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## **A Critical Study on the Religious Economy of the Korean Mission Field (1884 - 1910)**

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GEORGE FOX EVANGELICAL SEMINARY

A CRITICAL STUDY ON THE RELIGIOUS ECONOMY  
OF THE KOREAN MISSION FIELD (1884-1910)

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BY  
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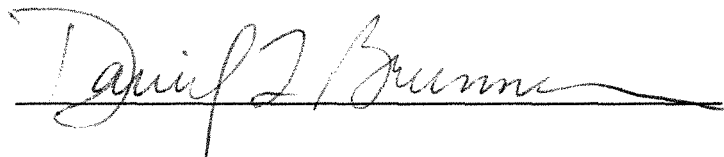
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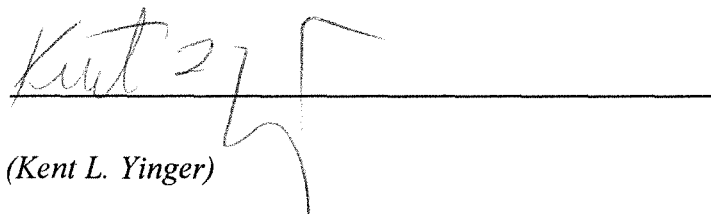
**Title:           A CRITICAL STUDY ON THE RELIGIOUS ECONOMY OF THE  
KOREAN MISSION FIELD (1884 - 1910)**

**Presented by: KIM, SEONGHAN**

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this thesis and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Master of Arts in Theological Studies.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Daniel L. Brunner", written over a horizontal line.

*(Daniel L. Brunner)*

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Kent L. Yinger", written over a horizontal line.

*(Kent L. Yinger)*

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Kim, SeongHan



# A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS ECONOMY OF THE KOREAN MISSION FIELD (1884-1910)

Thesis Abstract

Kim, SeongHan

The church in Korea is well known for its rapid growth between 1960 and 1990, but remarkable church growth has been a part of Korean church history since the first missionaries arrived. This paper is the result of critical dialogue between the field of sociology and the study of religion. It applies the theory of religious economy to the Korean mission field during the period of 1884-1910.

Religious economy is a sociological theory which has made unique and influential contributions to recent religious studies, especially in the United States. The theory attempts to explain the human side of religion based on 'sect-church' continuum theory and rational choice theory.

On the supply side of religious economy, this thesis addresses how the dynamics within Christianity in the U.S. at the time shaped the early Korean church. Especially in the earliest period, the Korean mission field was heavily populated by American missionaries who were from Presbyterian and Methodist denominations. In the sect-church continuum perspective, Presbyterians and Methodists had already become a 'church' in late nineteenth century North America. Yet, higher mission involvement is a sect characteristic. This thesis examines this interesting phenomenon within 'sect-church theory,' which is one of the main components of a religious economy. This thesis suggests that para-church organizations, such as the Student Volunteer Missionary movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, can play the role of sect-formation within the church without splitting a denomination.

On the demand side of the religious economy, this paper considers the reasons for the success of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. The question is, why (when Presbyterians and Methodists arrived in Korea at same time) did Presbyterians become the "winners" in the race to convert the nation, while Methodists did not? This study critically reviews previous studies from a religious economy perspective. The adoption of Nevius mission methods has been considered the most important basis for Presbyterian victory on the Korean mission field. This paper looks beyond explanations of the Nevius Methods' appeal, such as 'high demands and high rewards,' to the socio-economic conditions that are prerequisites for the successful implementation of Nevius methods.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **Issues of this study**

Historians cannot take sole possession of “history.” History can be a source for the filmmaker and at the same time a source for other disciplines of academia too. Church history especially has for a long time been considered the subject of the church. But there is no church history which is exclusively separate from the history of the whole society. Church history is a part of human experiences. Church history is His story, but it is also many of his/her stories.

Specialization in a discipline or remaining in one’s expert arena is still an active expectation in academia. Thus, history is only for the historian, economics exists only for the economist, answering some medical issues is only for the medical person. What about interdisciplinary study and research? Medical history? What about the possible combinations of study such as Sociology and Theology? Is there a possible academic relationship between Sociology and History?

Finke and Stark’s *Churching of America 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy* clearly shows us how sociologists see the religious history differently. Yet, all the data and models came out of American church history.

This project is an effort to examine the cross-cultural validity of a dominant theory in the sociology of religion, the “Religious Economy” theory. I intend to complete and interdisciplinary study, applying religious economy theory and several of its component principles to the history

of the early Korean church. In doing so I will be testing the theory for its ability to explain historical data. I will also be testing the data to see if a look through the lens of sociology of religion can yield new insight into key historical issues, giving the data new meaning. In this research, I will focus on the market forces acting on early Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Korea during 1884-1910, which was the very first phase of Protestant missionary efforts. I will pay special attention to the supply side of the religious economy – the role of American missionaries. Table 1 shows how overwhelmingly Christianity was represented in Korea by Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries from the United States.

Table 1  
Missionaries in Korea by Denominations, (1884-1945)<sup>1</sup>

	Board of Mission	No.of Missionaries	%	Note
1	Northern Presbyterian	338	22.1	
2	Northern Methodist	250	16.4	
3	Southern Presbyterian	190	12.4	
4	Southern Methodist	182	11.9	
5	Salvation Army	127	8.3	
6	Australian Presbyterian	84	5.5	
7	Canadian Presbyterian	82	5.4	Including Canadian United church
8	Anglican	76	5.0	
9	Seventh Day Adventist	28	1.8	
10	OMS	25	1.6	
	Others	147	9.6	

I am applying Finke and Stark's questions, such as why certain denominations decrease while other denominations increase their membership, to the Korean context. However, I also have to look outside that national boundary, since the church in Korea was an import. Sending missionaries and planting churches required large-scale supply side conditions – human resources and finances, etc. What are the dynamics between the missionaries and the indigenous church? How did American missionaries come, and how they did shape the future church in

---

<sup>1</sup> Total of four American denominations are over 50 % missionary population. Seungtae Kim, and Hyejin. Bae, *Naehan Songyosa Chongram, 1884-1984* [A Complete Directory of Missionaries to Korea, 1884-1994] (Seoul: Institute For Korean Church History 1994), 5.

Korea? We will see these unique dynamics between churches in Korea and churches of America in the light of religious economy.

### **Brief background of early Protestant missions in Korea (1884-1910)**

There are several intensive studies on the church in Korea. L. George Paik's *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, which was his doctoral dissertation at Yale in 1929, has been considered "the key resource" for historians, especially for English speaking scholars. Alfred Washington Wasson's *Church Growth in Korea*, which was his doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago in 1931, mainly focuses on Methodist missions in Korea. There is another dissertation at Yale, which is interesting enough to deserve mention. Supervised by H. Richard Niebuhr, Sung C. Chun's *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea* in 1954, provides an interesting perspective; trying to see the Korean church history through Niebuhr's perspectives on denominationalism. Lastly, Roy E. Shearer's *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea* represents the perspective of the Church Growth Movement in the last century.

More specifically, studies on American missionary work in Korea are largely dominated by descriptive approaches such as biographical descriptions, rather than analysis on theological bias and sociological background. According to Korean Church historian Ryu, who has done comprehensive research on Korean-American relations,

Historians of Korea missions and Korean Christianity also added much information to the increasing knowledge of the American missionaries in Korea. However, their typical works are "church history" in a narrow sense of the term. That is, tell the activities of the American missionaries in relation to the institutional development of the Korean church.<sup>2</sup>

Rethinking the role of the missionary is becoming a new area of interdisciplinary study,

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<sup>2</sup> DaeYoung Ryu, "American Protestant missionaries in Korea, 1882-1910: A critical study of missionaries and their involvement in Korean-American relations and Korean politics." (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1998), 6.

such as politics, history, sociology, etc. Especially, rethinking the role of the missionaries has been “post-colonial” experience of the mission field, which happened under the age of Imperialism. It causes mixed feelings for the many church historians who have memories of colonial times. The gospel of liberation from the sin and the gospel of colonialism can be too difficult to reconcile. Yet, the Korean experience is different than others; many countries in Asia and Africa suffered under white Christian people. However, Korea’s experience was under the oppression of the Japanese, a long time neighbor.

The treaty with the United States in 1882 was the first treaty between Korea and Western countries. There is great agreement among the historians that 1884 is the year of the beginning of the Protestant mission in Korea. American medical doctor Horace Allen was the first Presbyterian missionary.

In 1910 Japan annexed Korea under the mutual understanding of U.S.,<sup>3</sup> and 35 years after the end of the World War II, U.S. troops re-arrived on the Korean peninsula as a liberation troop. Unlike others, the colonial experience under the Japanese gives a totally different view of Western culture and their religions. For Korea, Christianity is not another name of oppression, but rather liberation and hope.

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<sup>3</sup> David H. Burton, *Theodore Roosevelt: Confident Imperialist* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 172. “American Open Door policy intact was served only temporarily. The fact is that a balance of power in the Orient, which was a precondition for a successful maintenance of the Open Door, was a less prominent feature of international politics in the Far East after the Russo-Japanese War than it had been before the conflict...Roosevelt himself had been not unwilling to indulge in some diplomatic horse trading where an American sphere of interest was concerned. The Taft-Katsura agreement of 1905, by which the United States recognized Japanese suzerainty over Korea in return for Japan’s promise to respect the American position in the Philippine Islands, demonstrated this, even though Roosevelt chose to see the arrangement as helping to preserve the peace of the Far East.”

## CHAPTER 2

### SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION AND CHURCH HISTORY

In this chapter, we will discuss the issues of sociology of religion and church history. It is the foundational chapter of these studies. I will share some of motivations of this study and briefly summarize what are the key issues in religious economy theory, which is what I want to critically apply in later chapters.

#### Churching of America

One of the most influential books on American religious studies is Finke and Stark's *Churching of America 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy*. The thesis provides a significant motivation for this study.

Korean Christianity is now over a hundred years old, but many studies of the role of American missionaries and rapid Korean church growth focus on describing events or are biographical studies.<sup>4</sup> I hope that using various methodologies on historical studies could bring more fruitful results, despite the dangers of reductionism or deconstruction of history.

When I read the book, *Churching of America*, I was astounded by several things, such as the use of sociological methodology on religious subjects, a new historical landscape drawn out from statistics, and the bold economic terminology for describing the church. Most of all, this study on the American church showed that humans could partially explain religious phenomena through a sociological lens. Finke and Stark are seeking the answers to questions such as: How religious was colonial America? Why had the leading denominations of 1776 gone into such

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<sup>4</sup> Ryu, "American Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1910," 4.

rapid decline by the turn of the century? Why were the Methodists and the Baptists able to win such huge and rapid victories, making them the dominant religious organizations during the first half of the nineteenth century?<sup>5</sup>

Beside this set of questions, they have made clear statement of their intention for the study.

The empirical ingredient has to do with data on religious member-ship...the theoretical ingredient involves a basic model of religious economies - a device that allows us to examine the dynamic interplay of religious bodies as they seek to attract and hold a committed membership.<sup>6</sup>

The epistemological nature of science requires empirical studies. For research, one needs visible and verifiable fact not abstract ideas as a scientist. Thus, for sociologists, a sheet of membership statistics of a Congregational Church in 1780 in New England is more valuable than finding new original manuscripts of Jonathan Edward's theological writings. Sociologists wish to build a grand theory to explain religion as a common human experience. They have different methods and different questions than a church historian.

However, the theoretical piece, their methodology on religious history, is much more controversial. What makes their study unique? The originality of Finke and Stark is that they combined two important theories of sociology of religion: sect-church theory and rational choice theory – to create a new theoretical framework.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Roger Finke & Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.6.

<sup>7</sup> Lawrence A. Young., ed. *Rational Choice Theory and Religion – Summary and Assessment* (New York: Routledge, 1997) Ch 1. Stark's essay "Bringing Theory Back In", provides a "behind the scenes" story of his development of theories. For instance, the concept 'religious economy' was innovated in collaboration with economist Laurence Iannaccone as early as 1985.

## **Sect and Church**

The Sect-Church theory in *Churching of America* is not a new idea; it is a classical explanation in the sociology of religion. Richard Niebuhr defines two religious organizations (sect and church) by the degree of tension between the religious organization and their socio-cultural environment.<sup>8</sup>

According to Finke and Stark, new religious bodies nearly always begin as sects, and then are transformed into churches. Sects are religious bodies in a relatively high state of tension with their environments. Churches are religious bodies in a relatively low state of tension with their environments.<sup>9</sup> There is an endless cycle of sect formation (or cult innovation), transformation into a church, schism and rebirth.<sup>10</sup> For the religious consumer, this variation between sect and church is a showcase of different religious products, which are available for selection.<sup>11</sup>

Finke and Stark demonstrate that an organization's place along the sect-church continuum also relates to its rate of growth, and therefore I will use this perspective to examine the characteristics of the young church in Korea.

