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# Shinto Shrine Issue of the 1930's in the South Kyung Sang Province

—Especially concerned with the Australian Presbyterian Mission—

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## 1. Introduction—Political Situation in general

The 1930's began with a political upheaval in Japan. It was to set the subsequent political and military course of the Far East, and drastically affect the fortunes of the Korean church and the life and work of the foreign missions in Korea. That is to say the course of Christianity in Korea was mingled inextricably with political developments. During the 1920's a brief period of conciliatory policy toward Korea was adopted but the rise of Japanese militarism in the 1930's, which coincided with the Shinto shrine worship, again subjected the nation to severe oppression. Particularly offensive to the Christians was the matter of Shinto shrine worship.

In November 1930 powerful forces in the army, navy and secret nationalistic

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societies in Japan plotted to assassinate the moderate Prime minister Yuko Hamaguchi, who gained an absolute majority in the general elections in 1930. The militarists seized power in order to enforce the policy of military expansion which the previous prime minister, Giichi Tanaka, had initiated by sending a considerable army to Manchuria, ostensibly to protect the Japanese policed South-Manchuria railway.

It remained for the military extremists to manipulate an incident which would give them a pretext for further expansion on the Asian continent and an opportunity to solidify their control at home. That incident took place on September 18, 1931, when an explosion rocked the South Manchuria railroad near Mukden (Bong Chun). By the next morning nearly 10,000 Japanese armed troops were dispatched to Mukden, ostensibly for the "protection" of the railroad system. Mukden was occupied immediately and the following year, the "Manchuria Incident" occurred resulting in the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and the creation of the puppet state to be known as "Manchuko".

In retrospect this was the first step on Japan's fanatical march toward military conquest. The League of Nations protested against this military aggression through the report of the Lytton Commission. They recommended that Japan withdraw her troops into the treaty zone, but the War Minister, General Araki, declared to Lord Lytton that "the actions of the Japanese army in Manchuria are the Imperial prerogative." Japan then withdrew from the League in October, 1931. Now separated from the West, Japan determined to force her invasion on China, gradually moving southward.

Chiang Kaishek, in agreement with the Communist leaders, decided to unify the front line against Japan in a policy of resistance. Japan decided to launch an attack against China before it became united as a nation. The result was the incident of the *Lukowkiao* bridge near Peiping July 7, 1937, which opened a phase of Chinese resistance which, after 1941, merged into World War Two. The Japanese used the incident as an excuse for the occupation of Peiping and Tientsin.

Inevitably the change of policy in Tokyo and the course of events in China affected the relations of Japan with the people and government of Korea. For Korea, the chain of events set off by the Manchurian railway explosion led to an increasingly harsh colonial policy. General Minami, an out and out

militarist, became Korea's Governor-General in 1936, and he took control with an iron hand.

When Japan began to expand her empire by military conquest in the 1930's an iron control was exercised over every part of the life of the Korean people. The Japanese language was made the official medium of communication and the only language of instruction in the schools. The Korean language was totally banned in order to accelerate the Japanese programs of assimilation. Korean families were even forced to change their family names to Japanese forms.

For the Christian church and the missions, the political change brought a steady tightening of restrictions and controls. The Japanese policy being what is was, it was inevitable that at point after point the churches and Christian missions should find themselves in collision with the Japanese imperial authorities. Ancient forms of State Shinto were revitalized to whip the populace into more frenzied patriotism. For Korean Christians, whose loyalty had always been under suspicion, this brought on a time of new testing, and a serious crisis for the young church.

As the process of national assimilation accelerated, Japan demanded Shinto worship as one of the essential aspects of "mobilization of the national spirit." Shinto shrines were erected in all the main cities and even the smaller towns. Government officials, school teachers and students were commanded to go to the ceremonies held at these shrines. The Emperor was considered to be a god, and the spirits of departed emperors and their sun-goddess ancestress were also worshipped. Prayers of adoration and thanksgiving were offered at these shrines, and petitions were offered to the gods of Japan.

From the year 1935 on, pupils and teachers in Christian schools and the Christian congregations were also commanded to bow before the emperor's portrait, make obeisance at shrines dedicated to the sun-goddess, bow to or salute the flag, bow toward the Imperial palace, and put *Taima* in every home.<sup>1)</sup>

After 1938 government pressure to attend Shinto shrines was especially

1. The *taima* is a fetish consisting of a strip of paper on which the name of the Sun-goddess is written, and a strand of hemp from the *taima* in the grand shrine at Ise, Japan.

concentrated on the schools. This quickly became a major problem for the missions, then largely in control of the schools, and placed the Korean church in the spotlight. The extent of compulsion in Korea was greater than in Japan proper. It was reported that "The insistence of the government on school attendance at Shinto shrines seems to be pressed with greater urgency in Korea and Formosa than in Japan itself and continues to cause much anxiety to the church."<sup>2)</sup> As the Korean Christians and churches faced the shrine issue, there were three different positions: firstly, many Christians and ministers who were influenced by the liberal theology altered the unique Christian witness by compromising with other beliefs; secondly, others for fear of the authorities, were silent about such a compromise, though they knew it was wrong; thirdly, there were still others who challenged shrine worship by their faith and Christian witness even at the cost of their lives. These positions and their impact upon the church will be discussed in the following sections.

