In the evening three women agreed to meet together weekly, with the same intention as those at London, viz. 'to confess their faults one to another and pray one for another, that they may be healed.' At eight, four young men agreed to meet, in pursuance of the same design. How dare any man deny this to be (as to the substance of it) a means of grace, ordained by God? Unless he will affirm that St. James Epistles is 'an epistle of straw'? (:47).

Wesley lost no time in getting converts together in order that they build one another up in faith. He now continued to preach in the open, at society meetings and at any place where he was given the opportunity. His audiences, at open-air services around Bristol and Bath, are recorded

in his Journal as being anything from one to four thousand. He preached to innumerable multitudes. Two, three, five, ten thousand; sometimes the figures rose to twenty and even thirty thousand. He preached in the streets or in the churchyards, in the fields or on the moors.

Under his preaching, as under that of Whitefield, remarkable exhibitions of bodily excitement were frequent. As emotion swept the crowd, some confessed to be sinners; some shouted that they were kings; some broke into songs of thanksgiving; some were seized with convulsion. Men and women cried out, fainted and would be torn with convulsions. To both preachers these seemed the working of the Spirit of God, or the visible resistance of the devil. They were the frequent accompaniment of great religious excitement among the ignorant and uncontrolled, and the disfavour with which they were regarded accounts for much of the opposition, which these preachers encountered from the regular clergy. In addition, crowds were often hostile, sometimes dangerous. Rocks and stones or other missiles would come flying at the preacher; sometimes he was mobbed and beaten up.

Incidentally, there was much misery and distress in the second half of the eighteenth century. Food was scarce, prices were high, and often the prevalent discontent vented itself on the Methodist preachers. Sometimes it was incited against them by hostile squires or parsons. However, Wesley was not intimidated by them. With a strange personal magnetism, he awed the turbulent crowds and constrained them to silence. Even when driven out, he never hesitated to return. As a record of indomitable courage, there are few narratives that can match it (Cragg 1960:143-44).

Wesley maintained a strenuous schedule year in and year out. Virtually the only variation to this pattern was the occasional conference in England and Ireland and an occasional visit to Holland, the last such visit being in August 1786 when he was eighty-three years old. For the most part, he travelled on horseback but in 1772, some friends felt that he could not continue to ride any longer and they gave him a carriage drawn by two horses. At eighty-seven years old, he recorded in his *Journal* as follows:

I am now an old man, decayed from head to foot. My eyes are dim; my right hand shakes much; my mouth is hot and dry every morning; I have a lingering fever almost every day; my motion is weak and slow. However, blessed be God, I do not slack my labour: I can preach and write still (Journal 1951:360).

Wesley faithfully recorded events in his Journal until October 24, 1790. His diary was recorded until February 24, 1791. Wesley died on March 2, 1791 in his home in London. His last words to those standing around him were 'The best of all, God is with us.' This conviction had sustained and inspired him throughout his busy ministry (Hulley 1987:51).

2.2.2. The organization of Wesley's Revival: the united societies, the class meeting, the bands and the select societies.

Wesley conceived in his early mission that if there was no adequate system in bringing up converted persons because of his evangelism, all his efforts would end in failure. On March 13, 1743, Wesley recorded the following in his *Journal* after he visited the members of the society at Tanfield:

From the terrible instance I met with here (and indeed in all parts of England) I am more and more convinced that the devil himself desires nothing more than this, that the people of any place should be half-awakened and then left to themselves to fall asleep again. Therefore, I am determined, by the grace of God, not to strike one stroke in any place where I cannot follow the blow (Works 1990 19:318).

He, also recorded in his Journal on August 25, 1763:

I was more convinced than ever that the preaching like an apostle, without joining together those that are awakened children for the murderer. How much preaching has there been for these twenty years all over Pembrokehire! But no regular societies, no discipline, no order or connection. And

the consequence is that nine in ten of the once awakened are now faster asleep than ever (Works 1990 21:424).

This is the reason why Wesley organized small societies: the societies, the class meeting, the bands and the Select societies. But Wesley had no desire or intention of breaking up the Church of England. He was a convinced churchman. He did not found any churches, but took up into service the device of the long-existing “religious societies,” that should now consist only of converted persons (Walker 1959:460).

Wesley mentioned three experiences concerning the origin of Methodism and the system of small groups.

On Monday, May 1, (1738) our little society began in London. but it may be observed, the first rise of Methodism (so called) was in November 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford; the second was at Savannah, in April 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at my house; the last was at London, on this day, when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together every Wednesday evening, for a free conversation, which begun and ended with singing and prayer (Works 1990 9:430).

Three experiences were from the following: the Holy Club, the Religious Society in Georgia and the Fetter Lane Society. Converted peoples wanted to meet Wesley regularly and Wesley acceded to their demand. This was the rise of the United Society. The purpose of this meeting was no other than the following:

A company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation (Outler 1964:178).

Each society was divided into smaller companies called “classes,” according to their respective places of abode. Every class consisted of

twelve persons, one of whom was called “the Leader.” His duties were:

(1) To see each person in his class once a week, at least, in order to inquire how their souls prospered, to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require; to receive what they are willing to give toward the relief of the poor; (2) To meet the minister and the stewards of the society once a week; to pay to the stewards what they have received of their several classes in the week preceding; and to show their account of what each person has contributed (:178).¹¹

The pattern thus established was promptly applied to Wesley’s expanding work in England and adopted wherever Methodism spread. It was a condition previously demanded in those who desired admission, into societies- ‘a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins,’ but wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation: First, by doing no harm, by avoiding evil in every kind. Secondly, by doing good, by being, in every kind merciful after their power. Thirdly, by attending upon all the ordinances of God (:178-179).¹² All members of the United Society were given tickets as a certification of membership.¹³ Those who absented themselves from the class meetings without good reason after a visit from their leader were regarded as having ‘ceased to meet’. Their tickets were withheld, and they were no longer members of the society (Works 1989 19:12). These were the general rules of Societies. Furthermore, Bready (1971:215) remarked on this class meeting as ‘one of the world’s greatest systems of voluntary finance.’ Because when all ardent Evangelicals like Lord Shaftesberry and Michael Sadler were

¹¹ In 1742, the members of the Society decided to appoint leaders to be responsible for oversight and for the receipt of ‘class money’ (a penny a week) in Bristol (Cragg 1960:145).

¹² See the relevant reference for the specific examples of each item.

¹³ There is the name of each possessor and the following sentence in the ticket: ‘I believe the bearer hereof to be one that fears God and works righteousness.’ Those who bore these tickets (these $\sigma \upsilon \mu \beta$ $\omicron \lambda \alpha$ or *tesserae*, ‘commendatory letters’), wherever they came, were acknowledged by their brethren, and received with all cheerfulness. By these it was easily distinguish when the society were to meet apart, who were members of it and who not (Works 1989 9:265).

leading the epic struggle for the Ten Hours Bill, and thus winning the Magna Carta of the English worker's leisure and liberty, they financed the organization of factory operatives by borrowing the scheme of the Methodist Class Meeting. This meant that the class meeting had two intentions: the fostering of believers and relief for the poor.

In "the Band", according to Watson (1987:116),

there was a less structured and more intensive exchange, due in large part to the greater intimacy afforded by Wesley's restriction of membership to those who wanted and needed some means of closer union.

Whereas the Society was a compulsory organization, the Band took on a spontaneous character for the one who wanted intimate friendship. Band members were subjected to a more rigorous disciplinary oversight than the society (:117).¹⁴ Therefore, this proportion joining the band against the society is one in five, twenty percent (Park 1999:121). The band, which the Moravians first organised for the pursuit of the perfection of Christians, actually existed before the society (:122). The Moravian bands consisted of five to ten persons and were held twice a week. Under this influence, Wesley formed small groups consisting of six persons on the base of sex, marital status and age (North 1914:25). Wesley mentioned the benefits of this meeting as follows:

Great and many are the advantages which have ever since flowed from this closer union of the believers with each other. They prayed for one another, that they might be healed of the faults they had confessed- and it was so. The

¹⁴ Wesley made clear the purpose of this:

1. To meet once a week, at the least. 2. To come punctually at the hour appointed, without some extraordinary reason. 3. To begin exactly at the hour, with singing or prayer. 4. To speak, each of us in order, freely and plainly the true state of our souls, with the faults we have committed in thought, word, or deed, and the temptations we have felt since our last meeting. 5. To end every meeting with prayer, suited to the state of each person present. 6. To desire some person among us to speak his own state first, and then to ask the rest in order as many and as searching questions as may be concerning their state, sins, and temptations (Works 1989 9:77).

chains were broken, the bands burst in sunder, and sin had no more dominion over them. Many were delivered from the temptation out of which until then, they found no way to escape. They were strengthened in love, and more effectually provoked to abound in every good work (Works 1989 9:268).

Furthermore, 'Select Society' was the organization, which was more selected and systematized than the Band. Wesley (:269-270) intended the following that:

My design was, not only to direct them now to *press after perfection*; to exercise their every grace, and improve every talent they had received; and to incite them to love one another more, and to watch more carefully over each other; but also to have a *select company* to whom I might unbosom myself on all occasions, which reserve, and whom I could propose to all their brethren as a pattern of love, of holiness, and of all good works.

They had no need of being encumbered with many rules having the best rule of all in their hearts. No peculiar directions were therefore given to them, except only these three:

Firstly, let nothing spoken in this society be spoken again. (Hereby, we had the more full confidence in each other.) Secondly, every member agrees to submit to his minister in all indifferent things. Thirdly, every member will bring once a week all he can spare toward a common stock (:270).

In 1744, we had the genesis of the Conference - originally a consultation about increasing problems and responsibilities, later a powerful part of the system of government. In 1746, a further step was taken, and neighbouring societies were formed into 'circuits or rounds'. Quarterly meetings were added in due course, and when Districts were set up the system was complete (Cragg 1960:146).

A closely-knit organization and a strong central government were thus characteristic of Methodism from the beginning. Wesley's personal authority in this structure is immense, but the notable feature of the structure was perhaps lay leadership. The class leaders, stewards, trustees, and local preachers gained experience of administration and grew in stature (:146). The requirement for offices did not put responsibility beyond the reach of humble folk, and gave the movement a firm foundation in popular support.

Wesley himself never doubted either the necessity of the method or the benefits, which it produced. Wherever discipline was enforced, numbers rose and spiritual vitality increased (:147).

2.3. The Results of social reform

Wesley's theology, organization and peculiar ethos of evangelism was expressed in the figure of social reform. His influence stood out conspicuously in six parts.

2.3.1. The relief works for the poor and the sick

Attwell (1989:135) said about Wesley, 'No man in England was more aware of the plight of the poor than Wesley.' His *Journal* abounds in references to his visitation of the poor and the sick, and his sympathetic concern is reflected everywhere. Marquardt (1992:27) also commented that Wesley was the first man who improved the quality of the poor and excluded bitterness of them beyond the dimension of simple relief for the poor and emphasized it as a correct mission of Christianity in England.

On May 25, 1740 Wesley recorded in his *Journal*:

After several methods proposed for employing those who were out of business, we were determined to make a trial of one, which several of our brethren recommended to us. Our aim was, with as little expense as possible, to keep them at once from want and idleness, in order to which we took

twelve of the poorest and a teacher into the society room, where they were employed for four months, till spring came on, in carding and spinning of cotton. And the design answered: they were employed and maintained with very little more than the produce of their own labor (Works 1990 19:173).

His efforts in this realm extended to woman as well as men. According to his *Journal* of May 7:

I reminded the United Society that many of our brethren and sisters had not needful food; many were destitute of convenient clothing; many were out of business, and that without their own fault... My design is to employ for the present all the women who are not out of business, and desire it, in knitting. To these we will first give the common price for what work they do, and then add, according to they need. Twelve persons are appointed to inspect these, and to visit and provide things needful for the sick.

Wesley founded many schemes for the under-privileged. Among them, the 'Benevolent Loan Fund ' was established in 1746. His purpose was to stimulate the expression of initiative and independence on the part of the under-privileged, and that of responsibility on the part of the privileged (Bready 1971: 271).

On January 17, 1748, he wrote in his *Journal*:

I made a public collection towards a lending-stock for the poor. Our rule is to lend only twenty shillings at once, which is repaid weekly within three months. I began this about a year and half ago. Thirty pounds sixteen shillings were then collected. And out of this no less than two hundred and fifty-five persons have been relieved in eighteen months (Works 1991 20:204). 15

¹⁵ According to Bready (1971:271), 'by later collections the capital of this fund was raised in 1772 to one

In addition, 'Stranger's Friend Society' was founded and its purpose was recorded on March 14, 1790 in his *Journal*:

In the morning I met the Strangers' Society, instituted wholly for the relief, not of our society, but for poor, sick, friendless strangers. I do not know that I ever heard or read or read of such an institution till within a few years ago. So this also is one of the fruits of Methodism ... (Journal 1987:249).

According to Bready (1971: 271-272), the Strangers' Friend Society,

was one of the last of Wesley's social creations. Not till 1787 was it found; yet, even prior to Wesley's death, it had its branches in every populous center of the country.

Wesley devoted himself to helping the poor in many fields beyond simple support by the fund. He founded 'free medical dispensary' in December 1746. In the following year Wesley's '*Primitive Physics*' (An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Disease) appeared. Even though it became the focus of criticism in those days, Sir George Newman, the official guardian of Britain's public health, bestowed high praise upon it. He pointed to the remarkable improvement in household sanitation, personal cleanliness, domestic hygiene and general health. He places Wesley among the vital pioneers of the national health movement (Newman s a:41 in Bready 1971:268-269).

Wesley's interest in the physical welfare of the underprivileged was at peace with his zeal for their spiritual and mental emancipation. The extent of zeal included even the sacrifice of Wesley himself. It is no exaggeration to say that he poured out his everything for the underprivileged. In 1743, he noted, 'If I leave behind me ten pounds... you and all mankind bear witness against me that I lived and died a thief

hundred twenty pounds, and the borrowing limit to five pounds; and certain business romances, including that of Lackington, who became a famous bookseller, owe their origin to its initial aid.'

and a robber' (:238). In 1776, 'In communication with the Commissioners of Excise', he made it clear that 'I have two silver spoons at London and two at Bristol. This is all the plate I have at present, and I shall not buy any more while so many round me want bread' (:238). On the eve of his death, Wesley closed his Account Book with the words: 'For upwards of eight-six years I have kept my accounts exactly, I will not attempt it any longer, being satisfied with the continual conviction that I save all I can, and give all I can- that is all I have' (:238).

2.3.2. The antislavery movement

According to Bready (:225), Wesley being the central leader of the Evangelical Revival and his Revival, inspired both the abolition of the Empire slave trade (1807) and the emancipation of Empire slaves (1833-4) by his teaching on this subject. Wesley made a severe criticism against slavery by a treatise, *Thoughts upon Slavery* (1774):

Can human *law* turn darkness into light or evil into good ? ...
I absolutely deny all slave-holding to be consistent with any degree of even natural justice... The whole business was pursued to get the money and its excuses were empty and hypocritical (Wesley 1742:34-5 in Bready 1971:226).

In addition, in his *Serious Address to the People of England with regard to the State of the Nation*, written in 1777, Wesley deals with the slave traffic poignantly.¹⁶

Every one of his followers was taught to regard the negro slave as a brother in Christ. His teaching was succeeded by Rev. J. R. Stephens; two generations later him, of Factory Reform and Anti-Poor Law fame, was clapped into prison (:226-227). Zachary Macaulay (1768-1838),

¹⁶ He thunders, ' I would to God that it may never be found more! That we may never more steal and sell *our brethren* like beasts, never murder them by thousands and tens of thousands! O may this worse than Mohammedan, worse than pagan abomination, be removed from us for ever! Never was anything such a reproach to England since it was a nation as the having any hand in this execrable traffic' (Wesley 1742:15 in Bready 1971:227-228).

father of the historian, 'once booked passage on a slave ship to observe conditions first hand' (Walker 1959:470).

Wesley wrote the following to William Wilberforce (1759-1833), the great emancipator, and a spiritual son of Wesley, six days before his death:

Unless the Divine Power has raised you up to be as Athanasius *contra mundum*, I see not you can go through your glorious enterprise in opposing that execrable villainy which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing you will worn out by the opposing of men and devils; But if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God ? Oh, be not weary in well doing, Go on, in the name of God and in the power of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it... That He who has guided you from youth up, may continue to strengthen you in this and in all things, is the prayer of,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

“ John Wesley”

(Coupland s a: 141 in Bready 1971: 228-9)

Wealthy, popular, and a Member of Parliament, he was converted in 1784 through the instrumentality of Isaac Milner. In 1787, he began his lifelong battle with slavery, resulting in the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, and of slavery itself throughout the British dominions in 1833 (Walker 1959:470).