## **Religious Economy**

Finke and Stark used "religious economy" as a subtitle and competition between religious organizations as a new way of understanding church history in America.

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<sup>8</sup> H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company 1957), 17-21.

<sup>9</sup> Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 40.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.42.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. "Churches and sects differ greatly in their ability to satisfy different human needs, needs that are always reflected in distinct segments of the religious market."



But we see nothing inappropriate in acknowledging that where religious affiliation is a matter of choice... We will use economic concepts such as markets, firms, market penetration, and segmented markets to analyze the success and failure of religious bodies. Religious economies are like commercial economies in that they consist of a market made up of a set of current and potential customers and a set of firms seeking to serve that market. The fate of these firms will depend upon (1) aspects of their organizational structures, (2) their sales representatives, (3) their product, and (4) their marketing techniques.<sup>12</sup>

Stark wrote in another place:

A religious economy consists of all the religious activity going on in any society. Religious economies are like commercial economies in that they consist of a market of current and potential customers, a set of firms seeking to serve that market, and the religious “product line” offered by the various firms. The use of market language to discuss things often thought to be sacred was not, and is not, meant to offend, but to enable me to import some basic insights from economics to help explain religious phenomena.<sup>13</sup>

For Finke and Stark, the rationale for using this economic concept is that they are seeking to develop a new methodology for the subject, and in my opinion it works and makes sense of the religious history of America as whole. “Our [Finke and Stark] primary aim is not to describe the history of American religion, but to explain it.”<sup>14</sup> Yet my question is, what is the relationship between their theories and the characteristics of American society, such as the conditions for a free market, the free choice of the religious customer, the constant supply new religious products, and competition between denominations? In other words, if a religious economy model can adequately explain the religious phenomena of North America, is that because the Church in America has been moulded by the characteristics of its surrounding society?

The theoretical basis underpinning the “religious economy” is rational choice theory. The conceptions of market and competition are only the outward form of this theory. In fact, the most

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>13</sup> Rodney Stark, *Rational Choice Theory and Religion - Summary and Assessment* (New York and London: Routledge 1997), 17.

<sup>14</sup> Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 21.

useful contribution made by the religious economy model to the sociology of religion in general has been its application of rational choice theories.<sup>15</sup>

Bankston notes the implications for the study of religion:

The rational choice approach to religion, which treats religious environments as economies in which religion and religious groups are firms competing for customers who make rational choices among available products, has made valuable contributions to the conceptualization of religion...Social action, in the market perspective, is not simply a consequence of influences or groups and individuals but a result of the decisions made by groups and individuals in order to achieve goals.<sup>16</sup>

For Finke and Stark, religious faith is matter of choice, meaning that people choose God, not that God chooses us.<sup>17</sup> That approach remains controversial among scholars of religion. There is an unresolved tension between purely rational models, that require no divine action to explain human behaviours, and the desire of some theologians to attribute all outcomes to a sovereign deity.

### **Enthusiasm and Hostility**

When *Churching of America* was published, there were numerous diverse responses by many scholars and readers. Reviews of this book were wide-ranging, from enthusiastic welcomes to cold, hostile attitudes.

One of the proclaimed vendors of rational choice theory in Stark's studies, economist Iannaccone,

Religious historians will recognize it as a bold and major work that calls for a serious reevaluation of traditional interpretations; and social scientists will

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<sup>15</sup> C. L. Bankston III, "Rationality, Choice and the Religious Economy: the Problem of Belief," *Review of Religious Research* 43 (2002), 311.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 313.

<sup>17</sup> Steve Bruce, "Religion and Rational Choice: A Critique of Economic Explanations of Religious Behavior," *Sociology of Religion* 54 (1993), 204.

appreciate its path-breaking applications of rational choice theory to issues of individual commitment, organizational growth, and institutional transformation.<sup>18</sup>

However, church historian Martin E. Marty's review is critical:

Reductionism is the name of their game...Finke and Stark say that "religious economy" is about nothing but church membership data, that church membership data are about nothing but winning and losing, that winning and losing are about nothing but satisfying the "rational choice" of prospective purchasers of churchly services...Finke and Stark's world contains no God or religion or spirituality, no issue of truth or beauty or goodness...only winning and losing in the churching game matters.<sup>19</sup>

One of the reasons for the unpleasant response from Marty is that Finke and Stark's understanding of American religious history exposes lack of research on the part of American religious historians. For instance, these historians (including Marty) believe that most of the first immigrants to North America were Christians. Finke and Stark's new data about the church in the colonies clearly disputes this assumption.<sup>20</sup>

But Marty is one of the few reviewers who challenge Finke and Stark in the area of their greatest vulnerability. Others who feel that applying the concepts of "market" and "competition" to the sacred arena of religion is offensive or inappropriate may still agree with the foundational proposition that religion is a matter of individual choice. If that foundation is not theologically true, then the rest of the model is on shaky ground. If that foundation is not true in a given social or historical context, the model at least loses cross-cultural validity. Although such questions are

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<sup>18</sup> Laurence R. Iannaccone, review of *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, by Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *Contemporary sociology* 22 (1993): 653. He is a professor of economics at Univ. California Santa Clara. He is the person who provided idea of market language to Stark. His doctoral dissertation was "Consumption Capital and Habit Formation with an Application to Religious Participation." He published also several articles based on economics consideration, such as "A Formal Model of Church and Sect"(1988); "Religious Participation: A Human Capital Approach"(1990), and "The Consequences of Religious Market Structure: Adam Smith and the Economics of Religion."(1991), etc.

<sup>19</sup> Martin E. Marty, review of *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, by Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *Christian Century* 110 (January 1993): 89.

<sup>20</sup> David G. Hackett, "Rodney Stark and the Sociology of American Religious History." *Journal For the Scientific Study of Religion* 29 (1990): 374.

ultimately beyond the scope of the present study, they did provide much of the original motivation for it.

### **Religious Economy and Early Korean Mission**

When I finished reading their book one year ago, I formed several questions for Finke and Stark. Is this solely about American church history, or could it have cross-cultural validity? Can this theory explain the rapid growth in Korean church history? How are foreign mission efforts explained by a religious economy model? Those questions multiplied rapidly when I found their new book *Acts of Faith – Explaining the Human Side of Religion*, published in 2000, which is an extended version of *Churching of America*. If *Churching of America* is a case study on the American situation then *Acts of Faith* is an attempt to explain the human side of religious phenomena as a common human experience. I was hoping to find answers to my questions; however, there is only one paragraph on the Korean church.

It makes me wonder why Finke and Stark did not gather any statistics from Asia or Africa, and only rarely mention a general description of a few, non Western countries. It seems to me for Finke and Stark, Christianity is a religion of the West. Most information and statistics for proving their theories came from North America and Europe. Any sound theory of human experience should be universally applicable. Did they intentionally not pay attention, or were they simply ignorant of the data from outside of America?<sup>21</sup>

Simpson's critical reflection on Stark and Bainbridge (one of Stark's former co-writers) is profoundly pointed in this matter.

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<sup>21</sup> When one regards Starks' capability of accessing a wide range of information and data, this is more of a mystery. For instance, in 1995, Stark published 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of *Doing Sociology: A Global Perspective* (Wadsworth Publishing Company 1998), which is a resource book for the student of Sociology. As the subtitle suggests, book contains seven important data sets. In other chapters he shows a truly global perspective. However, in the chapter on Religion he picked only the data of U.S.A.

It is quite clear that Stark and Bainbridge intend their theory to be universal in both a cross-sectional comparative and historical sense. I am not going to debate that intention here, not because I believe that it is necessarily true, but because I think that in many historical instances it may be simply impossible to falsify the conclusions that Stark and Bainbridge draw, because the kind of evidence needed is not available. Regarding cross-cultural research on contemporary societies, where a finding exists one has to be extraordinarily careful in determining whether an exogenous variable or variables that have not been controlled are in fact causing the observed relationship. Different societal conditions can cause similar outcomes; or put another way, empirical generalizations, especially those involving more than one society, may have multiple explanations that are not mutually exclusive.<sup>22</sup>

With regards to the limitations and weakness of this type of study, I will test religious economy theory to see whether or not it is helpful in explaining the rapid growth of the Korean church, which is still regarded as exceptional church growth in Asia. This study will be a critical examination of the religious economy model, or an attempt to fill in the blanks, left by Finke and Stark.

### Summary

In this chapter, we briefly discussed the issues and methodology of this study. The definition of “religious economy” was our main focus. Religious economy theory is a combination of sect-church theory and rational choice theory. I do not want to present a critical examination of these theories only, but also to present the interaction between the markets on grand scale as well. This interaction is most interesting connection between the beginning of the Protestant Church of Korea and the corresponding period of American Church history, which contains a history of both growing and declining denominations. They cannot be separated from each other. We will see in the next chapters how closely the two churches interact.

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<sup>22</sup> John H. Simpson, “The Stark-Bainbridge Theory of Religion” *Journal For the Scientific Study of Religion* 29:3 (1990): 370.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND THE CHURCH IN KOREA**

When one views religion through an economic lens, one can make use of a large of economic concepts, such as demand, supply, and distribution. It is clear that for Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, The United States was the major supplier of new religious goods. American Protestant missionaries were the first to represent Christianity in Korea. In the first phase of the Protestant church in Korea (1884-1910), the role of American missionaries was remarkable.

#### **Supply side of the religious economy of Korea**

In 1884, two years after the first U.S. treaty was made with Korea, an American missionary doctor, Horace Allen, went to Korea. The next year the first ordained Protestant missionaries landed in Korea together.<sup>23</sup>

The story of these two missionaries is woven together with the story of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM). Their association with the SVM at its founding proved to be indicative of the role the SVM would come to play in future American missions to Korea:

In October 1883, in Hartford, Connecticut, the Inter-Seminary Alliance met and formed a basis for the foundation of the SVM. At this meeting there were five future pioneer missionaries. Two of them were Henry G. Appenzeller and Horace G. Underwood. Appenzeller was a Methodist, from Drew Theological Seminary, and would become the pioneer Methodist missionary to Korea. Underwood was a

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<sup>23</sup> Shearer, Roy E. *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), 33.

Presbyterian, from the New Brunswick Theological Seminary and would also be a pioneer missionary to Korea. Another three were S.R. Verbeck, S.R. Brown and J.H. Ballagh, pioneer missionaries to Japan.<sup>24</sup>

Underwood put his decision to Korea in his “Reminiscences.”

“In the winter of ’82-’83. The Rev. Dr. Altmans...gathered the volunteers at New Brunswick together, and read them a paper he had been appointed to prepare on the Hermit Kingdom [Korea] at last opened by treaty to the Western World. The simple story of these twelve or thirteen million without the Gospel; of the church praying for an open door; the door, opened...that he determined to set to work, and find some one to go...urge as I might, a year passed, and still no one had offered, no church seemed ready to enter, and even the leaders in the foreign mission work of the churches were writing articles urging that it was too early to enter Korea. It was then that the message came home to me. “Why not go yourself?””<sup>25</sup>

After the official beginning of SVM in 1888, it became the gateway organization for mission workers to Korea. For instance, during 1905-1909, there were approximately 135 new American missionaries and 81 of them became missionaries through SVM.<sup>26</sup> Many missionaries who were involved with the SVM were supported by the sending agencies of mainline denominations.<sup>27</sup>

An important piece of the supply side picture is that the SVM’s missionaries were receiving college education. They were all students, and voluntarily involved in the overseas mission enterprise – SVM. When we remember that in the early 1900’s only 3.5 percent of eighteen years olds were graduating from high school in the U.S., then we can get a clear idea of

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<sup>24</sup> Hee-Seop Song, “The Student Volunteer Movement For Foreign Missions and its Contribution to Pioneer Mission in Korea,” (Th.M. thesis., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1995), 77.

<sup>25</sup> Horace Underwood, “Reminiscences”; *Quarto Centennial Papers Read Before The Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. at the Annual Meeting in PyengYang, August 27, 1909.* (PyenYang: 1909), 98.

<sup>26</sup> Dae Young Ryu, *Early American Missionaries in Korea (1884-1910): Understanding Missionaries from Their Middle-Class Background* (Seoul: Institute for Korean Church History, 2001), 50.