The Shinto shrine issue is an important topic in that the significance of the repercussions for the Korean church and missions has continued to the present.

## 2. Exaction of Shrine Worship

Shintoism is the indigenous religion of Japan.<sup>3)</sup> The appellation "Shinto", however, is of Chinese origin and was first used in Japan when it was necessary to distinguish between the national faith and Buddhism, which was introduced in the middle of the sixth century A.D. Previously, all objects of worship had been called *Kami*(god) and the word *Kamigoto* or *Matsurigoto* was used both for the religious ceremonies and government affairs. The Japanese

2. "A survey of the year 1937", in *International Review of the Mission*, vol. XXVII, No. 105 (Jan. 1938), p. 13.

3. See the first chapter of Dr. Kun Sam Lee's most valuable historical analysis of the history of Shintoism in Japan and its confrontation by Christianity. *The Christian confrontation with Shinto Nationalism. An historical and critical study of the conflict of Christianity and Shinto in Japan in the period between the Meiji Restoration and the end of World War II (1868-1945)*. (Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Pub. Co. 1966)

translation of the word Shinto is *Kami*(shin-)-*nomichi*(-to) or "the way of the Kami", often interpreted as "the way of the gods."

Basically old Shinto was the Japanese indigenous religion before Buddhism or Confucian influences affected it, but at the time of the Meiji Restoration (1868) it revived, combined with Emperor worship and developed into the State religion strongly combined with Japanese Nationalism.<sup>4)</sup> The Meiji government of Japan made Shinto the basis of her religious legitimation of governmental authority, decision making and other political processes. In the year of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 an imperial edict was promulgated. It stated:

The worship of *Kamis* and regard for ceremonies are the great proprieties of the empire and the fundamental principles of national policy.....<sup>5)</sup>

It should be noted that in this structure of "national polity" the Emperors were believed to be descendants of the imperial ancestress, the lineal successor of the Sun-goddess, *Amaterasu Omikami*, and therefore he is the incarnate deity. Another edict in 1870 stated,

The heavenly deities and the great ancestress established the throne and made the succession secure. The line of emperors in unbroken succession entered into possession thereof and handed it on. Religious ceremonies and government were one and the same and the innumerable subjects were united.<sup>6)</sup>

Thus, the Emperor was believed to be a living god and centre of all political power.<sup>7)</sup> As has happened throughout history the deification of the ruler of the nation was the most common form of extreme nationalism.

4. Kun Sam Lee, *Ibid.*, p. 19.

5. An Imperial Rescript promulgated on November 30, 1868, quoted in D.C. Holtam, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism*(New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1963), p. 5.

6. Imperial Rescript promulgated on Feb. 3, 1870, quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

7. The constitution of Meiji Japan in its first article stated: "The Empire of Japan shall be reigned over and governed by a line of emperors unbroken for ages eternal" and the third article declared: "The emperor is sacred and inviolable" (c.f. Wi Jo Kang, "Religion and politics under Japanese Rule", *Korea's Response to Japan: The Colonial Period, 1910-1945*, ed., by C.I. Eugene Kim and D.E. Mortimore. (The centre for Korean Studies, Western Michigan Univ., 1975, p. 114).

This nationalism, a compound of Shintoism, Emperor worship and *Bushido*<sup>8)</sup>, the way of the *Samurai* Warrior, was stimulated by those in the Meiji era (1868-1910) for two reasons: to centralize the national power, and to promote national defense against foreign powers. Since the Japanese people were supposed to be thus descended, they came to feel that they were a superior race, even a divine race, destined to extend the rule of the Emperor throughout the world.

Throughout the Meiji period and after, up to the end of the Second World War, the modified Shinto ideology—*Tenno*-absolutism and universal expansionism—was the driving force under the military leaders.<sup>9)</sup> In other words, under this principle nationalistic Shinto ideology was a means employed in the so-called peaceful offensive of military expansionists as the religious expression of loyalty to the Emperor and to the nation. Along with national expansion and the spread of the military forces over Formosa, Korea, Manchuria and China, Shinto shrines were established and worship was imposed in the territories.

The Shinto problem, however, did not become a serious issue in Korean religious life until 1938, when the Government ordered all educational institutions, including Christian mission schools, to make obeisance to Shinto shrine ceremonies as a part of a "Spiritual mobilization programme." From this time Shintoism emerged as the most crucial challenge yet to confront the churches of Korea. The conflict with Japanese Shinto nationalism began to have an impact on the Christian school system, and therefore primarily among the mission community.

With the Japanese policy of national expansion, Shintoism was used "as an agency of political and military control" in Korea for "a political regimentation

8. As to *Bushido*, according to B.H. Chamberlin the word *Busido* not to be found in any Japanese dictionary prior to the year 1900 (E. Dening, *Japan*, London, 1960, p. 49). Nevertheless, this unwritten code of conduct for the *Samurai* had been in existence for centuries. Nitobe Inazo, in his book, *Bushido* (1940), pointed out the essence of *Bushido* to be rectitude or righteousness, courage and fortitude, benevolence, politeness and loyalty. The militarists were anxious to utilize *bushido* in their military ideals rather than in character training. *Bushio* was called by the militarists, "The essence of the spirit of Japan" (Nippon Seishin).