2.3.3. The reform of the prison system

The first activity that Wesley did for prison inmates was through his sermons. After September 1738, Wesley had visited and preached in prisons, which were located in London, Bristol and Oxford, more than sixty seven times in only nine months (Marquardt 1992:59). He made a rule of visiting the prison for Methodist preachers at the Conference of

1778 (Cairns 1960:106 in Park 1999:141). Furthermore, not adhering to the dimension of merely giving sermons and counselling. Wesley and Methodists activated humane relief for inmates focusing on the delivery of the necessities of life, care of their disease, presenting a petition for release and going together to the scaffold and consolation for condemned criminals (North 1914:55-7 in Park 1999:142). Such activities conducted by Wesley and Methodists were not only limited to brethren but included alien inmates, even the enemies of England. Their activities produced the result of the marked improvement of the prison system as well as the fruit of simple relief. Their endeavours produced a specific fruit by John Howard called 'the father of all modern prison reform' (Bready 1971:368). Howard once made known to a group of Wesley's preachers the challenge and lasting inspiration he had derived from a sermon (on June 28th, 1787) "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might" (:366).

The start of Howard's reform began after his appointment as high sheriff of Bedfordshire. He began the investigation of English prisons in 1773. He found the whole system of confinement to be too pitiful for words (:367).¹⁷ Howard's research materials were delivered to the House of Commons. Parliament passed the Gaol Act in 1774. As a result of this, fees for jailers which were a main cause of prison corruption disappeared, salaries were paid to jailers and the programs for improvement of prison hygiene and health care of prisoners were prepared (Carlson 1990:5-7 in Park 1999:162). This was the landmark of the history of prisons.

Besides this, he unconditionally devoted his time, his means and his all to prison reform. With the hope of including England in the prison reform of Europe, he usually arose at approximately three a.m. and made seven long journeys on seven occasions inspecting all the jails of the United Kingdom during no less than four times in seventeen years (Cairns 1960:107 in Park 1999:164). Refusing Government assistance, he travelled more than fifty thousand miles for the prisoners' cause and expended some thirty thousand pounds of his own fortune before he died of malignant fever at Kherson in Southern Russia on January 20 1790

¹⁷ See Bready pp. 367-368 for details.

(Bready 1971:368). With Howard's prison reform, other Evangelicals had bore a part in sweeping away abuses of the penal code. Halevy (1815:397 in Bready 1971:372) says 'Every time Romilly brought forward in the Commons the abolition of the death penalty for an offence, Wilberforce intervened in the debate to support Romilly's proposal with his influence.'

In the end, The Act of prison reform was passed under Elizabeth Fry's prison reform and the activities of T. Fowell Buxton and the Commons in 1821 (Cairns 1960:108 in Park 1999:165). 'It was with the help of sons of the great Spiritual Awakening, that the "bloody criminal code" was at last swept into the limbo' Bready (1971:372) commented.

2.3.4. The reform of popular education

One of the most remarkable characteristics of Wesley and his Revival are, the activities and achievements of education as well as evangelism and relief for the poor (Marquardt 1992:32).

During the eighteenth century any education above the most elementary level was the prerogative of the upper classes, and was obtained through the employment of private tutors or at public schools, to which the lower classes would have had the greatest difficulty in obtaining admission (Attwell 1989:154). 'The beginning of the Methodist contribution to education is traditionally associated with the founding of the Kingwood School in 1739, followed by the Orphan Schools by Wesley at Newcastle and London' (:153). His original intention was 'to teach chiefly the poorer children to write, read and cast accounts: but more especially by God's assistance to know God and Jesus Christ Whom He hath sent' (Edwards 1943:119). This school (Old House) continued to give instruction until 1803. On June 24, 1748, the New House at Kingwood was opened to provide an education for the sons of Wesley's preachers and the growing number of wealthy merchants and industrialists within the Methodist fold (Attwell 1989:154).

In this climate of enthusiasm for popular education¹⁸, the Methodist

¹⁸ According to Attwell (1989:154-5), there were three main types of education for the poor. The charity

Conference of 1883 formally approved the establishment of Wesleyan day schools (:155). One hundred and sixty thousand, seven hundred and eighty seven scholars attended the seven hundred and fifty Methodist schools at the end of the century (Edwards 1943:122). Another way Wesley stimulated the growth of public education was by publishing books and distributing them at moderate prices (Edwards 1935:101). The Wesley brothers published four hundred and fifty three books in their lifetime. Two hundred and thirty three books were authorised by them, while the rest were edited or extracted from other works (Green 1896:¹⁹ in Park 1991:140). According to these books, the influence on the growth of education of Methodists cannot be overlooked. The meetings of Methodists became Wesley's places of education and all books were read systematically. As a result, their religious, moral, political and cultural knowledge was extended. It was sufficient to make an impact on the educational system of whole of England (Marquardt 1992:58).

2.3.5. The activation of foreign missions

Walker (1959:471) said, 'one of the most important consequences of the Evangelical Revival was the rise of modern Protestant missions.' Bready (1971:373) evaluated the mission movement of Protestant before Wesley's Revival in the following way briefly:

the Reformation in the sixteenth century, nor Puritanism, in the seventeenth century, was possessed of any real world outlook or foreign missionary zeal. Luther and Zwingli, Calvin and Melancthon ...were too utterly absorbed with perplexing problems at their door, to see a field. Theological controversies, national complications, the principles of

schools, founded in 1698 and fostered by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, were catered for thirty thousand children by the middle of the eighteenth century. After being taught to read and write, boys were appointed to a handicraft trade and girls were sent to domestic service. Secondly, there were a great number of private schools. Many were known as 'dame schools', because a widow or spinster owned them. Thirdly, 'Schools of Industry', where pauper children were trained for industrial occupations, were established.

Halévy places the number of children being trained at these institutions in 1819 at around twenty-one thousand. About this time, and largely due to the lead given by Dr. Andrew Bell and Jopseph Lancaster, general interest was aroused in the cause of popular education.

¹⁹ There is no the relevant page.

religious liberty, the clarifying of the Reformed Faith and the organizing of the Reformed -these questions occupied their every waking hour... As a movement, English Puritanism made an epochal stand for liberty, justice, equity, and fraternity; but it was at least as political as it was religious, and never did it rise to the vision of the Kingdom of God over all the earth.

However, the closing years of the eighteenth century aroused a heightened interest in foreign missions. Attwell (1989:160) regarded the years 1790 to 1820 as a period of “the great surge of missionary activity.” ‘The Baptist Missionary Society came into being in 1792, the L.M.S. in 1795, The C.M.S. in 1799, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1813’ (Walsh 1965:300 in Attwell 1989:161). Methodism was in fact a vast missionary movement, which, was the result of lay initiative in all cases. As early as 1747 Wesley visited Dublin, where he found already in existence a society of some three hundred members. When he visited Scotland in 1751, he discovered formed societies in Dundee and Musselburgh. Methodism spread far beyond the British Isles. In 1760, while on a visit to England, Nathaniel Gilbert, the Speaker of the House of Assembly in Antigua, heard Wesley preach. On his return, he held services for the Negro slaves in his own house. This aroused a violent reaction amongst his slave-owning neighbours, but formed a society of two hundred persons. After his death, his work was continued by other people (:161).

From Antigua the work spread rapidly to the other islands of the West Indies. Despite continued opposition from the planters and the Government the movement gained ground among the slaves until, in 1834, the Emancipation Act put an end to persecution and the work continued unhindered (:161). In the same year that Nathaniel Gilbert took Methodism to the West Indies, some Irish Methodists emigrated to North America. Among them was Philip Embury, a local preacher, who began services in his own house. Afterwards, a church was built in his memory John Street (New York), which became the first Methodist Church in America (Whiteside 1906:24).



Within nine years, urgent requests for ministers were being sent to Wesley. At the Leeds conference (1769), Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmore were set aside and sent, to be followed two years later by Richard Wright and Francis Asbury.²⁰ The Methodists had rapidly increased in the Northern and Eastern States, and possessed numerous places of worship. American Methodism retained Wesley's evangelical emphases and his organization of conferences, circuits, societies, classes and bands (Attwell 1989:161-163).

Methodism had become the largest voluntary Protestant Church in the world by the end of nineteenth century in America (Whiteside 1906:28).

2.3.6. The upgrading of woman's rights

Wesley and Methodism contributed greatly to the rise in women's social status. In those days, women were in a subordinate relation with their husbands and pastors and could not show spiritual leadership in Church of England (Brown 1983:3-4). Runyon (s a:195 in Park 1999:147) said that the traditional barrier which did not allow women to play important roles in religion circles collapsed at that time. The starting point of female leadership began when women took the place of leaders of the society and the band (:147). The extent of female leadership gradually expanded to as far as the pulpit in 1744. That epoch-making experience might well be called a revolution in view of the precedents. For that matter, even men, without the permission of the Church of England, did not dare to preach before congregation. There were forty-seven female leaders and nineteen male leaders among sixty-six leaders in the Foundery Society of 1742 (Chilcote 1991:49 in Park 1999:148). In 1788, the sermon 'On Visiting the Sick' disclosed the position concerning the woman rights remarkably:

20 According to Attwell (1989:162), 'in America, Asbury was to perform one of the most heroic ministries of modern times. It has been calculated that during his forty-five years of ministerial work... he rode or walked two hundred and seventy thousand miles, preached sixteenth thousand five hundred sermons, presided over two hundred and twenty four conferences, ordained more than three thousand preachers, and witnessed an increase of two hundred thousand members. He died in 1816, having become one of the founders of the American nation.'



“But may not women, as well as men, bear a part in this honourable service?” Undoubtedly they may; nay, they ought; it is meet, right, and their bounden duty. Herein there is no difference; “there is neither male nor female in Christ Jesus.” Indeed, it has long passed for a maxim with many, that “women are only to be seen, not heard.” And accordingly many of them are brought up in such a manner as if they were only designed for agreeable playthings! But is this doing honour to the sex? Or is it a real kindness to them? No; it is the deepest unkindness; it is horrid cruelty; it is mere Turkish barbarity. And I know not how any woman of sense and spirit can submit to it. Let all you that have it in your power assert the right which the God of nature has Yield not to that vile bondage any longer. You, as well as men, are rational creatures. You, like them, were made in the image of God; you are equally candidates for immortality; you too are called of God, as you have time, to “do good unto all men.” Be “not disobedient to the heavenly calling.” Whenever you have opportunity, do all the good you can, particularly to your poor, sick neighbor. And every one of you likewise “shall receive your own reward according to your own labor.” given you. Yield not to that vile bondage any longer. You, as well as men, are rational creatures. You, like them, were made in the image of God; you are equally candidates for immortality; you too are called of God, as you have time, to “do good unto all men.” Be “not disobedient to the heavenly calling.” Whenever you have opportunity, do all the good you can, particularly to your poor, sick neighbour. And every one of *you* likewise “shall receive *your* own reward, according to *your* own labour.” (The Library of Christian Classics 2001 1: 656-657 = TLoCC 2001 1:656-657).

Methodist women took part in other leadership roles. They erected schools and took charge of teaching in them. In addition, they set up charitable institutions like hospitals and prisons, expanded their scope of



activities and expanded their boundaries of leadership (English 1994: 30-31 in Park 1999:150).

Chapter 3: The Korean Revival movement

This chapter examines four periods and will consider how revivals in each period contributed to Korean society. Simultaneously, unique characteristics of each period will be studied. This study will focus on the Presbyterian denomination because it is in the absolute majority among Korean Protestants.²¹

3.1. The Great Revival of 1907

It could be argued that four Presbyterian missionaries who had visited Korea at the close of the nineteenth century founded the Korean Church. Each of them was sent by the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A (P.C.U.S.A)²² at the head of the list. The Presbyterian Church of the United States (P.C.U.S),²³ the Canadian Presbyterian Church and the Australian Presbyterian Church followed it. After organizing a united body of missionaries, they partitioned the whole region of Korea and set out on missions in regional groups (Hong 1988:10).

It was on September 20, 1884 that Horace Newton Allen, a missionary from the P.C.U.S.A, officially came to Korea.²⁴ After that, missionaries from various denominations entered Korea (Kim 1992:67).²⁵ But the missionary work led by them was more or less done indirectly,²⁶ because the missionaries did not obtain official approval from the Korean government and fell under the suspicion of many government personages

²¹ According to the statistics of 1992, 'the number of Korean Christians runs to the tens of millions... Presbyterians comprise about two thirds of all Korean Christians' (Kidogkyomoonsa 1992:277-296 in Yang 1997:1).

²² Presbyterian Church in the United States of America or Northern Presbyterian Church is another name for the P.C.U.S.A.

²³ The Southern Presbyterian Church in the United States of America is another name for the P.C.U.S.

²⁴ Scholars do not agree on the exact date. Sin (1987:13) said on October 20, 1884 and Jun, according to his *Presbyterian History of Korea*, says February 19th. This thesis follows Kim's view.

²⁵ On April 5, 1885, Horace G. Underwood of P.C.U.S.A and Henry G. Appenzeller of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States (the Northern Methodists) came to Korea via Japan. In October 1889, Rev. J. Henry Davies and his sister, Miss M.T. Davies of Presbyterian Church of Victoria came to Korea. In the case of the Church of England, Bishop C. J. Corfe, with six pastors and two doctors came and began missionary work (Kim 1992:67-68). See chapter 3 of this book (pp. 67-71), which were mentioned the entrance of the first missionaries on Korea, for details.

²⁶ According of Kim (1992:74-83), early missionary work in Korea consisted of five movements: medical work, educational work, writing movements, the spread of the Korean alphabet and a youth movement.

(:73). In this respect, the Revival of 1907 was an important event that made its mark in the history of Korean Christianity.

3.1.1. The Background of the Revival

As the Wesleyan movement began as the result of various factors, so did the Korean Revival movement. ‘Old Korea was called the “Hermit Kingdom” because of its age-old seclusion policy toward outsiders’ (Chung 1990:523-538). In the late nineteenth century, Korea suffered a great deal of social, economic and political unrest. Internationally, the Korean government was forced to co-operate with other nations for its own purposes.²⁷ Due to commercial treatments, foreign goods, mostly those of Japan and China, flooded the Korean market. The Korean economy suffered a severe blow. To make matters worse, on the domestic front, frequent conflict arose between the conservatives and the progressives regarding the problem of the open door policy. Corruption and exploitation amongst the aristocratic class continued without interruption. The government was dysfunctional and did not perform effectively (Kim 1992:105-106).

The Japanese took advantage of this confusion and ‘Japanese attempts to modernize and control Korea brought Japan into direct conflict with China, notably in the Post Office Banquet *coup* of 1884’ (Grayson 2002:149). The Chinese also deliberately maintained their position of privilege in Korea during these conflicts, but the Japanese were determined to defeat China and make her relinquish her nominal suzerainty over Korea. This expansionist policy of powerful countries caused the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895²⁸ and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. The Japanese victory in these wars ended formal Chinese suzerainty over her Korean vassal and symbolized Japan’s ascendancy over other powers in Korea (:149). Because of this, Japanese Residency was established in 1905 and Korea was made a Protectorate in 1907. Ultimately, Korea was coercively annexed to Japan in 1910.

²⁷ ‘The Japanese forced on the Korean government the first Western-style treaty, the Treaty of Kanhwa, in 1876. This treaty was followed by treaties with the United States in 1882, with the United Kingdom and the German Empire in 1883, and with other European nations shortly afterwards’ (Grayson 2002:149).

²⁸ According to the peace treaty of Simonoseki made by this war, China admitted that Korea was a sovereign state and abrogated suzerainty over Korea (Kim 1992:106).

Following annexation, land was confiscated and given to Japanese colonials. Business laws were legislated which were deliberately harmful to Korean companies. Instruction in schools was to be in Japanese only. In this way, Japan attempted to Japanize Korea (:150). What this actually meant was that the approximately five hundred year-old Choson Dynasty (1392-1910) was near collapse, as was the traditional structure of society. On 1 March 1919, thirty-three Representatives of the People read out a Declaration of Independence from Japan in a Pagoda in Seoul. This sparked a non-violent nationwide demonstration. However, over seven thousand people were killed by Japanese government soldiers and more than twice that number wounded. Although the movement did not result in the independence of the nation, it did have the effect of unifying the people in their desire for independence and gave them a sense of being a distinct people (:150).

In terms of religion, the modern Korea of that time experienced a deep sense of spiritual emptiness along with the political deadlock. Min (1982:120) commented on this period as follows:

In modern Korea, whose spiritual resource of Zen, had only lasted a short time, Buddhism and Confucianism were exhausted and only their forms and duties were repeated. There existed a vacuum, a lack of religious belief and spiritual life.... It would be true to say that a desire to search for a new religion was widespread in modern Korea.

As the times demanded, many people went to church due to political and patriotic motives. They anticipated that they would achieve their political aspirations in the church or by means of the organization of the church. Missionaries worried about such secular motivation (Kim 1974:129 in Kim 1992:109). However, this trend gradually decreased after 1907 owing to the Revival movement in the church. Believers understood the church more deeply than before, through the Revival. Their Christian life improved both morally and spiritually. The number of newcomers increased rapidly, whereas people anticipating the achievement of a political purpose left the church (:109-110).

