

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL IDENTITY
OF THE KOREAN BAPTIST CONVENTION: AN INDIGENOUS
CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT**

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ABSTRACT

This research is a fulfilment of the author's long-standing desire to furnish the Korea Baptist convention with its complete history. Particular emphasis has been given to the ideological development of the denomination from its origin in 1889 to present. It is hoped that this research will provided intellectual guidance for the convention and serve as a credible chapter in the historical and theological development of Korean Christianity especially Baptists and Pentecostals-Charismatics.

Being the first attempt in compiling a comprehensive, scientific history of the denomination, this work based largely upon primary sources, many of them are unpublished. The methodology utilized by the author incorporated both documentary study and observation or interview. Accordingly, Korean documents are extensively used, while English sources comprise equally important grounds of information. Proper names have been trans-literate as closely to their original sound as possible.

In pursuing the study the author has followed a strictly objective method. Any deficiency that might be found in this undertaking belongs solely to the realm of his judgment. As a foreigner the author is well aware of the lack of his rhetorical subtlety in English language.

The writer hopes that this research will give a momentum for both Korea Baptist Convention and Pentecostals-Charismatics within Korean Christianity to reflect on the efforts which had been made for the expansion of Christianity in Korea, and to catch a vision for the future work, which God will reveal through his word and His Spirit.

Dedication

To Jesus Christ

My Lord and Saviour

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted this work to many people who have supported me all the way through. I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Allan Anderson, for his guidance and support from the outset.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BWA Baptist World Alliance**
- CCC Church of Christ in Korea**
- CBF Cooperative Baptist Fellowship**
- KBC Korea Baptist Convention**
- NBC The Niagara Bible Conference**
- SBC Southern Baptist Convention**
- SVM The Student Volunteer Movement**
- YCBC Yonsei Central Baptist Church**
- YFGC Yoido Full Gospel Church**

CHAPTER INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Korea Baptist Convention: Historical and Social Contexts

Only about two percent of the Asian population is Christian, and while Christians are to be found in virtually every Asian country, South Korea has witnessed spectacular and historically significant Christian expansion, particularly over the past three decades, the period of the country's remarkable modernization. Economically, South Korea ranks as the fifteenth most powerful country in the world.¹ Since the introduction of Catholicism in 1784, followed by the arrival of Protestant missionaries in 1884, Christianity has become the largest religion in the country, after Buddhism. Today almost one third (29 %) of South Korea's 50 million people are Christian.²

Since the early 1960s, when South Korea's Christians scarcely topped the one million mark, the number of Christians, particularly Protestants, has increased faster than in any other country, doubling every decade. By 1994, moreover, there were over 35,000 churches and 50,000 pastors, making the South Korean church one of the most vital and dynamic in the world. Among the many Protestant denominations, the Korea Baptist Convention is one of the largest denominations in the Republic of Korea. Its beginnings hark back to 1889, when the Church of Christ in East Asia (later Korea Baptist Convention) made connections with the Southern Baptists in the United States. Baptists in Korea have experienced remarkable growth, and in 2007 numbered almost one million, in 2,531 congregations.³

¹ "GDP (Official Exchange Rate)" CIA "The World Factbook", 2012.

² *Korean Government Census*, 2005.

³ Korea Baptist Convention, *Annual of the Korea Baptist Convention*. (Seoul: Korea Baptist Convention Headquarter, 2012), p. 10.

In reviewing the history of Korean Christianity, we note certain peculiar circumstances of Korean history. Korea's long history of vulnerability to Chinese and Japanese control, Japanese colonialism and the Korean War afforded Christianity a unique opportunity to offer a compelling salvation ethos and promise of both personal and national empowerment. We also note that the profound social structural developments that marked the modernization process in Korea following WWII provided a cultural opening for the "selling" and "reception" of a Christian worldview that harmonized with the industrial transformation of the society.

In view of this, this thesis starts with an overview of the origins of the Korean Baptist Convention in Korea, focussing on the initial impact of Western missionary efforts (Malcolm C. Fenwick), which began in earnest at the end of the nineteenth century. Fenwick was the leader of the denomination until 1944. And since 1945, missionaries of the Southern Baptist Convention were responsible for the formation and development of the Convention's theology. After 1978, Korean Baptists took over leadership responsibility in almost all areas of denominational life. However, although Korean Baptists are totally independent financially and politically, as well as theologically, they are still a "colony" of the American Southern Baptist Convention⁴ because SBC theology has impacted KBC's theology as well as their Christian life.

⁴ This paragraph is very strong and aggressive in attitude, however SBC's shadow still controls most parts of KBC even their future relies on SBC. Because now most of almost 1/3 KBC future leaders still study in the six SBC seminaries in US. When they come back to Korea, they plant SBC theological methodology without considering Korea Baptist original heritage, identity and unique situation.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Several books, dissertations, and articles about Korean Baptist history and theology have been written⁵. However, no academic book or dissertation has been published analyzing the theological development of the Korea Baptist Convention, although several authors of articles have tried to examine the theology of this denomination. Especially, no academic research paper or book published has ever mentioned the Charismatic movement in the Korea Baptist Convention. The history and theology of a denomination are the two constituent elements of its identity. Korean Baptists have serious difficulty because they lack an objective, scientific study of the history of their theology. In addition, Korean Baptists still confuse their identity between two theological towers such as their contextual theology (Indigenous charismatic theology influenced by Fenwick and other Korean leaders) and Americanized theology (mainstream Korean Baptist theology has been influenced by Southern Baptist theology). Therefore, the study of the history and theology of the Korean Baptist convention is a very urgent task not only in order that they may find their identity but also to help them survive and continue to grow in this century.

These two different groups influenced by Malcolm C. Fenwick and Albert W. Gammage, Jr. two of Korean Baptist's great leaders' heritage and theology still co-exist among the Korean Baptist Convention. Fenwick's follower's (mainly Charismatic) emphasizes the gifts of the Holy Spirit and theological-financial Independence from Southern Baptist) on the other hand Southern Baptist followers (Gammage's decedents) emphasizes on anti-charismatic and they want to depend on Southern Baptist theology and financial support. Therefore two different traditions always co-exist within Korean Baptists. Fortunately,

⁵ Korean Baptist historians like Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho and Kin Huh have written their thesis about Korean Baptist History however their work only focus on general history and they are not published.

although there are many theological controversies, they have tried to harmonize and develop the denomination without breaking it up.

A thorough examination of its historical theology is therefore important. Church history contains not only past events and activities of the church but also its faith and spirituality. When a denomination has relatively few records documenting its past, an analysis of its theological history will help establish an understanding of the denomination, but will pay scant attention to the historical development of a denomination's doctrine. To know their theological identity, therefore, Korean Baptists need a more consistent and thorough study of their theological history.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the historical and theological identity of the Korea Baptist Convention. This writer believes the roots of the Korea Baptist Convention lie in an indigenous Charismatic movement. This Charismatic movement is an important aspect of the Korea Baptist Convention's theological identity in the twenty-first century. This study will analyze its historical and theological development with critical evaluation for the purpose of suggesting the development of a self-conscious theological consensus among Korea Baptists Convention.

The theological development of the Korea Baptist Convention was influenced by both its missionary origins and the response of native Koreans. During its formation and early development under the leadership of foreign missionaries, the denomination's theology was shaped by the missionaries' beliefs and faith. The national Christians responded to the missionaries' theology first, and then developed their own theology. In establishing their theology, the Korean Christians seemed to take the missionaries' theology as their own. We must examine the theology of the early missionaries, therefore, in order to define the

theological identity of the denomination. However, as the national Christians developed and became more independent, their theology became more and more distinct from that of the missionaries.

1.4 Background of Thesis

The Korea Baptist Convention is marked by a definite Charismatic theology. Although there has been a recent numerical decline among members of Korean Protestant churches, nevertheless, this has not been the case in the Korean Baptist denomination. One reason for this is its experience of Charismatic revival in 1973. Recently, the Korean Baptists have produced many famous Pentecostal-Charismatic preachers like Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon, Rev. Kwan Seok Oh, Rev. Chung Gi Kim and so on. In addition, Korean Baptists have established many mega-churches like Yonsei Central Baptist Church, Global Mission Church, Gangnam Central Church, World Vision Church and so on. Furthermore, the former president of the Baptist World Alliance was the Korean, Billy Kim.⁶

Despite this, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Korean Baptists face challenges due to internal problems and external theological issues. Recently, most Korean Baptists identify theologically not with the Southern Baptists but rather with the Church of Christ in Korea or with the Charismatic movement. However, most of the present Korean theological leaders' educational background is Southern Baptist. Therefore, although most Korean Baptists are Charismatic, their theological background remains Southern Baptist. Recently, Southern Baptist theology has become more and more fundamentalist and dispensational, and is openly opposed to the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement.

⁶ Billy Kim, Korean name: Rev. Kim Jang Hwan was president of the Baptist World alliance in 2000, Rev. Kim became the first Asian to be elected as President of the Baptist World Alliance. Baptist World Alliance Source book 2000. Also http://www.billykim.net/eng/html/profile/profile_02.asp

1.5 Methodology

Firstly, this research will follow a historical methodology, using written and oral primary sources, archival research and interviews. I will review all available literature on the Korean Baptist Convention and the Korean Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement. However, there is a scarcity of primary sources related to the history and theology of the Korean Baptist Convention. During World War II, Japan forced its religion on the Koreans. The Korean Baptists rejected this and, in response, the Japanese government ordered the destruction of the Convention, and confiscated and burned the materials of the Convention. Therefore, historians have generally obtained information about the early Korean Baptists by interviewing people who worked alongside Malcolm C. Fenwick. However, as Korean Baptists increasingly realized the importance of learning Baptist distinctions and theology, historians and theologians discovered more sources of information about their church's early history. These primary sources regarding Malcolm C. Fenwick and the Church of Christ in Korea are currently housed in the Korean Baptist Theological University Library, the Fenwick Institute for Baptist Scholars, and the Korean Baptist Convention Centre.

In this thesis, the history of Fenwick and the Church of Christ in Korea uses material dated no later than 1950. Most of the material in the Korean Language was collected from the Joong Ang Library of the Korean Baptist Theological University/Seminary.⁷ Material about the First Charismatic Revival Movement and the Korea Baptist Convention is based on church documents, books and audiotapes of sermons, and the church's website. In addition, all of the First Charismatic Revival leaders are still alive. Therefore, the writer has

⁷ The Joong Ang Library of Korean Baptist Theological University/Seminary contains many of Fenwick's writings. These include *The Church of Christ in Korea* (1911) and *Life in the Cup* (1917), two books that Fenwick wrote during his missionary period; *Sakyungkongboo* [Bible Study]; *Talpyunji* [Monthly Epistle]; *pyunkongboo Yonsul* [Address of Fenwick]; *Manminchounkyuipyul* [Good News for the People]; and *Bokumchanmi* [Gospel Hymns].

interviewed a few of them like Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon, Kwan Seok Oh, and Chunggi Kim and so on.

Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon is still alive and his ministry keeps growing and becoming more effective. Much of the material on Rev Seok Jeon Yoon⁸ is also based on his books, tapes, church web site and individual interview.

The majority of the English-language material was acquired in the United States. The following libraries were consulted: A. Webb Roberts Library of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, The James P. Boyce Centennial Library of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Mosher Library of Dallas Theological Seminary, Winn Library of Gordon College, and Goddard Library of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. Much of the material regarding the Niagara Bible Conference and Adoniram Judson Gordon came from these five libraries.

Important sources, written in English, include the *Truth*, a monthly journal edited by James Brooks (1875-1897), the *Watchword*, written and edited by A. J. Gordon⁹ (1878 to 1895), dissertations and books as well as missions' journals and written reports collected by the writer.

The James P. Boyce Centennial Library of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary has periodicals which are primary sources on the activities of the Southern Baptist missionaries to the Korean Baptists, such as *The Commission*, *Royal Service*, *Baptist History and Heritage*, *Baptist Adult Union Quarterly*, and *Baptist Missionary Magazine*. The Library also has dissertations, theses, and books about Korean Christianity.

⁸ Rev. Yoon Seok Jeon is the Senior Pastor of Yonsei Central Baptist Church which is the largest Baptist church in Korea.

⁹ Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836–1895) was an American Baptist preacher, writer, composer, and founder of Gordon College and Gordon–Conwell Theological Seminary. He had the greatest impact on formulating Malcolm C. Fenwick's theology, mission strategy and philosophy.

Dr. Kim Yong-gook, who is one of the Korean Baptist historians at Korean Baptist Theological University, Daejeon, Korea, lent me many primary sources. Also, Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon, Yonsei Central Baptist Church, lent me many primary sources and gave many interviews. His interviews are very important because among the first generation of Korean Baptist Charismatic leaders, he is still ministering in the denomination. He is an eye witness of the growth of the Korea Baptist Convention.

Secondly, this study will also use a comparative method. It will attempt to classify the Korean religious background and the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement according to region, denomination, social status, gender, theological background, and spiritual temperament and will compare it at each of the above periods in order to analyse the whole process of the developing Charismatic denomination theology. It supports my argument that the decline of Americanized leadership was mainly due to the conflict between Southern Baptists and Charismatic Baptists.

Thirdly, this thesis will involve theological analysis. I will bring out the theological differences between the Southern Baptists and the Korean Baptists. I will look for the distinctive features of both theologies in order to investigate the main reason for the recent SBC split from other Baptists. In particular, I will focus on a comparison of the theology of the Holy Spirit¹⁰ among Baptists, with the diversity and division that are distinctive features of Korean Pentecostalism. In this section, a synchronic analysis will be introduced. The writer will concentrate on an analysis of the primary information sources, and then will use

¹⁰ SBC opposes all gifts of the Holy Spirit and they rebel the BWA recent decision that BWA accepts Cooperative Baptist Fellowship as the BWA member. Following the SBC rebound of the BWA decision, they then withdrew from BWA. However KBC still remains in BWA. Therefore officially SBC is not a World Baptist Family. Ironically KBC is still a strong follower of the SBC.

secondary sources to arrive at a further understanding of Korean Baptist history and theology.

In researching Southern Baptist theology and Korean Baptist theology and establishing the criteria for evaluating them both according to the New Testament doctrine of the Holy Spirit, two different but complementary methods will be used. First, the meaning of 'Charisma' and the work of the Holy Spirit as seen in the New Testament will be presented, and then discuss how these doctrinal emphases have been modified and applied in the Charismatic movement in Korea. Second, both the cultural and religious backgrounds in Korea will be discussed as factors that have contributed to the nature of the Charismatic movement that is now taking place in contemporary Korean Christianity.

1.6 Previous Studies and Literature Review.

I did not find any theses published about the Korean Baptist Charismatic movement. However some relevant studies look at the history and theology of the Korea Baptist Convention.

1.6.1 The Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement in Korea

Boo Woong Yoo, a Korean Scholar, wrote a Ph.D. thesis about the History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism.¹¹ This is one of first academic research projects about Korean Pentecostalism. He defines two main sources of Korean Pentecostalism: the ministry of the Holy Spirit and the nature of Korean Pentecostalism as a socio-historical dimension. The most valuable contribution of this thesis for Korean Pentecostals is related to Korean history, culture, and folk religions and how they shaped the life and thought of the Korean church. However his research took a very narrow view. Because he is from a

¹¹ Boo Woong Yoo, *Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology* (Ph. D. thesis, University of Birmingham, Department of Theology, 1988).

Reformed Church background, he never mentions Dr. Cho or other denominations, such as Baptists or other Pentecostal denominations. He generally focuses on Presbyterians.

Han Ho Do, a Korean Baptist theologian, currently is President of the Korean Baptist Theological University/Seminary, wrote a Ph.D. thesis, entitled “A Historical and Theological Analysis of the Charismatic Movement in Korea.”¹² This thesis describes the characteristics of the contemporary Charismatic movement in Korea in the light of historical and theological perspectives. However, most of this thesis unfairly criticizes the Charismatic movement and misinterprets Charismatic theology. He points out that Charismatics have just a few theological researches compared with their enthusiasm and higher morality. Dr. Do said that the Charismatic movement misunderstood the doctrine of Holy Spirit by shamanistic tendency of certain leaders, and wrong application of miraculous signs and gifts. He said that Korean charismatic has no pattern of the apostles and the early church received the Spirit therefore it is not a true gift of the Holy Spirit.¹³ In spite of Do’s misunderstanding of Charismatic theology, some of his writing makes positive contributions, like the first thesis about Pentecostalism within the Korea Baptist Convention.

1.6.2 History of Korea Baptist Convention

R. Max Willocks, a Southern Baptist Missionary to Korea, wrote a Th.M. thesis about the History of Korean Baptists.¹⁴ It was the first history written about Korean Baptists, and Willocks described the origins and characteristics of early Korean Baptist churches based on

¹² Han Ho Do, *An Historical and Theological Analysis of the Charismatic Movement in Korea*. (Ph.D. Thesis, Mid- America Baptist Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 1994)

¹³ Do, p. 2.

¹⁴ R. Max Willocks, “*Christian Missions in Korea, with Special Reference to the Work of Southern Baptist*,” Th.M. thesis (Golden Gate Baptist theological Seminary, 1962).

research into primary sources, interviews, and his own experience.¹⁵ The most significant contribution of this thesis for Korean Baptists is his eyewitness accounts of the activities of early Southern Baptist missionaries. In particular, he provided the missionaries' opinion of David Ahn (Tae Byuk Ahn), who started the conflict between the Korean Baptist Convention supported by the Southern Baptist Missionary Headquarter in Korea. And then Ahn's follower became the Pohang side. Eventually, KBC split into two groups, the Pohang-side sector and the Daejeon-side sector from 1959 to 1968.¹⁶ The Korean Baptist Convention (Pohang-side) published a history, much of which is based on the memories of other Korean Baptists. It contained the constitution of the Church of Christ in Corea (the name of the early Korean Baptist Convention), which explained their theological and ecclesiological characteristics. The history of martyrdom and major events occupied most of this book.¹⁷

Recently the Korean Baptist Theological University/Seminary held a special conference on Korean Baptists and their faith. Eight professors contributed articles which were compiled and published. Among the eight articles, four dealt with Korean Baptist theology. The most helpful article was entitled "A study of Fenwick's Eschatology Shown in His Book, Bible Study", written by Yong Bock Kim, assistant professor of systematic theology at the seminary. Kim discovered a new primary source of Fenwick's, which revealed Fenwick's dispensationalist theology.¹⁸

¹⁵ When Willocks was a missionary of the Southern Baptist Convention in Korea, many people who worked with Malcolm C. Fenwick, the first missionary to Korean Baptists, were alive. Willocks collected their recollections about Fenwick in interviews.

¹⁶ J. G. Goodwin Jr., another early Southern Baptist missionary to Korea and representative of the magazine *Baptist*, also wrote a brief history of Korean Baptists from 1950 to 1953 (*Baptist* 2 [July-August 1992]: 30-33; 10 [November-December 1993]: 43-49). He also explained Southern Baptist missionaries' work at Wallace Memorial Hospital in Pusan, Korea (*Baptist* 1 [May-June 1992]: 108-11).

¹⁷ Yong Hae Kim, *Daihan Kitokkyo Chimneyhuasa (A History of Korea Baptist Convention)* (n.p.: Sung Chung Sa, 1964).

¹⁸ Yong Bock Kim Ed, *Korea Baptist Theology* (Deajeon: Korea Baptist University Press, 2000).

1.6.3 Malcolm C. Fenwick and the Church of Christ in Korea¹⁹

Fenwick Institute for Baptist Scholars and its formal chairman Choi Bong Ki, professor of Christian ethics at the Washington Baptist Theological Seminary, published a book about Malcolm C. Fenwick in 1996. It consists of several selected primary sources on Malcolm C. Fenwick and five essays related to Malcolm Fenwick. The essays dealt with Fenwick's life and thoughts and his view of missions.²⁰ A prominent historian of Korean Christianity, Kyung Bae Min, professor of church history at Yonsei University, wrote two articles: "Malcolm Fenwick's Mission to Korea" and "A History of Foreign Mission of the Church of Christ in Korea." These articles dealt with Fenwick's method of indigenization and his followers' mission activities.²¹ Tae Shik Kim wrote an article entitled "A Study about Jong Duk Lee" which described the life and faith of Jong Duk Lee, the first Korean President of the Church of Christ in Korea.²² Finally, Myung Shin Park investigated Fenwick's theological presuppositions for translating the Bible into Korean.²³

1.6.4 Baptist Origins and Theology.

Until recently, most Korean Baptists believed Baptist secessionism which believed that all spiritual gifts ceased in the first century and that spiritual gifts are not available today

¹⁹ Before the Japanese occupation, Korea was the official name of the country.

²⁰ Bong Ki Choi and Fenwick Institute for Baptist Scholars, *Malcolm C. Fenwick* (Seoul: Yodan Publication Company, 1996).

²¹ Kyun Bae Min, "Malcolm Fenwick Hankooksunkyo" [Malcolm Fenwick's Mission to Korea], *Hyundaiwa Shinhak* 17 (1993): 59-81; "Tai Han Kitokyohuyui (Chimneykyo) Haeweysunkyosa" [A History of Foreign Mission of the church of Christ in Korea (Korea Baptist Convention)], in *Hanbook Shinhakeui Tohackwaronkwa Saheuiyunri* [The Indigenization of Korean Theology and Social Ethics] (Seoul: Kookje Jaryowon, 1995).

²² Tae Shik Kim, "Don-a Kitokyo Yi Jong Dukron" [A Study of Jong Duk Yi, a man of the Christian church in East Asia] *Hankook Kitokkyosa Yunku* 6 (February 1986)

²³ Myung Shin Park, "Choki Hankkok Chimneykyohuey Sungkyung Bunyeukui Shinhakjek Junje" [The Theological Presupposition for the Translation of the Bible Among Early Korean Baptists], (M.Div. thesis, Korea Baptist Theological Univeristy/Seminary, 1994).

as the correct theory of Baptist origins.²⁴ Kin Huh opposed this trend and argued that English Puritans were the ancestors of the Baptists. Arnold Peterson, a Southern Baptist missionary to Korea, also rejected the idea of Baptist secessionism. Unlike Kin Huh and Peterson, Bong Ki Choi insisted that Baptists were the descendants of the Anabaptists because of their common ecclesiology. To sustain his argument, he studied the lives and beliefs of the sixteenth-century Anabaptist leaders Georg Blaurock and Michael Sattler.²⁵

Korean Baptist theologians and Southern Baptist missionaries have contributed many articles about Baptist theology and tradition to Korean Baptist journals. Many of these authors are currently professors at the Korean Baptist Theological University/Seminary. Topics frequently discussed include Baptist traditions of congregational polity and the separation between church and state. Other Korean Baptist theologians also explained their understanding of Baptist tradition through the practices of believer's baptism and the Baptists' emphasis on foreign missions and discipleship.²⁶ Timothy Cho and Han Ho Do maintain that the Baptist tradition affirmed only two offices in the church--pastor and deacon. These studies showed that Korean theologians and Southern Baptist missionaries put their emphasis on educating Korean Baptists in the Baptist practices of democratic and congregational church policy. They also tried to establish Southern Baptist traditions in the

²⁴ Arnold Peterson, "Chimeykyohuay Kyesensul Yunku" [A study on Baptist Successionism], *Bogeumkwa Shilcheon* 12 (1989): pp. 147-70.

²⁵ Bong Ki Choi, "Chimneykyoshinhakeul Shijakhamyunsu" [the Origin of Baptist Theology], *Baptist* 10 (November-December, 1993), pp. 9-12; "Blaurock," *Baptist* 14 (July-August 1994): pp. 42-9; "Sattlerwa Chechoeu Chimneykyo Shinangkobaiksu" [Michael Sattler and the First Baptist Confession of Faith], *Baptist* 15 (September-October 1994): pp. 56-61.

²⁶ Jae Bong Ko, "Shinyak Sunkyungeu Chimneywa Hankook Chimneykyoheuy" [Baptist in the New Testament and Korean Baptist Churches], *Bogeumkwa Shilcheon* (Autumn 1987): 13-36; Jin Hwang Jung, "Chimneyoue Jungshinkwa Shinang" [The Mind and Faith of Baptist], *Baptist*, *Baptist* 1 (May-June 1992): 16-17; Han Ho DO, "Hankook Chimneykyo Sunkyoeru Mirae," [the Future of Missions of the Korea Baptist Convention]. *Bogeumkwa Shilcheon* 10(Autumn 1987): 116-39; Yung Chul Park, "Chimneykyo Shinangkwa Jejahunryun" [The Baptist Faith and Discipliship], *Bogeumkwa Shilcheon* 10 (Autumn 1987): 140-64; Timothy Hyo-hoon Cho, "Chimneykyoineu Keungji" [The Pride of the Baptists], *Baptist* 1 (May-June 1992): 26-32; *Baptist*2 (July-august 1992), pp. 20-1.

Korea Baptist Convention. Arnold Peterson and Myung Hei Lee introduced the Cooperative Program of the Southern Baptist Convention to Korean Baptists. Hyuk Bong Kwon and Don J. McMinn explained the theological characteristics of the Southern Baptist Convention. Through their efforts Korean Baptists began to understand the Baptist tradition better.

1.7 Terminology

1.7.1 Pentecostal and Charismatic

“Charismatic” is a term translated from the Greek word “charisma”. The root meaning is “a gift or favour freely and graciously given.”²⁷ The usage of the word in the New Testament is quite broad, ranging from the gift of salvation (Rom. 6:23) to the gift of God’s providential care (2 Cor. 1:11). Usually it is used of the special gifts or abilities given to men by God. In the New Testament, it is especially used to designate special gifts of a nonmaterial sort, bestowed by the grace of God upon individual Christians.

Recently, especially in the early 1970s in Korea, the word has been used to characterize a widespread renewal movement in churches.²⁸ An important feature of the movement has been the experience of gifts or “Charismata” of the Holy Spirit, especially those mentioned by Paul in 1 Corinthians 12:-11: healing, miracles, prophecy, discernment of spirits, speaking in tongues, and interpretation of tongues.

The term, however, has come to have a general application, referring simply to the movement itself. The use of the term “charismatic” in this dissertation primarily refers to its historical meaning. By general usage, this historical phenomenon has come to be known as the “Charismatic movement.” It means something which, though diverse and complicated, is

²⁷ Patte Daniel Ed, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 184.

²⁸ Author refers to ‘Pentecostal-Charismatic’.

nevertheless historically identifiable. When the term “Charismatic approach” is used in this thesis, it refers to the kind of approach that one encounters within the board context of this particular renewal movement. This does not mean that the word is being separated from its theological context. The theological focus or emphasis which one finds in the Charismatic movement certainly confirms the use of “charismatic” in a general sense. It is used in this dissertation to refer to a particular kind of religious experience, to persons who have had that experience, and to a movement, organized or unorganized, of such persons throughout the churches. The term “Pentecostal” is often used to mean the same thing, although for many the latter word has an institutional association with the Pentecostal denominations. In order to understand the current impact of the Charismatic movement, one must be aware of the historical development of Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism.²⁹

1.7.2 Fundamentalism

The term ‘fundamentalism’ was first used probably in 1890s in the Princeton, however Baptists used this term most likely in 1920s though there was frequent talk of defending the fundamentals of the faith in the preceding decades. The person who coined the term was Curtis Lee Laws, a Baptist in the northern United States. He chose it for himself and others who resisted the theological modernism of the time. Though he spoke of doing ‘battle royal’ for the fundamentals,³⁰ he soon regretted the militant behaviour of fellow fundamentalists who were calling for a separation from modernists in their denominations.

²⁹ In Korea, categorical classifications differ from other countries, Generally speaking, Pentecostals point to Assembly of God and Rev. Yong Gi Cho and Charismatics point to those who believed in the gift of the Holy Spirit among other mainline denominations like Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian and so on. This is author’s understanding of the Korean Pentecostal-Charismatics. This terminology differs from UK/US because western Christian world has many Pentecostal denominations still activated; however Assembly of God in Korea is the only recognized denomination among the protestant denominations in Korea.

³⁰ Norris, J. Frank, ‘Convention Side Lights’, *Watchman-Examiner*, 1 July 1920: p. 834.

Fundamentalism was quickly regarded as militant-separatist, and it is by this characteristic that some religious historians distinguish it from evangelicalism.³¹

Nancey Murphy lectures at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, which was originally a neo-evangelical institution. She describes both liberal and fundamentalist theology as fundamentalist, and thus as influenced by modern philosophy.³² The fundamentalist tradition treats Scripture as foundational. It is quite typical of conservative evangelicals to speak of constructing theology from Scripture, usually by ‘Biblical induction’, that is, by collecting relevant texts on a given topic and moving towards general conclusions. If Scripture is to fulfil this foundational role it must be unmediated. On the other hand the liberal tradition posits universal religious experience as foundational, and places Scripture higher up the belief structure, as manifesting the religious experience of its authors.³³

Today, ‘fundamentalism’ is a term used within Protestantism to refer to the authority and identity of their institutions and denominations rather than as a philosophical and theological term. In addition the term ‘fundamentalism’ was extended beyond Protestantism when the founding of the Moral Majority in the United States coincided with the revolution in Iran in 1979.³⁴ Thus fundamentalism became associated with political activism and, in particular, with religiously motivated political activity that sought to halt the march of

³¹ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

³² Nancey Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism: How Modern and Postmodern Philosophy Set the theological Agenda* (Valley Forge, Penn: Trinity Press International, 1996). pp. 22-3.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.

³⁴ Since before this political revolution Islamic scholars had advocated returning to fundamentals of Islam in order to liberate, revive and modernize Islam. See Muhammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Asharf, 1971).

secularism. This association has been reflected back upon the meaning of ‘fundamentalism’ within Protestant Christianity, which an interesting twist.³⁵

1.7.3 Dispensationalism

Dispensationalism is a theological movement within Evangelicalism stressing an apocalyptic understanding of history. Its peculiarities arise from an interpretation of the history of redemption which sees the Old and New Testaments united eschatologically in a way that is consistent with a historical-grammatical (sometimes referred to as ‘literal’) interpretation of Old and New Testaments, and consistent with the fulfilment of the Old Testament promises to national Israel of an earthly kingdom ruled personally by the Messiah, Jesus Christ. It is a philosophy of history, adherence to which encompasses diverse theologies in the evangelical tradition, including the Calvinistic, Arminian, Baptist and Pentecostal and Charismatic.³⁶

1.7.4 Evangelicalism

These objections notwithstanding, the term evangelical is used widely by people both inside and outside the movement. So it deserves some attempt at definition. At its most basic level, *evangelion* is the Greek word for good news, which is usually translated as “gospel” in the Bible. According to British historian David Bebbington there are four special marks of evangelical faith and practice: conversionism (the need to change lives, especially by the new birth); activism (sharing the gospel); biblicism (regarding the Bible as the ultimate

³⁵ Nancey Murphy, *Beyond Liberalism and Fundamentalism: How Modern and Postmodern Philosophy Set the Theological Agenda* (Valley Forge, Penn: Trinity Press International, 1996). pp. 22-23.

³⁶ Alister E. McGrath *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought*, pp.106-107.

authority); and crucicentricism (an emphasis on the death of Christ as the only means to salvation).³⁷

Historically, one can look at evangelicalism as either a broad or narrow movement. As a narrow movement, which this study rejects, neo-evangelicalism (as it was called) emerged from fundamentalism in the 1940s. While upholding the historic Christian faith, as did fundamentalism, evangelicalism rejected many of the cultural characteristics of fundamentalism's rigid separation from the world, militancy toward liberalism, anti-intellectualism, and a lack of social concern. In this view, evangelicalism is usually regarded as a more moderate version of fundamentalism. Whereas fundamentalism arose largely within Presbyterian and Baptist circles, evangelicalism is seen as linked primarily to these denominations plus the holiness movement.³⁸ Such an approach obviously excludes many groups. So no wonder many contemporary denominations reject the label *evangelical*.³⁹

1.7.5 Baptist

The Baptists were those Christian Groups arising in the seventeenth century who held, like the Congregationalists, that the church should consist of none but self conscious believers, but who went further by asserting that baptism should be administered only to those to those making a personal profession of faith.

Therefore, the name "Baptist" is derived from the particular practice that distinguishes this Free Church communion from churches that practice paedo- or infant baptism. In the early seventeenth century, the English Baptists, although similar to separatist Puritans in many beliefs and practices, departed from them on the matter of baptism, after determining that the

³⁷ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*(Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1989), pp. 2-3.

³⁸ Author refer to the Holiness movement in Korea, they called their name as the Holiness denomination in Korea.

³⁹ John H. Gerstner, "*The Theological Boundaries of Evangelicalism*," in *The Evangelicals*, pp. 21-37.

normative New Testament practice was believer's baptism. At first they probably baptized by effusion or pouring water over the head, but by 1630s baptism by immersion became the normal mode.⁴⁰

Believer's baptism had been reinstated on the continent of Europe by the Swiss Anabaptists in 1525 and soon emerged throughout Europe. The term *Anabaptist*, meaning rebaptizer, was a pejorative expression applied to those who eschewed the baptism of infants in favour of believer's baptism. Paedobaptists asserted that the radicals were rebaptizing those who had been baptized as children, while the Baptists believed they were giving true baptism for the first time. There were imperial laws against rebaptism that called for the death penalty.⁴¹

When the English Baptists began to practice believer's baptism, they were accused of being Anabaptists, a term they clearly wished to avoid. The London Confession of 1644, for example, was entitled "the Confession of Faith, of those churches which are commonly (though falsely) called Anabaptists." The seventeenth-century anti-Baptist Thomas Bakewell wrote a polemical tract against this confession entitled "An answer or confutation of divers errors broached and maintained by the seven churches of Anabaptists contained in those articles of their confession of faith." For understandable reasons early Baptists preferred other terms such as Brethren or the Church of the Baptized Way, and it was only in the eighteenth century that the term came to be widely used by Baptists themselves. The German term for Anabaptist, *Wiedertäufer*, has in recent years been shortened to the simple term *Täufer*

⁴⁰ Pattel, Pattee, *Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 98.

⁴¹ Rober E. Johnson, *A Global Introduction to Baptist Churches*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 51-3.

(baptizer, or Baptist) and is often used by modern German language Baptist to describe them.⁴²

1.8 Structure of the Work

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Following the introduction, Chapter two sets the Korea Baptist Convention within its historical, cultural and religious contexts. Special emphasis is given to the relationship between traditional Korean cults and the Korean worldview. Koreans, traditionally, have been receptive to these cults. As a result, they accepted Confucianism and Buddhism from China without serious reservations and produced their own unique traditions of ancestral worship and *Han* theology.

Chapter three deals with the theological background and characteristics of Malcolm C. Fenwick, the first foreign missionary to and leader of the Korean Baptists, one of his mentors was Adoniram Judson Gordon. The chapter will explore Gordon's influence on Fenwick's theology. It will also investigate Fenwick's influence on the Church of Christ in Corea (later Korea Baptist Convention) (1884-1944) as well as discuss controversies concerning Fenwick and the Church of Christ in Corea.

Chapter four will examine the activities of Southern Baptist missionaries and theological trends between 1945 and 1977. It will also analyze the controversy and schism in the Convention between 1959 and 1968. Then it will examine the theological characteristics of Albert Gammage, Jr. Gammage, who had an enormous influence and served as president of the Korean Baptist Theological University from 1965 to 1977.

Chapter Five will investigate the First Charismatic Revival Movement in the Korean Baptist Convention and some of the main protagonists involved. It will also focus on the

⁴² H. L. McBeth, *the Baptist Heritage*, 1987.

Berea and Sung Rak Baptist Church tragedy. Since Kim Ki Dong was later judged to be a heretic by most Korean mainline churches, many Korean Baptists hesitate to associate themselves with the Charismatic renewal movement.

This chapter also will present a theological evaluation of the Southern Baptist Convention. Although they have been a major financial supporter throughout Korean Baptist history, their recent different understanding of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit threatens not only the original Baptist identity but also the identity of the Korean Baptists. Therefore a brief introduction of recent Southern Baptist theology and theological critique are involved in this chapter.

This chapter also will investigate one revolutionary leader, Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon and Yonsei Central Baptist Church. This chapter analyses Korean Pentecostalism and recent Southern Baptist Convention in order to compare their theological characteristics and Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon. In addition, it will introduce the ministry of Yonsei Central Baptist Church and Hindolsan Prayer Mountain. Today, Korea is the most advanced country in technology. Thus the Korean church uses this to advantage in spreading the Gospel. For example, the Korean Church is also blessed with many Christian TV programs and the Internet. Finally this chapter will suggest that Korean Baptist theology is independent from the Southern Baptist Convention. Korean Baptists must realize that their original root is Malcolm C. Fenwick, as an Independent Charismatic leader. Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon has much in common with Fenwick. He started a new prayer mountain movement and church growth movement. Every year more than 20,000 pastors attended the leader's spiritual formation class. In addition recently he dedicated the largest church building in Korea, costing more than \$200 million. He was a deacon of Yoido Full Gospel Church and has a good balance between Baptist tradition and the Charismatic renewal movement.

This chapter introduces a new model of Charismatic movement within the Baptist church.

The concluding chapter seeks to discuss the Korean Charismatic movement or in the context of the worldwide. The Korean Charismatic movement represents a vigorous and serious grassroots attempt to apply a kingdom-conscious inaugurated eschatology to church life at the end of the twenty-first century. The Asian church is still regarded as an ethnic or radical minority church among the world, which has difficulty integrating into a dominant ethnic church group such as the American church. This chapter also seeks to show what Korean Christianity can learn from the Charismatic movement and its influence on the problem of contextualization in the modern Asian setting. This chapter also deals with the future of Christianity for Korean Baptists.

For the study of the Korean Baptist Identity, I will examine the theological characteristics of the native Korean Baptists and analyze their understanding of Baptist origins and identity. In the conclusion, I will summarize the dissertation and evaluate the development of the Charismatic theology of Korea Baptist Convention. Then I will discuss the theological identity of Korean Baptists. Finally, I will present my recommendations for the Charismatic movement in Korea.

CHAPTER KOREA'S PREPARATION FOR THE GOSPEL

Since this thesis deals with the Korean Baptist Church and the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement in Korea, it is important to note some of the basic aspects about the country.

2.1 The Geographical and Historical Setting of Korea

South Korea is the southern half of the Korean peninsula, which extends southward from Manchuria and Siberia on the north-eastern Asian mainland. The Korean Peninsula is about 600 miles long and between 125 and 200 miles wide. The elongated and irregularly shaped peninsula serves to divide the Hwanghae (Yellow Sea) to the west from the Tonghae [East Sea] to the east. In the southeast, the peninsula is separated from the Japanese island of Tsushima by the Taehan Haehyup (Korea Strait).⁴³

Although Korea had a highly developed ancient civilization, its leadership was its weakest link. When the country was opened to the West, the government was a monarchy with a weak king and corrupt ministers. The population of South Korea increased rapidly after World War II, reaching 27 million in 1960 and 48 million in 2008.⁴⁴ The number of Protestant Christians currently is reported to be approximately 10 million.⁴⁵

The cultural and religious setting of Korea is complex. However a researcher studying a religious movement cannot understand and evaluate it properly without first considering the socio-cultural context within which a given movement functions. The current

⁴³ *The New Encyclopedia Britannica Macropaedia*, 1994 eds., s. v. "Korea." Reference details: author, article, book, publisher, date, page nos.

⁴⁴ *Encyclopedia of Christianity in Korea*, 1st ed., s.v. "Population," by Ju-Byung Kim. (Hereafter cited as ECK); and Collier's Encyclopedia, 1962., s. v. "Korea."

⁴⁵ Korea, Ministry of Culture and Information, Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census of Korea, 1985: Population*, vol.1 (hereafter referred to as Korea, *Census 2008*).

Charismatic movement is no exception. In looking at the developing nature of the cultural context of the Charismatic movement, we can see it is not just the continuation of the earlier revival or Pentecostal movement; rather, it is the beginning of a new religious movement in Korea. Although that older movement is in many respects the prototype of the new, the current movement is different from the older one in many aspects. This is particularly evident in the current movement's belief in the manifestation of the miraculous works of the Holy Spirit today.

2.2 The Religious Setting of Korea

The traditional religious life of the Korean people manifests itself in three main faiths alongside other religions and ideologies. The three main faiths are Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism, and the other religions are Daoism, Ancestor worship and other ideologies.

Traditionally, three faiths have claimed the attention of the people: Shamanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. The cultural and religious life of Korea also has come from these three traditional sources. These had already synchronized before Christianity was introduced in Korea. As a result, the average Korean took their religious ceremonies from Confucianism, sought the efficacy of Buddhist prayers, and bowed their head at the shrine of mountain spirits. Syncretism has generally been the religious norm in Korea. Because of this syncretistic tendency, Homer B. Hulbert concluded: "As a general thing, we may say that the all-around Korean will be a Confucianist when in society, a Buddhist when he philosophizes, and a spirit-worshipper when he is in trouble."⁴⁶ The author also agrees with this point of view for understanding the religious setting in Korea.

⁴⁶ Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1969), pp. 403-4.

The myriad of non-Christian ideas and beliefs held by Koreans made it very difficult for the message of Christ and Christian theology to be accepted and practiced, and it caused believers to stray from the Bible. Kang-Nam Oh, Professor of Regina University in Canada, discussed a multi-religious tendency in the modern world in Korea:

The point, however, is that in the West, unlike in Korea, there are many thinkers and historians of religions who agree that in such a multicultural and multi-religious society such an exclusivist attitude, or what John Hick calls the “Ptolemaic” perspective which sees the universe as cantered around one’s own religion, is neither plausible nor tenable. Arnold Toynbee, for example, declared that “exclusive – mindedness”, believing that ours is the only true religion is an “a sinful state of mind,” the sin being that of pride.⁴⁷

Heinrich Ott, who succeeded the late Karl Barth’s Theology, also stated the need for openness to others’ values and religious beliefs: “To solve our problem... there must be openness to new values and an exploration of what it means to be human, and this cannot be done without taking into consideration the contributions of all religious tradition.”⁴⁸ Kang-Man Oh gave his support to Arnold Toynbee’s and Heinrich Ott’s opinion of the openness to other religions and values. He asked for “a greater awareness of the necessity for the constructive dialog between Christianity and Eastern religions”.⁴⁹

The majority of Korean theologians and Christians, however, still believe that religious exclusivism is a virtue, because majority of Korean Christians are fundamental. In addition, through Korean history each kingdom appointed only one religious norm like

⁴⁷ Oh Kang –nam, “Religious studies and Theology,” *Journal of e University of Alberta* 6 (September 1986):p. 27. Arnold Toynbee argued that religious exclusivism is the basic characteristic for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, which spring from a common historical root: Jewish religious traditions. He called this exclusivism “fanaticism and intolerance.”

⁴⁸ Quoted from his interview with *Edmond Journal*, 8 December 1980, as quoted in Oh, “Religious Studies and Theology,” 31. Oh stated that such openness to new religions is “seldom found in the spectacular phenomenon of the recent religious zeal in Korea.... One of the.... major characteristics of the religions in Korea today is their exclusivism.”

⁴⁹ Oh, “Religious Studied and Theology.” P. 31.

Buddhism, Confucianism. Each period respected one religion and persecuted the others. Like that Korean Christians had not an inclusive religious tendency but an exclusive religious tendency until the twenty-first century postmodern Korean era. For Korean Christians, anything spiritually valuable and truthful comes only by revelation from God. Their belief in the revealed truth of the word of God provides no opportunity for religious pluralism in Korea, and there is no biblical justification for Korean Christians to depart from religious exclusivism and to develop an unbiased pluralistic view of religion. However, religious movements cannot be understood and evaluated properly without attention to the cultural and social context within which they take place.

Today, in Korea, there is complete religious freedom. The government has been favourable to Christianity, seeing it as an ideological bulwark against the Communist threat. There is a wide variation between government census returns and membership claims by religious groups themselves (represented, respectively, by the two figures listed in the charts below). The first figures are synthesized from a number of sources. The Second figures are a direct quotation from three combined statistics.⁵⁰

Distribution of Korean Religions in 2005⁵¹

Name of Religion	Percentage	Brief Explanation
Non-religious/Other	23.9%	
Buddhist	22.8%	Strong until fifteenth century, and with a post-war resurgence. It is still the largest religion in Korea, unless we add Catholics and Protestants together to

⁵⁰ This combines three statistics: the Korean Government Census 2005, the Korea Christian Association Census 2005, and the World Churches Handbook.

⁵¹ *Korean Government Census, 2005.*

		form 'Christian'
Shamanist	10.0%	Few openly claim to be followers of the ancient religion of Korea, but its influence is widespread.
New Religions	5.7%	Several hundred new syncretic religions, including descendents of Daoism like “ <u>Tanjeon Hoheup</u> ”, “ <u>Tonghak</u> ”, and “ <u>Kouk Sun Do</u> ”.
Confucianist	1.2%	Official religion until 1910. Even though Confucianism has made a deep impact on Korean culture and religion, only a few people participate in Confucian rituals.
Roman Catholic	10.9%	Even though Protestantism and Buddhism are declining, Roman Catholicism is still increasing. It has become the third largest religious group in Korea. Recently Roman Catholics increase their membership by about 2,000,000 compared with 1995.
Muslim	0.06%	Recently Muslims started mission work in Korea and many international workers from the Muslim world (mainly Pakistan, India, Indonesia and Turkey) have come to Korea, where they built a few mosques and cultural centres. ⁵²

⁵² Islam was introduced to Korea in 1950 when Turkish troops arrived during the Korean War. In 1966, the national Federation of Korea Islamic Churches was founded. Beautiful mosques have been built in Seoul, Pusan and Geunju. There are an estimated 20,000 Muslims at present. The Ministry of Culture and Information of Korea reported on the religious status in 2005 that there were about 11 million Buddhists, 5 million Confucianists, 5 million Roman Catholics, 10 million Protestant Christians, and 4 million others. Of the 48

Foreign Marginal (Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons)	0.6%	Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons
Protestant	18.3%	Protestants settled in Korea later than any other religion. However it is the second largest religion behind Buddhism. Recently Protestant membership has declined by about 500,000 since 1995.

Distribution of Korean Church (Protestant and Roman Catholic Church)⁵³

Name of Church	Community ⁵⁴	Members ⁵⁵	Churches
Anglican	67,000	12,500	102
Baptist	872,000	735,829	2,843
Catholic	5,146,000	5,146,000	3,370
Indigenous	159,000	53,000	3,330
Korean Holiness Church	764,443	548,026	2,663
Lutheran	3,800	2,300	14
Methodist	1,618,000	1,520,653	4,451

million population of that time, 38 million belonged to one of the religions. This is why Koreans consider themselves to be a religious people.

⁵³ This combines three statistics: the Korean Government Census 2005, the Korea Christian Association Census 2005, and the World Churches Handbook. See Patrick Johnstone, Operation World database, WEC International, 2010, pp. 492-500.

⁵⁴ Community database based on each church's registry book. However this number is unreliable because it includes those who only occasionally attend church. .

⁵⁵ Members database based on actual attendance. However, during special seasons like Christmas or Easter, church members will be added.

Pentecostal (includes the Assemblies of God)	1,696,600	1,270,323	3,347
Presbyterian	7,286,900	4,033,745	23,014
Other Churches	2,116,900	987,650	5987
Total Churches	16,820,200	13,762,000	58,306

2.2.1 Shamanism

Among the three religions, Shamanism is the first and most ancient religion.

Animistic nature worship, hero worship, spirit worship, and fetish worship lie at the root of shamanism. George Brown, Presbyterian missionary to Korea, observed that this religion is based on fear of the unknown that results in the devotees being required to appease a vast number of spirits and demons who are thought to inhabit the trees, mountains, stones, and streams.⁵⁶ Shamanism appeals to the hearts of the people, but these practices inspire the Koreans' fear and make them superstitious.

The origin of Korean shamanism is difficult to ascertain. French historian Mircea Eliade pointed out that Shamanism originated from Lamaism with its several characteristics: Shamanism, strongly hybridized by Lamaism, is characteristic of the religion of the Mongolia of Singing, in Northwest China, a people whom the Chinese knew by the name of T'u-jen that is "folk of country." Among the Mongols, as early as the seventeenth century, Lamaism

⁵⁶ George T. Brown, *Missions according to Korea*, (N. P.: Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church in U.S., 1962), p. 25.

attempted to wipe out Shamanism. But the old Mongolian religion finally assimilated the Lamaistic contributions without losing its peculiar character.⁵⁷

Charles A. Clark stated that the origin of Korean Shamanism was from Northwest Asia, the same place as Eliade suggested:

Careful study of the subject shows that the shamanistic religion did not arise out of Buddhism or any other religion, but originated among the Mongolic nations, and consist not only in superstitions and Shamanic ceremonies, but in a certain primitive way of observing the outer world, nature, and the inner world, nature, and the inner world, the soul.⁵⁸

Shamanism is the most prominent force dominating the religious life of the Korean people. In fact, Korean folk music, dance, and drama are closely related to shamanistic practices.⁵⁹ Shamanism comprises a vast number of gods, demigods, and spirits, the legacy of centuries of nature worship. Paik stated, “Imagination has peopled earth, air, and sea with the supernatural beings whose multiplicity makes them ubiquitous and whose powers for good or evil demand worship”.⁶⁰ Jihun Cho, a Korean scholar, said that “Korea is one of the representative countries in Asia in this respect.”⁶¹ An adequate description of this practice is almost an impossible task because it is formless, document-less, and without a system. Some Western Theologians, such as Harvey Cox, consider the leaders of Korean Christianity are using shamanistic methods in religious-social ways with a strong emphasis upon exorcism

⁵⁷ Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series LXXVI (Boston: Princeton University Press, 1972), 114; Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, 20; Ryu, “Culture and Theology in Korea,” pp. 310-5.

⁵⁸ Charles A. Clark, *Religions of Korea* (New York: Revell, 1932; reprint, Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society, 1961), p. 25.

⁵⁹ Paik L. George, *History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970), p. 20.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Jihun Cho, *An Introduction to the Korean Culture* (Seoul, Korea: Tam-gu-Dang, 1964), p. 78.

and healing.⁶² However, this is a partly true because many of the Korean church have emphasis upon exorcism and healing. This figure only can apply to Pentecostal and Charismatic group in Korea.

Some of these shamanistic elements could contribute in a positive way in the area of art and even in the Christian life. The belief in a supreme being found in Shamanism has been strengthened by contact with Christianity. Presently, although other powerful religious forces and modes of thought have entered Korean life in the process of its historical development, Shamanism retains a powerful hold on the “credulous folk.”⁶³ H. A. Rhodes said, “Above all spirits stands Hananim.”⁶⁴ *Hananim* seems to dominate the lives of Korean people, for his name is continually on their lips. Koreans believe that *Hananim*, the creator, remains at a distance from the events of the world and rules the world through power delegated to lesser gods.

In brief, two factors should be noted about Shamanism in Korea. First, the beliefs of Shamanism have enabled Koreans to understand more easily the references in Christianity to the idea of God, to evil in the world, to Heaven and Hell, and to benevolent and evil spirits. Second, the above characteristics, developed through belief in Shamanism, greatly affected

⁶² Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven* (London, Cassell 1996), pp. 213-241.

⁶³ H.A. Rhodes, ed., *History of the Korean Mission, 1884-1934* (Chosen, Seoul: Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church USA, 1934), 47. The Korean names for God are as follows: the One, Great One (*Hanaim* and *Ch'un*); the Supreme Ruler (*Sang je*); the All Seeing One (*Sin Myung*); the Master (*Tai chu jai*); the Prince of Perfection (*Okwhang*); the Divine King (*Ch'un koon*); the Celestial Artificer (*Ch'un Kong*); the Creator (*Cho Whaong*); and the Spirit(Sin). The word “*Hanaim*,” the most commonly used word for God, is a compound of two words, “Heaven” (sky) and “Master,” meaning “the Honourable Heaven” or “Lord of Heaven.” Originally, it probably did not refer to a personal God; but it has come to mean that as used in Christianity. The first semi-mythical king, Tangoon (2332 B. C.), was supposed to have been the incarnation of God (*Whanung* King).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

the Korean appropriation and expression of Christianity, through revival and Pentecostal enthusiasm and other-worldly orientation.⁶⁵

Modern Korean Christians have strongly resisted traditional religions and their teachings, especially Shamanism which they regard as superstition and the religion of the ignorant. For this reason, sometimes Shamanism is excluded from the list of Korean traditional religions; and yet it is acknowledged that “Shamanism was the religion that sustained the people throughout the oppressive history of Korea and that the Shamanistic consciousness is the very basis of Korean consciousness.”⁶⁶

However, even though Korean Christians have strongly resisted Shamanism, it is already deeply entrenched in Korean Christianity. Among Korean Protestants, the Pentecostal-Charismatic emphasis on present and material blessings is influenced by Shamanism. Shamanism puts as its primary goal on the happiness of individuals and, therefore, performs a ceremony of spirit-worship in order to avoid or overcome personal miseries. As a consequence of these concerns, Shamanism does not pay too much attention to social matters. Influenced by such a tendency, Korean Christians, with some exceptions (for example, clergy and laity influenced by Minjung theology), are rather indifferent towards social matters, accepting things as they are. Many Korean Christians tend to pray for the solution of their own problems, for their own health and prosperity. Since, they are more interested in personal benefits than in divine providence, their faith is in danger of becoming something akin to sorcery. The focus on the individual self and the individual’s local church

⁶⁵ Charles A. Clark, *Religions of Korea*. (New York: Revell, 1932; reprint, Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society, 1961), pp. 26-30.

⁶⁶ Younghak Hyun, “Minjung Theology and the Religion of Han,” *The East Asia Journal of Theology* 3 (October 1985): p. 357.

has tended to result in a lack of a co-operative spirit.⁶⁷ Shamanism influenced the exclusiveness and conservatism of Korean Christianity. Such indifference toward change brought a stagnation of faith and led Christianity into a conservative mode. It caused the Korean Christian faith to become legalistic, lacking an ethical dimension and creative possibilities.⁶⁸

2.2.2. Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced into Korea from China in A.D. 372. It flourished until A.D. 1300, during the Silla and Koryu dynasties, because it was the national religion of Silla and Koryu. Later on, at the beginning of the Yi dynasty, however, Buddhism fell into deep disgrace because of its corruption. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, Buddhist priests were prohibited from entering the capital city of Seoul. With its temples, priests, and sacred writings, however, Buddhism made Korean people become more religious. It offered to Koreans promises both in the present life and in the next. Buddhism contained much that was a distinct advance over the old animism. Confucianism taught right conduct as an ethical system; Buddhism sought to enforce it by religious authority. Its priests announced a heaven for saints and a fearful hell for sinners. A door of communion with the spirits was opened. Prayer and sacrifice, it was claimed, were the keys that unlocked the doors of the inner temple where forgiveness might be found and peace enjoyed forever. The people of Korea embraced Buddhism wholeheartedly. They built Buddhist temples on every mountain and gave lands as their endowment. It was not a military but a spiritual conquest.

⁶⁷ Lee Young-Hoon, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Theological Development* (Oxford: Regnum, 2009), p. 14.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

After the first enthusiasm passed away and the Buddhist temples became rich and powerful, the priests grew corrupt and arrogant. Their lazy, immoral lives disgusted the Korean people, educated as they were in the high ethics of Confucius. When the Buddhist hierarchy sought to interfere with the affairs of state, the government turned upon Buddhism and dealt it a death blow. Until the end of the Yi dynasty, people despised the few shaven-headed priests who remained.⁶⁹

Buddhism, along with Shamanism, produced a yearning for the material blessings of the present. Expectation of blessings in Buddhism belongs to *Nirvana*. Therefore, the early Buddhists prayed in order to receive blessings and escape disasters. This idea of seeking blessing was influenced by Shamanism; again, it influenced Christianity so that Christianity in Korea adopted the idea of blessing as something both tangible and material. Buddhism brought a focus on the other world into Christianity.⁷⁰

Buddhism itself had its eschatology. It was a coincidence that the futuristic asceticism of Buddhism was in line with the imminent eschatology of Christianity. Christian eschatology carries within itself the danger of denying the present life and over-emphasizing the other world. In so doing, it can lose its sense of responsibility and duty regarding the present life and end up by being apathetic toward society.⁷¹

2.2.3. Confucianism

Confucianism was introduced into Korea by Ki-Ja⁷², one of the founders of the old Chosun Dynasty (112 B. C.), about five hundred years before the birth of the Chinese sage

⁶⁹ Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, pp. 22-23.