9. Kun Sam Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

that effects conformity by police authority"<sup>10)</sup> Thus Shintoism was bound to clash with the cause of Protestant missions; it was also inevitable that schools would be the first to bear the brunt of the attack.

The conflict of Shintoism with Christian education began to reach its climax in the North in November, 1835, when the Governor of South Pyungan province ordered educators to go to the Shrine and to do obeisance to the spirits enshrined there. But Dr. George McCune, the principal of Union Christian College in Pyung Yang and Miss Velma L. Snook, the principal of Sungui girls' secondary school refused, on conscientious grounds. In retaliation, the government revoked the educational permits of Dr. McCune and Miss Snook. They were eventually relieved from the position on January 20 and 21, 1936, respectively, and forced to leave Korea.

The next year, August, 1936, when General Minami Jiro, the tough-minded commanding General of the notorious *Kwan Tong* Army, became the new Governor-General of Korea, the issue became more intense and was broadened to include all secondary mission schools in Korea. Orders were passed down from the Educational Ministry to all prefectures, demanding that the faculty and students of all mission schools go to the shrine. The general demanded strict worship of Shinto ceremonies and faithful attendance at shrines by all Koreans.

In October, 1937, General Minami decreed that the "Oath of Imperial subjects"<sup>11)</sup> be recited publicly in all meetings of schools and organizations and imposed the Shinto idea of the Emperor as a living deity.<sup>12)</sup> From this time on the pressure of the government upon Christian churches to participate in Shinto ceremonies increased significantly. Requests were made by the missions to substitute some other act of allegiance, but all such attempts at negotiation failed. Even formal discussion of the question by school or mission bodies

10. D. C. Holtam, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

11. There were two oaths with slight variations, for different age groups. The following is the translation of the oath of the junior age group.

First, we are subjects of the Great Japanese Empire.

Second, we, in unity of our minds, fulfil the duty of loyalty and service to the Empire.

Third, we endure hardships and become strong and good citizens.

(Quoted from Wi Jo Kang, *op. cit.*, p. 122).

12. W. J. Kang, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

were forbidden.

As the Koreans faced the shrine issue, they rejected the plea and engaged in a radical resistance to it as being no less than idolatry, violating God's commandment. In an attempt to bring all Koreans to observance of Shinto ceremonies, the Government took the position that these were not religious exercises, but patriotic acts. The issue was greatly confused, perhaps intentionally, by the attitude of the Japanese authorities. The government explained<sup>13)</sup> :

The veneration of her illustrious dead in places specially dedicated to their memory has been a national custom of Japan, for ages past, and the state ceremonies for this purpose are treated by the Government as distinct from those of a purely religious nature.

They insisted again and again that the ceremonies in question were a patriotic act and had nothing to do with religious acts.<sup>14)</sup> To support this contention, they made a distinction between state Shinto and sect Shinto. However, when questioned more closely, it was difficult for the state officials to give an interpretation of the shrine ritual which did not sound very religious. Actually no valid distinction could be made between state and sect Shinto. The shrine ceremonies showed clearly the definite religious characteristics of state Shinto. These included prayers and ceremonial offerings in which all the

13. Annual Report on Reforms and progress in Chosen. 1933-1934 (Keijo : Government General of Chosen), p. 86.

14. On June 29, 1936, the Government invited Hon. Baron Yun Chi Ho and Rev. Ju-Sam Ryang, general superintendent of the Korean Methodist church and other church leaders, both Presbyterian and Methodist, to attend a meeting for the purpose of explaining its position. On that occasion, Mr. Watanabe, the head of the Educational Bureau of the governor-General and spokesman of the government made the official position which read;

1. Attendance upon the shrine is not religious but a government ceremony. It is not an act of worship, but is the paying of the highest respect to ancestors.
2. The Educational system has the object of training loyal subjects as well as giving them knowledge. Therefore, school teachers and pupils must make obeisance at the shrines. The attendance of others is a voluntary act not required.

(A. W. Wasson, "The Shrine questions", *Missionary Year Book of the Methodist Church, South, 1937*, p. 282. See also *The Methodist Episcopal Church Foreign Missions, Journal*, 1938, p. 216.)

attributes of deity were ascribed to the objects of veneration. For example, a declaration of the department of education of Japanese government stated that, "our land is a divine country ruled by the Emperor who is manifest god."<sup>15)</sup>

The learned Dr. Kato Genchi who was professor of the Tokyo Imperial University in charge of the chair of Shinto, leaves no doubt of the religious nature of the ceremonies of the shrines :

The Emperor is incarnate deity, and occupies in Japanese faith the position which Jehovah occupied in Judaism..... The pith and essence of Shinto is the unique patriotism of the Japanese, together with national morality transfused with religious feeling..... We can not pass over the fact that these ceremonials at the Shrines are accompanied by a faith in the divine aid of a great spiritual power..... The shrines cannot be limited as being merely edifices where past heroes are commemorated in an ethical sense. The affairs of the festivals are pure religion. To regard them as other than religious is indeed a biased interpretation and must be pronounced as an extreme misrepresentation of the Shrines.<sup>16)</sup>

The official explanation was denounced by the highest authorities on Shinto as a mendacity designed to overcome the objections in Christian communities.