3.1.2. The Process of the Revival

The origin of the Revival is said to date from the meeting on the mountain in Woensan in 1903. Two or three Methodist missionaries held a prayer meeting and Bible study for a week, inviting Miss M. C. White, a China missionary, who had been visiting Korea for a while (:110). After this, similar meetings were arranged several times. On 6 Jan 1907, Sakyunghoi (a special kind of evangelical meeting with a Bible study) was held at Gangdaehyun church in Pyeongyang. This remarkable and historical meeting started with a prayer meeting²⁹ entreating the grace of God, in the charge of Rev. Sun Ju, Gil (1869-1935) (:112-113). Swallon (1909: 182 in Kim 1992:113) recorded as following:

After Rev. Sun Gu, Gil, who ministered at Chungang church which was the greatest church in Pyeongyang, felt that the congregation had a cool attitude. He decided to go to church to pray with an elder every dawn. These two men did not notify anybody of it and prayed at four o'clock everyday. They continued this for two months.... Rev. Gil knew that many people wanted to pray with him. He informed the congregation of the fact that there was a prayer meeting at half past four every day and rang the bell for it.... Many people started to come into the church at dawn the following day.... After two or three days, six or seven hundred people had come together in the church. On the fourth day, the whole congregation suddenly realized in service that each of them was apathetic, cold-hearted and short of zeal in their religious life. They started to feel contrite about it. Afterwards, they felt the joy of forgiveness from their sins and were motivated to serve God ardently.

The Great Revival spread out nationally. The Sakyunghoi of the Gangdaehyun church lasted for nine days and was the starting point of the revival movement. More than one thousand five hundred men,

²⁹ This meeting encapsulated one of the pivotal characteristics in Korean Christianity. It connoted the hope of trying to start a day not with people, but with God first. It was one of main causes of the growth of the Korean Church.

excepting women, came to that meeting.

The program of this meeting consisted of Bible study from nine to twelve o'clock, preaching the Gospel for two hours in the street after having had a prayer meeting for thirty minutes from two p.m. to half past two, and an ardent revival service in the evening (Kwak 1973:115).

The Korean Church leader and foreign missionaries lead the evening meetings in turns. Their main message was that love was essential within the church and believers had to live under the control of the Holy Spirit (Kim 1992:114). On Monday, January 14, the flame of the Great Revival reached its summit. When Rev. Graham Lee led the meeting, the congregation experienced the remarkable coming of the Holy Spirit upon them. Graham Lee (1907 in Kim 1992:114) recorded the following:

The tremendous voice of prayer was offered to the throne of God like the sound of the billows of the ocean and falls. The whole congregation enraptured by the dignity of God Almighty repented of their sins in tears and went on praying until two a.m.

The following day the same prayer for repentance was repeated. People were contrite about their sins and begged His pardon. Missionaries were so astonished at the unexpected results, that there was much debate as to whether this incident was actually something true or not (:115). This repentance movement spread rapidly throughout schools of the whole country. Three hundred students confessed their sins and were contrite in the prayer meeting which C S Kim, a teacher, led at Sungduk school in Pyeongyang (Min 1972:210). Ninety percent of the students of Sungsil university were born again, and seventy five students in the Pyeongyang seminary were filled with the Holy Spirit during a revival meeting, which lasted for three months (The Korean Revival Association Yearbook 1992:36-37 in Yoo s a:7).

3.1.3. The Results of the Great Revival

With Wonsan as a starting point, the Great Revival Movement which spread all over the country, produced results which had never been experienced before.

Firstly, the Korean Church showed a rapid growth. Because of the Revival, the growth of the Presbyterian Church was as follows; the number of those baptized showed a twenty percent increase between 1906 and 1907. The number of newcomers increased by thirty four percent. In the Methodist Church's case, it showed a trend of no less than one hundred and eighteen percent increase in 1907. The number of mission schools increased by as much as one hundred and thirty, from two hundred and eight schools in 1906 to three hundred and forty-four schools in 1907. So did the number of students, from three thousand four hundred and fifty-six persons in 1906 to seven thousand five hundred and four persons in 1907 (Kim 1996:176-177).

Secondly, the Korean Church experienced the truth of Christianity in a practical manner. As Clark (1961:165 in Kim 1992:117) pointed out, 'this Revival movement was not just an intoxicated orgy caused by a passing emotion.' Graham Lee (1907:33-37 in Kim 1992:117), a missionary, expressed that 'it was the spiritual rebirth of the Korean Church.' The Korean congregation before the Revival was somewhat superficial. However, the experience of true repentance due to the working of the Holy Spirit led to an experience of life as a new creation as the history of the Korean Church was formed (Kim 1996: 176).

However, a few historians of the Korean Church have understood the cause and effect of this Revival in a different way from the above view. They argue that the revival was not a result of the work of the Holy Spirit, but a mere product of missionaries who were aiming at the depoliticization of the Korean Church (Min 1973:213 in Yang 1997:119). In other words, the missionaries wanted to divert Korean Christians' attention away from political and nationalistic issues. They also argue that this Revival focused so much on the repentance of personal sin, that it made Korean Christian blind to social and national issues (Yi s a:250-

253 in Yang 1997:119). However, this opinion has the flaw of implying that the revival movement could be invented by human beings artificially. Kim (1992:118) commented:

This Revival movement was an irresistible and spiritual movement, which the Holy Spirit controlled. It was one of the revival movements, which the Protestant countries of Europe and mission fields all over the world experienced from the late seventeenth century to early in the twentieth century.

The consequence of this Revival was that the Korean congregation had the confidence of believing in Jesus Christ as their Savior. The people were morally purified, and received the power to preach the Gospel. Therefore, it should be acknowledged that the Revival movement of 1907 played an important role in the growth of the Korean Church.

Thirdly, the unique characteristic of the Korean Church was formed. As preparation for the revival meeting, the prayer meeting led by Rev. Gil occupied a position as a unique tradition of the Korean Church. It also became an institutionalized device, which maintained the amazing grace of the Great Revival perpetually in the Korean Church. Thereafter, the revival meetings led by S J Gil, I D Kim and Y D Lee played a role in delivering the hot atmosphere of the Great Revival on a national scale (Park 1991:29). Various styles of prayers were created, for instance, Tongsung prayer³⁰ and Chulya prayer.³¹

Fourthly, the true ecumenical spirit was embodied as a necessary consequence of this Great Revival. Discord between the Korean spiritual leaders and the foreign missionaries was eliminated. As a result of this, the Presbyterian Seminary in Pyeongyang produced seven Korean graduates who led the Korean Church in the future and later became clergymen. Two denominations - the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church - exchanged pulpits, each leading Sakyunghoi of the

³⁰ This is a kind of prayer style in which one prays loudly at the same time as others, regardless of their attention.

³¹ This means to pray from evening to dawn of the following day without going back home.

united type from the beginning (Kim 1996:179).

Lastly, specific social activities of the church during the Revival were extremely insignificant. However, the Revival of 1907 had the effect that the works led by foreign missionaries were transferred to Korean hands, and set down institutionally. The flame of the Revival was the first in the history of Christianity in Korea to spread all over the country.

3.2. The Revival under Occupation by Japan (1908-1945)

The Korean Church during this period strove to overcome impediments with regards following Korean cultural traditions under the rule of Japanese imperialism. The March First Movement and the Movement against Shintoism³² were remarkable events during this period in the history of the Korean Church.

3.2.1. The Background of the Revival

A few years after the Great Revival of 1907, Korea faced the misfortune of losing her sovereignty to Japan on 29 August 1910. The Japanese colonial government ruled the Korean people by the bayonet. Most Japanese in Korea, not only the military personnel and the policemen but also even the teachers and the public officers, wore long swords while doing their duty. The long sword signified threat and oppression (Yang 1997:121). The Koreans were deprived of freedom of speech, the press, assembly and association. Throughout this situation, the Korean people several times offered stubborn resistance.³³

3.2.1.1. The March First Movement

Two of the main reasons for the outburst of the March First Movement were the racial self-determination of Wilson and the death of King

³² Shintoism is a native Japanese religion which worships a deity or a spiritual being from ancient times (Yang 1997:123).

³³ For example, there were the "105 persons Incident", "An Independence movement by students studying abroad" and "The March First movement."

Gojong (1863-1907)³⁴ (Kim 1992:168-169).

Toward the end of the First World War, President Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) declared the principle of racial self-determination³⁵ in 1918 (Kim 1992:168). It excited the Koreans with the hope of the restoration of independence. In addition, when King Gojong died on January 21, 1919, a rumour spread that a Japanese had assassinated King Gojong. The Koreans expressed their deep sorrow over the death of the king at the hands of a homeless race. A demonstration plan for independence was conveyed all over the country by the organization of Protestantism (:169).

At two in the afternoon, on March 1, 1919, leaders came together at Taehwa hall, read the declaration of independence and cheered for independence, with the officials of the Japanese government present, they were instantly arrested. Students and the multitude gathered at Pagoda Park and marched through the streets from there. The fire of this demonstration spread throughout the country to as far as city of Manchuria as many people were victimized (*The History of Chosun Jesus Presbyterian church 2* 1965:355, 364, 393 in Kim 1992:170). The number of participants in demonstrations was over two million people and the number of gatherings was more than one thousand five hundred. Even though statistics were a little unreliable, more than seven thousand people died and fifteen thousand others were wounded. Seven hundred and fifteen houses, forty-seven churches and two schools were damaged or burnt down (The Christian Association of U. S. A 1966. *The Secret History of the March First Movement (The Korean Situation)*. *Christian Thought* 10, 72 in Kim 1992:171).

However, the Christian leaders made efforts to ensure that the Korean Church was not damaged by attending the movement as an organization. Almost every Christian attended the movement, but the church tried to

³⁴ King Gojong, the twenty-sixth king of Chosun dynasty, was the second last king following after King Sunjong.

³⁵ "A free, open-minded, and absolutely adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principles that, in determination all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined" (Doob 1964:211-212).

maintain political neutrality. This was due to the political view of early missionaries. Clark, (Paik 1970:415 in Kim 1992:152) defined their position as follows:

We believe that the Church has nothing to do with the State.
The Church is a spiritual institution. Therefore, the Church is not pro or anti the present government or any other government, because the Church is indifferent to the State.

However, the Korean Christians participated in the movement actively because of their wish for the liberation of people and the freedom of the church and tried to achieve a unified national desire in the whole nation (:175). Even the March First Movement did not produce visible fruit. Korean Christians proved themselves as people with a strong national consciousness. Korean Christianity was a religion contributing to patriotism and national awareness (Chung 1997:123).

As the spirit of insubordination gradually spread among the Korean people, the colonial government amended its policy to include cultural aspects. They encouraged many cultural activities in a manner that ensured that Korean cultural activities remained only in the dimension of a cultural movement (Kang 1985:26-27). For example, the Chosun Ilbo, the Donga Ilbo and the Sisa Ilbo as private newspapers printed their first issues in January 1920. But even though the colonial government had changed to a conciliatory policy, Japan went on carrying out the policy of Japanization internally by forcing all the Koreans to take a Japanese name (Yoo s a:11).

Having explored all the territories of Korea, the colonial government confiscated almost half of the lands of Koreans. Many of them, losing their land, which was inherited from their ancestors, were reduced to the status of tenants. Moreover, in the economic aspects, the government suppressed the growth of Korean capital by requiring the permission of the government for the starting of a new

company (Song 1986:74-75 in Yang 1997:121).³⁶

Moreover, Japan created economic suffering for the Koreans by promoting economic exploitation through the Japanese fund. An (1980:193) described this situation in the following way:

Firstly, Japanese imperialism plundered Korea of her gold and silver, which were duty-free articles and were worth about six hundred and twenty million won, between 1910 and 1939. Secondly, the Japanese companies investing their capital in Korea gained the average interest of twelve or thirteen percent. Notably, agriculture companies decided to rent land in the proportion of forty to eighty percent of the total harvest per year and extorted a yield like this. Thirdly, Korean capital flowed into Japan. Japanese banks entering into Korea absorbed Korean capital thoroughly. Especially, Chosun Siksan Bank created by Japanese enforcement absorbed Korean financial resources which then flowed into Japan. Fourthly, Japan amended the goods price of imports and exports, and the structure and balance of trade so as to have an advantage over Korea and exploit the Korean market.

The colonial policy of Japan did not remain only in the Korean Peninsula. Japan had planned territorial expansion and continued to make long wars.³⁷ Under these circumstances, the Korean economy went bankrupt and the Korean Church was facing a serious situation. The Korean Church was not exempt from Japanese tyranny either. 'Worship services and religious meetings were subject to surveillance. Teaching the Bible in the Christians schools was outlawed' (Yang 1997:121). The Korean Church quailed spiritually before Japanese oppression. A Japanese government official said that destroying the church was easier than going to the trouble to make the Korean Church obey her state measures. Most importantly, the Shintoism of Japan was incompatible with the God of

³⁶ According to Song, during the First World War, there were 1880 new companies in Japan every year, but only one in Korea.

³⁷ Japan provoked "the Manchuria Incident" in 1931, the Chinese-Japanese War in 1937 and the Pacific War in 1943.

Christianity, the universalism of Christianity with the nationalism of Japan. The Korean Church could not avoid the forthcoming oppression (Kim 1992:177).

3.2.2. The Process of the Revival

From the beginning of the mission, to the Annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, the Protestant church steadily increased. However, the number of believers started to decrease from 1917. The lowest year was in 1919 when the Independence Movement took place (Brown 1962:115 in Kim 1992:177-178). The main cause was that people were afraid of attending church because of Japanese oppression. Unlike the March First Movement, Christians became wanting in religious zeal, due to the demoralizing effect of political oppression (:178). In this situation, the men who appeared to this turbulent era and the church as prophetic voices were I D Kim (1874-1950) and Y D Lee (1901-1933) (Yoo s a:13).

The Revival movements led by Rev. Kim and Rev. Lee were completely different from the Great Revival of 1907 in their characteristics. Rev. Kim expanded the movement on grounds of healing and miracles and Rev. Lee on grounds of mystical experience helping to overcome the crisis of those times. Rev. Kim preached the eschatological messages concerning the Second Advent of Jesus and the heavenly kingdom, to the congregation, which was losing hope. This evoked a popular sympathy and became a new milestone to the people who were in doldrums. This Revival movement by led Rev. Kim spread quickly.

3.2.2.1. Rev. I D Kim's Revival Meetings and His Miracles

Rev. Kim was one of the most prominent evangelists of the Korean Church (Chung 1996:54). At twenty-seven years of age in 1900, I D Kim attended in secret a revival meeting led by Rev. William Swallen. At this meeting, the message about eternal life touched him to become a Christian. After he graduated from the seminary, he appeared as an evangelist at revival meetings. In many revival meetings at Hyun-poong Church in Kyung-book Province the gift of the Holy Spirit became openly known (:54). At that time in Korea, there were challenges from

socialism, communist spiritual desolation, the appearance of liberal theology and a dullness of the church. God worked through him, showing many miracles to the feeble and hopeless people (:54-55). To prove the miraculous works, Rev. T K In organized a society, which made inquiries about miracles and issued certificates for the healed (Park 1974:186 in Chung 1996:55). ‘One newspaper said these miracles were a ‘mystery and wonder’ (The Kyung Sung Christian Newspaper 1920, No. 259 in Chung 1996:55). The Dong-A IlBo (a Korean newspaper) wrote on the subject of “A Deaf Mute Can speak, A Cripple Can Walk” (The Dong A Il-Bo 1920, No. 58 in Chung 1996:55). However, the revival movements of healing and miracles led by Rev. Kim were criticized a lot by the socialists and the established church.

In 1922, Hwang-Hae Presbytery reported these miraculous works to The General Assembly and proposed to add a provision to the constitution of the Presbyterian Church. They wanted to add that at “The present time the power for miraculous work does not exist” (ch:3, 1) The General Assembly accepted the proposal and gave directions for each Presbytery (*Records of History of the Presbyterian Church in Korea* s a 2: 39 in Chung 1996:55).

3.2.2.2. Rev. Y D Lee’s Revival meetings

Rev. Lee, also, spread the movement of repentance and love for the desperate people and the Korean Church. He unfolded the reformatory revival movement, to address the pain of people. His mystical messages invigorated the discouraged people and the stagnant church in the gloomy situation of the times. His revival meetings produced a heated response at seven churches in Tong Chun and at Chungang Church in Pyeongyang in March 1930. Not only the Methodist Church, but also the Presbyterian Church invited him to hold revival meetings. The main characteristics of his meetings were tears and contrition. He sublimated the sorrow of the nation-less people with the spiritual life-seeking God with tears (Lee 1992:192 in Yoo s a:14). Han (1990. An essay on Lee Yong Do (1). *Ministry and Theology* 2, 19905, CD-Rom) mentioned about Rev. Lee as follows:

Even though Rev. Lee had lived a short life at the age of 33 years, he spread the revival movement restoring faith to the dry spirit through enthusiasm for Jesus and concentration on prayer. He played a great role in forming the faith of the Korean Church.