⁷⁰ Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea*, p. 16.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² According to ancient legend, Ki-Ja was a royal person of the Sang dynasty in China. When the Sang dynasty was destroyed by the Ju dynasty, Ki-ja came to old Chosun, and his family ruled the Chosun for over 1,000 years until they were invaded by Han dynasty from China.

Confucius. According to Charles Clark, the proverbs, the ritual, and the code of moral conduct, which Confucius later edited and compiled, had been a part of Korean culture from the time of its first contact with Chinese civilization.⁷³

Confucianism, originally with its ethical teaching, has influenced Korean culture. However, there is no spiritual element in its teachings. Later Korean culture mixed in the spiritual element, which will be discussed later in this chapter. William N. Blair and Bruce Hunt, American missionaries to Korea, depicted Koreans in the following way:

The Koreans are naturally a poetic and religious people. They love to study and ponder the wise sayings of the sages. Even the poor homes of the farmers often hang classical quotations written on walls and doorposts.⁷⁴

Although Confucianism originated in China, “the Koreans have out Original Chinese Confucianism and Korean contextualized and developed in practicing some of its precepts”.⁷⁵ The doctrine of Confucianism emphasizes reverence for established authority and order, and teaches that, above all, the son should honour his father. In this respect, Confucianism and ancestral worship are connected to each other. Confucianism has had by far the largest and most intense influence in Korean culture. Traditional social relationships, particularly those within the extended family household, have been governed by the precepts of Confucianism. Many aspects of these relationships remain present and affect families of both Christian and non-Christian traditions. For example, many of the Korean Christians still practice ancestor worship on festive days like Korean New Year’s Day and Korean Thanksgiving Day. In

⁷³ Clark, *Religion of Korea*, p. 175. Even the last dynasty of China, the Qing Dynasty abandoned Confucianism because they came from Manchuria (Northeast China) and they respected their own ancestor worship rather than other religions. On the other hand Korea's last dynasty, the Chosun respected Confucianism as not only their political ideology but also the moral norm.

⁷⁴ William N. Blair and Bruce F. Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1977), p. 21.

⁷⁵ Clark, *Religious of Korea*, p. 175.

addition many Korean Christians practice special worship services for their parents who already passed away.

Confucianism has had the following positive effects on Korean Christianity. First, it helped Koreans understand Christianity more quickly. The Confucian concept of Heaven (*Tien*) and its concept of the Supreme-Being (*Shang-ti*) helped the Koreans understand the idea of God as Heavenly Father in Christianity. Koreans had the concept of God in their old religions even before Confucianism came to Korea but the Confucian conception of heaven and the Supreme-Being were closer to those of Christianity than their predecessors and helped Koreans understand Christian conceptions. The ethical viewpoint of Confucianism also helped people grasp the ethical outlook of Christianity. Buddhism can be perceived as negative about life, whereas Confucianism seeks love and righteousness while taking a positive attitude toward life. In this respect, the Confucian ethic resembles the Christian ethic. For this reason, the first Korean Christians were Confucian scholars.⁷⁶

There are, however, many negative effects of Confucianism on Christianity. Confucianism was a religion exclusively for the ruling class. As a result, the common people were compelled to follow Confucian traditions and customs regardless of their preference. This led people to practice Shamanism and society to stagnate.

When Catholicism was first introduced to Korea in the eighteenth century, it was the ruling class that wanted to appropriate it as a bridge to Western culture. Thus, quite naturally, Christianity was influenced by Confucianism and began to stress traditions and forms, eventually turning to legalism. Confucianism was the cause of Korean Christianity becoming legalistic.

⁷⁶ Lee, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea*, p. 18.

Confucianism deteriorated into a self-centred religion whereby people pursued nothing but their own good through endless political conflicts. Members of the upper class focused on their own lives, their families, and their political parties, without recognizing others. The Christian idea of being ‘people for others’ was weakened in Korea. This produced self-centred Christians who cared for nothing but their own interest. The exclusivism and conservatism of Confucianism accounted for an exclusive and conservative tendency in Korean Protestant Christianity, thus causing the denominations to be divided.

2.2.4 Other Religions and Ideologies

2.2.4.1 Ancestral worship

A “Consultation on the Christian Response to Ancestor Practices” was held in Taipei, Taiwan, in 1993, with 102 participants from nine Asian countries. The consultation explored the issue of ancestral practices from the biblical, historical, and practical perspectives. All the participants recognized the distress of Christians in Asia who are confronted with problem about Syncretism in Christianity especially ancestral worship. When Christianity was introduced into China, Japan, and Korea, ancestral worship was one of the most significant issues which Christianity had to face. The handling of this phenomenon, therefore, is crucial for the life and witness of the church in Asia today.

Before this time, however, when Roman Catholicism was first propagated in Korea, Korean culture was completely saturated in Confucianism and was centred on the life principle of patriotic loyalty and filial piety. Filial piety was considered as a most basic and integral ethical principle of Confucianism to follow the Mandate of Heaven and was practiced through propriety and rites, both to the living and the deceased ancestors. Myung-Hyuk Kim, a well-known Korean Christian scholar, explained the function of propriety in Confucian culture:

Propriety occupied such an important position in the Confucian culture that Confucianism was often called a culture of propriety system. Beside the basic ethical motive to express and return filial gratitude to ancestors and to follow the Mandate of Heaven, there was also a religious element attached to the ancestor honouring rite. Even though Confucius did not teach immortality of soul or after-death, the Confucian tradition taught that when a man dies his soul goes up to heaven and his form goes down to earth and that they are united at the ancestor worship ceremony.⁷⁷

Yulgok Yi, a well known Korean Confucian scholar (1536-83), stressed the necessity of ancestor worship on the basis of such a religious belief.⁷⁸ Ki Bock Choi, a Korean scholar, wrote:

When a man dies, his soul might be either existing or non-existing. It is because a soul exists with sincere devotion and a soul dissolves without devotion... When a man's soul is separate after death and has not yet dissolved, it could be moved and elevated and united through his sincere devotion... Even after a man's soul has dissolved, his reason does not dissolve, and his reason could be moved and elevated... This is why descendants remember their ancestors and perform ceremonies in an utmost devoted manner.⁷⁹

In the course of years, ancestor worship was gradually accompanied by other religious ideas such as a belief in rewards and blessings. It was believed that the faithful practice of filial piety and the faithful performance of ancestor worship ceremonies would please Heaven and result in heavenly blessings. It was, however, commonly believed that the deceased souls themselves, not heaven, were the ones who were able to bless their descendants. The deceased souls thus took the position of a deity and became the object of worship.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Myung-Hyuk Kim, "Ancestor Worship in the Korean church," *Evangelical Review of Theology* pp. 7-8 (1983-84): pp. 236-7.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ki Bock Choi, *A study on the Confucian Ceremony of Mourning* (Seoul: Sung Keun Kwan University Press, 1979), pp. 28-9.

⁸⁰ Choi, *A Study on the Confucian Ceremony*, pp. 128-9.

When the Roman Catholic Church took a critical attitude toward the Confucian propriety of ancestral practices in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it was confronted by strong resistance from the Korean government, Confucian scholars, and society in general. The Roman Catholic Church, however, changed its attitude from one of opposition to one of accommodation. At the beginning of World War II, this obstacle was removed, making it easier for the church to adapt itself to the Korean society.

When Protestant Christianity was propagated in Korea in 1885, the missionaries took a critical attitude and caused a stumbling block. It, however, became one of the motivations which seem to have accelerated evangelism, for such a bold decision required on the part of the new converts provided them with a new sense of identity and missionary spirit. While there are signs of weakening of the Confucian tradition in current society, the tradition still causes tormenting problems for converts in Korea and in most Asian countries.

Throughout Asia, including Korea, there are strong tendencies in the contextual and indigenous even liberal theological movements to attempt to accommodate Christianity to various religion-cultural traditions. Therefore we must become aware of these current trends and become equipped to deal properly with the issue of the relationship between Christianity and other religions.

2.2.4.2 Taoism

Despite the influence of Daoism on the Korean society, it has received less research and evaluation compared to other Korean religions. Taoism (or Daoism) was introduced to Korea from China during the Three Kingdoms period, and remains as a minor but significant element of Korean thought. Although Taoism did not dominate Buddhism or Confucianism, it permeated all strata of the Korean populace, integrating with its native animism as well as Buddhist and Confucian institutions, temples, and ceremonies. Since the late Joseon Dynasty,

Taoism has been marginalized not only by the Korean Royal Court, Confucians, and Buddhists but also by society as a whole. Despite such a historical framework, today only a handful of Taoists exist throughout Korea. Taoism has been absorbed into the traditional Korean vision of the world, a world view in which Shamanistic, Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist elements are so intimately intertwined that often only a scholar can distinguish which is which. Evidence of Taoist revival can be seen in “Tanjeon Hoheup”, “Tonghak”, and “Kouk Sun Do”. Even if the term “Taoism” is not used, the terms, techniques, and goals are clearly Taoist. The Taoist mark of Chinese characters *su* (longevity) and *bok* (bliss) decorate many everyday articles, from spoons to pillow cases, even today. Many place names, especially those related to mountains, bear strong Taoist influence. The Taoist symbol “Taeguk” is featured on the flag of South Korea. Today Daoism seems like a small sect of modern religion in Korean society. However, it has already been blended into Buddhism, Confucianism and even into Christianity.

2.2.4.3 Other Basic Ideologies

Generally speaking, the basic ideologies of Korean culture and religion have been developed with the Western Christian culture as a medium. The Korean Christian culture which has been formed in such an encounter, however, is not simply an extension of Western Christian culture. Rather, it is a newly-formed Korean culture. Every society has its own particular ideals, and the life of a people is devoted to efforts for the realization of those ideals. This process of living together in search of a common ideal is one aspect of what is called “culture.”⁸¹

⁸¹ Ryu Dongshik, “Culture and Theology in Korea: the P’ung-Ryu theology.” *The East Asia Journal of Theology* 3 (October 1985): pp. 310-3.

The history of Korea during the last one hundred years, during which Protestantism has grown, has been a period caught up in a whirlwind of despair and crisis before and after the national ruin caused by the Japanese invasion. Dongshik Ryu posed a question about the purpose of the Christian Gospel and answered it:

Christianity is a religion of salvation, so to a people facing this national crisis what did the Christian idea of salvation mean? We can discover the nature of Korean Christian thought by answering this question. The biblical expression of salvation and the traditional understanding of the church have many phases. When people accept Christianity, they accept it in a particular way with a certain kind of understanding; that is, there are choices in the interpretation of what things mean and in the points of themes that are emphasized.⁸²

Ryu concluded that the determination of these kinds of choices is guided by the given historical conditions and traditional cultural concepts, since the realization of the cultural conception have a great significance in the national salvation. People of Korea want to be saved from their *Han*⁸³ because they are people of *Han*.⁸⁴ The late Korean theologian Nam-Dong Suh suggested a “Theology of Han” and identified Koreans as “Han-ridden people.”⁸⁵ Younghak Hyun defined the conception of *Han*:

Han seems to have three faces. A Korean literary critic, in his article, “Literature of Han and Minjung Consciousness,” referred to the first two Faces. One is Jung-Han leading to lamentation, resignation, adjustment and love within a given community, which I would call a priestly face. The other one is Won-Han leading to anger, revenge, revolution and justice, which I would call a prophetic face. The third face follows wherever the first two faces go together. It is a face with humour, satire and laughter, which I would call a servant-king’s face. The laughter is the laughter that bursts out of the bowls and guts. It is not a gentle and respectable smile of the haves. It is the laughter that Dantë envisioned, the laughter that the whole creation laughs with god. It is the laughter of the ultimate victor the King. One sees all these three

⁸² Ryu, “Culture and Theology in Korea,” p. 313.

⁸³ *Han* is a unique concept of Korean culture. It is attributed as a national cultural trait. It denotes a collective feeling of oppression and isolation in the face of overwhelming odds. It connotes aspects of lament and unavenged injustice.

⁸⁴ Hyun, “Minjung theology and the Religion of Han,” p. 359.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

faces in the arts and religion of the Han-ridden people, such as mask dance, crippled beggars' dance and Shamanism.⁸⁶

Obviously the Christian faith, theology, and the church were influenced deeply by all these three faces. Ryu stated another concept of *Han*:

Another concept best expressed only in Korean is the concept of han, which is used in connection with the involvement of P'ung-ryu-do with the three major religions mentioned earlier. The word Han includes ideas of oneness, wholeness, and greatness as in han-pat (Taejon-the great field), marip-han (His Highness the King-a term used by one of ancient Korean dynasty Silla), and han-nim or Hananim (the word for God). The word is also used with reference to Heaven (thus Hananim the Heavenly God) and reflects notions of absoluteness, centrality and justice. The traditional conception of god in Korea is found in the word Han, the people who pursued this Han became known as the "Han" race, and their country came to be called "Hankuk" (Korea, the nation of the Han people).⁸⁷

Ryu suggests ecclesiastic conservatism, social activism, and cultural liberalism as the basic elements of the formation of Korean Christian thought. Ecclesiastic conservatism, as he said, "Connects with the concept of Han and relates to the urgent need for unshakable absolute truth and a transcending deliverance on the part of people caught in despair and social unrest."⁸⁸ Here the absoluteness of God and his words are to be the object of respect.⁸⁹ Eventually, theological conservatism evolved. Ryu said, "There is a belief in verbal inspiration of the Holy Scriptures and strong emphasis upon the doctrine of biblical infallibility."⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 312.

⁸⁷ Hyun, "Minjung theology and Religion of Han," p. 312.

⁸⁸ Ryu, "Culture and Theology in Korea," p. 313.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Accordingly, both historical-critical study of the Bible and progressive theology are excluded in favour of orthodox fundamentalism. In this respect, churches have produced “a policy of non-socio-political concern.”⁹¹ Ryu commented:

National salvation is sought through spiritual salvation of individual persons and victory over the ordeals of history is understood in terms of an apocalyptic eschatology, so at times of great crisis renewed efforts for the salvation of the soul are seen in an increase of spiritual revival meetings.⁹²

As a result of such a stream, the motivation of the Charismatic movement has found a safety net during the past century. Social activism connects with the concept of the Christian life and emphasizes the realization of the nature of human beings through social life. Proponents of cultural liberalism, the third stream of Korean Christian thought, did “not tie themselves to the conservative Western theology, but believed in the Holy Spirit freely working in the midst of the traditional Korean cultures.”⁹³ The most important theological task in this movement centres on the encounter between Christianity and the traditional Korean religions.

During the thirty-six years of occupation of Korea by the Japanese, the Korean Protestant churches faced a more difficult problem of shrine worship. From about 1932, the Japanese government began to impose emperor worship upon every school and church in Korea.⁹⁴ Missionaries, as well as Korean church leaders, manifested opposition against shrine worship and eventually met great persecution by the Japanese government. In spite of such difficulty, the Korean churches stood resolutely opposed to the Japanese enforcement of shrine worship and endured many sufferings.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 313-5.

⁹² Ibid., 313-4.

⁹³ Ibid., 314.

⁹⁴ Kim, Myung-Hyuk, “Ancestor worship in the Korean church,” *Evangelical Review of Theology* 8 (October 1984): 242-3.

2.3 Political Situation in Korea just after the Protestant Western Missions.

Korea was surrounded by three imperial powers China, Japan and Russia. They fought each other in order to control the Korean Peninsula. However, Korea (Chosen Dynasty) was not prepared for their invasion. Also, apart from the last Korean Queen Min, Korea concerned about employing methods for survival (prepare for invasion from imperial power) such as diplomacy and military. But it was not enough to stop them. Soon the first war started between China (Qing Dynasty) and Japan (Meiji Japan Empire). This war was called “The First Sino-Japanese War”. After more than six months, Japan defeated China, resulting in Korea becoming independent from China. In addition, East Asia shifted from China to Japan. Before the China-Japan War, Korea had traditionally been a tributary state and continued to be so under the influence of China’s Qing dynasty, which exerted influence over the conservative Korean officials gathered around the royal family of the Joseon Dynasty. Opinion in Korea itself was split. Conservatives wanted to retain the traditional subservient relationship with China, while reformists wanted to establish closer ties with Japan and Western nations. After two Opium Wars against the British Empire and the Sino-French War, China had become weak and was unable to resist political intervention and territorial encroachment by Western powers. Japan saw this as an opportunity to replace Chinese influence in Korea with its own.

From the end of the First Sino-Japanese war in 1903, the Japanese government regarded Korea, which was close to Japan, as an essential part of its national security. Japan’s population explosion and economic needs were also factored into Japanese foreign policy. At the very least, the Japanese wanted to keep Korea independent, if not under Japanese influence, following Japan’s subsequent victory over China during the First Sino-Japanese War. However, when Queen Min (Myongsong Hwanghu) helped rule Korea, the country had

changed dramatically. In some respects, as with the modernization of the nation's infrastructure, it was for the better, but in others, such as the destructive influence of Min corruption, it was not. Although Min had urged her husband to resist Japanese expansionism, her clan's misdeeds had helped facilitate the takeover by foreigners. The Queen realized that the danger of the Japanese had to be countered. She also understood that, in the wake of the Sino-Japanese War, the Russians were alarmed by the spread of Japanese influence. So she began to cultivate close contacts with the Russians, asking members of the Russian legation to meet with her, attracting Russian students to Korea to study, encouraging the military to visit and importing Russian architects and engineers. It was also around this time, shortly before her death, that the Queen even began meeting with foreign missionaries, such as Underwood and Bishop. It was as if the captive Queen was starting to show her face to the world. But it was too late. And finally Japanese sent many assassins to the Royal Palace and they killed Queen Min. Unfortunately, the death of Queen Min ended any possibility of an alliance with Russia that might have protected Korea from Japan. After Japan defeated Russia in the 1904-05 Russo-Japanese War, Korea was annexed by Japan, and the Chosen dynasty, by then headed by Queen Min's son, King Chok, was brought to an end. After that, Japan's ambitions in East Asia went unchecked. The only major power not involved in World War I, Japan concentrated on colonizing Korea and stationing a large army there, exacerbating the suffering of the Korean people.

2.4 Brief History of the Korean Church

Some Korean historians find evidence that the first contact with Christianity was through some Koreans before the seventh century during the Tang dynasty in China. It was,

however, a brief contact which had little missionary significance.⁹⁵ The Catholic Church first began to reach Korea around the seventeenth century and converted some Koreans to their religion before the arrival of the Protestant missionaries in Korea. Dutch seamen made the first Protestant Christian contact with Korea in the seventeenth century. In 1628, three sailors, all members of the Dutch Reformed church, were stranded in Korea by a storm, and they made the country their home.

In 1653, there was another Dutch seaman named Hamel, whose ship, the *Sparrow Hawk*, was similarly shipwrecked near Cheju Island in Southern Korea. Out of sixty-four crewmen, twenty-eight drowned, and the thirty-six survivors were captured by the island authorities and sent to Seoul and other places in south-western Korea. As eight of the Dutch sailors lived in Korea for many years, it is reasonable to suppose that some of the first exposure to Protestant Christianity was made via these men. Hamel is remembered for being the first person to introduce the Bible to the Korean people. Hamel was arrested and sentenced to 14 years in prison, but succeeded in escaping and returning safely to the Netherlands. However, when he returned to his country, he published a book called *A Journal of Chosun (Korea)*, in which he wrote about his positive experiences in that land. This publication served to introduce the “Hermit Kingdom” of Korea for the first time to the Western world. For his contribution to Korea in opening it to the West, Cheju Island contains a “Hamel Monument” that still exists to this day.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Kyungbae Min, *The History of the Korean Church* (Seoul: Korean Christian Literature, 1968), pp. 17ff.

⁹⁶ Henry Hamel, *An Account of the Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel on the Coast of the Isle of Quelpaert, Together with the Description of the Kingdom of Corea*, Trans. From French (third edition; Vol. of A Collection of Voyages and Travels, ed. Awnsham and John Churchill. 6 vols.; London: Henry and John Osboarn, 1745), 721-742.

Suspicion and persecution soon broke out and the Christians were ordered, on penalty of death, to give up their faith. Thomas Kim was the first victim, because he confronted Confucianism by burning the ancestral tablets.⁹⁷ On December 18, 1791, two Christians, Paul Yun and James Kwan, were executed for refusing to offer sacrifices to their ancestors and to give up their heresy (Christianity).

During 1801, three hundred Christians were martyred, including Chinese Father Chu. The first Korean priest, Kim Tae Kun (Andrew), was martyred in the great persecution of 1846. He was proclaimed the Arch-Patron of the entire Korean clergy, which included foreigners. It was the blood of the Korean martyrs that became the seed of the Korean Catholic Church. However, the blood of the Korean martyrs became the seed of the Korean Christianity in sacrifice. Institutional Christianity was introduced to Korea by Roman Catholic teaching material, however, from the eighteenth century through the nineteenth century, which was the Korean Christians' persecution period, during which most of the Korean Christians kept their faith.⁹⁸

The first Protestant efforts on behalf of Korea were put forth by Rev. John Ross, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary at Mukden, in Manchuria, whose interest was aroused by his contact with Koreans on the border. He took up the study of their language, translated the entire New Testament into Korean, and sent Korean colporteurs across the border to distribute it. The signing of the treaty between Korea and the United States in 1882 afforded a new "open door" for missionary work. The first Presbyterian missionary actually to work in Korea was Dr. Horace N. Allen, who arrived on September 20, 1884. His medical skills, and

⁹⁷ Paik, *History of Protestant Missions in Korea*, pp. 7-28.

⁹⁸ Paik, *History of Protestant Missions in Korea*, p. 33.

particularly his success in treating surgically the wounds of a high official who was a cousin of the Queen, were providentially used to win the favour of the court and smooth the way for the missionaries who soon followed, even though Dr. Allen himself did not continue in mission work but entered the diplomatic service.

In 1885 Rev. Horace G. Underwood of the Northern Presbyterian Board, and Rev. H.G. Appenzeller and Dr. W.B. Scranton of the Methodist Episcopal Board, arrived on the field. Horace G. Underwood said that around the close of the 1880s “The Y.M.C.A. of Toronto, and a number of individuals in that city, had had their attention drawn toward Korea, and had manifested their interest in the work by sending out J.S. Gale. . . , the Rev. Mr Harkness, and Malcolm C. Fenwick.”⁹⁹

Other societies followed. These included the Australian Presbyterians entering in 1889, the English Episcopalians in 1890, the Canadian Presbyterians in 1898, the Oriental Missionary Society in 1907, the Salvation Army in 1908, and the Seventh-Day Advents in 1908. Most of the mission societies influenced the revival and awakening of the 1900s in Korea. Interestingly, there were several Korean Protestant believers who received the gospel through China and Japan even before the Western missionaries arrived (China and Japan were Christianized earlier).

The early missionaries began their work in Korea through three major means: evangelism, education and medical services. At that time, the needs that Korea had were great, politically, economically, socially, and especially spiritually. The door for the gospel was opened in Korea. The church grew and developed with the suffering of the nation, they

⁹⁹ Horace G. Underwood. *The Call of Korea* (third edition; New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), p. 143. While Fenwick was sponsored by the University Y.M.C.A., he never talked about those who sent to him to Korea

were too weak to withstand all the pressures from many crises, and from imperialism like China, Japan, Soviet Union (later Russia) and USA surround Korea.

In 1907, there was a great revival in the Korean Church, and the Church got rooted more deeply into Korean soil. During the Japanese reign in Korea (1910-1945), Japan persecuted the Koreans severely, especially the Korean Church, because at that time the only strong national power was the Church. In the independence movement of Korea in 1919, many churches were destroyed and many believers were arrested and killed by the Japanese.

Beginning in 1935, Japan compelled everyone to worship the Japanese emperor. Many faithful Korean ministers and believers were martyred. The Church almost died out during that time.¹⁰⁰ After the defeat of Japan in 1945 and the independence of Korea, the churches began to rebuild themselves and to evangelize the whole nation. But in the North the communists ruled and persecuted the Christians again. In the South, however, the Church developed and expanded in full freedom.

During the Korean War (1950-1953), once again many churches were destroyed and many ministers and faithful believers were killed. Many North Korean believers escaped to the South during that time. During the 1950s, after the war, the Church worked with the people for reconstruction of the nation and grew rapidly. During the 1960s and 1970s, along with the national development of Korea, the Church also developed and once again grew rapidly. Many churches grew tremendously due to the influence of four large evangelical conventions in Seoul in the 1970s.

Between 1963 and 1992, Korea was ruled by the military government of Park Chung Hee, Chun Doo Hwan, and Roh Tae Wo. During this time, there was little justice,

¹⁰⁰ Tr. Hunt, Evertt N., "The Introduction of Roman Catholicism in Korea 1784-1886," *Theology and Mission* (Seoul, Korea: Seoul Theological Seminary Press, 1975), pp. 101-5.

righteousness, or freedom. Thus, some of Korea's Christian leaders preached God's justice in the Church and led demonstrations against the government. Due to this, many pastors and ministers were imprisoned. This serious situation in Korea brought about the prayer movement, a repentance movement which became the basis for tremendous church growth in Korea.

In recent years, Korean Christians have made significant contributions toward human rights, justice, and democracy, as well as opposing the dictatorial governments of Park Chung Hee, Chun Doo Hwan, and Roh Tae Woo. Currently, Christianity is a spearhead of the democratic movement in Korea and must be reckoned with as a significant political and spiritual force. As of 1995, the Korean Church had almost twelve million Protestant believers.

2.5 Western Missionary work in Korea

Most Korean denominations established by western missionaries built many schools, churches and hospitals. Without their sacrificial support and financial support, the Korean church could not have achieved today's church growth.

2.5.1 The First Western Missionary Martyr

For the next few years, attempts to penetrate Korea were continued by Catholic priests from Europe and China. The story, however, is filled with accounts of persecutions and executions. While the barriers against Christianity were strengthened, Protestants in China were growing. Many of them were intrigued by news of the "Hermit Kingdom." One such concerned missionary was Robert J. Thomas, a native of Wales. In Cheefoo, China, in 1865, he met two Christians from Korea in the home of Alexander Williamson, an agent for the National Bible Society of Scotland. These two men had escaped the persecution in Korea by sailing in a junk to Shantung. They identified themselves as Christians by the crucifixes and rosaries which they carried.

Williamson learned much from them about the church in Korea, but he was amazed at their ignorance of the Scriptures. Thomas offered to return to Korea with them, landing on the island of Pek Yun Do. There, he spent about two months with them, teaching the Koreans the basic doctrines of salvation.¹⁰¹ In 1866, Thomas was asked to return to Korea as an interpreter for a delegation from France. While this delegation was delayed, Thomas joined the crew of the ship *General Sherman* for the trip to Pyongyang. As they proceeded up the river, Thomas threw copies of the Chinese New Testament to some Koreans on shore. Years later, the son of one man who received one of these Gospels joined the Presbyterian Church led by Samuel Moffett.¹⁰²

The *General Sherman* ran aground near the city gates of Pyongyang. After several days of fighting, the *General Sherman* was set on fire by the Korean garrison. As Thomas came ashore with the crew, he tried to give a Bible to his assassin; it was refused until Thomas knelt in prayer. Then, after killing Thomas, the assassin took the bible home with him. Another person on the shore on that day was a four-year-old boy, who received three copies of the bibles that Thomas gave out before dying. Afraid to keep them, the boy became a Christian and returned to the former soldier to find the Scriptures. He discovered that they had been used to paper the wall of the soldier's house, but were still preserved. Paik wrote: "When Samuel H. Moffett, pioneer missionary to the city of Pyongyang, formed a class of catechumen in October, 1893, he found a man who received a Chinese New Testament from the unfortunate missionary."¹⁰³ Thus, one can see that much blood was shed in order for the

¹⁰¹ Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, pp. 47-51.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁰³ Paik, *Protestant Mission in Korea*, p. 51.

Word of God to reach Korea. The Koreans, however, were touched by the written Word of God before hearing the spoken Word of God.

2.5.2 Translation of the Korean Bible

The year following Thomas's death, his friend Alexander Williamson of the Scottish Bible Society made a trip to eastern Manchuria where the market was opened annually at "Korea Gate," allowing both Chinese and Koreans to attend. He was able to sell a number of books in Chinese at that time, and presumably the Bible was distributed.¹⁰⁴ Six years later, in 1873, John Rose, a Presbyterian missionary from Scotland, attended "Korean Gate" in Manchuria. Rose became intrigued with the Korean people whom he saw. He tried to engage them in conversation; but they were afraid that he was spy, so he found out very little. The following year on "Market Day" he returned to the gate. This time he found a Korean who was willing to serve as a language teacher.¹⁰⁵

As already discussed, the society of Korea was so closed that missionaries could not come into the land. Only some portions of the Scriptures and some copies of the Chinese Bible could be distributed in the area before missionaries landed in Korea. It is necessary to trace briefly the progress of the Scriptures in Korea in order to understand the emotional and scholarly tendency in the personality of the people of Korea. With the arrival in 1884 of the first Protestant missionary, medical doctor Horace N. Allen, and the surge of other missionaries from 1885 onwards, emphasis was placed on the Scriptures being translated into the language of the people. Two names of particular interest are James Gale and Malcolm C. Fenwick, both Canadian missionaries. Gale arrived in 1888, and Fenwick arrived in 1889.

¹⁰⁴ Clark, *History of the Korean Church*, pp. 44-7.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Both men lived in the village of Sorai for a time, and both also lived in Wonsan. They worked independently, however.

Gale is known as the most qualified writer, historian, and linguist among the missionaries who served in Korea. He began to revise the Acts of the Apostles that had first been translated by Ross and Suh in Manchuria; this was completed in 1892. By 1895, he had translated several other books of the New Testament. In 1925, the Gale Bible was published due to the generosity of Chi Ho Yun, an important figure in the development of modern-day Korea. It was written more in the vernacular of the people than in formal language.

Fenwick also was intent on Bible translation, even though he was not as scholarly as Gale. In 1891, only two years after arriving in Korea, Fenwick issued an edition of the Gospel of John. This was printed in parallel columns of Chinese and Korean called Unmun.¹⁰⁶ In 1919, his New Testament was also published. Fenwick was privileged to work in an area that was already exposed to the Gospel. He also was befriended by a Korean scholar who was capable of reading and writing. It should be noted that in Fenwick's first efforts at translation, he used his English Bible, a Chinese dictionary, and a Korean scribe. His work was successful as this group of believers grew and prospered.

Many historians attribute the phenomenal growth of Christianity in Korea to the fact that Bible teaching has been an integral part of its foundation. Even before missionaries arrived in Korea, the Bible had been distributed from Pusan to the Yalu River. The early missionaries were waiting for further instruction on how to grow in their new faith. It is to be remembered that until 1890, six years after the first missionaries, it was against the law of the

¹⁰⁶ Paik, *Protestant Missions in Korea*, p. 54.

government to be a Christian or to even to possess a Bible.¹⁰⁷ It is not possible to mention all of the men who were involved in Bible translation during the early years of Protestant Missions in Korea, how the Gospel was delivered, and the relationship between Bible translation and the mentality of the Korean people. However, every missionary involved acknowledged that only with the aid of many Korean scholars could the work have been accomplished. The present study reveals how the Gospel was delivered to Korea, especially in relationship to Bible translation and the scholarly attitude of Koreans.

Koreans naturally tend to be a scholarly and deeply religious people. Before Protestant missionaries landed in Korea, a surprisingly large proportion of the people could read and write, not only in their own language but also in the classical language of the Chinese. It is a unique event that the first two Western missionaries to Korea landed with a portion of the Korean Bible in their hands.

2.6 Baptists in Korea

The history of Korean Baptists goes back to the Canadian missionary Malcolm C. Fenwick, already mentioned above. He arrived in Seoul in 1889 as an independent missionary, possibly with support from members of the YMCA in Toronto. Fenwick's church, the Church of Christ in Corea, experienced great expansion during the years 1906 to 1940. By 1911, there were 162 churches or meeting places; and by 1940, this number had grown to

¹⁰⁷ The first edition of the Korean New Testament, translated by the Board of Official Translators, was published in 1900. It was in 1904 and 1906 that revisions were made and published. The 1906 version became known as the Korean Authorized Version and was used until 1939, when the Revised New Testament and Revised Old Testament were printed. Even though the Revised Authorized Version was published in 1938-39, with Japan entering the war with the West, heavy pressure was placed on the Korean Church; and the Bible Society in Seoul was closed by the Japanese government. When in 1945 Korea was liberated from the oppression of the Japanese and the Bible Society was opened again, there were ready for distribution over 15,000 copies of the Bible, over 42,000 New Testaments, and about 500,000 Gospels in the Revised Version. However, it was just five years later that the Communists entered Seoul; and the Bible House with all its contents was burned to the ground.

254. In the 1930s, the Christians of Korea faced a great problem in that Japan demanded all citizens to bow down before the State Shinto shrine. Although most of Korean denominations accepted this order, the Church of Christ refused because they considered it idolatry. As a result of this decision, the Church of Christ in Korea and other Protestant churches were persecuted.

After the Korean War, the Church of Christ in Korea became the Baptist Convention in Korea. When John A. Abernathy arrived in 1950 as the first Southern Baptist missionary to Korea, there were only about forty “Baptist” churches in both North and South Korea, but the Korea Baptist Convention had plans to start 800 new churches by A.D. 2000. The Korea Baptist Convention reports the number of Baptist church members as nearly one million, but accurate counts of baptized members are hard to determine. The statistics published by the Convention include all persons in attendance on Sunday.

2.7 Korean Pentecostals/Charismatics

2.7.1 History of the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic Movements

In Korea, categorical classifications differ from other countries, Generally speaking, Pentecostal points to Assembly of God and Rev. Yong Gi Cho and Charismatics point to those who believed in the gift of the Holy Spirit among other mainline denomination like Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian and so on. However, most Korean Pentecostals belong to Classical Pentecostal denominations such as the Assemblies of God. However, more people who believe in the ‘gift of the Holy Spirit’ belong to the mainline denominations such as Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian denominations. Therefore, normal Korean Christians regard Sunbogeum (Korea Assembly of God) as the only Pentecostal among the Korean Churches. On the other hand, historically Korean Pentecostal and Charismatic movements can hardly be separated from each other.

The first Korean Pentecostal wave began in the Southern Methodist Mission and gradually spread until it became a conspicuous feature of the life of the entire Korean Church. This was widely commented on around the world. In 1903, a group of Methodist missionaries met together in Wonsan for a week of prayer and Bible study. The leader of this revival (Wonsan) movement was Rev. R.A. Hardie, who went to Korea under the auspices of the Canadian College Mission in 1890 for medical and evangelical work, and in 1898 joined the Southern Methodist Mission. He had been working in the northern part of Kangwon province, where the work went so slowly that he was led to examine his own heart and motives, with the result that he had an experience of the Spirit.¹⁰⁸

Classical Pentecostalism was introduced into Korea by an American missionary, Miss Mary C. Rumsey, who came in 1928 to Korea as the first Pentecostal missionary. This indicates that Pentecostalism was introduced into Korea 22 years after the outbreak of the Azusa Street revival. Unfortunately, the first epoch of Pentecostal mission in Korea produced a poor harvest, perhaps because of external problems such as Japanese oppression and communist opposition,¹⁰⁹ and internal problems such as restraints from other Christians. Nonetheless, the women missionaries, who privately planted Pentecostalism in Korea, carried out their tasks with maternal delicacy and apostolic faith.

2.7.1.1 Beginnings

From 1895 to 1905, there was a considerable increase in the number of Christians in Korea. From 1905, a mass revival movement began to burst out all over the country, especially in Pyongyang city. In this earliest movement the transformation of the lives of

¹⁰⁸ Fenwick confessed his spiritual gifts like speaking tongues, healing and exorcism.

¹⁰⁹ Ig-Jin Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism: Sunbogeum (pure gospel) Pentecostlaism*. (Zoetermeer, Netherlands, 2003), p. 56.

church members was especially significant. National indignation affected the Christians significantly, and many looked to churches to provide an organized resistance to the Japanese government. Missionaries and church leaders, however, preached forbearance and forgiveness and tried to refocus the expectations of Christian people.¹¹⁰ In spite of such efforts, the Korean church participated in the national movement for independence, resisting the Japanese colonial rulers. In the course of time, the movement for national independence became increasingly frustrated, and church members began to participate in evangelism and social work, based on their patriotic faith.

Spiritual awakening and a great wave of revival swept Korea from 1905-7. There were a number of meetings in the city of Pyongyang in North Korea. The people reported that every church in the city was crowded to capacity, with about seven hundred converts enrolled within one two-week period. A genuine spiritual revival was taking place. The event was described as “A spreading fire, a continuing religious awakening, the hundreds of conversions not being due to nay sudden impulse. More conversions than in any previous year were reported from all over Korea.”¹¹¹

In 1906, missionary, Howard A. Johnston, brought news of awakenings in Wales and in India.¹¹² Missionaries in Korea were deeply moved by the stories of revival among the Welsh Presbyterians and in their Asian main fields. In South Korea, the revival movement began at Mokpo city early in 1906 and “grew steadily until not one square foot in the local building remained unoccupied by the packed congregation. The church enlarges to double its

¹¹⁰ Blair, *Korea Pentecostalism*, The Korea Mission Field 2 (December 1906): p. 228, quoted in Yong Bock Kim, “Korean Messianic Movement,” 90 (emphasis in original).

¹¹¹ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 27.

¹¹² Tae Hung, Ha, *Korea-Forty three Centuries: Portraying Historical*, (Seoul, Korea: Korean Religious-Social Institute, 1993), p. 43.

size.”¹¹³ People stood and waited for their turn to testify of sins forgiven, differences before and after conversion, and power received.¹¹⁴ Orr reported:

At the New Year, four thousand attended evangelistic services in Pyongyang out of a 20,000 population. In North Pyongyang, 6,507 adherents increased to 11,943, an 83% increase.¹¹⁵ In Seoul, all of the protestant denominations united in the work for the first time and a Thousand converts were enrolled. John R. Mott reported that there were 6,000 men in a three-and-a-half hour meeting, 200 inquires awaiting instruction.¹¹⁶

George H. Jones, a Methodist missionary to Korea during that period, was preaching to as many as nine hundred persons in a single service. There were ten thousand Christians on the island of Kangwha. He reported that there was “a turning to Christ with hundreds of converts in the autumn of 1906, and twenty-seven churches catered for the 2,500 Christians.”¹¹⁷

In Pyongyang, local church leaders gathered together from far and wide on New Year’s Day in 1907. Before Bible study, they prayed eagerly. There was “not confusion, but a vast harmony of sound and spirit, like the surf in an ocean prayer.”¹¹⁸ Like the Azusa Street Pentecostal revival in America, the Pyongyang awakening also began with Bible study and prayer. The characteristics of most of revival meetings held in 1906-07 were confession of sins, loud prayer, and various forms of emotional expression:

The meetings begin at seven p.m. Last night’s meetings closed at two a.m. One after one arose and confessed his sins-many of them suffering agony in the fighting with the devil. We could see the fight going on and we could see victories won. “Awful” is the only word that will express the feeling we had as we witnessed the struggle between god and his arch enemy yesterday evening. Some men confessed to having murdered fellowmen before they became Christians; many confessed to having broken every one of God’s laws; church officers had stolen (taken what some call a legitimate squeeze), and there were jealousies, and hatred confessed; an elder had

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Brown, *Missions according to Korea*, p. 52.

¹¹⁵ Orr. *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 27.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 28.

been holding hatred in his heart for a missionary and publicly asked forgiveness after having confessed the sin to god. Every man in the house was weeping.¹¹⁹

2.7.1.2 Dark Age: Japanese Occupation Period (1910-1945)

The Korean Pentecostal-Charismatic movement experienced suffering during the Japanese occupation (1910-1945). Korea was under Japanese control from 1910. In the beginning, there was no major conflict between the Koreans churches and the Japanese rulers. However, when Korean churches supported and participated in the Declaration of Independence and then refused Japanese emperor worship, it caused the Japanese regime to persecute them. This period saw a decline in the Korean church from the period of the great revival which had began in 1907. Although social circumstances were bad, three great Pentecostal leaders, Sun-Joo Gil (1869-1935), Ik-doo Kim (1894-1950) and Yong-do Lee (1901-1933) stimulated the Korean church. Sun-Joo Gil emphasized eschatological faith and the imminent return of Jesus Christ. Ik-doo Kim emphasized the miraculous signs of the apostolic church and performed healing. Finally, Yong-do Lee emphasized the suffering Christ and mystical union with Christ. Under the persecution of Japan, people referred to this period as the “Dark Age” of Korean Christianity. However, these three Pentecostal leaders had a great influence on the Korean people, and this possibly led to the next great revival of Korean Christianity, the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement.

2.7.1.3 Expansion, 1945-1973

In 1945, the surrender of Japan brought an end to the long period of oppression, exploitation and enslavement. In 1946, Russian troops moved into Korea and set up a provisional People’s Committee, giving it executive power over the northern area; and the

¹¹⁹ Brown, *Missionaries according to Korea*, p. 59.

American occupation authorities set up a Democratic Representative Council in the southern area. Since the North Korean Communist government persecuted Christianity, many pastors fled to safety in South Korea. Many others, however, stayed on, saying, “If we perish, we perish with our flocks.” Believers who were remaining lived in fear of their lives. During this time, a great spirit of prayer dominated believers’ minds.

At that time Pentecostal church leaders came back to Korea after years of exile, and scattered Pentecostals gathered together and formed a Pentecostal denomination. The Korean Pentecostal church held the first Korean Pentecostal Conference on April 9, 1950. However, the Korean War caused every Pentecostal Christian activity to cease until the Assemblies of God (AG) in the United States sent missionary A.B. Chestnut to the third Korean Pentecostal Conference on May 4, 1952. After the third conference, the AG in Korea was organized. Chestnut joined in the third Korean Pentecostal conference and led the fourth conference, officially organizing the Assemblies of God in Korea on April 8, 1953.¹²⁰ The AG developed rapidly in the period of confusion after the Korean War as the leading faction of the Korean Pentecostal movement. It earned quick attention among the Korean people. It gave people hope and a strong Christian faith based on personal spiritual experience, while most other traditional churches were not paying attention to spiritual experiences. The most significant happening occurred in May of 1958 when Yong Gi Cho started a church which became the Yoido Full Gospel Church, later to be the centre of the Korean Pentecostal movement.

2.7.1.4 The 1947 Quickening in Korea

In the spring of 1947, forty Presbyterian pastors gathered in Pyongyang and voted to hold a prayer meeting which was to continue for forty days. The prayer meetings were held in

¹²⁰ KAG, *The 30 Year History*, pp. 60-5.

each church twice each day, in the early morning and evening.¹²¹ Orr described the new movement:

During the first week of April, a united prayer meeting was held at Central Presbyterian Church (Chang Tai Hyun). It provoked an even greater awakening. More than a thousand students at the Kim IL Sung University professed conversion. Such was the outpouring of the Spirit upon the people that Chee Hung Soon was forced to stop preaching by the volume of united prayer and confession of sin and of faith. Three hundred people spent two days and nights in the church in agonizing intercession. It was reported that more than ten thousand people gathered in mass prayer meetings. Hearts were being strengthened for a great tribulation.¹²²

Despite the pressure of the communists, the Pentecostal renewal movement spread throughout North Korea. Until 1950, churches in North Korea continued to grow even under the intensive persecution. When the Korean War began in 1950, revival also began in South Korea.

During the Korean War, many refugees from North Korea moved to South Korea with enthusiasm for prayer in their hearts. On arriving in South Korea, these refugees began to gather for prayers. The meetings naturally developed into churches, such as Choong Hyun Presbyterian Church, Young Nak Presbyterian Church, and Pyong An Presbyterian Church in Seoul. Presently, each of those churches has several thousand members. Young Nak Church was founded in 1946 by Pastor Kyung Chik Han, who fled from the north to the south. This church increased its membership to two thousand by the summer of 1947; and a year later it grew to three thousand.¹²³

Just before the Korean War, Roberts A. Pierce, Youth for Christ leader, visited Korea. He reported what he had seen in Korea, such as a daybreak prayer meeting every day

¹²¹ Won Yong Koh, "A Brief History of Evangelical Awakenings in Korea since 1920," Ph.D. diss., Scholl of Mission, (Pasadena, CA: Fuller Theological Seminary, 1972), p. 74.

¹²² Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 111.

¹²³ Allen D. Clark, *A Seminary Survey* (n.p., n.d.), 159, quoted in Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 113.

at 5:00 am, believers who were contributing half of their income, prayer that continued for three days and two nights, and the physical restoration of a paralyzed boy who was carried on the back of a man for thirty miles to get to a prayer meeting. The great revival was going on in Korea throughout the late 1950s, and the growth of the churches continued in the 1960s. Until 1973, the Korean church grew rapidly with Western, mainly American, missionary help.

2.7.1.5 The Billy Graham Evangelistic Rally in Seoul

Many Korean church historians like Dr. Min Kyung Bae, Dr. Do Han Ho agree 1973 was a turning point for church growth in Korea. During this period there were vast evangelistic rallies. In 1973, Billy Graham conducted an evangelistic crusade in Seoul, using an island airfield (now Yoido), and attracted crowds estimated by Korean police in excess of a million. Many among the multiplied hundreds of thousands, who heard him, responded. Alongside these rallies, in 1973, the first All-Asian Mission Consultation was held in Seoul, from August 27 to September 1. This historic meeting included twenty-five Asian delegates from fourteen countries. Soon after, the tenth World Pentecostal Conference was held in September 18-23, 1973, at the Hyo Chang Stadium in Seoul, Korea. It was a turning point in the Pentecostal Movement in Korea.¹²⁴

2.7.1.6 Progress and Explosion, 1974-1984

Explo'74, held in August, had two purposes: evangelism and discipleship. A total of 320,000 received training during Explo '74. Prior to this time, 300,000 people had already received training. Therefore a total of 620,000 Christians were trained in evangelism and discipleship by August 1974. This conference was originally designed to train one-tenth

¹²⁴ Jin hong chung, "Phenomenon and Structure of the Rapid Growing Largest Korea", in *A Study on the Pentecostal Movement in Korea* (Seoul: Korea Christian Academy, 1892), p. 373.

of the Korean Christian population through a one-week intensive evangelistic training program. However, by the time the conference had ended, it had developed into a mass revival movement. Kim reported:

Out of the audience of 1.3 million people on the first night, it is estimated that 70 percent received assurance of their salvation by faith as a result of the message which explained how they could receive Christ and know that He was in their lives. Thousands more received Him as the 323,400 trainees from seventy-eight countries shared the gospel with individuals on the streets of Seoul that week.¹²⁵

As a result of this conference, there was tremendous numerical growth, as well as the ignition of spiritual flames.

In July 1974, one month before Explo '74', Joon-Gon Kim sent one thousand students to churches in various villages and cities to collect church bulletins. One year after the completion of Explo '74', bulletins were collected again from the same churches. Students compared the 1974 statistics with those of 1975. Kim reported, "The comparison shows a 33 percent increase in church attendance and a 64 percent increase in church offerings."¹²⁶ This means that the Explo '74' conference contributed to the winning of one million people for Christ within a single year. By 1980, the number of Christians was increased by seven million.¹²⁷ This means that new Christians were added at the rate of at least one million each year from about 1975 to 1979.

In the summer of 1977, another great united movement stirred the nation. After eighteen months of preparation by well-known Korean evangelists, the "1980 World Crusade" was

¹²⁵ Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, p. 27.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28; and Han estimated the number of Christians as follows: "At the end of World War II, the total number of believers was about 300,000. Since that time, the number has doubled every ten years: about 600,000 in 1955, about 1,200,000 in 1965, about 2,400,000 in 1975. The 1980 statistics from government show 7,180,627 Protestant Christians. If the number of Roman Catholics is included, the number will become over 8,500,000. From 1975 to 1980 there was an explosive numerical growth."

born. The “crusade”, entitled, “Here’s Life Korea,” coordinated a four day series of seminars, rallies, and prayer meetings. For this crusade, 178 revival speakers were called, over 90 percent of the 18,000 local churches were involved, and a total of 988,600 Christians received evangelistic and discipleship training. Each evening, over two million people gathered on the Yoido Plaza; and each evening 1,500,000 participants remained for all-night prayer for national evangelization under the catch phrase, “A Praying Church is a Growing Church.”¹²⁸

2.7.1.7 Awakening (1985 to the Present)

Yong Gi Cho’s vision of church growth and world evangelization has greatly influenced the Korean Pentecostal church and other churches. From 1975 to 1995, he taught and preached to approximately 6.5 million people through various kinds of seminars and large meetings (approximately 760 gatherings) outside Korea. In other words, an estimated twenty million foreigners received his messages through his preaching, books, and TV and radio broadcast during this period.¹²⁹ However, after Cho officially retired in 2007, his impact on Korean Pentecostalism was reduced. His successor is, Dr. Young- Hoon Lee took charge of Yoido Full Gospel Church, however his impact cannot compare with Rev. Cho.

Apart from the Yoido Full Gospel Church, several other mega churches in Korea are among the world’s largest churches. These churches are Pentecostal/Charismatic or open to charismatic-type worship and ministry. From the 1970s, many Mainline denominations joined together in large-scale revival meetings with an emphasis on the Holy Spirit, contributing to rapid church growth, although not as rapidly as Korean Pentecostalism. Presbyterians and Baptists have grown faster than other mainline denominations, aided by

¹²⁸ Joon-Gon Kim, “Korea’s Total Evangelization,” pp. 29-34.

¹²⁹ Yoido Full Gospel Church, *Sunday School Prospectus-1995*, Seoul, 1995, p. 29.

many divisions. Among the many Presbyterian churches, Ju An Church in Inchon, led by Kyum-II Na, has more than 55,000 members. Older Presbyterian churches, such as Young Nak Church in Seoul, now manifest a great freedom in worship and emphasize hearing God in dreams and visions. Similar patterns are found in Kwang Lim, one of the largest Methodist churches in the world, led by Sun Do Kim. And Kum Ran, led by Hong Do Kim. Another is Yonsei Central Baptist Church in Seoul, led by Seok Jeon Yoon which has formed the Hindol Prayer Mountain Movement and developed outreaches in many other countries. In the 1990s, the Korean churches were devoting more attention to in-depth spiritual growth as well as numerical increase.¹³⁰

2.7.2 Character of the Korea Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches

Early Korean Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity can be defined as a revival movement. Since the two great revival movements (Wonsan and Pyongyang), Korean Christianity, especially its Pentecostal/Charismatic sector, has prospered. Dr. Paik, L George said that there were three primary factors behind the success of this revival. Firstly, a sense of failure, which created an acute sense of conflict (“divided soul”); secondly, the message from outside; and thirdly, the definite attempt of the missionaries to bring about a revival.¹³¹ Korean Baptist theologian, Dr. Yong Bock Kim, explained why Korean Christians confessed their sins:

There is no question that the progress of the Christian Movement was effective because of the eagerness and the training of those who undertook it. However, there was another reason. Christians fell into deep despair when, after Japan victory over Russia in 1904, Japan took over Korea, The Christians prayed at home and at church for God’s help and protection to recover their nation. They called themselves patriots. However, God didn’t hear their prayers. When their prayers were not fulfilled, they

¹³⁰ Stanley M. Burgess (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movement* (Zondervan, Grand Rapids, MI, 2002), p. 512.

¹³¹ Paik, *History of Protestant Missions in Korea*, 1963, p. 59.

confessed their own sins first, because they felt that the absence of God's blessings was not due to god, but due to their faults.¹³²

Their political failure was expressed in a religious repentant movement. Orr stated that the results of this first wave of revival were increased levels of morality, rapid growth of church membership, and enthusiasm for prayer. Yong Bock Kim also evaluated the movement and said that the discipline of Christians and an increase in numbers were the main features of the movement.¹³³

Some western missionaries think that these kinds of phenomena, which were observed at the beginning of this century, are again prevalent today in the mass movements in Asia countries, including Korea. These great awakenings, however, marked the spiritual rebirth of the Korean churches; and the spiritual experiences gave to the churches in Korea a vital power to continue the spiritual revival. Korean Christians today look back on the movement as the origin of their spiritual life. The Great Revival of 1907 provided not only the birth of the Korean Pentecostal and Charismatic movements but also the first important stage in the internalizing of the biblical message in indigenous Christian mission in Korea. This led to the "Million Souls Movement", designed to reach a million converts in Korea and bring them into the church. The more recent Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement is a Holy Spirit movement with an emphasis on social engagement rather than a revival movement or denominationalism. The Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement has also entered into a post Yong Gi Cho and New Charismatic Era.¹³⁴

¹³² Yong Bock Kim, "Korean Messianic Movement," p. 91.

¹³³ James Edwin Orr, *Evangelical Awakenings*, pp. 26-7.

¹³⁴ Yong Gi Cho officially retired but his control still continued through his family and his position as chancellor, but in 2011 he resigned and relinquished his official and unofficial control for YFGC in addition his family member resigned all of position in their church and the new senior pastor Young-Hoon Lee separated all

2.7.3 Theological Character of the Korea Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches

Scholars of Korean Pentecostalism such as Dr. Y. Eim, Dr. Wonsuk Ma, Dr. Boohung Yoo Dr. Young Hoon Lee and Dr. William Menzies point to three theological contributions of Korea Pentecostal/Charismatic movements. The first is the emphasis on a “good God.” Understandably, traditional Christian groups that had gone through harsh historical realities developed a passive attitude toward the present life, and thus a martyr type of spirituality. Their orientation was extremely otherworldly, and suffering was often viewed as virtuous. However, with the rise of David Yong Gi Cho and his Yoido Full Gospel Church, the message of a “good God” began to make the Christian perspective toward this present life to become more positive and more proactive. Although it is sometimes accused of being a Korean version of positive-thinking teaching, this theological emphasis has brought a significant theological shift in popular Christian thinking as well as in pulpit messages.¹³⁵

The second is the experiential dimension of the Christian life. Mainly due to the Confucian moral values of Korea, the official side of Korean Christianity (for example, Sunday worship, official theology) tended to be more intellectual and sober. This was further enhanced by the Reformed or Presbyterian dominance of Korean Christianity. This, however, did not provide for the more “primal” spiritual needs particularly arising from the Korean Shamanistic religious orientation, that is, the emotional and experiential dimension of religious life.

The third is the utilization of laity for ministry. Especially, Cho decided to mobilize women for his radical *Guyeuk* (cell) system. In a male dominant culture, this move practically

campus church from YFGC. So I call Post Yong Gi Cho and New Charismatic Era in 21st century Korean church.