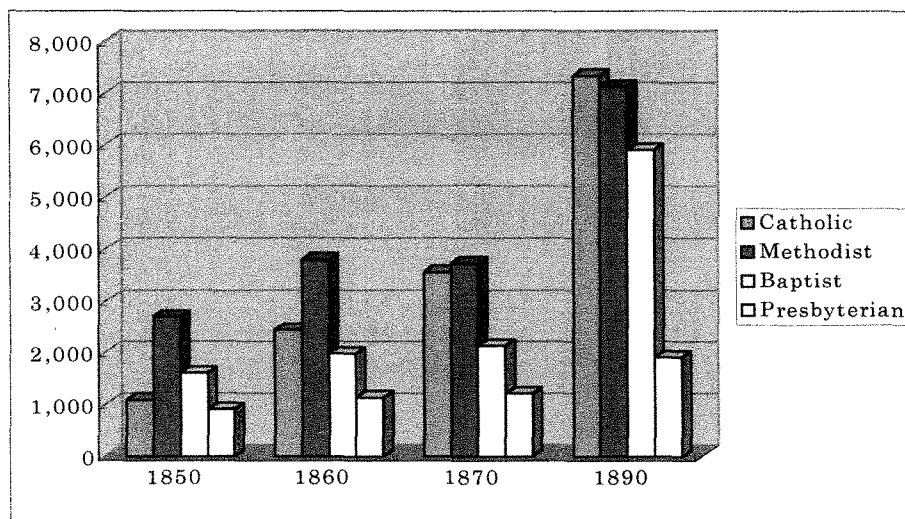
<sup>27</sup> We may need some discussion for Methodists to be considered a mainline denomination. Yet, according to Finke and Stark’s study in *Churching of America*, by 1880 there were under control of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 11 theological seminaries, 44 colleges and universities, and 130 women’s seminaries and schools. Methodism was already transformed by the early 1880’s.

these godly women and men's social background.<sup>28</sup> College education was available only to a few. SVM helped make missions respectable among the social and educated elite because generally "the 19th century standard British and American missionary recruits had come from a humble background and had been un-ordainable for the home ministry."<sup>29</sup>

### **Crisis of Mission and the rise of SVM**

During 1850-1890 in America, there was a great shifting between the rapidly growing and the decline denominations. Compared to a 400% membership growth of Baptists, Presbyterian membership experienced a slow growth which did not keep pace with the population growth. As a declining denomination, which was constantly losing membership to other competitors, how did Presbyterians did gain new members in another market so quickly?

Figure 1  
Total Adherents by Denomination, 1850-1890<sup>30</sup>  
(in thousands; adherents include children and adults)



<sup>28</sup> David G. Myers, *The American Paradox – Spiritual hunger in an age of plenty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 4.

<sup>29</sup> Ben Harder. "The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and Its Contribution to 20<sup>th</sup> Century Missions," *Missiology: An International Review* 8 (April 1980): 144.

<sup>30</sup> Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 113.



Table 2

Total Adherents by Denomination, 1850-1890<sup>31</sup>  
(in thousands; adherents include children and adults)

Year	Catholic	Methodist	Baptist	Presbyterian
1850	1,088	2,700	1,609	909
1860	2,439	3,793	1,979	1,139
1870	3,555	3,725	2,128	1,213
1890	7,343	7,132	5,914	1,912

How could Presbyterians keep up a leading role in overseas missions, while sustaining decreased memberships at home? To answer this question, we have to pay more attention to the role of the SVM within mainline denominations.

One of the social-historical contexts of the rise of SVM was a crisis of missions in the churches in the late nineteenth century.

The great fact is that we have reached the most critical point in missionary history. What is a crisis? It is a combination of grand opportunity and great responsibility; the hour when the chance of glorious success and the risk of awful failure confront each other; the turning point of history and destiny. We do not say the crisis of mission *is coming*, – it *has come*, and is even now upon us (emphasis not mine).<sup>32</sup>

There were mixed feelings in the church in America. The nation kept expanding its political influences around the world, but this great opportunity for sharing the good news was possibly ruined by the lack of responsibility within the church.<sup>33</sup> It is also worth remembering that the watchword of the SVM was, “The evangelization of the world in this generation.” It

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Arthur T. Pierson, *The Crisis of Mission, or, The voice out of the cloud* (New York: R Carter, 1886), 273.

<sup>33</sup> Valentine H. Rabe, “Evangelical Logistics: Mission Support and Resources to 1920,” In *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 57.

reflects pre-millennialism in early SVM movement.<sup>34</sup> Pre-millennialism was so popular in the church, there is no doubt of the volunteer's strong eschatological hope, and their willingness to obey the command of the Lord. Their loyalty to the Lord was stronger than the allure of a comfortable life in their homeland.

### **Missions and higher-tension churches**

For Finke and Stark, the sending of missionaries or involvement in an overseas mission enterprise is a mark of a high-tension religious organization, or in other words, a characteristic of sect.<sup>35</sup> Finke and Stark categorized higher/lower tension as a matter of degree between the religious body and the outer world.

The higher its level of tension with its surroundings, the more extensive the commitment to a religious effects on the individual...As applied to religious commitment, extensive refers to the range and depth of religious effects on the individual. The higher the tension of their religious group, the less distinction people draw between religious and secular matters...The higher its level of tension with its surroundings, the more expensive it is to belong to a religious group...As applied to religious commitment, expensive refers to the material, social, and psychic costs of belong to a religious group.<sup>36</sup>

Regarding Finke and Stark's explanation of higher/lower tension of a religious body, Table 3 below shows the correlation between the level of tension and the foreign missionary efforts of several denominations. In 1995, United Methodist, ELCA, and PCUSA ranked as lower-tension denominations. Also, they ranked lower on involvement in foreign mission efforts. In contrast, many Pentecostal and Charismatic denominations are ranked as higher-tension, and

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<sup>34</sup> Harder, "The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and Its Contribution to 20<sup>th</sup> Century Missions," 146.

<sup>35</sup> Finke and Stark, *Acts of Faith*, 144. "Tension is equivalent to subcultural deviance. Subcultures are cultures within the culture, groups having norms and values different from those of the surrounding society."

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

they are highly involved in missions. This data is enough to make an assumption that there is some correlation between the type of denomination and the sending of missionaries.

Table 3  
Foreign Missionary Efforts of American Protestant Bodies, 1995<sup>37</sup>

<i>Protestant Bodies</i>	<i>Foreign Missionaries per 10,000 Members</i>
<b>Lower-Tension</b>	
Episcopal Church	0.2
United Methodist Church	0.5
United of Church God	0.6
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	0.6
United Presbyterian Church (USA)	0.7
American Baptist Convention	1.4
<b>Higher-Tension</b>	
Southern Baptist Convention	8.9
Seventh-day Adventist Church	9.6
Christian Churches and Churches of Christ	10.8
Assemblies of God	11.0
Christian and Missionary Alliance	25.6
Pentecostal Holiness Church	29.0
Church of the Foursquare Church	35.0
Presbyterian Church in America*	71.3
Church of the Nazarene	100.5

\*Broke away from the United Presbyterian Church (USA) in 1973 to reaffirm traditional doctrine and practices.

Sources: *Mission Handbook*, 1993-95, and *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches*, 1996.

However, if one even accepts Finke and Stark's hypothesis that a denomination which has higher tension with the outer world is more mission orientated, one will be confounded by the following historical data.

In 1906, one of the key historical figures of the Student Volunteer Movement, Robert E. Speer, wrote an article, called "Has the Foreign Missionary Enterprise been Declining? – A Study of the Progress of American Foreign Missions." In this article, Speer demonstrates how

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<sup>37</sup> Finke and Stark, *Acts of Faith*, 153.

rapidly the foreign missionary enterprise experienced growth between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.<sup>38</sup> He provides this compact information.

Table 4  
Foreign Missionaries of selected denominations -1892 and 1905<sup>39</sup>

	Number of Foreign Missionaries		Increase
	Men and	Women	
	1892	1905	%
Presbyterian, North	618	858	39
Methodist, North	522	795	52
American Board, C.F. M.	529	578	0.9
Baptists, North	388	569	46
Methodist, South	96	261	172
United Presbyterian	59	158	167
Baptist, South	91	191	110
Presbyterian, South	95	170	79
Reformed Church	66	96	45
Protestant Episcopal	62	174	180
Totals	2,481	3,776	52

We can see the rapid growth of Baptist, South, which is maybe what Finke and Stark call a higher-tension organization. Their number of missionaries jumped from 91 to 191, a 110 % increase. But at the same time, the lower-tension Episcopal denomination, raised its the number of missionaries from 62 to 174, a 180% increase. Furthermore, in 1892, Presbyterian, North had 618 missionaries and Baptist, North had 388.

<sup>38</sup> According to Ryu, "Started in 1812 when eight young missionaries sailed for India, fueled by the growing economic strength of the republic, and propelled by the dominance of evangelical Protestantism since the "Second Great Awakening," the American foreign missionary enterprise thrived in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century...however, a general decline characterized the decades after the middle of the century; the number of missionaries, as well as public support, dropped below the level of earlier decades. By 1879 America had sent out a grand total of about 2,000 Protestant missionaries...In the early 1880s it appeared to many that the foreign mission organizations were facing a fate similar to many other religious and voluntary societies that were born in the same early nineteenth-century American environment. But from the late 1880s the statistics began to show a dramatic upward turn. The number of American foreign missionaries increased from 934 in 1890 to 5,000 at the turn of century, and to 12,000 by the end of the 1920s." Ryu, "American Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1910," 15.

<sup>39</sup> Robert E. Speer. "Has the Foreign Missionary Enterprise been Declining? – A Study of the progress of American Foreign Missions", *Missionary Review of the World* 19 (1906): 19.

One thing is clear here; Finke and Stark's hypothesis does not stand well with this data from 1892 and 1905. Question is worth asking, if the degree of tension between a religious body and the outer world is related to their body's mission efforts, then how could low-tension denominations be ranked as highly involved in missions? What is the most plausible way of answering this question?

One possible explanation for the steadily increasing missions of Presbyterians and Methodists is the rise of the SVM (especially for the Presbyterians. SVM played the role of mission recruiter among young students. They were an inter-denominational movement, so they could challenge Christian students no matter to which denomination they belonged. SVM not only mobilized missionaries into the field but also greatly stimulated lay interest in missions. The mission study programs promoted by the SVM on college and university campuses influenced the church as well.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, it is my hypothesis that para-church agencies, or interdenominational voluntary organizations, can play the role as a sect within the Church. For an individual, voluntary involvement outside the church organization, could replace the need for "sect formation" within the church. SVM could count as an example. The rise of many different types of voluntary societies in the early nineteenth century in America could also be an example. They shared the same socio-cultural background as the mainline church, but these voluntary societies could provide an opportunity for those who wanted higher tension with outside world, without leaving or breaking off from the church.

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<sup>40</sup> Harder, "The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions and Its Contribution to 20<sup>th</sup> Century Missions," 151, 52. "By 1914, some 40,000 students were enrolled in mission study classed under the auspices of the SVM, most of whom were not volunteers. This mission orientation would produce church leaders at home interested in promoting missionary causes...Although the SVM was not a sending agency, they actively promoted the church's financial support on behalf of the volunteers. In addition, each band was encouraged to give to foreign missions. By 1910, these bands gave \$131,000 annually which increased to over \$300,000 annually by 1920. The carry-over effect of these giving patterns was of particular importance."

## Higher tension thesis and Church in Korea

Remember that the vast majority of missionaries who came to Korea during 1884-1910 were Presbyterian and Methodist.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, many of them were recruited by the SVM. Is there then any traceable influence from their SVM features, such as higher tension, and characteristics of early church in Korea?

One of the interesting characteristics of the Church in Korea is that since the very first church has high priority on personal evangelization and mission.<sup>42</sup> This is a unique character of the Church in Korea, both Presbyterian and Methodist. Then, where this unique character comes beyond denominational differences? Dr. Ruy says, “More important, the SVM’s influence was seen in American missionaries’ heavy dependence on revivalistic methods of personal conversion and especially their emphasis on Bible study, pietism, and individual evangelism.”<sup>43</sup>

The following series of reports show how the early Korean church deeply and quickly committed to their own missions. In 1907, the Presbyterian Church in Korea was formally organized, and soon after this establishment. The Korean church determined that it would send a Korean ordained missionary to Quelpart, which is a southern island on the Korean peninsula.

Sixteen years ago, when Rev. S. A. Moffett went to Pyeng Yang, Korea, one of the men who stoned him in the streets was Yee Kee Pong. When the first ministers of the Korean Presbyterian Church were ordained last September at Pyeng Yang, Rev. Yee Kee Pong was one of the number. He was immediately set apart as a missionary to the island of Quelpart, which is directly south of Korea. The 100,000 inhabitants of the island are destitute of the Gospel. In connection with the setting apart of Yee Kee Pong a thank-offering was taken by the Korean Church for his support. *This is one of the many evidences of the work of grace in Korea, the genuineness of which is shown in the missionary spirit*

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<sup>41</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>42</sup> Ryu. “American Protestant Misisonaries in Korea, 1882-1910,” 64.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

*which moves them to send one of their own number to a people who need the Gospel (emphasis mine).*<sup>44</sup>

The sending of missionaries not only happened in the Presbyterian Church, but in the Methodist Church as well. It's a common characteristic of the Church in Korea.