However, his revival meetings were also criticized by many established churches. In 1931, Hwanghoi Assembly (one of eight provinces in Korea) placed a prohibition order on him.³⁸ In 1932, The General Assembly of Presbyterians labelled him a heretic. He was suspended from the clergy by the Methodist Order in 1933.

Entering the 1930's, the Korean Church was faced with two crises. One was the challenge of liberal theology, the other was Shintoism worship.

3.2.2.3. The challenge of Liberal Theology

From the beginning of missions in Korea to the mid of 1930's, conservative theology in the Presbyterian Church was predominant, but the Methodist Church was liberal. The Northern and Southern Methodist Churches in Korea united in one body in 1930 and adopted a new article of faith, including liberal theology as follows:

That is, the divine immanence was more stressed than the divine transcendence. It had a serious concern about humanistic ethics and expressed the belief that an earthly paradise would surely be constructed. In addition, the divine holiness, righteousness and the Last Judgment were untouched. The same with the Sufferings, Death, Resurrection and Advent of Christ, as well as the Nativity (Lee 1980:227 in Kim 1992:189)

The liberal theology was introduced and spread by theologians who had

³⁸ The Hwanghoi Assembly decided the following six points: 1. Rev. Lee disturbed Jae Ryeong church 2. He was in correspondence with female adherents 3. He prayed with the electric lights off frequently. 4. He reproaches clergymen. 5. He propagates the magazine called "The Bible Chosun." 6. Therefore, he is a man who throws the church into confusion and is a dissenter who insists that there is no need for a church (Han, S H 1990. An Essay on Lee Yong Do. *MaT 2*, 19905, CD-Rom)

studied in America. Even though a small number, they took on important professorships and initiated urban ministry in Korea. Among them, the most representative figure was Rev. J J Kim (:193, 198). Taking advantage of the weakened conservatism under the rule of Japanese imperialism, Rev. Kim prepared the ground for liberal theology and solidified his footing by taking the offensive against conservatism (:202). As these pastors increased in number, theological debate was unavoidable in the Korean Presbyterian Church.³⁹ In conclusion, the theological view of Korean Protestantism widened, but on the other hand, it brought about a lack of communication between the two poles (:202).

3.2.2.4. The Movement against Shintoism

The Korean Church suffered a severe difficulty on account of the enforcement of shrine worship by Japan from the mid of 1930's to the Liberation (:202).

The chauvinistic militarists who prevailed in Japan in the 1930's required shrine worship from Koreans as an expression of the Koreans' unconditional loyalty to the Japanese emperor (Kim s a:19-22 in Yang 1997:124).

The governor-general informed national schools that students and teachers had to worship at a shrine regularly. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church petitioned the governor-general requesting that Christian teachers and students be exempted from the shrine worship. However the result fell short of their expectation (:203-204).

Confronted with the problem of Shrine worship, the response of the religious circles was diverse. The liberalists showed willingness to compromise and took great pains to allow the institutional church and missionary work to subsist. The Presbyterian Church and its missions tried keeping the faith, believing in the Word of God (:210). In February 1938, Japanese imperialists devoted all their might to discouraging the Presbyterian Church. The Japanese governor-general issued an order that

³⁹ There was a theological debate on the historical criticism of the Bible in the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in 1934 (Kim 1992:194).

all religious members would worship the Shrine above all before the assembly opened. From February of that year to the General Assembly of September, seventeen assemblies out of the twenty-three presbyteries in the country yielded under Japanese pressure (Kim 1971:186 in Kim 1992:211-212). Finally, the General Assembly of 1938, which was held under the threat and operation of the Japanese police, surrendered to the pressure of the government and passed a resolution to worship at the Shrine. Ultimately, all the denominations admitted the Shrine worship (Kim s a:19-22 in Yang 1997:126). However, numerous pastors of the Presbyterian Church and Christian leaders opposed it individually or jointly (Kim 1992:213).⁴⁰ In conclusion, the legacy of Shrine worship in the history of the Korean Church was the deep split between the conservatives and the progressives. The conservatives regarded Shrine worship as idolatry, and fought and bore hardships in protest, but the progressives dealt with it as a matter of no theological importance. The split became more serious after the Liberation of 1945.

3.2.3. The Results of the Revival

As has been seen above, receiving the active aid from various religious bodies, the Great Revival movement of 1907 was actually the product of missionaries, but on the other hand the Revival movements under Japan were led by individual pastors who renewed the experience of faith. The Revival of this period was not primarily aimed at the growth of the church but spread characteristics of a popular movement, which tried to overcome a dark era. As a result, this Revival movement was the movement which provided courage and consolation through healings and miracles in the situation of the defeat of the March First movement as well as under Japanese imperialism (Yoo s a:14-15). However, the Revival movement of this dimension produced two results.

Firstly, various sects took shape in the Korean Church. In the 1920's, there were persons who assumed a critical attitude toward the abuse of ecclesiastical authority in the established church, the sense of

⁴⁰ The representative figures against the Shrine worship were Rev. G C Joo, G S Lee, J M Chae, S D Han, I J Lee and others (Kim 1992:212-216). See Rev. Kim's book, *A History of the Korean Church* (pp. 212-218), for the more details.

superiority of missionaries and the formal life of faith of the church leaders. They criticized the religious life and the form of the established church and created a new type of church. The representatives of this movement were T Y Choi, N J Back, G J Hwang, J M Han and G S Kim headed by Y D Lee. Subsequently, Rev. Y D Lee degenerated into a mystic in the history of the Korean Church. T Y Choi established the so-called Evangelical church, an independent church similar to the Episcopal Church. Rev. H B Lee created the Gospel church in the 1930's (Yoo s a:16).

Secondly, a national movement arose. This movement formed an organization around H W Sin, H D Park and B D Hong. H W Sin, a racist, formed the Research Institute for Christianity in 1926 and popularised Christianity and encouraged industrial development (Kim 1976:157 in Yoo s a:16). This movement opened a new chapter in the Korean church and produced specific activities. A board of social welfare was established in 1919. Other activities included an antismoking campaign, a temperance movement centring around a YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) in 1920, the Korean Women's Christian Temperance Committee and the encouragement campaign for the Korean goods of the YMCA in 1922. These movements, flourished afresh (Kim 1976:158 in Yoo s a:16).

3.3. The Revival "After Liberation" (1946-1970)

This section will particularly focus on how Churches performed their duties in Korean society emancipated from Japan. After the tragic division of the Korean peninsula, each of South and North Korea's churches showed a different reaction concerning the matter.

3.3.1. The Background of the Revival

There was a sharp confrontation between democracy and communism in Korean society during this period as the Korean Church underwent hardships with relation to Shrine worship and political ideologies. The Korean Church sometimes became the instrument of ideology and acted as a government mouthpiece. This section will focus mainly on political

and ecclesiastical aspects.

3.3.1.1. The Political background

On the grounds of Japan's unconditional surrender, the Second World War ended on Aug 15, 1945. Simultaneously, the administration of Korea by Japan for 36 years was over. However, before the excitement of liberation had quietened down, Korean people could not help lamenting the misfortune of the bisection of Korea.⁴¹ Several joint conferences between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., or the South and North Koreans to establish entente were attempted but came to nothing. The Southern and Northern regions of Korea each established a separate government (Kim 1992:230). The world situation of those days could be characterized by the sharp conflict between capitalism and communism and a new nationalism was quickened. The Korean society after the 1945 Liberation of Korea was divided in two by the dispute between the right wing and the left wing (Yoo s a:17). In the vortex of confusion, the June 25 War of Korea (1950-53) broke out through the invasion of South Korea by the North Korean forces. Entering the 1960's, the difficulty continued. In Korea, democracy had not taken deep root yet and it went through a dark period of politics, by facing the Student Movement of April 19 and the Military Revolution of May 16.⁴² Korea had a run of political tension under martial law and the temporary closure of schools in the mid 1960s. There were many demonstrations and fights against the constitutional amendment in the latter half of 1960's. Dictatorship was justified by means of economic growth and national security problems. Physical oppression was added to this period by this reasoning. However, despite political chaos, Korean society changed from an agricultural economy into an industrial economy due to the success of the first and second economic development plan. Because of economic development, there

⁴¹ The Soviet Russian Army entered in Pyeongyang on 22 August 1945 and the United States Army in Inchon on Sep 8, 1945. The country was broken in half at 32 degrees north latitude. There was an official announcement on the part of the United Nations that put the Korean Peninsula under the military administration of the U.S.A and the U.S.S.R until Japan surrendered completely and order was restored to Korea. At first, the military division was said to be temporary, but became permanent due to political expediency (Kim 1992:230).

⁴² In a presidential election held on 15 March, 1960, when the Free Party led by Lee, S M won unfairly, all students including junior high, high schools and universities, rose against it and had a demonstration. After a year, the military revolution led by Park, J H broke out on 16 May 1961 and he took office.

was an influx of people into cities and the mode of life changed. The annual increase of the urban population at the end of the 1950's, was twenty eight percent, but increased to forty point eight percent by the end of 1960's (Lee 1992:207 in Yoo s.a:17).

3.3.1.2. The Ecclesiastical background

Liberation and independence from Japan was meant to guarantee freedom of religion for Christians. However, it was applicable only to the Church of South Korea because the Church of North Korea suffered a more severe blow under the rule of communism, than under the rule of Japanese imperialism. With liberation, the Korean Church evolved two remarkable movements. The one was the political activity of Christians, and the other one the repentance movement to reform the church, namely the Spiritual Reform movement in the Church (Kim 1992:231).

Most of the South Korean churches were not concerned about political movements directly, as the early missionaries had also not been. However, they did show their unconditional support for and confidence in Lee, S M who was elected as President of the new government, and his attendants due to the fact that he was Christian, until the student movements in the 1960's destroyed his Government. However, the North Korean Churches were the opposite (Min 1972:366 in Kim 1992:232). They anticipated that the church would suffer if the Communist Party took the helm of state in the future. On account of this, Christian leaders organized Christian parties. Rev. H Y Yoo and K J Han organized the "Gidokko Saho Minju Party" in September 1945 in Pyeonganbookdo (one of eight provinces in Korea) with Christians for a basis (Kim 1956:62 in Kim 1992:233). In November 1945, another Christian party, the "Chosun Minju Party" was organized with an elder Cho, Man Sik and Rev. Lee, Yoon Young as leaders. However, because of the oppression of the communist Party, they were dissolved after just a few months (:233). In addition, the "Odo Yenhap Assembly" of North Korea decided the principles of church administration and the norm of Christian life to keep the faith and notified the communist party of them (Kim 1956:68 in

Kim 1992:234).⁴³ However, this was also degraded as the political body for the communists by disturbance of the communist (:235).

The reform movement in the church was progressing with about twenty leaders who were dissenters against Shrine Worship. Their opinions were as follows:

The Korean Church betrayed their conscience and bent the knee to the oppression of Japan. The church leaders worked for Japan, propagated a war of aggression as the holy war and used the collection of the church for a war of aggression (Kim 1956: 331 in Kim 1992:238-39).

Therefore, the Korean Church leaders had to confess and repent of their guilt officially. However, many church leaders in South Korea had no intention of doing so. The result was the starting point for the division of the Korean Church (:246).

The 1960's were the period for the split between denominations. There was a split into the "Tonghap" side and the "Hapdong" side of the Presbyterian denomination and the "Jesuskyo Sunguel" side and the "Kidokkyo Sunguel" in the Holiness denomination in 1959. Due to the confusion of the split and internal troubles, there appeared many new religions and heresies. Entering the 1960's, the most important thing in the church history of Korea was the theological debate concerning Christian aboriginality.

3.3.1.2.1. The theological debate concerning indigenisation theology

Concurrently, Neo-Nationalism had been prevailing in the Third World. The military government of Korea had taken office by a revolution in 1961 and had devoted her strength to economic revival and insisted on cultural policy as an important link in national restoration. The

⁴³ In sum, the principles were: 1. On Sunday, Christians shall not attend any other meetings, nothing but church services. 2. Politics and religion are separated strictly. 3. The chapel is not allowed for any other activities but services. 4. If the incumbent is going to enter the political world, he must resign from his office. 5. The church has the right of freedom of religion and assembly (Kim 1992:235).

progressive and liberal theologians affected by modern theology, stressed the cultural policy of nationalism of the government. They began to discuss indigenisation theology. Kim (1993:375) mentioned that, 'this was the opening of the theological debate in the history of Korean Christianity.' After that, many theologians regarded indigenisation theology as an important matter (:291).

D S Yoo applied the demythologisation of Rudolf Bultmann to indigenisation theory.

To realize 'Indigenisation', to begin with, we have to examine the characteristics of evangelism closely and exclude western factors from Christianity. To do so, we have to understand the history and culture of Korea, thus transplanting the seed of evangelism. The understanding of the history and culture of Korea means to analyse and understand the established religions in Korea that is, Shamanism, Confucianism, Buddhism and Chondogyo⁴⁴ (Yoo 1965:15-146 in Kim 1992:292-293).

He placed a high value on Korean Buddhism, especially the Mahayana Buddhism of Shilla (the old dynasty of Korea), and gave it an evangelical meaning. He pointedly called Wonhyo, who was a representative of Shilla Buddhism "a Christian before Christ" (Yoo 1965:182 in Kim 1992:294). In addition, S H Choi, the creator of Chondogyo, was regarded as the man descended upon by the Holy Spirit (Yoo 1965:104 in Kim 1992:294). S B Yoon not only analogised three gods of Dangun myth (the birth myth of the nation) as the Trinity of Christianity, but also interpreted the Dangun myth in view of the Bible, allegorically (:295). Theologians who regarded the indigenisation of Christianity as the new interpretation of evangelism in the view of the Korean culture, examined with deep concern the history, culture and religious development of Korea. However, they took the traditions of the Korean Church, which were formed at the beginning of the missions, as

⁴⁴ Chondogyo was the religion, which was erected during the latter part of the Chosun dynasty. The main thought was that man was God. It was a realistic religion, which tried to construct an earthly paradise, so that all the human beings could be served.

amiss and evaluated them negatively. In addition, driven by enthusiasm to pursue the unique Korean theology, they demonstrated a weakness, by not assuming a critical attitude toward heresies. Because they did not respect the faith confession of the traditional church, which was formed to demonstrate and conserve Christian truth, they lost the standard by which to criticize heretical views (Kim 1992: 297-298).

At the end of the 1960's, when politics, economics and society in Korea were stabilized, every denomination strove for the churches' growth and inaugurated the united movements between denominations (Yoo s a:17).

3.3.2. The Progress of the Revival

Passing through the Liberation from Japan and the Korean War, new phases of religious faith, namely eschatological and enthusiastic aspects appeared in the Korean Church. Representative heresies of these aspects were S M Moon's *Unification Church*; T S Park's *Jeondokwan*, W M Na's *Mt. Youngmoon Prayer House*. Taking advantage of the gap in leadership of established churches, they inculcated the wrong eschatological faith in the people (:18). These heresies criticized the established churches and ministers. They preferred private experiences of grace and the Holy Spirit to the Bible and theological tradition. This period did not display the special characteristics of the Revival as the first and second did. On the one hand, the vein of the conservative and traditional revival meetings was preserved by Rev. S B Lee in fragments. On the other hand, a huge and popular type of the revival meeting was developed. In 1964, the evangelical movement of the whole country with K J Han, H R Kim and H H Syel as leaders, was evolved. The great evangelical meetings had the theme of "Let's lead thirty million persons to Christ" which bore the fruit of more than forty thousand Christians. In total, two million two hundred and forty thousand people attended the meetings that were carried out over two thousand two hundred and thirty-nine times (Sin 1997:188 in Yoo s a:18).

3.3.3. The Results of the Revival

Even though the revival meeting of this period was, in general,

eschatological and next world-oriented, the Korean Church was influenced in two ways:

First, the revival meeting centering around a private church moved into the public domain. After the national evangelisation movement in 1965, many evangelisation movements mobilized many people and the mass media arose. Rev. S K Cho published under the slogan of “Let’s implant Christ in the heart of thirty million persons” and had great evangelical meetings. They bore much fruit and were connected with the activities of special evangelical meetings, which the Korean industrial mission organized in 1967. After that, the system of police ministry was born (:20).

Second, overseas mission activities became active. After Rev. G P Lee had been sent to Je Ju Island (one of the many southern islands of Korea) in 1907, overseas missions had waned. They now became active again, starting by sending Rev. K Y Kim to Brazil, Rev. S W Han to Argentina, Rev. E S Kim to China, Rev. S J Lee to Japan Rev. D H Yoon to Hong Kong and Rev. S J Park to Vietnam (Kim 1976:252 in Yoo s a:20).

3.4. The Revival of “After the 1970’s” (from 1970 to the present)

3.4.1. The Background of the Revival

Korea rapidly modernized after 1960. However, the political landscape was fraught with tension, conflict, and repeated cases of political unrest and fear. Lee (1990, A revaluation of the growth movement of the Korean Church. *MaT* 2 199002, CD-Rom) commented in the following way:

Political authority brought about many cases connected with power politics. In addition, strong anti-communist ideology caused the people unrest. Strong dissatisfaction and distrust flooded an unrighteous military dictatorship. This reached a climax after the mid of 1970’s.