¹³⁵ Lee Young-Hoon, *The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea, Its Historical and Theological Development* (Oxford, Regnum, 2009). pp. 93-5.

revolutionized the traditional perception of clergy-centred ministry. Cho appointed women as cell-unit leaders, a revolutionary attempt in the tradition of the Korean church or any Korean society with a strong Confucian background. Until then, the position of women in Korean society was not well recognized, if at all. The cell-group system brought liberation to the status of women in Korea. These women leaders devoted themselves to the growth of the cell groups by effective home visitations and street preaching. Cell units conceived as sub-churches grew rapidly practising worship, prayer, and fellowship. The growth of cell units thus made a significant contribution to the growth of the church. The women cell leadership was proven to be effective, as they were able channels. This concept was soon expanded to male cell leadership and even children cell leaders.¹³⁶

2.7.4 Yoido Full Gospel Church and Rev. David Yong Gi Cho

As the Korean church grew explosively in the 1970s, one congregation has attracted the attention of the churches of the world. That church is the Yoido Full Gospel Church (YFGC) founded by David Yong Gi Cho. This church has the largest single congregation in the world with a membership of 755,000 by the end of 2007.¹³⁷ Cho founded the YFGC in 1958 and has led the church since then. Without the YFGC as the base of the Pentecostal movement in Korea, it could not exist. Korean Pentecostalism or *Sunbogeum* (Pure Gospel) could not have expanded without the YFGC, and it is impossible to understand the YFGC and its ministry without considering the man behind it, David Yong Gi Cho.

Cho was born on 14 February 1936 in a small town in Ulju County, Gyung-Nam Province in the Southern part of Korea, while the country was under the Japanese occupation.

¹³⁶ Church Growth International, Church Growth Manual 7 (Seoul: Church Growth International, 1995), pp. 145-6.

¹³⁷ This number is the sum of all YFGC campus congregations as well as the main Yoido congregations. They still have more than twenty campus churches around Seoul. And some of the large campus churches have more than 30,000 members.

In addition, among the Koreans, the main religion of Gyung-Nam and Gyung-Buk was Buddhism. From the time that Japan invaded Manchuria and started a war with China in 1931, the Japanese exploited and requisitioned most Korean crops. It was in this devastating situation that Cho spent his childhood. The country was liberated in 1945 but divided in two. The North became a communist country and the South a capitalist and partly democratic one.¹³⁸ But South Korea was still going through major crises both politically and socially.

Cho was the first born of five sons and four daughters of Mr. Doo-Chun Cho and Mrs. Bok-Sun Kim. During his childhood he was greatly influenced by Buddhism, Confucianism, and Eastern Studies. Yong Gi Cho graduated from middle school with honours. However, his father failed in his bid for an elected political office, which also ruined his family financially. So Cho went on to technical high school to gain skills suited for finding work soon after graduation. An American army base was situated near his school and he was able to learn English from the soldiers stationed at the base. His English proficiency level enabled him to be an interpreter for the principal of his school and chief commander at the army base. When he was 17 years-old and a high school student, Yong Gi Cho contracted tuberculosis, which threatened his life. As he neared death, he continued to study English by memorizing the English dictionary and his lesson books. Then his sister's Christian friend visited him, and he accepted Christ as his personal Saviour. As the disease continued to plague him, Yong Gi Cho went to his hometown to continue receiving treatment for the disease.¹³⁹

One day he attended a crusade in Pusan led by missionary Ken Tize, and he received the blessing of God. After that he began helping missionary Tize with interpretation as well

¹³⁸ I prefer to refer to South Korea as capitalist rather than democratic because South Korea only became fully democratic after its military dictatorship was over.

¹³⁹ Kennedy, *Dream Your Way*, pp. 118-21.

as reading various Christian books, which helped him understand Christianity in greater depth. However, since he lacked firm conviction, Yong Gi Cho struggled inwardly and began to fast and pray. Then one night while fasting and praying he met Christ through a vision of light and was filled with the Holy Spirit. The night he met Christ, Yong Gi Cho was called by God to study theology. He came to Seoul in 1956 and entered the Full Gospel Bible College on a scholarship, which belongs to the Assemblies of God denomination although he was not in very good health; he managed to continue his studies. As his Christian faith grew deeper, his health also gradually improved. During these years of study, Cho met Jasil Choi, his classmate and a former registered nurse, who took care of him. She later became his associate pastor and mother-in-law.¹⁴⁰

Cho and Choi together started a tent church in 1958. Its fifty-year history until 2008, although it assumed different names as the church moved from one location to another, may be divided into three periods. The first is the pioneering period (1958-1961)¹⁴¹ in which the YFGC was the instrument of the Pentecostal faith's taking root in Korea by its strong full gospel message and focus on divine healing. The second is the developing period (1961-1973) when the church took the leadership in the Pentecostal movement of Korea and spread the Pentecostal faith in the Korean church. The third is the period of expansion (1973-2007). The fourth is the post-David Yong Gi Cho period (2008 to the present).¹⁴² The church has

¹⁴⁰ His story was published by an American reporter. Neil L. Kennedy, *Dream Your Way to Success: The Story of Dr. Yonggi Cho and Korea* (Plinfield, NJ: Logos International, 1980). See also Woonhak Yeo, *Thy Will Be Done: World Mission and Yonggi Cho* [in Korean] (Seoul: Gyujang, 1982). For a brief biographical study, see Young-Hoon Lee, 'The Life and Ministry of David Yonggi Cho and the Yoido Full Gospel church', *AJPS* 7:1 (2004), pp. 3-20.

¹⁴¹ ITI, *Yoido Full Gospel Church: Its Faith and Theology* [in Korean] (Seoul: Seoul Books, 1993, vol. 2), p. 96.

¹⁴² This three-stage division is also the interpretation of the YFGC: 'The Tent Church' (<http://english.fgtv.com/yoido/history.htm>, 2007); 'History: The Church at SeoDaeMun' (<http://english.fgtv.com/yoido/History2.ht>., 2007); and 'History: The Church at Yoido' (<http://english.fgtv.com/yoido/History3.htm>, 2007), all accessed on 5 June 2010.

taken the lead in the Holy Spirit movement of the entire Korean church, has become mature enough to show its concern for Korean society, and has greatly expanded the Holy Spirit movement.

2.7.5 Korean Baptists and the Pentecostal/Charismatic Movement

The Pentecostal movement is has some unique aspects. In the various periods demarcated above, it has been characterized by unique features, depending on the political and social situations of each period. It started as a repentance revival movement and developed into a movement of mystical union with Christ. It then became a recognizable evangelical movement with large-scale crusades, and then after encountering Minjung theology, transformed into Pentecostalism, and finally into a Charismatic movement. The Pentecostal movement of Korea is unique, because the Korean Pentecostal movement started at almost the same time as the world Pentecostal movement, without any apparent connection or influence between the two. On the other hand, just as with the first Pentecostal movement that took place in the America, the movement in Korea was originated by a Methodist minister through Bible study classes and prayer meetings. In addition to these similarities, the Korean Pentecostal movement planted its roots in Korea as a repentance movement, which was then formulated in a traditional Korean, Christian-faith style.

This kind of Pentecostal movement developed independently under the leadership of the three largest denominations in Korea – Presbyterian, Methodist, and Holiness churches until the Yoido Full Gospel Church, a Pentecostal church, took lead in the 1970s. And the New Charismatic movement like Yonsei Central Baptist Church was rising after Yong Gi Cho's official retirement. Without Yoido Full Gospel Church, the New Charismatic movement would never have started. Although, many similarities, there is one theological difference between Korean Pentecostal (mainly Assembly of God) and Charismatic group in

the Korean Baptist Convention is material blessing. Korean Pentecostals stress material blessing, on the other hand the Charismatic group in Baptists stress honest poverty and suffering for soul winning.

What is the relation between the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement and the current Korean Baptist Church? The current Charismatic movement is the offspring of Pentecostalism. The Charismatic movement has stimulated a new interest in Pentecostalism, and its members are sometimes scorned and often ignored by the mainline churches. Some Pentecostals are being assimilated within the mainline churches. These groups are referred to here as Charismatic rather than Pentecostal. The founder of the Church of Christ in Korea, Malcolm C. Fenwick, was a Charismatic. His theological roots are in the Baptist, Pentecostal, and Charismatic traditions.

2.8 The Charismatic Tendency in the Mentality of the Korean People

As already noted, the Korean religious life has come from three main traditional sources. Shamanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism claim the most members. However, observers generally agree that Christianity is the most active religion and has the greatest religious impact as an organized religious body in South Korea. Approximately half of the population consider themselves to be members of an organized religious body.

Christianity has influenced the country for a much shorter time than Confucianism or Buddhism, dating from the opening of Korea to the West in the late nineteenth century. Christianity has been closely associated with Western ideas and values adopted in Korea and have been much more of an influence than other religions, particularly during recent decades. However, Shamanism is still the most prominent force and it is dominating Koreans'

religious life.¹⁴³ Some of these shamanistic elements are used in a positive way in Korean society, especially in the field of music and fine art, and during the 1910-1990, shamanistic belief and the American Prosperity Gospel impacted church growth in Korea. However, some of the Korean religious leaders are using shamanistic beliefs in a negative way as a “technique of ecstasy.”¹⁴⁴ Presently, Shamanism retains a hold on many people, although other powerful religious forces and modes of thought have entered Korean life in the process of its historical development.

Many Korean theologians, especially those involved in Min-Jung theology, have made much of the concept of *Han*.¹⁴⁵ They argue that Koreans are people of *Han*.¹⁴⁶ During the course of five thousand years, Koreans have accumulated many kinds of *Han* which they are trying to deal with. In this respect, the Christian faith has become one of the methods to solve their *Han*, particularly as the Pentecostals tend to use shamanistic methods in the church. Because of this, Pentecostal churches in Korea achieved such rapid growth. In brief, religious aspects of Korean people are charismatic because they want to solve their *Han* by different kinds of shamanic *charismata* (blessing, healing, exorcism, and so on).

¹⁴³ Even Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity had shamanistic elements in their belief systems.

¹⁴⁴ Shim, *New Religious Movement*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁴⁵ Dr. Chung Kwan Cho said that *Han* is a Korean term used to describe the depths of the human mind. It is difficult to articulate because it has multiple meanings. He explores its meaning from three perspectives: 1) Korean despair; 2) the oppressed minds of the Korean *Minjung*; and 3) the Korean cultural archetype. See Chung Kwan Cho, ‘Han and the Pentecostal Experience: A Study of Growth of the Yoido Full Gospel Church In Korea’, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010.

¹⁴⁶ *Han* is a Korean word, which may be translated as ‘grudge’ or ‘resentment’. *Han* is an underlying feeling of the Korean people. *Han* is the anger and resentment of the *minjung* which has been turned inward and intensified as they become the objects of injustice upon injustice. It is the result of being represented for an extended period of time by external forces: political oppression, economic, exploitation, social alienation, and restrictions against becoming educated in cultural and intellectual matters. Cyris H.S. Moon, A Korean *Minjung* Theology, 1-2. See also Chimo Hong, ‘Han is *Minjung* Theology’ [in Korean], *Theological Studies* (Spring 1990), pp. 136-51.

2.9 Christian Identity in Korea Today

Today, most visitors to Korea today are greatly impressed by the rapid church growth and enthusiasm of Christians. Church buildings are a noticeable part of the landscape everywhere. Churches are often located on high ground where they overlook a rural area or urban skyline. Hundreds upon hundreds of dedicated people are giving their lives in service to the Jesus. Many Christian organizations are striving to equip people to serve better in Korea and to carry the Gospel throughout world. Now Korea is the second largest missionary-sending country.¹⁴⁷ This spiritual awakening is already recognized as one of the great movements in church history and gives indication of being a spark for reaching millions of people throughout the entire world.

Korea has a history of Protestant mission efforts dating back to 1884. Traditional religions have largely been abandoned. People are involved in prayer, devotion to the church, and church planting. Opportunities abound for witnessing, and almost 28 percent of the present population is Christianized. Korea is situated in one of the most sensitive and strategic regions of the world for evangelization. There is a need to penetrate this country with sound biblical doctrine in order for trained qualified leadership to be able to become the new leadership for the coming generation.

Although the Korean church has much potential for mission, its congregations also have many internal and problems. Many Korean theology lecturers received their training from Western theological institutions and this is crippling theological education in Korea. For example, KBTUS (Korea Baptist Theological Seminary/University) has twenty-nine professors in the Theology department. Except for one faculty member, the rest of them have

¹⁴⁷ Global Christianity Report, The Center for the Study of Global Christianity (CSGC) at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 2009.

a degree from US Seminary or University. Department curriculum is based on American church's context rather than on the Korean context. Even the curriculum consists of western theological training courses without considering the Korean indigenous context.¹⁴⁸ Their Ivory Tower theology does not fit the current Korean context. Moreover, hundreds of theologians are in conflict with their own denominations because their Americanized theology is at variance with the theology of their local congregations. Communism, nationalism, unemployment, moral breakdown, and violence are the outstanding external problems. Economic development and materialism has resulted in a serious breakdown of the old Korean moral standards. The divorce rate and alcohol consumption has increased greatly; dishonesty is rife; there is a lessening of parental respect; and corruption of church leaders is prevalent.¹⁴⁹

Korean theologians and church leaders are becoming preoccupied with the relationship between Christianity and other religious traditions in Korea. One of the most obvious issues requiring study is the influence of Korean Shamanism on Christian beliefs and practices. Many theologians have become dismayed at the extent to which syncretism has taken place; others welcome the incorporation of indigenous religious culture. Sun-Whan Pyun, a noted Korean Methodist theologian, has expressed his affirmative view on ancestor worship in *Dong-a Ilbo*, a widely circulated newspaper, as follows: "Ancestor worship is a social product of a large family system. To express filial piety and perform sacrifices is following

¹⁴⁸ Korea Baptist Theological Seminary/University, "Theology Department Faculty profile and Curriculum" accessed 12 December 2012; available from <http://www.hdjongkyo.co.kr/html/sup08.html>; Internet.

¹⁴⁹ For Example, Korean divorce rate is in 9th place among the many OECD countries and is increasing faster than any other OECD country (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries, OECD social policy annual report for number of divorces per 1000 population (change from 1970 to 2008) accessed 14 December 2012; available from; <http://www.oecd.org/els/family/SF3.1%20Marriage%20and%20divorce%20rate%20-%20updated%20240212.pdf>; Internet.

the heaven designated ethics. Ancestor worship is an expression of filial affection, not idolatry.”¹⁵⁰ Jin-Hee Lee, Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information, has exhorted Christian leaders to take an affirmative attitude toward Korean culture and proposed the task of “Organization of Christianity” in his public speech to a meeting of Christian leaders.¹⁵¹

Obviously, Korean Christianity has a diverse and often contradictory community. One segment of the church is known for its piety, the kind of passion associated with daily early-morning prayer meetings, while another portion of the Christian community focuses its witness in the orphanages and prisons through social action. What, then, does it mean to be a Christian in today’s Korea, and how did the Christian church arrive at its present historical situation? The answer is found partially through historical research into the charismatic movement.

¹⁵⁰ Sun-Whan Pyun, “Filial Piety and Ancestor Worship,” *Dong-A Ilbo*, (24 December 1983).

¹⁵¹ Jin hee Lee, speech delivered to a gathering of Christian leaders in Seoul on 16 December 1983.

CHAPTER THE ORIGINS OF THE KOREA BAPTIST CHURCH: PRE- CONVENTION PERIOD AS THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IN COREA (1889-1944)

Many historians like Dr. Dr. Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho and Dr. Gin Hur believe that the origin of the Korea Baptist Convention was influenced by the Southern Baptist mission. However, Southern Baptist mission work in Korea did not start in a vacuum. Although Baptist beginnings and early development in Korea are difficult to reconstruct due to a lack of records, it is important to examine the history of those who had existed as a small group for more than fifty years before the entrance of the Southern Baptists. This group was the fruit of pioneer missionary, Malcolm C. Fenwick.

Malcolm C. Fenwick significantly influenced the life and faith of the Church of Christ in Corea from 1889 to 1944.¹⁵² Although Fenwick died in 1935, the denomination consistently maintained his beliefs and practices until 1944. And even today, Korean Baptists regard Fenwick as the founder. Because a small remnant of the CCC became the Korea Baptist Convention, it can be said that the history of Baptists in Korea began in 1945.¹⁵³ Many records emphasize that Fenwick's beliefs and practices became the creeds and rules of CCC members because Fenwick controlled absolutely their life and faith.¹⁵⁴ He seemed to determine the theological identity of the CCC from 1889 to 1944. Therefore, an investigation of Fenwick's theology is important to arrive at an accurate characterization of the theological characteristics of Korean Baptists in these early years. An examination of Fenwick's life and

¹⁵² Before the Japanese occupation, Korea used to be known as Corea. However Japan didn't like their colony's name being earlier than their English name by alphabetical order. So they changed Corea to Korea and today we still use Korea rather than Corea.

¹⁵³ Some Korean Baptist historians like Dr. Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho state that the Korean Baptist denomination officially started in 1949. However, a small number of CCC members still existed in certain areas like Chung-Nam Province in South Korea. They were organized and had a Bible institution.

¹⁵⁴ Willocks, "Christian Missions in Korea," 137; Cho, "A history," pp. 42-43, p. 71; Huh, "A Historical Analysis," p. 53; Seung Kim, A History of Southern Baptist, p. 53.

theological background will provide the necessary foundation to adequately understand his theology. Fenwick decisively influenced the formation of the theology of the denomination. Many Korean historians and theologians, however, criticized Fenwick's antinomianism and doubted Fenwick's Baptist identity and Pentecostal-Charismatic identity.¹⁵⁵

This chapter will investigate Malcolm Fenwick's theological background including the influence of the Niagara Bible Conference, the Student Volunteer Movement, Adoniram J. Gordon and the Boston Missionary Training School. Subsequently, the chapter will explain Fenwick's own theology in order to assess the theological identity of Fenwick and the Church of Christ in Korea. The chapter will also investigate Fenwick's influence on the life and faith of the early Korean Baptists.

Korean Baptist scholars have very different points of view about the origin of the Korea Baptist Convention. For example, Fenwick's heritage is a very controversial issue for the Korea Baptist Convention. Some Korean Baptist scholars like Dr. Heeyeol Ann and Yongkuk Kim Professor of Theology Department at KBTUS regard Fenwick as the founder, and therefore, the task of Korean Baptists is to keep following his way and the way of his associates. On the other hand, others insist that Korean Baptists must get out of the shadow of Fenwick. Instead, they prefer to lift up the works of Southern Baptists rather than Fenwick. They insist that Fenwick was not a Baptist and that the Korean Baptists started after the Korean War. In addition, they ignore any influence from Adoniram J. Gordon through Fenwick. It might be said that although Gordon was not a Pentecostal, he could be regarded as a precursor of the movement, a proto-type Pentecostal. This thesis regards Gordon's influence through Fenwick as significant. Thus, it examines both their theologies, with a particular

¹⁵⁵ Korean Baptist Historian like Dr. Seoung Jin Kim or Dr. YongGuk Kim in Korea Baptist University, did not believe Fenwick was Charismatic because sources about Fenwick's theology are few.

focus on their Pneumatology. In a sense, Gordon can be regarded as a prototype Pentecostal due to his belief in the charismatic gifts and Holy Spirit baptism.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, this chapter examines the influence of Gordon on Fenwick's views of the Spirit. It also describes controversies that occurred during the Japanese occupation period and during the period of the early pioneers from 1889 to 1945. Finally, this chapter evaluates Fenwick's influence over the Korea Baptist Convention.

3.1 The Origins and Development of the Korea Baptist Church (1889-1945)

Because of the lack of records, Baptist beginnings and development in Korea are difficult to trace. The earliest missionary efforts did not have the name 'Baptist' associated with them and were started by Malcolm C. Fenwick and his associates from Toronto, Canada. They simply wanted to remain as a group of 'Bible Christians.' At the same time, contemporary Christians of other denominations often referred to them as Baptists.¹⁵⁷

Malcolm C. Fenwick (1863-1935), the founder and leader of the Church of Christ in Korea, was the most prominent figure during the early decades of Korean Baptist work. Fenwick arrived in Korea in December 1889. Through itinerant missions, Fenwick and his Korean associates planted many churches in Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia. They established the Church of Christ in Korea in 1906 to consolidate their work. This denomination emerged but dissolved as an organization in May 1944 during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Japan invaded and ruled Korea from 1905 until 1945.

3.1.2 Beginnings: The Life and Ministry of Malcolm C Fenwick

¹⁵⁶ There is a problem with using twentieth terms, such as 'Pentecostal-charismatic', to refer to nineteenth century people. However, there are similarities between Gordon's theological character (for example, his emphasis on the general gifts of the Holy Spirit and Spirit Baptism) and the modern Pentecostal-Charismatic movement. Therefore, I use the term 'proto type Pentecostal-charismatic' to describe Gordon.

¹⁵⁷ Allen D. Clark, *History of the Korean Church* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961), p. 82.

In 1889, Malcolm C. Fenwick (1863-1935) came to Korea as a layman, a bachelor, and an independent missionary with very limited missionary experience. Horace Grant Underwood,¹⁵⁸ James S. Gale,¹⁵⁹ and William J. McKenzie,¹⁶⁰ earlier Protestant missionaries with whom Fenwick became familiar were all highly educated; only Fenwick was self-educated. However, when comparing the fruit of their missionary labour, Fenwick was second to none. For example, by the time Fenwick passed away at the age of seventy-two in 1935, he had planted two-hundred and fifty churches during a forty-five year span of missionary work in Korea. Judging from a missiological perspective, not only was Fenwick a great church planter, he was also undeniably a missionary-innovator. This was a result, generally, of the huge impact, both positive and negative, that the Niagara Bible Conference and Adoniram Judson Gordon had upon him. Fenwick also had a mystical experience before he came to Korea.

Malcolm C. Fenwick was born in Markham, Toronto, Canada in about 1863. His grandparents had emigrated there from Scotland. His father Archibald Fenwick (1813-1868) had eleven children and died when Fenwick was only five years old. Archie Fenwick had a good reputation with his neighbours and he reared his children well. Fenwick's mother was a pious and sincere Christian. She educated and inspired her children with Christian faith and

¹⁵⁸ Horace G. Underwood graduated from the University of New York in 1881 and from New Brunswick Seminary in 1884. In 1891, the University of New York conferred on Underwood the degree of D. D. Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918), 114; see Taik Poo Chun, *Hankuk Kyohwoi Paljunsu* [The History of Church Development in Korea] (Seoul, Korea: Christian Literature Society, 1989), p. 78.

¹⁵⁹ James S. Gale, after graduating with a Bachelor of Arts, was sent to Korea by the YMCA of Toronto University; he was not trained in a seminary. See James S. Gale, *Korean Sketches* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1898), title page.

¹⁶⁰ William J. McKenzie was educated at Dalhousie College in 1888, and received his theological degree at Presbyterian College, Halifax, in 1891. See L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1927), p. 192.

piety. The young Fenwick was also influenced by the teaching of the Scotch minister Donald M. McIntosh who lived in his home for several years.¹⁶¹

After a long spiritual struggle, Fenwick experienced conversion when he walked in a certain street of Toronto. He accepted God's calling for foreign missions while attending the Niagara Bible Conference, probably in July of 1887. It seemed that he departed for Korea in August 1889 and arrived there in December 1889.¹⁶² Although Fenwick had a close relationship with the University YMCA of Toronto, he came to Korea as an independent missionary without the organized support of any denominational mission boards or even from the University YMCA of Toronto itself.¹⁶³ He only had the support of the Korean Union Mission which was organized by volunteer Christian businessmen in Toronto who were mostly YMCA members.¹⁶⁴ When he landed in Korea late in 1889, and having studied the Korean language for ten months in Seoul, he went to the village of Sorai, about 160 miles north of Seoul, where he continued to learn by living among the Koreans and ministering to a handful of Christians there.¹⁶⁵ After a short time, he left Sorai and went to Wonsan which became the centre of his mission work. Fenwick chose Wonsan City as the centre of his

¹⁶¹ Malcolm C. Fenwick, *The Church of Christ in Korea: A Pioneer Missionary's Own Story* (New York: George H Doran Company, 1911; reprint, Seoul: Baptist Publication, 1967), 1-7; Cho, "A History," pp. 42-3; Huh, *History of Korea*, pp. 23-4.

¹⁶² Fenwick, *Church of Korea*, pp. 8-15

¹⁶³ William Scott, a Canadian missionary to Korea from 1914 to 1956, pointed out that Fenwick had a very close relationship to the University College YMCA. See William Scott, "Canadian in Korea: Brief Historical Sketch of Canadian Mission Work in Korea" (n. p., 1975), 19-20. Young Sik Yoo also pointed out that University College's YMCA did not send Fenwick. Young Sik Yoo, *Earlier Canadian Missionaries in Korea: A Study in History, 1888-1895* (Mississauga, Ontario: The Society for Korean and Related Studies, 1987), p. 42. Another view was from Max Willocks, a Southern Baptist missionary to Korea. He pointed out that Horace Underwood (1859-1916) asserted the YMCA of Toronto sent Fenwick to Korea. Willocks, "Christian Missions in Korea," 123. Timothy Cho, however, opposed this view and proved that the YMCA of Toronto had not sent any missionary to Korea from 1889 to 1893 through his reading of the minute books of the YMCA of Toronto. Cho suggested that the University YMCA of Toronto possibly sent Fenwick to Korea. Cho also pointed out that Fenwick's followers maintained that the University YMCA of Toronto sponsored him (Cho, "A History," 49-51). Many Korean Baptists believed that Fenwick was sent by the University YMCA of Toronto (Jang Bae Kim, *Living Witness*, 16).

¹⁶⁴ Huh, *History of Korea*, 27; Min, "Malcolm Fenwick," 61-62; Yoo, *Earlier Canadian Missionaries*, p. 42.

¹⁶⁵ Malcolm C. Fenwick, *The Church of Christ in Korea* (Seoul, Korea: Baptist Publications, 1967), pp. 16-27.

mission activities because no other Protestant denominations' mission boards had occupied the city as their mission area.¹⁶⁶ Fenwick purchased a large site where he built his house and a small farm. Wonsan City later became the centre of the Church of Christ in Korea.¹⁶⁷

In 1893, Fenwick came back to Canada, and the lack of finances forced him to remain in his homeland for three years. During this extended stay, he was greatly influenced spiritually, and he attended a revival meeting in Chicago in which A. J. Gordon was the evangelist. During the services, Fenwick came under great conviction that the Baptist denomination was the true church and he decided to project his work in Korea along Baptist lines.¹⁶⁸ And then during his stay in Canada, he visited the Clarendon Street Baptist Church in Boston where Adoniram J. Gordon was pastor. It is likely that he received instruction from Gordon at the Boston Missionary Training School. In 1894, Fenwick organized the Korean Itinerant Mission and broke his relationship with the Korean Union Mission.¹⁶⁹ He returned to Korea in 1896, at which time he and his Korean disciples exerted themselves in evangelizing the Korean people. Through their efforts, thirty-one local churches were established by 1906. Since Fenwick and his followers recognized the need for a more organized body to do missions and evangelization, they founded the Church of Christ in Korea on October 6, 1906.¹⁷⁰ Fenwick served as the superintendent pastor and occupied the position of Supreme Officer in the Church of Christ in Korea from 1906 to 1914. Afterwards, between 1915 and 1934, he personally selected the supreme officer. Even after he resigned

¹⁶⁶ Fenwick, *Church of Christ*, p.36, p. 46.

¹⁶⁷ Unfortunately, Wonsan is now located in North Korea. Furthermore, Fenwick and his followers started many churches in Northern Korea, North East China (Manchuria) and Russia. Therefore, the modern Baptists lost most of their churches and congregations after the Korean War.

¹⁶⁸ Robert M. Willocks, "*Christian Mission in Korea with Special Reference to the Work of Southern Baptists*" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, 1962), p. 59.

¹⁶⁹ Huh, *History of Korea*; Fenwick, *Church of Christ*, 57; Scott, "Canadian in Korea," p. 20.

¹⁷⁰ The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptists*, p. 55.

from that position, Fenwick still exercised almost absolute control within the denomination because he was the only person who could select the principle leaders within the CCC.¹⁷¹ When he retired from leadership, he focused on sending missionaries and built Bible schools in several areas, as well as the CCC headquarters located in Wonsan (now in North Korea), and several education institutions located in Chungcheng province (now in South Korea).¹⁷² Since 1915, many denominational missionaries stressed building many churches in large cities on the Korean Peninsula. On the other hand, Fenwick decided to concentrate his mission efforts in Manchuria, Mongolia, and the southern part of Siberia. Because of comity arrangements, Fenwick and the CCC's church planting focused on areas outside of the Korean Peninsula. From this time, a number of the church leaders made evangelistic trips as pioneer missionaries into Manchuria and Siberia. In this way the church came to have more than one hundred churches in Korea, more than one hundred churches in Manchuria, forty-seven churches in Siberia, and a number of mission points in Mongolia by 1940.¹⁷³ The CCC emphasized sending missionaries. The nature of the denomination remained the same and did not change until 1944. Fenwick died on December 6, 1935.¹⁷⁴ Unfortunately, the CCC did not build a formal theological academic institute but only a small bible school in Chungcheng

¹⁷¹ Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho, *A History of the Korea Baptist Convention: 1889-1969*. Th.d. Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 1970. pp. 94-6.

¹⁷² If Fenwick had built CCC headquarters in Seoul or South Korea, the modern Korea Baptist membership would have become much larger than it is at present. However, the CCC concentrated on building their church in North Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberia, and therefore lost most of their churches as well as church members, because this area is now ruled by communists and most of their churches were persecuted or disappeared. This situation was caused by the Comity Arrangement, which was the division of territory on the Korean peninsula between the Presbyterian Mission, Methodist Mission and CCC (later Korea Baptist) in Korea to avoid unfortunate duplication of effort and competition. Presbyterians occupied Southern Korea, Methodists occupied Central Korea and CCC concentrated on Northern Korea and other areas. See Allen D. Clark, *History of the Korean Church* (Seoul Korea: the Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961), pp. 82-3.

¹⁷³ Yong-Hee Kim, *Taehan Kitokkyo Chimyeawhesa* (History of Korean Baptist Convention) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan Kitokkyo Chimyeawhe Chongwhe, 1964), pp. 24-60.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

province.¹⁷⁵ Since Fenwick resigned as vice-chairman of the first Official Korean Bible Translation committee, he did not want to cooperate with other denominations.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, the CCC was a small denomination until it changed its name to the Korea Baptist Convention linked to the Southern Baptist Convention.

3.2 The Educational and Theological background of Fenwick

Fenwick was born in 1863 in Ontario, Canada. At that time, education in Ontario was emerging from the pioneer stage. Owing to the remarkable gifts of Dr. Adolphus Egerton Ryerson, Upper Canada led all the provinces in educational progress.¹⁷⁷ In order to further the cause of education for all people, Ryerson, the Superintendent of Education, drafted the 1846 Education Bill which is still the basis of public instruction in Ontario.¹⁷⁸

Despite the then heated educational atmosphere, the Fenwick family turned their backs on education due to their economic circumstances. Consequently, Fenwick had no regular school education, nor any theological training. Nevertheless, Fenwick was not uneducated because he had mentors like Donald Mackintosh and A. J. Gordon. In addition, he also had many secular careers. The Canadian immigrants in the early nineteenth century came to Canada for the promise of religious freedom and a better life in a new country. However, Fenwick, a third generation immigrant, did not share in the benefits that education and wealth brought his parents. As a result, he could not help but be disappointed in his life.

¹⁷⁵ Later on this bible college became a foundation of the Korea Baptist Seminary/University on 1954.

¹⁷⁶ Among the many denominations in Korea at that time, Presbyterian and Methodist were the main group. Fenwick was vice-chairman of first Korean English translation committee and the chairman was Horace Underwood, who was a Presbyterian missionary from America. However, both of them had many troubles against each other. These troubles were not only about different translation views but also theological controversy, as a result Fenwick and Underwood broke off relations until they past away. Huh, pp.201-3.

¹⁷⁷ Upper Canada, the predecessor of modern Ontario, came into existence when the British Parliament passed the Constitutional Act in 1791, dividing the old province of Quebec into Lower Canada in the east and Upper Canada in the west along the present-day Ontario-Quebec boundary. See James H. Marsh, *The Canadian Encyclopaedia*, 1985 ed., s.v. "Upper Canada."

¹⁷⁸ Donald Dickie, *The Great Adventure: An Illustrated History of Canada for Young Canadian* (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1958), p. 290. Also see Wittke, *Canada*, pp. 147-8.

Fenwick was influenced by Donald McIntosh until he left his parents. Fenwick's spirituality was kept from being dimmed because he had the opportunity to encounter McIntosh's sacrificial life which was later revealed through Fenwick's missionary work in Korea. Strictly speaking, Fenwick's missionary spirit came from Donald M. McIntosh.¹⁷⁹ While Fenwick himself seems totally independent, he was influenced by people like Gordon, Mackintosh, I. Scofield and Brookes. Among them, Gordon was able to influence Fenwick more directly than anyone else. This was because Fenwick received informal theological training in the Boston Missionary Training School established by Gordon.

This chapter will analyse Fenwick's theological characteristics by comparing it to the theology of Gordon. It will also analyse other influential factors such as the theological characteristics of Mackintosh, Scofield, Brooks, as well as the Keswick and Niagara conferences on the theology of Fenwick. Fenwick was a self-made businessman. This outcome resulted from his volitional power.¹⁸⁰ Fenwick did not change his mind easily once he decided to do something. Because of his determined personality, it was true that Fenwick impressed his charismatic leadership upon his followers, while he exhibited a less than collaborative spirit with other missionaries. However, Fenwick's sacrifice of his educational opportunities was the worst mistake of his life. It should be judged by the trends of the times. He could have no way of knowing the consequences. This, ultimately, had a negative impact upon the Korean Baptists.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ However, Fenwick's missionary strategy came from Adoniram Gordon, his second mentor.

¹⁸⁰ L. L. Young, one of Fenwick's missionary friends, expressed Fenwick's strong personality as follows: "Rather Elijah or a John the Baptist. He [Fenwick] was a rugged and fearless presenter of the truth as it is Christ Jesus." See. L. L. Young. "The Passing of Rev. Malcolm C. Fenwick," *Korean Mission Field* (March 1936): p. 62.

¹⁸¹ It was Fenwick himself who renounced his higher education, the reason being that Fenwick earned plenty of money working as a businessman until the age of twenty-six; yet he invested none of it in an education.

3.2.1 Donald McIntosh and Fenwick's Secular Career

Fenwick found a great mentor during his early age. Fenwick met Donald McIntosh who studied Divinity at Trinity College in Glasgow,¹⁸² and became a Canadian Presbyterian Minister. Like Fenwick's family, the McIntosh family arrived from Scotland, in Glenelg, Glengarry County, Upper Canada as early as 1804.¹⁸³ They were part of an exodus of Scottish Highlanders who left their country in search of a new home that could provide a more secure future. Among his family, only McIntosh became a clergyman.¹⁸⁴ He lived in the Fenwick home for years, exemplifying to Fenwick a life of sacrifice to those in need.¹⁸⁵ To Fenwick, McIntosh's great appeal was not in his accomplishments or his mature wisdom, but in his humanity and as a disciple of Jesus Christ. Fenwick, recalling McIntosh's influence, said;

I shall never forget the day I left home: how he took me into his study, secured a book from his library, wrote my name in it, then knelt and prayed for me... "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy. Malcolm and you will be all right. I have watched the career of many young men, and those who go down usually start by failing to remember the Sabbath Day." This was the word which made me a regular attendant at church; that influenced me to accept the office of librarian of the Sunday school; that put me in the choir and on committees.¹⁸⁶

Fenwick, during his impressionable years, was at the side of a great mentor.¹⁸⁷ For Fenwick, McIntosh was a spiritual father and a moral teacher. Later, Fenwick also became the only minister from among all his brothers, following the model of McIntosh.¹⁸⁸ Fenwick

¹⁸² William M. MacGregor, *Trinity College Glasgow: a Souvenir of the Union, 1856-1929* (Glasgow, Scotland: Trinity College, 1930), p. 20.

¹⁸³ Archives of Ontario, "The Donald McIntosh Family" [world wide web page on-line] ; available from <http://www.teluspanet.net/public/cfdun/mcintoshnav.html>; Internet; accessed 12 February 2008.

¹⁸⁴ McIntosh's brothers mostly became labourers. For more information on the genealogy of his family, see Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ McIntosh gladly helped as the sick requested to see him. See Fenwick, *Church of Corea*, 5.

¹⁸⁶ Fenwick, *Church of Christ*, 4-5.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 7-9.

inherited poverty from his father, yet he was already successful in his business before getting married. It was at the age of eighteen when Fenwick accumulated various experiences in agriculture and horticulture from the Prize Model Farm of Ontario.¹⁸⁹ After leaving home in 1882, Fenwick also learned legal procedure, accounting and banking until 1886.¹⁹⁰ In addition, Fenwick was successful as manager of a wholesale hardware business, supervising forty men in 1886.¹⁹¹

In July 1889, at the age of twenty-six, Fenwick came to a decision to be a foreign missionary while participating in the Niagara-on-the-Lake conference, Ontario, and Canada.¹⁹² Fenwick was introduced via a calamitous event that occurred in Korea. Word came from some unidentified source that the wife of Dr. J. W. Heron (1856-1890) reported that he was lying in jail in Korea and was to be hung for preaching the Gospel.¹⁹³ This event had Fenwick stiffen his resolution to serve as a missionary, yet he hesitated to do so because of his lack of theological education.

Immediately, a change of heart came when Fenwick heard Robert Wilder, a missionary in India, tell the story of a man dying of thirst out in the desert, crying for water. Wilder said, "If I took him some water in an expensive cut-glass goblet, he would appreciate it. But if I had only an old rusty, battered can to take it in, he would gladly drink and live. It

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 4. Especially, Clifford Clark insists that Fenwick graduated from agricultural college. His assertion is not true, however, because Fenwick himself admits that he had no regular school education. See Clark, *Real Lives of Missionaries*, 62; Fenwick, *Corea*, 13. But due to Fenwick's outstanding experience in farming, Fenwick's followers innocently called him "Doctor of Agriculture." See Cho, "Korean Baptist Convention," p. 46.

¹⁹⁰ Fenwick, *Church of Corea*, p. 15.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁹² This particular conference, when Fenwick responded to his calling, was held July 17-24, 1889. See James Brooks, "Niagara Conference," *The Truth* 15 (1889): p. 433.

¹⁹³ This news contrasted strongly with the fact that Heron was not lying in jail, but was dead due to his overwork on July 26, 1890. Kyung Bai Min, "Korean Mission of Malcolm Fenwick," *Hyudaiwa Sinhak* [Today and Theology] 17 (December 1993): p. 60.

was what he needed.”¹⁹⁴ At last, four months later, Fenwick was convinced by this story, and sailed for Korea, arriving there on December 8, 1889.¹⁹⁵

3.2.2 The Niagara Bible Conference (NBC) and the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM)

The Niagara Bible Conference (NBC) seemed to influence Fenwick significantly. This conference enabled Fenwick to formulate his theological precepts, especially his ecclesiology, eschatology, and bibliology. For example, he followed the conservative and fundamentalist theology of this Conference.¹⁹⁶ The NBC promoted the theological characteristics of Biblicism, dispensational premillennialism, holiness, and a passion for world evangelization because of the influence of the Plymouth Brethren, Evangelical revivalism, and the Keswick Movement. The NBC adhered to Calvinism broadly, though the Wesleyan Holiness Tradition and Pietism influenced it to some degree. Fenwick had a close relation to the NBC and his theology reflected its distinctive emphasis. During the time Fenwick participated in the conference, he established a theological foundation for his further ministry and mission. Because Fenwick had no formal theological training, the conference, which he attended prior to Korea, seemed to function for Fenwick as a kind of seminary.

From 1883 through 1897, the Niagara Bible Conference convened four annual summer assemblies at Niagara-on-the-Lake, a few miles from the world-famous falls in Ontario, Canada, for concentrated Bible study.¹⁹⁷ At this conference, Fenwick learned the

¹⁹⁴ Fenwick, *Church of Corea*. P. 14.

¹⁹⁵ Lucy Wright, “Korea, Land of Challenge,” *Royal Service* 63 (June 1969): p. 2.

¹⁹⁶ Niagara was the Bible conference used to promote theological conservatism and to oppose liberalism. See Larry D. Pettegrew, “The Niagara Bible Conference and American Fundamentalism,”

¹⁹⁷ C. Allyn Russell, *Voices of American Fundamentalism* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), 17. Also, see Timothy P. Weber, “Premillennialism and the Branches of Evangelicalism,” in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, ed. Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1991), p. 11.

Bible from the leading Niagara Bible teachers, Adoniram J. Gordon, James Brooks, L. W. Munhall, James Hudson Taylor, William J. Erdman, William G. Moorhead, and Arthur T. Pierson.¹⁹⁸ They were all premillennialists whose messages generally centred on the Bible, premillennialism, dispensationalism, interdenominationalism, missions, and prophecy.¹⁹⁹

The Niagara Bible conference has been divided into two periods. First was the developing period (1883-1884),²⁰⁰ during which time the conference came to full maturity with a higher percentage of attendance and famous speakers addressing the people as they gathered together. Second was the declining period (1885-1897), so named as a result of the death of key leaders,²⁰¹ a change of location for the conference setting, and the appearance of numerous other Bible conferences.²⁰² Fenwick attended the conference from 1886 to 1889 before departing for Korea,²⁰³ and again while visiting Canada and the United States during his three years' stay from 1893 to 1896.²⁰⁴ He attended seven times; thus, it is natural that the conference had a great impact on the formulation of Fenwick's theology.

Fenwick decided to obey God's calling to be a missionary probably in a meeting in July 1887, though he never recorded the exact date. He mentioned only two facts: first, he decided to be a missionary while he was attending a Niagara Conference; second, this decision was taken before 1889. William Scott, a contemporary Canadian missionary to

¹⁹⁸ Dollar, *Fundamentalism in America*, 73; Fenwick, *Corea*, p. 12, p. 65.

¹⁹⁹ Dollar, *Fundamentalism in America*, p. 72.

²⁰⁰ Beale, "Niagara Bible Conference."

²⁰¹ Adoniram J. Gordon passed away in 1895, and James Brooks died in 1897.

²⁰² Pettegrew, "Historical and Theological Contributions," pp. 168-84.

²⁰³ After his salvation in Toronto in 1886, Fenwick professed that he studied the Bible "year after year" at Niagara-on-the-Lake. Beginning that same year, Fenwick regularly attended the meeting until he sailed to Korea in November 1889. See Fenwick, *Corea*, 12-13; Clark, *Real Lives of Missionaries*, p. 63.

²⁰⁴ Fenwick expresses in brief the return to Canada as follows: "In 1893, I returned to my native land, where God gave me a three years' course in waiting." In addition, he says, "the spring following Mr. McKenzie died on June 23, 1895, at the age of thirty-four." Due to the fact that the conference was annually held from mid-July to the beginning of August, Fenwick was not able to attend the 1896 meeting. See Fenwick, *Corea*, pp. 37-9, 57. Also, see Yoo, "Canadian Missionaries," p. 508.

Korea from 1914 to 1956, implied that Fenwick's decision to be a foreign missionary at the NBC came in July 1887 by saying that Fenwick "was influenced towards foreign missionary service through the visit to Toronto, in 1887, of R. P. Wilder of the SVM in the U.S.A."²⁰⁵ Because Scott obviously seemed to meet and talk with Fenwick, his above recollection might be reliable. Fenwick also described his decision to be a missionary under the influence of Wilder while he attended a Niagara meeting:

When at Niagara Bible Conference the call came to go far hence among the Gentile, I began, as I have before intimated, to make excuse. "Lord, you know I am only a business man," I said. "Go!" said He, "But I have not a classical schooling. I'm not a minister. I have never been to a theological seminary, Lord." "Go!" He said ... About the third day I said, "Lord, I'm not willing and don't want to be, but if you wish to make me willing to be made willing, why, perhaps I could stand for that." That evening I heard Brother Wilder, of India, telling of a man dying of thirst out in the desert, crying for water. He said if I took him some water in a fine cut glass picture and handed it to him in a fine cut glass goblet, he would appreciate it. But if I had an old rusty, battered can to take it in, he would gladly drink and live. It was water he needed. That simple illustration made me willing.²⁰⁶

According to Pettegrew, the Niagara Conference of 1887 held several meetings with the theme of foreign missions, and A. T. Pierson was the main speaker for this topic.²⁰⁷ Robert Wilder might have spoken in one of these meetings, though there is no historical evidence.

Especially at the 1888 conference, Fenwick learned Pneumatology. According to Fenwick, in the Church of Christ of Christ in Corea, it was said that he studied the Bible with "monarchs" of the Niagara Bible Conference. Who were these monarchs? Out of the innumerable speakers of the conference, six men exerted a favourable influence on Fenwick's mission and ministry: (1) Arthur T. Pierson, (2) James Hudson Taylor, (3) Cyrus I. Scofield, (4) James H. Brooks, (5) Adoniram J. Gordon, and (6) John Wilber Chapman. Among the six

²⁰⁵ Scott, "Canadians in Korea," p. 19.

²⁰⁶ Fenwick, *Church of Christ*, pp. 13-4.

²⁰⁷ Pettegrew, "The Niagara Part 3," p. 9.

speakers, Adoniram J. Gordon (1836-1895) was most influential person for building Fenwick's theological formation. He made the greatest contribution to Fenwick's bibliography. In particular, Gordon's literal approach to interpreting Scripture heavily influenced the Niagara men's theology as well as Fenwick's theology. Gordon wrote:

Literalism is a term quite suggestive to many minds of coarse swand material views of truth. But we believe, that while it may have been abused in some instances, it is, on the whole, the best friend of sound doctrine.... The spiritualizing method of interpretation, on the contrary, is fraught with perils. If the orthodox teacher uses it in interpreting prophecy, as is widely the custom, in order to avoid certain supposed insuperable difficulties, why may not the rationalist do the same in order to avoid objections equally great in his path.²⁰⁸

Gordon asserted that Scripture "must be taken literally or liberally."²⁰⁹ Therefore, the Niagara men used the literal hermeneutical principle upheld by Gordon. Of course, Fenwick followed verbal inspiration by Holy Spirit too. However, he protested the fastidious aspects:

When Harper said he thought the Bible ought to be allowed to witness for itself; that it never once claimed that the men who wrote were inspired, but the writings, and that the Spirit of God spoke by them and His words were in their mouths, not in their heads... "O, you verbal inspiration lists make me tired. You are always quoting 2 Tim. 3:16 and saying all scripture is given by inspiration of God and is profitable."²¹⁰

Gordon had a great influence on Fenwick's understanding of verbal inspiration. Whenever he was faced with problems in comprehension, Fenwick was completely free to interpret the Bible and follow the guidance of the Spirit. Fenwick had great concern for the content and message of the Scripture. This became the source and motivation for Fenwick's literary missions. After Fenwick returned to Korea from the BMTS (Boston Missionary Training School), he focused on literary missions, as did Gordon. Fenwick's main literary ministry was *Talpyunji* (Monthly Epistle), "Wonsan Version" (Fenwick's own Korean translation

²⁰⁸ Adoniram Judson Gordon, "Editorial," the Watchword 1 (October 1878): p. 2.

²⁰⁹ George W. Dollar, "The Early Days of American Fundamentalism," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 123 (April-June 1966): p. 117.

²¹⁰ Malcolm C. Fenwick, *Life in the Cup* (Mesa Grande, CA: Church of Christ in Corea Extension, 1917), p. 18.

version), *Manminchounkyuipyul* (Good news for the people), and *Pokumchanmi* (Gospel Hymns). Especially, *Talpyunji* and *Manminchounkyuipyul* were great influence by Gordon. And those literatures made disciplined local people through all Korea as well as China and Russia where Korean people lived.

The Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) was also very influential for the Fenwick's future vocation and ministry. The SVM intensified Fenwick's enthusiasm for foreign missions. William Scott argued that Gale, Fenwick, Hardie, and Avison, the first Canadians to enter Korea, were "products of the remarkable wave of missionary enthusiasm that swept the colleges of Britain and America in the late eighteen hundreds."²¹¹ Fenwick seemed to be familiar with the movement through his relationship with men like Adoniram Gordon, Robert Wilder, James Brooks and Arthur Pierson. The Student Volunteer Movement began in 1886 under the influence of D. L. Moody's Northfield conference. Although the millenarians did not dominate the movement, they did play a crucial role. Pierson and Gordon were speakers within this movement, and later Brooks, West, and Moorhead joined them. Roberts Wilder himself was a member of the Mt. Hermon and he helped to bring into being the Student Volunteer for Foreign Missions.²¹² Arthur T. Pierson, who ordained Fenwick, planted a passion for worldwide evangelization in the minds of students. He employed the motto, "the evangelization of the world in this generation" though he did not coin it.²¹³ Pierson believed that "the evangelization of the world did not imply the conversion of the world but, rather, the

²¹¹ Scott, "Canadians in Korea," p. 15.

²¹² Dnana L. Robert, "The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: 'The Evangelization of the World in This Generation,'" *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 10 (October 1986): p. 146.

²¹³ Roberts, "Origin," 147. Dana Robert pointed out that "in 1889 the Student Volunteer Movement adopted the phrase as its keynote because it captured the urgency and necessity of foreign missions" (*ibid.*, p. 148).

proclamation of the gospel to the world.”²¹⁴ Fenwick held a similar view of missions. Fenwick probably learned Keswick teachings from the people associated with the Niagara conference and the SVM. According to Marsden, the holiness movement “prepared the way for the acceptance of dispensationalism.” Marsden insisted again that “dispensationalist and Keswick teachings were two sides of the same movement.”²¹⁵ Marsden also pointed out that “the Student Volunteer movement had close Keswick ties. Many impressive young men of the era responded to these teachings by consecrating their lives to missionary service.”²¹⁶

Fenwick said that he had attended the Niagara Bible Conference regularly before the 1887 meetings:

Having studied year after year with those monarchs of Bible study at old Niagara-on-the-Lake, where the people attending the conference knew not to what denomination the teachers belonged, the denominational feature of missions was not strong in my mind. The idea of being God’s witness to every creature and hastening the return of our absent Lord was ever before me as Christian’s part.²¹⁷

Fenwick probably started to attend the Niagara Conferences in either 1885 or 1886, because no conference was held in 1884. He formulated the non-denominational nature of his understanding of missions from those meetings. Fenwick also probably acquired his dispensationalism and premillennialism from those meetings.

From 1885, the Niagara Conference began to emphasize dispensationalism and premillennialism. W. E. Blackstone addressed the dispensations recorded in the Bible and the Second Coming Christ from July 23 to July 30, 1885. C. I. Scofield also taught about Christology, dispensational premillennialism and the work of the Holy Spirit in the Niagara

²¹⁴ Roberts, “Origin,” 147. John R Mott, world president of the YMCA at that time, had the same view and defined “the evangelization of the world in this generation” to mean “to give all men an adequate opportunity to know Jesus Christ as their Saviour and to become his real disciples” (ibid., 149).

²¹⁵ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, pp. 72-3, p. 80.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 97.

²¹⁷ Fenwick, *Church of Christ*, pp. 12-3.

meetings beginning in 1886.²¹⁸ Fenwick seemed to adopt Scofield's dispensationalism from the conference and from their conference magazine *Truth*, because Fenwick's Bible Study contained many ideas very similar to Scofield's.²¹⁹ Because he arrived in Korea in December 1889 and mentioned that he landed four months after departing, Fenwick seems to have departed for Korea in August 1889.²²⁰ He probably departed for Korea after participating in the Niagara Conference of July 17-24, 1889. In this meeting, Hudson Taylor of the China Inland Mission gave an address. This conference was the largest as well the most passionate plea for foreign missions up to that time. According to James Brooks, the offering from that meeting amounted to \$2,500 and "six young people offered themselves as missionaries"²²¹ Fenwick was one of six young people.

3.2.3 Adoniram J. Gordon and the Boston Missionary School

Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836-1895) was one of the most influential evangelicals of the late nineteenth century. He was a Baptist minister and missions leader. After completing his education at Brown University and Newton Theological Institution, in 1863, Gordon became the pastor of the Jamaica Plain Baptist Church in Massachusetts. In 1869, he became pastor of the Clarendon Street Church in Boston, where he laboured until his death. In the twenty-five years that Gordon was pastor of the Clarendon Street Church, he transformed it into one of the leading missions-minded churches in America and a leading fundraiser for Baptist foreign missions. But the church's mission involvement was not limited to overseas.

²¹⁸ Larry D. Pettegrew, "The Niagara Bible Conference and American Fundamentalism Part 1", *Central Bible Quarterly* 20 (Summer 1977): p. 6.

²¹⁹ Fenwick, *Sakyung Kongbu* [Bible Study] (n.p. 1909). This primary source of Malcolm Fenwick has been preserved by Rev. Kab Soo Kim, one of leading and older pastors of the Korea Baptist Convention. He is also author of the book *A History of Korean Baptist Leaders*.

²²⁰ Fenwick, *The Church of Christ*, p. 14.

²²¹ Pettegrew, "The Niagara Bible Conference", pp. 9-10.

In 1888, he became chairman of the American Baptist Missionary Union, the chief northern Baptist missionary agency.²²² In 1889, the Boston Missionary Training School opened in Gordon's church. Also, he was known as a main speaker for a variety of bible conferences.

Gordon's most famous book, *The Ministry of the Spirit* (1894), placed emphasis on the Holy Spirit and his advocacy of faith healing.²²³ This book was the most influential book for Fenwick as well as the Korean Baptists. Fenwick had the chance to see how Gordon faithfully led the Clarendon Street Baptist Church and how he effectively produced church growth and saw the fruit of his missionary endeavours. It was Gordon who had the greatest impact on the development of Fenwick's theology, mission strategy and philosophy. Fenwick's missionary training was accomplished through the Boston Missionary Training School, under the leadership of Gordon who was the pastor of the Clarendon Street Baptist Church when Fenwick returned to North America during 1893-96. By discussing some specific strategies reflected in Fenwick's missions and comparing them with those of the Boston Missionary Training School, this chapter discusses how Fenwick was influenced by Gordon. Fenwick had a close relationship with Gordon and seemed to be much influenced by him. There is much evidence to support this: first, many records detailed the relationship between Fenwick and Gordon; second, Fenwick's relationship to Ella Thing Memorial Mission is well documented; and third, Fenwick himself mentioned Gordon's influence on him.

First, many books and dissertations have pointed to the close relationship between the two men. William Scott mentioned that Fenwick "returned to America in 1893 and spent three years in training which led to his ordination by prominent Baptist minister, Dr. A.J.

²²² Brereton, *Training God's Army*, p. 51.

²²³ Gordon A.J. *The Ministry of Healing* (New York: Howard Gamett, 1882), pp. 16-17.

Gordon.”²²⁴ In the first volume of the periodical of the Korea Baptist Convention, David Ann, Fenwick’s adopted Korean son, asserted that Fenwick was a member of the Clarendon Baptist Church in Boston and that Gordon instructed and sponsored Fenwick.²²⁵ David Ann grew to be a major leader of the Church of Christ in Korea and later became the president of the Korea Baptist Convention. Max Willocks, a Southern Baptist Missionary to Korea, maintained that Fenwick attended a revival meeting in Chicago where Gordon acted as an evangelist during his furlough in Canada. At that time Fenwick became convinced that the Baptists were the correct theological tradition, and he decided to work as a Baptist. Sometime later, Fenwick visited Gordon. Timothy Cho suggested that Gordon might have convinced Fenwick that immersion was the biblical mode of baptism. Cho also pointed out that the purpose of the Korean Itinerant Mission and that of Gordon’s Boston Missionary School were virtually identical.²²⁶ Many other books about the Korea Baptist Convention, including its official history, maintain that Fenwick took classes from Gordon at the Boston Missionary training School during his three year stay in America from 1893 to 1896.²²⁷

Secondly, Fenwick’s relationship to Ella Thing Memorial Mission demonstrates his links to Gordon. S. B. Thing, a successful businessman and deacon of Clarendon Street Baptist Church, formed this mission to memorialize his only daughter, Ella, in 1895. When Ella had recognized she would not live long she asked her father to use her “earthly portion” for God’s work. Deacon Thing entrusted it to his pastor A.J. Gordon. With this fund Gordon established a mission committee and was able to appoint missionaries from his Missionary

²²⁴ Scott, “Canadian in Korea,” 20. Scott wrote Pearson instead of Pierson. Kin Huh, Professor of Church History at Korea Baptist Seminary/University, pointed out that E.C. Pauling, the first missionary of Ella Thing Memorial Mission, also took ordination with Fenwick at the same time (Huh, *History of Korea Baptist*, 37).