Korean Christians have decided to send a Korean missionary to China. At the recent conference of Methodist leaders at Pyeng-yang, a resolution was adopted declaring it to be the duty of the Church in Korea to do their part in the evangelization of China. *This significant and far-reaching action indicates the character of Korean Christians.* [emphasis mine] One of the significant things about Korean converts is that, as soon as they are brought into the Kingdom of God themselves, they feel an irresistible impulse to strive to win others for Christ. Last year the Korean Presbyterians sent a missionary to Manchuria. This evident leading of the Spirit of God contracts the selfish argument sometimes made that we should not send missionaries to other countries until all the people in our own land are Christianized. The fact that Korea desires to assist in the evangelization of China shows how world-wide is the Christian impulse and outlook.<sup>45</sup>

The Methodist Church sent a Korean missionary to America to serve a Korean immigrant population in the Bay Area, California.<sup>46</sup> The Church in Korea, since the very early stages, has been deeply committed to overseas missions. They did not want to remain as a receiving body; rather they wanted to be a sending body.

With the Word of God in its hands may the Korean Church go forward to fulfil the vision given to Pastor Kil in 1906 when he placed before his congregation of 1500 this missionary vision – “May we soon carry the Gospel to all parts of our own land and then may it be granted us to do for China’s millions still in darkness

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<sup>44</sup> *Missionary Review of the World* (August 1908): 632.

<sup>45</sup> *Missionary Review of the World* (October 1910): 787.

<sup>46</sup> J. S. Ryang, ed. *Southern Methodism in Korea – Thirtieth Anniversary* (Seoul: Board Missions, Korea Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1929), 24. “On December 16<sup>th</sup> 1906, a Korean Mission was established in San Francisco, California, under the auspices of the Woman’s Home Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, extending missionary work of Southern Methodism among the Koreans on the Pacific Coast.”

Half of the first emigrating group into Hawaii was attending the same *NaeRi* Methodist church in *Inchon*, and many of the others also had Christian faith. They left *Inchon* port on December 22, 1902. Consequently the very first Korean community in America was strongly Church centered. By the year 1915, in Hawaii there were 39 Korean churches with 2,800 members and in California there were 7 churches and 452 members.

what the American Christians have done for us – send missionaries to tell them the way of salvation through Jesus Christ.”<sup>47</sup>

The hopes for the future of one of the first Presbyterian ordained pastors, Kil Sun-Joo, have been faithfully accomplished through the church’s history. In 2000, Korea sent 8,103 missionaries to 162 nations. Korea is the world’s second largest sender of overseas missionaries, and when cross-cultural missionaries are taken into account, Korea is third behind India.<sup>48</sup>

### Summary

We discussed the supply side of the religious economy of Korea. Also, we discussed the character of American missionaries and their influence on the developing church of Korea, especially their zeal for missions. The church in Korea was greatly influenced by the American church in many aspects. However, zeal for the evangelization and a mission emphasis were features heavily influenced by the SVM.

More exploration is needed for the validation of Finke and Starks’ higher tension and mission involvement thesis in the early twentieth century American mission experiences. Also, there is little evidence for the considering the para-church movement as a sect formation within the church, but it is a highly possible hypothesis.

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<sup>47</sup> Samuel A. Moffett. “Evangelistic Work” *Quarto Centennial Papers Read Before The Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. at the Annual Meeting in PyengYang, August 27, 1909*. (PyenYang: 1909), 28-29.

<sup>48</sup> Bae, An-Ho. “Three-Self principles and mission method of John Ross. – A study of early establishment of Korean Presbyterian (1874-1893)” *Mission Journal* 137 (2002), 1



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **A CLOSE LOOK AT CHURCH GROWTH IN KOREA**

Rapid Church growth in Korea is considered a remarkable historical event. Numbers of memberships and dramatic charts of church growth in Korea are enough to amaze many people. The Korean church has grown explosively in the last hundred years. However, anyone who has patience and a willingness to look closely at Church growth in Korea, will find that from the very first, the Church was growing very quickly. In this chapter, I will carefully present data and information, and interpret the meaning of those numbers.

#### **Church growth in Korea**

Korea is a country where the people are highly homogeneous unit – one race, one language, and five thousand year long history. Despite such unusual continuity, “in the long history of Korea, Korean people have always lived in a multi-religious milieu.”<sup>49</sup>

Shamanism and Buddhism were the dominant religions for a long time until the fourteenth century, when Confucianism became the ideology of the nation – especially during the Yi dynasty of Chosun, which was the last empire on the Korean peninsula, lasting from the fourteenth century to the Japanese takeover in 1910. Confucianism is not a religion, rather an ideology or philosophical worldview of the ruling class, but it acted as the religion of the country as well. Early Roman Catholic contact happened in the late eighteenth century, and a Protestant

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<sup>49</sup> MoonJang. Lee, “Experience of Religious Plurality in Korea: Its Theological Implication,” *International Review of Mission* 88:351 (1999), 399.

mission began in the late nineteenth century. Table 5 shows how this religious diversity actively exists until today.<sup>50</sup>

Table 5  
Religious Adherents in South Korea (1985,1995)<sup>51</sup>

Religion	1985	1995
Buddhism	8,059,624	10,321,012
Protestant Christianity	6,489,282	8,760,336
Roman Catholicism	1,865,397	2,950,730
Confucianism	483,366	210,927
Won Buddhism	92,302	86,823
Chun Do Kyu	26,818	28,184
Dae Jong Kyu	11,030	7,603
Other Religion	175,477	232,209
Total	17,203,296	22,597,824
Total National Population	40,419,652	44,553,710

According to Dr. Lee's study on Korean Church growth, between 1970 and 1980 there was an over 300% increase in the Christian population, counting Protestants only. In 1995, there were over eight million Protestant memberships.<sup>52</sup> However, the reason to pay attention to the rapid church growth in Korea is not that the last fifty years' growth is outstanding, but that such exponential growth has been sustained since the very beginning of the church.

After the first treaties were signed between Korea and a Western nation U.S.A., Protestant missionaries were able to reside in Korea. Almost simultaneously American (Northern) Presbyterians and American (Northern) Methodists reached Korea in 1885.<sup>53</sup> In 1889,

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 400. "The religious situation in Korea offers a typical example of the Asian multi-religious context in that different religions have co-existed throughout history and all these religious teachings have penetrated deeply into the structure of Korean culture and society."

<sup>51</sup> Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Korea, "Religious Adherents in 1985 and 1995," n.p. [cited 3 November 2003]. Online: <http://www.mct.go.kr/uw3/dispatcher/korea/sub2.html>.

<sup>52</sup> Kwang Soon. Lee, "The growth of Korean church and low growth," n.p.[cited 13 December 2001]. Online: <http://kslee.cwmpcts.org/main/study/articles/kslee023.html>.

<sup>53</sup> Kenneth Stott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity (Volume VI) – The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan 1974), 420.

Australian Presbyterians entered Korea, and in 1892, Southern Presbyterians reached Seoul. In 1895, Southern Methodists arrived, and in 1898, Canadian Presbyterians came.<sup>54</sup> Anglican, Salvation Army, and Seventh Day Adventists also came in this era, but Presbyterian and Methodist missions became dominant denominations by memberships. Our main focus is on these largest denominations, Presbyterian and Methodist.

Former missionary in Korea and China, G. Thompson Brown, tried to find the reason for the faster growth of the Korean church compared to the slower growth in China. In his article, he summarized statistics between China and Korea:

Protestant missionaries first came to Korea in 1884. In 1916, Protestant church membership had reached 82,000. By 1940 its membership was about 370,000. By 1950 it had risen to 600,000. In 1960 it had reached 1,340,000, and by 1970, 2,250,000. In 1980 it had reached 4.5 million...It was seven years before the first Protestant missionary in China...After the first 46 years of Protestant missionary effort, the total number of converts was about 350. By the year 1949 when the Communist armies conquered China and statistics became a matter of conjecture, the total Protestant Christian communicant membership is listed at 659,116 – less than one fourth of one percent of the population. It was the same gospel, the same Scriptures, the same creeds and traditions. *What made the difference?* [emphasis not mine]<sup>55</sup>

Trying to answer this question, many different studies came to different conclusions, such as emphasizing the socio-historical situation of Korea – unstable political situation,<sup>56</sup> the

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid. 422-424.

<sup>55</sup> Thompson G. Brown, “Why Has Christianity Grown Faster in Korea Than in China?” *Missiology: An International Review* 22 (January 1994): 78.

<sup>56</sup> Byong-Suh Kim, “The Explosive Growth of the Korean Church Today” *International Review of Mission* 74 (January 1985): 62. “Korean church historian point out that the first wave of rapid church growth in Korea came around 1895...Up to that period, Korean peasants and slaves had been deprived of their basic human existence in the highly stratified system of *yang ban* (nobility), *sang min* (commoners) and *chon min* (slaves). In particular, the Dong Hak peasant revolt of 1894 shook the stratification system of Korean society. In addition, the impact of the Japanese victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 shocked the Confucius rulers of the Yi dynasty, who had relied on the power of China for centuries. They saw Japan’s victory with the westernized military system and weaponry and began to question the Confucian value system that had been the fundamental basis for the consciousness of the Korean people for centuries. At this juncture, the gospel of Christianity was introduced by western missionaries.”

cultural aspect of Korean – wide usage of Korean alphabet, and the high receptivity of Korean people, etc. “C.A. Clark says that fourteen possible reasons have been given, twelve of them social and two spiritual.”<sup>57</sup>

In this study, we will discuss the question from the perspective of religious economy.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, we need to spend some time on the statistics and historical settings.

### **Why did Presbyterian become the winner?**

Korea was not a Christian country, and Christianity was imported and promoted by someone, the missionaries. Questions regarding the role of the missionaries and their policies, such as how they established the market and how they shaped the church, are foundational for theories about the religious economy of Korea.

When we look at the supply side of the religious economy, both Presbyterians and Methodists had almost the same human resources (in quantity and quality both) and financial support from the home church.<sup>59</sup> Tables 6 and 7 show these aspects of the religious economy.

Presbyterians (both American Presbyterians, North and South) had more missionaries in total and more financial support too. But, there is not a huge gap in the numbers; they are still relatively close. And, a more significant fact to note to that, there was a geographical distribution between the missions from the early stages. Thus in many areas, competition between the

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<sup>57</sup> Rhodes, ed. *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934*, 81.

<sup>58</sup> Finke and Stark, *Acts of Faith*, 283. “Definition 32. A religious economy consists of all the religious activity going on in any society: A “market” of current and potential adherents, a set of one or more organizations seeking to attract or maintain adherents, and the religious culture offered by the organization(s).”

<sup>59</sup> For instance, many missionaries had a common ethnic, cultural, and socio-economic background. Similar, experience through Student Volunteer for Foreign Mission is a considerable common character of them.

missions did not happen.<sup>60</sup> That lack of competition reduces any advantage the greater numbers might have created for the Presbyterians.

Table 6  
Number of Missionaries by Missions (1885-1910)<sup>61</sup>

Mission	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
Presbyterian U.S.A.	5	8	28	49	75	113
Southern Presbyterian	0	0	12	18	21	50
Canadian Presbyterian	0	0	0	8	11	17
Australian Presbyterian	0	2	4	7	9	13
Methodist Episcopal	5	11	24	33	50	61
Methodist Episcopal, South	0	0	0	8	14	49

Table 7  
Appropriations or Expenditures by Missions (1885-1910)<sup>62</sup>

Mission	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
Presbyterian U.S.A.	\$6,319	15,200	35,680	49,295	78,445	112,280
Southern Presbyterian	0	0	4,441	14,038	14,136	63,324
Canadian Presbyterian	0	0	0	9,632	7,274	18,854
Australian Presbyterian	Not Available					
Methodist Episcopal	11,403	22,124	24,303	29,495	45,427	72,933
Methodist Episcopal, South	0	0	3,530	6,575	14,257	30,648

However, when we see the results of the Presbyterian and Methodist efforts, it begs us to answer; why were certain missions growing so fast, while others were not? Our attention is on the result – membership of the church, shown broken down by mission organization in Figure 2. Rapid church growth happened in the very early stages in the total membership of all Protestant bodies, but it was not happening equally for all the missions in Korea.