After the Yusin Order⁴⁵ was promulgated on Oct 17, 1972 there were many challenges and protests against it. Notable cases were the demonstrations and contentions of Busan and Masan on October 16, 1979 and the murder of President Park on October 29. What was more important was the repeated vicious cycle of military government experienced again the May 18 Democratic Resistance due to the appearance of new military authorities. After that, until the June 19 declaration of 1987 and the appearance of President Kim in 1990, Korean society experienced continued strife and oppression (Yoo s a:20-21).

In the economic situation of that period, a five-year economic development plan enforced five times after the 1960's, was successful. The annual economic growth rate increased ten percent, and the income of the nation and exports expanded. However, the economic growth of Korea produced two questions. One was an unbalanced distribution of income. The motto of "Economic growth First" and a government-initiated economy succeeded as a growth policy, but failed as a distribution one. It produced an unbalanced distribution of income. The other was the expansion of materialism first (Lee, W G 1990. A revaluation of the growth movement of the Korean Church. *MaT* 2 199002, CD-Rom).

The 1970's were a period of abrupt urbanization and industrialization. Social structure passed from agriculture to industry. The development of a service industry and specialization resulted in the drift of the population to the cities, from the rural areas. The most significant phenomenon in this was the breaking up of communities and the loss of identity. An unfamiliar life in the city consisting of people, who had different backgrounds socially and moving to where work could be found, deprived people of a sense of solidarity and belonging. In the midst of political, economic and social factors, Christianity played an important role in that it provided rest, consolation and satisfaction to people. The Korean Church grew on a large scale (Lee, W G 1990. A revaluation of

⁴⁵ The Yusin Order meant that President Park dispersed the National Assembly and at the same time, proclaimed martial law on Oct 17, 1972. He proclaimed the Yusin constitution on Dec of the same year. It was the amendment of the constitution, for long term seizure of power by President Park. At the same time, it became the means of making a military dictatorship by President Park possible (*TG EoW* 99. CD-Rom. Seoul: Doosan Donga. 1998).

the growth movement of the Korean Church. *MaT 2 199002*, CD-Rom).

3.4.2. The Process of the Revival

Yoo (s a: 21) commented on the Korean Revival overall in the following way:

While the first and second Revivals appeared and developed the private experience of the Holy Spirit, the third Revival was the spiritual revival movement, which expanded the dimension of the above. The fourth revival was the movement, which prepared for a sudden turn of social events and a recovered identity of Christianity. The Korean Christianity Revival Association was organized in 1970 by revivalists who keenly felt the necessity of union among revivalists and the need for the purification of random revival meetings. This organization developed systematic revival meetings.

Systematic and massive meetings shot up like mushrooms after the rain. In 1973, Billy Graham's Evangelical Meeting of which Rev. K J Han was a chairman, was held. The motto of that meeting was "evangelization of fifty million persons." That revival meeting held from May 30 through June 3 in Youido Plaza, was a colossal assembly, which recorded three million three hundred and forty thousand attendants, forty-four thousand newcomers and forty-four thousand chanters (Sin 1997:191 in Yoo s a:22). "Explo 74" of the following year under the slogan, "Jesus Renovation, The Holy Spirit Explosion" was held by C.C.C. (Campus Crusade of Christ, a missionary body). The number of attendants was six million five hundred and fifty thousand people. Primary factors contributing to the success of that meeting were a high organizational ability and a religious discipline in lecture style (Sin 1997:194-195 in Yoo s a:22). In 1977, "77 National Evangelical Meeting" under the charge of the Korean Christianity Revival Association was held by the Korean revivalists. This meeting consisted of six hundred lecturers attending meetings, fifty from foreign countries, some twenty five thousand newcomers and about three hundred meeting places (Sin

1997:198-199 in Yoo s a.:22). In 1980, “The World Evangelical Meeting” under the slogan of “Jesus Korea Total Evangelism” was held. That meeting was successful because of evangelical training in the multiplication style and evangelism method mobilized mass media (Sin 1997:201 in Yoo s a.:22). Furthermore, “The Centennial Mission Meeting” was held in 1984, “The World Evangelical Great Meeting” in 1988 and “The World The Holy Spirit Great Meeting” in 1992 (:22).

3.4.3. The Results of the Revival

The massive meetings, taking advantage of the current trends of the times, produced many more negative aspects than positive ones. First, the systematic and massive meetings of the Revivals, caused Korean Christians to be motivated by materialism. The concept of worldly blessing through the church and faith had a strong hold on the public mind and had a great effect on the formation of the Korean faith. The criteria by which the church and Christians evaluated their faith were the amount of a collection and the numbers of believers. The result was that friction arose among the church members. The massive meetings gave Korean Christians a firm belief and potential but distorted the essence of faith. The results of massive meetings remained as only numerical statistics, with the substance of faith being buried.

Secondly, the mass meetings produced an anti-historical faith movement. They caused the movement of the Holy Spirit to be limited to the aspects of material blessing and the internal experience of faith. As a result, social activities of faith were reduced. During that period, the corruption of political power by the dictatorial government reached its climax. In addition, the alienation of class was shaped by the policy of new development and growth. In the social atmosphere, the mass meetings not only placed too much emphasis on the salvation of private souls, but also were indifferent to the poor and distressed. In conclusion, the revival of that period could not redeem and console people who were losing the meaning of life under a dictatorship.

Chapter 4: A Comparison of Wesley's Revival Movement and the Korean Revival Movement

This chapter will consider the similarities and contrasts of both revivals. The differences between the two are rooted in the different times in which they occurred, the different socio-political and religious contexts in which they occurred. Where as the earlier one was occurring in a Christian and peaceful environment, the latter was occurred in a society where Christianity was at an embryonic stage of growth. England had a long history of Christianity of more than a thousand years while Korea did not. Whereas during the time of Wesley, England was under self-rule, during an important time of the Korean revival, Korea was under Japanese rule and the effects bore on the methods and content characterizing evangelism.

4.1. The similarities of both Revivals

As a general rule, all revival movements in the Christian history focus on the work of the Holy Spirit, the eternal presence of God who works throughout the ages. This work manifests in the earthly activities of human beings. From this point of view, the following are similar characteristics in both Revivals.

4.1.1. The role of individuals

Both Revivals originated in individuals with a deep experience of faith. In Wesley's case, his account of a heart-warming experience in the Fetter Lane Society in Aldersgate Street on 24 May 1738, was a turning point of his life and ministry apparently.⁴⁶ This does not mean that the period of Holy Club and Georgia missionary work was insignificant for him. In essence, had Wesley died before this experience, as Bready (1971:188) commented,

He would have been an unremembered man - capable, methodical, hard working, but pedantic, legalistic, irascible,

⁴⁶ See p. 16 of this thesis.

unloved and well nigh unlovable. The most charitable tribute that could then have been paid him, would have been that he was a sincere, a selfless, almost an heroic, failure.

This exposed the importance of this experience. After more than two years of defeat and disillusionment as a Colonial missionary, he was overwhelmed with perplexity and anguish. Wesley himself confessed, 'I went to America to convert the Indians; O! Who will convert me!' (Journal January 24, 1738, in Bready 1971: 188).

A Moravian leader, Böhler had a profound influence on him during this period. That was caused by Böhler's sermon concerning justification by faith alone. This kind of evangelism was new and had a transforming effect upon him as he later recounted. Wesley (I 1988:251)recorded,

I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror.

This was like 'the Damascus experience of Paul (Acts 9:1-19)' on Wesley. It was the turning point, which transferred from a self-centred faith to thorough God-centred faith. It was called that this experience was Wesley's spiritual conversion.⁴⁷ Before the Aldersgate experience, Wesley was more of a nominal Christian, one who had not experienced the true grace of God. He made constant efforts to achieve salvation through fasting, reading the Bible, and leading a disciplined religious life. However, the heart-warming experience of Aldersgate made him realize that salvation was acquired by faith alone. The importance of Wesley's turning point, went beyond a personal experience, it became a driving force of social reform in England, culminating in the foundation

⁴⁷ According to scholars, Wesley's conversion was divided by two main opinions. One was in 1725, which he resolved to be ordained priest and was the period seeking holiness thoroughly. The other was in 1738, which happened as the heart-warming experience. The former was supported by Fried Pierce, Dr. Leger from France and Piette, the latter by Dr. W. Cannon (Cho 1997:63-69 in Park 1999:63) See at the 189 footnote of Park's dissertation, *The Results of Social Change in 18th and 19th Century England Caused by John Wesley's Revival* for details.

of the Methodist Church.

This principle of individual experience as the mainspring of the revival allowed no exceptions with the Korean revival. The most prominent figure in the Korean Revival is Rev. Gil who played a pivotal role during the early period of the revival. Rev. Gil is one of the most representative figures in the history of Korean Christianity. A member of the Korean Presbyterian Church, he was the first graduate from a seminary and took orders. He played an important role in the Revival of 1907, which was rooted in faith (Lee 1990: 336). Having been fascinated with Zen earlier on, Gil grew skeptical about it over time and in 1896, on one autumn night, he tried seeking for and praying to the true God as a repentant and born again person. Kim (1932. Younggae Sunsaeng Sojon. *The Life of Faith* 12 in Lee 1990:342)⁴⁸ recorded that:

At deep autumn night, about one o'clock, he implored God on his knees, "Make me know Jesus is the true Savior." In a prayer time, thereafter there was a clean and serene voice, as a jade and then, a big sound as shooting vibrated the air. He was struck dumb with surprise. A voice called him in the air, 'Gil sun Ju! Gil sun Ju! Gil Sun Ju!' He shuddered with still more fear and was unable to lift his head. He only prayed, ' the Father who loves me, forgive me my trespasses and spare my life.' At the time, he felt hot and prayed still harder.

He also continued to pray to God more than an hour per day, a fasting prayer for three days per week and for a week per year up to his death (Gil 1980:181).

In this situation, the flame of the Holy Spirit started from the Gangdaehyun church where he ministered and swept over the whole country. In 1907, it was on record that there were two thousand two hundred newcomers in the city of Pyeongyang by his sermons (:184).

Called as a Moody (1837-1899) of Korea, Rev. I D Kim, (1874~1950)

⁴⁸ There is no relevant page in Kim's article cited.

played an active part in the second period of the Korean Revival. He rekindled the revival around the 1920's, on a national scale and faced a firing squad at the hands of the North Korean People's Army on 14 November 1950 (Kim, M H 1994. *The Korean Church and an Essay on the Holy Spirit 1. MaT 2 1994025*, CD-Rom). His experience of grace according to Kim occurred in the following way:

At twenty-seven years in 1900, he attended the service led by Swallen, a missionary, hit by his remark greatly and resolved to become a Christian. After three months, he committed crimes, he drank with old drinking pals and consorted with a whore. He entered into the mountain to be contrite deeply. After this, he went back to his house and received the fire of the Holy Spirit. "It was not long after lying down in a room and falling asleep that a big ball of fire fell in his bosom. He screamed, 'Oh, There's a lightning!' At that time, his mother who was sleeping in the next room ran there and said, 'What's the matter with you?' He was awoken from sleep by the calling sound of his mother. It was not a lightning but a baptism by fire (Kim 1940 in Lee 1990:354).

After this, Rev. Kim became a prominent revivalist, appealing to the Holy Spirit and miraculously healing the sick soon as he began to minister at Shinchun church (Kim 1994). These pastors, Y W Sohn (1908-1950), H N Park (1897-1978), S D Hahn (1901-1976) and Y S Park (1905-1988)⁴⁹ were the ones who brought glory to the Korean Church in this point of view.

4.1.2 The role of the laity

Both revivals were characterized by the important roles lay believers played. For instance, Wesley formed new organizations comprising of ordinary members for the management of the converts who swelled meeting by meeting. As a result, the organization of various societies,

⁴⁹ The lists of name above was quoted at the book, *Korean church and Reformed Faith* (1996), by Chung.

which included classes, bands and select societies and penitent societies, and itinerant preaching and the circuit system, done by the lay believers was born.

Wesley took revolutionary measures that trained the lay believers and made them committed to evangelical works. This became the start of evangelical movements mobilizing lay believers. Especially,

when laymen were brought into service-not in this case the lay stewards and class-leaders, but as the steadily increasing group of full-time itinerant lay preachers' (Works 9 1989:15).

Wesley appointed women of talent as preachers in addition to trained lay preachers.⁵⁰ Such actions could be regarded as a kind of challenge to the religious world of those days. The starting point displaying women's leadership in Methodism was through class meetings and bands. At first, talented women showed their abilities in societies only consisting of women. But eminent women gradually offered their spiritual leadership and bringing up to even men (Runyon in Park 1999:148). Sarah Crosby, Grace Murray, Sarah Mallett, Hannah Ball and Elizabeth Ritchie among them were the representative persons (:150). According to Stanley (2002:49),

Historian Earl Kent Brown recovered information on forty-five Methodist women who were class and/or band meeting leaders and twenty-seven women preachers who were contemporaries of John Wesley. They, along with other British Methodist women, wrote journals that incorporated information regarding their public ministries.

In addition, Wesley trained the lay preachers thoroughly, who were supposed to have a thorough faith, read a book every five hours a day

⁵⁰ According to Walker (1959:460), 'a lay preacher, Joseph Humphreys, was helping him as early as 1738. Thomas Maxfield became regularly the earliest of what soon became a considerable company.' The increase in the number of such preachers was rapid, rising to perhaps as many as fifty in 1745 (Works 9 1989:16).

and preach more than two times except on Sunday (Cho 1984:35).

This meant that Wesley understood the position of the church by the operation of spiritual gift, not by the tradition of those days. In other words, he considered the system of church not from the essence of church but from a functional standpoint. When secondary things like the church system, tradition and rituals prevented the evangelism from spreading, Wesley having regarded the salvation of the unbeliever as a supreme order and amended the system drastically. In his point of view, the system of church could diversify in view of changed circumstances or practical purposes. He did not consider that there was a special rule concerning it in the Bible. Therefore in 1761, Wesley allowed Sarah Crosby's ministry and in 1771, admitted the preaching ministry of women by responding Mary Bosanquet's request (Park 1999:149). At last, Sarah Mallet obtained the official approval as a woman preacher in the Manchester conference of 1787 as follows:

We will not object to regarding her as our co-worker and preaching with us as long as she preaches the Methodist principles and submits to them (Runyon 1987:167 in Park 1999:150).

In the Korean experience, the early revival of the Korean Church was led by foreign missionaries. Thanks to their efforts, many crowded to the church and at the same time, the church needed many spiritual leaders. Owing to this reason, missionaries chose the 'Nevius Mission Method.' It produced the results that increased the role of the laity.

4.1.2.1. The Policy of Nevius Mission in Korea

On June 1890, seven Presbyterian missionaries invited Rev. J. Nevius, a missionary in China, as a lecturer and held Missionaries' Conference during a fortnight in Seoul. Missionaries regarded his methods as something suitable for early mission in Korea and adapted it (Kim 1992:92). Underwood, a Presbyterian missionary in Korea summarized it as follows:

Firstly, all Christians had to witness to Christ while getting along on their own income. Secondly, the organization and method of church had to develop to the extent of self-regulation. Thirdly, when a church wants a full-time minister, the church had to select a qualified man and support him. Fourthly, church building had to be built along the traditional Korean style and Korean believers had to build it for themselves (:94).⁵¹

On the grounds of this, theological education centring around lay believers spread promptly and widely.

It was not until 1885 that a missionary and a pastor first entered into Korea. In 1901, a Presbyterian seminary was founded in Pyeongyang and later on in 1905, Hyepsung seminary was established in Seoul belonging to the Methodist. After choosing the policy of Nevius mission in 1890, Presbyterian missionaries divided and studied four Bible study classes. The fourth class of them was named 'the Theological Class' or 'Officers Institute', which was for only the ones who were going to lead the Korean Church in the future. So did the Methodists. The standards of selection made clear the following: the ones, who were trying to receive the education for ministry, had to possess a thorough sense of calling, the spirit of self-sacrifice, sincerity and self-respect. The seminary, which was founded in Pyeongyang in 1901, made students complete a five-year course prior to graduation. In 1907, seven graduates – K J Se, S J Han, I S Song, G C Bang, G P Lee, S J Gil and J B Yang - were produced by the seminary and became clergymen by the assembly, which was organized by the Koreans for the first time (Kim 1991).

It took twenty-three years before a Presbyterian missionary came back to Korea. Despite that, missionaries played an important role in the first and second Revival in the history of Korean Christianity. To look into the remarkable example of the lay believers movement, the Methodists chose three mission policies.

⁵¹ Nevius Principles can be summarised three principles: self-support, self-government and self-propagation (Na, I S 1990. *The Principles of the Korean Church Growth. MaT 2 199002. CD-Rom*).

Firstly, We make it a rule to engage in evangelism.

Secondly, we stick to inclusive education.