²²⁵ Cho Timothy Hyo Hoon, “A History of the Korea Baptist Convention” (Ph.D. Thesis, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 1970), pp. 44-56.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Yong Kim, *History of Korea Baptist*, p. 13.

Training School. In 1895, the Ella Thing Mission dispatched Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Pauling and Miss Amanda Gardeline to Korea as its first missionaries. Later missionaries all had missionary training in Gordon's Missionary Training School. These missionaries succeeded in evangelizing and establishing churches in the Chung Do area of Korea. The lack of funds and pressure from the missions of other denominations, however, forced them to terminate their work. They transferred their property and the right of administration of the Mission to Fenwick and the Corean Itinerant Mission.

Why did the Ella Thing Mission send their missionaries to Korea, and why did that Mission transfer its work to Fenwick? Fenwick himself answered: "about this time some American missionaries who had come to Corea in another mission after my visit among them, and had become dissatisfied, had returned home and the director of the mission turned the property over to me."²²⁸ Many secondary sources also point out this fact. Willocks maintained that because Fenwick aroused much interest in the cause of missions in Korea, the Ella Thing Mission chose Korea as its mission field. Cho suggested that the missionaries of the Ella Thing Mission were possibly Fenwick's classmates under Gordon. Samuel H. Moffett, an American Presbyterian missionary to Korea, pointed out that Gordon was a special mentor for Fenwick and Fenwick was trained by Gordon.²²⁹

Third, Fenwick himself mentioned his relationship with Gordon. In his book *Life in the Cup*, Fenwick said that he followed A.J. Gordon's way of administrating the church.

²²⁸ Fenwick, *The Church of Christ*, 57-58. Fenwick mentioned it again that "it became a happy day for me, when six missionaries left the care of a work started, to me. It was three hundred miles away from my place" (Malcolm C. Fenwick, *Life in the Cup* (Mesa Grande, CA: Church of Christ in Corea Extension), 202).

²²⁹ Moffett stated that "independent Baptist work in Korea was begun in late 1889 by a Canadian, Malcolm C. Fenwick. He was a tireless evangelist, patterning his work after the example of the China Inland Mission but emphasizing the witness of Korean Christians rather foreign missionaries. He was joined for a time (1894-1900) by American Baptist missionaries from Dr. A. J. Gordon's Clarendon Street Baptist church in Boston" (Samuel H. Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* [New York: Friendship Press, 1962] , p. 43).

Fenwick established a Bible School to train Korean young men for the ministry. He introduced Gordon's views to them in his lectures: "they were told that our beloved friend, the late A.J. Gordon, had said: 'The types in Scripture are as capable of demonstration as any proposition in Euclid. For this reason, the higher critics have never dared touch them.'"²³⁰ In addition, Fenwick mentioned about the continuous use of spiritual gifts for urgent world mission in his own evangelical monthly letter (*Dal-pyunji*) to his followers. Fenwick taught Korean Baptists the dispensational emphasis on the division of law from grace. After teaching it, he said that he "learned it from Dr. Gordon."²³¹

One example vividly shows the likelihood of Gordon's influence on Fenwick. Fenwick taught Koreans that the role of the Holy Spirit in prayer was very important through his explanation of the first chapter of Acts. He maintained that the nomination of Matthias to be one of the twelve disciples was not the right decision, because the disciples selected him without the advent and fullness of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, Matthias did not appear in the Bible from that time on. The Holy Spirit chose not Matthias but Saul of Tarsus, and God predestined Paul to be a disciple of Jesus. Paul also regarded himself to be a disciple of Jesus. He argued that without the Holy Spirit, each Christian could not pray rightly or decides correctly. Gordon made exactly the same point. One sees the shadow of Gordon in his disciple Fenwick.²³²

Fenwick's wife Fanny Hinds also had a friendship with Gordon. She came to Korea in 1898 as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Mission to Korea and married Fenwick in 1900. She had been trained in Gordon's Bible School at Clarendon Street Baptist Church,

²³⁰ Fenwick, *The Church of Christ*, 65.

²³¹ Fenwick, *Bible Study*, p. 81.

²³² Fenwick, *Church of Christ in Corea*, pp. 28-34.

Boston. She greatly helped Fenwick in his work. For example, during his furlough in America, she superintended the mission until his return. It is likely that she had a similar faith and spirituality as Gordon. It is also probable that she taught and led the church according to this pattern.²³³

Fenwick established his theology against this very conservative background. His mother and Rev. Donald McIntosh taught the young Fenwick the faith of pietistic fundamentalism. During the time of his adulthood, the NBC and the SVM convinced him of the importance of dispensational premillennialism and the urgent necessity of foreign missions. Among the Niagara teachers, A. J. Gordon seemed to influence Fenwick the most. The comparison of theological characteristics of Fenwick with those of Gordon, therefore, will result in a more adequate and correct understanding of the theology of Fenwick.

3.3 The Theology of Fenwick

3.3.1 Fenwick the Fundamentalist

Late nineteenth century Fundamentalism was one of the significant elements of Fenwick's theology. Especially, A. J. Gordon seemed to greatly influence Fenwick more directly than any other premillennialist. In addition, Cyrus I. Scofield and James Brooks also seemed to influence Fenwick. If Korea Baptist wish to trace their own theological roots to Fenwick, it is important to examine Fenwick's own theological roots.

3.3.2 Fenwick, the Fundamentalist-Charismatic

A. J. Gordon can be regarded as a 'proto-type' Fundamentalist-Charismatic, with a similar spirituality to early twentieth century Classical Pentecostals. As A. J. Gordon is the

²³³ Yong Gook Kim, *An Analysis of the theological Development and controversies of the Korea Baptist Convention, 1897-1997* (Ph.D. Thesis, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 2001), p. 31.

only mentor who directly impacted Fenwick's theology, Fenwick may also be regarded as a Fundamentalist-Charismatic-type minister. Gordon also believed the truthfulness of the miracles in the Bible. He maintained that the biblical criticism of liberal theology would demolish belief in the infallibility of the Bible. Fenwick asserted that liberal theologians did not believe the infallibility of the words of God. So he believed in the reality of the miracles in the Bible.

Fenwick, like Gordon, seemed to hold the characteristics of pietistic fundamentalism. He exerted himself in sanctification and evangelization instead of involving himself in political issues. Fenwick, however, had a militant attitude in defending what he believed was true. Many Korean historians and foreign missionaries in Korea describe Fenwick as an impatient and obstinate man, though he was very pious and self-sacrificing. He criticized people who disagreed with him. He was very faithful to what he believed and never gave ground to any unbiblical teachings. L.L. Young described Fenwick as a man like an Elijah or a John the Baptist and said that "he was a rugged and fearless presenter of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus."²³⁴ Fenwick himself emphasized that manliness and courage were important characteristics of a true believer who was supposed to speak the truth. This hostility against the false doctrines of liberals was a typical attitude of the fundamentalists.

Fenwick had two grounds for his courage. First, he believed in the Holy Spirit's power. "He is 'The Spirit of Love,' whose 'Perfect love cast out fear,' and I can never be a coward before men."²³⁵ Fenwick, like Gordon, believed that the omnipotent and almighty God gave believers the Spirit of courage, so fear and apprehension were not from God.

²³⁴ L. L. Young, "the Passing of Rev. Malcolm C. Fenwick," Korea Mission Field (March 1936): p. 62.

²³⁵ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, pp. 103-4.

Secondly, Fenwick maintained that a true believer should have courage since questioning fundamental truths was from Satan:

Satan had a difficulty in the way. He had to first destroy our faith in the divine source and authority of the Bible. Then he had to destroy our faith in the divinity of Christ. To do this he tackled the virgin birth; and to be successful he pooh-poohed at all miracles. Then he tackled the Atonement and Resurrection, and we believed all his clever lies. This is no new thing with Satan.²³⁶

His defence of biblical truth and opposition to liberalism of all sorts shows that Fenwick was a self-conscious fundamentalist.²³⁷

Fenwick was also a strong charismatic minister. Fenwick held the Pneumatology similar to today's Pentecostal-Charismatic's view. For example, He held the orthodox view of the Holy Spirit. He described the Holy Spirit as the "Writer of the Bible, the foundation of Life, Love, the Person who had absolute freedom of will, the Holy God, the Indwelling teacher, and the Spirit who gave prophecy and power."²³⁸ Fenwick believed all of the spiritual gifts were still available in his generation. Like Gordon, Fenwick emphasizes on healing and exorcism. In his books he mentioned several times that all spiritual gifts are still available even today.²³⁹ Fenwick's view of the Holy Spirit permeated many parts of his theology. Fenwick, like Gordon, emphasized the personal nature of the Holy Spirit.²⁴⁰

²³⁶ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 125; idem, *Bible Study*, p. 25.

²³⁷ Earnest Sandeen. *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago: the University Chicago Press, 1970), , Sandeen maintain that "the Fundamentalist movement was a self-conscious, structured, long-lived, dynamic entity recognized leadership, periodicals, and meeting."

²³⁸ Fenwick, *Bible Study*, pp. 44-5.

²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 44-6.

²⁴⁰ Fenwick's books mention his understanding of spiritual gifts. These include *Bokumchanmi* (the Gospel Songs), *The Church of Christ in Corea*, *Life in the Cup*, *Manmindeohunkibyul* (The New Testament in Korean), and *Sakyung Kongbu* (Bible Study). Unfortunately Fenwick's sermons about spiritual gifts are not available because many valuable materials about Fenwick were destroyed by the Communists as the Church of Christ in Corea headquarters in Wonsan was located in North Korea. However Fenwick's adopted son Pastor Ahn and many followers handed down orally Fenwick's sermons and pneumatology. Especially Kim Gap Sues and Ann Daebuyuk hold to many of Fenwick's teaching. In addition, Kim produced several historical books of the Korea Baptist Convention and Fenwick's theology.

Fenwick believed the Holy Spirit's power can defeat Satan. And he believed in the spiritual battle between God (the Holy Spirit) and Satan. Fenwick regarded theological liberalism as satanic it shows that he thought himself as the self-conscious fundamentalist.²⁴¹

3.3.3 Fenwick's Pneumatology

What did Fenwick believe about the person and work of Holy Spirit? In particular, his Pneumatology is clearly seen in his books, *The Church of Christ in Corea*, *Life in a Cup* and *Sakyungkongboo*. For Fenwick, the primary work of the Holy Spirit was to convict the unchurched to discover the experience of salvation. Especially, he compared the Holy Spirit to *Joongmaein* (a matchmaker for an arranged marriage in Korea), whose job was to find a bride to be introduced to a bridegroom in Korean traditional culture. In fact, without *Joongmaein*, a bride could not find a bridegroom. This metaphor explains the work of the Holy Spirit whose job is to assist the unbeliever in finding knowledge of salvation.

Fenwick, like Gordon, emphasized the personal nature of the Holy Spirit, and maintained that the Holy Spirit had freedom of will because he was the personal God. Fenwick followed Gordon in believing that the presence of the Holy Spirit in this age was the spiritual presence of Christ: "I realized Jesus is here now in His better part-His Spirit." Both Fenwick and Gordon argued that the Holy Spirit had absolute lordship in the lives of Christians in this present dispensation. Fenwick also believed that the Holy Spirit was an indwelling Teacher and Guide. This belief led him to emphasize the immediate teaching of

²⁴¹ Malcolm C. Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*. (Mesa Grande, CA: Church of Christ in Corea Extension, 1917), pp, 101-5.

the Spirit: “Man’s teaching is a very poor thing. What you need is to have the Holy Spirit teach you.”²⁴²

One of the significant elements of his Pneumatology is divine healing and exorcism. Fenwick seemed to believe in the possibility of divine healing and exorcism through the Holy Spirit even in modern times. Fenwick and Gordon both believed that churches are empowered by the Holy Spirit, resulting in spiritual fruit and supernatural acts. This does not mean every person has a profound, life-altering experience in every service and mission work. It means that these kinds of experiences are still happening. They believed that a healthy church must have experiences with the Holy Spirit. Fenwick also wanted to be a Spirit-filled leader like Gordon and other great spiritual leaders. Fenwick also saw a case for success in church planting by the Holy Spirit’s work of exorcism. For example, a Korean pastor named Myung Kyun Shin easily succeeded in establishing a church through his exorcism of a fourteen-year-old demon-possessed boy, Such Chun Chang, who later became one of the main leaders of the Church of Christ in Korea. Fenwick also recounted that a young opium addict miraculously experienced healing by the Holy Spirit after his acceptance of Christ:

“Yes, I will. I will take this Jesus to be my Saviour.” Then, with all the simplicity of belief child, he added: “He loved me enough to die for me. He shall be my Saviour; He shall restore me, and I will be His willing bond-slave.” Listen! In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, that hitherto uncontrolled appetite for opium was taken absolutely away, and the thing he before loved so dearly he before loved so dearly he now loathed completely.²⁴³

This man became a steadfast Christian, and a church was established in the village through him. Similarly, Gordon began to believe in healing by the Spirit when he heard about “the

²⁴² Fenwick, *The Church of Christ in Korea*, pp. 102-3.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-6. Fenwick introduced many supernatural cases in his mission field with his native Korean leaders.

immediate deliverance from addictions. Fenwick seems more radically to believe in the possibility of miracles of the Spirit in modern times than Gordon.²⁴⁴

3.3.3.1 Fenwick's View of the Spirit Baptism

Gordon like Fenwick believed in water baptism by immersion as the first Baptism and then Spirit Baptism as the second baptism. Gordon said that “the baptism in water marks the formal introduction of the believer into the church. But this is symbol. Not the substance” therefore in other words it seems clear that Baptism of the Holy Spirit was essential for empowerment of ministry. And it was given once for the whole church, extending from Pentecost to Parousia. “There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism” (Eph4:5). As there is “one body” reaching through the entire dispensation, so there is “one body” reaching through the entire dispensation, so there is “one baptism” for that body given on the day of Pentecost.²⁴⁵

Gordon and Fenwick both believed that Spirit Baptism and the indwelling gifts of the Spirit are still valid because “Yet Pentecost still appears to have been the age-baptism of the church. As Calvary was once for all, so was the Holy Spirit also given once for all on the day of Pentecost.” The Paraclete came in person to make His abode in the church, but that does not mean that every believer has received this baptism.²⁴⁶ Both Gordon and Fenwick had a dispensationalist view of baptism. However, nineteenth century dispensationalism differs from twentieth century ultra-dispensationalism. Traditionally, nineteenth century dispensationalism believed in three ages: an Age of the Law, governed by God the Father; an age of the Grace, brought by the incarnation; and an Age of the Spirit during which the antichrist will be defeated and the world renewed. Ultra-dispensationalism became popular

²⁴⁴ Yong Gook Kim, pp. 47-8.

²⁴⁵ Gordon, *The Ministry of the Spirit* and Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

with the famous American ‘left behind’ novels but it is different from Darby’s dispensationalist theology during the early nineteenth century. For example, the current Southern Baptist Convention’s theology is not dispensationalist or fundamentalist but cessationist.²⁴⁷ Neither Gordon nor Fenwick regarded speaking in tongues as important nor did they believe in the gift of tongues as the initial evidence of Holy Spirit baptism.

3.3.4 Fenwick’s Soteriology

Briefly speaking, Fenwick’s Soteriology can be defined as a modified form of Calvinism through the influence of Keswick teaching. Although Fenwick believed in general Keswick teaching, he modified it through his Keswick view of sanctification. This attitude was not rare among dispensationalists in the nineteenth century. First of all, they held to Calvinism.²⁴⁸ When Darbyite dispensationalism came to America, it found supporters mainly among people in Calvinistic denominations such as Baptists and Old School Presbyterians.²⁴⁹ However, their Calvinism was blended with pietism, the holiness movement of Keswick, and revivalism which emphasized a personal experience of Christ.²⁵⁰ Marsden also pointed out that fundamentalists in the late nineteenth century tended to amalgamate pietism with Calvinism.²⁵¹ Gordon, Pierson and Scofield all represented this trend. Kraus pointed out the reason for this phenomenon:

This eclecticism can be accounted for partially by the fact the most of the men who helped to shape the system in America were not trained theologians. As a matter of

²⁴⁷ Cessationism is a doctrine that denies the spiritual gifts forming the distinctive core of the Pentecostal and Charismatic tradition. Cessationism claims that because miracles and other extraordinary spiritual gifts either served only as a temporary aid to establish the church or to accredit its doctrines, these gifts did not continue long after the apostolic period. Burgess, Stanley M., *Encyclopaedia of Pentecost and Charismatic Christianity* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 84. They often called ultra-dispensationalism.

²⁴⁸ Kraus, *Dispensationalism*, pp. 57-9.

²⁴⁹ Sandeen, *Roots*, 75; Kraus, *Dispensationalism*, p. 60.

²⁵⁰ Kraus, *Dispensationalism*, pp. 59-60.

²⁵¹ Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, p. 44.

fact they distrusted theologians, even the most conservative ones, and gloried in their own simplicity and Biblicism.²⁵²

Along the same lines as the Niagara men, Fenwick modified Calvinism.

Fenwick held to the doctrine of total depravity steadfastly. Both Fenwick and Gordon believed that after the Fall of Adam and Eve all human beings lost the freedom of their wills and became enslaved under the rule of Satan. There was no positive aspect in the nature of human beings in Fenwick's anthropology. He, therefore, only exclaimed that "we are but poor shells, O, God! Having no worth or value."²⁵³ Fenwick believed total depravity was biblical doctrine. He presented several texts such as Jeremiah 17:9, Ecclesiastes 8:11, Matthew 15:19, and Romans 3:9-19 as the grounds of the doctrine.²⁵⁴ Against a Gnostic anthropology, he argued that the denial of the doctrine of total depravity was the deception of Satan: "The evil spirit's suggestion that I was capable myself of growing into the highest ideal - that I had such a 'divine spark' in me, a goodness of my own and therefore in all men was attributed to my own righteousness."²⁵⁵ According to his belief in the total depravity of men, Fenwick strongly opposed the idea of salvation by works: "the best deeds you ever did never wiped out one sin recorded against any of us; and never worked up an atom of merit with God."²⁵⁶

Fenwick was not a Hyper-Calvinist, but he believed in predestination. Against the idea of universal salvation, he maintained that Romans 8:29 taught that God knew his people

²⁵² Kraus, *Dispensationalism*, p. 59.

²⁵³ Fenwick, *Bible Study*, p. 91. Gordon said that "death in sin is the condition in which we are by nature, as participants in the fall and ruin into which the transgression of our first parents has plunged the race" (*Ministry of the Spirit*, 109).

²⁵⁴ Fenwick, *Bible Study*, p. 62.

²⁵⁵ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, pp. 19-20.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

from eternity and elected to give them eternal life.²⁵⁷ He taught that God's sovereign will was the origin of predestination: "This is the motive of the God-head. It was moving the Father, from all eternity, to give His Son, a ransom for many."²⁵⁸ Fenwick believed that God's predestination covered all phases of salvation: justification, sanctification, and glorification. According to him, God elected his people for three purposes: first, God elected them to save and glorify them; second, God elected them to inherit the Kingdom of heaven; and third, God elected them to obey Him through their sanctified life.²⁵⁹ Fenwick believed that the predestination of God was the beginning and ending of the salvation of human beings.

Fenwick taught the doctrine of justification by faith: "we might be made the righteousness of God in Him. 'Not by works of righteousness which we have done. But to him who worked not; but believeth in Him who justified the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.'"²⁶⁰ Gordon also described this doctrine as the "pearl of pearls" and said that "now we cannot emphasize the fact too strongly, that it is faith in the Son of God and faith only by which we are saved."²⁶¹ Fenwick followed Luther in his explanation of the apparent contradiction between Romans 4:5 and James 2:20, by concluding that faith must be prior to the deeds. Though believers must do good works, works could not give them salvation.²⁶² Gordon expressed the same belief by introducing the story of the pioneer missionary in Greenland, Hans Egede's, failure on the mission field for fifteen years because he did not

²⁵⁷ See Fenwick, *Bible Study*, p. 17.

²⁵⁸ Fenwick, *The Church of Christ*, 120; see also idem, *Bible Study*, p. 22.

²⁵⁹ See Fenwick, *Bible Study*, p. 22.

²⁶⁰ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 34.

²⁶¹ Adoniram J. Gordon, *Twofold Life*, p. 69; see also Adoniram J. Gordon, *Ecce Venit: Behold He Cometh* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1889), p. 75.

²⁶² Fenwick, *Bible Study*, p. 98.

understand this truth: “what a pity he had not better understand the principle of grace—that salvation comes first, and improvement afterwards.”²⁶³

Both Fenwick and Gordon steadfastly held the doctrine of Christ’s imputed righteousness. Fenwick maintained that God the Father regarded Christians as righteous because they put on the dress of Christ’s righteousness.²⁶⁴ Fenwick rejected the Catholic idea of infused righteousness and emphasized that only Christ’s righteousness was an efficient ground for the salvation: “no proxy righteousness had been necessary to balance my account with God. Hence Jesus came.”²⁶⁵ Fenwick’s strong belief in the doctrine of justification by faith and Christ’s imputed righteousness shows that he was a typical Protestant.

Fenwick followed Gordon in believing the doctrine of salvation by grace. He maintained that God’s intervention was necessary to make salvation possible, because men were totally depraved: “God has shut sinful, fallen man in a tight case, so he cannot get out by his own effort. He can only get out by God’s divine operation in his behalf.”²⁶⁶ Both Fenwick and Gordon believed that God’s divine intervention for salvation was closely related to the atonement of Christ. God’s grace was Christ’s redemption through his vicarious death. Therefore, God’s grace alone could bring salvation to people.²⁶⁷ Fenwick emphasized God’s grace to Korean believers because he believed that it executed the entire process of salvation.

²⁶³ Gordon, *Holy Spirit in Missions*, p. 123.

²⁶⁴ Fenwick, *Bible Study*, 93. Gordon insisted that “we may speak of being clothed with his righteousness, and so having worthiness imputed to us” (Adoniram J. Gordon, *In Christ; Or the Believer’s Union with His Lord* [Boston: How Gannett, 1880, 25]).

²⁶⁵ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 66.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 124. Gordon maintained that “the deepest sense of unworthiness is nowise inconsistent with the highest confidence in God’s full and perfect justification of us” (*In Christ*, 123). The Niagara conference held the doctrine of total depravity of man and salvation by God’s own sovereign grace (Kraus, *Dispensationalism*, p. 63).

²⁶⁷ Fenwick, *Bible Study*, 95; *idem*, *life in the Cup*, 13; Gordon, *Twofold Life*, p. 235.

God's grace produced faith, gave the seal of redemption to the believers, and the believers grew in grace.²⁶⁸

Fenwick taught that regeneration by the help of the Holy Spirit resulted in faith: "this grace of faith by which ye are saved is the first-fruit of the Spirit."²⁶⁹ Fenwick believed that the Holy Spirit produces conversion:

The things that baffled me before the light of the glory of Christ shone upon me and I was saved, was that I mistook the Holy Spirit's conviction working upon me from without, convicting me of sin, righteousness and judgment, as my own undisciplined self.²⁷⁰

Fenwick taught that the Holy Spirit was also involved in regeneration and enlightening the mind of a regenerated man: "Born of God - born by the Word and by God's Spirit, who is now given unto you and who has enlightened the eyes of your understanding, and let you see Jesus, your Sin-Bearer, bearing away your sins in His body on the tree."²⁷¹ Gordon also believed that conversion and regeneration occurred simultaneously, because he did not distinguish conversion from regeneration when he explained them.²⁷²

Fenwick followed Gordon and Keswick in his view of sanctification. The Keswick Movement provided the impulse for the holiness movement in late nineteenth century America. Originally, the Niagara millenarians thought Keswick was heresy because it had a perfectionist and an antinomian tendency. Conversely, the Niagara men consistently believed in the total depravity of human beings. However, as the Keswick teachers gradually downplayed their emphasis upon eradication, their teaching became more sound. By the time Moody introduced this movement in America, it had undergone a transformation. Thus the

²⁶⁸ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, 101; idem, *Bible Study*, p. 21.

²⁶⁹ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, 101.

²⁷⁰ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, 19; idem, *Bible Study*, p. 12.

²⁷¹ Ibid., p. 36.

²⁷² Gordon, *Twofold life*, 12-45; Russell, "Adoniram Judson Gordon," p. 69.

American millenarians could accept it.²⁷³ Consequently, both Niagara and Keswick held the doctrine of the total depravity of men and rejected Wesleyan perfectionism while keeping its holiness tendency.²⁷⁴ Gordon was a major promoter of the Keswick doctrine of sanctification and he seemed to influence Fenwick.

Fenwick defined his view of sanctification in this way:

You, my brethren in Christ, have received this Holy Anointing. You have been anointed Kings and Priests unto God. Jesus, Thy Melchisedec Great High Priest of Grace, has put His Holy anointing Oil upon those who are clothed in the garments of His righteousness, and with the blood He has forever set them apart (separated, sanctified, made holy, consecrated) from men unto God. May you ever restfully, gratefully abide in your sacred separation. For this is the only way the second Oil, that of Perfume, will be yours. You are the fair virgin... You have been committed to the Keeper of the Virgins, the Holy Spirit, in whose eyes you have found favour, and who has set apart for you the finest chamber in the Ivory Palaces, and provided all things for your purification.²⁷⁵

Fenwick's views had similarities to those of Gordon and Keswick. First, Fenwick distinguished regeneration from sanctification, but believed that sanctification began at regeneration. Both Gordon and Keswick, like other evangelicals, also distinguished sanctification from regeneration. Gordon insisted that regeneration was only a single event but sanctification should be a continual process through the filling of the Holy Spirit:

²⁷³ Sandeen, *Roots*, pp. 176-9.

²⁷⁴ Pettegrew, "Niagara Part 1," p. 20. Keswick maintained that "there is a theory held by some Christians that it is possible in this life, either at regeneration or some subsequent crisis of religious experience, to reach a point in spiritual development where the sin nature is eradicated and therefore no longer operative. This theory is so obviously contrary to the plain teachings of the bible and to human experience" (Steven Barabbas, *So Great Salvation: The History and Message of the Keswick Convention* [London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1952: p. 71]). Randall pointed out that Methodists were wary of Keswick since it denied Wesleyan convictions that sin could be eradicated from the life of the Christian and instead taught that sin was 'perpetually counteracted' (Ian Randall, "Capturing Keswick: Baptists and the changing spirituality of the Keswick Convention in the 1920s," *Baptist Quarterly* 36 [July 1996] : p. 332). See also James Mudge, "Keswick and Its Teaching," *Methodist Review* 83 (March 1901): pp. 255-6.

²⁷⁵ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, pp. 105-6; idem, *Bible Study*, 5.

Righteousness comes before Holiness in the order of redemption, the one being imputed to us on the ground of our faith, and the other being imparted to us by operation of the Holy Spirit... The sinner is justified on the ground of Christ's righteousness reckoned to him, and that being thus justified he is gradually sanctified by the righteousness of Christ communicated to him.²⁷⁶

Keswick taught that "sanctification as a process is experimental or progressive sanctification... It begins at regeneration, but is not the same things as regeneration. Regeneration is not capable of degrees... Sanctification, on the other hand, does admit of degrees."²⁷⁷

Second, Fenwick thought that sanctification was the result of the action of the Holy Spirit who was dwelling in the regenerated man: "He puts in him a new Spirit and a new Mind, and all his motives are changed. Then He stands by to transform the whole man into the likeness of Christ."²⁷⁸ Keswick held the same view that the Holy Spirit who indwelt every believer was the "counteracting agent of the flesh, and the divine means of making the victory of Calvary a reality in his experience."²⁷⁹

Third, Fenwick followed Gordon and Keswick in his belief that man must let the Holy Spirit work in him to accomplish sanctification. He stressed this point:

He is 'The Spirit of Prayer,' and in Him alone can I pray in the Holy Ghost; and He is mine to pray in me, according to the Will of the Father, and mine to 'Let this Mind be in me who was in Christ Jesus' and the measure of my letting will always be the measure of His doing.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Gordon, *Twofold Life*, pp. 129-30. Gordon maintained that though divine ownership was a single event, the filling with the Holy Spirit should occur repeatedly because of the weakness of men (*Twofold Life*, p. 100; idem, *How Christ Came to Church*, p. 14).

²⁷⁷ Barabbas, *So Great Salvation*, p. 85.

²⁷⁸ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 114.

²⁷⁹ Barabbas, *So Great Salvation*, p. 105. Barabbas also pointed out that Keswick made sanctification into a threefold division: positional sanctification, experimental sanctification, and ultimate sanctification. Positional sanctification was the sanctification completed at the time of regeneration (ibid., pp. 84-5).

²⁸⁰ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 104.

Gordon taught that “in conversion we receive; in consecration we give; in the one we accept eternal life from God; in the other we offer ourselves in self-surrender to God.”²⁸¹ George H. C. Macgregor, a leader of Keswick, said that “we pray to be filled with the Holy Spirit; but we do not realize the emptying that must precede this filling.”²⁸² Fenwick, like Gordon and Keswick, lacked the concept of mutual activity between the Spirit and human beings in sanctification. They thought that sanctification itself was the action of the Holy Spirit, not of human beings. This idea contained antinomianism. However, Fenwick’s antinomianism will need more investigation.

Fourth, though Fenwick emphasized the Holy Spirit’s role in sanctification he clearly rejected John Wesley’s doctrine of perfectionism. He said that “when the Holy Spirit engrafts a man into Christ, he does not change any quality in him inherited from his parents.”²⁸³ Gordon held the same view: “the regenerated man has two natures - the Adam nature which is not improved, but crucified and to be put off; and the Christ nature which is to be cultured and developed till it is completely dominant in the believer.”²⁸⁴ Gordon again emphasized that “the strange vine is the divine nature... We hold that the believer will never attain perfection until he has put off this tabernacle.”²⁸⁵ Keswick also opposed perfectionism. F.B.

²⁸¹ Gordon, *Twofold Life*, 43. Gordon also said that “now nothing is clearer than the fact that a Christian gets power from God, just in proportion to the entireness of his self-surrender to God” (ibid., p. 47).

²⁸² Barabbas, *So Great Salvation*, p. 55. Mudge said that Keswick doctrine “is characterized by the complete subjection of self and the complete enthronement of Christ” (James Mudge, “Keswick and Its Teaching,” p. 257).

²⁸³ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 114.

²⁸⁴ Gordon, *Twofold Life*, iv. Gordon also said that “the new birth therefore is not a change of nature. . . It is rather the communication of the Divine nature” (*Ministry of the Spirit*, p. 101; see also Gordon, *Twofold Life*, 21-22). According to Sandeen, Darby might have influenced to Gordon to disagree with Wesleyan perfectionism (*Roots*, pp. 77-8).

²⁸⁵ Gordon, *Twofold Life*, p. 132. Gordon also argued in the same book that Wesleyan perfectionism “became excessive and oppressive, and tended to put upon anxious souls a burden greater than they could bear” (ibid., p. 265)

Meyer, a Keswick leader, said that “on this platform we never say self is dead.... The teaching of Roman vi is not that self is dead, but that the renewed will is dead to self.”²⁸⁶

Finally, Fenwick emphasized that though Christian sanctification included the idea of the believer’s separation from the world, he was never to be ascetic. He believed that the purpose of private communion with Christ should be Christian service. To spread the gospel was the most important Christian service.²⁸⁷ Gordon, like Keswick, maintained that sanctification was never selfish asceticism but always related to Christian ministry: “this rigid separation from the world must be attended with the most persistent, zealous, untiring going into the world, to seek and to save that which was lost.”²⁸⁸

Fenwick, like Gordon and Keswick, tried to introduce Calvinistic Soteriology into the holiness movement. His attempt, however, resulted in the distortion of the Reformed doctrine of sanctification. The Keswick message conveyed by the Holiness movement and later by the Pentecostals was the encounter with the Lord and the proclamation of Jesus Christ as Saviour, Baptizer in the Holy Spirit, Healer and Coming King (the “foursquare” or “full” Gospel). This awareness and empowerment are rooted in baptism in the Holy Spirit and constitute the essence of holiness.²⁸⁹

Gammage’s perspective of Spirit Baptism is similar also to the reformed perspective. He thought that Spirit baptism should be defined as regeneration or new birth, an experience

²⁸⁶ Cited in Mudge, “Keswick and Its Teaching,” p. 259. Barabbas pointed out that Keswick thought perfectionism “is so obviously contrary to the plain teachings of the Bible and to human experience” (*So Great Salvation*, p. 71).

²⁸⁷ See Jang Bae Kim, *Handbook Chimneykyohuaeui Sanzeungindle* [The Living Witnesses of the Korean Baptist Churches] (Seoul: Baptist Press, 1981), p. 104.

²⁸⁸ Gordon, *Twofold Life*, 222; see also Gordon *In Christ*, p. 128; idem, *How Christ Came to Church*, p. 15; idem, *Twofold Life*, p. 125; idem, *Holy Spirit in Missions*, p. 212. Keswick believed that the sanctification was different from asceticism and emphasized missions (Mudge, “Keswick and Its Teaching,” p. 258; Barabas, *So Great Salvation*, p. 126).

²⁸⁹ Kim, Yong Gook. *An Analysis of the Theological and Controversies of the Korea Baptist Convention, 1889-1997* (Ph.D. dissertation, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 2001), pp. 45-8.

had by all Christians by virtue of their conversion to Christ through faith (Romans 8:9). Spirit baptism is thus “repentance unto life” (Acts 11:18). He indicated that baptism is into Christ by faith and it is not a separate stage of spiritual renewal or empowerment by Holy Spirit. He pointed out that the second baptism is a totally psychological experience and therefore it is not validated in the Bible. On the other hand, Gordon and Fenwick followed the Keswick and Holiness view of the Spirit Baptism; however, they were divided over how to define the experience of sanctification in relation to one’s initial conversion to Christ. They distinguished between conversion and sanctification, viewing the empowerment of the Spirit in Spirit baptism as a third stage. For Fenwick and Gordon, one of the central metaphors is an experience of power for witness, involving various gifts of the Holy Spirit, especially the more extraordinary gifts of inspired speech and divine healing.²⁹⁰

Fenwick held the doctrine of perseverance and believed that God would keep the saints for all time:

I was not only lifted out of the pit but planted on a great Rock which was firm and solid under me. I do not say I did not tremble; but I do say the Rock never once trembled under me. I was safe and I knew it... And yet I feel so weak and helpless. The Rock is firm; but I am just a little lad trembling there. The Shepherd is strong, and carrying me with mighty strides towards His fold; but the poor lost sheep He found is weak, foolish, and witless, with the same straying instinct. I know I will be brought safely to the Fold because of the mighty shoulders whereon I rest, and because of the pierced feet that never grow weary.²⁹¹

Fenwick strongly emphasized personal acceptance of Christ for salvation. He seemed to be influenced by American revivalism’s emphasis on individualistic salvation through acceptance of Christ. D. L. Moody emphasized that God saved people individually.²⁹² This

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, pp. 129-30.

²⁹² Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, p. 37.

individualistic evangelism in the nineteenth century emphasized conscious conversion, and it was from the heritage of the great Awakening of the eighteenth century in New England.²⁹³ Niagara followed this tradition and it seemed to influence Fenwick.²⁹⁴

Fenwick insisted that individual acceptance was necessary for salvation: “there is nothing to do but there is a Person to accept - God’s Beloved Son, Jesus. Will you have Him? He’s yours for taking. Receive Him and He will give you the right to become a child of God.” Gordon also maintained that “it is not enough for us to hear one says that he believes in Jesus Christ, we want a decisive and confessed act of acceptance.” Fenwick believed that Christ’s work would become efficient only through accepting it. He pleaded to a Korean prospective convert that “Jesus will wash all your sins clean in His own precious blood, and He will make a free and happy man of you, if you will permit Him to be your Saviour and Lord.”²⁹⁵

Fenwick held some Arminian concepts probably from Gordon’s influence. Gordon insisted that “That which is given only in the divine intent and foreordination, is not ours till we consciously and believingly accept it. God’s choice of us is only through our choice of Him.”²⁹⁶ Fenwick explained John 3:16 by the imagery of the marriage between Christ and the believer, and believed that the bride had the right to accept the marriage or refuse it. If she accepted the marriage she would have the right to be the bride.²⁹⁷ Gordon also used John 3:16 and John 1:12 as the grounds for the necessity of individual acceptance. From these verses he pointed out that “here are the two sides of salvation, the divine and the human,

²⁹³ C. C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800: Strict Congregationalists and Separate Baptist in the Great Awakening* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 13.

²⁹⁴ Plymouth Brethren, revivalism, and Keswick were the main influences on the Niagara Bible Conference.

²⁹⁵ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, pp. 132-5.

²⁹⁶ Gordon, *In Christ*, p. 16.

²⁹⁷ Fenwick, *Bible Study*, 42, 75-76; idem, *Life in the Cup*, pp. 142-3.

which are absolutely co-essential.”²⁹⁸ Because of the over-emphasis on personal and wilful acceptance, both Fenwick and Gordon seemed to adopt Arminian concepts. Fenwick, therefore, was not an orthodox Calvinist.

Fenwick, however, was not a typical Arminian because he held no concept of prevenient grace. Wesleyans maintained that the total depravity of human beings could be alleviated or even be recovered by prevenient grace.²⁹⁹ Although Fenwick insisted on the importance of accepting God’s provision, he never believed in the recovery of a will free from original corruption by means of prevenient grace from God: “sinful being with a darkened mind, and lost; whose only hope lay in bowing to God’s will and accepting His provision, without money and without price, as a free gift.”³⁰⁰ The Wesleyan Arminians believed in the cooperation of men in the accomplishment of their salvation because they believed in the annulment of original sin by the prevenient grace of God.³⁰¹ Fenwick’s emphasis on reception and decision suggest affinities to Arminianism. Although Fenwick held Calvinism, he modified it. It means that his emphasis on his rule of his denomination, therefore sometimes Arminianism was necessary for him.

3.3.5 Fenwick’s Missiology

Fenwick followed fundamentalists in the late nineteenth century in believing that independent faith missions were the proper model. He established the Korean Itinerant Missions in 1894 according to this pattern. Its emphases are shown in the Declaration of Principle and Motto of the Korean Itinerant Mission:

²⁹⁸ Gordon, *Ministry of the Spirit*, p. 67.

²⁹⁹ Leo George Cox, *John Wesleyeu Wanjunron* [John Wesley’s Concept of Perfection] , trans. Duck Soon Kim (Seoul: Doseo Chulplan Un Sung, 1989), pp. 46-57.

³⁰⁰ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 21.

³⁰¹ Cox, *John Wesley*, p. 49.

This is the great object of the Korean Itinerant Mission. It is to be interdenominational in character, evangelistic in spirit, and aggressive in method, not building on any other man's foundation, but pressing into the regions beyond and aiming to preach the Gospel to every creature.... Its doctrinal standards are not those of any one body of disciples exclusively, but rather those great fundamental truths embraced alike by the Reformed Church in all its branches, and forming the basis of the so-called Evangelical Alliance.³⁰²

Along with features like inter-denominationalism, evangelism, fundamentalism, and the Reformed tradition, this mission was supremely dependent upon the Holy Spirit. The missionaries had no fixed salary. They would take support from the voluntary offerings of God's people, because they believed that the Holy Spirit would supply their needs.³⁰³

Gordon held the same view that the faith mission was the proper model for missions. He preferred the interdenominational character of missions rather than denominational mission boards because he thought the latter might create undesirable uniformity and hoped that "unity for missions could transcend theological and institutional boundaries."³⁰⁴ Gordon also maintained that a missionary must rely on only the Holy Spirit; he required little capital to work but required great faith. He must have the faith of simple and sole dependence on God who would supply his needs.³⁰⁵

3.3.5.1 Fenwick's Indigenous Mission Strategy (the Use of Native Evangelists)

Fenwick emphasized that the use of native evangelists was one of the main factors of his success in missions. He even adopted Korean children as his own sons and rose as

³⁰² Fenwick, "The Declaration of Principle," pp. 460-1. See also L. G. Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1971), pp. 447-8. Kwang Soo Kim, a Korean church historian, maintained that Fenwick established the Korean Itinerant Mission according to the pattern of the China Inland Mission of James Hudson Taylor (Kwang Soo Kim, *Hankook Sungjangsa* [A History of Church Growth in Korea], [Seoul: *Kitokkyomunsa*, 1976], p. 99). Sandeen pointed out that independent "faith missions," such as the China Inland Mission and the African Inland Mission, were generally committed to the millenarian cause (*Roots*, p. 186).

³⁰³ Fenwick, "The Declaration of Principle," 460-1.

³⁰⁴ Robert, "The Legacy," pp. 179-80.

³⁰⁵ Gordon, *The Holy Spirit in Missions*, pp. 63-72.

spiritual leader of the Convention. Fenwick adopted Korean customs: he wore Korean clothes, ate only Korean food, built a house according to Korean patterns, and finally died and was buried in Korea. He melded into Korean society more effectively than other foreign missionaries. He was convinced of the efficiency of native preachers, he said that:

Personally, I know of nothing in my own experience, which gives such a forceful drive as the great fact that the simple-hearted believer, in any country, is God's most efficient and most economical witness, in that country, and that comparatively few expensive foreigners are needed.³⁰⁶

For Fenwick, allowing native evangelists to preach the gospel was not part of his original plan. He had been a fundamentalist who regarded doctrine to be very important, and he also had a conviction of white men's efficiency. At first he objected to the preaching of native Christians because he worried about incorrect doctrines being proclaimed.³⁰⁷ However, he finally decided to use native evangelists for three reasons.

First, Fenwick adopted this method out of practical necessity. He had to allow a native Korean to preach when he undertook the Ella Thing Memorial Mission. The area covered by this mission was three hundred miles away from Wonsan,³⁰⁸ the centre of the Corean Itinerant Mission, so Fenwick could not manage it by himself. Although he hesitated at first, Fenwick decided to commit this new area to a native evangelist, trusting the lead of the Spirit: "the Spirit of Love had cast out fear of using native converts before being trained."³⁰⁹ He appointed Myung Kyun Shin as the first native preacher and evangelist.

³⁰⁶ Fenwick, *The Church of Christ*, p. 93.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7. This seems contradictory to his belief that a missionary did not need a theological training.

³⁰⁸ Wonsan was located in North-eastern Korea Peninsula, which Fenwick made the headquarters of the Church of Christ in Korea; however, Ella Thing Memorial Mission was located in South-western Korea Peninsula.

Therefore Fenwick had no choice but to use native leaders for his ministry.

³⁰⁹ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 202.

Since Shin succeeded very well, Fenwick found the use of native preachers to be the most important element for success in missions.³¹⁰

However, though Fenwick said he arrived at this opinion through necessity, he may have been prone to this view before he adopted it. Gordon emphasized the importance of using native evangelists, and Fenwick may have learned it from him.³¹¹

Fenwick's belief in the absolute lordship of the Holy Spirit in missions was his second reason for using native missionaries. He confessed that "as I became better acquainted with God's Executive, it became easier, but these great changes from traditional to practical missions I was thrust into without knowing what was taking place."³¹²

3.3.5.2 Charismatic Emphasis on Mission

Fenwick always believed that the Holy Spirit was the leader and executive in ministry and mission. Both Fenwick and Gordon placed an emphasis on pneumatological mission. They insisted that the Holy Spirit led the whole process of missions including the choice of missionaries, arousing the support of the church, making funds available, and dispatching the missionaries.³¹³ Fenwick confessed that the spiritual factor of his success in missions was "letting the Holy Spirit teach the truth, grow His fruit and administer all the Church's affair."³¹⁴ Gordon also argued for the critical importance of the operation of the

³¹⁰ Fenwick, *The Church of Christ*, pp. 58-62, pp. 70-77. See also Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 202; The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, pp. 124-26.

³¹¹ Gordon expressed this view by recounting the successful mission story of John Beck, the successor to Hans Egede's Greenland Mission, because he used a native evangelist, named Kajarnak (*The Holy Spirit in Missions*, pp. 123-25).

³¹² Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 203.

³¹³ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, 97-99; Gordon, *Ministry of the Spirit*, 159-61. Gordon also said that "the Holy Spirit commissions those whom he sovereignly chooses, instead of recruiting those who may judge themselves fit for His service"

³¹⁴ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 171. From his conviction of the lordship of the Holy Spirit in mission Fenwick advocated a unanimity system in church and denomination decision-making (Malcolm C. Fenwick, "The

Holy Spirit for success in mission fields by referring to the life and missions of Adoniram Judson, William Carey, David Livingstone and Moravian missionaries.³¹⁵

Fenwick contended that the denial of the lordship of the Holy Spirit brought problems in mission fields: “failure to recognize His ability to do His own work with despised tools has been the bane of missions.”³¹⁶ Therefore, spiritual gifts from the Holy Spirit are the most important factor for mission.³¹⁷ Fenwick, however, did not ignore the necessity of human cooperation in missions. He taught that the Holy Spirit wanted the cooperation of regenerate people in missions.³¹⁸ Fenwick’s emphasis on dependence upon the Holy Spirit may have been derived from Gordon. Gordon maintained that “especially, does the missionary need the indwelling of the Spirit to enable him to reproduce the life of Christ in the midst of the heathen.”³¹⁹

Finally, Fenwick adopted this method when he encountered the prejudice of the Koreans. Fenwick explained that the confrontation of racial prejudice and the identification of a missionary with the country were important points for success in missions:

From the natural side, he thinks that recognizing race-prejudice and meeting it is the most potent factor. After he discovered how utterly the natives despised the white man, he reversed his policy of living with them as one of themselves, wearing himself out travelling from town to town, and now keeps himself from them as much as practicable, dealing only

Declaration of Principle and Motto of the Korean Itinerant Mission,” *The Missionary Review of the World* 17 [1894, 461]).

³¹⁵ Gordon, *Holy Spirit in Missions*, pp. 90-107.

³¹⁶ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 222.

³¹⁷ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, 97-99, 203-2-4. *The Church of Christ in Korea*, pp. 85-93.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

³¹⁹ Gordon, *The Holy Spirit in Missions*, p. 210.

with his secretaries, pastors, deacons and evangelists. His troubles have largely ceased since he did this, and the work has increased a hundredfold.³²⁰

Fenwick tried to identify himself as a Korean, and he investigated the characteristics of Korean people, culture, and language. After this, he regarded them very positively: “their ethics are largely based on those of Confucius, and it is a fact, which in all fairness must be stated, that apart from Christ the civilization of China and Corea has done more, very much more, for the peace and happiness of the race as a whole, than the civilization of the West.”³²¹ Fenwick’s positive view about Korean people and culture helped him to use native evangelists.

Fenwick’s ministry and mission seemed incomprehensible to other missionaries because of his mystical emphasis. When he testified to his calling to work in Korea, he stated that “God gave him a dream and order to go to Korea.”³²² His decisions regarding which mission areas to work in were based on visions or dreams from the Holy Spirit. Fenwick’s focus was to the regions beyond. He was very aware of the Comity Arrangement.³²³ He pointed out the problem of this practice: “I have been told that I cannot settle here, nor there elsewhere, as these places are pre-empted. Yet I have been to these places and found neither

³²⁰ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, pp. 171-72, pp. 177-80.

³²¹ Fenwick, *The Church of Christ*, 49. Fenwick loved Korea very much. He used to say that he came to Korea as an adopted boy. His love of Korea might be one reason he used native evangelists (Jang Kim, *Living Witnesses*, p. 114).

³²² *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9.

³²³ Kyoung Bae Min, “History of the Church in Korea,” 10, The Comity Arrangement between Methodists and Presbyterians was agreed in 1891. This territorial division was not only denominational, but for different missions for each of the two parties - Northern and Southern USA Methodists and Presbyterians from North and South of the USA, from Canada and from Australia. Over a period of time each of these had a theological as well as a denominational identity. “Generally speaking the territory of the Canadian occupation produced liberal theology, the other three Presbyterian missions a powerful conservative Christianity, and the Methodists a cultural and social Christianity”.

missionary, native Evangelist nor solitary Christian.”³²⁴ In spite of this dissatisfaction, Fenwick and his people faithfully kept to the Comity Arrangement and spread the gospel in the villages and countries where no other mission boards had previously settled.

3.4 The Church of Christ in Corea and the Korea Baptist Convention

The Church of Christ in Corea was the first organizational predecessor of the Korean Baptist Convention. When the Ella Thing Memorial Mission was closed, Fenwick was requested to take over the project. Fenwick merged the Ella Thing Memorial Mission into the Corea Itinerant Mission in 1901.

Malcolm Fenwick was very influential in the life and faith of the early Korean Baptists. Fenwick decisively influenced the formation of the theology of the denomination. Many Korean historians and theologian, however, criticized Fenwick’s antinomianism and doubted Fenwick’s Baptist identity. Fenwick through itinerant missions planted many churches in Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia. They established the Church of Christ in Corea in 1906 to consolidate the work. This denomination emerged but dissolved as an organization in 1944 during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Japan invaded and ruled Korea from 1905 until 1945. The Church of Christ in Corea subsequently changed its name several times. In 1921, it took the name of “the Church of Christ in East Asia.” In 1933, based on Fenwick’s suggestion, it changed its name to “The Flock of Christ East Asia.” In 1940, the denomination restored its name to “the Church of Christ in East Asia” again. Although the denomination changed its name several times, it did not change its theology or organization. Therefore, though Fenwick died on December 6, 1935, his influence on the theology and spirituality of the Church of Christ in Corea remained at least until 1944, because the Church

³²⁴ Fenwick, *Life in the Cup*, p. 165. In the same book Fenwick presented many other problems of the Comity Agreement and explained the reasons why he objected to it (Ibid., pp. 214-6).

of Christ in Korea was dissolved as an organization by the Japanese government on May 10 of that year.³²⁵ While most Protestant churches such as the Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic churches, accepted Japanese emperor worship, the Korea Holiness Church, the Church of Christ in Korea and the Seven Sabbatical Church did not. Therefore, the Japanese government decided to dissolve organizations like the Korea Holiness Church, the Church of Christ in Korea and the Seven Sabbatical Church in 1944, and soon many ministers and church members were persecuted by Japanese government.

3.4.1 Beliefs and Practice

The concept of the imminent return of Jesus, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the believer, and absolute dependence upon the free grace of God stood out the most among all doctrinal emphases of Fenwick and his followers. He said, “The idea of being God’s witness to every creature and hastening the return of our absent Lord was ever before me as the Christian’s part.”³²⁶ His followers, for the most part, disregarded their family life and joined him in the belief of Jesus’ imminent return. Fenwick heavily depended upon the promise of the Holy Spirit’s abiding in him and all Christians to teach them all things.³²⁷ The Bible, according to Fenwick, was not to be studied, but to be read and meditated upon. To try to know desperately something of the Scriptures was like eating fruit from “the Tree of Knowledge,” and was a blasphemy against God.³²⁸

Due to an overemphasis on the imminent return of Christ and the activity of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer, Fenwick and his associates had an extremely negative attitude toward secular education (all education other than Bible study). Any officers under

³²⁵ Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho, “A History of the Korea Baptist Convention: 1889-1969,” Th.D. diss. (The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary), pp. 84-5.

³²⁶ Underwood, *The Call of Korea*, pp. 12-3, pp. 88-9.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 64.

³²⁸ Kim, *Daihan Kitokkyo Chimneyhuaysa* [A History of Korean Christian Baptist Convention], pp. 44-5.

Fenwick's command who let their children receive secular education were punished by this church.³²⁹ Again, due to an overemphasis on the free grace of God, these Christians fell into two great errors. Having become overly confident about their salvation by faith alone, many of them became antinomian. It was actually taught by Fenwick that the rules of the Sermon on the Mount were not intended for Christians to keep, but they were given for the Jews to keep in the last days.³³⁰

Another error these people commonly committed from their understanding of God's grace was an aversion to making requests in prayer. Fenwick emphatically prohibited any request to God in prayer for the reason that Christians are God's own children, not beggars. Eventually, this practice degraded glory to God in prayer. It also resulted in a prayerless lifestyle on the part of the believers.³³¹

3.4.2 Controversies within the Japanese Occupation Period and Persecution

In 1916, the Japanese authorities ordered all denominations to make periodical reports on their church activities. The Church of Christ in Korea did not comply with this measure. Persecutions began almost immediately. In 1921, one of the Korean pastors in the Church of Christ in Korea, Rev. Sang Yul Son, was shot along with a Manchurian brother.³³²

Shintoism was incompatible with the Christian faith. Conflict became very serious from 1938 onwards. According to the Japanese ideal, there must be one sovereign in the empire, and that one was Emperor Hirohito, not Christ. With the purpose of uniting the conquered nations under its domain through one religion, the Japanese government forced Shintoism upon the Koreans as well as the Japanese. It has been reported that two hundred

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 45. From 1926, children of all officers of the Church were ordered to leave schools, and pastors received suspension from the ministry for not obeying Fenwick's order.

³³⁰ Chang, "Brief history of Christian Korean Baptist Convention", pp. 22-3.

³³¹ Ibid., pp. 24-5.

³³² Willocks, "Christian Mission in Korea," p. 140.

churches were closed down, two thousand Christians were imprisoned, and fifty were martyred.³³³

By 1942, persecution of the church was getting worse. In that year, thirty-two pastors were arrested by the Japanese and charged with violating the security law, failure to pay homage to the emperor, and refusing pilgrimages to the Shinto Shrine. Finally, in 1944, the Japanese then ordered the complete disbandment of the “East Asia Christianity” (*Donga Kitokkyo*) churches and their property to be donated to the government as a national defence offering. On the other hand, most of Korean mainline churches accepted the Shinto Shrine.³³⁴

3.4.3 Controversies among the First Pioneers

The first controversy was caused by Fenwick’s commitment to dispensationalism, which influenced Korean believers significantly. He taught them other things such as the setting up of the millennial kingdom on earth at Christ’s second coming, the three different gospels according to the three different dispensations, and the five judgements as taught by C. I. Scofield.³³⁵ Fenwick’s dispensationalism strongly influenced Korean believers’ views of the church. He used to teach the doctrine of the separation of the church from the world. He even left a will that “even after I have left this world, our church should be separated from the secular churches. Do not amalgamate with them.”³³⁶ Many monthly letters of the Church of Christ in Corea showed Fenwick’s influence. They emphasized that Christians must be separated from the secular world and focus on the heavenly kingdom. The saints should maintain a sanctified life while living in this world, because the Lord’s second coming was

³³³ Yang Sun Kim, *Hankook Kitokkyo Haibang Shimnyunsa* [Ten-Year History of Korean Christianity since the Liberation] (Seoul: Yesookyo Jangnohuay Jongkyo Kyoyookboo, 1956), pp. 43-5.

³³⁴ Yong-Hee Kim, *Taehan Kitokkyo Chimyeowyowhesa* (History of Korean Christian Baptist Convention) (Seoul, Korea: Taehan Kitokkyo Chimyeawhe Chongwhe, 1964), pp. 12-4.

³³⁵ Fenwick, *Bible Study*, 83-85; Cho, “A History,” p. 79; The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, pp. 113-6.