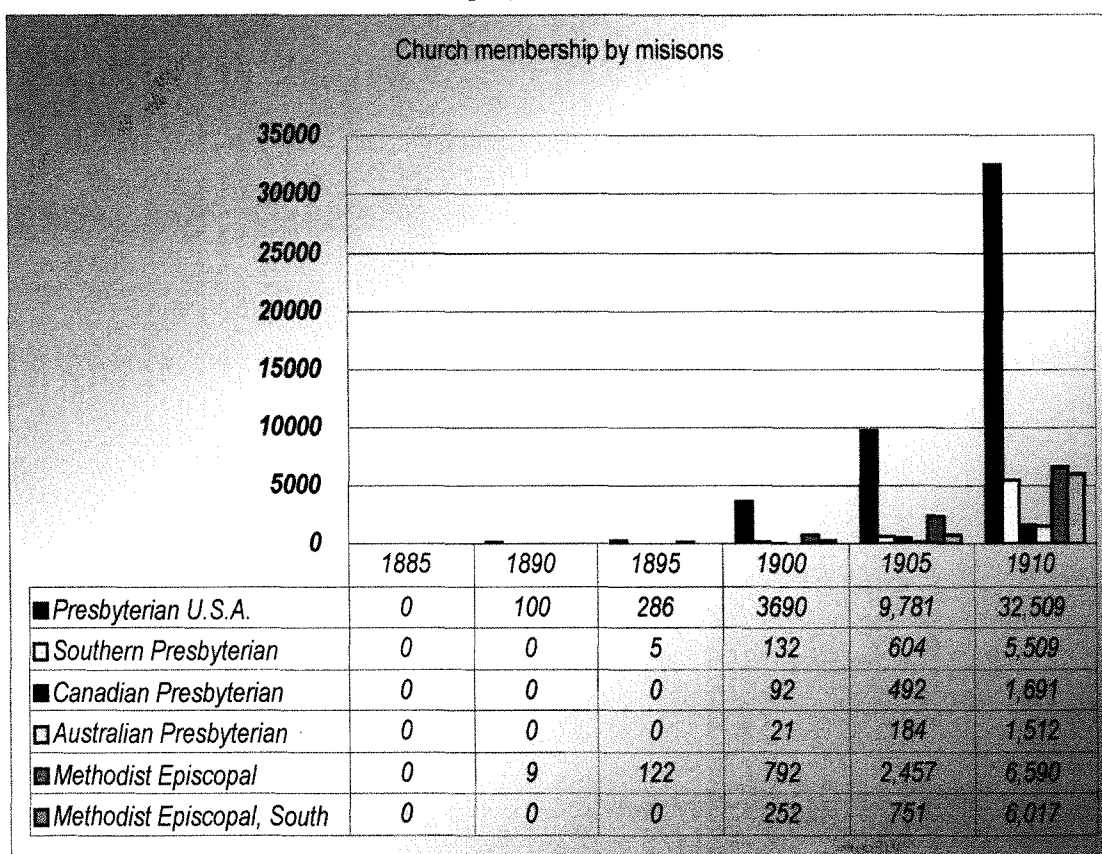
<sup>60</sup> Rhodes, ed. *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934*, 441. “A division of territory with the other Presbyterian missions was easily accomplished within the Presbyterian Council...The first comity agreement was between the M.E. Missions [Methodist Episcopal] and Seoul station of our own Mission [Presbyterian, North], and was signed June 11, 1892. This was followed by a set of comity rules agreed upon by the two missions the following year.”

<sup>61</sup> Sung C. Chun, *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea 1979), 70.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 70.

Stated more specifically, Presbyterians achieved rapid growth and Methodists did not. In 1905 the Northern Methodist Church in Korea had 2,457 communicant members on its roll, representing twenty years of mission work. This is good growth compared with some other missions around the world. However, the Korean Presbyterian Church in Northern Presbyterian Mission territory had 9,781 communicant members by 1905.<sup>63</sup>

Figure 2  
Church Membership by Mission (1885-1910)



One theoretical explanation for the rapid church growth in Korea is the Great Revival which took place in 1907.<sup>64</sup> Yet even before that, between 1895 and 1905, there was remarkable

<sup>63</sup> Shearer, *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, 176.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 17. "STUDENTS OF THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT KNOW THE STORY OF [emphasis not mine] the rapid growth of the Church in Korea. Few however, realize that this growth was not country-wide, but geographically limited. Many Christians pray for an increase of the Church by a repetition of the famous 1907 Korean revival, but that revival actually did not cause the great, historic church growth."

church growth, especially for the Northern Presbyterians. The Great Revival could be considered a cause for the rapid growth of other missions after 1907, but the Northern Presbyterian territories' growth cause did not change. What theory could explain the rapid growth of the Presbyterian Church before 1907's Great Revival?

In 1885, Underwood (Presbyterian) and Apenzeller (Methodist) arrived in Korea at the same time by the same steamship. Presbyterians have achieved incomparable growth, continuing to this day, Presbyterians still have the largest membership in Korea.<sup>65</sup> Their initiative is still alive. Clearly the Presbyterians must be declared the winners in the religious economy of Korea almost from the outset, but what factors made them so wildly successful?

### **Nevius Methods and Mission in Korea - Who was Nevius?**

Latourette, who is called the father of the history of missions, credited the rapid growth of the church in Korea in large part to the use of Nevius Methods (Nevius Principles or Nevius system).<sup>66</sup> This is a popular understanding about the reason for the rapid church growth in Korea. What, then, are the Nevius Methods? How did they impact the religious economy of Korea?

John L. Nevius was a Presbyterian (North) missionary in the province of Shandong in Northern China. John Nevius made some long journeys across central Shandong, establishing small groups of believers to whom he gave more and more advanced instruction with each successive visit. Along his visitation pattern a chain of small churches was established. Through his own experiences, he reached the conclusion, based on the Book of Acts, he developed a

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<sup>65</sup> According to the records of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Korea: in 2001, there were over 7,817,080 Presbyterian membership, Methodist 1,394,515, Assembly of God 1,443,502, Holiness 766,386, Baptist 692,767, and Anglican 69,863. Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Korea, "Religious Adherents in 1985 and 1995," n.p. [cited 3 November 2003]. Online: <http://www.mct.go.kr/uw3/dispatcher/korea/sub2.html>.

<sup>66</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity (Volume VI) – The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*, 425. "A striking feature of the methods employed by Protestant missions was the emphasis upon the participation of Koreans in the spread of the Christian message and upon the financial self-support of the churches from the very beginning."

philosophy advocating “direct evangelism, free from the institutional baggage of schools and hospitals.”<sup>67</sup>

After his success, he wrote an article in the *Chinese Recorder*, in 1885, reprints of which were published reprint of them in 1886. Young American missionaries in Korea who were just starting a new work in a new land, read that article. In 1890, these young missionaries invited Dr. Nevius to visit them, and Nevius and his wife spent two weeks in Seoul. This two weeks visit with the seven young Presbyterian missionaries had an immediate and profound effect on mission strategies.<sup>68</sup> A year later, “in order to carry out the Nevius principles, the Presbyterian Mission (North) in 1891 adopted a set of Rules and By-laws.”<sup>69</sup> Nevius Methods became the official policy of Presbyterian missions.

Nevius was a missionary to China. Then what happened in China with his new methods?

Brown briefly summarizes what occurred;

He [Nevius] hoped that younger missionaries would carry on as he had done, but apparently this did not happen... There is no evidence that the Nevius Plan had much effect on mission policy in China. It was too radical. Some of Nevius’ missionary colleagues criticized his plan and said it would never work. To make it work would have taken a team effort on the part of all the missionaries and the church in a given area. And this did not happen.<sup>70</sup>

Ironically, fruits of Nevius’ methods did not flourish in his land, but they eventually flourished in Korea, which was a different, and a unique market. Nevius’ colleagues’ criticism was correct. Nevius Methods were too radical at that time, and also required different conditions

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<sup>67</sup> Cliff, Norman H. “Building the Protestant Church in Shandong, China,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22 (April 1998): 63.

<sup>68</sup> Shearer, *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, 45.

<sup>69</sup> Harry A Rhodes, ed., *History of the Korea Mission – Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934* (Seoul: Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1934), 88.

<sup>70</sup> Brown, “Why Has Christianity Grown Faster in Korea?”, 81.



in the religious economy, such as agreement on a geographical division that would allow each mission organization to concentrate on its own territory.

### **What are the Nevius Methods?**

In his book, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*, Charles A. Clark, summarizes the difference between the old way of mission methods and Nevius Methods, which were expanded in Korea.<sup>71</sup> In Table 8 we can see more clearly through this comparison, what were the achievements of Nevius Methods.

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<sup>71</sup> Charles A. Clark summarized the Nevius Methods at nine, but in 1893 when the Council of Protestant Missions, adopted them as their official mission policy it made ten statements. The principles were carried over the specific strategies were altered to fit the situation. See Appendix E.

Table 8  
Nevius Methods and Old Way of Mission<sup>72</sup>

<b>Nevius Methods (The New Way)</b>	<b>The Old Way</b>
1. Missionary personal evangelism through wide itineration.	1. The missionary is located in some large centre, hiring and sending out evangelists to work the field, but not going out personally a great deal.
2. Self-propagation: every believer is a teacher of someone, and a learner from someone else better fitted; every individual and group seeking by the "layering method" to extend the work.	2. A strong desire that each Christian be a worker in his own village, but little definite plan to make him become one, and, in some cases even the missionary having a doubt as to whether the ordinary Christian can or should take time to be such a worker.
3. Self-government: every group under its chosen unpaid Leaders; circuits under their own paid Helpers, who will later yield to Pastors; circuit meetings training the people for later district, provincial and national leadership.	3. Self-government scarcely possible when the missionary held the purse-strings, the best to be hoped for being merely a form of independence.
4. Self-support: all chapels provided by the believers; each group. As soon as founded, beginning to pay towards the circuit Helper's salary; even schools to receive but partial subsidy, and that only while being founded; no pastors of single churches provided by foreign funds.	4. Meeting places in most of the towns and villages, bought or rented with foreign funds; workers on foreign funds hired to manage them; such paid workers provided for single congregations, often with no plan for a diminishing subsidy.
5. Systematic Bible study for every believer under his group Leader and circuit Helper; and of every Leader and Helper in the Bible Classes.	5. No Bible Class system like that of the Nevius plan, expanded in Korea. Systematic teaching in general too little emphasized, the Bible's power not depended upon sufficiently.
6. Strict discipline enforced by Bible penalties.	6. Lax discipline, under the mistaken fear of losing members, forgetting that people always try to get in where entrance is difficult and not where it is easy.
7. Co-operation and union with other bodies, or at least territorial division.	7. Often not believing in territorial division, let alone union, because "our church has a message to all the world."
8. Non-interference in lawsuits or any such matters.	8. As an extreme case, the Catholics in China demanding for their priests the rights of Mandarins. Protestants have never done this, but have too often in the early years taken an active part in lawsuits when they believed that there was injustice.
9. General helpfulness where possible in the economic life problems of the people.	9. Indifference to the economic life of the people. Insisting that the Church's only duty was to men's souls.

<sup>72</sup> Compiled from Charles A. Clark, *The Korean Church and the Nevius Methods*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company 1930, 33-35.

Charles A. Clark also suggests several fundamental factors for the success of the Nevius system in Korea: (1) A group of missionaries who thoroughly believe in the system. It certainly does require courage. (2) A set of rules by which the weak brethren among the missionaries can be held in line unyieldingly – One weak brother who subsidizes secretly or indirectly can break down the whole developing system. (3) A strong station organization to see that every group of Christians is visited and has oversight. (4) All lines of work, medical, educational, evangelistic, etc. must follow the same plan. If one breaks rules, the plan will break down. (5) Without the Bible Class system, we doubt if the plan would be a success. (6) Some cordial plan of comity or territorial division is almost a necessity if the self-support features of the plan are to be established, for missionaries of other denominations in the same field have been known to offer inducements of “Old” way “helpfulness” in order to attract workers or believers disgruntled by the application of the “New” way. (7) A clear cut creedal statement based on the Bible as the authority.<sup>73</sup>

The more interesting aspects of these suggestions are coming from Clark’s own experiences in the Korean mission field. Later, I will discuss more about these special conditions for the Nevius Methods, how they are related to the religious economy in Korea.

All of these conditions were vitally present in the Korea situation...The principles of the Nevius plan seem, humanly speaking, to have been the most important reason for the outstanding results; these special conditions seem also to have had something to do with the matter.<sup>74</sup>

Nineteen years later, as the Presbyterian missionary at Pyongyang Samuel A. Moffett looked back and appreciated Dr. Nevius;

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<sup>73</sup> My summary of Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 242 - 243., and summary by Rhodes, ed. *History of the Korea Mission – Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934*, 88.

<sup>74</sup> Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 244.

Right here our gratitude to Dr. Nevius should be expressed, for from him came the seed thoughts of two great principles in our work – the Bible Training Class system and self support. In the early days Dr. Underwood had a conference with Dr. Nevius and invited him to come to Korea for a conference with the missionaries. I remember well that visit in 1890 when from his twenty five years of experience he talked to us young men and planted in our hearts the seed thoughts of main principles. From these talks and from his book “Methods of Mission Work” the Korea Mission has derived inestimable profit-although in the development of these ideas local conditions and our experience in adapting the methods to meet different circumstances have led to great modifications.<sup>75</sup>

It is clear that the Presbyterian missionaries attributed their success on the Korean mission field, to the adopting and practice of Nevius Methods.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Moffett “Evangelistic Work”, 18.