When the shrine issue first became a problem in the mid 1930's the attitude of the Korean church was overwhelming opposition to any compromise. But as pressure from the government increased, the threats, arrests, imprisonments and intimidations left their mark. The stronger voices in opposition were silenced and only those who followed the Japanese line were allowed to speak. Many persuaded themselves that it was plausible to accept the authorities' interpretation of the matter. Others, while admitting that the problem was one of religion, still favoured complying with the government's directives as the only way of keeping the schools open.<sup>17)</sup>

15. C.D. Fulton, *Star in the East* (Richmond, Virginia : Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1938), p. 202.

16. c.f. A. Morgan Young, *The Rise of a Pagan State*.

17. G.T. Brown, *Mission to Korea* (Board of World Mission, Presbyterian church, U.S. 1962), p. 151.

### 3. Australian Presbyterian Mission and Shrine Issue

As the Korean Church faced the shrine issue national leaders and missionaries on the field were divided on the matter. It was tragic and yet, perhaps, inevitable that the various denominations and missions could not maintain a united front.

The basic problem was whether State Shinto was merely a political act, a token demonstration of patriotism and loyalty to the Japanese Empire or a religious exercise. If obeisance at the state shrine was an act of religious worship it would be idolatry pure and simple. But if it was only a patriotic act, then grounds of Christian expediency could be cited.<sup>18)</sup>

Most Korean Christians opposed the government's definition and refused to participate in Shinto ceremonies. Not all the missions answered these questions in the same way. Nor did every member of the same mission agree with the decision of their group. But the majority of the missionaries interpreted participation in Shinto shrine ceremonies as definitely religious.<sup>19)</sup> Some missions chose to take at face value the statement of the authorities that the shrine ceremony was a political act. It will be necessary for us to discuss briefly the position of the foreign missions in Korea before we discuss the position of the Australian Presbyterian Mission (here after A. P. M.) to compare the different views of the missions.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

19. Some leading missionaries, like Dr. H. H. Underwood, president of the Chosen Christian College and Rev. Edwin W. Koons, principal of John D. Wells School (now Kyung Shin High School), Seoul, accepted the government's definition of Shinto as non religious.

Dr. Underwood says, "We further rest upon our privilege of making public declaration of intention regarding attendance as an act of national duty and not an act of worship", (See H. H. Underwood, "The Shrine question: Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, *The Presbyterian Tribune*, LIII, No. 8, Jan, 20, 1938, pp. 9ff). And Rev. E. W. Koons says, "I believe that so long our schools are not required to actively share in these shrines ceremonies, but are allowed to show their loyalty by bowing only, that no Divine command is violated, and the schools should be allowed to obey such orders, proper explanations being made to the students and any others concerned" (See "A principal's conviction on the Shrine Question," Jun. 8, 1937, Unpublished paper, preserved in the Synod Archives, Synod of Victoria, the Uniting church of Australia).

Roman Catholics, instead of their former attitude of 1918 and 1931<sup>20)</sup> that participation in shrine ceremonies was idolatry, sacrificed their principle in 1936 by instructions from Rome for the protection of their own organization. On May 25, 1936, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith at Rome issued an Instruction, a norm of practical behaviour for the Catholics, which read :

The ordinaries in the territories of the Japanese Empire shall instruct the faithful that, to the ceremonies which are held at the *Jinja* (national shrines) civilly administered by the government, there is attributed by the civil authorities as is evident from the various declarations and by the common estimation of cultured persons a merely patriotic significance, namely, an indication of filial reverence towards the Imperial Family and to the heroes of the country : therefore, since ceremonies of this kind are endowed with a purely civil value, *it is lawful for Catholics to join in them and act in accord with the other citizens* after having made known their intention, if this be necessary for the removal of any false interpretations of their acts.<sup>21)</sup>

These instructions solved the Shinto issue as far as the Roman Catholics were concerned.

The Methodists, the second largest protestant group, chose to accept the government's interpretation after consulting with their leaders in Korea as well as in America and decided in 1937 to comply on the basis of official assurance that shrine attendance was patriotic rather than a religious act.<sup>22)</sup> Thus the

20. According to Holtam a Japanese bishop told his people in 1931, "the Shinto Shrines, so the high authorities of the Government tell us, do not maintain a religion, but as a matter of fact the ceremonies that are performed therein have a full religious character." Thus the sacred right of religious freedom, given to the people in Article 28 of the Constitution, is forgotten and violated by the ministry of education. (Quoted in Holtam, *op. cit.*, p. 98).

21. Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, "Instruction", *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Romae "Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1936). Annual XXVIII, series II, III, pp. 408-409. See also D. C. Holtam, "State Shinto and Religion", in *International Review of Mission*, April, 1939, p. 163.

22. See *International Review of Mission*, vol. XXVII, No. 105 (1938), p. 12. The Methodists position, briefly stated, is as follows:

1. To accept at face value the Government declaration that these observances are patriotic and non-religious.
2. To teach this to our students and church members, helping to educate them as to the distinction between Religious Shinto and State Shinto.