³³⁶ The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, p. 110.

imminent.³³⁷ Other monthly letters stated that the world was becoming more and more evil, because it was united to the devil. Therefore, the saints must not follow the world and its lust, but live according to the Holy Spirit.³³⁸

Beginning in 1915, the Japanese government commanded that every denomination must submit its project of evangelization for approval. At that time Japan occupied Korea. The Church of Christ in Korea rejected this mandate because of their belief in the separation of the church from secular government. The monthly letter of April 20, 1922, written by Jong Duk Lee, showed the serious persecution of the denomination that had lasted for eight years, because of its refusal to submit its project.³³⁹

Beginning in 1938, the Japanese government began to force Korean Christians to worship Shinto, the religion of Japan. Japan purposed to unite its conquered nations through one religion. The Presbyterian and Methodists, the two biggest Protestant denominations in Korea at that time, began to comply with the Japanese government policy.³⁴⁰ The Church of Christ in Korea, however, consistently resisted what it considered to be idol worship. Thus, the Japanese government began to persecute the denomination more and more.

Meanwhile an incident called the “Wonsan Case” occurred in 1942. One day a man named Tai Ho Woo visited the centre building of the denomination at Wonsan City and expressed his intention to participate and work together in the Church of Christ in Korea. The leaders of the denomination, however, refused his offer because he was a total stranger to them.³⁴¹ Even some people including David Ann, Fenwick’s Korean son, mistrusted Woo. They didn’t believe him because Woo’s real purpose was to take the property of the

³³⁷ Huh, “The Church of Christ in Korea and Monthly letters,” pp. 281-2.

³³⁸ Ibid., pp.282-3.

³³⁹ The Compilation Committee, *History of Korean Baptist*, p. 94.

³⁴⁰ Cho, “A History,” pp. 88-9.

³⁴¹ The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, 138; Cho, “A History,” pp. 90-1.

denomination rather than cooperate and dedicate him to the denomination. David Ann and Kyu Soo Kang asked a Japanese police officer to investigate Woo. Woo then counteracted and alleged to the Japanese military police that the Church of Christ in Corea was a subversive denomination to Japan. With Moon Hwan Oh, a Presbyterian minister, Woo handed over the Bibles and the hymnals of the Church of Christ in Corea to the police.³⁴² Japanese military police confiscated 6,500 copies of the Bible, and the hymnals, which taught the Second Coming of Christ and his millennial kingdom on the earth.³⁴³ The Japanese police regarded this millennial faith as a rebellion against the Japanese government. Jong Ken Lee, the governing pastor at that time, was arrested and examined. The following dialogue between a Japanese police officer and Lee shows that the millenarianism of the Church of Christ in Corea was a reason for the persecution:

1. Q: If Jesus will come again, what position does he have then? A: He will come again as King of kings and establish his kingdom in his world according to the Scripture.
2. Q: If Jesus establishes his millennial kingdom, Japan also will be governed by his rule? A: Yes.
3. Q: Will the Japanese King also be ruined if he does not believe? A: The Bible says so.
4. Q: Your hymnal book chapter seven describes "The Great King Jesus." Is Jesus superior to the King of Japan? Then will Japan be ruined and will the Japanese King be ruled by Jesus? A: The whole world will be unified and governed by Jesus.
5. Q: Do you not know the clear statement that opposition to national polity is the crime of blasphemy? A: I answered you according to my conscience of faith.
6. Q: You answered as the governing pastor, the reprehensive representative of the denomination. If you say so, do the other leaders also have the same faith? Do they teach and guide the people with the same belief? A: It might be right if I say yes, because we have the same Bible and same faith.³⁴⁴

³⁴² Cho, "History," 91-92; the Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, p. 139.

³⁴³ Huh, *History of Korea*, 313; Cho, "A History," p. 92.

³⁴⁴ The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, 141-42; Kim, *Living Witnesses*, pp. 154-5.

Japanese police arrested thirty-two leaders of the Church of Christ in Korea throughout the country by June 10, 1942. Among them, Chi Kyu Chun, the third governing pastor of the Church of Christ in Korea, died in prison on February 13, 1944.³⁴⁵ The Japanese government ordered the disorganization of the denomination on May 10, 1944. Following this, the people of the Church of Christ in Korea scattered. Some of them gathered together in a house and worshipped there. Some people joined other denominations, and others even gave up their lives for the faith.

Fenwick had certain antinomian views. According to Korean Baptist histories, the congregations of the Church of Christ in Korea became antinomian because of the influence of Malcolm C. Fenwick. Timothy Cho presented two grounds for this argument. First, Fenwick taught them salvation by the free grace of God in an extreme fashion. Consequently, many of them became antinomians because of their misunderstanding of salvation by faith alone. Second, Cho pointed out that Fenwick prohibited any prayers of petition because Christians were the children of God, not beggars. Cho contended that Fenwick's teaching led the churches to prayerless lifestyles.³⁴⁶ But Il-Soo Chang, an important leader of the Korea Baptist Convention who died on March 16, 1986, had a different view to Cho. Chang regarded Fenwick as a Pentecostal-Charismatic who emphasized prayer more than anyone else. Chang offered Cho an unpublished brief history of the Church of Christ in Korea, which was based on his remembrance and the recollections of his father, Suk Chun Chang, who had worked with Malcolm Fenwick since the very early days of Fenwick's missions.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ Huh, *History of Korea*, pp. 318-9; The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, pp. 142-8.

³⁴⁶ Cho, pp. 43-4

³⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 43-9.

3.4.4 Historical and Theological Identity of Fenwick and the Church of Christ in Korea

Historically, the Church of Christ in Korea was established by Fenwick, who arrived in Korea in December 1889. Through itinerant missions, Fenwick and Korean believers planted many churches in Korea, Manchuria, and Siberia. Although the denomination changed its name several times, it did not change its theology or organization.³⁴⁸ Therefore, though Fenwick died on December 6, 1935, his influence on the theology and spirituality of the Church of Christ in Korea remained at least until 1944, because as already mentioned the Church of Christ in Korea was dissolved as an organization by the Japanese government on May 10th of that year.

Theologically, Fenwick and the people of the Church of Christ in Korea had a similar Theology to Baptists as well as Pentecostals-Charismatics. They had Baptist features such as Biblicism, congregational ecclesiology, believer's baptism and strict church discipline. Their theology also had Pentecostal-Charismatic features like the belief in the Holy Spirit's direct guidance in ministry and interpreting the Bible, healing, and exorcism. Fenwick stated that CCC believed all spiritual gifts are available today. He wrote several books and many articles in *Dalpyenji* (Monthly mission report) about this. Fenwick even translated the Bible into Korean. Only two years after he came to Korea, he had already his own translated version of the Korean New Testament.

Sometimes Fenwick's denominational identity has been a very serious issue among the Korean Baptists. This was because Fenwick was the founder of the Church of Christ in Korea, the predecessor of Korea Baptist Convention, and because the CCC and Fenwick's descendants linked up with the Southern Baptist Convention, changing their name to the

³⁴⁸ Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho, "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention: 1889-1969," Th.D. diss. (The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary), pp. 84-5.

Korea Baptist Convention. Thus, the CCC's denominational identity melded into the Korea Baptist Convention. For a long time, Korean Baptists have believed that Fenwick was a Baptist and the histories of the Korea Baptist Convention have regarded December 1889, the time of Fenwick's arrival in Korea, as the beginning of the history of the Korea Baptist Convention.³⁴⁹

3.5 Evaluation of Fenwick's Korean Missions and Influence over the Korea Baptist Convention

Malcolm Fenwick started his mission work in Korea on December 8, 1889, and completed around forty-five years of missionary service before his death on December 6, 1935.³⁵⁰ During this time, Fenwick established the Church of Christ in Corea (later the Korea Baptist Convention) and demonstrated his two missionary paradigms. One was the supporting missionary paradigm,³⁵¹ influenced by the Niagara Bible Conference that strongly emphasized foreign missions in the late nineteenth century. The other was the sending missionary paradigm which was influenced by Adoniram Gordon, who not only trained missionaries, but also sent them from his church, Clarendon Street Baptist Church of Boston.

Fenwick was a faith-filled missionary who dedicated himself to mission in Korea for the duration of his lifetime, and gave up his successful business and his entire secular career. Fenwick had a good influence on the Korea Baptist Convention. One of his greatest

³⁴⁹ Yong Kim, *History of Korea*, p. 11.

³⁵⁰ Young, "Passing," p. 62; Kap Soo Kim, *Hankuk Chimeykyo Inmoosa* ["Who's Who" of the Korean Baptist Church] (Seoul, Korea: Siwa Sironsa, 1981), p. 12, p. 29.

³⁵¹ A paradigm is a model, a way that individuals view something, the rules of a game or the way people perceive reality. Paradigms to change; they are not static. See Joel Arthur Barker, *Future Edge: Discovering the New Paradigms of Success* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1992), p. 31, p. 37. Moreover, these two terms, supporting and sending missionary paradigms, are borrowed from Bruce Camp's model. See Bruce K. Camp, "Major Paradigm Shifts in World Evangelism," *International Journal of Frontier Missions* 11(July-August 1994): pp. 133-5.

contributions was successful church planting. He was a strategic mission thinker who continuously considered his strengths and weaknesses. He did not seek to recklessly imitate other mission polices such as medical missions or school missions. He was a self-supporting missionary, not one who was regularly supported by convention headquarters. In order to effectively achieve his mission dream in Korea, Fenwick adopted circuit missions and regions-beyond missions which were very suitable to his temperament. Fenwick was not an imitator, but an innovator in world evangelization. One of his strengths was his ability to shift his missionary paradigm from old to new when confronted with difficulty. Had Fenwick decided not to change his missionary paradigm, his missionary results would have been diminished.

Another significant strength of Fenwick's ministry was the use of charismatic gifts of the Holy Spirit. He used many gifts including healing, exorcism and prophecy. This Pentecostal-type character was influenced by A.J. Gordon and Fenwick's emphasis on the ministry of the Spirit. He was a strong Pentecostal-Charismatic type leader compared to other pioneer missionaries. These other missionaries like Underwood or Apenzeller concentrated on educational ministry and social ministry rather than church planting. Therefore, they did not need spiritual gifts for church planting. Later, they built a Bible college while native leaders established churches. On the other hand, Fenwick had to build churches by himself. In addition, he had no support from a denomination; he went to a place which had no western missionaries so had to rely on himself. He used charismatic gifts and his business expertise for his church planting and it produced successful results in the CCC. He is among only a few foreign founders of a Korean denomination. He is also one of only a few that used native leaders and dealt with syncretism in his ministry.

However, some negative aspects of Fenwick's influence on the CCC made him subject to criticism. At first, as a result of the CCC's extremely negative attitude toward secular education, there was a mass production of illiterate believers and antinomians, mainly from the lower class, and this prevented the healthy development of the Church in both intellect and faith. This intellectual lack among the believers thus resulted in a vacuum of strong and capable leadership in the Convention and also caused a lack of vision. Fenwick also failed to produce a manual or guide for educational ministry. Despite this, he translated the Korean Bible, produced a Korean hymn book, several bible study books, his biography and a theology book. There are still many insufficiencies for making an organization able to produce indigenous leaders for the many churches. Fenwick was a good founder but his heritage was insufficient to sustain his followers and churches after his absence. The lack of Fenwick's theological foundation began to slowly appear in the convention itself.

Secondly, because Fenwick's had no cooperation or relationship with other missionary institutions, this tendency still exists in today's Korea Baptist Convention. The KBC has a strong relationship with the Southern Baptist Convention in USA (SBC); however, it does not have a good relationship with any other mainline church. This was partly because the founder Fenwick did not have a harmonious relationship with other denominational leaders such as Underwood, Gale, Hardie and Grierson. For example, R. P. Makay, executive secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, directly addressed Fenwick's character: "Malcolm Fenwick! If you are able to cordially cooperate with other societies, nothing would be better than this."³⁵² If Fenwick had had a synergistic

³⁵² Min, "Korean Mission," p. 68.

missionary paradigm,³⁵³ his mission results could have been even greater than his followers expected. Fenwick needed to partner with others, but he pursued cooperation internally, not externally.

Finally, the greatest weakness of Fenwick was that he could not anticipate the future of Korea and he was not an adept mission strategist. If Fenwick had moved his headquarters from Northern Korea to Southern Korea, his churches would not have rapidly declined in 1946, just one year after Korea's independence. In contrast, Presbyterians abandoned their headquarters in Pyongyang in North Korea and moved to Seoul. Today, Presbyterians are the largest Protestant group in South Korea.³⁵⁴ Fenwick did not have sufficient insight to comprehend Korean culture. Therefore, though at first his missionary results were abundant, they later became scanty. The researcher agrees that Fenwick was a skilful church planter and minister but not a good theologian and mission strategist.

Fenwick occupies a singular place in the pre-Baptist era. Though he was not a professed Baptist, his devotion to the Korean people, among whose dead he still lies, was considerable. However, his success as a missionary was inseparable from his indirect evangelism through the national Christians from 1901. About ten years of his previous missionary work of direct evangelism had been a failure. These "Baptists" evangelized Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and southern parts of Siberia by methods they understood to be biblical.

A denominational factor casually entered the pre-Baptist era of the convention history in 1905. Fenwick had a certain degree of aversion to denominationalism and his

³⁵³ The term "synergistic paradigm" is borrowed from Bruce Camp's model. See Camp, "Major Paradigm Shifts," p. 135. The key word of the synergistic paradigm is "we." Synergistic supporters are those who partner with others and combine their efforts to produce greater effectiveness than either party can accomplish independently. See, *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Before the Korean War, the number of CCC congregations was similar to other denominations.

intention to run a denomination had been nowhere expressed. It became necessary, however, to organize his work into a homogeneous whole, when thirty-one churches had been formed through his followers. Then, carefully avoiding any denominational name then prevailing, Fenwick and his followers formed the Church of Christ in Korea, the first predecessor of the Korea Baptist Convention. This church reached its climax in 1940, when it had over 254 churches throughout East Asia.

During World War II, the Japanese persecution, involving the imprisonment of its leaders and loss of its property, restricted the denominational life of the Church. The church was further weakened when, following the War, the majority of its constituents were lost to the communist territories in the north. By the spring of 1946, it was viewed difficult for the Church to exist as an independent denomination due to the lack of funds and proper leadership.

3.6. Conclusion

As noted, the history of the Korea Baptist Convention started with an enthusiastic young Canadian layman, Malcolm C. Fenwick, who had little formal education and theological training. His effort in his first term (1889-1893) resulted in failure because of his own bias of racial supremacy. His main concern was simply to rapidly spread the gospel to the unevangelized before Jesus came. Meanwhile, regardless of his expectation, Fenwick did not produce excellent results until he adopted an indigenous strategy in 1903. He learned a lot by his mistakes. During his residency in North America (1893-1896), he was influenced by the Baptist faith and rededicated himself to evangelizing the Korean people and to planting churches in Korea.

Several people from the Niagara Bible Conference, and especially A.J. Gordon, seemed to influence Malcolm Fenwick more directly than other people. Cyrus I. Scofield and

James Brooks also seemed to influence Fenwick significantly. The conference functioned for Fenwick as a kind of seminar; that is, it was the meeting in which Fenwick formulated his theological precepts, especially his Pneumatology, eschatology, ecclesiology, and bibliology. Meanwhile Fenwick's training in missions was accomplished at the Boston Missionary Training School, under the leadership of Gordon who was the pastor of Clarendon Street Baptist Church of Boston. These two important streams of thought had a huge impact upon Fenwick and his followers.

The Ella Thing Memorial Mission also was a good resource and support. The significance of the Ella Thing Memorial Mission in Korea Baptist history is that its missionaries clearly represented the first known Baptists in Korea. The baptism performed by its missionary in July 1896 was the first one administered by a Baptist. After Fenwick took charge of the work of this mission in 1901, Baptist identity had been blurred until the entrance of Southern Baptist missionaries in 1950. The Ella Thing Memorial Mission, however, offered an opportunity for Fenwick to re-examine and modify his missionary policy. He reflected on his misconception of "white supremacy" and his hesitant attitude that did not allow the nationals to preach. After the merger of the Ella Thing Memorial Mission and the Corea Itinerant Mission in 1901, Fenwick's mission work grew rapidly in the Chungcheng-do area.

The Church of Christ in Corea, which was founded by Fenwick and his followers, had an element of what could be called fundamentalist and charismatic Fenwick, who had no educational training or denominational support, and was clearly a missionary-innovator because, compared with other missionary labour, his success was second to none. During the time of his mission work, Fenwick left a double inheritance to Korean Baptists: strengths and weaknesses. As noted, Fenwick had an extremely negative attitude toward secular education.

In addition, Fenwick and CCC got the only one mission paradigm such as, trained and sent only through the sending paradigm rather than supporting paradigm. The terms of supporting and sending paradigms are borrowed from Camp’s model. In order to clearly understand missionary paradigms and Fenwick mission strategy, it is helpful to study the distinction of the missionary paradigms that Camp summarizes:

PARADIGMS	SUPPORTING	SENDING
Key Word	“They”	“My”
Description	Dependent	Independent
Focus	Focus is on money	Focus is on people
Key Question	What is their mission strategy?	What is my missions’ strategy?
Decision Making	Agency makes decisions	Partnership with the agency
Geographic Support	Support outside the region	Support within the region
Philosophical Support	Support missionaries	Recruit/train/Support our own
Relationships	Superficial contacts with missionaries	Quality/quantity time with our missionaries
Mission Education	Mission education by outsiders	Mission education by insiders and by quality teachers
Church Participation	Emphasis on goers	Emphasis on goers and

		senders
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Fig. 1. Distinction between Supporting and Sending Paradigms. Adapted from Camp, “Major Paradigm shifts,” 137.

If Fenwick had used a variety of mission strategies, such as church planting, evangelism, and education, his mission would have been more effective. Due to Fenwick’s promotion of the regions-beyond missionary policy, his ultimate target groups for missions were generally such uneducated people as farmers and labourers, pioneer border people, and boys who sold bundles of dried mushrooms.³⁵⁵ Therefore, Fenwick failed to account for those who really wanted to study Western education, just as Korean society was facing the challenge of being civilized and developing into a modern society.³⁵⁶ To effectively evangelize the Koreans, Fenwick should have needed to discover how they thought: what were Koreans interested in? What did they value? What did they fear? In addition at that time, Fenwick’s mission locations should have been reconsidered; they were mostly limited to North Korea and Northeast Asian countries such as Manchuria, Siberia, and Mongolia. Was Fenwick’s mission located in the most effective areas? Could Fenwick have obtained different results if he had moved his headquarters from Wonsan in North Korea to Kongju in South Korea?³⁵⁷ Sadly, Fenwick’s frontier and regions-beyond missions exerted a decisively weakening influence

³⁵⁵ Fenwick, *Corea*, p. 96, p. 124.

³⁵⁶ Myung Keun Choi, *Changes in Korean Society between 1884-1910 as a Result of the Introduction of Christianity* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 17; Horace G. Underwood, “The Today from Korea,” *Missionary Review of the World* 16 (November 1893): p. 813.

³⁵⁷ Wonsan, the Hamkyung province in North Korea, became the headquarters of the Church of Christ in Korea in 1891, while Kongju became a main branch from which to train and send missionaries in South Korea in 1903. As a matter of fact, more newcomers were registered in Kongju than in Wonsan. See Kin Huh, *Korea Baptist Convention*, p. 75.

upon Fenwick's churches after the 1945 liberation of Korea.³⁵⁸ According to Peter Wagner's church planting strategy, the right place for church growth is where people are changing.³⁵⁹ However, Fenwick chose the place that was politically dangerous rather than the area where people were experiencing change. He was not a risk-taker, rather was just eager to hastily evangelize the regions-beyond areas before the last day of Jesus came.

Later, Fenwick was unable to have great influence on his followers. Theologically, Fenwick was a nineteenth century type fundamentalist and revivalist. As one of the key leaders of the Sorai Revival in 1897, Fenwick led the Sorai Revival Service like a Pentecostal revival service. For example, many people spoke in tongues, and healing and many other spiritual gifts were manifested. Subsequently, more than 300 local converts followed him and then asked Fenwick to stay to plant a church for them. But Fenwick wanted to go to the Northern part of Korea so he refused the offer. If Fenwick had accepted this offer and planted a church, Korea Baptist history may have been different. Many missionaries at the time, such as Underwood and Apenzeller, were regularly supported by their convention headquarters. They built medical centres and a mission school. On the other hand, Fenwick was a self-supporting missionary. Therefore, he concentrated on church planting without receiving support. In addition, Fenwick did emphasize the gifts of the Spirit but sending local evangelists to teach the gospel. So he barely expressed his theological character and just focused on sending more evangelists and building new churches in new areas.

Fenwick's mission work can be defined as having a pneumatological emphasis. . By this, it means that his missions were the spontaneous work of the Holy Spirit. Without

³⁵⁸ Because the churches Fenwick and his followers established were mainly located in the present North Korea, China and Russia, they rapidly declined from 250 to 40 in 1946, just one year after South Korea became independent. See *Ibid.*, p. 332.

³⁵⁹ C. Peter Wagner, *Strategies for church Growth* (Ventura, CA: Regal Books, 1989), p. 81.

question, faith missions and regions-beyond of missions was derived from this pneumatic philosophy of mission. Especially, Adoniram Gordon and Hudson Taylor, two Niagara giants, adopted this model. Like those men, Fenwick also greatly emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit in missions, for example, in the case of sending missionaries to the regions beyond areas and determining the specific mission fields. When Fenwick preached the gospel and healed the sick, he confessed that he was always dependent on the Holy Spirit. He also said that having received the guidance of the Holy Spirit, he always carried out his missionary work.

Fenwick was a unique and complex man. He was a Biblicist, a fundamentalist, and a dispensationalist. His theological characteristics were thus conservative, evangelistic, pietistic, Calvinistic, Pentecostal and Charismatic. Not only Gordon but also other millenarians of Niagara such as Brooks, Pierson, and Scofield seemed to influence him significantly. Gordon seemed to influence Fenwick towards Baptist Theology and his Proto-Type Pentecostal-Charismatic theology. When Fenwick came to Korea, he armed himself with this theology. He also exerted himself to establish and administer the Church of Christ in Corea according to this theology. Among his little theological background, Pentecostal-Charismatic type practice was very significant. He practiced many miraculous ministries like exorcism and healing. However, he never stressed speaking tongues, so his Pentecostal character was closer to charismatic than classical Pentecostal.

However, when Fenwick died, the Church of Christ in East Asia (CCEA) needed a new father and identity and then following Japan's surrender in 1945, a new era was ushered in for the Korean Christians as well as the CCEA (later, the Korea Baptist Convention). In the next chapter, I will investigate the SBC's influence on the early Korean Baptists, with a particular focus on Gammage.

The organizational idea of Fenwick and his followers was a kind of papal authoritarianism. The entire body of Christians under him was one church, and various officers dispatched by him to several districts were his delegates. Later, the leaders of the Church of Christ in Korea who were used to this idea could not help but be at odds with the young Southern Baptist missionaries who had a more democratic and congregational idea of church polity. It is noteworthy that the Church of Christ in Korea made the decision to disband the convention rather than to comply with the “Shinsachambae” (Shinto shrines Worship) that Japanese imperialists forced upon the Korean people. The faith of the church revived among the dispersed leaders after World War II, and in 1946, the church was reconstructed.

Indigenization was one of the greatest achievements of Fenwick’s theology and ministry to the Korean Baptist Convention. For example Fenwick was not appalled by the Korean traditional religions; rather he was open to them. Having a deep concern, he discovered points of contact between them and Christ, and thus approached the unbelievers and converted them solely with the Word of God. He became a biblical and evangelical missionary because of his being a realistic exclusivist. His mission strategy was also indigenization. His indigenous principle came from Gordon’s African mission. However, he did not use this approach on the mission field until he overcame his belief in white supremacy. Interestingly, there was a little difference regarding application of the indigenous principle between John Livingston Nevius (1829-1893) and Fenwick. In the aspect of applying the “Three-self” formula, Nevius focused on training the leaders to be self-supporting, while Fenwick simply emphasized mass-production of the native leaders. For instance, in those days, Underwood, under Nevius’s influence, reported that out of 188 imperfectly organized

Presbyterian churches of his mission, 186 were exclusively self-supporting.³⁶⁰ Like the present churches, they were financially independent. However, Fenwick's approach was little different. His main concern was to produce native leaders who could be produced from the original leader.³⁶¹ It was evident that Fenwick was much more interested in reproducing native leaders than assuring their administrative independence. In conclusion, like Nevius's indigenous principle, Fenwick also made a huge contribution to guiding rapid church growth in Korea.

Fenwick was theologically influenced by two great mentors such as, Donald McIntosh and Adoniram Gordon however his own theological development was more core value for the Church of Christ in Korea. Most of western missionary's life style is as a good commander and they are distinguished from local people. On the other hand Fenwick jumped over indigenous mission strategy. He was not only a good commander but also a good example to his followers; he walked among them. He occupies a singular place in the pre-Baptist era. He adopted two sons and they became leaders of the denomination. He and his wife are buried in Korea. His devotion to the Korean people, among whose dead he still lies, was indeed monumental. However, his success as a missionary was inseparable from his indirect evangelism through the national Christians from 1901.³⁶²

Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries who worked in Korea leave great visible heritages of schools and hospitals to his descendants. However Fenwick did not leave visible heritage. Even Fenwick's 154 churches located in North Korea, Manchuria (Northwest

³⁶⁰ Lee, "Missiological Appraisal," p. 200.

³⁶¹ For instance, third generation Korean Baptist leaders like, Phil Hwan Son and Suk Chun Chang became native leaders because of second generation Korean Baptist leader Myung Kyun Shin who was trained by Fenwick.

³⁶² Cho, *A History of the Korea Baptist Convention*, pp. 244-7.

China), Mongolia and Siberia disappeared after the Korean War. Rather, he left a valuable, intangible inheritance to Korean Baptists which is more precious than gold. Fenwick left the pure gospel which could not be compromised against any idolatry of non-biblical teaching. The result was that among the many Korean denominations, only the Church of Christ in Korea and Korean Holiness Church denied Shinsachambae (Japanese Shinto Shrine worship). Japanese imperialists forced the Korean people to worship their Emperor and whoever denied was persecuted or tortured. Except for two denominations, the others officially accepted Shinsachambae. This is a noteworthy pride for the Church of Christ in Korea. The writer asserts that if Fenwick's heritage takes root deep in the consciousness of present-day Korean Baptist missionaries, they could become the main figures in extending the Baptist denomination in the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER THE KOREA BAPTIST CONVENTION AFTER THE KOREAN WAR

(1945-1977)

The emergence of the Korea Baptist Convention (KBC) in September, 1949, marked the birth of the first Baptist convention in Korea. The event was decisively connected with the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) in the United States of America. SBC not only rebuilt the Korea Baptist Convention but also made KBC as one of the main denominations among Korea Christians. Nowadays the KBC is a one of five large Christian groups within Korean Protestantism.

The SBC has had an official relationship with Korean Baptists since 1950 when the first missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. John Abernathy, came to Korea. Although SBC missionaries are still working with Korean Baptists, they exercised more direct and decisive leadership over the life and faith of the KBC between 1950 and the late 1970s.³⁶³ Two respected Korean Baptist historians, Dr. Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho and Dr. Kin Huh, pointed out that those SBC missionaries were prominent in the life and faith of Korean Baptists until the 1970s. In his dissertation on the history of the Korea Baptist Convention until 1969, Timothy Cho maintained that “until 1970s, the SBC Missionaries maintained a leading position, and the Convention still retained a subservient position to the Mission in the Baptist work in

³⁶³ Kin Huh, *Hanbook Chimeykyohueysa* [A History of Korean Baptist Convention] (Daejeon: Publishing Department of Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary, 1990), p. 525.

Korea.”³⁶⁴ Southern Baptist missionaries’ transfer of the denominational leadership to the nationals was completed by the late 1970s.³⁶⁵ Albert Gammage Jr.’s resignation as President of the Korean Baptist Theological University/Seminary in December 1977 was an important turning point in the history of the Korea Baptist Convention. As the first Korean president of the school, Chin Hwang Chung was inaugurated as the fourth president in December 1977. In 1978, Korean Baptist theologians and pastors began to take the primary responsibility for the development of their denominational theology. From 1978, their theology and spirituality have shaped the faith and life of the Convention. This chapter will investigate the characteristics and general tendencies of the Korean Baptists’ history and theology from 1945 to 1977 through an investigation of their sermons and theological writing. Due to their influence on the KBC, it will also investigate the SBC missionaries’ lives and faith, with a particular focus on Albert Gammage Jr. The investigation of their work and theology is necessary to understand the denominational identity of the KBC. This chapter will also offer a brief explanation of the theological characteristics of the KBC and will explain the schism of the Convention that occurred between 1959 and 1968. In addition, it will analyze SBC theology as a factor behind the KBC’s anti-Pentecostal/Charismatic stance before the appearance of the new Pentecostalism during the early 1960s.

4.1 The Situation after the Japanese Occupation, the Korean War and the Post-Fenwick Era

In a real sense the period from 1946 to 1958 was a very meaningful period in the development of many Korean denominations including the Baptist Church in Korea. Through

³⁶⁴ Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho, “A History of the Korea Baptist Convention: 1889-1969,” Th. D. diss. (The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1970), p. 189.

³⁶⁵ Kin Huh, *Hanbook*, p. 525.

this period a small remnant of the Church of Christ in Korea (CCC) developed into the Korea Baptist Convention. During Japanese rule over the country (1910-1945), the CCC had undergone a most crucial trial. The arrest of thirty-two of the main leaders in 1942 meant virtually the end of the Church. When the CCC was legally dissolved in May 1944 with an enforced donation of all its property to the Japanese government, the members scattered throughout the country and continued family gatherings until 1946. Early in 1946, several leaders of the CCC had a meeting at Chilsan in an effort to reconstruct the church organization. As a result in September, 1946, the first conclave (annual meeting of the Church) after the liberation (1945) was held in Kangkyung. This meeting was a very historic gathering as several important changes were implemented. Though this meeting was convened as an annual conclave under the old system, during the meeting the organizational structure of the CCC was changed to a convention system. In other words, this meant that the old authoritarian system was changed to a form of congregational government in church polity. For example, the traditional conclave (*daiwhawhe*) became a convention (*chongwhe*), and the overseer (*kamok*) became the president (*chongwhechang*). The position of general circuit-pastor (*ansa*), and captain of a hundred (*tongchang*) was changed to exhorter, and the position of captain of fifty (*changchang*) and captain of ten (*bangchang*) to deacon.

Strictly speaking, before the Korean War, the CCC had no congregational system as was normal in the Baptist tradition. After Fenwick passed away, and Korea had been liberated from Japanese occupation, the church re-established itself with a convention organization and took one of its earlier names, the Church of Christ in East Asia, with a desire to develop a relationship with some Christian body in the USA. Contact was made with the Southern Baptists. After Baker J. Cauthen, then Secretary for the Orient of the Foreign Mission Board (FMB) of the Southern Baptist Convention, met at the church's convention in 1949, the

church decided to become a Baptist body and requested missionaries. The first Southern Baptist missionaries, John and Jewell Abernathy, arrived in February 1950 just before the outbreak of the Korean War.

During the war, some Baptists were killed, including four pastors, and many church buildings were seriously damaged or destroyed. The Southern Baptists sent large amounts of relief of food and clothing. Baptist chaplains in the U.S. armed forces also helped to support the Baptist cause. In 1954, the mission established the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary in Daejeon, which in 1992 moved to a new campus near Yusung. Two years later the Bill Wallace Memorial Hospital in Pusan, which had developed from an earlier medical ministry, was opened. A Publication Department was formed in 1958 in Pusan which, after moving to Daejeon, settled in 1961 in Seoul. In 1965, the mission opened a Baptist building for its work.³⁶⁶

4.2 The Korean War and the Korean Social Context

Korea experienced liberation from Japan during the Second World War. It was a joyous occasion for all Koreans, who, in expectation of independence, began to celebrate their new political and religious freedom from Japanese rule. But the jubilation did not last long. It was shaken by the division of the country into North and South Korea. Korea was divided in two along the Thirty-Eighth Parallel. The expected liberation had not truly come; the national family remained separated.

It is impossible to understand the political situation in post-World War II Korea apart from appreciating the importance the United States gave to Korea as an invaluable ally. The United States was eager to establish a strong anti-communist political base in South Korea.

³⁶⁶ Seung Jin, pp. 194-200.

Such a view was already expressed by Dr. Robert T. Oliver, an influential spokesperson for U.S. policy toward Korea, in a letter to the *New York Times*:

We should disband our American military government in Korea and set up a genuine Korean government south of the 38th parallel in its place. We should leave troops there, under the command of General John R. Hodge, as a barrier to further Russian aggression against Korea. We should make every effort possible... to force Russia to keep promise of withdrawing from Northern Korea.³⁶⁷

The independence of the Republic of Korea was declared on August 15 1945. The establishment of a separate state within a nation having five thousand years of history was a tragedy. Yet in the eyes of the United States it was a diplomatic victory to establish a firm “democratic” government. The United States could be assured that South Korea would remain a strong ally under the presidency of Dr. Syngman Rhee, who had been educated at Harvard and Princeton universities in the United States. Dr. Rhee was handpicked by the U.S. government, and he remained loyal to the U.S. policy toward Korea.

At that time, in the small peninsula, two governments were established with distinctively different political ideologies and economic systems. The division of Korea affected all segments of Korean society, including the Christian churches. However, as far as the political allegiance of the Korean Christians was concerned, they were unquestionably loyal and supportive of U.S. policy in Korea.

Neither the Korean people or Korean churches were not strongly opposed to Western political powers such as Russia and the U.S. because during its over 5.000 year history, Korea had never been a colony of any country apart from Japan. This is a key factor for understanding why many Koreans became Christians during the Japanese occupation.

³⁶⁷ Wi Jo Kang, *Christ & Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (Albany, NY, State University of New York Press, 1997), p. 72.

Many countries in the Third World that were liberated after World War II had been colonies of European Christian nations. However, Korea was colonized by the imperial nation of Japan, which was strongly anti-Christian. During the Japanese occupation of Korea, Christianity was treated harshly by the government, and some missionaries became sympathetic to the nationalist cause, as we have seen in previous chapters.

The churches fell into fatal controversies over this question of dismissing the ministers who had collaborated with Japan. Until the end of Japanese occupation, many Christian denominations accepted emperor worship apart from the Baptist Church and the Holiness Church. This was the reason why both denominations were banned by the Japanese. On August 1, 1945, the Protestant churches had to organise the Chosen division of the Japanese Christian Church. Those who did not favour this forced union were imprisoned, driven from their pulpits or placed under house-arrest, so that the 700,000 Protestant Christians were reduced to half their number. To be a Christian was a costly undertaking. Later Korean historians discovered that the Japanese government had been ordered to execute all Korean Christians on 18 August 1945; fortunately Japan surrendered before that date. As soon as World War II ended, missionaries began to return to Korea with the victorious soldiers. The Korean War did not totally damage Korean Christianity as the systematic oppression by Japanese imperialism had done. The main reason was that the battle line came to a deadlock along the 38th parallel from April 1951 to the armistice (July, 1953),³⁶⁸ which meant life in South Korea was somewhat stabilized. Therefore, despite the difficult situation, Christianity continued to grow. At the same time, this war provided the movement with several favourable factors: Christian activities were more concentrated in the southern area owing to

³⁶⁸ During that time negotiations for a cease-fire continued between the United Nations and the Communists.

evacuation to the south; and strengthened solidarity among Christians due to martyrdom and persecution by the Japanese and communists. Consequently, the KBC had no hope for growth until the SBC helped the KBC and cooperated with ministry in Korea.³⁶⁹

4.3 The Problem of the Korea Baptist Church after the Korean War

Following Japan's surrender in 1945 and the Korean War which began in 1950, a new era was ushered in for the Korean Baptist Church. The CCC had no missionary to wait for. The force of the Church reduced due to the loss of the majority of its members in the Communist territories in the north and of its property during the Japanese persecution, and leaders were so unequipped for the new situation that its self-existence became questionable. For example, after the Korean War, the Korea Baptist Convention even lost its headquarter in Wonsan (located in Northeast Korea). In addition, it lost all its churches and members in North Korea and Manchuria (Northwest province in China). During the Japanese occupation, over one million Korean people lived in Manchuria. During such a crisis, there was little possibility of a Southern Baptist missionary working in Korea. Even though there was no permanent relationship established between the Southern Baptist convention in America and the Korea Baptist Convention, yet it was obvious that the anticipated relationship was to be one of "giver-and-receiver." In a real sense, the period in the development of Baptist churches in Korea after Korean War, it totally caused by cooperative with SBC and following their support, through this period a small remnant of the Church of Christ in Corea developed into the Korea Baptist Convention.

³⁶⁹ Cho, pp. 163-5.

4.4 Denominational Structural Change after 1945

America's victory over Japan in the war of 1945 freed the Korean people from Japanese control. After liberation, the leaders of the Church of Christ in Corea gathered together to discuss the reconstruction of the denomination. They held a meeting at Chilsan on February 9, 1946, and decided to have the thirty-sixth Annual Assembly in September of the same year. At the Assembly in September 1946, they restored the name of the CCC as the official name of the denomination and decided on some changes in the organization of the denomination. The authoritarian system was changed to a congregational-Presbyterian church polity. The Chilsan Annual Assembly (1946) became a convention, and they decided that all previous leadership had to change. For example, the superintendent-pastor became the president, the general circuit-pastor became a pastor, the supervisory-elder became an elder, the captain of a hundred became an exhorter, and captains of fifty and ten became deacons.

This meant that they changed not only the names of leadership positions but also the role of leadership. However, while the CCC reconstructed its structure, it could not overcome the massive damage inflicted by the denomination's disorganization. As noted, when all the main Korean denominations accepted emperor worship (apart from the CCC and the Korea Holiness Church), the Japanese regime ordered the breakup of the CCC because of its resistance to emperor worship. The damage it experienced was greater than any other Protestant denomination because it lost not only its headquarters and leaders but also its denominational organisation.

Although the CCC was reconstructed it was extremely weakened. In 1946, the denomination had only about forty churches with few members throughout South Korea. Because Russian communists gained control of North Korea at this time, the CCC lost all control and contact with their church in North Korea. After the CCC's contact with the SBC, it changed its name

to the Korean Baptist Convention (KBC). The emergence of the KBC in Korea was largely caused by this connection with the SBC in the USA. Unfortunately, the KBC did not have an opportunity to re-examine and contextualize its theology in relation to its CCC heritage and the theology of the SBC.³⁷⁰

4.5 The KBC's Connection with the Southern Baptist Convention

In September, 1948, at the Third Annual Convention which met at Chumchon, definite action was taken to seek missionary aid and to contact Southern Baptist Convention leaders. When Dr. Baker James Cauthen, who was Secretary for the Client, attended the Kangkyung meeting in September, 1949, upon the request of the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, he related the state of affairs as follows:

I pointed out to them that they were known by the name "The Church of East Asia." and should a recommendation be brought to Southern Baptist to extend aid to "The Church of East Asia." The first question would be, "who are these people, and what do they represent?" Instantly a brother stood to ask, "Would you kindly tell us what Baptists believe and something about Baptist throughout the world?" Cauthen then reviewed Baptist belief, history, and world ministry to them. They happily responded that these salient points were exactly what they believed. Whereupon Cauthen replied, "Friend, do not make any decision at this time....After we are gone, discuss among yourselves whether you really have the convictions common to Baptist body. If that is your purpose, then you can send me word; and we will study whether or not there is any possibility about taking further steps to give assistance."³⁷¹

According to their response, they agreed with the salient points of the Baptist faith, but there was no discussion about whether they really had Baptist convictions or not. At this meeting they decided unanimously to change the name of the Church to the Korea Baptist Convention (*Taehan Kitokkyo Chimyewhe Chongwhe*). John Abernathy came to Korea in 1950 on an experimental basis for one year as the first Baptist missionary. He was to gather

³⁷⁰ Yong Gook, pp. 134-7.

³⁷¹ Cited in R. Max Willocks, "Christian Missions in Korea with Special reference to the Work of Southern Baptist." Master's thesis, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, MillValley, California, 1962. P. 80.

more adequate knowledge of their situation, and his report to the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board was as follows:

Fifty-five years after Baptist work was begun, there were about 150 churches and congregation in all Korea with about 10,000 members. We found they had a regularly organized Baptist convention and were carrying on the work as nearly like Pauline Churches as they knew. They followed the New Testament so closely that in their churches they had pastors and deacons as well as elders and evangelists. An elder was higher than a deacon. All were expected to preach and be leaders in the church. Tithing had been taught and all the churches were self-supporting. Also, we found that many years ago they had sent missionaries into Siberia to carry the gospel. Nearly every church had a Sunday school. Not knowing anything about regular Baptist literature, they use only the bible for a textbook.³⁷²

At the annual meeting in Chilsan in 1950, the Convention adopted its regulations closely patterned after that of the Southern Baptist Convention. However, the Korean War, which broke out the same year, had driven the country into confusion. During the war, relief work became the most urgent need and the Baptists responded promptly to meet the need with thousands of dollars' worth of clothing, food, and other relief supplies.³⁷³ Therefore, the KBC had no chance to examine and contextualize its theology in relation to its CCC heritage and the theology introduced by the SBC. This produced many problems, because the SBC's new heritage overlaps with the CCC's heritage without any self-consideration.

4.5.1 Theological Education within the Southern Baptist Convention

After connecting with the SBC, the KBC received not only financial support but also educational support. Together with financial support such as relief work for the war-stricken people, the starting of a Bible school for producing national leadership was one of the

³⁷² *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention*, 1951, p.160.

³⁷³ During the war thousands were dependent on the Mission for food and clothing. In 1952, the Mission used \$59,174.17 for all phases of relief with more than \$30,000 of it for food. Five hundred students from Baptist homes were helped to attend high schools and colleges. Pastors and other workers and many widows and orphans were helped with relief funds (*Annual of the Southern Baptist Convnetion*, 1952, p. 172; 1953, pp. 166-7).

primary tasks of Southern Baptist missionaries in Korea. In January 1952, Baker James Cauthen, Secretary for the Orient of the Foreign Mission Board, wrote to John Abernathy:

I am wondering if we should not begin thinking in terms of Bible school work as one of our next steps. I believe we all would agree that native leaders trained on the field have as a rule a better chance for adjustment than if they are sent to America for training.³⁷⁴

Their Bible School became the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary and University, the only higher educational institution within the Korea Baptist Convention. But during the early years, (1954-1957), the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary/University was run like the SBC basic bible school for lay people.

4.5.1.1 Early Years (1954-57)

Missionaries began to work on the task immediately. By a unanimous decision reached among the missionaries and the Convention leaders, a Chimneykyo Seongkying Hakkyo [Baptist Bible School] was opened in Daejeon on June 15, 1953, with fifty students selected from two hundred applicants.³⁷⁵ John A. Abernathy initiated theological education for the Korean students with missionary professors³⁷⁶ and Korean professors, Ki Choon Hahn, Hyung Keun Choi, and Tae Kyung Hahn. In April 1954,³⁷⁷ the school changed its name to Chimeyhuay Shinhakkyo [Korea Baptist Seminary], intended as a Bible College for lay-people.³⁷⁸ The seminary got its legal accreditation from the Ministry of Education of the Korean government on July 9, 1954. Abernathy was very excited when he wrote:

³⁷⁴ Baker James Cauthen, Secretary for the Orient, Letter to John Abernathy, 11 January 1952.

³⁷⁵ John A. Abernathy, Letter to Baker J. Cauthen, Secretary for the Orient, Foreign Mission Board, 10 January 1954.

³⁷⁶ "Korean Baptist Open Seminary," Foreign Mission News, Foreign Mission Board, 5 May 1954, p. 3. Missionary professors who were involved in teaching at this time were Mrs Jewell Abernathy, Rev. and Mrs. Theodore H. Dowell, and Rev. and Mrs. Daniel B. Ray.

³⁷⁷ Jeong Soo Lee and others, eds., *Hankook Chimey Kyohuaysa* [A History of the Korean Baptist Church] (Seoul: The Korean Baptist Press, 1990), p. 179.

³⁷⁸ This Bible college was just a lay-people recruiting school until it became a university on 1954.

One of the most thrilling developments in Korean Baptist history was the opening on April 8th of our Baptist Seminary in Taejon. It thrilled our heart as we looked into the faces and spoke to 140 fine students who were called of the Lord and qualified to enter this first year class. Our major need has been and is for more, better trained preacher and pastors. Four fine young men are going to America this summer to enter our seminaries to be trained as teachers on the staff of our Korean Baptist Seminary.³⁷⁹

The educational environment, however, was not conducive. The location of the institution resulted in the moral decay of the seminary. The property was originally a Japanese restaurant situated in the midst of a prostitution zone in front of the railroad station. The existing buildings were converted to the administration office, class room, and men's dormitory. The seminary campus was moved to Mok-dong (located in Daejeon city) in 1957 after the buildings were completed. The dormitory, however, had to remain in the red-light district until the spring of 1961, for almost eight years. According to Timothy H. Cho, who began to serve as dean of the seminary in 1959, the south-side of the dormitory was directly connected to the procures' property, and the students' bedroom windows allowed the young theologians to observe much of what was going on with their immediate neighbours.³⁸⁰ In 1957, when the seminary campus moved to Mok-dong, the student body numbered one hundred and thirty-five. The school was divided into three departments: the *Jeongkwa* (Seminary Proper Department), offered a three-year course patterned after seminary courses in the United States; the *Yekwa* [Preparatory Department] , offered a three-year liberal arts course, which, as it was a standard college degree, was a prerequisite to the seminary proper

³⁷⁹ John A Abernathy, Letter to "Brother" Edwin, 22 May 1954.

³⁸⁰ Timothy Hyo-hoon. Cho, "A History of the Korea Baptist Convention" (Ph. D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1970), p. 162.

course; and the third one was *Byulkwa* [Special Department] for those who desired training but were not qualified for one of the other courses.³⁸¹

4.5.1.2 Mok-dong Campus Years (1957-89)

In 1957, missionary Theodore Dowell succeeded John Abernathy as the second president. He served until 1967. Albert Gammage then served as the third president for ten years from 1967 to 1977. During the time of the seminary president's furlough, missionaries Max Willocks, Cloyes Starnes, and Dan Ray served as the interim presidents. In March 1960, a historic event took place. Eight out of fifty students who entered the seminary made up the first class to graduate from the *Jeongkwa* (Seminary Proper Department), which was the first fruit of the Southern Baptist missionaries' theological education in Korea.³⁸² In 1959, the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary became one of the eight branches of the Asia Baptist Graduate Theological Seminary (ABGTS), which had been jointly sponsored by the Foreign Mission Board, SBC, and eight Asian Baptist seminaries.³⁸³ No student, however, applied for the Korean branch because of the inadequacy of the faculty. The situation was not very much improved until the 1980s.

In the early years of theological education, there were no textbooks in Korean. The seminary set up the 10-year Seminary Textbook Translation Program, which was approved by the Mission in 1958.³⁸⁴ Probably no other one thing would do as much to make the program of the seminary more effective. Though the quality of the translated textbooks was

³⁸¹ "Designed for Growth," the Commission, July 1958, p. 46.

³⁸² "Korea: Seminary Graduate Eight Men," Foreign Mission News, *The Commission*, July 1960, p. 15.

³⁸³ Eight Asian Baptist seminaries sponsored by the Foreign Mission Board are (1) Baptist Theological Seminary of Indonesia, (2) Hong Kong Baptist Theological Seminary, (3) Korea Baptist Theological Seminary (4) Malaya Baptist Theological Seminary, (5) Philippine Baptist Theological Seminary and Bible School, Inc., (6) Taiwan Baptist Theological Seminary, (7) Thailand Baptist Theological Seminary, and (8) Theological Department of Seinan Gakuin University, Japan.

³⁸⁴ Minutes of Korea Baptist Mission, 21 May 1958, p. 6.

not good because of obscure translation, low quality paper, and handwriting printing, the textbooks were indispensable tools for the students, and especially for the missionary professors.³⁸⁵

According to the by-laws of the seminary which were approved by the mission on February 17th, 1958, and by the Convention in session on May 16th in the same year, the Board of Trustees were composed of five people, three elected by the Korea Baptist Convention and two elected by the SBC Mission.³⁸⁶ However, for about thirteen years the Convention was a nominal co-sponsor of the seminary with the Mission. In 1967, the Convention, feeling that the seminary was being operated by the Mission in disregard of the Convention's authority, consequently abdicated the "nominal" co-sponsorship.³⁸⁷ The Mission thereupon set up a Board of Directors for the seminary with a majority of nationals, all elected by and some dependent upon the Mission for their salary.³⁸⁸

The seminary made a significant step forward at the end of 1977 with a transfer of the leadership from missionary to Korean national. Trustees elected Professor Jin Hwang Chung, one of the first eight graduates and a professor since 1963, to the presidency of the seminary. The installation service of the fourth president was held at the seminary auditorium on December 29, 1977.³⁸⁹ This was one of the turning points of the KBC, not only for the seminary but also for the entire denomination, because the SBC started to give their leadership and money to the KBC. With the national leadership, the seminary sent out Korean

³⁸⁵ "Seminary Report," *Book of Reports*, 1961, p. 32.

³⁸⁶ "The By-laws of Korea Baptist Theological Seminary," *Book of Reports*, 1958, p. 3.

³⁸⁷ *Kitokkyo hankook Chimeykyo Chonghuay Huayiuok* [minutes of the Korea Baptist Convention] , Seoul: Executive Committee, Korea Baptist Convention (Daejeon-side), 1967, p. 11.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid*; *Minutes of the Korea Baptist Mission*, Seoul: Executive Committee, Korea Baptist Mission, 1967, p. 7. The Board of Directors was composed of nine directors and two auditors controlling the Educational Foundation for Higher Education of the Foreign Mission Board, SBC.

³⁸⁹ "Invitation Card for President Inauguration", December, 1977.

professors to Southern Baptist seminaries in the United States or the Asia Baptist Graduate Theological School (ABGTS) in the Philippines for advanced study and doctoral degrees. As a result, more professors have been added to the faculty since 1978. The school itself began to expand. On January 11th, 1978, the Christian Education Department was opened, separate from the Theology Department. And on October 2nd, 1980, it gained permission from the government to organize a Baptist Theological Graduate School. Therefore, the seminary was able to put the basic system in place as a theological seminary. Later in 1983, the school opened the Christian Music Department.³⁹⁰

In 1981, the seminary took significant steps toward development in three directions. First, the trustees approved in principle the relocation of the campus so as to allow for further expansion of the student body. Second, the seminary established a sister relationship with Southwest Baptist University in Bolivar, Missouri, in February 1982. This relationship provided the avenue for the undergraduate students of the Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary to continue studying in the United States and get the Bachelor of Arts Degree.³⁹¹ Third, the seminary trustees initiated a process of negotiation to provide a Ph.D. degree in cooperation with two other conservative seminaries in Korea.³⁹²

On November 12th, 1984, Dr. Kin Huh assumed office as the fifth president of the Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary. As soon as he was installed, he made a great effort to improve the quality of the faculty, to get qualified professors to further develop themselves by taking additional studies at the Southern Baptist seminaries. In addition, he had an

³⁹⁰ Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary, "Report of the Korea Baptist Theological University and Seminary to the Foreign Mission Board, SBC," 28 June 1984, C-2.

³⁹¹ "Joint Agreement for Establishment of Theological Centres," signed by George Shell, chancellor of the Southwest Baptist University and Jin Hwang Chung, President of the Korea Baptist theological University/Seminary on February 16, 1982.

³⁹² Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary, "Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary Report," *KBC Annual*, 1982, pp. 55-9.

ambition to move the Mok-dong campus to a place which would be larger than any other seminary in Korea.

4.5.1.3 Yusung Campus Years (1989 to the Present)

The anti-intellectual and anti-educational attitude of Fenwick and his followers resulted in a lack of educated leadership. It was sad in the sense that the missionary presidency of the seminary lasted for twenty-three years. John Abernathy, the first missionary in Korea and the first president of the seminary, and the two other missionary presidents, Theodore Dowell and Albert Gammage, deserve commendation and respect for their dedicated effort in developing national professors. Other missionary professors worked hard also and deserve recognition. As a result, many students came to study at the Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary (KBTUS). However, the school did have not enough native faculty members who had studied in the six SBC seminaries.

Another big accomplishment during the presidency of Dr. Kin Huh was the relocation of the seminary campus. In the spring of 1989, a 50 acre site for a new campus received approval from the Ministry of Education of the Korean Government, clearing the way for relocating the school at Yusung city, about ten miles away from the Mok-dong campus. A ceremony for the new campus took place on May 30th, 1989. Dedication services of the new campus were held later on May 26th, 1993, with the main office building, library, auditorium, classroom buildings, music hall, and men's and women's dormitories ready. Later on, the new campus added many buildings, such as the World Mission Training Centre,

the Student Centre, a nursery school, a language training centre, a postgraduate building and a guest house.³⁹³

In 1992, the Ministry of Education of the Korean Government allowed the Kitokkyo Sahuay Pojihak Kwa [Christian Social Ministry Department] to open with forty students. With these new undergraduate courses, the school was given permission to be called *Hankook Chimney Shinhak Daehakkyo* (Korea Baptist Theological University). The Global Mission Centre for training missionaries who are to go to out to the mission fields was to be established in June 1994.

By 1990, the faculty was composed of 31 full-time lecturers (11 professors, 5 associate professors, 12 assistant professors, 3 full-time instructors) with 88 part-time instructors. The student body enrolment was 1,285 (undergraduate: theology, 528; Christian Education, 335; Christian Music, 190; Graduate: M.A. and Th.M., 25; M.Div., 207). Two years later in 1992, the number of students increased, with a total enrolment of 1,442 (undergraduate: Theology, 554; Christian Education. 351; Christian Music, 213; Graduate: M.A. and Th.M., 24; M.Div., 220; Mokhuay Taehak Won [Graduate Course for Ministry], 70).³⁹⁴

Pioneer missionaries who came to Korea knew from their missionary experience in China how important and urgent it was to bring about national leadership. They understood that in a concentrated thrust for strong indigenous churches, with their generative role, no function was more vital than that of developing national leadership through theological education. The Korea Baptist Theological College/Seminary, however weak its beginning,

³⁹³ Seung Jin Kim, A history of Southern Baptist Mission Work in Korea: it's Impact on Korean Baptist church Growth (Ph. D. thesis, The Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 1995), pp. 204-6.

³⁹⁴ KBC Annual, 1992, 86-92; See Appendix 4. Yearly Trend of the Theological Education Ministry.

now became the largest theological seminary in Asia, at least in relation to its campus and facilities. In 1992, the school had 2,150 students and more than 300 graduates in the same year. Strengthening the faculty, installing the Department of Christian Social Ministry and Ph.D. programs with other conservative Korean seminaries, and most of all, dedicating the 50-acre new campus at Yusung, were major achievements of the second national president, Dr. Kin Huh. The ministry of missionary training at the Global Mission Centre is highly appreciated.³⁹⁵

Now with a strong faculty, including members with doctoral degrees, the Korea Baptist Theological College/Seminary needed to search for a sister relationship with one of the six Southern Baptist seminaries, not only for the student graduates to continue their study in the United States, but also for the faculties to share their academic insights with each other. It is time for a mature “Korean Baptist theology” to be able to develop in the new campus. As the school became larger and accommodated more undergraduate students with expanded departments, it was a rightful concern that the school could be easily secularized, which means that it would be more a university than a seminary. As long as it has the title “university,” it is a violation of the law in Korea that the school require applicants to be Christians. Thus, the present school, the Chimney Shinhak Daehakkyo (Korea Baptist Theological University), can remain as a Baptist university, and in the near future a new typical graduate level seminary needs to be founded with highly qualified faculty members.