<sup>76</sup> There are opposing perspectives on whether or not using Nevius Methods played the most important role in the rapid growth of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. Chun, SungChun’s study “Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea”(1954) offers a new dimension of this debate. One of his contributions covers the social, political, economic, and cultural context of the Church in Korea. We will discuss his theory in the next chapter.

**CHAPTER 5**  
**NEVIUS METHODS AND RELIGIOUS ECONOMY**  
**Market share – Geographical Distribution and Cooperation**

As early as 1892, division of territory between the denominations had been started. It was a series of agreements between the Presbyterians and Methodists. In 1892, an agreement was reached between Presbyterian North, and Presbyterian South. In 1898, and 1910, Canadians and Australians shared their territories. In 1892, another agreement began between with the Methodist Episcopal Mission, North, and in 1907, the next agreement with the Methodist Episcopal Mission, South was reached.<sup>77</sup>

This is a description of the agreement between the four missions in Korea – Presbyterian missions (North, South, Canadians and Australians) and Methodist Episcopal missions (North, and South);

In brief they [Methodist Episcopal Mission and Presbyterian Mission] provided that towns of five thousand population or more should be for common occupation; that towns of less than five thousand population were to be considered occupied if meetings were held regularly in them and the groups were visited regularly four times a year, two of the visits to be by missionaries; that societies wishing to expand should go into unoccupied territory; that members would not be received from another church without church letters; that each mission would respect the acts of discipline of the other; that paid workers from one mission would not be employed without the permission of the other; and that as a rule books would be sold and not given away.<sup>78</sup>

These agreements of geographical division were respectfully observed by the denominations. For instance, negotiations between the denominations followed, and when the

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<sup>77</sup> Rhodes, ed. *History Korea Mission - Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934*, 440-422. See Appendix C and D.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. 441.

decision was made between the missions, it went into action; “in the Chairyung field, two thousand Presbyterians became Methodists. As between the two Missions [Presbyterian, North and Methodist, North], the division involved the transfer of about four thousand adherents each way.”<sup>79</sup>

In Seoul and Pyongyang, which was the largest city at that time, there were other adjustments. These two cities were common territory (above 5,000 population) but the country districts were divided.<sup>80</sup> So, a fairly well divided geographical cooperation existed, in both urban and rural areas. They agreed to share their market in the Korea mission field. Thus, Presbyterian missions could operate their own mission policy without interference from competitors.

Practicing Nevius Methods required exactly these conditions of the mission field.<sup>81</sup> In order to avoid interfering competitors, which is more attractive in many ways, setting the territory is a prerequisite. Therefore, this geographical division is a significant aspect of the success of the Presbyterian mission in Korea.<sup>82</sup>

It is worth mentioning that there were four different Presbyterian missions in Korea: as Presbyterians, North and South, Australians, and Canadians. They worked very closely. For instance in 1893, Presbyterian North and South had the first meeting of the Council of Missions,

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<sup>79</sup> Rhodes, ed. *History Korea Mission - Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934*, 443

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Clark, *Korean Church and Nevius Methods*, 243. “Some cordial plan of comity or territorial division is almost a necessity if the self-support features of the plan are to be established, for missionaries of other denominations in the same field have been known to offer inducements of Old way “helpfulness” in order to attract workers or believers disgruntled by the application of the New way.”

<sup>82</sup> Chun, *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea*, 124-25. “The division of territory had an important effect on the missionaries as it did on the Koreans.[emphasis mine] themselves. Since the areas varied economically, socially, and culturally, the missionaries were exposed to only one set of mores, and were apt to be ignorant of the demands of the total population. The atmosphere of the missions themselves, depended upon geography and denomination which further limited the individual missionary’s horizon...In later years the result of the geographical divisions effected by the comity agreement proved an unexpected source of provincialism.”

and they adopted Nevius Methods as their Mission Policy, which had already been adopted as a set of Rules and Bylaws by Presbyterian, North in 1891. Then the Canadians and Australians joined in this unity and cooperated with the other Presbyterians. Finally this resulted in a single unified Presbyterian Church in Korea in 1907. However, the Methodists took different steps, and there were two different Annual Conferences in operation until 1930. These are may be small factors, but Presbyterian missions enjoyed better cooperation and unity than Methodists did.

### **High demands of the church<sup>83</sup>**

Nevius Methods emphasized these three goals: self-support, self-government, and self-propagation.<sup>84</sup> All three emphases require great commitment of the participants.

The theory is, that the Church in any land, even in its infancy, can support itself as to salaries and buildings, on the basis of its own economic life. But if the Mission from foreign funds, pays high salaries, erects large buildings the upkeep of which will be expensive, then the Mission has gone beyond the economic ability of the Church to pay.<sup>85</sup>

This is why Nevius' colleagues saw his methods as too radical. Compared to "Rice Christians" in the mission field, these requirements seemed too much for them.

However, Table 9 and Figure 3 shows a correlation between the higher demands and the rapid growth of the church.<sup>86</sup> I could find two denominations statistics; Presbyterian, North who

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<sup>83</sup> The usage of the term "high demands" can bring needless confusion with other economic concepts in the present study. When I am using "high demand(s)," it is interchangeable with "high expectations members," "cost of belonging to the religious body," and "demands for sacrifice."

<sup>84</sup> According to Bae's study on "Three-Self Principle" and significant role of John Ross in Korean mission field, Nevius had learn this "Three-Self Principle" from Henry Venn (U.K.) and Rufus Anderson (U.S.A.) in his sabbatical years. Bae, An-Ho. "Three-Self principles and mission method of John Ross. – A study of early establishment of Korean Presbyterian [1874-1893]", 3.

<sup>85</sup> Rhodes, ed. *History Korea Mission - Presbyterian Church U.S.A 1884-1934*, 89, 90

<sup>86</sup> This is a powerful testimony. *Missionary Review of the World* (January 1908), 2. "Fifteen years ago the Rev. George Heber Jones was driven away from the city of Kang-hwa, and not allowed to preach. On the Sunday before Mr. Vickrey's visit Mr. Jones, having recently returned to Korea, went again to Kang-hwa, and was welcomed at the boat-landing by 400 Christians, who escorted him four miles to the city gates, where a further welcome was given in behalf of the 3,500 Christians now in that city...*The church is self-supporting*, [emphasis

adopted and practiced Nevius Methods and Methodist, South who did not adopt Nevius Methods.

The following is compiled from different sources and tables for this study.

Table 9  
Native Membership and Financial Contribution, 1900-1910<sup>87</sup>

	<b>Presbyterian, North</b>		<b>Methodist, South</b>	
	<b>Membership</b>	<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b>Membership</b>	<b>Total Contribution</b>
1900	4,793	\$5,186	899	\$272
1901	5,481	4,433	831	328.5
1902	6,491	3,173	964	252
1903	7,916	8,222	1,003	383
1904	9,756	13,766	1,208	840
1905	12,546	27,429	2,921	1,898
1906	15,153	40,088	4,998	2,375
1907	19,654	61,731	6,081	4,384
1908	25,057	81,075	7,687	5,924
1909	32,509	73,939	9,809	4,319
1910	33,074	81,009	8,851	4,031

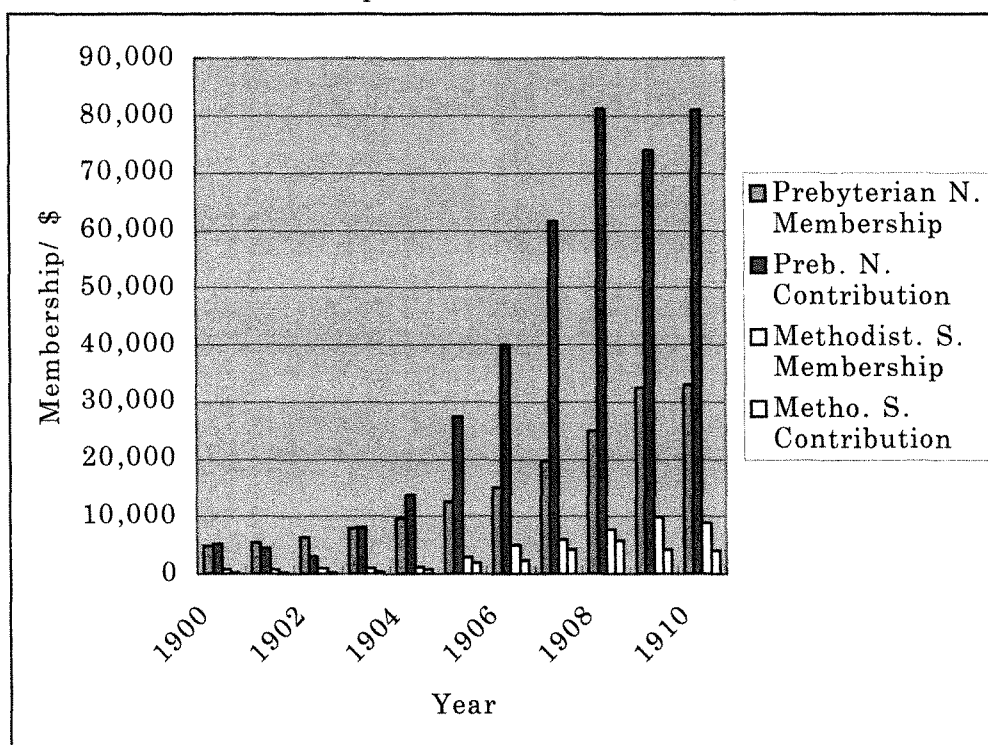
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mine] but Mr. Jones on the morning mentioned asked for a thank offering of 900 yen (\$450) with which to establish new work. He received, not 900 yen, but 1,500 yen, enough to establish three new missions from that one church. "If one were looking for 'rice Christians,'" it is possible that his search would be better rewarded in certain portions of America than in Korea."

<sup>87</sup> Sources: Harry A. Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., 1884-1934* (Seoul: Chosen Mission, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1934), 546,554; J. S. Ryang, ed., *Southern Methodism in Korea: Thirtieth Anniversary* (Seoul: Board of Missions, Korea Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, [1929]), 183, 186.



Figure 3  
Native Membership and Financial Contribution, 1900-1910



Both denominations were growing during these ten years; however, there was a glaring difference between membership and their financial contribution rate. Presbyterian, North and Methodist, South are opposite in their membership and contribution rate. In Presbyterian, North, their membership is always more than their total contribution number, except in 1901 and 1902. From the 1905 on it is almost double or threefold per total membership. However, for Methodist, South, their membership is always bigger than their total contribution. That means the Presbyterians' financial contribution per person is much greater than the Methodists'. Then, what is the relationship between the higher/lower demands made on members and membership growth?

Here is another of Finke and Starks' explanation on higher demands of the church and people's reaction;

Then we will more fully develop the proposition that religious organizations are stronger to the degree that they impose significant costs in terms of sacrifice and even stigma upon their members...People tend to value religion on the basis of how costly it is to belong – the more one must sacrifice in order to be in good standing, the more valuable the religion. A major reason people rate religion this way is that as religious bodies ask less of their members their ability to reward their members declines proportionately.<sup>88</sup>

The following record show, how Presbyterians faithfully followed their mission policy, the self-supporting principle.

The Korean Church has developed as a SELF SUPPORTING CHURCH [emphasis not mine] and the Koreans have shown marked liberality and strength of Christian conviction and character in the way in which they have met the financial burdens placed upon them. *They have built their own church building* in the work of our mission alone not more than 20 are known to have received any foreign funds for their erection, a few of the very large buildings having received aid to the extent of not more than one-third of the cost. *Of 589 primary school buildings, practically all have been provided from Korean funds. Of the 1052 native workers on salary, 94% are supported by the Korean* [emphasis mine]...Now none rejoice in it more than the Koreans themselves who realize what an element it has been in the development of individuals character and the strength of the church. *They themselves enforce it in their own missionary work in Quelpart [southern island –Che-Ju] and Siberia* [emphasis mine].<sup>89</sup>

This self-support not only solved financial burdens, it represented the high demand of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. It also shows that Korean Christians were eager to commit themselves to Christ, their new Lord.<sup>90</sup>

### **Methodist vs. Presbyterian**

We considered the Nevius Methods as a high demand of the church. Yet, this high demand is typical for any conversion, especially in religiously pluralistic settings. Methodists

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<sup>88</sup> Finke and Stark, *Churching of America*, 238.

<sup>89</sup> Moffett “Evangelistic Work”, 23.

<sup>90</sup> “A few months ago we reported the unique offering made in North Korea when some four hundred Christians decided to make a new kind of offering to the Lord, of free, willing service in spreading the Gospel among those of their countrymen who knew it not...The news spread round the district and soon 2,200 days of voluntary service were promised. Several months have passed, and now within the last fortnight we hear that 2,000 souls have been added to that Church...”*Missionary Review of the World* (July 1906): 556.

and Presbyterians both faced the same religious milieu in Korea, and converting to Christianity required some cost for any Korean. In many ways Methodists and Presbyterians were held the same advantages: high standards for church membership, and the same receptivity from Koreans, such as the eagerness of catechumens.<sup>91</sup> The following accounts show pictures of the missionary and Korean congregations, both Presbyterian and Methodist.