Methodist schools gave in to the demands of the authorities and these schools remained open.

However, for Presbyterians, this problem remained serious. The attitude of the Presbyterian missionaries, on the whole, was generally against participation in the shrine obeisance. But there were voices among the missionaries urging moderation and it is interesting that the demands were primarily those of the educators on the mission staff, the group traditionally more liberal than the ministers.<sup>23)</sup>

The Canadian Mission was loath to give up advantages so long fought for and adopted the Methodist position on the shrine question. The Board of foreign missions of the United church of Canada had not issued instructions to its mission, but the missionaries were "preponderantly in favour of conformity"<sup>24)</sup> It was reported that there was, as in the others, at least one resignation in protest against the decision.<sup>25)</sup> They preserved their schools and institutions, and the staff and pupils regularly visited the shrines.

The Southern Presbyterian Mission, officially the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian church in the U. S., took the strongest stand against the shrine ceremony. Despite all attempts by the authorities to confuse the issue, despite the Koreans' intense desire to keep the schools open at all costs, and despite the differences of opinion among the other mission bodies, Southern Presbyterian missionaries came to the conclusion that the issue was clear-cut,

3. To embrace thus the opportunity of teaching Bible and of having our students in daily chapel services, instead of closing the schools, thus forcing Christian youth to get its education in governmental schools where all students must attend the Shrine ceremonies and who, in such schools, secure no training in Bible or Christian worship.
4. To live Jusus Christ before and among our pupils so that our teaching will have dynamic (sic).
5. And if the day ever comes when some ultra-radical government forbids christian teaching and work, to face that issue according to conscience and with fearlessness. (The Methodist Episcopal Church, Foreign Missions, *Journal* 1938, pp. 216, 217).

23. Harvie Conn, "Studies in the theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church, Part II." *The Westminster Theological Journal*, Vol. XXIX, No. 2 (May, 1967), p. 163.

24. William Paton and M. M. Underhill, "The Shinto Shrines: A problem confronting the Church II." *International Review of Mission* Vol. XXIX, No. 2, (1940), p. 310.

25. *Ibid.*

between monotheism and polytheism.<sup>26)</sup> This conviction was hammered out in various meetings and greatly strengthened by the visit of the executive secretary, Dr. C. Darby Fulton. He outlined the mission's attitude as follows :

The mission was unanimously of the mind that we could not participate in the shrine ceremonies without compromising vital Christian principles. We were not dealing with something that lies in the realm of nonessentials, but with basic beliefs of the Christian faith: something so elementary as to be a simple question between monotheism and polytheism.<sup>27)</sup>

They decided to close their schools and to retire from secular education rather than comply with Japan's demands concerning shrine attendance.

The Northern Presbyterian Mission decided to refuse to submit to the demands of the Japanese government regarding obeisance at Shinto shrines. However, they were seriously split over the issue. This was because a minority of the missionaries, and the mission board in New York, were influenced by liberal theology and did not see and great harm in shrine worship.<sup>28)</sup> It should be noted that, in general, the more liberal-minded men were more compromising to the Japanese Shinto ceremonies. However, at the annual meeting of the Korean Mission in July, 1936, when the proposed recommendations of the Executive Committee of the Board of Foreign Mission regarding the disposal of the missions educational institutions were presented, the following recommendation was adopted by a vote of 69-16 :

Recognising the increasing difficulties of maintaining our mission schools and also of preserving in them the full purposes and ideals with which they were founded, we recommend that the mission approve the policy of retiring from the field of secular education.<sup>29)</sup>

26. G. T. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

27. G. T. Fulton, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

28. According to the Harry Rhodes and Archibard Campbell "A minority in the mission took the position that they could accept the government's statement that the ceremonies were not religious and comply with the order," And they added that "only a few of this minority actually went out to the shrines." (Rhodes and Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 8).

29. *Minutes and Reports of the Chosen Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.* 1936, p. 37.

Eventually both Presbyterian Missions closed all their own schools<sup>30)</sup> and the Northern Presbyterian Mission withdrew its support from the colleges in which it was working in co-operation with other denominations.

Now is the time for us to discuss the position and attitude of the APM with regard to the Shinto issue. Australian missionaries, in general, took a strong and uncompromising stand against the shrine ceremony. However, a minority, mainly educational missionaries, felt that the lesser of two evils would be to compromise in order to keep the mission schools open. This issue was not without its denouncers and in both the Mission Council and Home Board there were apparently enough voices suggesting a certain amount of compromise but, nevertheless, the official position of the Mission Council of APM was very strong against the shrine.

The first official attitude of the APM on the shrine issue was manifested in 1936 when certain demands were made upon missions by the government. On February 8, 1936 at a *pro re Nata* meeting of the Mission Council, held at Masan, the APM unequivocally and unanimously passed a resolution refusing any association with shrine ceremonies. It reads :

We wish to express the high respect and loyalty which we hold towards His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan. This we do in gratitude for the blessings of good government, and the many courtesies we have received in this land, and because of the teaching of the Christian Scriptures that we should honour those set in authority. We recognise our obligation to promote the virtues of obedience and loyalty in our students.