Prior to 1953, there were no Baptists in Korea other than the missionaries who had received any kind of education through a Baptist school or seminary. The first eighteen

³⁹⁵ Seung Jin Kim, *A History of Southern Baptist Mission Work in Korea: it's Impact on Korean Baptist Church Growth* (Ph. D. thesis, The Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 1995), pp. 204-6.

graduates (three years' special course) of the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary graduated on March 8th, 1956. Apart from missionary personnel, however, the faculty of the seminary at that time was entirely composed of proselyte pastors who became Baptist from other denominations during the period. Most leaders of the Convention, the followers of Fenwick, were not only ignorant of Baptist ideals in faith and practice but also mainly proselytes. From the middle of the 1950s, therefore, the problems of proselyte Baptist preachers, regulation of minister's ordination, and dictatorship of the Convention leaders became convention-wide issues in the denominational life. Because the KBC suffers from a lack of pastors and ministers, the SBC wants to recruit more pastors without any consideration concerning the theological background of pastors from other denominations. For example, many Presbyterian pastors who need more financial support or who have ethical problems join the KBC without being vetted. They were able to join the KBC without receiving any re-education or examination. These former Presbyterian pastors usually retained their Calvinistic theology and Reformed approach to the sacraments rather than adopt Baptist theology and sacramental practices. In addition, they tried to control KBC in order to gain more financial benefits. Furthermore, they tried to introduce into the KBC their own theology, such as infant baptism and a Calvinistic doctrine of salvation. This caused a schism in the Convention. Because most of pastors were from other denominations, their motives were not so much because they wish to join the KBC but to receive the abundant financial support from the SBC. For example, at that time many Presbyterian pastors joined the Baptists not for theology but for money. After the Korean War they were desperate for financial survival. Eventually, they tried to dominate KBC with their own theology and methodology. With its constitutions from various denominations, the compromises in faith and practice during this period were further symptoms of a grave deviation in faith from the Baptist ideals within the

Convention. It means that Baptist leaders from the Presbyterian Church want to plant Calvinistic theological views and their political system like eldership within the Korea Baptist Convention.

In conclusion, it can be said that in spite of continuing efforts at setting up Baptist distinctives within the Convention by the missionaries, the churches gravely deviated from Baptist ideals in faith as well as in practice during the period from 1945 to 1977.

4.5.2 The Political Influence of the Southern Baptists

After becoming connected with the Southern Baptists organizationally, some fundamental changes took place in the Convention during the Korean War. At the annual meeting of the Convention at Won-dang in 1951, it was decided that the Convention be affiliated with the Baptist World Alliance.³⁹⁶ The Convention meant to adopt the theological and organizational pattern of the Southern Baptists. It is very important to note here, however, that the Convention regulated the policy of local churches. In the same year, the Convention was made a legal denomination by setting up its “juridical person” and getting registered at the Ministry of Education.³⁹⁷

4.6 Non-Baptist and Southern Baptist Influences upon Korean Baptists

During the beginning stage of this period, mission aid was used for building churches, paying pastors’ salaries, educating many young people, and treating the sick. In these circumstances, when the Baptist Mission seemed to have an abundance of funds and there was no rigid requirement for becoming a Baptist church member, many people were attracted

³⁹⁶ Yong-Hai Kim et al. (eds.), *Daihan Kitokkyo Chimneyhuaysa* [A History of Korean Christian Baptist Convention] (Seoul, Korea: Daihan Kitokkyo Chimeyhuay Chonghuay, 1964), pp. 85-6.

³⁹⁷ In Korea all religious bodies must be registered at the Ministry of Education through proper legal procedures in order to have Government recognition and legal rights as a religious body. A juridical person is a kind of religious body. A juridical person is a kind of corporation with a board of trustees acting in legal matters in behalf of the organization. A religious juridical person is classified as a non-profit corporation.

to Baptist churches. The churches were flooded with members who were hastily admitted and baptized without being carefully examined or trained. Since the salaries of pastors were given by the Southern Baptist Mission, new preachers were enlisted almost as soon as they volunteered. The preachers who were proselytized to the Baptist denomination rapidly increased from this time on.

While this boom was prevailing within the Convention, the number of churches and preaching points grew to 130 congregations by the end of 1953. This growth, however, was not accompanied by qualitative improvement of the Convention. Rather, the number of baptisms and the total membership of the Convention began to decrease from 1,292 and 4,844 in 1953 to 564 and 4,117 in 1958, respectively. The relief program by Southern Baptist USA, therefore, not only failed to increase the membership in the Convention, but it consequently failed to develop Baptist identity among the Korean Baptists. Although many churches sought to follow faithfully the New Testament, certain practices arose during the period and made the Convention inevitably deviate from the Baptist-oriented church life and become syncretistic in faith and doctrine.

It can be said that the period from 1950 to 1958 was the season of sowing Baptist seed in Korean soil where various other seeds had already sprouted to bear good Baptist fruit from the beginning. When the leaders themselves could hardly cope with the need, the Convention was confronted with numerous problems calling for order and development toward a Baptist denomination. In this period, when the Convention was trying to identify itself with the Southern Baptists, their deviation from Baptist principles can be examined quite easily.

In the first place, their doctrinal position in becoming Baptist was clearly revealed in their affiliation with the Southern Baptist Convention. When the Convention changed its

name to the Korea Baptist Convention at the Kangkyung meeting in 1949, the primary purpose of the change was to receive assistance from Southern Baptists. All they did at the meeting was simply adding the name “Baptist” to the name which they had been using. The idea or the concept of “Baptist,” as it was understood by them at that time, meant no more to them than baptism by immersion. They were ignorant of what becoming Baptist actually meant. This is clearly revealed in the fact that no statement of faith or doctrine was adopted at the meeting. Their unconcern for doctrinal differences to Baptist principles was evident in their religious mentality when they identified themselves with the Southern Baptists. This propensity in doctrinal faith can be explained by the traditional mentality of Korean people which seeks harmonious coincidence in faith.³⁹⁸ Secondly, if the church polity or organizational system is examined, it can be seen that the Korea Baptist Convention is patterned after the Southern Baptist Convention as they understood it, but it lacked a proper Baptist church polity and a commitment to Baptist principles in its organizational pattern. By changing the office of elder (*changno*) to ordained deacon at the Convention meeting in Wandang in 1951 in an effort to conform to the pattern of Baptist churches in America, where the officers of local churches had autonomy, the Convention also regulated the policy of the local churches.

In 1952, the Convention decided that it should be a league of churches and the annual meeting of the Convention would be composed of church officers only. The idea of congregational government or the concept of the representative of the local congregation in church affairs was still unfamiliar to them. A prolonged provisional operation of the Convention by the same leaders, almost exclusively Fenwick’s followers, who rotated the

³⁹⁸ Kin Huh, A Historical Analysis of the Korea Baptist Convention in the Light of Baptist Principles. Th.M. thesis, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1979, p. 71.

staff positions of the Convention among themselves even after organizational change, resulted in the centralization of power in the Convention. Partially it was a natural outcome of the Korean people's mentality to submit to the centralized authority of power, due to the influence of Confucianism.³⁹⁹ At the same time, it can be explained partially in terms of the influence of the centralized government of Presbyterian and Methodist denominations. At least outwardly, the Convention underwent some important organizational changes by identifying itself with Southern Baptist practice during this period. However, the ecclesiastical pattern and the idea of the church were entirely different from that which the Southern Baptists held. The Convention, therefore, was essentially a continuation of the old Church of Christ in Korea, an authoritarian body, ruled over almost exclusively by some Convention leaders. Thirdly, regarding beliefs and practices, syncretism⁴⁰⁰ was another negative effort implicitly brought upon the Convention during the period. As indicated in the previous chapter, syncretism in faith was one of the characteristics of the religious practice of Korean people which was inherited traditionally from Confucianism, Shamanism, Buddhism, and Taoism. The propensity to syncretism, therefore, was one of the main factors which caused a deviation from the Christian faith. The gathering of people from different theological backgrounds throughout this period made the Convention syncretistic in doctrine and practice and allowed Baptist principles to be mixed with those from other denominations.

³⁹⁹ Harold S. Hong, ed., Korea Struggle for Christ (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1966), p. 158.

⁴⁰⁰ The meaning of Syncretism (etymologically, "to act as the Cretans," a Hellenistic way [Plutarch's] of referring to the inclusion of foreign gods in one's own pantheon) is the complex phenomenon by which two religious systems enter into contact with each other without becoming a complete synthesis and without being merely juxtaposed. According to the accepted understanding, syncretism involves the formation of a religious system out of the dialectic interactions of two religious systems, often in a situation of colonialism. Platte Daniel Ed, The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 202.

For example, Baptists have certain theological distinctives such as a commitment to believer's baptism by immersion, the authority of the Bible in matters of doctrine and practice, the priesthood of all believers, congregational church polity, and freedom of conscience. However, some of those who joined from other denominations believed in a Presbyterian form of church government; others laid emphasis on the Apostle's Creed. Some leaders even believed in the initial evidence of speaking in tongues as the only proof of Holy Spirit Baptism. Korean Christianity's concern was syncretism or contextualization by mainly theological practices with Christian Evangelical theology. Furthermore Korean Baptists were mixed with other denominations' theology and heritage. Syncretism or syncretistic, this is not always a negative word. However, Korean Christians did not like the word syncretism or contextualization or indigenous. They want to term their Christianity as biblical or Evangelical instead of the previous terms. Korean Pentecostal theologians have already begun to deal consciously with the issue of contextualization and syncretism. Dr. Wonsuk Ma has written on the unique characteristics of Pentecostal communities in Korea. Ma noted that Pentecostalism in Korea did not originally flourish as an eschatological movement due to the this-worldly and materialistic orientation of indigenous folk religion.⁴⁰¹ This view criticizes Korean Pentecostals, it means that Korean Charismatics are regarded as put it in same pot with Pentecostals. However, I do not think that Charismatic, within Baptists have no same phenomena like Korean Pentecostals such as Korea Assemblies of God from Rev. Yong Gi Cho's and Yoido Full Gospel type. Anyhow, the success of Korean Pentecostals is related with capitalism and materialism.

⁴⁰¹ Wonsuk Ma, "the Korean Pentecostal Movement: Retrospect and Prospect for the New Century," Lecture, Hansei University., Korea (Nov. 1996) see also "Burgess Stanley M, *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002), p. 1125.

Prior to 1953, apart from the missionaries, there were no Baptists in Korea who had received any kind of education through a Baptist school or seminary. The first eighteen graduates of the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary graduated on March 8th, 1956. Apart from missionary personnel, however, the faculty of the seminary at that time was entirely composed of proselyte pastors from other denominations who became Baptists during the period. Most leaders of the Convention, the followers of Fenwick, were ignorant of Baptist ideals in faith and practice, and many were proselytes. From the middle of the 1950s, therefore, the problems of proselyte Baptist preachers, regulation of minister's ordination, and the authoritarianism of the Convention leaders became Convention-wide issues in the denominational life. With its construction from various denominations, compromise and syncretism in faith and practice during the period were further symptoms of a deviation in faith from the Baptist ideals within Convention.

In conclusion, it can be said that in spite of continuing efforts at setting up Baptist distinctives within the Convention by the missionaries, the churches gravely deviated from Baptist ideals in faith as well as in practice during the period from 1946 to 1958.

4.7. The Implantation of Baptist Identity by the SBC and the KBC's Response

From the early days, Southern Baptist missionaries tried to implant Baptist tradition in the Korean Baptist Church. Although Korean Baptists already had practiced water baptism by immersion, missionaries re-emphasized it as a mark of Baptist identity. For example, the first SBC missionary, John Abernathy, used his large artificial goldfish pool in his backyard for official baptisms and insisted on re-baptism for KBC members. In 1968, SBC missionaries offered their confession 'Baptist Faith and Message' to all KBC churches throughout the country. They started to implant their theology into KBC through KBC professors who had completed their doctoral degrees and returned to work in the KBC. They

promoted SBC Americanized theology and practice with little concern for adapting it to the Korean context. For example, most of the modern theologians in the KBC adopted SBC's cessationist theology and denied the possibility of spiritual gifts in church practice. On the other hand, there were some positive aspects introduced by SBC missionaries. Korean Baptist churches began to understand Baptist identity through the missionaries' activities and Baptist literature. Unfortunately, when the SBC began to hand over leadership responsibilities to the KBC, there immediately arose a struggle for dominance between the KBC younger leaders and the SBC younger missionaries. During the early period of SBC mission, until the middle of 1953, all Southern Baptist missionaries in Korea were ones transferred from China.⁴⁰² They had long experience in working with people of the Far East and in Asian cultures. Generally speaking, the SBC missions were a part of an organic whole working in partnership with the Convention in carrying out gospel work in Korea. For example, even in 1955, the representatives of the Convention inspected the books of the Wallace Memorial Baptist Hospital in Busan, despite being operated entirely by mission funds.⁴⁰³ In brief, the early period of SBC missions had two features. First, all SBC missionaries were well trained and had many experienced personnel who respected the Korean context and culture. Second, the SBC mission gave huge financial support to the KBC which resulted in a close relationship between the KBC and the SBC.

However, among the SBC missionaries, the ratio of young missionaries from the USA increased significantly. Unfortunately, most of these young missionaries had no practical experience, and many of them came to Korea as seminary professors or mission

⁴⁰² *Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention*, 1953, 195, 1954, 189-191; and J. Winston Crawley, *New Frontiers in an Old World* (Nashville, Tennessee: Convention Press, 1962), p. 82.

⁴⁰³ "Minutes of the Korea Baptist Convention," 1955, pp. 27-8.

directors rather than as workers in the mission fields. With the rise of the young missionaries,⁴⁰⁴ freshly graduated from American seminaries, from the mid-1950s, a shift of leadership became a reality. By the end of 1956, of the twenty-eight missionaries in Korea, only five were the so-called older-generation missionaries.⁴⁰⁵ In 1959, there were thirty-eight missionaries for Korea, of who only three were past fifty years of age.⁴⁰⁶ By 1961, only one (female) missionary represented the older generation.⁴⁰⁷ These younger-generation missionaries came out to the field with many ideas and rigid Southern Baptist principles (including theology and American culture) but no missionary experience and little respect for Korean culture.⁴⁰⁸

How this shift of leadership in the mission affected the missionary relationship with the Convention will be related later. Within the KBC, new pastors arose from the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement as well as proselytes from non-Baptist denominations, recruits from “Baptist” homes, and new converts. It was the Pentecostal-Charismatic group rather than the SBC followers who were especially successful, in establishing many mega-churches.

Since 1959, increasingly, SBC changed the KBC’s heritage from CCC and Fenwick. They inserted their American culture and theology into KBC with little self-reflection for Korean believers. Instead, SBC created clones that stayed and studied in the six SBC main seminaries. After they finished their degrees, their admiration for American culture, theology and life style contributed to the Americanization of Korean Pentecostal-Charismatic theology

⁴⁰⁴ A few ex-China missionaries were still young and remained with the newer, young ones on the field, just beginning their missionary service.

⁴⁰⁵ *Annual*, 1957, pp. 192, 448.

⁴⁰⁶ *Annual*, 1960, pp. 144, 331-332.

⁴⁰⁷ Letter of John A. Abernathy to Baker J. Cauthen, Executive Secretary, FMB of SBC, and Winston Crawley, Secretary for the Orient, FMB of SBC, December 1, 1960.

⁴⁰⁸ Irene Branum and Ruby Wheat were transferred from China and had some experience working among people of East Asia.

more than did the SBC missionaries. These circumstances still remain unchanged. For example, recently the Korea Baptist University has taught most of their history and heritage not about Fenwick and his legacy, but SBC missionaries work. Moreover many Baptist churches prefer that their next senior pastor studied in six SBC seminaries. Ironically many churches have brought their next senior pastor from Korean-American Churches in America, even some of them are Korean-American rather than native Korean.⁴⁰⁹

4.8 Schism in the Convention

The Korea Baptist Convention was split into two denominations from 1959 to 1968. The schism was brought about by two factors: the competition for ecclesiastical power and the inharmonious relationship between the Convention and the Mission. The personnel change from the mid-1950s in the Korea Baptist Convention and the Korea Baptist Mission provides the background for the schism.

First, some factional parties began to exist in the KBC in the mid- 1950s. Because of the rapid growth of the KBC many new local churches were established. However, there were insufficient ministers to lead them. Therefore, the Convention leaders hurriedly accepted ministers from other denominations as long as they received baptism by immersion. This included some proselytes who had serious moral problems, because the Convention did not have an adequate screening system.⁴¹⁰ The newcomers closely cooperated with each other and became the “proselyte block”. By 1956, there were two more blocks within the Convention: namely, the “stem block” composed of Fenwick’s followers and early members

⁴⁰⁹ For example, recently one of the largest Baptist Mega-churches, Global Mission Church in Bundang, appointed Peter Shin as their senior pastor who is a Korean-American from America. He has two doctoral degrees, one achieved from Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. Another Baptist-Mega-church, Gangnam Church appointed their senior pastor Youngmin Pee who holds a Ph.D. degree from New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary in US. Many other large Baptist churches still prefer someone who has a Ph.D. from US Baptist institutions.

⁴¹⁰ Cho, “History,” p. 142.

of the Church of Christ in Korea, and the “seminary block” organized by the Korean Baptist Theological Seminary graduates, students, and some faculty members.⁴¹¹ As the proselytes became the majority, these other two groups cooperated to restrain them.

The Korea Baptist Mission also experienced a shift of leadership from the mid-1950s. Until 1953, the missionaries had all worked previously in China. They understood the oriental way of thinking and maintained a cooperative and peaceful relationship with the Convention.⁴¹² However, this relationship began to change as young missionaries began to occupy the majority position within Mission from the mid-1950s. They were enthusiastic in evangelism and tried strictly to apply Southern Baptist principles in Korean churches without much consideration for cultural differences.⁴¹³ For example, the SBC changed the formal organizational structure in KBC from what it was in the CCC. The positions of *Kamnok* (superintendent-pastor) and *Ansa* (circuit-pastor) were superior to pastor. But the SBC downgraded them to the position of pastor, which resulted in the *Kamnok* and *Ansa* rebelling against the SBC leadership. In addition, CCC and Fenwick’s followers adopted Pentecostal-Charismatic worship practices. They emphasized conservative evangelical faith in general and the work of the Spirit in particular.

The young missionaries began to distrust the KBC leaders because they thought that KBC leaders and pastors misused the mission funds and did not follow Baptist principles and practices faithfully. These missionaries looked upon the KBC leaders as untrustworthy for (1) lack of (Southern) Baptist Practice and (2) for allegedly abusing the Mission funds.⁴¹⁴ So, these missionaries began to indoctrinate the Korean Baptists through various training

⁴¹¹ Ibid., pp. 155-6.

⁴¹² Ibid., p. 153.

⁴¹³ Huh, *History of Korea*, 422-3; Kim, “History of Southern,” p. 100.

⁴¹⁴ Cho, “History,” p. 170.

conferences financed by the Mission, and seized ~~the~~ control of the money going into local churches through the Convention. The control over the money meant at this stage virtually a control over the Convention as well as local churches, because most of the operating funds of the Convention and the pastor's salaries came from the Mission. Finally the KBC leadership of the denomination was being shifted to the mission arise from economically poor Korean pastors. In addition, Korean ministers also were discontented with the Southern Baptist missionaries because they enjoyed a high standard of living compared to the destitute poor nationals. They possessed many helpers both at their residences and offices, including cooks, laundry women, gatekeepers, chauffeurs, interpreters, secretaries, and numbers of others depending on the situation.⁴¹⁵ Korean ministers compared the lifestyles of these missionaries to Rev. and Mrs. Malcolm Fenwick who lived in a small straw-roofed house and lived sacrificially. They also envied the missionaries' high standard of living. Timothy Cho pointed out that "before 1970, the gross annual income of the largest Baptist church in Korea would never exceed that of the largest Southern Baptist missionary family."⁴¹⁶ The distrust between missionaries and the national ministries increased. Such changes as these could be easily taken by the Korean leaders as undermining their importance, and their nationalistic expressions began to appear. This meant a breach between the two co-operating bodies.

The example of Rev. David Ann is a case in point. Ann was Fenwick's adopted son and one of Fenwick's successors. He was also one of the few bilingual church leaders and was committed to Fenwick's version of Bible interpretation.⁴¹⁷ Later on David Ann was a very important person in terms of the connections between the KBC and the SBC. He stirred

⁴¹⁵ The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, 191-192; Cho, "History," p. 166.

⁴¹⁶ Cho, "History," p. 167.

⁴¹⁷ Fenwick interpreted his own Korean New-Testament Bible Version. But it is not well known even in KBC.

up the conflict between the KBC and the SBC Mission. Because Rev. and Mrs. David Ann. were the only English speakers in the KBC, they monopolized the relationship with John and Jewell Abernathy. Since Mrs. Ann worked in the Korean government as the interpreter for President Rhee's wife during the period when the American Army of Occupation was in South Korea, they were able to offer the Abernathys a good house to live in.⁴¹⁸ Moreover, David Ann had maintained a close relationship with the SBC leadership from the early days of the Church of Christ in Korea because he was an adopted son of Malcolm Fenwick. He, therefore, managed all communication between the KBC and the SBC Mission Board.

In 1953, the Anns went to America under the auspices of the Mission, supposedly to study at Southwestern Seminary for a year. However, during their stay in America they travelled widely among Southern Baptist churches and received many gifts and much money for the mission work in Korea.⁴¹⁹ When John Abernathy came back to America for furlough in 1955 he found that the Anns exerted them in fundraising instead of studying. Moreover, by 1956, many Southern Baptist missionaries (including John Abernathy) believed that the Anns were not using these gifts according to the donor's purpose, though the Anns denied the charges against them.⁴²⁰ Willocks observed that "by 1957 many of the younger missionaries had become greatly concerned over the great waste of mission funds turned over to the Korean Baptist Convention."⁴²¹

When David Ann was elected the president of the Korea Baptist Convention in June 1957, the Mission Executive committee resolved two things: first, the Mission would not recognize the newly elected president of the Convention; second, no normal relationship

⁴¹⁸ Abernathy and Abernathy, "Korean Welcome," p. 7.

⁴¹⁹ Willocks, "Christian Mission in Korea," p. 159.

⁴²⁰ Huh, *History of Korea*, 404; Willocks, "Christian Missions in Korea," p. 159.

⁴²¹ Willocks, "Christian Mission in Korea," p. 161.

between the SBC and the Mission was possible as long as David Ann was president.⁴²² Ann, however, still governed the Convention and seemed likely to be elected as the Convention Evangelism Chairman at the 48th Convention meeting in 1958. At the time, the Evangelism Chairman had control of the \$30,000 received annually from the Mission for pastoral aid. Missionary Willocks said that “this was a startling development to the missionaries”⁴²³ Willocks also maintained that “the relationship with the Korea Baptist Convention had been very strained since the election of Ann De Byuk as evangelism chairman. He consistently refused to abide by convention and mission policies in the handling of funds furnished by the mission for pastoral aid, church building construction, and purchase or land for church buildings.”⁴²⁴

On March 18, 1959 the Executive Committee of the Mission held a meeting and unanimously passed two motions:

“I. Moved that we express our lack of confidence in David Ann and that we therefore not recognize him in any official capacity in relation to the Lord’s work in Korea, nor grant him any financial support in any way, effective immediately. II. Moved that we ask the Convention Treasurer to return immediately all funds on hand received from the Mission to the Mission Treasurer for re-distribution.”⁴²⁵

On March 19, 1959, the Executive Committee passed similar motions applying to Mrs. Ann and sent out their decisions not only to all churches but even to the Royal Ambassadors and Girls’ Auxiliary organizations.⁴²⁶ This caused a great stir in the Korean churches.

Convention leaders were surprised at the Mission’s action and regarded it as interference in the Convention’s affairs. The Executive Committee of the Convention sent out a reaction

⁴²² The Compilation Committee, *History of Korea Baptist*, p. 193.

⁴²³ Willocks, “Christian Mission in Korea,” p. 164.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Korea Baptist Mission Executive Committee, “Statement” (March 20, 1959).

⁴²⁶ Korea Baptist Mission Executive Committee, “Statement (March 20, 1959); Cho, “History,” pp. 196-7.

statement to all churches that emphasized two things: the Mission's action infringed upon national pride, and the Mission could not present manifest evidences of the Ann's misconduct.⁴²⁷

The "stem bloc" and David Ann united together and led the pro-Mission movement in the Convention. This group was called the Daejeon-party. They criticized the Executive Committee of the Convention for bringing about the conflict with the Mission because of a private matter. The leaders of this group convened a special assembly in Daejeon on April 28-29, 1959. During this assembly they passed a resolution of no-confidence to the Executive Committee of the Convention and this meeting eventually resulted in the Daejeon convention. Two hundred and twenty-six messengers were present in this meeting and the Mission approved it as the regular Convention of the Korean Baptists. Parker Marler, the Chairman of Mission at that time, said that "the Mission would work with the Convention through the officers elected by this assembly; because it was the Mission's understanding that it represented the majority of the churches in the convention."⁴²⁸

The "stem bloc" also held a Convention meeting on May 26-27, 1959 at Pohang. From that time this group was called the Pohang-party. Two hundred and sixty-seven messengers participated in the Convention meeting. The participants decided to deprive the nine leaders of the Daejeon convention of the right to be Convention messengers for five years. The schism grew more and more. Eventually, the two parties held different denominational names. The Pohang convention retained the name used before the schism,

⁴²⁷ Cho, pp. 202-9.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

namely “the Korean Christian Baptist Convention,” but the Daejeon convention adopted a new name “the Christian Korean Baptist Convention.”

The consequence of the schism was very tragic. There were conflicts among church members according to their position. It even brought out serious quarrels in families. The Pohang-side churches faced serious hardships because they could not receive any aid from the Mission. The schism, however, was not permanent. Many Korean ministers and missionaries hoped for reunification because they found the separation hindered Baptist progress in Korea. The representatives of the two conventions met on March 26, 1968, at Choongmoo-ro Baptist church in Busan and agreed to a reunification of the Convention. On the same day, they proclaimed “the Six Principles of Unification,” which stated:

- “(1) Both Conventions, Korean Christian Baptist Convention (Pohang-side) and Christian Korean Convention (Daejun-side) have had the same historical root.
- (2) The gospel and distinctive as Baptists did not change in both Conventions.
- (3) All the churches, which belong to both Conventions, desire to unite together.
- (4) Both Conventions should stop fighting over the properties, which is not God’s will at all.
- (5) If unified, Korea Baptist Convention could develop as a great Convention in harmony.
- (6) Unification should be accomplished in 1968, because the Pohang-side is scheduled to have affiliation with the Foreign Mission Department of the International Council of Christian Churches in 1969.⁴²⁹”

Finally, the two Conventions were reunified and held a unified Convention on April 16, 1968, at Seoul Memorial Baptist Church after nine years of separation.⁴³⁰ The schism was a big disturbance to the progress of Baptist churches in Korea. It taught that schism without any doctrinal difference, but for ecclesiastical power, was neither favourable to God nor beneficial to the churches. After reunification, the Korea Baptist Convention grew rapidly. David Ann’s success relates with SBC mission, and then he was the second *Kamok* after

⁴²⁹ Cited in Kim, “History of Southern,” p. 116.

⁴³⁰ Cho, “History,” 235; Kim, “History of Southern,” p. 117.

Fenwick. When he was connected to the SBC, his attitude was friendly toward SBC. However, later when the SBC mission took control of the KBC leadership with many proselytes from other denominations, Ann rebelled against the SBC and contributed to the schism within the KBC. After denominational reunification in 1968, Ann and his followers lost most their influence.

4.9 Albert Gammage as the Second Theological Mentor in the Korea Baptist Convention

Among Southern Baptist missionaries to Korea from 1950 to 1977, Albert W. Gammage, Jr. influenced the doctrine of Korean ministers most significantly through his teaching at the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary. Gammage always worried about “missionary’s concentration on direct evangelism while ignoring theological education.” He deplored that “often theological education has been the ‘stepchild’ or even the ‘orphan’ of foreign missions.”⁴³¹ Gammage’s sincere efforts for theological education made him the father of theology among Korean Baptist ministries and professors in the second half of the twentieth century. It may not be an exaggeration to say that Gammage shaped the theology of the Korea Baptist Convention from 1959 to 1977. Therefore, the investigation of Gammage’s theology is necessary to understand the theological characteristics of the Korea Baptist Convention.

4.9.1 Biographical and Theological Background of Albert W. Gammage

Albert W. Gammage, Jr. (1929-2006), was born in Miami, Florida. His father was Albert W. Gammage, a drapery maker, and his mother was Geraldine Hinson Gammage. His paternal grandfather, Albert Edwin Gammage, was a pioneer Baptist pastor in Florida. Albert Gammage, Jr. was converted and baptized by his grandfather when he was eight years old.

⁴³¹ Albert W. Gammage, Jr., “Principles Related to Theological Education in a Foreign Mission Context,” Th.D. dissertation (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1972), p. .

After graduating from high school in Miami, he attended the University of Florida where he earned the Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Psychology. While a student for one year at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, he received a divine call to foreign missions. Then he transferred to Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary from which he received the Bachelor of Divinity and Master of Theology degrees. He majored in Theology for the master's degree. While at Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary he founded EL Camino Baptist Church in San Bruno, California and served at its pastor for three years. Also he met and married Nettie Lee Oldham, a missions volunteer from Dixon Springs, Tennessee.

In June 1957, his wife and he were appointed as missionaries to Korea by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention. They spent one academic year studying the Korean Language at Yale University before arriving in Daejeon, Korea, in August 1958. After another year of language study, Gammage began teaching at the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary. He primarily taught systematic studies, including Theology, the Philosophy of the Christian Religion, and Christian Ethics. In 1959, he was chosen to be Academic Dean.

During the first two furloughs in America, he did graduate study at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, receiving the Doctor of Theology degree with a major in Missions and minors in Theology and Philosophy of Religion 1972. He was elected president of Korea Baptist Theological Seminary in 1965 and served until 1977. During that time, he mainly taught courses in missions and world religions.

He resigned as president of the Korea Baptist University in December of 1977 and was elected as director of the Philippine Branch of the Asia Baptist Graduate Theological Seminary. From 1982 to 1993, he served as Dean of the Asia Baptist Graduate Theological Seminary. During that time, he wrote two books, *How to plant a Church* and *Christian*

Missions in a Communist Context. In 1993, the Korea Baptist Theological College published his systematic theology lectures in Korean under the title *Josik Sinhak Wongang (Systematic Theology)*⁴³².

He and his wife retired from missionary service in 1995. Since that time they have been living in Arlington, Texas, where he completed the writing of two book manuscripts: “Evangelical Missions through the Ages: From Creation to Contemporary Times” and “Biblical Missionary Sermon Outlines.”⁴³³ He died in 2006. Gammage many times mentioned Walter T. Conner as his theological mentor. In addition, Conner’s writings influenced him very significantly in all areas of his theology. According to his book, *Josik Sinhak Wongang* [Systematic Theology], Gammage seems to have followed Conner’s theology in relation to Anthropology, Bibliology, Christology, Ecclesiology, Eschatology, Pneumatology, Soteriology and the Trinity. However, Conner’s theological influence on him came by indirect means. He learned Conner’s theology from his professors, Fred Fisher, James W. McClendon and Cal Guy. Gammage pointed out that these three professors took undergraduate courses in Theology under W.T. Conner. Gammage said that “Fred Fisher used Conner’s books, *Revelation and God* and *The Gospel of Redemption*, when he taught me in the undergraduate Systematic Theology course at Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary. He helped to persuade me of the validity of most of Conner’s theology.” Gammage also pointed out that James McClendon was his major professor during his Th.M. study at Golden Gate Seminary, and he supervised his Th.M. thesis, “The Theology of Worship.” James McClendon respected Conner and treated him as one of the nine most

⁴³² Albert A. Gammage, *Josik Sinhak Wongang* [Systematic Theology] (Daejeon: Korea Baptist University Press, 1993).

⁴³³ Unfortunately his sermons are not published, however some of his students still held Gammage’s sermon recording tapes or notes taken from chapel services.

important twentieth-century Protestant theologians. This attitude of McClendon probably also led Gammage to accept Conner's theology as the most proper and excellent one. Gammage said that Cal Gay was his major professor during his Th.D. study at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. "He directed three seminars studied on the biblical basis of missions, the history of missions, and missionary principles and methods."⁴³⁴ Gammage studied under Cal Gay for many years. Gammage submitted a research paper to him in 1965, and he also took him as his supervisor for his Th.D. dissertation, "Principles Related to Theological Education in a Foreign Missions Context," which was completed in 1972.⁴³⁵ According to Jesse Northcutt, Conner was influential among many of the faculty at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, including Cal Gay.⁴³⁶

In brief, Gammage seemed to imbibe Conner's theology. Most of the time Gammage simply followed Conner's theology. From the perspective of many Korean Baptist scholars, Gammage was just a theological imitation of Conner.⁴³⁷

4.9.2 The Theology of Albert Gammage

a. Christology

Gammage held to the Chalcedonian Christology that Jesus Christ was true man and true God. He had extensive knowledge about orthodox Christology and regarded Ebionites, Arianism, Socinians, Unitarians and modern liberal theologians as heretics because of their

⁴³⁴ Gammage, letter to Yong Gook Kim, August 30, 2000. A Korea Baptist Theological University professor sent a letter to Dr. Gammage who then responded with two personal letters to Dr. Kim.

⁴³⁵ Albert W. Gammage, "An Evaluation of the General Principles of Work of the Korea Baptist Mission," a research paper submitted to Dr. Cal Gay (Southwestern Baptist theological Seminary, 1965); idem, "Principles Related to Theological Education", p.

⁴³⁶ Jesse J. Northcutt, "Walter Thomas Conner, Theological of *Southwestern*," *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 9 (Fall 1966): p. 85.

⁴³⁷ Albert W. Gammage, "Jojikshinhak Wongang (Systematic Theology). (Daejeon, Korea: Fenwick Institute for Baptist Scholars, 1993), he talks about his biographical and his theological background in his book and his lecture. He taught all Systematic theology class in Korea Baptist Theological Seminary/University.

denial of the divinity of Christ, and Gnosticism, Arianism, Apollinarianism and Eutychianism as heretical because of their wrong views about the humanity of Christ.⁴³⁸

Gammage dealt with the humanity of Jesus first of all. He maintained that Jesus was a real man because he was born, grown up, and lived in Israel. Jesus Christ experienced fatigue, hunger, suffering, and death.⁴³⁹ Gammage maintained that Jesus preserved his humanity even after his ascension to heaven. This was the guarantee of the bodily resurrection of the saints.⁴⁴⁰ Gammage taught that Jesus Christ was a perfect human and was sinless by nature. He contended that Jesus' sinlessness and incarnation were closely related to his saving work. Gammage presented evidence of Jesus' sinlessness. First, Jesus himself insisted on his sinlessness. Second, the biblical witness believed in his sinlessness. Finally, Jesus was shown as the perfect example of a human life. His sinlessness and incarnation, Gammage insisted were essential conditions for Christ's vicarious death and atonement.⁴⁴¹ Gammage also believed in the divinity of Christ. They presented evidences of it in the New Testament such as Jesus' calling himself the Son of God.

b. The Doctrine of God

Gammage presented the definitions about the nature of God from Webster's Dictionary, Augustus Strong, and the Westminster Catechism, but he maintained that these were partial and insufficient. Although Gammage insisted that a perfect definition of God was impossible, he regarded Conner's view of God as a proper and appropriate view.⁴⁴²

First of all, Gammage followed Conner in emphasizing the personality of God. He presented several marks of Personality such as self-conscious intelligence, Freedom of will,

⁴³⁸ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 60-5.

⁴³⁹ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 49-50

⁴⁴⁰ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, p. 50.

⁴⁴¹ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 50-2, 67, 134.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

the power of rational love, and moral consciousness. He insisted that only God had perfect personality.⁴⁴³ Gammage taught that God was revealed as a personal God in the Old Testament, and the incarnation of Christ was the final guarantee of it. Moreover, the personal nature of God was essential in the life of faith, because the nature of religion was personal relationship.⁴⁴⁴

c. The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit

Gammage believed that Holy Spirit was spiritual and a personal divine being. He taught that the Hebrew word “*ruach*” in the Old Testament meant “breath” or “wind”. He employed the word to show the spiritual nature of Holy Spirit.⁴⁴⁵ He taught that the Spirit was not an impersonal force or principle, but the personal God who possessed mind, intelligence, and will. Gammage maintained that one could know the personality of the Spirit from the Bible and through the experience of regeneration.⁴⁴⁶

Gammage taught that the Holy Spirit was closely related to Christ. He offered four reasons. First, Christ was under the power of the Spirit in his earthly life and ministry. Second, after his ascension Christ imparted the Spirit to his people. Third, the Spirit witnessed of Christ to the people. Finally, the presence of the Spirit was the spiritual presence of Christ.⁴⁴⁷

Gammage denied two stages of baptism. He concerned that water baptism includes the repentance for sanctification and it is perfect sacramental phenomena therefore second Baptism such as Spirit Baptism is not necessary.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., pp. 70-1.

⁴⁴⁴ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 71-2.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 89.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 89-90.

⁴⁴⁷ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 90-2.

Unlike Gammage, Fenwick distinguished between the reception of the Spirit and the filling of the Spirit. The reception of the Spirit was an incident that occurred once for all at regeneration. The infilling of the Spirit for service was a deeper and fuller experience, which might be repeated. He offered several terms for the infilling of the Spirit for service: “baptism of the Spirit,” being “clothed” with the divine Spirit, the Spirit “poured out,” and “the gift of the Spirit.”⁴⁴⁸

Gammage pointed out that the Spirit had lordship in the church. He taught that the Spirit established the church and bestowed gifts for its work and worship. He maintained that this work of the Spirit for the church created the doctrine of regenerate church membership.⁴⁴⁹ Fenwick also pointed out that the free activity of the Holy Spirit in the life of the young church was the most effective method for its growth.⁴⁵⁰ Gammage accepted that only a few gifts of the Spirit are available in today’s church. He strongly rejected exorcism and prophecy, and indicated that supernatural healing is available only at certain times and in certain situations but not for all diseases and sicknesses. Like most other Southern Baptist missionaries, Gammage emphasised teaching and evangelism rather than the practice of charismatic ministry, and warned against the indiscriminate use of spiritual gifts. Later on in his ministry, Dr, Gammage made no mention of the Holy Spirit and spiritual gifts. In addition, he omitted Pneumatology from his 2nd edition Systematic Theology book because he was aware of the emergence of indigenous charismatic groups like Rev. Chunggi Kim and

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 94-6. And Fenwick, *Life in the Cup* 22-3.

⁴⁴⁹ Gammage, pp. 96-8; Albert W. Gammage, *How to Plant a Church* (Makati City: Church Strengthening Ministry, 1995), p.24; idem, “An Evaluation of the General Principles,” p.19.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., “An Evaluation of the General Principles,” p. 29.

Gwansuk Oh.⁴⁵¹ Many young pastors in the KBC started following national leaders rather than SBC missionaries, and they were attracted to the practice of spiritual gifts in indigenous charismatic groups.

The main difference in the Pneumatology of Gammage and Fenwick's descendants concerned Spirit Baptism. Gammage and the SBC did not believe in a second baptism by the Holy Spirit. Gammage believed that conversion-initiation occurred at the same time by water baptism. On the other hand, Fenwick's descendants, most of whom were Charismatic, believed in a second baptism by the Holy Spirit. This second baptism was for empowerment and should include gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁴⁵² Therefore Gammage's descendants among the KBC, didn't believe second baptism as well as spiritual gift from Holy Spirit. As a result, they still have an anti-charismatic tendency.

Ironically, many churches which supported the SBC were small and had little experience of church growth. On the other hand, a small group of the charismatic churches including Gangnam Central Baptist Church (Rev. Chunggi Kim), Seoul Central Baptist Church (Rev. Gwansuk Oh) and Sungrak Baptist Church (Rev. Kidong Kim) experienced remarkable church growth without any support from the SBC.

Gammage believed that the role of the Spirit was limited only to supporting Jesus' teaching and ministry. He stated that the relationship between the Son and the Spirit was equal and dialectical. He denied the contemporary manifestation of the miraculous signs and wonders of empowerment by the Holy Spirit. Even though Gammage never referred to the

⁴⁵¹ These early Pentecostal leaders established churches in city centre areas and their church member reached 5,000 within 5 years. But no leader who was educated by the SBC mission or pastors from other denominations, had any mega-church until the 21st century Global Mission Church (Rev. Dongwon Lee)

⁴⁵² Fenwick and his descendants believed that baptism must also to be an occasion of charismatic experiences. They found their proof in the Bible, such as when the Ephesian was baptized in water, they spoke in tongues and prophesied (Acts 19:5-6). Another text used to support this was Acts 10:46, where the Spirit fell on Cornelius and his family, who were heard speaking in tongues and extolling God.

subordination of the Spirit to the Son, his Christocentrism does suggest that this was his belief. He simply mentioned that the Spirit and the Son are partners in the work of redemption. However, his view is obscure and lacking in Biblical support.

In my opinion, the role of the Spirit has to take account of the Charismatic dimension. The Charismatic dimension was prominent in Jesus' ministry as he inaugurated the kingdom with words of authority and deeds of power. He challenged the rule of Satan and brought the kingdom of God near through a saving wholeness. The miracles and healings of Jesus were not incidental to his mission but concrete evidences of God's reign of love. His signs announced the end of Satan's reign and the coming transformation of the world: a new phase of history is beginning that will culminate in new creation.⁴⁵³

d. The Trinity

Gammage believed the orthodox Nicene doctrine of the Trinity: one nature and three persons. He, like Conner, condemned Unitarianism, Sabellianism, Tritheism, and Subordinationism because they were heretical views of the doctrine of the trinity.⁴⁵⁴ Both Conner and Gammage taught that the personal nature of God showed the nature of the Trinity as personal fellowship among three persons. They also follow the Augustinian tradition and regarded the Trinity as loving relation within Godhead.⁴⁵⁵

e. The Soteriology: Moderate Calvinism

Although Gammage followed the Reformed tradition generally, he modified traditional Calvinism. He seemed to agree with Arminianism in some points of his

⁴⁵³ Rene Latourelle, *The Miracles of Jesus and the Theology of Miracles* (New York: Paulist, 1998), 258-261. John Ruthven, *On the Cessation of the Charismata: The Protestant Polemic on Postbiblical Miracles* (Sheffield, U.K.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 195-7, 202-5.

⁴⁵⁴ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, 103-05; 103-05; Conner, *Christian Doctrine*, 121-4; idem, *Revelation and God*, 329-35.

⁴⁵⁵ Gammage, "Lecture notes of Christian Ethics," 97B; idem, *Systematic Theology*, 73, 106-7; Conner, *Christian Doctrine*, 125-6.

anthropology and soteriology. He emphasized the power of the human will and regarded faith and repentance as essential conditions of salvation, though he believed that God's election was the ground of salvation. He also rejected doctrines such as imputed righteousness, irresistible grace, and double predestination. Although Gammage was never Arminian, his effort to harmonize the sovereignty of God with human freedom of will in order to defend God's justice modified Calvinism considerably.

Total Depravity and Original Sin

Gammage believed in the doctrine of the total depravity of human beings. However, he softened the traditional Augustinian and Calvinistic anthropology. Gammage misunderstood Augustine and taught that Augustine believed human flesh was evil because he was influenced by neo-Platonism. He maintained that this idea had no support in the Bible because Paul's use of "flesh" referred to the corrupted disposition of men but not to the body itself.⁴⁵⁶ However, Gammage misunderstood Augustine because Augustine himself rejected Gnostic or neo-Platonic deterministic anthropology. Gammage continually insisted that though the Augustinian doctrine of sin and grace was correct and had biblical grounds, Augustine's view of total depravity was not from the Bible but from the ecclesiastical practice of baptism and neo-Platonic dualism.⁴⁵⁷

Gammage taught that total depravity did not mean that man was as corrupt as he possibly could be. It meant that the elements of a man's whole personality-his intelligence, will, emotions, and conscience-had been weakened and corrupted by sin. Particularly this doctrine emphasized that man's will was inclined toward sin to such an extent that all people

⁴⁵⁶ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, p. 109.

⁴⁵⁷ Albert W. Gammage Jr., "Kitokkyo Kyorisa Kangeunote A" [Class Lecture Notes of History Christian doctrine A], 92-93; idem, *Systematic Theology*, p. 109.

sinned as soon as they reached the age of moral responsibility. So severe was man's depravity that he was totally unable to save himself from the power of sin. Therefore, salvation must come from God.⁴⁵⁸

Gammage maintained that the biblical view of original sin meant the universal and inherent nature of sin. Because Adam was the physical head of all human beings, all persons inherited a depraved nature and a disposition inclined toward sin from him.

However original sin did not refer to person's participation in Adam's sin.⁴⁵⁹ Gammage rejected the Augustinian theory of the imputation of Adam's sin to the human race. He thought that Augustinian anthropology was contrary to the justice of god. He believed that God's just nature did not allow him to hold men responsible for Adam's sin.⁴⁶⁰

The Power of the Will and the Wilfulness of Sin

Gammage tried to have a balanced position on the theme of human will, and he rejected extreme views. First of all, Gammage rejected the anthropology of Pelagius and modern theologians. He insisted that the extreme form of freedom was unbiblical and it defied many biblical verses speaking of original sin.⁴⁶¹ Gammage also rejected deterministic anthropology. He insisted that the anthropology of Karl Barth and neo-orthodox theologians was too deterministic. They completely obliterated the image of God in man. Gammage contended that if this view was true, the essential element for men's salvation was not the gospel but the recreation of human beings. Gammage maintained that the image of God in human beings was totally destroyed by Adam's sin, though it was seriously damaged. He

⁴⁵⁸ Gammage, *How to Plant a Church*, p. 79; idem, *Systematic Theology*, p. 115; idem, "Lecture notes of Christian Ethics," pp. 10B-11.

⁴⁵⁹ Gammage, "Lecture notes of History of Christian Doctrine B," p. 10.

⁴⁶⁰ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, p. 117.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 29, 101,116; idem, "Lecture notes of History of Christian Doctrine A," p. 62.

pointed out that even though man's free will was limited; he had the freedom of will in moral choices.⁴⁶²

Gammage contended that though Satan tempted Adam and Eve to commit sin, the cause of sin was not temptation but their misuse of moral choice. Likewise, every man freely chose sin and brought sufferings in the world. Therefore, according to Gammage, wilfulness was an essential element of sin.

He also believed that salvation by God's initiation and men's faith-response, election according to foreknowledge, justification by faith and imparted righteousness, regeneration as radical reformation, sanctification and perseverance of the saints.

f. View of Mission

Gammage was a full time foreign missionary. Gammage, therefore, had a concrete view of missions. He believed that God had a universal redemptive purpose and presented the evidence in many verses of the Old Testament and New Testament. Gammage also insisted that church history witnessed to the church's efforts for missions. Gammage like other Missionaries of the Southern Baptist Convention focused their work on the establishment of churches. He also believed that the basic purpose of missions was the establishment of New Testament churches. He defined missions as "sharing the Gospel and planting churches in areas where there is no Gospel-preaching church."⁴⁶³

Gammage taught that good mission methods were necessary for maximum church growth, though he emphasized that without spiritual reality like genuine zeal, prayer, and

⁴⁶² Gammage, "Lecture notes of Philosophy of Christianity," 85-86; idem, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 27-8, 30-1.

⁴⁶³ Gammage, *How to Plant a Church*, (Makati City, Philippines: Church Strengthening Ministry, 1995), p. 4; idem, "Principles Related to theological Education," p. 20.

compassion they were useless.⁴⁶⁴ He believed that Nevius methods were the most proper methods for the establishment of New Testament churches. He contended that “in order to conform to the New Testament pattern, churches must embody the qualities of self-propagation, self-government, self-support, and self-expression.”⁴⁶⁵ But Gammage never talks about Spirit centred mission for example he did not believe about exorcism and healing. He focuses on teaching ministry as well as social welfare.

g. Ecclesiology

Gammage believed The Pursuit of the New Testament Church and an Emphasis on the Visible Church, Believer’s Baptism and Regenerate Church Membership. The Symbolic Nature of the Ordinances, Congregationalism and Democratic Church Polity and Officers of the Church are only Pastor and Deacon. Gammage believed in the separation of the church from the secular government and explained that it was the traditional position of Baptists. He maintained that the government must not use the church for any purpose, because only God was the Lord of the Church.⁴⁶⁶ Gammage emphasized again that one must not identify Christianity with the world, because Christianity was intrinsically different from the world.⁴⁶⁷

Gammage, however, maintained that the separation of the Church from the world was not a physical separation but a spiritual one. The Church must promote religion and morality but not any political party.⁴⁶⁸ He also pointed out the state and the Church was different in their exercise of authority. The state could rightly use coercion to restrain evils.

⁴⁶⁴ Gammage, “An Evaluation of the General Principles,” pp. 19-20.

⁴⁶⁵ Gammage, “Lecture notes of Missions,” p. 55. Gammage pointed out that John Elliott’s mission policy was not a good model because it failed in indigenization.

⁴⁶⁶ Gammage, “Lecture notes of Christian Ethics,” p. 11

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 78B.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 78.

On the contrary, the Church must enlarge God's kingdom only through spiritual means.⁴⁶⁹

Gammage insisted that Christians were the citizens of God's kingdom and a secular nation at the same time. But it was God who conferred authority to the nation. Therefore, a Christian must keep the law of the nation as long as it did not contradict the will of God.⁴⁷⁰

Gammage taught that the Church must not seclude itself from the world. He maintained that a church "should follow the customs of its own people as long as they are not against the teaching of the Holy Scriptures" because "a New Testament church must fit into the life of its own community."⁴⁷¹ Gammage taught that though the primary function of the church was spiritual one, the Church should serve not only the spiritual, mental, and physical needs of the people but also should promote social righteousness. Because Jesus Christ himself tried to eliminate social evils, the Church also must be salt and light in the world.⁴⁷² However, Gammage never advocated the social gospel. He just recognized the social aspects in the work of the church.

Gammage believed that a Cooperation of the Church was an element of true church. Above all, he maintained that churches must cooperate with each other for fellowship and mutual edification, because the Bible taught them.

Gammage said that "the churches in the New Testament cooperated with each other in order to encourage, advice, and assist each other. They did this because they knew that they were part of the one body of Christ which is made up of all true believers."⁴⁷³

Gammage taught that a local church should cooperative within its denomination. He advocated the Baptist cooperative tradition, which taught that a Baptist church should be a

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 113.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 108-10.

⁴⁷¹ Gammage, *How to Plant a Church*, p. 5.

⁴⁷² Gammage, *How to Plant a Church*, p. 4; idem, "Lecture notes of Doctrine of Church," p. 28.

⁴⁷³ Gammage, *How to Plant a Church*, p. 5; idem, "Lecture notes of Doctrine of Church," p. 65.

part of an association and a convention because no church can do its work well by itself. Gammage offered several cooperative works within the denomination, such as church planting, ordination of pastors or deacons, transference of church member, several problems in the local church and for special projects.⁴⁷⁴

Gammage also accepted the need of interdenominational cooperation and said that “denomination organizations must not hinder the full fellowship of all Christians in the work of the kingdom.”⁴⁷⁵ Gammage presented the works of interdenominational cooperation such as the work of Bible translation and publication, mass evangelistic crusades, social reform projects, and the formulation of missionary strategy.⁴⁷⁶

Gammage, however, emphasized that ecumenism was only possible on the basis of common doctrines. The evangelical Christians of different denominations, therefore, should cooperate to the extent that no doctrinal compromise was required.⁴⁷⁷ Gammage maintained that “the confession of the gospel and the guarantee of the spiritual freedom of the Church and the individual believer” must be safeguarded as the basic conditions for interdenominational cooperation.⁴⁷⁸

Gammage explained that Baptist did not participate in the ecumenical movement due to doctrinal differences. Gammage pointed out that there were different ecclesiologies and soteriologies between Baptist and WCC (World Council of Churches) and KNCC (Korean National Council of Churches). Gammage contended that Baptists traditionally believed the individual local church was the unique church organization, whereas ecumenical groups

⁴⁷⁴ Gammage, “Lecture notes of Doctrine of Church,” p. 66-7.

⁴⁷⁵ Alberts Walter. Gammage Jr., “Principles Related to theological Education in a Foreign Missions Context” (Th. D. Dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 1972), p. 14; see also idem, “Lecture notes of Doctrine of Church,” p. 65.

⁴⁷⁶ Gammage, “Principles Related to Theological Education,” p. 15.

⁴⁷⁷ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, p. 186.

⁴⁷⁸ Gammage, “Principles Related to Theological Education,” pp. 15-6; Conner, *Christian Doctrine*, p. 270.

supported the idea universal Christendom. Moreover, some denominations in the WCC and KNCC did not believe the doctrine of justification by faith alone.⁴⁷⁹ Gammage explained again that Baptists disagreed with the WCC and KNCC because of their authoritarianism, their weak emphasis on the freedom of religion, and the prejudicial tendency on political and ecumenical issues. These were different from traditional Baptist doctrines of the separation of the Church from the state.⁴⁸⁰ Gammage recognized the need for interdenominational cooperation. However, he clearly objected to the ecumenical movement itself. He insisted that Baptists must uphold their doctrines, because they were biblical and true.⁴⁸¹

h. Eschatology: Amillennialism

The Spiritual Nature of God's Kingdom

Gammage's understanding of the spiritual nature of the kingdom of God led him to oppose premillennialism. Gammage rejected its concept of the postponement of the kingdom and argued that premillennialists denied the present aspect of the kingdom of God. However, the New Testament taught that the kingdom of God would grow progressively larger through the propagation of the gospel. Christians, therefore, must exert themselves to enlarge the kingdom in the present age as much as they could.⁴⁸²

Gammage did not believe in postmillennialism either. He taught the perfect evangelization of the world or the Christianization of society was impossible in the present age. Rather it would be accomplished at the time of Christ's second coming. He taught that the conflict between good and evil would continue until the time of the final judgement.⁴⁸³

⁴⁷⁹ Gammage, "Lecture notes of Doctrine of Church," pp. 74-5.

⁴⁸⁰ Gammage, "Lecture notes of Doctrine of Church," pp. 76-7.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴⁸² Gammage, *Systematic Theology* p. 189.

⁴⁸³ Gammage, "Lecture notes of Christian Ethics," p. 81.

Gammage believed in the bodily resurrection of all human beings.⁴⁸⁴ He taught that some modern theologians including Conner insisted that believers and unbelievers would receive their resurrection bodies immediately after death. Gammage accepted this view and explained that the biblical verses about the resurrection of human beings at Christ's second coming did not mean the resurrection bodies of the dead at that time. Instead it signified the reappearance of the dead in the world to take judgment.⁴⁸⁵ Gammage clearly believed in the second coming of Christ. He maintained that the second coming of Christ would happen not by the efforts of human beings or evolutionary progress but by the supernatural intervention of God.⁴⁸⁶

Gammage believed in an amillennial interpretation of the millennial kingdom. Gammage's amillennialism had a close relation to his understanding of the spiritual kingdom of God.

Gammage believed in the certainty of final judgement at the final advent of Christ. Christ will judge believers as well as unbelievers. Gammage explained that were purpose for the final judgement. First, it would bring into the light each man's deed to others. Second, it would assign one a destiny in accordance with his faith. Third, it would bring the completion of human history and vindicate God's dealing with human beings. He held the traditional protestant doctrine of heaven and hell.⁴⁸⁷

Most of Korea Pentecostal's eschatological views are dispensationalist Premillennialists, on the other hand, Gammage and his follower believed amillennial interpretation. There is a diversity of eschatological views held by Pentecostal/Charismatic.

⁴⁸⁴ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, p. 189

⁴⁸⁵ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 192-3.