This is what a Presbyterian missionary remembers of his ministry on the Northwestern Korean peninsula, near Pyongyang;

Calling the officers, we went apart to a small room and prepared for business. First, the roll book was produced. Each church keeps an accurate record of the church attendance of all the Christians. A cross means 'present' and a cipher means 'absent'. Running my eye hastily down the list I found several names with only ciphers. Some proved to be sick or absent from the village, but several had fallen into sin and quit coming. 'Be sure and bring these men tonight,' I told the officers. 'Don't use force, but compel them to come if you can.' We found twenty names on the roll of catechumens who had been attending faithfully for more than a year and were not baptized. The ordinary course is to receive a man publicly as a catechumen after he has been a Christian for three months and then on year later examine him for baptism. We sent for these twenty and examined them three at a time. Not a perfunctory, matter-of-course ceremony but a real examination, with a weighty decision at the close, whether baptism should be administered or not. 'How long have you been a Christian? Who is Jesus? Why do you believe Him? Have you kept the Sabbath faithfully since believing? Can you read? Do you have family prayers in your home daily? Have you brought anyone to Christ? That night we voted to baptize seventeen out of twenty.'<sup>92</sup>

We can see the high standard for Church membership. Keeping the Sabbath<sup>93</sup>, Bible knowledge and evangelizing others were required for baptism as a full member of the church. In

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<sup>91</sup> Ryu, "American Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1910", 43. "The practices of Methodist missionaries do not seem to have been much different from their Calvinist brethren..."

<sup>92</sup> William Newton Blair and Bruce F Hunt *The Korean Pentecost and The Sufferings which Followed* (Edinburgh: Banner of the truth, 1977), 54.

<sup>93</sup> "Mrs. A.M. Nesbit, of the Presbyterian Mission, writes from Chunju...It costs something to be a Christian here...Take the one thing of Sabbath observance. Every five days there is a big market at Chunju, to which the farmer, merchant, mechanic-every one comes and brings what he has to sell...Of course, every few weeks market day rolls around on Sunday. Now a Korean Christian not only has to give up one-seventh of his income (by keeping one day sacred from barter and trade), and so suffer the jeers and sneers of his neighbors, but sometimes

many aspects, the American missionary's standard was higher than in their home church.<sup>94</sup> This high expectation was the same for Methodist.

This results in a most interesting condition of affairs in the Methodist class leaders' meeting. At this meeting all probationers ready for full membership in the Church are required to appear in order to be examined as to their fitness for the higher responsibilities of church membership. The examination is of a searching character, their knowledge of Christian faith and their life being closely reviewed. The final question is always this: "Have you led some soul to Jesus Christ? Can you point out among those in attendance upon the church some one who has been led there by you? If the candidate is able to answer in the affirmative he or she is immediately approved; but if not, they are asked to wait until their Christianity has borne some visible fruit."<sup>95</sup>

However, even Methodist and Presbyterian both had high receptivity from Koreans, but there were some different mission policies in two missions.

Presbyterians and Methodists were both involved in medical and educational work in Korea from the start. Under the suspicion of the Korean government, who still had fresh memories of all the troubles with Catholic missions, Protestant missionaries were only allowed to reside in open port areas and to work as teachers or medical persons. The first Protestant missionary, Allen (Presbyterian), was a medical doctor. He appointed a physician to U.S. Legation in Seoul. Officially Korean government prohibited the propagation of the Gospel in Korea until around 1890.<sup>96</sup>

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that day is market day, which means a big pecuniary loss. Yet last Sabbath market day Mr. Nesbit counted the heads of more than 1,000 men and boys in our Sabbath-school. It means something for them to be there." *Missionary Review of the World* (September 1909): 701.

<sup>94</sup> Ryu, "American Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1910", 44. "There were, in some ways, striking similarities between American missionaries and the seventeenth-century New England Puritans. The way Puritan congregations chose to ensure the purity of the church, needless to say, was to offer church membership only to "visible saints.""

<sup>95</sup> *Missionary Review of the World* (September 1909): 703.

<sup>96</sup> Shearer, *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, 45. "Also around 1890 it finally became apparent that the Korean governmental rules prohibiting the propagation of the Gospel in Korea, while they were still on the books, were not being enforced... So there came a new era of freedom for the missionaries to itinerate and explore Korea to the far corners, and that is what they did."

This is a good time to remember that 1890 was the year John Nevius and his wife spent two weeks in Seoul. A year later, the Presbyterian Mission (North) adopted to place the Nevius Methods as a set of Rules and By-laws. While Presbyterians made a decision that “priority on direct evangelism,” the Methodists set up a different priority. They had a broader perspective on their mission agenda. Missions through medical works and education were a priority for the Methodists, even after 1890’s changes.

The following quotation is found in *Southern Methodism in Korea – Thirtieth Anniversary*, published in 1929.

The introduction of Southern Methodism into Korea was a great event not only in the history of modern missions, *but also in the history of the Korean civilization*. [emphasis mine] During the last thirty years, the Southern Methodist Church has undertaken to do many things in Korea to lift up the physical and spiritual life of the Korean people, such as the evangelistic, educational, medical, industrial, social and literary work, all of which may be regarded as great success.<sup>97</sup>

Table 10 shows the distribution of missionaries. In 1893, Methodists had fewer than five evangelists, but Presbyterians had eleven evangelistic missionaries.

Table 10  
Distribution of Missionaries in Korea, 1893

	<b>Evangelistic</b>	<b>Educational</b>	<b>Medical</b>	<b>Press</b>	<b>Wives</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Methodist Men</b>	1 1/2*	2	3 1/2	1	8	16
<b>Presbyterian Men</b>	8	1	2	-	9	20
<b>Methodist Ladies</b>	3	-	2	-	-	5
<b>Presbyterian Ladies</b>	3	-	-	-	-	3

\*One Physician gave halftime to evangelistic work.

Remember that Nevius’ idea was to advocate direct evangelism, free from the “institutional baggage” of schools and hospitals. If they hoped to achieve great membership, the

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<sup>97</sup> Ryang, ed., *Southern Methodism in Korea: Thirtieth Anniversary*, 1.

Methodists' priority was wrong.<sup>98</sup> However, these are still more variables to consider. The larger of socio-cultural settings underlying the missionaries' choice must be examined as a contributing factor. The Presbyterians could take the path of direct evangelism, rather mission through various social services, because their mission strategy was suitable with their audiences' social and cultural settings. Here the Methodists faced greater challenges. Sung C. Chun writes, "The Methodist who were stationed in an area rich in old culture were often discouraged because Christian preaching found it hard to win an audience."<sup>99</sup>

### **High demand and socio-cultural settings**

We had a long discussion about the Nevius Methods and their sociological meaning. In many studies, the Nevius Methods have been considered the most important reason for the rapid growth of the Presbyterian Church in Korea. In the previous chapter we have discussed how Nevius Methods could create high demand for the Korean congregations, and how those standards were fulfilled based on the statistics of membership and financial contribution rates. However, further evidence presents us from concluding that the Nevius Methods and results fully account for the sensational church growth. The use of the Nevius Methods and subsequent Presbyterian success supports Finke and Stark's theory that high costs of involvement lead to increased commitment and increased membership. But they do not explain why the same methods did not produce the same results everywhere.<sup>100</sup> The rapid growth of the Presbyterian

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<sup>98</sup> Cliff, Norman H. "Building the Protestant Church in Shandong, China," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 22 (April 1998): 64.

<sup>99</sup> Chun, *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea*, 125.

<sup>100</sup> Shearer, *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, 81. "If someone were to say the Presbyterian Church in North Pyongan Province grew because of the methods used by the Northern Presbyterian Mission, then one would immediately have to ask why, when these same methods were used by the same mission in Kyunggi Province, was there so little growth registered there?... Missionaries were approximately in equal distribution to all areas, but the growth was vastly different."

Church did not happen nation-wide, but rather regionally. It mainly happened in the Northwestern area of the Korean peninsula, in Pyongyang and the surrounding areas.<sup>101</sup> Until the liberation from the Japan in 1945, Pyongyang was the center of the Korean Protestant Church, not Seoul.

In total Christian memberships, the Church in Korea achieved rapid growth, but in the details rapid church growth only happened among Presbyterians, and even then was faster in one region than the national growth rate. Tables 7 and 8 indicate this difference within the Presbyterian missions.

In 1895 the Pyongyang station was established. Before the establishment of Pyongyang station only two stations existed, Seoul and Fusan. In 1899 Taegu station was established as the fourth Presbyterian mission station.

Pyongyang was a regional center of the Northwest and Taegu was a regional center of the Southeast. Both areas were under the Presbyterian, North missions. This means they operated under the same mission policy and same human resources – high demand features (Nevius Methods) and the same type of missionaries (Presbyterian and SVM background). Yet the results were so different.

Table 11  
Number of Presbyterian Communicants in Pyongyang and Taegu Stations.<sup>102</sup>

	1895	1900	1905	1909
Pyongyang	20	2,213	5,468	9,142
Taegu	0	4	112	1,615

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. 103. “That the Presbyterian Church in Korea grew rapidly is an idea which thoroughly pervades missionary literature, but the reality is that chiefly *one section of the Presbyterian Church in Korea grew rapidly*...the great growth in northwest Korea lit up the writing about the Presbyterian Church in Korea. Much of the promotional material fastened on this brilliant story of success and told it as if the entire Church were producing this glorious light. Even though missionaries wrote as if the whole Presbyterian Church in Korea were growing fast, the fact remains that an unspectacular picture of a relatively slow-growing Church, struggling and battling against great odds, is found in the intimate non-promotional writing from all of Korea except the northwestern section.”

<sup>102</sup> Chun, *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea*, 73.

Table 12  
Number of Presbyterian U.S.A. Missionaries assigned to Pyongyang and Taegu.<sup>103</sup>

	1895	1900	1905	1909
Pyongyang	5	20	21	20
Taegu	0	4	11	17

So one must question, if adopting and practising the Nevius Methods caused the rapid growth of the Presbyterian Church, why this rapid church growth happened only in a certain area, the Northwest, and not in all the Presbyterian missions' territory? A possible answer for this question is that something differences exist between Pyongyang and Taegu. Let us now turn to the demand side of the religious economy.

Shearer suggested that there were four causes of rapid growth in Pyongyang and the northwest area; (1) Literacy- "the people of the north, easily attracted to the Church, were more literate than those of the south."<sup>104</sup> (2) Confucianism - "the south was more conservative, holding strongly to Confucian ideals, while the north was open to change."<sup>105</sup> (3) Economic difference - "When the Japanese brought in industrialization, northern farmers, who were independent landowners, prospered by their mineral-rich land."<sup>106</sup> (4) Political difference – "Southerners held control of the central government. The Church as an organization was particularly attractive to northerners, who were not allowed much power in their civil government."<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.74.

<sup>104</sup> Shearer, *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, 143.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. 144.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.



Sung C. Chun, also suggested similar reasons why rapid church growth happened in the north, focusing especially on economic and cultural factors:

The ratio of growth of communicants in the North, however, was more than the ratio of the increase of missionaries. This result may be traced to two causes. On the one hand, the response of the people in the South to Christianity was not as great because of the remaining influence of the older cultural patterns. But also, *the policy of the Presbyterian U.S.A. Mission in the Nevius Methods, was more suited to the economic situation of the middle classes in the North than to the older economic disparities in the South.* It should be noticed that industrialization was taking place in the North, after the area had served as the battlefield for the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). In the South, however, the area had remained almost the same as previously, with less influence from industrial and economic changes. *Christianity therefore flourished in Pyongyang, where the influences of industrialization and the breakdown of the old culture made the area more receptive to new ideas, and where the middle classes were susceptible to the self-support programs laid down under the Nevius Plan.* In the South, however, the tenant farmers were unable to cooperate with the Nevius Plan because of their poverty, and the Yangban classes [ruling class] were unwilling to become Christians because of cultural pride (emphasis mine).<sup>108</sup>

These theses of Shearer and Chun's are very helpful for understanding the variations in the demand side of the religious economy in Korea.<sup>109</sup> The implication of the supply side strategies was more successful in region where particular conditions already existed. The Nevius Methods and the "high cost" theories of Finke and Stark presume certain characteristics of the participants, including a level of educational ability, cultural adaptability, and economic

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<sup>108</sup> Chun, *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea*, 74-75.