We desire that our schools should participate in all national ceremonies. But since we worship one God alone, Creator and Ruler of the universe, revealed also as the Father of Mankind, and because to comply with an order to make obeisance at Shrines which are dedicated to other spirits, and at which acts of worship are commonly performed would constitute for us a disobedience to His expressed Command, we therefore are unable to make such obeisances ourselves, or to instruct our schools to do so."<sup>31)</sup>

30. In the case of both the Southern and the Northern Presbyterian Mission schools, the educational authorities did not permit it to be officially said that the reason on account of which these missions closed was the shrine issue, and actually these missions thought themselves compelled to accept this interdiction of the Government against stating the real reason why the schools were closed.

31. *Extracts from the Records of the APM in Korea*, Vol. 23, p. 78. All Japanese copies of

The decision was referred to the Foreign Mission Committee (here after F. M. C.) of the Home church, since this issue implied closing of the schools, but the F. M. C. failed to come to an agreement, but suggested that possibly some honourable way *via media* might be made.<sup>32)</sup> This letter from the Home Board was intercepted by police and used against APM, as officially directing such a course. Those in charge of schools and some other members of the mission agreed on a compromise, and though there was no sanction from the Mission Council, APM acquiesced in it. With the understanding and consent of the local authorities, APM agreed to do "silent prayer." That is, though the schools under the control of the APM refused to make full obeisance, in an effort to express loyalty to the Emperor and the State, they agreed to visit the shrines when no Shinto ceremonies were in progress, and the conventional obeisance, *Cham-bai*, was not to be made. Instead, after clear and public instruction to the students, there was to be private prayer, *Meukto*, to God for the peace and well-being of the nation and her ruler. This can be regarded as a kind of compromise in order to continue educational work in the field.<sup>33)</sup>

the Minutes of this resolution were confiscated and Japanese high officials ordered APM to keep it quiet because of the stir it would make (c. f. J. Stuckey's letter to his aunt B. Campbell dated Feb. 6, 1939).

32. The Mission Council of APM in Korea was advised by the Home Church and led by Rev. N. MacKenzie, an influential and senior member of the Mission who had been prevented by illness from sharing in the discussions which culminated in the unanimous decision, later accepted a measure of concession. (c. f. C. I. McLaren, Report of the Committee appointed by the APM with the object of seeking the safe guarding of the spiritual liberty of Christians, n. d. p. 2)
33. Local authorities who had agreed on this arrangement reported to the higher authorities schools of APM as conforming institutions. This means the fact that the authorities recognise *Meukto* (silent prayer) as *Chambai* (obeisance). Therefore that the condoning of *Meukto* was only possible by means of the subterfuge of reporting schools of APM as conforming schools to the central authorities in Seoul. Even though Australian Missionaries are not responsible for this subterfuge they allowed themselves to shelter behind it. In theory it is possible to go and pray to God in any place, even before a shrine, but in practice to go and pray before the shrine with others who are doing obeisance is a self-contradiction. A similar opinion was held among Korean Christians too. But later members of APM felt that they must stop *Meukto* at the shrine. Thus in June, 1938, the Mission Council which was held in Masan decided informally that the mission school which up until then had gone out and had silent prayer could not do so any longer. This informal decision was influenced by the Revs. S. R. Choi and S. D. Han (c. f. "An account of the present situation in the Church in South Kyung Sang province of Korea," p. 4).



The authorities apparently accepted these concessions as sufficient in the first two years. Later, from 1938, they began to press for thorough-going and complete obeisance. Notice was given by the authorities that silent prayer would no longer be accepted and finally demanded that the full measure of regular conformity be practised.

The demands on attendance at Shinto shrines were made first at schools and then on all individuals, and organisations. This included the Christian church and upon church courts as they controlled the life of the members of the church. During these years public bodies including churches were required to do certain things. These requirements were to salute the flag, recite the national pledges, to sing the national anthem and to bow to the East—the direction in which the Emperor resided. Such was the situation with which the mission was faced at the beginning of 1939. The most serious problem was in the mission itself. The principals of the schools under care of APM had taken up, individually, an attitude contrary to the mission's decision of February, 1936, and contrary to the opinion of the rest of the mission as a whole.<sup>34)</sup> On this matter there was a good deal of very strong feeling and also divergence of opinion as to the way in which the situation should be dealt with. Consequently an Executive Committee held at Fusanchin on December 28, 1938, agreed that a special meeting of Mission Council be called to meet at Chinju. The Korean Mission Council held a special meeting on January 4, 1939 and spent five days on the business of the mission and gave long and thorough discussion to this matter of attendance at the shrines. The issue divided the missionaries and mission council. There were acute differences of opinion as to the Christian and expedient course to be adopted especially concerned with the closing or continuation of the mission school. Although they dissented from the agreed position that no individual member of council can conscientiously approve of making obeisance (*Chambai*) at the national shrines, some members, mainly educationalists including Miss M. Davies, Miss S.