Thirdly, we promote female spiritual leaders (Kim 1997:114).

There were many female shamans in Korea at that time. To obstruct their activities, which spread shamanism, missionaries established a system named 'Bible Woman.'

4.1.2.2. Bible Woman

This system had a great effect on suppressing female shamans. Furthermore, It produced satisfactory results of evangelism as well as the rise in woman's social status (Kim 1997:114). According to Kim (:574), 'Bible Women' were appointed as evangelists by foreign missionaries and supported their ministries with receiving a return for their efforts. Their main duties were to go round the town to preach the gospel and to sell the Christian books. Representatively, S J Kim (1865-?) became a Bible Woman by the American Methodist Association in 1899. She devoted herself on the missionary work, which led people of the isolated class, especially a widow, a prostitute, an exorcist, a blind fortune-teller and an orphan to Christ. According to the report of 1903 to 1915, she visited two thousand or three thousand homes per year and led thirty newcomers to Christ per year (:574). In addition to this, S D Chon (1843-1932), S D Oh (1860-1933), M R Ye (1872-1933), S L No (1894-?) and R R Ju (1879-1960) were the representative figures in the history of Korean Christianity.

The most remarkable meeting of the lay believers in the history of Korean Christianity was 'Gu-Yek Service', which could compare with Wesley's Class meetings. This was introduced by the Methodist missionaries to Korea. Gu-Yek Service usually gathered on every Friday. This was estimated as one of many important factors of the Korean Church growth. After the great Revival of 1907, many people attended this meeting and most denominations applied it (Na 1990). Na commented on the advantages of this meeting in the following way:

This small group was of much help to satisfy the spiritual,

mental and physical needs of members. Many Christians under same circumstances shared their blessings and difficulties with each other. A church adopted it as the tool of evangelism by inviting friends and neighbors. The invited became Christians instantly and attended the church as long as they had been caught by Christians giving love and concern.

However, it was not until the 1960's that the Korean church became conscious of the lay believers contribution truly. Prior to then it could be argued that, what the Korean Church was experiencing were revival meetings and mass rallies. Coming up to the 1970's, the current of the times started to change centring round Bible study. In 1980's, a program named 'disciple training' was introduced to the Korean Church. The disciple training, which had developed in student missions lively, entered and took root in the ground of the Korean Church (Jung S J 1990). The core of disciple training was to make the lay believers engage in ministry work in the center of their lives as small pastors. This tendency of the times showed that the Korean Church developed along with scriptural faith and principle. At the same time, this had a thread of connection with what Wesley had seen two hundred years before.

4.1.3. The role of social reform

Social reform is a marked characteristic of both revival movements. Wesley regarded the faith disconnected from social reform as unhealthiness. He recorded as follows:

Directly opposite to this is the gospel of Christ. Solitary religion is not to be found there. 'Holy Solitaries' is a phrase no more consistent with the Gospel than holy adulterers. The gospel of Christ knows of no religion, but social; no holiness but social holiness. 'Faith working by love' in the length and breath depth and height of Christ perfection. 'This commandment we have from Christ, that he who loves God, loves his brother also;' and that we manifest our love 'by doing good unto all men; especially to them

that are of the household of faith.’ And in truth, whosoever loveth his brethren, not in word only, but as Christ loved him, cannot but be ‘zealous of good works,’ He feels in his soul a burning, restless desire of spending and being spent for them (Works X IV: 321).

According to the above paragraph, it is clear that Wesley regarded good works, which naturally includes moral behaviour, as an essential characteristic of Christian living and a natural expression thereof. This point of view made Wesley proceed concretely with social reform. The antislavery movement, the relief of the poor and the sick, the reform of popular education and the prison system and the upgrading of women’s rights are representative works done by him and the Methodist. The ultimate result of perfect sanctification which Wesley understand, is not content with the inner spirituality but materialized by love working for others (Wynkoop 1972:29). Outler (1971:25-27), a Wesleyan scholar, mentioned two different kinds of spirituality. While ‘Unhealthy Evangelism’ stressed only personal sanctification, ‘Healthy Evangelism’ considered individual and social sanctification simultaneously. He defined Wesley’s position as the latter.

On the contrary, as liberal theologians regarded poverty or a structural contradiction of society as evil and salvation as liberation from these, Wesley also objected to the social reform movement separated from religious faith. Hulley (1987:73) pointed out the following:

Wesley was concerned to state that one could not replace religion with philanthropy, or moral behaviour, which when exercised without faith, he saw as no better or worse than atheism. He was equally concerned that there were people who advocated a cessation of works. Some argued that faith in Christ was all that was necessary and that “works” in addition were not required. At best this led to quietism and withdrawal from society, at worst to antinomianism. It seems that Wesley regarded the former as more dangerous than the latter which because it seems so patently wrong in itself would probably not have attracted so large a following,

and Wesley always considered ideas and issues with one eye on the influence they could exercise on believers.

In the case of the Korean Church, social reform was indispensable rather than optional because the Korean Church operations were heavily monitored by politics. King Gojong was related intimately with missionaries as an individual, but he opposed the enlightenment movement of that time, which seemed to weaken his royal authority. King Gojong thought that Christianity had also a marked tendency like this. Many prominent figures in Korean politics cast a critical eye on missionaries' activities suspiciously (Kim 1992:73). The early Korean missionaries could not do direct missionary work before obtaining official permits from the government. Therefore, naturally, the direction of early missionary works ran indirectly. These were characterized by four works.

4.1.4. Four Works of the Early Mission in Korea (1884-1945)

The challenges could be enumerated as, medical work, educational work, a literary movement and diffusion of Hangul (the Korean Alphabet) and a youth movement (Kim 1992:74-83).

4.1.4.1. Medical Work

Kwanghyewon, a first national hospital, was established on Feb 25, 1885 in Korea as the result of initiative of Allen, a Presbyterian missionary. In 1893, a mission union of Methodism regarded medical work as one of missionary works and made a decision to establish hospitals in important cities all over the country (Lee 1978:102). The ministry of the Methodist mission set up a medical office and began medical work under the leadership of Dr. Scranton (Kim 1995:75). In addition, it elected Miss Dr. Meta Howard as the superintendent of the hospital. The ministry of the Methodist mission began the ladies only hospital on Oct 20, 1887 (:75).

The Methodist doctors saw patients mostly in the rural areas, but more importantly, the Presbyterian doctors worked at hospitals in Seoul. They concentrated on Korean medical education, too. In 1895, when cholera

diffused throughout the Korea leaving up to five thousand people dead in only one and a half months, Avison organized an interdenominational remedy team and worked for the elimination of the epidemic. The government proclaimed prevention, disinfection and a point of notice on his instructions. Due to such devoted and sincere work, missionaries won the respect of the people (:76).

4.1.4.2. Educational Work

Appenzeller, a Methodist missionary, started modern educational work with two or three others in the end of 1885 (Lee 1976:391 in Kim 1992:76). Before the modern school system was founded, there were Sedang of Confucianism and Hyanggyo in Korea.⁵² Contemporary Confucian ideas were too pedantic and not of much help in a practical manner. Owing to this, the educational work by missionaries won public recognition except from the conservatives. Mrs. M. F. Scranton founded Ihwahakdang, a first girls' school, on May 30, 1886. Thanks to this, women's status in society was upgraded and the opportunity of women to participate in social activities was expanded (:77). After obtaining approval from the authorities in 1912 Ihwahakdang produced its first six graduates in 1914 (:79).

On the other hand, 'Gengsin', a first girls' school, which the Presbyterians managed, took in and taught orphans. It was recorded that Dr. Annie Ellers was the first teacher (:77).

4.1.4.3. A Literary Movement and Diffusion of Hangeul (the Korean Alphabet)

The Christian literary movement played an important role in the modern culture movement of Korea as well as the evangelical works. The best way to preach the gospel for missionaries who spoke poor Korean was to deliver Bible, booklet and evangelical papers. So whenever and wherever

⁵² Sedang comes under the primary school, Hyanggyo the secondary school and Seongyunkwan the university, a unique higher education institute. According to the statistics of 1911, there were sixteen thousand five hundred and forty Sedangs and one hundred and forty one thousand and four students. These Sedangs continued until 1920 (Han 1970:239 in Kim 1992:77).

missionaries went, they took 'Maesein' or 'Kwensein' (a distributor), who distributed Bible and evangelical papers. Missionaries always took them to the mission-field. They popularized the Korean alphabet through them in order to make the masses read Christian papers (:79).

The Bible was mainly distributed by Maeseins. The number of Bibles supplied until in 1892 was five hundred and seventy eight thousand. The number from 1895 to 1936 was eighteen million seventy nine thousand four hundred and sixty six (Lee s a:100 in Kim 1992:80). The distribution movement of the Hangul did not end here. In those days, the Hangul was named 'Enmun', which despised by the literate stratum and was not given a cordial reception. Therefore, missionaries took a step forward to develop the Hangul directly. In 1884, Gale studied mainly the verbs of the Hangul and wrote the book, '*Korean Grammatical Form.*' His Korean-English dictionary was published in 1896. The wife of Rev. Baird wrote the small book, '*Fifty Helps*' for one who learned Korean first. Such books were of great help to the Koreans as well as to the foreigners (:80).

4.1.4.4. A Youth movement

The organizations of a youth movement were various along by denominations: Christian Endeavour of the Presbyterian Church, Epworth League of the Methodist Church. As the unified youth organization, there were YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) and YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association) (Kim 1992:81). Among them, the YMCA was by far the best.

On Oct 28, 1903, a missionary, Gillet, organized the YMCA with the name of 'Hwangsung Christian Youth Men's Association' in Seoul. A great variety of works were progressed by it. Kim recorded:

As religious works there was a Sunday dialogue, a Bible study, special evangelism, and a lecture and social work. From 1906, vocational education was progressed as follows: printing, woodwork, ironwork, shoemaking and photographic techniques. Besides such practical vocational education,

YMCA established the foreign languages department such as English, Chinese, German and gave the opportunity to study during the day and night for both working and non working students. In addition, these pre-school education and athletics were also offered. Sports such as football, baseball, boxing, judo, fencing, wrestling, archery and apparatus gymnastics were introduced and promoted by YMCA. Such contributed to the modernization of the Korean society greatly (:82).

Especially when Japan made Korea conclude a Eulsa treaty⁵³ forcibly in 1905, which forfeited her diplomatic right and the Japanese Residence-General was trying to be founded in Korea, the youth members of the Epworth League resisted the Japanese dictatorial government (:83)

Besides these works, the most remarkable case of social reform of Korea Christians was the March First Movement. Among the central leaders of thirty-three members of this movement, sixteen were Christians (:172). The church became a target of attack from the Japanese. Facts are that by March 1, 1920:

the number of deaths was seven thousand six hundred and forty five, the injured forty five thousand five hundred and sixty two, the arrested forty nine thousand eight hundred and eleven, the fired churches fifty nine, the fired schools three, the fired houses seven hundred and twenty four (Moonhaksa 1972:292 in Lee 1978:155).

Among these, the fiercest punishment was inflicted on the Korean Christians, and most of those put in custody were Christians. Lee (1978:105) commented,

In other parts of the country, even though all of the people

⁵³ As a result of the third Russia-Japan treaty, Japan compromised Russia and concentrated her efforts on the economic aspect in Korea, Reparations that Japan received from China in consequence of the Sino-Japan supported the gold export and trade of Korea as well as getting the building of the whole railroad of Korea (*TGEoW* 99. CD-Rom, Seoul; Doosan Donga, 1998)

attended the March First Movement, only Christians were arrested. While police officers and military policemen arrested everybody, they liberated only unbelievers. The most serious damaged buildings were churches and schools. For instance Gangse Sachun Church massacre case, Jungju Church massacre case, Ganggye massacre case, Wiwon Church massacre case, Seoul Cross death case, Bookgando Noru Bawi Church and Segando Gakgi Church massacre case and Jungju Osan school incineration case. Among these, the most terrible case was the massacre case of Jeamri Methodist Church in Suwon.

Even though the March First Movement in which Christians were involved as central figures was a failure, it played an important role in the liberation of the Korea of today and was the greatest nationalistic movement in the history of Korea. Yang (1997:129) concluded, concerning social reform of the Korean Church during this period (1884-1945), that 'it had been one of the most important factors in Korean society in strengthening the Koreans' national awareness and their political consciousness.'

4.1.5. Social reform after 1945

Arguably, the social reform of the Korean church after 1945 was not evaluated positively presumably due to socio-political instability. Although there were a significant number of Christian politicians in the First Republic of Korea, they did not present a good witness. Including President Lee, many Christian high officials in the government seemed to be more interested in maintaining their power and prestige than in applying their Christian faith and ethics to politics. Meanwhile, the Christian Church failed to play a prophetic role in relation to the state. The Church tended to show an adulating attitude toward the government because of a guarantee of the right to live. Even though the Lee Administration was strained by tyranny, injustice and corruption, the Korean Church consistently praised President Lee as a great leader, a patriotic hero, and even a Korean "Moses" so long as he was in power. In addition, they welcomed the military coup of President Park

enthusiastically and tended to justify it as an inevitable event for the country (Yang 1997:156). Yang said,

the first and the most serious mistake made by the conservative churches in the late sixties was their expressions of their support for Park's proposal for the amendment of the constitution in 1969. This mistake demonstrated the political naivete and the abject inability of the conservative church leaders to discern the hidden moral aspects at stake in the apparently political issues. This support also demonstrated the fact that 'spirituality' alone was not enough to equip a church leader for living in the world. Spiritual training, unaccompanied by training in the fields of the humanities and social sciences, was not enough to make a leader in the human community (:157).

It was a general evaluation that conservative Korean Presbyterians did show as much of a negative and passive view toward Christian social responsibility. Only charitable works around individual churches have only a spark of life left in one. Meanwhile, the theology of the liberal Christians departed from the traditional theology and they made a significant contribution to the democratisation and the development of justice in Korea (:158). However, at certain points, it is questionable whether their theology includes the essential doctrines of Christianity. Because the liberal churches seem to think that performing their political responsibility is all that is required of a church, and they have been so absolved in politics that it is difficult to find in them the healthy balance between political witness and the other significant duties of the Christian church.

4.2. Contrasts of both Revivals

This section will clarify the distinction between the two Revivals with three striking aspects: theology, ecclesiastical politics and Christian belief.

4.2.1. A difference of Theology

In the first place, the sharpest contrast was that while Wesley's revival was this world-oriented, the Korean revival was the next world-oriented. The direct source of this difference was caused by their theological background that they held because every movement has a main idea that made it possible and was driven by it. Wesley's revival movement had tremendous influence on social reform as we have seen before. It also was the product of various theological motives formed by his background and upbringing. Outler (1964:119) has summarized the elements, which formed his thinking as follows:

The elements of his theology were adapted from many sources: the prime article of justification by faith, from the reformers (Anglican) of the sixteenth century; the emphasis on the assurance of faith, from the Moravian pietists; the ethical notions of divine-human synergism, from the ancient Fathers of the Church; the idea of the Christian life as devotion, from Taylor, a Kempis, Law (and Scougal), the vision and program of "perfection", from Gregory of Nyssa via "Macarius." These diverse motifs – mildly incongruous in the theological climate of the early eighteenth century – he brought and held together within the liturgical framework of the Book of Common Prayer, the Articles and The Homilies. But their development in his work was ordered by the practical exigencies of the Revival itself.

Amongst the above various backgrounds stated, Sangster (1943:65) pointed out,

...The two of chief convictions which governed his thinking in this regard were these: first, that none without holiness could see God and, secondly, that there were no opportunity for a sinner to be saved from his sin on the other side of death. If, then, sinners were to get to heaven, it was imperative that sin be destroyed and holiness imparted this side of the grave.

These convictions meant ethical perfection. Seeing that Attwell (:82) recapitulated Wesley's life briefly as following, this point was by far clearer:

Holiness in the sense of 'Christian Perfection' was Wesley's aim throughout his life, though it only became a conscious quest in 1725, when he 'met with Bishop Taylor's *Rules and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying*.' For the next thirteen years he redoubled his efforts to achieve this holiness in his own strength, until his feelings of frustration and defeat came to a head after the fiasco in Georgia. After his 'evangelical conversion' in 1738, his motive changed, though not his goal. This change in motive came after his contact with the Moravians, who converted him to the belief in sola fide; from a reliance on justification by works to an acceptance of salvation by faith. Inevitably, this change also affected his theology.

He was particularly anxious to establish that perfection was possible during the life; that it may be a present possession (:81). To expand the extent of sanctification from the private realm to the whole society was the essence of Wesley's Revival. The following saying represented his goal of life pursuing during life. 'Christianity is essentially a social religion; to turn it into a solitary religion is indeed to destroy it' (Bready 1971:19).