⁴⁸⁶ Gammage, "Lecture notes of Philosophy of Christianity," p. 164.

⁴⁸⁷ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 197-200.

Some are dispensationalist premillennialists, some are postmillennialist, and some are amillennialists.⁴⁸⁸

Korean Pentecostal and Baptist held certain eschatological views because of their context.

Conclusion

Gammage followed Conner in his understanding of Christian theology. Both Conner and Gammage held common theological views except a very small difference about the infallibility and authority of the bible. Gammage emphasized that the ground of the authority of the Bible was its infallibility. However, though Conner believed in the authority of the Bible, he seemed not to draw any relation between the authority of the Bible and its infallibility. However, both had the same general theological position.

According to Stewart Newman, Conner's theology might be classified by three terms: Calvinistic, biblical, and empirical. Leo Garrett evaluated Conner as an evangelical theologian. The characteristics of Gammage's theology were Calvinistic, biblical, and empirical. Though he modified himself as a moderate Calvinist, he never professed himself to be an Arminian. Gammage also held the orthodox view of the doctrine of God, traditional Baptist ecclesiology, and amillennial eschatology.

Gammage held some different emphases from Fenwick, although Gammage believed that the Holy Spirit's illumination was necessary for right interpretation of the Bible; he preferred to distinguish the substance from the forms in the Bible's pages. Fenwick generally accept the inerrancy and the verbal and plenary inspiration of the Bible. Therefore he believed the biblical miracles as historical truths. On the other hand Gammage interpreted the

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 200-2.

Bible in more progressive ways. For example he believed biblical miracles happened only in a certain time and certain place, but not for our context today.⁴⁸⁹

4.9.3 Albert W. Gammage's Opposition to the Charismatic/Pentecostal Movement

Gammage opposed the emotionalism of the Pentecostal movement. First of all, he was concerned about the excesses and doctrinal deviations of this movement.⁴⁹⁰ Gammage taught that Pentecostals misunderstood the uniqueness of the Pentecost miracle. He contended that the miracle of Pentecost was the sign that signified the beginning of the new era in God's kingdom. He taught that it was not a universal experience of Christians.⁴⁹¹ Gammage explained that the Holy Spirit was not absent before Pentecost. Pentecost had meaning in the fact that the Spirit started a new work from that day. The Spirit used the miracle of tongues to proclaim the consummation of the divine plan of salvation.⁴⁹²

Unlike the Korean classical Pentecostal leaders,⁴⁹³ Gammage pointed out that the baptism of the Spirit had no relation to sanctification, but it was related to the salvation. They failed to notice the fact that the experience of Pentecost did not bring about perfect sanctification. Gammage taught, for example, that the people in the Corinthian church had

⁴⁸⁹ Yong Gook Kim, p. 299.

⁴⁹⁰ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 29-30. Conner maintained that Paul did not believe in uncontrolled emotionalism (*Christian Doctrine*, p. 117; *Work of the Holy Spirit*, pp. 9-11).

⁴⁹¹ Gammage, "Lecture notes of History of Christian Doctrine B," pp. 94-6.

⁴⁹² Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, pp. 91-2.

⁴⁹³ Dr. Allan Anderson points out that even Pentecostal groups were divided on this issue too however when Korean people consider Korean Pentecostals, they only think about Assembly of God, especially Yong Gi Cho and Yoido Full Gospel Church type (*Sunbogeum*) because other Pentecostal groups such as Holiness group as Church of God, is no longer available because they changed their identity to Reformed and Foursquare Church and still fight to survive as they have less than 50 churches in Korea. Even though, AG and other 'Finished Work' Pentecostals differ from Church of God and other Holiness Pentecostals in that the former do not relate Spirit Baptism to sanctification, but this feature must differently apply to Korean Pentecostal category. Assembly of God is the only recognized Pentecostal group among the Korean protestant religious market. Therefore, my research only concerns about AG for Korean Pentecostals.

serious sins. One of them was their selfish use of spiritual gifts. Therefore, the charisma itself was not the essential token of the fulfilment of Spirit.⁴⁹⁴

Gammage rejected the assertion of the ordinary occurrence of divine healing in modern days, though he did not deny the possibility of divine healing itself. He insisted that the miracles of healing in the New Testament were special acts of God. They were the signs of the coming of God's kingdom. Thus, the gift of healing was not a permanent gift.⁴⁹⁵

Gammage, like Conner, insisted that Christians must not wait for the Spirit's healing in every disease, but should take medical treatment. This was God's normal way of the treatment of diseases. Gammage suggested that only spiritual disease should be cured by spiritual treatments like prayer, Bible reading, counselling and the laying on of hands.⁴⁹⁶ Gammage contended that the leaders of the movement which promoted divine healing failed to discern the Spirit's special work from his general way of working.⁴⁹⁷

Many Korean Baptists were opposed to the Pentecostal-Charismatic movement because of the Southern Baptist theology promoted by Gammage's teaching in the Korea Baptist Seminary/University and the many pastors and theologians who earned their theological degrees from Southern Baptist seminaries.

4.9.4 The Influence of Albert Gammage.

Gammage himself served as a professor as well as Dean of the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary. He wrote the "Jusik-Shinhak Woongang" (Systematic Theology Lecture Book). This book was used as the textbook for the systematic theology class until 1980. It is still used as a reference textbook today. Gammage influenced many of the Korean

⁴⁹⁴ Gammage, "Lecture notes of history of Christian Doctrine B," pp. 96-7.

⁴⁹⁵ Gammage, "Lecture notes of history of Christian Doctrine B," pp. 97-9.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 179-80. Conner regarded this type of healing movement as fanatical and discrediting to the doctrine of the Spirit (*Work of the Holy Spirit*, p. 9)

⁴⁹⁷ Gammage, *Systematic Theology*, p. 99.

theologians and pastors who have studied at the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary from 1959 to 1977. They did their theological discipline under his supervision. So he was known as the second theological mentor of the Korean Baptist Convention. His influence was one of the significant causes of Southern Baptist influence on the KBC. At first, Southern Baptists established their theological institution in the Philippines, however, Southern Baptists made more of an investment in Korea than in the Philippines.

Gammage himself formed his theology basically according to the pattern of Walter T. Conner's theology, which itself was shaped by American Southern Baptist theology. Gammage followed Conner in his understanding of Christian theology. Even though Gammage and Conner had very small differences concerning the infallibility and authority of the Bible, Gammage emphasized that the ground of the authority of the Bible was its infallibility. However, though Conner believed in the authority of the Bible, he seemed not to draw any relation between the authority of the Bible and its infallibility. However, both had the same general theological position.

According to Stewart Newman, Conner's theology might be classified by three terms: Calvinistic, biblical, and empirical. Leo Garrett, former systematic theologian at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, evaluated Conner as a conservative and evangelical theologian. Though he modified traditional Calvinism significantly, he never accepted Arminianism fully. He identified himself as a moderate Calvinist, but he never professed himself an Arminian. Gammage also held the orthodox view of the doctrine of God.

Gammage's theology is important to Korea Baptist Convention because he and Fenwick are two foundations of Korea Baptist heritage. Even though two pioneers' theologies are in conflict with each other especially about gift of the Holy Spirit, both pioneers have to be considered as key sources for the Korea Baptist Convention.

Gammage's theology was previously infused in the faith of Korean pastors and theologians, thus influencing Korean Baptist theology. He may be regarded as the second theological founder after Fenwick. However Gammage was conservative; therefore he did not like any kind of appearance of Pentecostalism among the Korean Baptists and any influence from other denominations. He just wanted to give a basic level of theology and ministerial training to Korean Baptist leaders. After he resigned his position in the seminary, Korean Baptist theology broadened as more recently Korean theologians have earned terminal degrees at a number of Western (mainly Southern Baptist Institutions) American seminaries and universities. Especially, Korean theologians followed the theological trends of their educational institutions more than the tradition originated by Fenwick and Gammage. In addition, Korean Baptist pastors have been influenced theologically by classical Pentecostal pneumatology (David Yong Gi Cho) and Presbyterian's soteriology in their own country. As a result, Many Korean Baptists became Charismatic and practice the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It was truly influenced by Yong Gi Cho in addition many Baptist ministers hold Calvinist soteriology influenced by the Presbyterians.

4.10 The Southern Baptist Mission Influence on the Korea Baptists

4.10.1 Positive Effects

Without Southern Baptist support the Korea Baptist Convention would not have achieved rapid growth. As noted, the denomination was disorganized by the Japanese government, and the Korean War devastated most of the Church of Christ in Korea's (the Korea Baptist) churches and members (except some churches and members in South Korea).

As most of the Church of Christ in Corea was located in North Korea and Manchuria (Northwest China), the Church of Christ in Corea lost its way.⁴⁹⁸

Before the Korean War, the Baptists were a small group among the Korean Christians, but they were supported by a major Protestant denomination in America. More than anything else this factor lifted the Korean Baptist out of obscurity. The aforementioned Government citations for the Southern Baptist relief and medical work also helped the Korean Baptists to be remembered among honourable people. Southern Baptists built the seminary, university, hospital, Mission headquarters, education research institution and so on. Many outstanding Southern Baptist individuals from America visited Korea for various purposes connected with the Korean War. For example, Evangelist Billy Graham conducted a crusade in Pusan and other parts of Korea in 1952. He was by denomination a Southern Baptist and was hosted by the Southern Baptist missionaries.⁴⁹⁹ His esteem was somehow shared among the Baptists in Korea. Even the President of the Southern Baptist Seminary came to Korea with other distinguished denominational leaders in America. They studied the moral and spiritual problems in Korea. They observed methods and programs used to respond to these problems. And they took some of the young Korean Baptist leaders to America to further their education. Numerous Baptist theologians like Gammage, medical doctors, chaplains (about fifty out of some seventy Protestant chaplains) and other Baptists among the military personnel left a lasting Baptist mark upon Korea.

Eventually, the Church of Christ in Corea changed its name to the Korea Baptist Convention and gained a good reputation within the South Korean society due to American

⁴⁹⁸ The Church of Christ in Corea headquarters and most churches were located in North Korea and only a few churches were located in Chung-Cheung province in South Korea.

⁴⁹⁹ Letter of John A. Abernathy to Baker J. Cauthen, Secretary for the Orient, FMB of SBC, December 17, 1952.

support. Primarily through David Anns, who had been personal friends of the first South Korean President Dr. Syngman Rhee, the Baptist Mission had considerably free and wide access to various departments of the government. For example, often Choongmooro Baptist Church in Pusan was heavily surrounded by military police and other security agents to guard Vice-President Tai-Young Ham while he was attending the Sunday worship service there.⁵⁰⁰ As a result of these factors, some people of high education and distinction joined Baptist churches.

In addition, theologically, the Korea Baptist Convention received several distinctive among Baptist principles from the SBC such as the belief in the sole authority of the Bible and the emphasis on regeneration and believer's baptism by immersion.

4.10.2 Negative Effects

However, some negative aspects subject to criticism are also found in the history of the Korea Baptist Convention during the years 1945 to 1977. Because of the massive Southern Baptist financial aid, the spirit of independence in the Convention has been lacking from the beginning. This dependence on the SBC was particularly so after the Korean War until 1978 when there was a rapid expansion of Korean Baptist churches.

Another negative effect implicitly brought upon the Convention after the Korean War was a trend toward centralization of power as the result of a prolonged provisional operation of the Convention by the same leaders, almost exclusively Fenwick's followers numbering about ten, who rotated the highest positions of the Convention among themselves during the years 1950 to 1954, followed by some of the proselyte leaders from other denominations and a few progressive leaders who took some leadership positions. Many of

⁵⁰⁰ The first Korean Baptist historian Dr. Timothy Hyo-Hoon Cho's personal observation and testimony.

them had studied in SBC institutions in America and they were closely linked to the SBC. There were increasing divisions between Fenwick's followers and many of his seminary graduates, called the "stem" block, and other groups called the proselytes or "progressive" block. SBC missionaries and many of the seminary graduates after 1959 supported the proselytes and "progressive" block. Finally, in 1959, the Convention was divided between two groups: the Daejeon side and Pohang side. After the schism, the mission began to carry out its work through its organized agencies patterned after that of the Southern Baptist Convention and operated independently within the Daejeon convention. However, both sides were in strife and declined in all areas of Baptist church life until reunification of the Convention was achieved nine years later.

Some negative effects of the SBC relief work and material abundance aids after the Korean War upon the Korea Baptist Convention were quite explicit. Among other things, syncretism and the lack of discipline appeared as new phenomena in the life of the Convention, which resulted from an overly rapid numerical growth of the denomination after the war. Such a situation was due to several factors which made the Convention attractive to many people. Undoubtedly, the seeming material abundance of the Baptist Mission in a time of national poverty was one such factor. A comparative tranquillity within the Convention when other denominations were being divided was another attraction. There was no rigid requirement in becoming a member of a local Baptist church or even in becoming a pastor. People were hastily made members by baptism without a careful examination or a waiting period of reasonable length. Since the salaries were coming from the Mission, new preachers were made almost as soon as they volunteered. Ministers of other denominations were received in upon one condition, reception of baptism by immersion, and then dispatched to

local churches by the Convention officers. Some of the Convention leaders were busy in expanding their power by making and positioning their supporters in strategic churches.⁵⁰¹

The Convention was hardly Baptist-oriented when this boom was on its way. Apart from the missionaries, no Baptist in Korea as yet had attended any kind of Baptist school prior to June 15, 1953. Most of the Convention leaders were without even primary education. It was not long, therefore, before those preachers who were proselytes to the Baptist denomination began to stand intellectually in the lead among the Baptists in Korea. Some of them had grave moral problems while they were in their original denominations, and they simply sought haven in the Convention.⁵⁰² While others glorified in their Doctoral academic degrees. However they did not achieve Doctoral degrees from accredited institutions or achieved only a degree.⁵⁰³ But there was no system by which these people could be checked. On the contrary, the Convention leaders were mainly interested in pulling the proselytes to their own sides. Consequently, the Convention during the Korean War was little more than an interdenominational organization with syncretistic doctrine and practice and lax discipline. Kim feared, “some unexplainable dark clouds were covering the future of the denomination.”⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰¹ Yong-Hai Kim, *Daihan Kitokkyo Chimneyhuaysa* [A History of Korean Christian Baptist Convention] (Seoul, Korea: Daihan Kitokkyo Chimeyhuay Chonghuay, 1964), p. 87.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ For example, two ex-Presbyterian ministers long enjoyed the honor of being called Doctor of Theology in the Korea Baptist Convention. Eung-chul Cho (d. 1959) claimed that he had received a doctoral degree from Princeton Theological Seminary. But the Seminary has confirmed only a Master of theology degree (Letter of Arthur M. Byers, JR., Secretary of Princeton Theological Seminary, to Dr. Timothy H. Cho, May 15, 1970; and “Korean Baptist Open Seminary,” News Release of FMB of SBC < May 5, 1954, p. 30). Kwan-Suk Cha holds a Doctor of Theology degree from Los Angeles Baptist Theological Seminary (now merged with Los Angeles Baptist College) which has not been accredited either regionally or nationally.

⁵⁰⁴ Kim, op. cit., p. 87.

4.11 Korea Baptist Pentecostalism Appearance in the Early 1960s

Since the schism, the SBC control grew weaker. However, in this way, the Mission was able to carry on its mission work in the direction of Baptist principles without conflict with the Daejeon Convention. But the Convention, completely cut off from SBC mission support, was facing questions over its very existence. This situation provided fertile soil for Pentecostal-Charismatic penetration into a large number of Baptist churches from the 1960s.⁵⁰⁵ At that time, the Pentecostal movement began to boom among the Korean churches. When the influences of Pentecostalism and emotionalism affected the Korean church as well as the Korea Baptist Convention, numerical growth exceeded expectations.

First generation Pentecostal-type leaders like Rev. Gwansuk Oh (Seoul Central Baptist Church, now World Vision Church in Seoul) and Rev. Chunggi Kim (Gangnam Central Baptist Church) started their Pentecostal-type churches. Immediately, the two churches grew as mega-churches along with other Pentecostal-type churches belonging to other mainline denominations. Both churches placed emphasis on spiritual gifts such as healing, exorcism, prophecy and so on. Both churches have a special significance because they belong to the fourth largest group within the Korea Baptist Convention.⁵⁰⁶ The Korea Baptist Pentecostal-Charismatic group experienced no controversy until the second-generation Korean Baptist Pentecostals like Rev. Kidong Kim (Sungrak Church). Kidong Kim experienced political and theological conflict not only with the main group of the Korean Baptist Convention but also with the Pentecostal group. Eventually, he and his church

⁵⁰⁵ *Chimyewhebo* (Baptist Press), September 1, 1964.

⁵⁰⁶ SBC follower group, Fenwick's disciples and their descendants' group and the proselyte group from other denomination are the main power among the Baptist, but they have no mega-church and well known spiritual leaders until Rev. Oh and Rev Kim. These two pastors' churches have more than 10,000 members. Sooner or later, many pastors joined the Pentecostal- Charismatic movement. Rev Seok-Jeon Yoon (Yonsei Central Baptist Church) and Rev. Kidong Kim (Sungrak Church) were among them.

were considered a heretical sect by Protestant denominations. I will discuss this in the next chapter.

Later on some of the pastors belonging to the SBC follower group established mega-churches, such as Dr. Dongwoon Lee's World Mission Church in Bundang City. They had theological conflicts with the Pentecostal group. Fortunately, even though they still experience tensions, these two groups are dominant within the denomination; they respect each other and they are both committed to the idea of diversity within Baptist unity.

4.12 Conclusion

Even after Korean independence from Japan, the Korean War (1950-1953) seemed like it would destroy most of the resources in Korea. With the signing of the armistice on July 27, 1953, life in South Korea began to settle down. As the conditions calmed down, people began to see things more rationally. Restoration of order and principles became indispensable in every segment of the society. The Korea Baptist Convention, too, had to come out of systems temporarily set up to meet the emergency needs during the war. The Convention, during the period 1945 to 1977 was confronted with numerous problems calling for order. Thus, the search for reality, leadership, purity of life, and the rebuilding and harmony of the Convention in South Korea became necessary.

During the Korean War, the primary Christian task in Korea was one of meeting emergencies among the refugees. It was a materially-centred ministry. The spiritual ministry came second. In addition, the Korea Baptist Convention emerged when there was no Baptist church in Korea. A group of indigenous Christians (The Church of Christ in Korea), an indigenous, charismatic mission-centred church adopted the name "Baptist" in 1949. During this period, it was the Convention, thereafter, not the churches, that helped and multiplied the churches and leaders. Consequently, the Convention became the supportive organization

instead of the churches supporting it. From such a situation some of the fundamental problems arose between the Convention and the churches. Since these problems were closely related to the Mission's money, this section also concerns the mission in part.

The SBC Mission controlled all of the Korea Baptist Convention. Therefore, for a long time the Convention acted like a labour union between the churches and the SBC Mission—the Convention leaders seeking positions and the churches' money coming through the Convention—so that when co-operative efforts were called for the Convention had to make the churches pay a “poll-tax” to the Convention instead of the churches giving voluntarily for the collective work. Furthermore, most of Convention structure and system was passive. Finally, the problem involving the relationship between the Convention and the churches was one of choosing “control” or a “co-operative” system. As most Baptists would say that their way of running the denomination is the New Testament way, the Korean Baptists may like to say the same thing about their way. But when they really got down to doing things, the Convention and the Mission had to suffer many difficulties arising from tensions between the so-called “Korean Way” and the “American Way.”

In addition, when the Pentecostal group arose alongside the nationalist sentiments sweeping the Korean Baptists, they began to request power back from the SBC. After Gammage resigned from Korean Baptist Theological Seminary/University, his strong theological foundation remained in the KBC. On the one hand, his conservative Baptist-based theology made a positive impact upon the KBC. On the other hand, he opposed the Pentecostal cause that KBC had neglected, which stemmed from Fenwick and the Pentecostal movement. When Koreans took over all leadership responsibilities and power from the SBC, they had to find a new agenda and theology after 1978.

Most of the history of not only the Korean churches but also Baptist churches is a history of persecutions and of struggle for survival. Therefore, the strength of the Korean churches cannot be understood without an understanding of such struggles. Under the Confucian state, Christianity was regarded first as a heretical doctrine and then as an agent of Western aggression. Under the Japanese reign, it was identified with the growing national spirit and as the focal point for the movement for independence. During this dark period in Korean history, the Church was called to suffer and struggle on behalf of the Korean people. And again, under the communist invasion, the Church was mistakenly identified as an agent of American imperialism and so persecuted severely. Unfortunately, nowadays in North Korea, there are no signs of the existence of a Church, even though the North applied in the summer of 1974 for admission to the World Council of Churches.

The Korean Church remains as the spiritual locus of national tradition and identity. It is a national Church, in spite of all the diversity and denominational divisions. The significance of the churches in Korea, historically speaking, lay in their identification with the nation and the people. Its sense of mission was deepened by the deeply felt obligation to stand for the salvation of the nation. The foundation of KBC theology consisted of four aspects: first, Fenwick and the CCC's indigenous theology and practice represent the early period of KBC history and theology. second, Albert Gammage's SBC theology and practice; third, the Korean Pentecostal-Charismatic movement, which included leaders such as Rev. Gwansuk Oh, Rev. Chunggi Kim, Rev Kidong Kim and Rev. Seok-Jeon Yoon; and fourth, the Americanized cell-group movement, associated with Rev. Dongwon Lee and based on a Dispensationalist and cessationist theology.

When Sung Rak church and Kidong Kim were regarded as heretical teaching by the Korean mainline church, the charismatic movement within the Baptist denomination were

withering and even many charismatic leaders were scared to become a like Kidong Kim. Soon another great charismatic leader Seok-Jeon Yoon and Yonsei Central Baptist Church also received the same judgement from Presbyterians and other Baptist pastors. Following a long law suit and theological debate, Seok-Jeon Yoon got out from this controversy and he built largest church building in Asia. Korean Pentecostal and Charismatic movement faces another golden age.

The Korean Baptists have two significant different theologies like Pentecostal-Charismatic and Cell Church movement. The author thinks that two movement influence by Fenwick and Gammage. Fenwick directly influenced Pentecostal-Charismatics on the other hand Gammage and Southern Baptists impact to the Cell Church movement. Therefore two different legacies and theologies still co-existed in the Baptist tradition in Korea.

CHAPTER THE KOREA BAPTIST CONVENTION AFTER 1978-PRESENT

(THEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE OF KOREA BAPTIST CONVENTION)

5.1 The Korea Baptist Convention after 1978

Although the Korean church experienced extraordinary church growth, it failed to address various problems, both intra- and extra-ecclesiastical, which led to divisions across denominations, particularly within the Presbyterian Church. The Korean War meant that Koreans had to deal with the external task of national security, and the majority of the Korean churches supported the cause of national security. Therefore, military dictatorship was generally accepted by Koreans until the 1990s. The military leadership always emphasised national security from North Korea in order to keep their grasp on political power

Meanwhile, as regarding the issue of industrialization, the Korean church attempted to accommodate the ever-increasing *Minjung* (people) from industrialization and urbanization, achieving marvellous church growth and formulating the corresponding theory of the church growth movement. Such dramatic church growth, however, seems to have ground to a halt in the mid-1990s, when the process of urbanization gradually petered out. Although the Pentecostal church took the lion's share of the church growth in the second half of the twentieth century, the mainline (Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist) churches still remained the largest sector of the Korean church. The Yoido Full Gospel Church, led by Rev. Cho, is the largest Pentecostal church in Korea, and Yonsei Central Baptist Church, a Charismatic congregation led by Rev. Yoon, is the largest mainline church in Korea. This backdrop suggests that if a researcher wants to understand the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic

movement, it is necessary to grasp the thought and practice of the Charismatic mainline churches, which comprise the majority of the Korean church.

Most of the Korean churches, including Pentecostal groups, are politically conservative and therefore hardly participate in politics unless their interests are threatened. On the other hand, regarding the issue of democratization, a minority of the Korean church have played the role of political dissidents by siding with minority groups such as the *Minjung* theologians and other radical and liberal groups. Actually, the *Minjung* (people in Korea) who were isolated, marginalized and oppressed by the ideology of national security, industrialization, and urbanization, and giving birth to Minjung theology.⁵⁰⁷ In the face of socio-political crisis, the Korean church showed their solidarity with other Korean religions along the tradition of the ‘Hogguk Jonggyo,’ as well as the worldwide churches and ecumenical bodies. In this context, the Korean church served the two faces of *Minjung*,⁵⁰⁸ and witnessed the growth of the Pentecostal churches and the emergence of the *Minjung* churches. Ironically, most of *Minjung* followed Pentecostal leaders such as Rev. Cho and conservative evangelical leaders such as Rev. Kyung-Chik Han rather than radical and liberal church leaders. By the end of the twentieth century, Korean protestant church members numbered around ten million.

⁵⁰⁷ Because military government only focused on economic development therefore they did not care for people working in companies or factories for the national economy. As a result rights of workers were easily ignored.

⁵⁰⁸ The Korean term *Minjung* means “oppressed people”. In the 1970s, the *Minjung* suffered under a military dictatorship, a “development dictatorship” that assumed the role of “political messiah” ostensibly to save the people from the evils of poverty and communism. One response to this situation was the publication of the “Theological Declaration of Korean Christians (1973)” and its clandestine circulation within the ecumenical movement in Korea and overseas, which acted as a spark for the new theological movement. An oppressed worker discovered the biblical message, noting that “Jesus was a worker, too,” which invited the *Minjung* theological statement “Jesus is *Minjung*.” This led to reading the Bible through Minjung eyes, a development in biblical hermeneutics started by Ann Byung Mu. Daniel Patte, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 812.

5.1.1 1978-1987

The transfer by the Southern Baptist missionaries of the denomination's leadership to the nationals was completed by the late 1970s. Albert Gammage Jr.'s resignation as President of the Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary in December 1977 was a very important turning point in the history of the Korea Baptist Convention. As the first Korean president of the school, Chin Hwang Chung was inaugurated as the fourth President of the Korea Baptist Convention in December 1977. In 1978, Korean Baptist theologians and pastors began to take the primary responsibility for the development of their denominational theology. From 1978, their theology and spirituality began to shape the faith and life of the convention. This chapter investigates the characteristics and trends of Korean Baptist histories and theologies from 1978 to 1997 through an investigation of books, articles, sermons and theological writings. It also analyses their understandings of Baptist origins and soul liberty.

Although Gammage's theology was previously infused in the faith of Korean pastors and theologians, influences on Korean Baptist theology have broadened recently as Korean theologians have earned degrees at American seminaries and universities. Korean theologians tended to follow the theological trends of their educational institutions more than the tradition originated by Gammage. In addition, Korean Baptist pastors have probably been influenced theologically by the Presbyterian majority in their country. This may especially be true in the area of soteriology.⁵⁰⁹

Although there are two Korean Baptist seminaries, the Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary is the largest and arguably the most influential. Although Korean

⁵⁰⁹ Yong gook Kim. Pp. 248-9.

Baptists are broadly conservative in their theology due to the diverse educational training of Korean theologians, there is some diversity in their doctrinal expression. However, Korean theologians and pastors have not publicly criticized each other's theology, even though they have different theological views. Because it is part of East Asian Culture, unfortunately when they start to criticize each other's theological views, it becomes more like a political judgment, rather than theological conversation. Because of East Asian culture, ~~is~~ Koreans are very unwilling to disagree in print because in Korean culture a relationship with another person is one of the most important elements of social life. Still, from an examination of their written works we shall note that while many older Korean theologians and pastors are very conservative Christians, some younger ones seem to have adopted more progressive theological views.

5.1.2 1988 to the Present

Since the Korean War and the schism of the Convention, the Korea Baptist Convention has not grown but has struggled to survive. By the mid 1980s, many of the Korean Baptist Charismatic leaders within the KBC, such as Kwan Suk Oh, Chung Gi Kim, Billy Jang Hwan Kim and Ki Dong Kim, have some of the fast growing mega churches in Korea. By the mid 1980s, Ki Dong Kim's Sung Rak Baptist Church had grown to a membership of nearly 25,000 and had a pastoral staff of 73. Like the organizational structure of the Yoido Full Gospel Church, Sung Rak provides pastoral care and outreach through 1,300 home cell groups. Although not nearly as large as the YFGC, the Sung Rak Baptist Church, Dr. Kin Hur maintains, is the "fastest growing super church in Korea today."⁵¹⁰

⁵¹⁰ Dr. Kun Huh is previous Korea Baptist University president, he is a strong supporter and friend of Rev Ki Dong Kim. Since Sung Rak Church was judged as heretic, general sources of their church are not available, Dr. Huh describes about Sung Rak Church's view on information about Sung Rak Church.

Kwan Suk Oh and Chung Gi Kim have become two of the most well-known revival preachers among the Korean churches, while Kwan Suk Oh's Seoul Central Baptist Church and Chung Gi Kim's Gangnam Baptist Church have also become mega churches.⁵¹¹ Billy Jang Hwan Kim is another well known pastor even within the Baptist World Alliance (BWA)⁵¹², even though his church is located in Suwon, about one hour's journey from Seoul. His church is similar in size to the other two churches. Politically, he is very successful, because he was the first Korean president of the BWA (2000-2005) and he had very good relationships with many of the previous political presidents of South Korea. He also served as the president of the FEBC (Far East Broadcasting Company)⁵¹³ and he is founder of the first American curriculum, American faculty-based elementary school in Suwon.

Ki Dong Kim and the Sung Rak Church had a controversy with the Korea Baptist Convention and other mainline churches because of his focus on demonology. Eventually, he and his church seceded from the KBC, and the KBC declared Ki Dong Kim and Sung Rak Church as heretical. Other mainline churches such as Tong-hap and Hap-dong agreed with this judgement. Finally, the Korean Christian Association officially judged Ki Dong Kim and his Sung Rak Church as heretical.⁵¹⁴

After Ki Dong Kim was adjudged to be heretical, KBC intended to adopt an anti-Charismatic stance. However, other churches, such as Seok Jeon Yoon's Yonsei Central Baptist Church (YCBC) and Dongwon Lee's Global Mission Church (GMC), became super

⁵¹¹ Seoul Central Baptist Church has nearly 5,000 members, and Gangnam Baptist Church has 10,000 members. Both churches are located in the centre of metropolitan Seoul.

⁵¹² The Baptist World Alliance is a worldwide alliance of Baptist churches and organizations, formed in 1905 at Exeter Hall in London during the first Baptist World Congress.

⁵¹³ Since 1954, the FEBC is one of the main Christian broadcasting companies in Korea alongside CBS (Korea Christian Broadcasting)

⁵¹⁴ Jiwon Tak, "Heretics within Korean Christianity until 2012" Hyundai Jongkye accessed 27 November 2012; available from <http://www.hdjongkyo.co.kr/html/sup08.html>; Internet.

mega churches, with memberships of 65,000 and 45,000 respectively within 15 years. Yoon's YCBC is a Charismatic church, while Lee's GMC is an Americanized-interdenominational cell church.⁵¹⁵ I will discuss Dr. Dong Won Lee and the GMC church later in this chapter.

The influence of this stream of Pentecostalism extends far beyond the walls of the Sung Rak Baptist Church. Believing that all Christians can be miracle workers and exorcists, Kim began the Berea Academy in 1978 to train and cultivate these gifts in lay people. Very quickly, however, the student body of Berea Academy came to include seminarians training for the ministry as well as pastors dissatisfied with their own denominations. Because Sung Rak Baptist Church was declared heretical by all the mainline churches in Korea, all their church members in the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary/University had to leave their school. Eventually, the Sung Rak Baptist Church added a seminary to its Berea Academy.

The curriculum of study at the seminary is based upon Kim's personal practical experience with exorcism and his own biblical exposition of demonology (subsequently published as a three-volume work, *Demonology*, in 1985 and 1986).⁵¹⁶ By 1985, graduates of this training program had reached 1,119. Some of these graduates have gone on to start similar schools. Han Man Young, for example, a professor of music at Seoul National University, who systematized the theology (demonology) of Ki Dong Kim, established Grace Academy as well as a new church in Seoul, called the Seoul Full Gospel Church. This church affiliated with the Assemblies of God. Tain Ka Lee, a disciple of both Ki Dong Kim and

⁵¹⁵ Dr. Dong Won Lee's theology was often at variance with Pentecostal/Charismatic theology and even Baptist theology. For example, many of his associate pastors are from another denomination. Also the new senior pastor Dr. Jin is not a native Korean but a Korean American. Dr. Jin never attended a Baptist theological institution. In addition, while the cell church movement was invented by Yong Gi Cho and Yoido Full Gospel Church, the GMC took its cell church strategy not from the YFGC but from the American cell church movement created by Dr. Ralph W. Neighbour Jr. GMC programmes are influenced by Saddleback Church, CA and Willow Creek Church, IL in the US. Its home-school program was also imported from America (mainly from Bob Jones University).

⁵¹⁶ Kim Ki Dong. *Demonology (Biblical Theological and Phenomenal Studies on)*. (Seoul: Berea Press, 1997)

Hahn Man-Young, started another academy in Masan and is reported to have a thriving church of over 10,000 members.

5.2 Recent Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic Growth within the Korean Mainline Churches

Because of the YFGC, the Assemblies of God is the only well-known Pentecostal denomination in Korea. Other Pentecostal denominations like the Church of God and the Foursquare Gospel Church are very small denominations. Moreover, the Church of God abandoned their Pentecostal identity and joined the Presbyterian association rather than the Pentecostal/Charismatic association. Therefore, only the Classical-Pentecostal churches, such as the YFGC, were recognized as Korean Pentecostal. On the other hand, many Charismatic churches belonging to mainline churches such as the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian denominations, especially many mega-charismatic churches, did not manifest their denominational theology except certain of their denomination's sacraments. This was because they did not want their evangelism to be restricted by denominational policy or dogmatic theology.⁵¹⁷

The prayer mountain movement, which emerged through the YFGC and was linked to the Osanri Fasting and Prayer Mountain (later renamed Choi Jashil International Fasting Prayer Mountain), was an important focus of Korean Pentecostalism. However, since Choi Jasil, Yong Gi Cho's mother-in-law, passed away, and Yong Gi Cho retired, Prayer Mountains held less fascination for local congregations until a new type of Prayer Mountain arose such as the Hindol Prayer Mountain. While Osanri Prayer Mountain emphasises fasting

⁵¹⁷ Many Korean believers objected to the way their churches imposed the dogmatic theology of their denomination upon them, so many mega-churches barely teach and lay stress upon their own denomination theology. Rather, many people are attracted to more modern Charismatic-type churches.

and receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit, Hindol Prayer Mountain focuses on repentance, sanctification and receiving the gift of the Holy Spirit. Another difference is that Osanri is open to any congregation all year round , while Hindol is only accessible during the summer and winter months for certain groups such as pastors, elders, college students, youth and children. Hindol also opens for a weekly pastors' practical ministry school for senior pastors. Apart from these two large prayer mountains, most Korean mega churches have their own prayer mountains for their retreats or seminars. Some prayer mountains function like commercial luxury resorts or hotels, or are only open to their own church members. In brief, most Korean Prayer Mountains, with the exception of Hindol Prayer Mountain, have lost their original purpose of stimulating revival and Pentecostal practices.

As we have noted, most Korean mega churches are Charismatic and include the world's largest Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist congregations. Following the retirement of some of the older charismatic senior pastors, the energies of second generation pastors tended to focus on leadership struggles rather than making a positive impact on the church and Korean society. Thus, the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement has entered a second phase because most of the first generation leaders are ready to retire or have already retired, and the second generation leaders are trying to find their own way. However, the second generation successors have yet to make the same impact as the first generation. Moreover, they are facing the challenge of secularism and post-modernism, to the detriment of their churches.

5.2.1 Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon and Yonsei Central Baptist Church

Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon was born in Buyeo, South Chungcheng Province, Korea in 1947. As an adult, he worked for a trading company, and regularly attended several churches, including Yoido Full Gospel Church. In 1983, when he was 37 years old, he resigned from

the trading company and attended Bangbe Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Unfortunately, in August 1984, he became ill with bronchial cancer and was told by a medical doctor that his condition was hopeless. After this diagnosis, Yoon abandoned medical treatment and decided to go to Samgak (Triangle) Prayer Mountain, where he was prayed for healing. Despite his symptoms getting worse, he kept on praying. In his personal testimony, he stated:

When my pain harasses and destroys my body, my soul can approach God. I repent of all my sin and ask for healing and anointing. One moment I feel bright and light surrounds my soul and body. And just then, I recovered from the deadly disease. After 14 days, personally I met the Holy Spirit as the healer and spiritual resource supplier for me. It can be truly called the anointing by the Holy Spirit.⁵¹⁸

After Yoon recovered from his illness, he returned to Seoul and resumed his theological education at Bangbe Presbyterian Theological Seminary. At the same time, in March 1986, he started Yonsei Central Baptist Church (YCBC) with his wife and two children, renting a small basement near Yonsei University.⁵¹⁹ When he started YCBC, he made five prayer requests for his ministry and church. First, he asked for the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Second, he requested for God to give him Jesus' compassion. Third, he asked for helpers willing to obey God. Fourth, he requested for the ability to handle material resources. Finally, he asked for a suitable place of worship. When he started YCBC, it was located in a three-story building adjacent to the back gate of Yonsei University. Soon YCBC grew to 1,000 members, the church moved to Sung-Sang Dong in March 1990. However, because its members increased to around 5,000 within one year, it bought Noraeung-jin Sanctuary from Dae-Sung Church.⁵²⁰ In June 1992, Rev. Yoon started the Pastor and

⁵¹⁸ Yoon Seok Jeon. *Make the most of your time*. (Seoul: The Yonsei Central Baptist Press), 2005.

⁵¹⁹ Today, YCBC is located in Guro Gu, Southwestern Seoul. YCBC still uses its original name Yonsei after Yonsei University, located in the centre of Seoul.

⁵²⁰ At that time, Dae-Sung Church was worth more than \$5 million. It had two main buildings and 3,000 seats.

Pastor's Wives Conference, which became famous among Korean pastors. The church also built Hindol Prayer Mountain (HPM) in Suwon.⁵²¹ Subsequently, Rev. Yoon started the Pastors' Practical and Spiritual College, located in HPM. This college has more than 5,000 full time pastors as students from all denominations in Korea as well as from overseas. Because of this college, Rev. Yoon's Charismatic movement was able to extend its influence over Korean Christianity. About 50,000 attend annually the Pastors' College and the senior pastors' seminar in Hindol Prayer Mountain which belongs to Yonsei Central Baptist Church.

In May 2003, YCBC built the largest church building in Korea, and their membership reached more than 65,000. Until 2006, YCBC was regarded as just a Baptist mega church in suburban Seoul. However, after it built the largest sanctuary in Korea,⁵²² people began to pay it more attention.

Since its inception in March 1986, the church has seen astonishing growth. Initially based in a small basement, Yonsei Central Baptist Church now boasts two places of worship located in Seoul and a training centre (Hindol Prayer Mountain) in the nearby city of Suwon. In addition, the YCBC also has an active overseas presence with over 80 preachers operating around China, Kazakhstan, Nepal, Philippines, Pakistan, Indonesia, Germany, Japan (we pulled out), UK, USA and Senegal. The rapid growth of the church and the resulting requirement for larger facilities culminated in the purchase of land at the base of Yonsei's Prayer Mountain, in south west Gung-Dong, Guro-Gu district of Seoul. This land was designated to provide not only a church but also training facilities and amenities for the local community. Yonsei Central Baptist Church may not have the largest membership of the many

⁵²¹ Suwon is located near southwest Seoul, and YCBC Hindol (white rock) mountain cost \$30 million. It was completed in June 1996. Each year more than 40,000 ministers and missionaries and 300,000 lay persons attended YCBC Hindol Conference.

⁵²² Yonsei Central Baptist Church's main building can seat 28,000 people. It is twice as large as Yoido Full Gospel Church's building and holds six different language services.

churches throughout South Korea but the new construction is by far the largest in size. The site occupies a total area of 32,677 square metres, while the main construction itself occupies 39,669 square metres of floor space. The church building comprises over 120 rooms with the main Jerusalem Sanctuary seating 13,000 worshipers and an additional youth room (the Antioch Sanctuary) seating a further 4,000. While the main building seats 28,000, the church can accommodate more than 40,000 people per service. Recently, it added a new education centre, study and nursery school and mission centre. In comparison, the Yoido Full Gospel Church main building can accommodate only around 15,000 people.

Hindol Prayer Mountain in Suwon, is about one hour's drive from Seoul, and has become popular among Korean Christians. Apart from the pastor's conference and college, it has several special revival services for lay persons each summer and winter. These revival services have special services for college students, pastors, pastors' wives, elders and deacons, middle and high school students, elementary students, missionary and pastors' children, and so on. Each service gathers more than 5-6,000 people from many Korean churches. Even though more than 10,000 people apply to attend these revival services, the church can only accept 5-6,000 people, due to limited accommodation and facilities. Its training centre has now become a new Pentecostal/Charismatic centre within Asia. Each year more than a thousand pastors also come from around the world. Rev. Yoon sometimes travels abroad for pastors' conferences. For example, he leads a pastors' conference in Bengal, India, which attracts over 5,000 Indian pastors from all over India. Rev. Yoon has started an international evangelistic ministry on a similar scale to Rev. Cho's. Recently, Rev. Morris Chapman (Chairman of the Southern Baptist Convention), Dr. Daniel Vestal (Chairman of the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship) and other mainline church leaders from around the world have visited the church, and former US President Jimmy Carter invited Rev. Yoon to come to

Atlanta to meet him and attend the New Baptist Assembly. Following Rev David Yong Gi Cho's retirement, Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon is attaining a similar reputation to his, and the YCBC's ministry is becoming increasingly known around the world.

5.2.2 Comparison between Korean Pentecostals and Charismatics

Korean Pentecostals and Charismatics have the same worship practices, which include early-morning prayer meetings, *Tongsung-Gido* (simultaneous and audible congregational prayers), offerings, and co-operation between churches, healing and exorcism. Recently Korean society added the Pentecostal dimension, and the nationalist longing no longer denied, fundamentalist Protestantism in Korea now had a great deal in common with the Korean Pentecostal as well as Charismatic.⁵²³ It means that Korean Pentecostals and Charismatics are no longer a minority, when they were considered as the heretics or minority, their influence was limited to only certain social classes and denominations. However, when Korean Pentecostal and Charismatics produced many super mega-churches like Yoido Full Gospel Church and Yonsei Central Baptist Church, their impact spread more than any mainline and conservative Christians.

However, there are also differences between Pentecostals and Charismatics in Korea. Korean Pentecostal preachers, such as Rev. Yong Gi Cho, believe that God is able to change people's material circumstances. The emphasis on material blessing and physical healing are very important features of Korean Pentecostalism. Linked to this is the emphasis on self-improvement and energetic business enterprise as a means of receiving the blessing of God in the present age. On the other hand, Korean Charismatics, such as Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon,

⁵²³ Fundamental – Protestant concern about Pentecostal as an enemy or heretic, for example Yong Gi Cho and Seok Jeon Yoon also critical judgement from them. Both of them had painful judgement from the Fundamental group, especially Presbyterians. However, nowadays the two pastors are called as spiritual leaders in Korean Christianity. Even the Fundamental group respects them.

focus their teaching on the importance of ascetic lifestyles and eschatological salvation, emphasizing heaven, hell, continuous repentance and final salvation from evil rather than material blessing and physical healing.

While Charismatics also teach physical healing and exorcism, these practices are used as tools for evangelism. Korean Charismatics focus not only on spiritual gifts but also on the empowerment of the Holy Spirit for personal salvation. Instead of focusing on material blessing, some Charismatic pastors teach their members to give sacrificially as an expression of their faith without necessarily expecting material blessings. Therefore many Korean Christians may apply to all charismatic pastors. For example, the largest Korean Baptist church like Yonsei Central Baptist Church (YCBC) did it, and more than 3,000 sister churches resembled YCBC and they did same thing.⁵²⁴

Most Korea Pentecostal/Charismatic churches have their origins in classical Pentecostalism, which was transformed into *Sunbogeum* Pentecostalism after about 1953, a style of Pentecostalism that is rooted in Korean prayer and coupled with an American capitalist orientation towards goals and achievement. Rev. Yong Gi Cho became the prime example of this innovation, combining traditional Korean virtues with American dynamism. However, the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement is much broader than this. As we have noted, Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists together contributed to Korean Charismatic theological identity.

⁵²⁴ “Pastor’s School in Hindol Prayer Mountain 1998-2013” accessed 22 November 2012; available from <http://www.yonsei.or.kr> Internet. YCBC had special pastor’s school and more than 3,000 senior pastors attend this school and they resemble most of YCBC ministry.

5.3 The Berea Movement and the Sung Rak Baptist Church 1980-1986.

As already stated, Ki Dong Kim is the founder of Sung Rak Baptist Church as well as the Berea Movement. The church began with only seven members in 1969 and grew to forty thousand members in eighteen years, making it one of the fastest growing churches in the world.⁵²⁵ However, as noted previously, in 1987, it left the Korea Baptist Convention after it had been declared as heretical by most Korean mainline churches and formed a new denomination, named the Korean Southern Baptist Convention.⁵²⁶ The Korea Baptist Convention, affiliated to the Southern Baptists in the USA, and other Korean mainline churches could not tolerate the strong emphasis on Pentecostal/Charismatic practices such as speaking in tongues, healing prayer, and exorcism, which were considered contrary to Baptist tradition. In addition, Ki Dong Kim was regarded as self-righteous and dogmatic. However, the Sung Rak Church was large enough to allow it to form a new denomination, and consequently, Kim chose not to adapt his theology and practices in response to the criticisms of the Korea Baptist Convention and other mainline Korean churches. In particular, he continued his emphasis on demonology, convinced that any Christian can cast out demons and perform ‘signs and wonders’, and also wrote books on deliverance.⁵²⁷

If Kim’s preoccupation with evil and sin may seem quite compatible with Korean Baptist theology, based as it is on North America Baptist theology,⁵²⁸ his methods of dealing with evil are not. His method of direct attack through “power evangelism,” as advocated by David Yong Gi Cho, senior pastor of the Yoido Full Gospel Church, and other

⁵²⁵ Jae Bum Lee, “Pentecostal type distinctives and Korean Protestant Church Growth,” Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, 1986, p. 279.

⁵²⁶ Kim’s Korean Southern Baptist Convention has no relationship with any other Protestant church in Korea.

⁵²⁷ Jae Bum Lee, “Pentecostal”, p. 286.

⁵²⁸ Ibid, p. 285. Kim’s favourite Bible text is “The reason the Son of God appeared was to destroy the devil’s work”.

Pentecostal/Charismatics, suggests that independent Baptists in Korea may be taking a different route from the comparatively staid approach of independent Baptists in the United States (for example, the theology and non-Pentecostal practices of Jerry Farwell’s independent Thomas Road Baptist Church, which are more or less identical to the Southern Baptist norm).⁵²⁹

5.3.1 Characteristics of the Berea Movement

Ki Dong Kim’s use of the term ‘Berea’ was based on the people of Berea mentioned in the Book of Acts, who are described by Luke as of “more noble character than the Thessalonians, for they received the message with great eagerness and examined the Scriptures every day to see if what Paul said was true” (Acts 17: 11). Sung Rak Baptist Church has approximately 300 ministers and 80,000 members in South Korea and 30 churches in other parts of the world.⁵³⁰

Statistics of the Sung Rak Baptist Church (Korea Southern Baptist Convention)⁵³¹

	Community	Members	Churches
1960	500	200	3
1965	1,600	800	9
1970	4,000	2,000	21
1975	10,000	5,000	54

⁵²⁹ Falwell rejected all the Pentecostal charismatic gifts.

⁵³⁰ According to Hyundai Jongkyo (Modern Religion in Korea), Sung Rak Church reported their church membership as 170,000.

⁵³¹ Peter Brierley, *World Churches Handbook* (based on the Operation World database by Patrick Johnstone, WEC International, 1993), London Christian Research, p. 493. Even though, Sung Rak Church announced (their 40th anniversary on 11/2009) that their church had more than 130,000 members, there are no official sources to support this.

1980	25,000	12,500	136
1985	38,000	19,000	207
1990	65,000	32,500	350
1995	70,000	35,000	375
2000	74,000	37,000	400
2005	80,000	40,000	430
2010	86,000	43,000	460

Although officially the Sung Rak Church and the Berea Movement is Baptist by tradition, they have exhibited Pentecostal features from their inception. These have included all-night prayer gatherings, revival meetings, exorcisms, healings, and speaking in tongues.

Jae Bum Lee explains:

Ki Dong Kim’s ministry is well known as a ministry of exorcism in Korea. He has led nine hundred exorcism meetings since 1961. During the same time he has reportedly raised seven people from dead... He healed 120,000 people who were crippled, blind, deaf, cancerous, and demon possessed. Kim states that he has cast out demons from four hundred thousand people and that fifty-nine of those were completely people.⁵³²

By the mid 1980s, Sung Rak church and Berea movement were rapidly growing with Yoido Full Gospel Church, this church’s growth popularised the charismatic movement among Korean Christianity, and Sung Rak Church was the most powerful institution within the Korea Baptist Convention.

⁵³² Jae-bum Lee, “Pentecostal Type Distinctive and Korean Protestant Church Growth” (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1986), pp. 25-6.

5.3.2 Theological background of Ki Dong Kim

Ki Dong's Kim theological background is difficult to unravel. After he was labelled a heretic, he did not have any relationship with mainline Protestant groups or the Korea Baptist Convention. As a result, little is known about his background and profile. However, his church's website provides the following information about him:

In the spring of 1964, he enrolled at the Daehan Theological Seminary at the recommendation of Presbyterian Church leader Dr. Chi Sun Kim. In March, 1966, he entered the Seoul Liberal Arts College of Education (Myoungji University) Korean language and literature department. During the day he attended Seoul Liberal Arts College and at night Daehan Seminary. Due to his rigorous revival crusade schedule, it took 8 years to complete the Seminary.⁵³³

In addition, it is stated that Ki Dong Kim has two doctoral degrees, a D.Min from Canada Christian College and a Master degree STD from Southwest University. However, neither institution is affiliated to the Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada (ATS). In addition, Ki Dong Kim never lived in the USA or Canada. Thus, these degrees are not validated and probably consisted of short, intensive lectures, translated into Korean (Kim is barely literate in English). This throws doubt on the claims that he has two doctoral degrees. It is more likely that he holds only one theological degree from Daehan Seminary, even though his course was a part-time evening class. For that reason, his theological background should be regarded as largely based on his personal experience rather than his formal education.⁵³⁴

⁵³³ Won Yeol Lee, Research about Berea Movement. (Seoul: International institution of Heretic research, 1991), 15-6.

⁵³⁴ Presbyterian Tong-Hap (largest Christian denomination in Korea) and Korean Baptist Heretical Report of Sung Rak Church and Kidong Kim, this seems to be an insult against Kidong Kim however the author includes it in the thesis because it is needed for understanding of Korean mainline church's judgement.

5.3.3 Ki Dong Kim's Theology

Kim's theology is mainly focused on demonology and is largely based on personal experience. While he insists that his theology has similarities to classical Pentecostalism and the Faith movement, his focus is on exorcism rather than the broader spiritual gifts. Even his soteriology centres on demonology. For example, for Kim, the purpose of sanctification is not to be delivered from sin but from satanic possession. Despite regarding his denomination as Baptist, in terms of ecclesiology and church polity, Ki Dong Kim also departs from the Baptist tradition by calling himself 'Bishop'.

Kim's theology is always focused on exorcism. In his books and sermons, he portrays himself as the superior healer and exorcist. There are similarities here with the Korean shaman tradition. In traditional Korean society, the shaman (*Mudang*) served as a link between ordinary people and the spirit world, which was thought to be populated by numerous gods, ancestors, and spirits. The shaman was relied upon to transform malevolent spirits into protective spirits by means of healings and exorcisms.

According to Ki Dong Kim's books and sermons, all diseases are caused by demons and can only be cured through spiritual means. In one of his books, he states:

Demons cannot be seen by humans so we should pay attention to the fact that this is the very weapon they use at their advantages. In no other period of time, have people wanted more eagerly to find the cause of diseases. In no other period of time are more people dying without knowing why they die. Despite numerous scholarly researches in the process, answers cannot but be even more difficult to find because no physical or scientific means can deal with spiritual matters. Spiritual problems require spiritual solutions. So, we know that the Bible which we believe is great. Its greatness is that it deals mostly with spiritual matters, nothing secular. Unless we know the Bible, we cannot know about the world of spirits, we cannot discern spirit, either. In other words, spiritual beings cannot but be totally disclosed before the bible. I neither disregard nor belittle physical or scientific methods, but I want to emphasize the principle that spirits discern spirit alone.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁵ Kim, Ki Dong, *Christ's Healing and His Holy Signs in My Life* Seoul: Berea Press, 203.

Kim sometimes quotes Bible texts to support his teaching, for example, Acts 10:38: “How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power, who went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil, for God with Him.”⁵³⁶ According to Kim, diseases are neither inherited, nor occur spontaneously, nor are they caused by human errors, nor given by God, but they are caused by demons.⁵³⁷

5.3.4 Problems with Ki Dong Kim’s Theology

Ki Dong Kim has no Baptist or Pentecostal theological background, because he studied in a Presbyterian seminary. Therefore Ki Dong Kim rarely had a Baptist identity or he just mixed a Baptist identity with his shamanistic figure within his theology. Even though he defends his theology by his studies in Korea Baptist University (Pastoral Master of Divinity course)⁵³⁸ however, this course is a validated official academic degree. It was only a requirement for transfer to Baptist from other denominations.

It is possible that Ki Dong Kim’s theology has been influenced by Korean shamanism. In fact, some scholars, such as Boo Woong Yoo, have argued that the pastors of Korean Pentecostal churches have the same function as shamans.⁵³⁹ However, Yoo does not make sufficient distinction between indigenisation and syncretism, because the theological distinction of Ki Dong Kim is one angle demonology hermeneutic theology rather than Pentecostal or charismatic theology. For example, he interprets all biblical texts through the lens of his demonology. Moreover, most of his church service focuses on exorcism, to the

⁵³⁶ Kim Ki Dong, *Demonology*: Berea, 21.

⁵³⁷ Kim, 22.

⁵³⁸ The Pastoral Master of Divinity course is not a regular full time Master of Divinity course. It is an intensive course for those who have already finished their theological degree and are involved in full time ministry. The course requirements are few, so students usually attend one day a week.

⁵³⁹ Yoo, Boo Woong, ‘Response to Korean Shamanism by the Pentecostal Church’, *International Review of Mission* (Jan. 1986), 70-4.

extent that he even seems to deny divine healing due to his belief that healing takes place through deliverance from demon possession. In brief, Kim's theology is based on Mu-dang theory from Korean shamanistic figure.⁵⁴⁰ There has been much discussion of Christian healing in relation to exorcism in relation to Korean Pentecostalism. Is healing Christian or shamanistic or a mixture of the two? Divine healing, as well as baptism in the Holy Spirit, is one of the principle doctrines of the Korean Pentecostal movement. Gwang-il Kim states that the Christian healing ministry has positive effects as it works as an anxiety-relieving system to hopeless patients and helps in the work of Christian evangelization.⁵⁴¹

Most members of Sung Rak Church refer to Ki Dong Kim as "Semone"⁵⁴² and seem to treat him like a prophet or even like the Holy Spirit or Jesus. Any challenge to his authority is not permitted, and he has delegated his authority to his son without consulting the membership. This is despite the fact that his son, Sung Hyun Kim, is unfamiliar with Berea's theology and seldom preaches. He was a music student and never studied at the Berea Academy or the Sung Rak Church after his graduation. Rather, his theological training was at the universities of Durham (MA) and Oxford (PhD). Following his return to Korea, he immediately became Dean of the Berea Academy and second in seniority to his father in Sung Rak Church.