34. Letter of F. W. Cunningham to the secretary of F.M.C. dated Dec. 14 and 31, 1938. When pressure was again being put on the schools, ultimatums being given, some of the principals of the schools decided to go. For example, Miss A. M. Skinner of Tong Yung was convinced that the whole act at the shrine is not religious and therefore can be done. Rev. F. L. Macrae of Masan and Miss M. Withers of Busan stated their intention of going out and went out (see Rev. J. Stuckey's letter to Miss B. Campbell, Secretary of PWMU dated Feb. 6, 1939, p. 3)

Scott, Rev. J. F. L. Macrae, were willing to accept the demand of the authorities in order to continue educational work.

Rev. J. N. MacKenzie, who retired from the mission field in June, 1939, was a most active advocate and defender of the minority party in the mission, and tried to find a way to compromise. He openly opposed the policy of the Korean Mission at home and even defended Japanese authorities from a charge of persecuting Korean Christian churches.<sup>35)</sup>

But the majority of the members were strongly against making obeisance at the shrine. Their theoretical basis was that it meant denying the supremacy of God and admitting the false thesis of the divinity of the state and supremacy of the spirits of the Imperial ancestors of Japan. The leading figures of this group for the mission were Dr. McLaren, Revs. F. Borland, J. Stuckey, H. Lane, A. Cottrel and Misses D. Hocking and M. Tait. Among them Dr. McLaren was the leader of the mission who protested most strongly against Shinto Nationalism.<sup>36)</sup> Indeed he was the mover of the motion of February, 1936, against obeying an order to make obeisance at shrines.

The mission council at last felt that it had to make a decision on this issue whether they should accept or refuse to allow the schools under the control of the mission to participate in required ceremonies. The result of the deliberations was that, on January 10, 1939, by a majority of 20 to 4 the following resolutions were passed.<sup>37)</sup>

35. Mr. MacKenzie claimed that the persecution in Korea is not persecution of Christianity per se and that it was carried on only by "individual police..... who had grudges of their own against Christianity," and it was only a matter of local petty officials (c. f. J. N. MacKenzie, "More Facts About the Shinto Question", *Messenger*, Mar. 3, 1939, p. 564. F. Borland's letter to Matthew, secretary of F. M. C. dated 27, 1938). Such a statement shows either his ignorance of the widespread nature of the persecution and fails to appreciate the real facts or his pro-Japanese prejudice. His attitude and criticism on the majority party of the mission was a vulgar personal attack (*Argumentum ad homo*) when he belittled the majority by describing it as "largely composed of wives of missionaries and first term missionaries still struggling with the language, and therefore not in close touch with Korean affairs".

(MacKenzie, "The Shrine Question", *Messenger*, Mar. 17, 1939, p. 608). He makes a grave misrepresentation of the actual situation.

36. c. f. C. I. McLaren, "The Pagan state and the Christian Church in Japan", *The Reformed Theological Review* (May, 1943), pp. 16-27.

37. *Extracts from the Records of the APM* vol. 26, pp. 14, 15.

(1) That in development of our Mission policy enunciated in February 1936, we now resolve that both in Church and School we dissociate ourselves from attendance at Shrines. This we do from a conviction that in this act of bowing at Shrines there is inherent a token of assent to claims which we believe to be contrary to the truth of God, truth concerning which it is our primary duty as Christians to bear witness.

(2) That further we seek to maintain our Christian witness in education, and our goodwill and helpfulness to Japan, by every effort to continue our schools.

(That this mission can not continue to support any institution which does not conform to the mission policy as formulated).<sup>38)</sup>

In accordance with a promise given to the police, this motion was submitted to the police before being officially voted on by the mission meeting. In spite of the police forbidding the passing of the motion and threatening consequences, the motion was put and carried. The situation was perhaps the most tense the mission had ever faced.

As manifested in the resolution, the attitude of APM was very stern and it reflects strong resistance against the demands of the government authorities.<sup>39)</sup> At the same time it left room to negotiate with the government authorities by saying that "further we seek to maintain our Christian witness in education..... by every effort to continue our schools." For this reason, Revs., F. Borland, H. Lane and Dr. McLaren were appointed to be a committee to represent the mission in any negotiations with the authorities. It also intimated to the authorities its desire to continue in educational work, and re-affirmed their intention to instruct students under their care in all the principles of loyalty and true citizenship. If we compare the position of the APM with the Southern Presbyterian Mission, the decision of the latter was not only to dissociate themselves from the attendance at the shrine, but they also withdrew from the field of secular education promptly.<sup>40)</sup> The Southern Presbyterian

38. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, Australia*, for May, 1939, p.89. This parenthesized passage is omitted in the *Extracts from the records of the APM* vol. 26, p. 15.

39. It should be mentioned here that before this resolution was proposed in the committee a motion was brought forward to allow shrine attendance on certain occasions. But this motion was lost by 20 to 4 and the above mentioned 1936 resolution still stood unaltered.

(c. f. *Chronicles*, March, 1, 1939, p. 16)

40. G. T. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

Mission also appointed a negotiating committee but the difference was the objective of the committee, that is, that of APM was to negotiate to continue the education but that of the Southern Presbyterian Mission was to negotiate with the government in order to close the schools.<sup>41)</sup>

Since the APM refused to conform, the logical outcome was that the schools be closed. In June 1939, on the notification of the decision of the mission to the Authorities, written instructions were given to close the schools.<sup>42)</sup>

A protest made from the June, 1939 Council to the Governor-General<sup>43)</sup> was rejected; the government was determined that the order to attend the shrines should be obeyed. The shrine was the focal point for the mobilisation of the national spirit of the whole nation, and the participation of churches and schools as an example to the community was imperative from their point of view.