In the case of the Korean Church, formerly, Conn (1966:26 in Kim 1998:294-295) evaluated the early Presbyterian faith and theology of Korea as conservative and evangelical Christianity. At the same time, he mentioned that various theological lines coexisted in it: Calvinism, Fundamentalism, Dispensationalism and Liberalism.⁵⁴ Such theological lines threw the Korean Church into confusion and aggravated evils, which were a lack of understanding concerning universal grace, the historical consciousness and culture, and a bias toward the other world-

⁵⁴ According to Kim (1998:296), 'while Dr. S C Jeon descried that the liberal inclination of theology in the Korean Church has appeared since 1889, Prof. Conn from 1925.'

oriented faiths. In the long run, the Korean Church did not perform her important duty for the various fields of politics, economics and labor and despised it. (Sin 1992:115-142). Kim described the Korean Church greeting the fiftieth anniversary of Liberation (1995),

The Korean Church regarded Fundamentalism, Dispensationalism and Liberalism as the essentials of theology and followed them all the while (:292). It was the actual condition of the Korean Church that increased in quantity, but was spilt and had been competing with each other in quality (:303).

The usual idea of the contemporary Korean Church is to get a massive building and a mass of people. There are three important reasons why Korean theology had these tendencies.

Firstly, they were caused by the theological background of early missionaries. The Korean Protestant Church, from a mission-done standpoint, could not help imitating the law of the church and the confession of faith as well as the external form according to the churches of mission-doing countries.⁵⁵ The early missionaries had a most conservative and evangelical faith. The Korean Churches and pastors nurtured by them also had conservative faith and theological thought (Kim 1992:142). W D Reynolds, a first missionary from the Southern Presbyterian Church in U.S.A., a systematic theology professor of Pyeongyang Seminary from 1923 to 1937, was a representative of the early theology of the Korean Church. He expressed his view of Bible as follows:

The relation between religion and the scripture was absolutely necessary... A letter and a clause of Bible must not be amended and the spirit of the Bible and its meaning must not be sacrificed. The Bible should be kept in the

⁵⁵ Representatively, in 1907, when the Korean Presbyterian Church was officially organized, the Korean Church also adopted 'Twelve Articles,' which the Indian Presbyterian adopted through the good offices of the English church. According to Paeck, Twelve Articles trended toward the strong Calvinism (Kim 1998:294).

original form, and so be the spirit of the Bible (Kim 1971:173).

Such a conservative view of the Bible became the foundation of the faith of the Korean Protestant Church and contributed to church growth. Kim (1971:175) mentioned:

If the early missionaries in Korea preached the evangelism by using the scientific knowledge like astronomy as the Catholic missionaries in China not being simple believers like Paul, who was not trying to preach except the Cross in the cultural city of Greece, the Korean Presbyterian Church shall not realize the prosperity of today.

In addition, early missionaries were influenced by the revival sermons of D L Moody (1837-1899) in their school days directly or indirectly. Owing to these reasons, they were tolerant toward other denominations, but rejected theological liberalism and biblical criticism strictly (:174).

However, the conservative theology of early missionaries developed into the extreme fundamental faith by Korean pastors, resulted in legalism, which interpreted and applied the Bible literally and self-righteous separatism (Kim 1971:176). Moreover, because the Korean church was under Japanese tyranny and missionaries were trying to avoid friction with the Japanese government-general, they educated the Koreans with the theological sense of discrimination concerning politics, society, culture and tradition was impossible. At the same time, it was open to question that Presbyterian missionaries, even though influenced by Calvinism, had the ability to teach Calvinism as an ideological system proclaiming God's sovereignty in the whole realm of life (Kim 1995:149-151).

As a result, the Korean pastors received Dispensationalism⁵⁶ without

⁵⁶ It is the view that there is much variety in the divine economy in the Bible that God has dealt different with men during different eras of biblical history. A dispensation is "a period of time during which man is tested in respect of obedience to some specific revelation of the will of God," according to C.I. Scofield. All dispensationalists are necessarily premillennialists, but the reverse is not always the case (Grogan

hesitation because of the tendency of believing the Bible literally. Among many parts of it, representative was 'Pre-millennialism.' Korean Christians lived with the intense eschatological expectation because of an unfortunate political and social environment. It was an immediate cause believing 'Pre-millennialism,'⁵⁷ which was mostly colored by Dispensationalism (Cohn 1968:53 in Kim 1995:153). Though this was one of several theories of millennialism, Korean Christians regarded it as more biblical than other things because it gave them strength and courage under the rule of Japanese imperialism (:154). Simultaneously, heretical movements, which interpreted the Bible arbitrarily, appeared as an inveterate disease. The most representative thing was S M Moon's the Unification Church, wherein he misunderstood the disobedience of Genesis chapter three as the thing sexual and taught the doctrine called '*Pigaleum*,' which was a unique means of salvation as sexual experience with himself. Furthermore, he insisted that he was the Lord of the Second Advent.

Secondly, the Korean theology overemphasized fundamental aspects owing to the struggle against the liberal theology. It was also the main reason that the Korean Church did not infiltrate into society. In the 1930s, liberal theology was introduced and spread into Korea through theologians who had studied in Japan, which was almost under the influence of it a long time ago or America (:193).⁵⁸ In those days, H R Park, who was a professor at Pyeongyang Seminary, was a bulwark that had fought against liberal theology. As Kim (:196) mentioned that:

his theology stood for the theological line of conservatism in Korea and had greatly contributed to the mold of faith and theological thought of Korean pastors.

1974:303).

⁵⁷ The view which asserts that Christ will come a second time before the one thousand years of His millennial rule, upholds a general chiliastic theology of Millennialism, and places the rapture of saints, the first resurrection, the tribulation, and Second Advent before the Millennium in prophetic time sequence, with the brief release of bound Satan, the second resurrection, and Last Judgment afterward (Douglas 1974:798-799).

⁵⁸ In case of Princeton University of the Northern Presbyterian Church, after the long theological debate for 3 years, foreign students learned in the atmosphere of liberal theology (Furniss 1963:127-141 in Kim 1995:193).

Park (1976:19) also maintained that:

Reformism did not have to import or develop from now on, and the Korean Church was the Presbyterian Church, which added the Anglo-American Puritanism to the reformism of Europe. We have to keep the theological tradition of Presbyterian Church, which had a tendency of puritan reformism, thoroughly and at the same time, we complemented it only in case of need of explanation.

He said that fundamentalism is not something different but an orthodoxy and Christianity itself because it is to believe and keep the historical, traditional and orthodox faith (Park 1960:12-24). However while his understanding of fundamentalism consolidated the foundation of the conservative Presbyterian Church against liberalism and negative modern theologies, he was considered not to have introduced reformed theology sufficiently. He regarded fundamentalism, which has anti-intellectual tendency and was deficient in its understanding of culture, universal grace and history, as the orthodox faith (Kim 1995:197-198).

Afterward, the split between conservative theology and liberal theology became serious and the bipolarization of theology and the split of the church widened. In the end, a great deal of energy and time of the Korean Church was consumed by the debate with liberalism. Even though they spent many times for the witness that the Bible was God's Word, but did not actually possess its substance. In conclusion, starting from the March First movement, the social reform of religion lost its vigor.

Thirdly, the failure to adopt a social justice strategy was caused by the excessive pursuit of material prosperity because of the gloomy situation of Korean politics and economics. The Korean Church underwent all sorts of hardships under the rule of Japanese imperialism for thirty-six years and the June 25th war of Korea for three years, which the North Korean armies began to invade the South Korea firstly in 1950. Since then, the Korean Church had been under a military dictatorship from 1960s through 1980s. There were not so many opportunities in which the

Korean Church enjoyed rights such as freedom of worship or speech in the vortex of confusion in the Korean situation. The subject named 'material prosperity' gave a good impression of Korean society. Kim (1982:16) said,

it can be said that even the close of the nineteenth century landed Christianity, the Korean especially, in the stream of consciousness of the mass of people, had took firm hold in shamanism itself. The question of the Korean Churches took root to in this situation.

Ultimately, it made them satisfied only with quantitative growth in the church, that is, the prophetic function scolding the social injustice as the salt and the light of world was lost.

After the establishment of government in 1948 until the April Student Revolution in 1960, even though the church of South Korea insisted on the principle of separation of Church and State theoretically, practically it supported and cooperated with President Lee and his Government unconditionally. What was more, some churches held a celebrating service for his fourth Presidential election, even though the voice of election malpractice reached the climax. In addition, when the Military Revolution broke out in 1961, the conservative church leaders still insisted on the principle of separation of State and Church. However, their political apathy resulted in obedience unconditionally.

In opposition to that, late in the 1960s, liberal theologians introduced a secular theology and approached the social concerns and responsibilities of church with a different point of view. N D Se, who is one of the representative liberal theologians in Korea, said that:

to realize the millennium Kingdom in 1980's meant to abrogate the Yusin Order and make the new constitutional law (Se 1979:155 in Kim 1998:325). He translated that the land which was realized the democratization of politics, economy and society, was The New Heaven and The New World described by Revelation 21 and 22 and The Heavenly

Banquet by Luke 14 and Matthew 21 (Se 1979:157 in Kim 1998:325).

Under the banner of 'the realization of social justice was the right purpose of mission', they resisted dictatorial government by a street demonstration (Kim 1995:274-277).

4.2.2. A difference of Internal Ecclesiastical Politics

Next, the second difference was that two revivals formed a clear contrast in view of internal ecclesiastical politics. Wesley did not want to separate from the Church of England from the start of Methodism. He wanted to remain to the end in it and only took up into service the device of the long-existing religious societies for spiritual oversight and mutual care. He had no desire or intention of breaking with it. (Walker, 1959:460).⁵⁹ However, Wesley regarded Methodism not as a new church separated from the Church of England, but a new religious body renewing the corrupted church and making it healthy.

In the Korean Church, after the Liberation of 1945, according to missionary works by missionaries from diverse denominations of U.S.A., Korea was crowded with the churches of varied denominations. Under such an influence, the Korean Church consisting of various denominations had a tendency to make no bones about separation of church (Kim 1998:248). The Presbyterian Church was already divided by three branches named 'Gorye, Gijang, Chonghoi' from the beginning of 1950s. The Chonghoi which was the biggest in them was divided by two factions named 'Tonghap and Hapdong' at the end of the 1950s (:249). Kim (:337) mentioned that even though the split between churches led to competition for church extension and achieved the rapid growth of church, the negative results of it were serious. Severe internal troubles in the Korean Church frustrated the morale of reformation. The function as religion for social holiness which Wesley had sought, could not help

⁵⁹ The Anglican Evangelicals remained within the Church of England, but the two Methodist strands finally separated from it. In 1799, the Countess of Huntingdon and those associated with her separated from the Church of England: in time the connection became the Welsh Methodist Church. The Wesleyan Methodists separated from the Establishment by degrees, and finally only after the death (1791) of John Wesley, who wished his followers might avoid separation (Walker 1959:463).

losing its meaning in the Korean situation.

The most representative thing damaged by internal troubles was the individualization of churches. Such churches themselves, which were not under an order from their higher ranks, have ultimate authority. In most cases of these churches, their pastors had a tendency to be charismatic leaders. Individualized churches were certain to resemble the system of capitalism from their foundation. This was caused by the selfish thinking of church leaders, the poverty of theology including the church view of point and the denominational church point of view which understood the Bible subjectively (:338-339). According to dependable statistics of 1987, there were seventy-four denominations in the Protestant Church (Kim 1997:352). After all, their main concern was sure to incline towards the only numerical growth of church. Their social concern was of secondary importance.

4.2.3. The Korean Soil planted Evangelism: the dualistic mentality

Thirdly, the dualistic mentality that divides the spiritual from the secular was one of the things, which were supposed to be corrected in the Christian history of Korea in comparison with Wesley's Revival. Most Korean Christians considered that things related to the church were of God and the remains were of human being, and that the pastor as the priest, was a mediator between humans and God. Even though there are many churchmen and women only on Sunday, it is not easy for true Christians to be found in the weekdays. It meant that there were already Buddhist mentality and Confucian ideas in the Korean mentality. Kim (1992:180, 186) pointed out the influences by traditional religions in the Korean Church.

Firstly, as factors of shamanism, there are down-to-earth and blessing-pursuit thought, dualistic mentality dividing between the spiritual and the secular, the pursuit of ecstasy as shamans invoked the spirits by songs and dances, made them rejoice and were united with them at last and the thought which the spirits ruled over the visible world in the Korean Church. Secondly, as Buddhist factors, the faith

reaching the salvation by self-efforts and a universal mind pursuing harmony. Thirdly, as Confucian factors, formalism, authoritarianism and the abnormal competitiveness caused by collective egoism.

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusion

This chapter attempts to summarize the topic and draw conclusions about the comparison of the eighteenth century Wesley's Revival and the Korean Revival Movement.

5.1. Summary

This dissertation has traced the results of Wesley's eighteenth century Revival and the Korean Revival movement, especially with the view of the revival and social reform. From this point of view, Wesley's Revival had an enormous effect on that society, while the Korean church did not. The Korean church increased in number greatly, but the contribution to society done by her was evaluated both as negative and passive.

In summary of the contents devolved until now, Chapter One sought to uncover the need and the aims of the thesis, periodisation of the study and methodology. My reason for dividing the history of the Korean Church into four segments is that she was deeply connected with the Korean political situation and was under the influence of it.

In the Second chapter, we saw that the England before and after Wesley's Revival movement had many problems owing to and generated by the sequel of the Industrial Revolution and these required the reformation of the whole society. Philosophically, deism had overwhelming influence over the educated class of England. Economically, the difficulties of working classes were beyond description owing to the monetary manipulating and the exclusive possession of it by a minority class. In addition, the ecclesiastical situation was no exception. The Church of England felt unable to cope with these situations.

In the vortex of confusion, Wesley entered the stage as a reformer who would drastically reform the English society. In his early days, he was thoroughly trained in sincerity by his mother. The intensity of training was increased by the Holy Club in Oxford University and it continued up to the work of mission in Georgia. However he realised the limitations of

his works in there. At that time, he had had an experience of 'being born-again' in a Moravian society. Afterwards, he went to Germany and deeply learnt their faith and organization. The encounter with the leader of the Moravians, Zinzendorf, meant a new perception of evangelism for him. Then, Wesley who finished spiritual preparation for revival, began to preach to innumerable multitudes. As a result, an enormous number of the multitudes came back to Jesus Christ. In order to encourage them and foster their faith, he organized the various religious societies and that became one of the things most representative of contemporary Methodism.

The results of social reform done by Methodism could be summarized as: the relief works of the poor and the sick, the antislavery movement, the reform of the prison system, the reform of popular education, the activation of foreign missions and the upgrading of women's rights.

Chapter Three examined the Korean Revival movement, dividing it into four periods. The Great Revival of 1907 served as a momentum, which projected missionary work positively in Korean society, which had been passive until then. After this Revival, the unique characteristics of Korean Christianity and its various patterns of prayer were formed as well.

The Revival under Occupation by Japan (1908-1945) progressed painfully under the rule of Japanese imperialism. Nationwide movements with Christians as leaders like the March First Movement and the Movement against Shintoism broke out against it. Meanwhile, the individual revival meetings held by revivalists were much in fashion as well. The two most representative of them were I D Kim and Y D Lee during that period. The revival meetings led by these men expressed a strong eschatological and mystical inclination and gave great comfort to a homeless people.

The Revival of post-Liberation (1946-1970) also progressed in troubled times between ideological strife of South-North Koreas, that is, democracy and communism. In relation with the state, the Korean Church became the instrument and the government mouthpiece for its

ideology instead of exercising the prophetic function, which chided the people with their sins and made them repent. At the same time, the individual revival meetings became more and more numerous. The main theme strongly advanced by them during the period was escape from poverty. Under this slogan, all kinds of evil were tolerated and were justified, and the Korean Church did not awaken to this aspect. They concentrated their efforts on private evangelism without approaching the problem of the structural evil of society. But on the other hand, the Korean Church increased more and more in number and overseas missions greatly bore fruits.

The Revival of post-1970 was characterized by systematic and massive meetings mobilized through the mass media. They hit the mark that satisfied the lonely people leaving from the country to cities owing to the modernization of Korea. Under the way of thinking that the blessing of God was equal to material prosperity, the revival meetings increased in number with the economic development of Korea. On the contrary, they produced an anti-historical movement with the loss of their prophetic right. They caused the movement of the Holy Spirit to be limited to the aspects of material blessing and the internal experience of faith.

Chapter Four demonstrated the comparison of Wesley's eighteenth century revival and the Korean revival. First, from the role of individuals, two Revivals had something in common, with the point that an individual experience of faith played an important role in Revival. In Wesley's case, it happened in a Moravian society in Aldersgate on May 24, 1738. The experience in Aldersgate Street made such a deep impression on Wesley that a Christian had to be one who so believed in Christ as that sin had no more dominion over him. After all, it became a centripetal force of the Methodist Revival. In case of the Korean Church, the people taking a leading role in the Revival of every period were also of such a kind. S J Gil of the first Revival and I D Kim, U M Na and G K Ju of the second Revival were most representative.