As noted, Ki Dong Kim was judged to have doctrines with 'heretical tendencies' by the Baptist Church in 1987 and subsequently by most Korean mainline churches, including the Presbyterians (Gosin 1991, Hap-Dong 1991, Tong-Hab 1992, Hab-Sin 1992), the Korea Holiness Church (1992) and the Korea Methodist Church (1992). These denominations

⁵⁴⁰ The mean of 'Mu-dang' is mediator between god and human. This concept came from Korean Shamanism.

⁵⁴¹ Kim, 'Psycho-Medical Research', 191-2.

⁵⁴² Meaning of the "Semone" is that he can see but he can't talk. It means that I can see something but I do not judge that. It can also mean "true teacher or shepherd" Kidong Kim followers call him Semone

claimed that Kim's theology had no biblical basis and conflicted with the Baptist and Presbyterian traditions. Apart from his demonology, they also criticized his doctrine of God, Christology, eschatology, doctrine of creation, and anthropology.

For example, Kim was criticized for his assertion that when a person dies prematurely, he or she becomes a demon and wanders around until it finds a place to stay in a human body.⁵⁴³

Kim was condemned by Korean Baptists and expelled from his denomination. The Presbyterian, Methodist and Korea Holiness churches also not only judged Ki Dong Kim as 'heretical' but prohibited any cooperative work with him and his church. Kim's demonology remains a controversial issue. He continues to focus on exorcism, which ironically attracts a great number of people to his church, making it one of the largest mega churches in Seoul.

As noted, it also shows the shamanistic influences on his ministry. The success of his deliverance ministry is partly a result of the Korean church's neglect of this aspect of ministry and its failure to provide adequate doctrinal guidelines.

Chart of the Sung Rak Baptist Church (Korea Southern Baptist Convention)⁵⁴⁴

Address: Seoul, Yoeungdeng pogu Singil 3 dong 355-184

Organization Structure

- 1) Organization format: similar to Korea Baptist Convention
- 2) Number of churches: 30 branch churches around the world.
- 3) Number of Staff: Pastors: 50, associate pastors: 15, church administration staff: 50, total church number: 80,000 in South Korea (they have more members around world; however they do not provide any data).

⁵⁴³ ITI, *When the Holy Spirit Comes Upon You*, p. 155.

⁵⁴⁴ Jiwon Tak, "Heretics within Korean Christianity until 2012" Hyundai Jongkye accessed 27 November 2012; available from <http://www.hdjongkyo.co.kr/html/sup08.html>; Internet. This website from Hyundai Jongkye (Modern Religion) is a well known magazine about Christian heresy. Translation into English my own. .

Content

History and Development

1) Founder

Berea Academy and Sung Rak Church founder, Ki Dong Kim was born on 25/6/1938 Seosan, Chungchong Nam Province. He went to Seoul in 1964 for his further education. When he was a high school student, he became a Christian (Methodist). He finished Daesin Seminary, and was ordained by the International Independent Mission Society, and then he tried to join the Korea Baptist Convention. However it took more than 6 years to join. He established Berea Academy with 12 members, who met once a week for two years.

2) Development after Sung Rak Church became a heretical sect.

The Korea Baptist Convention officially denounced Ki Dong Kim's theology and Sung Rak Church as heretical (16/11/1987), and Sung Rak Church created another denomination 'Christian Southern Baptist' but they did not have any connection or relationship with the Southern Baptist Convention in USA. Recently they changed the denominational name to 'Berea Church Union'.

1) Main Theology

1. Satan and Demons (or Evil) existed before creation. Satan was a rebel army leader and he is the equal with demons. When he opposed God, he was called Satan. On the other hand, when he opposes humans; he is called Demon or Evil.
2. Many unbelievers when they passed away became evil spirits.
3. All disease is caused by evil spirits.
4. All fallen angels became spirits
5. This world is Purgatory.

6. The main purpose of creation is not to bless human beings, but God wants to punish Satan; therefore, the universe is the prison for Satan.

7. When we pray and do good works, our number of guardian angels is increased.

8. Adam was chosen as one among many human beings.

9. Human life is limited to 120 years.

10. The Bible is regarded as a sunbeam through a little crack in the door. Therefore, the Bible is not perfect revelation; it is just a partial revelation about God's character.

2) Activities

1. Publications

Sung Rak Church has its own publisher 'Berea' and it publishes the 'Sunday Newspaper', 'Christian Baptist Report' and 'Sung Rak Baptist Church Report'

2. Education Institutions

It has the Berea Bible Academy and the Berea Theological Seminary and University.

3. Other institutions

It has its own bank (Sung Rak Sinhyub) for their denominational members, Christian book stores and much small organization for the ministry.

3) Worship Style

Their worship style is similar to Pentecostal/Charismatic churches but they mainly focus on exorcism and healing.

(Other Matters)

Presbyterian denominations like Tong-hap and Hap-dong also declared that Sung Rak Church is heretical.

Tong-hap pointed to eight aspects of Kidong Kim's theology.

1. All Kim's theological sources are from demons or evil spirits.

2. Kim has a different understanding of the Trinity (dual modality of Jesus) compared with orthodox Christianity.
3. Kim's Christology denied Jesus' deity and limited Jesus' humanity.
4. Holy Spirit is just a tool for Kim's ministry.
5. Kim preaching is that his sermon is regarded as superior to the Bible.

This world is imperfect and incomplete because God created this world for use as the prison for Satan.

6. The humans in Genesis chapter one and chapter two are different.
7. Kim states that if we do not know Satan, it means that we do not know Jesus.

Furthermore, God approves of Satan's legitimacy for his plans.⁵⁴⁵

These eight points quoted from Kim's sermon and books and are according to what Tong-Hap Heretical investigating committee found. The author doesn't want to discuss all eight points as it would take too much space. This judgement may be cultural or narrow minded. However, the author has to follow Korean Christian tradition and follow the denomination's theological decision. Although the Berea Movement and Sung Rak Baptist Church have been pronounced as heretical by most Korean mainline churches, some Western theologians and publications still characterize the Sung Rak Church as a Charismatic church and the largest Baptist church in the world. For example, the missiologist and church growth specialist, Peter Wagner, states: "Sung Rak church of Seoul is one of the fast growing big churches. As this church takes its root from the Southern Baptists of America, generally it is excluded in statistics of Pentecostal denominations or charismatic movement group. The church historian, David Barrett, includes this church within the 'Third Wave' movement." According to

⁵⁴⁵ 77th Tong-Hap annual denomination conclave report about Kidong Kim, 1992.

Wagner, who visited Sung Rak Church in person, the church is known as one of world's biggest churches, which performs powerful divine healing and casts out demons regularly.⁵⁴⁶

Partly in reaction to the Sung Rak Church, the Korea Baptists adopted an Anti-Charismatic stance until the emergence of the Charismatic leader Seok-Jeon Yoon and the Yonsei Central Baptist Church.

5.4 The Korea Baptist Convention from 1988 to 2010.

The recent Charismatic wave within the Korea Baptist Convention mainly started from Yonsei Central Baptist Church and Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon. People refer to him as the only global evangelist and charismatic leader after Rev. Yong Gi Cho's retirement. This Charismatic wave affected all denominations and churches (apart from some fundamentalist groups like Hap-Sin)⁵⁴⁷ through the Hindol Prayer Mountain, which each year attracts more than half a million visitors, and through Rev. Yoon's 'crusades' in all the major cities in Korea as well as other countries such as India, Israel, Brazil, USA, and China. The Pietism Contemplation Prayer movement and the Americanized cell movement were also spread by the Global Mission Church and Rev. Dong Won Lee.⁵⁴⁸ However this movement tends to be anti-charismatic and often opposes the charismatic movement within Korea Baptists. There exists a degree of tension between the Charismatic groups and the modern cell group movement (Pietism Contemplation Prayer group) because the modern cell group movement

⁵⁴⁶ Sung Rak Church website, <http://www.sunrak.or.kr/language/english/bereamv/enbereamv7.asp> (21 April 2012).

⁵⁴⁷ Among all Korean mainline denominations, the Presbyterian Hap-Sin does not allow their church members to attend any kind of worship service lead by Rev. Yoon-Seok Jeon.

⁵⁴⁸ Actually the cell group movement was initiated by Rev. Cho Yong Gi and Yoido Full Gospel Church, but American scholar Ralph W Neighbour Jr. developed modern cell group theory, and many Korean churches now apply this to their own situation. This new movement transformed many different like G12, D12. Among the new forms two-wing's D12 are most popular, last year more than 10,000 Korean pastors attended two-wing's cell annual seminar. Even though, Rev. Lee Dong Won Lee officially retired on 2010, his cell movement still impact within Korea Baptist Convention even his successor Rev. Jin is Korean American and Fundamental and Anti-Charismatic.

prefers pietistic prayer. Both groups use modern worship songs and equipment. However, while the Charismatic group prefers worship that is more emotional and traditional Baptist, the cell group movement's worship style is more rational, quiet and non-denominational. The new senior pastor of the Global Mission Church has no Baptist background and is a Korean-American. In brief, most of the Charismatic groups are contextual and indigenous rather than westernized or Americanized, while most of the groups associated with the cell group movement are more Westernized and Americanized.⁵⁴⁹

5.5 Recent Developments within the Baptist World Alliance

In 1991, the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF) left the Southern Baptist Convention. Subsequently, in July 2003, the General Council of the Baptist World Alliance voted to accept the CBF into membership. After the Baptist World Alliance accepted the CBF into membership, the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) voted to end its membership in the Baptist World Alliance (BWA).

The Southern Baptist Convention (USA) was an important part of the World Baptist Alliance. However, since its withdrawal, while still calling itself Baptist, the SBC no longer has any relationship with the BWA. Ironically, the BWA is still struggling to find a substitute for the SBC. The Korea Baptist Convention is one candidate because it is a very wealthy denomination and has more than a million members. However, the Korea Baptist Convention has not only maintained its relationship with the SBC but also looks to it for its theological identity. Thus, the Korea Baptist Convention is a very important part of the BWA as well as being in a strong partnership with the SBC. For example, the leading six SBC-owned

⁵⁴⁹ Most of the Charismatic leaders had their theological education in a Baptist institution in Korea, while many of the cell group movement leaders had their theological education in Southern Baptist or Non-denominational institutions in America.

seminaries have about 600 Korean students. Almost 5% of SBC seminary students are Korean or Korean American. In addition, one of the best-known pastors, the former BWA president Billy Kim, (and his Korean Baptist followers still have a strong relationship with the SBC. Each year, the Korea Baptist Convention alone sends more than 50-100 students to the six SBC seminaries. Among the 26 full-time theological faculties' members in the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary/University, 17 graduated from the six main SBC theological institutions.⁵⁵⁰ In contrast, Baptist theological institutions linked to the BWA have produced no faculty member in the theology or Christian education departments of the Korea Baptist Theological Seminary/University. This seminary is the largest Baptist Seminary outside of USA and the largest seminary in Asia.

The Southern Baptist Convention met in Phoenix, Arizona, June 17-18, 2003. "The 7,077 messengers who gathered in Phoenix June 17-18 constituted the smallest annual meeting since 1956, when 6,493 messengers met in San Francisco."⁵⁵¹ As in past years under the leadership of Southern Baptist fundamentalists, these leaders brought no proposal for reconciliation in the Convention. Instead, they took their movement a giant step further toward isolation from historic Baptist principles by leading their followers to vote to defund the Baptist World Alliance by reducing the convention's annual contribution to the BWA from \$425,000 to \$300,000. For almost a century the BWA has been the most unifying voice of the world Baptist family.

⁵⁵⁰ The six main SBC seminaries are the Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, the Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary.

⁵⁵¹ *The Biblical Recorder*, June 28, 2003.

BWA General Secretary Denton Lotz, a strong advocate of reconciliation among Baptists, said, “We Baptist...want to stick together... we stick together because we belong to Christ.”⁵⁵² He further stated:

The SBC is the largest and wealthiest affiliated convention in the BWA. Its 30 percent cutback in funding reflects strong disapproval of the BWA’s openness to consider accepting the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship as a member. The Fellowship left the SBC 12 years ago, its members disenfranchised by the increasingly fundamentalist nature of the convention. Now, the Fellowship has petitioned to join the BWA, whose membership has slated the request for consideration this summer. SBC leaders claim they are pulling money from the BWA because they aren’t being “heard adequately” and because they disagree with the process the BWA membership committee used in considering the Fellowship’s petition. The bottom line, however, is SBC leaders despise the Fellowship and are furious the BWA might allow the upstart organization to join.⁵⁵³

5.5.1 Recent Theological Issues within the Southern Baptist Convention

Since the fundamentalist takeover in the Southern Baptist Convention, three major theological issues have continued to cause conflict both internally and externally. First, the SBC has maintained a mono-theological position in relation to its promotion of

Dispensationalism and denial of the charismatic spiritual gifts. The former President of the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary and current President of the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Dr. Paige Patterson, is one of the most powerful leaders within the SBC, he is also one of the three fundamentalists who have taken over political control of the SBC from more moderate Baptists. Patterson has adopted a strong stance against Pentecostal/ Charismatic doctrines. At the Texan Oct. 16 year forum of the SBC, he expressed a desire to be “true to biblical instruction as understood by our best efforts to interpret the message of the Bible, while taking into account the positions of Baptists from

⁵⁵² Ibid. July 5, 2003.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

the past.” He stated that most Southern Baptists both acknowledge and advocate the practice of spiritual gifts as described in the New Testament. However, he went on to say that faithfulness to the entirety of the New Testament requires the need to “test the spirits” to see if they are of God, and “sincere misunderstandings and misreading of Scripture, excesses, and sometimes apparent deliberate deception” sometimes occur. He pledged that the seminary will always resist such errors in an effort to be both a lighthouse for the Gospel and a stronghold for biblical theology.⁵⁵⁴

Second, in the past, the SBC never forced particular creeds or doctrinal confessions upon its members. However, the new SBC forced every minister in the SBC to sign a document expressing their agreement with the Baptist Faith and Message 2000 if they wished to retain their ministerial credentials. Third, the new SBC leadership insisted that biblically, women are not qualified for ministerial office or for faculty positions in theological institutions. Consequently, the SBC sacked all female staff in its six seminaries and blocked women from taking up ministerial positions.

5.5.2 Recent Theological Issues within the Baptist World Alliance

Officially, Baptists have not participated in any ecumenical movement. Rather, they have gathered with fellow Baptists under the auspices of the Baptist World Alliance. After the SBC’s separation from the BWA, it seems like there is no longer any political centre within the wider Baptist family. Even their assembly and cooperation is becoming more fragile; as non-western Baptists are growing larger. However, Baptist churches in the non-Western world tend to be preoccupied with church growth, rather than with theological issues such as contextualization or indigenization. Consequently, their theology can tend to become

⁵⁵⁴ *Tammi Reed Ledbetter*, Oct 17, 2006, Baptist Press

syncretistic. On the other hand, some non-western Baptist theologians, influenced by Western theology, insist on a post-colonial approach to theology. The Korean Baptists alone send the second largest numbers of overseas missionaries. However, many of these missionaries make the same mistake as earlier Western missionaries by dominating local people rather than treating them as equals. In addition, they impose their own theology without seeking to contextualise it. Because most Korean missionaries have been influenced by American evangelicalism, it is sometimes difficult for them to become deeply immersed in local cultures

5.6 Recent Political and Theological Issues in the Korea Baptist Convention

The Korea Baptist Convention consists of two main sections: church ministry and theological institutions. Within the church ministerial section fundamentalist groups, Charismatic groups and more moderate groups co-exist. On the other hand the theological institutions are opposed to Pentecostal/Charismatic practices. Among the Korea Baptist Theological University/Seminary Theology department faculty, only one staff member graduated from a secular university.⁵⁵⁵ Most faculty members gained doctoral degrees from fundamentalist American Southern Baptist institutions, and all the systematic theologians are dispensationalists. Ironically, many seminary students are Charismatic. There is also tension within the Korea Baptist Convention between dispensational groups and Charismatic groups. Both groups have mega churches and gifted leaders. Thus, neither group is able to dominate the denomination. Until now, there have been no conflicts between the two groups because neither side is concerned about dominating the denomination; they are more interested in

⁵⁵⁵ One faculty member graduated from Harvard University where he majored in Religious Philosophy. Two faculty members who studied at the universities of Aberdeen and Manchester lost their jobs because they majored in Biblical Theology and Systematic Theology. One was regarded as Calvinist; the other was regarded as a Liberal theologian. It is clear that the Korea Baptist theological institutions continue to follow the theological orientation of the American Southern Baptists.

local church growth or expanding their leader's reputation. However, once the first generation leaders begin to retire within the next ten years or so, it is likely that conflicts will arise over what will be the new Baptist agenda.

5.6.1 Recent Controversies within the Korea Baptist Convention

As noted, there are two main groups within the Korea Baptist Convention: the Charismatic groups and Americanized (strongly influenced by the SBC) cell group movement. (Their theology influenced by American) These two groups are always in conflict with each other. However, fortunately while they may not have good relationships with each other, they are determined to remain in their denomination. In the previous chapter we discussed that Charismatic and Dispensationalist have no conflict, however Charismatic and Dispensationalist Baptists have conflict. It seems contradictory, because theological conflict among Korean Baptists is caused by political and social conflict rather than theological debate.

The cell group church movement (sometimes known as the Contemplation Prayer Movement Group in the Korea Baptist Convention) was initiated by Dr. Dongwoon Lee, a well known preacher and author. Previously, he was a minister in the Global Church (formerly, the Washington First Baptist Church) in Washington DC, USA. After he returned to Korea, he established Global Church in 1993 in Bundang, Gyunggi Do province near Seoul. This church is one of fastest-growing churches, reaching almost 40,000 registered members by 2009.

According to Dr. Lee, after he finished his high school diploma, he moved to the USA for his further education. He finished his BA at William Tyndale College, his Master of Divinity at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, and his doctorate in Missiology from Trinity Evangelical Divinity School. One reason his theology is shaped by American

fundamentalism is that he did most of his theological education in American theological institutions. In addition, he never studied at the Korea Baptist Seminary/University or any other Korean Baptist institution.

Dr. Lee and his followers tend to oppose Charismatic phenomena and ignore charismatic groups within the Korea Baptist Convention because they believe that the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement is a Shamanistic, irrational movement rather than a contextualized, indigenous phenomenon. In contrast, Charismatic groups within the Korea Baptist Convention, such as Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon and his followers, are very charismatic, regarding the Americanized cell group movement as rigid and lacking in dynamism. Yonsei Central Baptist Church, led by Rev. Seok Jeon Yoon, and the Global Church, led by Dr. Dongwoon Lee, are the largest churches within the Korea Baptist Convention, and among the largest churches in Korea. Both churches are similar in size to Lakewood Church, Houston, Texas, USA.⁵⁵⁶

5.6.2 The New Charismatic Movement Rising from the Korea Baptist Convention

Rev. David Yong Gi Cho has helped spread the Charismatic movement into the non-Pentecostal churches. After he officially retired, the Osanri Fasting Prayer House was no longer at the centre of the Korea Pentecostal/Charismatic movement. Yoido Full Gospel Church has not only declined in membership but has also lost its influence in the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement. Like YFGC, most mainline churches are facing the same conditions as the first generation of leaders have retired or passed away, and the second generation are trying to follow the first generation, yet without the charisma or leadership qualities. Consequently, their churches are beginning to decline in numbers and passion.

⁵⁵⁶ Lakewood Church is largest church in USA, approximately they have 47,000 members, Yonsei Central Baptist church has 65,000 members and Global Church has 40,000 members.

However, a new form of church is emerging, still lead by first generation Charismatic leadership. This is exemplified by Yonsei Central Baptist Church (YCBC), which has built the largest worship centre in Asia (almost twice the size of YFGC) and already has an adult membership of approximately 65,000 members. This church is led by Seok-Jeon Yoon, a Charismatic and revolutionary pastor. Currently, the YCBC is the most well-known Pentecostal/Charismatic church in South Korea; yet it still remains within the Baptist denomination. This is a very important factor behind the new wave of the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement. `

Yoido Full Gospel Church is affiliated with the Assemblies of God, which is the main classical Pentecostal denomination active in Korea. Even when their total members are approximately million, mainline church in Korea criticized YFGC. However, most mainline churches do not wish to be influenced by Yoido Full Gospel Church because they prefer to find their Charismatic identity within their own historical heritage rather than Classical Pentecostal denominations such as the Assemblies of God. ⁵⁵⁷ Among the mainline churches, the Baptists are one of most vibrant denominations. They have a prayer house, called the Hindolsan Retreat Centre, which attracts more people than any other prayer house in Korea. In addition, each year more than 10,000 pastors from around the world attend the church's pastors' school in Hindosan Retreat Centre. The most amazing thing is that these conferences are also held in India, Israel, Brazil, Vietnam, Australia, USA, and Canada and so on. Especially India conference, more than 15,000 Indian local church pastors and leaders attended.

⁵⁵⁷ [Recently, the Assemblies of God in Korea separated such as Yoido, Central, Jesus part however soon they unified] Among the many Pentecostal denominations, AG is the only one recognized by mainline denominations. This is because other Pentecostal groups like the Church of God or Foursquare Gospel Church are very small, and often people have never heard of them. In addition, the Church of God changed its name to Presbyterian Han Young.

Statistics of the Yonsei Central Baptist Church (Korea Baptist Convention)⁵⁵⁸

	Community	Members	Cells
1986	50	30	10
1999	11,400	11,000	1,100
2001	12,800	12,200	2,733
2002	20,000	18,000	4,531
2003	25,000	22,500	5,122
2004	30,000	29,000	6,238
2005	35,000	32,000	6,397
2006	42,000	40,000	7,385
2007	58,000	53,000	7,440
2008	60,000	58,000	8,470
2009	65,000	63,000	8,570

5.7 Conclusion

Because of the Southern Baptist influence, modern Korean conservative Baptists are Calvinistic and dispensationalist rather than Charismatic. They believe in the inspiration, inerrancy, and infallibility of the Bible and orthodox doctrines of God and Christology. They hold to a Calvinistic soteriology and a traditional Baptist ecclesiology. Korean Baptists are clearly aware of the importance of missions. The majority of them are premillennialists. However, some are fundamentalist and dispensationalist who deny the validity of the charismatic gifts. Modern conservative Baptists as well as Korean Charismatic

⁵⁵⁸ *Church Members Register*, Yonsei Central Baptist Church, 1986-2009.

Baptists are also interested in Baptist identity. Their struggle for denominational identity has given them a great deal of knowledge about Baptist history and theology. After Gammage, modern Korean Baptists have tended to be conservative evangelical Christians.

Korean theologians and pastors still adhere to Southern Baptist theology and leadership strategy. Many have forgotten Fenwick's historical and theological heritage. The theological characteristics of the Korea Baptist Convention should have relied upon both its Western missionary origins and indigenous Korean response. However, Korean Baptists have tended to rely more on Southern Baptist theology and heritage, and, until the twenty-first century, ignored their own historical and theological heritage. Ki Dong Kim used to be recognized as one of the leading Pentecostal/Charismatic leaders not only by the Korea Baptist Convention but also by other Korean churches. However, since being declared a heretic, his influence over the Korean church has declined

Since the Ki Dong Kim debacle, Korea Baptists have had no Pentecostal/Charismatic leader within their own denomination. However, this has changed since former businessman Rev. Seok-Jeon Yoon started Yonsei Central Baptist Church, which has become the largest Baptist church in Asia and built the largest worship auditorium in Asia. Currently, Rev. Yoon impacts not only the Korea Baptist Convention but also other Korean mainline and Pentecostal denominations. After Dr. David Yong Gi Cho officially retired, Yonsei Central Baptist Church and the Hindolsan Retreat Prayer Centre became the new centre of the Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic movement as millions of lay people and pastors attend the revival service in Hindolsan Retreat Prayer Centre. Moreover, Rev. Yoon has become the most popular preacher among Korean televangelists.

The Pentecostal/Charismatic movement within the Korea Baptist Convention not only possesses dynamic numerical strength, but also has a strong focus on the Bible and the

power of the Holy Spirit for witness. Therefore, this movement has contributed tremendously to Korean church growth. This is one reason why Yonsei Central Baptist Church is generally growing faster than other Christian churches in Korea.

In the 1990s, the growth of the Korean churches stagnated and eventually stopped. In the twenty-first century, Pentecostalism is experiencing severe challenges as Korea has achieved substantial economic development. Following his retirement in 2007, the impact of Rev. Yong Gi Cho and YFGC on Korean Pentecostalism has declined. Since Dr. Young Hoon Lee, Cho's successor, became senior pastor, YFGC has experienced many tensions between Rev. Cho's family and the new leadership. Consequently, the church has become preoccupied with its own problems rather than with developing its ministry for the future. Increasingly, criticisms of YFGC are coming from Korean society as well as the Christian and secular media which has contained reports of the conflicts and corruption within the church. This has resulted in a decline in the reputation of Rev. Cho and YFGC. Finally, the denomination has divided into three, and YFGC has lost many church members. One reason for this was that the Korean Pentecostal movement was looking for a leader of Rev. Cho's qualities to replace him.

In the meantime, the leadership of Rev. Yoon has continued to grow in influence. For instance, at his massive meetings for Indian pastors in 2009 and 2011, a number of people expressed their wishes that he should become "a leader of the worldwide church, instead of remaining with the KBC or the Korean Church."⁵⁵⁹ Rev. Yoon has become a leading Figure of the national Pentecostal/ Charismatic movement. He also became the second president of

⁵⁵⁹ Korean Baptist Convention, "World Class Church" Baptist Spring, 2009, p. 70.

the Fourth Dimension Spiritual Ministry Association, which was founded by Rev. Cho in the mid- 1990s.

Both Rev. Cho and Rev. Yoon are men of peace, and yet they are also strongly anti-communist. They both made strenuous efforts to build peace between secular groups and Christians within their community often they are criticized for their anti-communist stance by radical secular groups. Both have often expressed their political views and have not hesitated to press their political values on the national government. However, Rev. Yoon is a symbol of a strong politically conservative leader among the many Korean mega-church pastors. For example Rev. Cho supported the World Council of Churches (WCC), on the other hand Rev. Yoon opposes the WCC. This is still a very hot issue in Korea, Because of his influence; Rev. Yoon is able to use the media more effectively than other pastors. For instance, he is one of most popular preachers on two Korean Christian television networks. Moreover, thousands of Korean pastors want to follow Rev. Yoon's point of view, partly because they have studied at the church's HPM pastors' college. Thus, the influence of Rev. Yoon has made an impression on millions of their church members.

Like Rev. Cho, Rev. Yoon's church has many branches around the world. Also Rev. Yoon's ministry methodology is similar to Rev. Cho's, and he is trying to impact Korean Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity for the better. However, it is the responsibility of those who are following these two leaders to continue their work during the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This research has attempted to trace the major events in the history and theology of the Korea Baptist Convention from the beginning of its origins in 1889 to the present. Christianity was introduced to Korea about two hundred years ago. The first systematic missionary work, however, did not begin until 1832. The Korea Baptist Convention began later in 1889 when Malcolm C. Fenwick arrived in Korea. Its history from that time can be divided into three distinct phases. Firstly, from 1889 until 1944 Fenwick's theology governed the faith and life of the early Korean Baptists. This period may be referred to as the "Fenwick Era" or the pre-Baptist Era. Second, from 1945 to 1977, the missionaries of the Southern Baptist Convention influenced the life and faith of Korean Baptists more decisively and directly. They implanted Baptist theology and tradition into Korean Baptist churches. This may be referred to as the "Southern Baptist Convention Mission-dominant Era". Among Southern Baptist missionaries, the most significant influence on Korean Baptist doctrine was Albert Gammage, Jr., whose pupils became the leading pastors and professors of the Convention. His doctrine and theology influenced the Convention until 1977. Thirdly, from 1978 to the present, the national theological characteristics of the Korea Baptist Convention relied on both its missionary origins and native Korean response. This can be referred to as the "Indigenous Korean Baptist Era", the period when the Southern Baptists relinquished their control of the denomination. During this period, the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement has until now been attracting a strong response from indigenous leaders.

Each era held a distinctive doctrinal position, and these views were incorporated into the theological characteristics of the Convention. Each era had Pentecostal and Charismatic phenomena. However, the Convention held a distinctive doctrinal position in each of the

three eras. This chapter will present the theological identity of the Korea Baptist Convention through a brief summary of its theological development. In a broad sense, the history of the Korea Baptist Convention is contemporaneous with the last, crumbling Chosen monarchy, the Japanese annexation, democracy in Korea and the growth of a developing nation. In some ways, the history of the denomination has reflected the spirit of the times.

The Church of Christ in East Asia (the last of several names given to The Church of Christ in Korea) became an institutional Baptist convention in 1944 by adopting the Southern Baptist “faith.” Since then, the history of the pre-Baptist period has been studied through a Baptist lens primarily because of the existence of a Baptist influence prior to 1944. While there was no institutional Baptist mission prior to 1949, there are two reasons to support the assertion that there existed a Baptist identity during the pre-Baptist era. Firstly, Fenwick attended A.J. Gordon’s church and missionary training college where he was ordained at the Clarendon Street Baptist Church. Secondly, the Ella Thing Memorial Mission (1895-1901), which was closely connected to the Clarendon Street Baptist Church, was turned over to the non-denominational missionary, Malcolm C. Fenwick, in 1901. Although Fenwick’s Baptist identity is uncertain, his taking over the leadership of the Ella Thing Memorial Mission suggests he had a close association with A.J. Gordon and might have developed some kind of Baptist identity.

The first part of this thesis focused on the “Fenwick Era”. Apparently a sectarian group (the Church of Christ in Korea), the Korean “Baptists” during the pre-Baptist period originated from a comparatively lower social strata, in contrast to some of the other denominations working among people belonging to upper and established classes. Throughout the pre-Baptist period, the Korean “Baptists” maintained a strong authoritarian church government under the person and influence of Fenwick.

Fenwick's theology is very complex. Because he depended on his mission and ministry, his theology was influenced more by practice and the experience of the workings of the Holy Spirit than by his short theological education and denominational background. Apparently, he employed various spiritual gifts⁵⁶⁰ and secular business skills in his church ministry. He was one of only a few independent pioneers who planted many churches, which later became a large denomination. In brief, he believed in the imminent return of Christ, Fenwick and his later Baptist followers, these Christians retained marks of denominational indifference, charismatic, evangelistic fervour, intellectual nascence, through dependence on the leadership of the Holy Spirit, and of unity.⁵⁶¹

Fenwick occupies a singular place in the Korean pre-Baptist era. Though he was not a professed Baptist, his devotion to the Korean people, among whose dead he still lies, was indeed considerable. However, his success as a missionary was inseparable from his ministry of indirect evangelism through the national Christians from 1901. For about ten years, his efforts of direct evangelism had been a failure. Rather, it was indigenous "Baptists" who evangelized Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, and the southern parts of Siberia by methods they understood to be biblical.

A denominational factor eventually entered the pre-Baptist era in 1905. Fenwick had a certain degree of aversion to denominationalism and had nowhere expressed an intention to run a denomination. It became necessary, however, to organize his work into a homogeneous whole, when thirty-one churches had been formed through his followers. Then, carefully avoiding any existing denominational name, Fenwick and his followers formed the Church of

⁵⁶⁰ Apart from the gift of tongues, in his book, Fenwick referred to spiritual gifts, such as healing, exorcism, and so on. Fenwick, Bible Study, pp. 10-12.

⁵⁶¹ In 1914 some people, discontent with the choice of Fenwick's successor, separated themselves from the church. However, this did not impair the organizational unity. Rather, it was a form of eliminating some revolutionary elements within organization.

Christ in Corea, the first predecessor of the Korea Baptist Convention. This Church reached its peak in 1940, when it had over 254 churches throughout East Asia.⁵⁶²

A.J. Gordon was the most influential person in Fenwick's life and ministry, especially through his Bible school which contributed to Fenwick's formulation of his particular mission strategy and theology. As a result, he left a unique heritage, comprising of three strengths, to his descendants. These were the concepts of "faith missions," "indigenization," and "regions-beyond missions." These three elements have left a permanent mark on present-day Korean Baptist theology and mission.

The first element of Fenwick's mission strategy was the 'faith mission' principle, which emphasized direct dependence on the Holy Spirit. As noted, he learned this from Gordon. Like Gordon, Fenwick emphasized that the victorious missionary life is always dependent upon yielding to the Holy Spirit.⁵⁶³ Therefore, Fenwick advocated a pneumatological missionary approach, which involved an emphasis on spiritual *charisma* and dependence on the Holy Spirit, enabling one to powerfully proclaim the Word of God to the unreached. He also believed in faith healing.⁵⁶⁴ However, sometimes his use of *charismata* and faith healing was limited to interpreting the Bible and carrying out mission work. For example, when he stayed in Sore for his Korean language training, he practiced faith healing and exorcism alongside his preaching and studying the Bible, the native residents of Sore asked Fenwick to stay and lead another revival service. However, Fenwick refused and left

⁵⁶² This is a formidable achievement, especially when one compares this figure with only 147 churches in 1959, nineteen years later and with millions of dollars having been invested in them.

⁵⁶³ Fenwick, *Corea*, p. 65.

⁵⁶⁴ Fenwick respected Gordon a lot, and he imitated Gordon's ministry and theology. Fenwick quoted many of Gordon's books, such as *The Ministry of Healing*. Gordon was an advocate of a healing ministry; he demonstrated the matter of miracles and healing, offered an exposition of the main Scripture passages dealing with the subject, showed the practice to believers and unbelievers, and provided a word of caution and exhortation. See Adoniram Judson Gordon, *The Ministry of Healing* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1882), pp. 1-249.

immediately because he wanted to focus on church planting in northern Korea and Bible teaching rather than holding a Pentecostal- type revival service.

Interestingly, faith missions and a pneumatological approach to ministry were practiced more by his followers in Kongju⁵⁶⁵ than those in Wonsan, where Fenwick lived. How can this be explained? At that time, Wonsan was a famous harbour, surrounded by Broughton Bay, which commanded the trade of the whole east coast and supplied, in the way of dried fish, much of the foodstuff of Korea.⁵⁶⁶ At the harbour city, which had been deeply affected by Korean shamanism, Fenwick primarily needed to exercise strong spiritual leadership. However, his leadership style was autocratic rather than based on spiritual authority. He did not conduct Charismatic church services. Rather, his ministry focused on Bible study, sending missionaries and publishing his teachings. After that his ministry in Wonsan was more difficult than ever because he founded the convention headquarters there without fully understanding the culture of his target group. I assume that if Fenwick had been reaching them by charismatic metaphor such as miraculous worship service,⁵⁶⁷ his ministry would also have harvests similar to those of Gordon.

Even though Fenwick was not actively supporting his followers in Kongju, his associates in Kongju, who were well-versed in the Declaration of Principles and motto of the Korean Itinerant Mission, were outstanding in converting the unevangelized and planting

⁵⁶⁵ Kongju (located Southwest Korea) is far from Wonsan (Located Northeast Korea). At that time Kongju to Wonsan took several days. Since Fenwick built his mission headquarter in Wonsan, he rarely visited the southern area of Korea. Because Kongju and Changchun province used to be in the Ella Thing Memorial Mission ministry area, they already had their own churches and ministers.

⁵⁶⁶ Moose, "City of Wonsan," p. 174.

⁵⁶⁷ Gabsue Kim, *Hankuk Chinrekyo Inmulsa (The History of Korean Baptist)*, Yodan, 2007.

churches using faith mission principles and Charismatic forms of ministry.⁵⁶⁸ Like Gordon's Bible school, Kongju Bible School was a 'faith' school of mission. Eventually, by the time the denomination was officially founded in October 1906, thirty-one churches had been established through the faith mission's strategy of Fenwick's followers.⁵⁶⁹

The second strength of Fenwick's strategy was indigenization. His indigenous principles were based on Gordon's African missions. However, he did not use this approach on the mission field until he had overcome his belief in white supremacy. Interestingly, there was a close similarity regarding the application of the indigenous principle between John Livingston Nevius (1829-1893)⁵⁷⁰ and Fenwick. In the aspect of applying the "three-self" formula, Nevius focused on training the leaders to be self-supporting,⁵⁷¹ while Fenwick emphasized the mass-production of native leaders.⁵⁷² For instance, in those days, Underwood, under Nevius's influence, reported that out of 188 Presbyterian churches of his mission, 186 were exclusively self-supporting. Like the present churches, they were financially independent. However, Fenwick's approach was a little different. His main concern was to produce native leaders able to plant indigenous churches in the Korean culture. Hence, many second- or third-generation native leaders could be produced from the original leader. It was evident that Fenwick was much more interested in reproducing native leaders

⁵⁶⁸ Today, all the main Charismatic ministers of the Korea Baptist Convention like Rev. Chunggi Kim, Rev. Kwansuk Oh and Rev. Seok-Jeon Yoon even Kidong Kim are from Chunchung Province where Kongju city is located.

⁵⁶⁹ Fenwick, *Corea*, p. 75.

⁵⁷⁰ Nevius was a distinguished speaker of the Niagara conference and prompted Fenwick's becoming a 'heathen-saving' missionary. Moreover, Nevius suggested his indigenous methods to Korean missionaries when he visited for two weeks in 1890 on his return trip to North America from Japan. See Lee, "Missiological Appraisal," p. 199.

⁵⁷¹ Lee, "Missiological Appraisal," p. 200.

⁵⁷² Fenwick, *Corea*, pp. 59, 62.

than insuring their administrative independence. In brief, like Nevius's indigenous principle, Fenwick's also made a huge contribution to guiding rapid church growth in Korea.

The third strength of Fenwick's missionary and ministry standard and strategy was regions-beyond missions which was also directly influenced by Gordon's Congo missions. As a result, Fenwick's primary target station was the whole of Northeast Asia. Like Fenwick's associates, the present Korean Baptist missionaries also work mainly in the regions-beyond area; their urgent target groups are Muslims and dispersed Koreans who are living in other countries.⁵⁷³ Korea is the second largest overseas missionary-sending country in the world. KBC is one of main forces within the Korean church. Their missionaries have endeavoured to evangelize what is known as the 10-40 Window.⁵⁷⁴

On the other hand, there were some weaknesses that Fenwick picked up from the Niagara Bible conference and Gordon. Naturally, these weaknesses must be eradicated in order for Korean Baptist missions and ministry to prosper. These weaknesses are related to his poor application of missionary strategies, his ecclesiology, and the cultural mandate. The reason for the researcher's highlighting of these weaknesses is that Fenwick also regrets that his strategy statement was applied to the Church of Christ in Korea because it was not appropriate for that time.

⁵⁷³ For example, recently the KBC sent missionaries to Central Asia and the former Soviet Union countries like Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and so on. Although, only a few KBC pastors are resident in Europe, the KBC has built more than ten Korean Diaspora churches in European cities such as London, Paris, Prague, and Berlin. The Paris Korean Baptist church (<http://www.parischurch.com>) is the largest Korean church in Europe. In contrast, other Korean denominations have sent several hundred pastors who want to study in Europe but they have rarely built churches in Europe. Following their studies, they simply return to Korea. Compared with other denominations, the KBC has sent only a few missionaries and most of them have started churches or mission institutions rather than just studying theology in Europe. In addition, the KBC headquarters supports Diaspora Korean churches around the world. See annual mission report from KBC missions headquarter, 2010 statistics. See also Korean Church Association for World Mission, ed. Hankuk Kyohwoi Sunkyoui Bijunkwa Hyupryuk the Vision and cooperation for Mission of the Korean church (Seoul, Korea: Hait Bool Press, 1992), p. 671.

⁵⁷⁴ For the term "the 10-40 window," see Don Newman, "Keys to Unlocking Muslim Stronghold," in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement*, ed. Ralph d. Winter and Steven C. Hawthorn (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1981), D-151.

The first weakness was that Fenwick was not a man of sufficient discernment to determine the correct missionary strategy for the particular mission area where he worked. In fact, Fenwick was a well-equipped missionary because he was influenced by many theologians in the formulation of his own theology. His main theology, eschatology, was formulated under the influence of William Scofield, a Congregational pastor; his ecclesiology came from James H. Brooks, a Presbyterian pastor; and his soteriology and pneumatology was a direct by-product of Gordon, a Baptist pastor. However, despite what he had learned from these men, he did not choose an appropriate missionary strategy to apply to his particular mission field. He simply learned and developed his mission strategy and theology from his own experience.

For example, even though Fenwick learned his theological format such as, pneumatology from Gordon and believed in all the spiritual gifts, his work did not enjoy the same success as Gordon's type of spiritual movement.⁵⁷⁵ For example, Fenwick did not take many opportunities of great influence through revival services or make education centres in large cities like Gordon did. As a result, even though Fenwick used many spiritual gifts during his ministry, he was not the one to produce great spiritual revivalists such as Sun Joo Kil, Ik Doo Kim, and Sung Bong Lee, who were leaders of the anti-shrine worship movement and advocates of proto-Pentecostalism at that time.⁵⁷⁶ This marked the beginning of KBC Pentecostal movement and explains why it was far behind when compared to other denominations. This was a great limitation to Fenwick's theology and mission work.

⁵⁷⁵ Gordon's spiritual movement was a direct result of the 1977 Boston revival under the leadership of Dwight Moody. See Gibson, *American Premillennialist*, pp. 61-73.

⁵⁷⁶ Chin Hwan Kim, *Hankuk Kyohwoi Poohung Woondongsa* [A History of Church Growth in Korea] (Seoul, Korea: Seoul Press, 1993), pp. 97-104, 122-29, 186-85.

The second weakness in relation to mission was that Fenwick held to an ecclesiology focused on an interdenominational approach.⁵⁷⁷ Unlike other Niagara leaders, Gordon was very active in denominational missions on the state level. As previously stated, organizing a de-emphasized denomination was premature for Fenwick. If, like Gordon, Fenwick had pursued denominational missions, his missionary work would have been more fruitful in terms of winning converts and planting churches. Fenwick's final weakness was his indifference to the cultural mandate. His greatest shortcoming was in not obtaining sufficient insight and understanding of the times and the context in which he was working, probably because of his educational limitations. Like Gordon and other leaders of the Niagara Conference, Fenwick lived and worked in a changing society.⁵⁷⁸

In those days, the Niagara leaders, and Gordon in particular, had grasped the importance of transforming culture. For example, while it is true that premillennialists generally emphasized the eventual destruction of the world, Gordon had a slightly different view. In his article, "Heavenly citizenship," Gordon said, "Premillennialists lived in two worlds: the present and the one to come. They taught that Christians were to be responsible citizens on earth by paying taxes, voting, and making investments, all the while remembering where ultimate citizenship lay,"⁵⁷⁹ As a matter of moral responsibility, Gordon felt a commitment to social betterment.⁵⁸⁰ Therefore, he was sure that temperance, industrial home ministries, suffrage, and lobbying at the statehouse were not perceived as inconsistent with

⁵⁷⁷ Fenwick, *Corea*, pp. 12-3.

⁵⁷⁸ When Fenwick began his mission in Korea in 1889, Korea was developing from its feudal society into a modern one. Gordon also lived in a time of challenging phenomena. American society in the nineteenth century was facing the challenge of industrialism, the expansion of knowledge and immigration. Formation of the Niagara conference was due to theological liberalism that was rampant in the late nineteenth century. See Choi, *Changes in Korean Society*, 17; Gibson, *American Premillennialist*, xxiv; Pettegrew, "Historical and Theological Contributions," p. 211.

⁵⁷⁹ Adoniram Judson Gordon, "Heavenly citizenship," *Watchword* 9 (September 1887): p. 152.

⁵⁸⁰ Gibson, "Adoniram Judson Gordon, D. D.," p. 257.

premillennarian other-worldliness. Moreover, he was convinced that it was part of the duty of Christians to be good citizens while aliens in this world.

However, Fenwick was never interested in social concern. His premillennialism, in this respect, was different from Gordon's. Even in the later period, Fenwick opposed secular education of all his followers. It was tragic for his followers as well as for him. If Fenwick had combined his individual soul-winning strategy with social service as well as further education for his followers, the result of his missions would have been greater. Thus, unlike the early Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries who worked in Korea, Fenwick did not leave a heritage of schools and hospitals to his descendants. Despite this, his mission work left an indelible mark on the consciousness of present-day Korean Baptists.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Dr. Albert Gammage served as President of the Korea Baptist University/Seminary and his systematic theology exerted a huge influence on Korean Baptists. He developed a theological foundation within the KBC. However, he did not deeply take account of Korean culture and Fenwick's heritage. He and his many fellow SBC theologians and ministers wanted to impart theological knowledge. However, they wished to create an Americanized KBC which would cooperate well with the SBC. Furthermore, unfortunately the SBC mission did not cooperate with other Korean denominations such as Fenwick's. This created tensions with indigenous church leaders. Even though Dr. Albert Gammage was a well-educated theologian and missionary, his closed mind toward Pentecostalism hindered church growth of the KBC. It was later that indigenous leaders like Rev. Kwan Seok Oh, Rev. Chung gi Kim and Rev. Seok-Jeon Yoon developed Pentecostalism within the denomination

It is important that the SBC mission assume a servant role among the Korean people. SBC missionaries need to realize that they are invited guest workers, labouring together with

their hosts. They should have, as the Japanese theologian Kosuke Koyama once wrote, a “crucified mind not crusading mind.”⁵⁸¹ The SBC mission should also cultivate a learner’s attitude. This is because KBC was developed by Fenwick and his fellow indigenous leaders, who invited the SBC to be co-workers not masters. Koreans have more than a 5,000 year history and a unique culture, which should not be ignored by western missionaries. Without proper knowledge about Korea and the Korean people, missionaries cannot serve effectively. This includes, first of all, a mastery of the Korean language which requires much time and concentration. Missionaries should make a positive effort to learn and understand Korean history, culture, traditions, customs, and spiritual legacy. They should not just be satisfied with having theoretical knowledge; they must enter into Korea itself. Then they can achieve a more effective communication with the people among whom they minister. Even though Fenwick was not a well-educated man, he loved and served Korea like his own country. He wore Korean clothes, ate only Korean food and spoke only Korean. When they died, he and his wife were buried in Korea. Accordingly, he left a greater legacy than all the SBC missionaries. While most members of the Korean SBC mission learned the importance of a servant role, they did not apply this to the mission field. The SBC missionaries came to help the Korean Baptist churches only as long as it was affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention. Even today the SBC accepts the KBC as a sister convention within the Baptist World Alliance (BWA). Ironically, the KBC is the only Baptist organisation which has a good relationship not only with the BWA but also with the SBC.

⁵⁸¹ Kosuke Koyama, “What Makes a Missionary? Toward Crucified Mind Not Crusading Mind,” in *Mission Trends No. 1 : Crucial Issues in Missions Today*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 73-86.

The third main focus of this thesis is the “Indigenous Korean Baptist Era” and the Korean Charismatic movement within the KBC. First generation Korean Pentecostal leaders such as Rev. Gwansuk Oh and Rev. Chung Gi Kim started churches in Seoul which soon became well-known Pentecostal-type mega churches. Rev. Kim built Yangsueri Prayer Mountain, which was the first prayer mountain within the KBC. Rev. Oh trained many Baptist Pentecostal/Charismatic leaders like Rev. Ki Dong Kim and Rev. Seok-Jeon Yoon. Ki Dong Kim is from the second generation of KBC Pentecostal/Charismatic and was responsible for building one of largest Baptist churches in the world. Sadly, in the view of other Baptists, he and his teaching became heretical by the view of other denominations like Korean Baptist and Presbyterian. Therefore, Ki Dong Kim and his Sung Rak Church damaged the KBC’s reputation. This tragic event caused many Korean Christians to adopt an anti-Pentecostal stance, especially those belonging to the upper-middle class. Rev. Seok-Jeon Yoon is a third generation Pentecostal leader within the KBC. In addition, he is the first pastor whose influence has spread well beyond the KBC; His ministry has had an impact upon many Korean churches and ministers, including Rev. Yong Gi Cho. Interestingly, Rev. Yoon was a former member of Yoido Full Gospel Church and, like Rev Cho, had a personal experience of healing. There are both similarities and differences between the theologies of Rev. Yoon and Rev. Cho. Both believe in the charismatic gifts of the Spirit. However, they disagree regarding the doctrine of initial evidence and prosperity theology. Cho emphasizes on initial evidence and prosperity blessing on the other hand Yoon does not believe initial evidence and he emphasizes on honest poverty rather than material blessing.⁵⁸² Like Rev. Cho, Rev. Yoon has become one of the most influential Pentecostal/Charismatic leaders within

⁵⁸² Seok-Jeon, Yoon. *Make the most of the Time of your Soul* (Seoul, Korea, Yonsei Books, 1990), pp.142-6.

twenty-first century Korean Christianity. His Yonsei Central Baptist Church has become the largest Baptist congregation in Asia, and the church's building is even larger than those belonging to the SBC. However, as noted, some conservative evangelical and americanised congregations within the KBC are opposed to the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement. While many mainline denominations in Korea have started to experience a decline in their membership, the KBC is still experiencing rapid church growth. In addition, middle and upper-middle class people who have studied and worked in Europe and the USA are more attracted to the KBC than other mainline churches such as the Presbyterian Church because of its democratic organisation and its combination of charismatic preaching and contemporary worship services.⁵⁸³ For example, when Yonsei Central Baptist Church was established in the rural area of Seoul, most of its early church members were college students or poorly salaried families. But nowadays even politicians, businessmen and popular entertainment stars are also members of the church. Thus, the KBC has eroded social barriers within the Korean Church by its effective accommodation of diversity within unity. The KBC has many theological colours including Calvinistic, dispensational, Arminian and Charismatic, and each group is in harmony with the Baptist tradition. Sometimes these different groups have disagreements but they are able to learn from one another and together to build a better convention. Despite the religious pluralism of twenty-first century Korea, there exists a harmony between the different religions with no evidence of violence, in contrast to some other continents. Similarly, the KBC allows considerable diversity of theology and ministry to exist in harmony for the benefit of the convention.

⁵⁸³ For example, in the modern new city Bundang, one of most expensive and luxurious residential areas in South Korea, the KBC planted one of most successful churches, the Global Mission church. Within seven years, it became the largest church in Bundang, with more than 30,000 adult members.

Today, Korea sends out Christian missionaries to nations throughout Asia as well as other parts of the world. The large Korean Diasporas in major western cities, from Los Angeles to New York, from Sydney to Melbourne, from London to Frankfurt, are closely linked with a network of churches, which increasingly serve as a focal point for community action, mutual support and spiritual nourishment. As North Korea shows every sign of being about to collapse, economically and politically, the question of the future religious development of this hard-line communist state remains completely open. The anecdotal evidence suggests that Christianity has already made deep inroads within the population, and even though some Korean protestant denominations are experiencing a decline, Korea Baptist and other Charismatic churches within mainline denominations are still expected to grow further in the next decade. Pentecostalism could, of course, go full circle and begin the twenty-first century as it began the twentieth: with schism and dispersion.⁵⁸⁴ There will, however, be one fundamental difference. Charismatic Christianity began as a minority religion of the disinherited, but it has now arguably come into its inheritance and become one of largest and most potent forces in Korean as well as world Christianity. The Baptists are still the largest Protestant group among the Christendom, and the BWA faces not only new tasks but also the crisis of the twenty-first century. When the big brother (SBC) runs away from the family (BWA), another son, such as the CBF or KBC, has to take care of the Baptist family. The KBC has the potential to play a central role in the BWA. While many Korean Protestant denominations are in decline, the KBC is set to launch more church growth initiatives. However, more important than church growth is for the KBC to discover its

⁵⁸⁴ For example, since SBC left the BWA, many BWA families cut their relationship with the SBC. They rarely send their ministers to SBC institutions for their further education. In contrast, annually KBC sends more than 500 students to the six main SBC theological institutions. When the researcher studied in one of the SBC institutions, their student body consisted of thousands of white dominant American students, several hundred Korean students and few other coloured American and international students.

historical and theological identity, because without deep reflection on its identity, church growth and world mission will be unstable. In order to establish its identity, the KBC will need to reflect on its history and theology.

Baptists are not committed to any particular theological formulation like Calvinism or Arminianism. However, they are committed to the authority of the Bible and tend to accommodate a variety of theologies within their ranks. Their theology is shaped by practical ministry. Even some early Baptist congregations (lead by Thomas Helwys) in England exhibited Pentecostal-type phenomena. Such as, healing, speaking tongues and so on. Thus, there is diversity alongside unity within the Baptist tradition. According to Anthony Cross and Ian Randall, there was nothing specifically Charismatic in the modern sense of the word about the early Baptists.⁵⁸⁵ However, John Smyth and the first Baptist congregation in England was open to those who would bring something immediate, and this echoes the Apostle Paul's comments about different members of the body of Christ exercising Charismatic gifts. Also, there are examples of healing amongst the earliest Baptists. For example, there is an account of someone being healed in an actual baptism administered by Henry Denne.⁵⁸⁶ The prophetic dimension is also evident. There was a strong eschatological/apocalyptic stream in Baptist thought around the time of the English civil war, with the execution of the monarch, Charles I, and the interregnum. Such heightened apocalyptic fervour, expectation of the Parousia witnessed 'charismatic' features/emphases. The fact that the first Baptists allowed anyone so gifted and called to speak, including

⁵⁸⁵ Dr Anthony Cross, Fellow of the Centre for Baptist History and Heritage (Regent's Park College, University of Oxford), interview by author, Oxford, 15 June 2011.

⁵⁸⁶ Class notes, MA program in Regent Part College, Baptist History and Theology Class, Oxford, March , 2011.

women, is also evidence of 'charismatic' features. These are certain evidence of charismatic features of the first Baptists in Europe.⁵⁸⁷

Today, the problems for Korean Baptists and their pervious mother ship - the Southern Baptists lie not as much in the realm of amnesia as it does in what Edward Casey has termed 'paramnesia'. Put simply, paramnesia is not forgetting, but remembrance of the wrong thing. In much the same way, heresy is not teaching falsehood so much as overemphasizing only part of the truth. Just as imbalance in the dialectics of Christian truth threaten the integrity of Christian doctrine, so paramnesia threatens the integrity of Christian identity. Identity and consciousness are not simply lost, but transformed or distorted, Casey rightly observes that acts of remembering carry an implicit commitment to the truth concerning the past, and that this serves to condition what shall be for the remembering subject.⁵⁸⁸

Fenwick's and Southern Baptist's contributions to the Korea Baptist Convention's identity are both important. However, many theologians, as well as pastors, only remember the SBC heritage and contribution. They ignore Fenwick's heritage. In addition, the Charismatic movement is one of the key elements of the Korea Baptist Convention. This movement needs more serious consideration and reflection to enable the further development of the twenty-first century Korea Baptist Convention.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that the two-fold historical and theological analysis of the Korea Baptist Convention (Korean Baptists as an indigenous Charismatic movement

⁵⁸⁷ Even though, the healing I mention, will be expect that the eschatological/prophetic element is not evidence of Pentecostal/Charismatic phenomena. I agree with Dr. Anthony's point of view that it is certain evidence of the Pentecostal-Charismatic phenomena.

⁵⁸⁸ Thompson Philip E, *Memorial Dimensions of Baptism* (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), pp. 320-1.

combined with the Southern Baptist Mission influence) proposed in this thesis is embryonic. It is hoped that this embryonic Pentecostal/Charismatic theologically-based approach may encourage further research on this important movement. It is believed that the Charismatic movement is the most remarkable phenomena of the movement in Korea. Twenty-first century Korea has to prepare to evangelize North Korea as well as fight against secularism. This is especially important if the Korea Baptist Convention aims to continue its growth and development as a Charismatic leader.

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