<sup>109</sup> John H. Hahn, "The Impact of Nineteenth Century American Church on the Shaping of the Foundation of the Early Korean Church and Society (1884-1935)." (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1998), 10-12. "Chun further developed his argument on the ineffectiveness of the Nevius Method as a whole...First, the Nevius Method made the naïve assumption that churches in Korea would naturally become self-supporting, but the poor tenant-farmers of the South could not adequately support their churches without outside help...Also, the Nevius Method was so heavily oriented toward middle-class merchants and "common folks," that it failed to recognize and embrace the upper-middle class *yangbans*, thereby resulting in their hostility towards Christianity. And finally, Chun held the Nevius Method responsible for creating anti-intellectual, "other-worldly," ultra-conservative clerics in the Korean Church...Chun even went on to claim that the Nevius Method, especially during the times of the Japanese occupation in Korea (1908-1945), fostered anti-intellectualism among the Korean clergy and laymen, and consequently, became favored by the Japanese conquerors who did not want Koreans to be educated."

responsibility.<sup>110</sup> These preconditions are evident at the Presbyterian missions in Pyongyang and Taegu.

### Summary

In this chapter I tried to see the impact of Nevius Methods in the religious economy. They can be interpreted as “high demand and high reward.” We compared annual total membership and financial contributions between Presbyterian, North and Methodist, South. There were strong correlations between the two. More was demanded of Presbyterians by their missionaries and their commitment was higher than that of Methodists, from whom less was demanded.

Yet, the question still remains, “whether the Church flourishes because of the system or the system is possible because of the flourishing condition of the Church.”<sup>111</sup>

At least one thing is clear. The ability of Koreans to respond to the Nevius Methods was heavily influenced by their social conditions.

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<sup>110</sup> Roy E. Shearer was one of the first students of Donald A. McGavran. McGavran and Wagner picked up Shearer’s this study as an evidence of their “Homogeneous Unit Growth” theory. “A classic example of this is given by Roy Shearer in *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea* (1966). Shearer photographed the membership records of the Presbyterian Church in all Korean presbyteries and, carefully refining the statistics, drew nine graphs of growth, one for each presbytery...great growth of the Presbyterian Church in Korea took place chiefly in the two northwest provinces – North and South Pyongan.” Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* – Third Edition, revised and edited by C. Peter Wagner (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 101-104.

<sup>111</sup> Rhodes, ed., *History of the Korea Mission – Presbyterian Church U.S.A. 1884-1934*, 89.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

#### **What can sociology bring church history?**

Finke and Stark's study bring some significant benefits to me, even though I could not fully embrace their methodology. I have tried to test whether or not Finke and Stark's religious economy theory can help to explain the rapid growth of the church in Korea from 1884-1910.

Hopefully, despite Martin Marty's critical comments on Finke and Stark's book *Churching of America*, the use of religious economy theory is not reductionism in the present study. Instead I hope that applying religious economy theory can bring some significant results.

Past studies, investigating the cause of rapid growth in the church in Korea have some limitations. For instance, in general, many church historians and missiologists have suggested that Nevius Methods are the most significant reason for rapid church growth in Korea. However, we already examined up the fact that the rapid Church growth happened regionally, not nationwide, even among the Presbyterian missions. This is how Shearer made a great contribution through his statistical study *Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea*, published in 1966. He discovered this difference in growth rate within Presbyterian missions.

Another significant contribution on this subject, Chun S. Chun's doctoral dissertation "Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea (1954) " attracted the attention of scholars. He is considered the first person to bring a sociological perspective to bear on Korean

church history, because he offered the social, political, economic, and cultural context of the Church in Korea.

Shearer respectfully accepts Chun's brilliant study, even though Chun dislikes the Nevius Methods and finds them to be an incomplete explanation for church growth. Unfortunately, although Shearer had access to Chun's works, he ignored the opportunity to synthesize Chun's thesis with his own discoveries. Instead he picked up the "homogeneous unit growth principle" which is one of the major tenets of the school to which Shearer belonged: the Church Growth Movement. Shearer's conclusions from Korean history have been considered "the example" of homogenous unit principles.<sup>112</sup>

It seems better to develop some dialogue between these two different purpose-driven studies: "religious economy" and "Church growth movement." For me, they represent two sides of the same coin: the effort to understand Church growth.

In the present study, we paid more attention to Chun's analytic perspectives on social-cultural stratifications in the Korea mission field. They explain why certain areas achieved rapid growth. Especially when one sees the Nevius Methods as high demands made by missionaries on members of the young church, Chun's thesis becomes great support for the religious economy theory in Korea. It is also true that this connection shows what is insufficient in Finke and Stark's theory. They overlook the prerequisites of religious participation in a particular social setting, such as the fact that the "self support" principle required a certain level of economic standard. They see people operating by rational choice, but fail to focus in the circumstances that condition those choices. As sociologists they could take more fully into account the way class or culture constrain an individual's freedom to choose.

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<sup>112</sup> McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth*, 101.

### **Limitations and further studies**

Rethinking mission in the larger context brings more fruitful results. There are several significant questions remaining, for example, how did declining denominations in late nineteenth century in U.S.A. keep up their leading position in the overseas missions? Regarding this global religious market, we critically applied and examined the relationship “higher tension and mission involvement”, and I suggested that para-church movement and voluntary societies could replace the need for sect formation in the church. This particular topic needs further study, and concrete evidence.

Also, this study has fundamental limitations based on lack of sources. I can count two difficulties. First, many significant primary sources are located in archives in East coast area, inaccessible to me since I could not travel there in person. Second, the dominant sources of this study only reflect missionaries’ perspectives. This difficulty is widespread in the study of church history in Korea.

Finally, this study is a very personal project of a Korean student who is studying church history in North America. When I started studying church history in my first semester at the seminary, very soon I began to ask myself, what is your version of Christianity? The next year, when I took the American Church history class, I was surprised to discover that my contemporary Korean Presbyterian Christianity deeply connected with American Christianity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In fact, it seems to me like a clone of faith.

The church is not only God’s divine agent, but is also human organization, and I am a person who seeks an explanation about the human side of religion.

**Appendix A**  
**Timeline of Korean Mission Field (1866-1910)**

- 1866 – Thomas of Scotland Bible Society martyred in Pyongyang.
- 1876 – McIntyre and Ross baptize Korean Protestants in Manchuria.
- 1882 – The first treaty between the United States and Korea was signed at Chemulpo.
- 1884 – H. N. Allen arrived and was appointed physician to the U.S. Legation.
- 1885 – A Government Hospital was opened under charge of Dr. Allen.
- 1885 – Rev. H. G. Underwood and Rev. H. G. Appenzeller arrive.
- 1887 – Bible Committee organized (Presbyterian and Methodist)
- 1887 – Appenzeller baptised his first convert, a Japanese.
- 1887 – Underwood visited Euiju. En route he visited Sorai baptizing seven men.
- 1889 – Australian Mission began.
- 1889 – Union Council of Presbyterian missions
- 1894 – Tonghak rebellion occurs, Japan defeats China.
- 1894 – Moffett baptised seven men in Pyongyang.
- 1895 – Sorai Church dedicated. First Protestant church building erected by Koreans.
- 1898 – Canadian Presbyterian Mission opens.
- 1899 – John L. Nevius visited Korea.
- 1900 – New Testament translation completed.
- 1901 – Theological education began in Pyongyang (Presbyterian).
- 1904 – Japan defeats Russia.
- 1905 – Organized General Council of Evangelical Mission in Korea.
- 1907 – Great Revival in Pyongyang.
- 1907 – Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Korea was constituted in Pyongyang.
- 1910 – Methodist Theological Seminary formally organized.
- 1910 – Million Souls for Christ movement
- 1910 – Korea annexed by Japan.

**Appendix B**  
The Number of New Missionaries to Korea (1884-1910)<sup>113</sup>

Year	NP	*NM	SP	SM	*AP	*CP	*CE	*Others
1884	2							
1885	3	4						
1886	1	1						
1887		6						
1888	5							
1889	2	2			2			1
1890	2	2					6	
1891	7	3			4		1	2
1892	8	4	7		2			1
1893	4	2	4			1		1
1894	1	2	1		2			
1895	6	1	1		1	1		3
1896	4			1	1		1	4
1897	9	1	1	2			2	
1898	1	6		2		3		
1899	6	4	3	2				1
1900	7	3	1		2	2		
1901	7	5	1	4		2		1
1902	7	5	2	3	2			
1903	10	11	1	1		1		1
1904	6	1	6	1				
1905	7	4	2	3	2	1	1	3
1906	3	5	3	3		1		1
1907	12	9	12	9	1	1	3	2
1908	22	12	7	4			1	12
1909	15	7	2	4	3	2	1	9
1910	8	14	8	7	5			12
Total	165	114	62	46	27	15	16	54
%	33.1	22.9	12.4	9.2	5.4	3.0	3.2	10.8

(\*) indicates approximate numbers.

NP= Presbyterian Church(U.S.A.); NM=Methodist Episcopal Church; SP=Presbyterian Church (U.S.); SM=Methodist Episcopal Church, South; AP=Australian Presbyterian Church; CP=Canadian Presbyterian Church; CE=Church of England; Others include Salvation Army, Oriental Missionary Society, Seventh Day Adventists.

Sources: Harry A. Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., 1884-1934* (Seoul: Chosen Mission, Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 1934), 625-32; J. S. Ryang, ed., *Southern Methodism in Korea: Thirtieth Anniversary* (Seoul: Board of Missions, Korea Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, [1929]), 9-13; Sungtae Kim and Hyejin Bag., *Naehan Songyosa Chongram, 1884-1984* [A Complete Directory of Missionaries to Korea, 1884-1994] (Seoul: Institute For Korean Church History, 1994).

<sup>113</sup> Reproduced from Ryu, "American Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1910: A Critical Study of Missionaries and Their Involvement in Korean American Relations and Korean Politics," 8.

**Appendix C**  
Territorial Partition Agreement between the Methodist Episcopal Mission  
and the Northern Presbyterian Mission in 1893<sup>114</sup>

1. Resolved, that we advise that as a general rule the common occupation of small cities and the districts around them, is not the most profitable way of utilizing our forces; but that open ports and towns having a population of over 5,000 shall be open for common occupation; and especially so when they are needful bases for the occupation of the regions beyond.
2. When a town of less than 5,000 inhabitants has been established as a sub-station by the missionary in charge of the district (sub-station being understood to be a place where inquirers or Christians regularly assemble for worship on the Lord's Day, or a place visited not less than four times a year, two visits at least to be made by the foreign missionary in person) it should be considered as occupied, and we deem it inadvisable for another Mission to begin work there; but the discontinuance of work for six months shall leave it an open field.
3. That societies wishing to begin new work or to extend, be strongly recommended to take into consideration unoccupied territory, so as to speedily cover the whole field.
4. We recognize the inherent rights of every church member to transfer his membership to another denomination; but persons whose names are on the records of a church as members or candidates, shall not be received by another church without a letter of recommendation from those in charge.
5. That we mutually respect the acts of discipline of the various churches.
6. Helpers, students and assistants in any department of the work shall not be received in any capacity whatever by another Mission without the written consent of the person to whom they are responsible.
7. That, as a general rule, books shall be sold and not given, and that we should have uniformity prices.

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<sup>114</sup> Reproduced from L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910*, 449.



## Appendix D

### Geographical distribution of Missions<sup>115</sup>



	Canadian Presbyterian Missions		Presbyterian, North Missions
	Presbyterian, South Missions		Australian Presbyterian Missions
	Methodist, North Missions		Methodist, South Missions

<sup>115</sup> Reproduce from Institute for Korean Church History, *A History of Korean Church*, vol 1 (16c-1918), 215.

## Appendix E

### Mission Policies of Council of Missions, in 1893<sup>116</sup>

1. It is better to work at the conversion of the working classes than that of the higher classes.
2. The conversion of women and the training of Christian girls should be a special aim, since mothers exercise so important an influence over future generations.
3. Much could be effected in Christian education by maintaining elementary schools in country towns; therefore we should aim to qualify young men in our boy's schools and send them out as teachers.
4. Our hope for an educated native ministry lies in the same quarter, and should be constantly kept in view.
5. The word of God converts where man is without resources: therefore it is most important that we make every effort to place a clear translation of the Bible before the people as soon as possible.
6. In all literary work, a pure Korean, free from sinicisms, should be our aim.
7. An aggressive church must be a self-supporting church and we must aim to diminish the proportion of dependents among our membership, and to increase that of self-supporting, and therefore contributing, individuals.
8. The mass of Koreans must be led to Christ by their own fellow-countrymen; therefore we should thoroughly train a few as evangelists, rather than preach to the multitude ourselves.
9. The services of our physicians can be turned to best account when it is possible to keep the same patient long under treatment, either in a hospital ward or in the patient's home, thus giving opportunity for instructions and example to sink deeply into the mind. Dispensary work is of comparatively little profit.
10. Patient from the country who have undergone a season of treatment ought to be followed up by visitation in their native villages, because their experience of compassionate dealing is likely to open a wide door for the evangelist.

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<sup>116</sup> Reproduce from Charles A. Clark, *History of the Korean Church* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961), 84-85.

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