Second, the two Revivals had a similarity in that lay believers were the central figures. Wesley organized various religious societies to look

after the newcomers born of his Revival. He gave sincere and truthful lay believers an authority to manage the organization. Among them, talented women were selected as preachers. The boundary of women's leadership had gradually expanded from religious societies to the mass. Sarah Crosby and Mary Bosanquet were a typical case. This might be called the revolutionary measures in view of that time, in which a preacher was only an ordained man from the Church of England.

In the same manner, there were the systems called *Maesein* and *Bible Women* in Korea, who supported the missionary ministry, by selling books related to the Bible. One of the most remarkable examples of lay believers' leadership was *Gu-Yek* Service. This system played an important role in the Revival of the Korean Church.

Third, the two Revivals greatly contributed to the social reform of each country. Wesley severely challenged the slavery system of those days. His spiritual son, William Wilberforce put to an end slavery throughout the British dominions in 1833. The relief works for the poor and the sick, the reform of the prison system, the reform of popular education and the upgrading of woman's rights were achieved by Wesley and the Wesleyans and others.

In case of Korea, starting from Liberation from the Japanese imperialism, the Korean Church became different. The early workings of missions made a drastic reform of society even though not getting official recognition by the government. These could summarize as: medical work, educational work, literary movements, the spread of the Korean alphabet and a youth movement. One of the most representative drives towards social reform was March First movement held by Christians as central figures. However, the social reforms of the Korean Church after 1945 have been too half-hearted, even negative. The Korean Church was parasitic on a dictatorship and adulated it. Only charitable works of the individual churches have only a spark of life left, although the social reform before 1945 was very bright.

One of the sharpest contrasts of both Revivals, in the first place, was the difference of theology. What Wesley tried to pursue and grasp was

holiness in the presence of God. To expand this holiness so far as the realm of society was the essence of Wesley Revival.

On the contrary, Korean theology had a tendency of lacking in understanding concerning universal grace, historical consciousness and culture, and became the other-oriented. The causes of this tendency were the extreme fundamental faith against liberalism, Dispensationalism and attachment to worldly blessings, under the difficult political and economic situation of Korea.

The second difference was a clear contrast on the point of the internal ecclesiastical politics. Wesley did not intend to separate from the Church of England up to his death and wanted to remain in it to the end. On the contrary, the contemporary Korean Church fell into great disorder by the ostensible reason of theological problems and hegemony. Their social concern could not help being of secondary importance.

Lastly, the dualistic mentality that divides the spiritual from the secular was an obstacle in that the Korean Church carried out the prophetic function of society.

5.2. Conclusion

This section will consider the some points that the Korean Church should take in the future on the basic of the comparison of both Revivals.

Firstly, even though the Korean Church claimed to stand for reformed theology, she considered first the authority of the church before that of the Word of God. They laid stress on the divine sovereignty of the whole realm of life but had no interest in social problems. The evangelical churches neglected the debate on practical ethics and norms and was bent on saying mainly the evangelism of grace. They were absorbed in the church growth and the evangelical mission on the basis of the dualistic mentality, which was the only mission of church that delivered the spirits to the heaven and had no concern about mundane problems. The Korean church needs a correct understanding of the universal sovereignty of God and apply the principles of Christianity to the whole

realm of life, that is, society, politics, economics, nation and history (Yang 1994:9-11). The Word of God has to be the light to shine on up to the lowest stratum of society. The Korean Church needs to fulfil her mission not to trample upon justice, equity, law and order because the government has some possibility of being a wicked organization in conspiracy with the upper layer of society. The Korean Church has to be concerned about social good as Wesley's Revival movement, which reformed the society and the church with the Word of God.

Second, the Korean Church has to succeed in beating the motto of 'Individual church First.' Under the guise of church growth, it became a characteristic of the Korean Church. It produced the results that while individual churches became strong, the united organization of church became weak. Even though the individual churches were big and strong, a General Assembly does not have much strength. For the reason, pan-ecclesiastical events, which several churches united and participated in, did not become well established (Lee 1996:171-173). Such a religious egoism made the religion foreign to their society by regarding salvation as only the understanding of the vertical interest with horizontal aspects forfeited. Simultaneously with the external growth, mutual check and competition and the division of churches and denominations resulted in internal immaturity. This type of church growth was a factor which turned the young away from the Korean Church. Therefore, in order to become the respected and mission-oriented church, the Korean Church, first of all, has to overcome the slogan of individual church first and let the world see the united picture among us.

Third, from a ministry structural point of view, the Korean Church has not cast off the system centering around a pastor and an individual church yet. The structure of the ministry has to be understood from not the vertical but the horizontal point of view. In different words, it means to understand the duty of ministry with functional interests, not understanding it in terms of status. Furthermore, The structure of church can be transformed into various shapes for effective evangelical work according to the needs of the times. Wesley drastically practiced such an approach. Wesley chose two practical devices as described previously: the various religious societies and the application of leadership of lay

believers. He brought up and trained the converted by the small groups. The deep communion of the believers, which the primitive church had enjoyed, was realised through them. He also regarded the trained as co-workers and let them commit themselves fully to evangelical work. These points of Wesley were very suggestive to the contemporary church.

Of late, the study of small groups in a church, a new device of church growth, is becoming popular in the Korean Church and is proving to be a very desirable thing. The positive utilization of small groups maybe recommended in terms of the renewal of ecclesiastical structure.

A church is a living organic body; therefore it always has to grow afresh. Lloyd-Jones said that:

what has been said of the church in the past is true today. The church, though she has been reformed, must be constantly re-formed, *semper reformanda*, Always reform! The church is always to be under the Word; she must be; we must keep her there. You must not assume that because the church started correctly, she will continue so. She did not do so in the New Testament times; she has not done so since. Without being constantly reformed by the Word the church becomes something very different... Every generation has got to examine this for itself (Lloyd-Jones 1992:30).

The Korean Church has grown incessantly since the Gospel was introduced to Korea. Up to the present day, the Korean Church has undergone much hardship and adversity. From now on, the Korean Church sloughs off the obsolete and biblical way of thinking, where only the increase in number signifies the revival of church. The Korean Church has to arrange times to find God's will for us. From this point of view, Wesley's Revival deserves to be praised as a model of the desirable revival of the Korean Church.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Bready J W 1938. *England: Before and After Wesley. The Evangelical Revival and Social Reform.* New York: Russell & Russell.

Kim H Y 1997. *A History of the Korean Church.* (rev ed.) Seoul: Seoungkwang Munhwasa.

Kim Y J 1992. *A History of the Korean Church.* Seoul: The Korea Society for Reformed Faith and Action.

Lee Y H 1978. *A History of the Korean Church.* Seoul: Concordia.

Parker P L (ed) 1951. *The Journal of John Wesley.* Chicago: Moody Press.

Jay E (ed) 1987. *The Journal of John Wesley: A Selection.* Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Wesley J 1988. *The Works of John Wesley. Vol. 18. Journals and diaries (1735-38).* ed by Ward W R (Journal) & Heitzenrater R P (Manuscript Journal and Diaries). Nashville: Abingdon.

-- *The Works of John Wesley.* 1989. *Vol. 9. The Methodist Societies History, Nature, and Design.* ed by Davies R E. Nashville: Abingdon.

-- *The Works of John Wesley.* 1990. *Vol. 19. Journal and diaries (1738-43).* ed by Ward W R (Journal) & Heitzenrater R P (Diaries). Nashville: Abingdon.

-- *The Works of John Wesley.* 1991. *Vol. 20. Journals and Diaries (1743-54).* ed by Ward W R (Journal) & Heitzenrater R P (Diaries). Nashville: Abingdon.

-- *The Works of John Wesley*. 1992. Vol. 21. *Journal and Diaries IV (1755-65)*. ed by Ward W R (Journal) & Heitzenrater R P (Diaries). Nashville: Abingdon.

-- *The Works of John Wesley*. 1993. Vol. 22. *Journal and Diaries V (1765-75)*. ed by Ward W R (Journal) & Heitzenrater R P (Diaries). Nashville: Abingdon.

-- *The Works of John Wesley*. 1995. Vol. 23. *Journal and Diaries VI (1776-86)*. ed by Ward W R (Journal) & Heitzenrater R P (Diaries). Nashville: Abingdon.

Secondary sources:

An B J et al. 1980. *The Korean History in Reformed Ages*. Seoul: Dongpyeungsa.

An K S 1994. *The Study of the Church Reformation by the Small Group of John's Wesley*. M.Div. Dissertation Seoul: Seoul Theological Seminary.

Attwell A F I 1989. *The growing of Saints: Determinative Factors in the Rise and Development of Methodism*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Bettenson H & Maunder C (eds) 1999. *Document of the Christian Church*. (3rd ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bosch L C 1995. *The Ethical Implication of the Concept of Faith as Freedom from Society in the Theology of John Wesley*. D.Th. Thesis Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Brown E K 1983. *Women of Mr. Wesley's Methodism*. New York and Toronto: Edwin Mellen.

Buswell J O 1978. Deism in *Baker's Dictionary of Theology*. tr and ed by B S Oh et al.. *Dictionary of Theology*. Seoul: The Korea Society for

Reformed Faith and Action: 581-583.

Charley J W 1974. Tindal Matthew in Douglas, J D et al.. *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Michigan & Exeter: Paternoster: 976.

Chung C S 1990. Global Theology for the Common Good: Lessons from Two centuries of Korean Christianity. *International Review of Mission* no.339: 523-538.

Chung S K 1996. *Korean Church and Reformed Faith: Focusing on the Historical Study of Preaching in the Korean Church*. Seattle: Time.

Cragg G R 1970. *The Christian and the Age of Reason 1648-1789*. Middlesex: Penguin.

Davies R 1976. *Methodism*. Rev ed. London: Epworth.

Davies R & Rupp G (eds) 1965. *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*. Vol. 1 London: Epworth.

Dicken A G & Tonkin J 1985. *The Reformation in Historical Thought*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Doob L W 1964. *Patriotism and Nationalism*. New Haven and Conn.: Yale University Press.

Edwards M 1935. *After Wesley*. London: Epworth.

-- 1943. *Methodism and England*. London: Epworth.

England J C (ed) 1981. *Living Theology in Asia*. London: SCM.

Francis H D 1979. *The Demise of Disciplined Christian Fellowship: The Methodist Class Meeting in Nineteenth-Century America*. Ph.D. Thesis Ann Arbor. University of California UMI.

- Gil J K 1980. *Younggye Gil Sun Ju*. Seoul: Jongro Sejek.
- Gonzalez J L 1975. *A History of Christian Thought*. Vol. 3 Nashville and New York: Abingdon.
- Grassow P S 1989. *John Wesley and Revolution*. M.A. Dissertation Cape town: University of Cape Town.
- Grogan G W 1974. Dispensationalism in Douglas, J D et al., *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* 303. Michigan & Exeter: Paternoster.
- Grayson J H 2002. *Korea – a Religious History*. (rev ed.) New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Gumley F & Redhead B 1993. *Protestors for Paradise. The Story of Christian Reformers from the Thirteenth to the Twenty-first Century*. London: BBC.
- Halévy E 1944. *The Birth of Methodism*. London: Epworth.
- Han S H 1990. An Essay on Lee Young-Do (1). *Ministry and Theology* 2, 19905, CD-Rom. Seoul: Duranno.
- He M S 1996. *The Early Industrial society of England and the Revival Movement: Focusing on the Wesleyan Revival (1730-1830)*. Th.M. Dissertation Seoul: Seoul Theological University.
- Hempton D 1996. *The Religion of the People. Methodism and Popular Religion c. 1970-1900*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hinchliff P 1992. *God and History: Aspects of British Theology. 1875-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hong C M 1988. The Korean Church and the Reformed Faith. *The Reform Faith* no.1, summer: 10
- Hulley L D 1987. *Wesley. A Plain Man for Plain People* (s v):

Local Preacher's Department of the Methodist Church of South Africa.

-- 1988. *To be and To do. Exploring Wesley's thought on ethical behaviour.* Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Hurlbut J L 1970. *The Story of the Christian Church.* (rev ed.) Michigan: Zondervan.

Kang M G 1985. *A Korean Modern History.* Seoul: Creation and Criticism.

Kim I S 1996. *A History of Korean Christianity.* Seoul: The Presbyterian Church of Korea.

Kim M H 1998. *The 18 Hot Issues of Korean Church: Its History and Potentiality.* Seoul: Kyujang Media mission.

Kim S Y 1992. The Traditional Culture and Christianity in the Reality of the Korean Church. *Bible and Theology*, 11:180,186. Seoul: The Theological Association of Korean Evangelism.

Kim Y S 1971. *The Study of a History of the Korean Church.* Seoul: Gidokkyomunsa.

Kim Y S 1982. *Vacancy and Fruit of One Hundred Korean Christianity.* Seoul: Deulsolee.

Küng H 1928. *Christianity: Essence, History and Future.* tr by J Bowden. New York: Continuum.

Kwak A J 1973. *A History of the Korean Church.* Seoul: The book Christian Literature Society of Korea.

Lane T 1984. *The Lion Concise Book of Christian Thought.* Herts: Lion.

Langford T A 1998. *Exploring Methodism. Methodist Theology.* London:

Epworth.

Lee D J 1990. *A Conversion Story of Korean Christians*. Seoul: Jeonmangsa.

Lee S H 1996. *Future Society and Future Church*. Seoul: The Korean Christian Book Association.

Lee W G 1990. A Revaluation of the Growth Movement of the Korean Church. *Ministry and Theology* 2 199002, CD-Rom. Seoul: Duranno.

Lloyd-Jones D M 1992. *What is an Evangelicals?*. Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust.

Marquardt M 1992. *John Wesley's Social Ethics: Praxis and Principles*. Nashville: Abingdon.

Meek D M (ed) 1985. *The Future of the Methodist Theological Traditions*. Nashville: Abingdon.

Min K B 1972. *A History of Korean Church*. Seoul: Korean Christian.

Moon K S (s a). The Results of Social Change produced by Two Revivals: the Evangelical Revival of England and the Great Awakening Movement of America. M.Div Dissertation Seoul: Asia United Theological Seminary.

North E M 1914. *Early Methodism Philanthropy*. New York: The Methodist Book Concern.

Outler A C (ed) 1964. *John Wesley*. New York: Oxford University.

-- 1917. *Evangelism in Wesleyan Spirit*. Nashville: Tidings.

Park K B 1999. The Results of Social Change in 18th and 19th Century England Caused by John Wesley's Revival. D.Th Thesis Seoul: Seoul Theological University.

Park H G 1991. The Research on main causes of the Revival movement and the Growth of the Korean Church. M.Div Dissertation Busan: Gosin University.

Park H R 1960. Fundamentalism. *Shinhak Jungron* 25: 12-24.

-- 1976. The Theological Tradition of the Korean Presbyterian Church. *Shinhak Jinam* 43: 19.

Rack H D 1989, *Reasonable Enthusiast - John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*. London: Epworth.

Robertson C G 1917. *England under the Hannoverians*. (3rd ed.) London: Methuen.

Rupp G 1986. *Religion in England. 1688-1789*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Sangster W E 1943. *The Path to Perfection: An Examination and Restatement of John Wesley's Doctrine of Christian Perfection*. London: Epworth.

Semmel B 1974. *The Methodist revolution*. London. Heineman.

Sheldon H C 1988. *History of the Christian Church*. 3 vols. Massachusetts: Hendrickson.

Sin B Y 1992. Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow of the Korea Reformed Theology. *Shinhak Jeonron* 10-1: 115-142.

Stanley S C 2002. *Holy Boldness: Women Preachers' Autobiographies and the Sanctified Self*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.

Sweet W W 1944. *Revivalism in America. Its Origin, Growth and Decline*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Toynbee A 1979. *An Historian's Approach to Religion*. (2nd ed.) Oxford:

Oxford University Press.

Tuttles R G 1978. *John Wesley: His Life and Theology*. Michigan: Zondervan.

Vidler A R 1961. *The Church in an Age of Revolution. 1789 to the Present Day*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Walker W 1959. *A History of the Christian Church*. Rev ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Watson D L 1987. *The Early Methodist Class Meeting*. Nashville: Discipleship Resources.

Watson J S 1960. *The Reign of George III 1760-1815*. ed by G Clark. Vols. 12. Oxford: Clarendon.

Wilson A N (ed) 1992. *The Faber Book of Church and Clergy*. London and Boston: Faber and Faber.

Whiteside J 1906. *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa*. (s v):Elliot Stock.

Wynkoop M B 1972. *A Theology of Love*. Kansas: Beacon and Hill.

Yang N H 1997. *Social Ethics of Reformed Theology and the Korean Presbyterian Church*. Seoul: Korean Society for the Reformed Faith and Action.

Yoo Y G (s a). *The Study of the Korean Revival Movements and the Sermons of the Revivalists*. M.Div Dissertation Seoul: The Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

Computer software:

Ministry and Theology 2. CD-Rom. Seoul: Duranno. 2001.

The Great Encyclopedia of World 99. CD-Rom. Seoul: Doosan Donga.



1998.

The Library of Christian Classics. Vol.1 & 2. CD-Rom. Song Tan:
Institute for the Christian Information &Data. 1999.