As result, three girls' primary schools at Fusanchin, Masan, and Chinju were taken over by the government. The Mission Council agreed to loan the buildings and equipment temporarily, in the case of the first two for two years, and in the case of Chinju for five years. At Kuchang the school had already had a permit for registration of their new school refused and the school had been transferred to the local church, the land, buildings and

41. *Ibid.*

42. It may be useful to quote the actual words of one of the orders that came for the closing of the schools :

"From the Vice-Governor of South Kyung Sang Province to the Founder of the Fusanchin IIsin Girls' Schools.

I am deeply grateful to you for your labour of many years in the cause of Korean education and enlightenment; it will long be remembered in the history of Korea. In the matter of Shrine Attendance, which, at this time, is so necessary to our people, I regret that for religious reasons your ideas are not in line with those of the Government. Therefore, the Authorities, with all gratitude and respect, desire that you, with the purpose of handing over your school, make an application to the Governor of South Kyung Sang Province to close it. I hope that you will loan the school and all equipment (without cost) until the present pupils graduate, and thereafter, when you are disposing of them, that you will sell them to us at a cheap price. The Authorities will long remember your labours and wish to use the property in extending the cause of education."

43. Detailed title of the protest is as follows : "From the Australian Presbyterian Mission, Chosen, to His Excellency General Minami, Governor General of Chosen. A Protest." The text of this document can be found at Synod Archives, Synod of Victoria, the Uniting Church of Australia.

equipment to be regarded as lent for a period of two years until March, 1941.

At Masan, the boy's primary school, which belonged to the congregation but was subsidised and helped by the mission passed to the government. The sub-primary school for girls at Tong Yung was given permission to continue until March 1940 and was thus the last to be closed.

The Vocational Farm School for Girls at Tongnai, Pusan, was allowed to change its registration. It was closed as a school on August 15, but continued as a charitable organization for which no permit is required. It was called in Korean "Tongnai Yerjah Silsoo Won", in English "Tongnai Vocational Farm."

<sup>44)</sup> This did not give a complete guarantee of exemption from the national ceremonies, but this alteration in status enabled the work to go on for the time being.

Tongnai Ilsin School, a girls' secondary school, was among the most important mission schools which measured up to government requirements and had been granted 'recognition.' (*Ji Jung*) This school, known as the Jane B. Harper Secondary School for Girls, was ordered to close, but it remained in a special position because of a desire in many quarters to preserve it and its traditions. Finally, when the authorities realized that the mission could not move from its position, action was taken to incorporate it in the organization of the Fusan Secondary School, operated by the government. <sup>45)</sup>

In October, 1939, the Council decided that, though the mission be forced to relinquish control of the school, the buildings and grounds must be rented. Then came a further development resulting in discussion with the Presbytery. At a meeting of the Executive Council in July, 1940, a request was received from the Presbytery asking that the Mission hand over Tongnai Ilsin School to them, without compensation, the school buildings and equipment, along with interest donated amounting to some 30,000 Yen, to be placed under a foundation which should carry on the school as a Christian school in perpetuity. The Presbytery was to be represented by one manager on the foundation. This was discussed and the Presbytery considered it impossible to continue the school as a Christian institution. At the special meeting of the Council held in

44. *Extracts from the Records of APM in Korea*, Vol. 26, p. 46.

45. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria* for May, 1940, p. 84.

Masan on October 17, 1939, with a delegation from the Home Board, led by the Rev. G. Anderson, the F.M.C. Secretary with representatives for the F.M.C. and P.W.M.U., a motion was passed stating :

Convinced that in the present circumstances no intention (however sincere) nor guarantee (however explicit) on the part of possible purchasers of the school property can ensure its continuance as a school maintaining a clear and effective Christian witness; sustained also by a strong hope that in the over-ruling Province of God, these circumstances will be changed in such a way that effective Christian use of the buildings will again be possible; while we deeply appreciate the generous offers made by the prospective donors and the sincere desire for service in education exhibited by the Presbytery, we resolve that though forced to relinquish conduct of the school, we retain the buildings and grounds. <sup>46)</sup>

There was a further meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council with some of the members of the Delegation the following month to consider an offer from the Parents' Association of the School that the Mission sell to them the land, buildings and equipment, along with the dormitory and residence of the principal. <sup>47)</sup> As a business transaction they offered a reasonable sum for the property. The Parents' Association gave assurance that they planned to form a judicial committee "to carry on as a designated Christian school as at present." <sup>48)</sup>

Since the consent of the majority of the members of the Mission was given and the authorisation of the PWMU for the sale was received by cable, a purchase price of 50,000 Yen cash was agreed on. The Mission agreed to

46. *Extracts from the Records of the APM in Korea*, Vol. 26, p. 50.

47. In this meeting the F.M.C. Secretary and other members of the delegation were absent, having gone on to China at the time.

48. *Extracts from the Records of the APM in Korea*, Vol. 27, p. 4. This account is contradictory to that of Dr. C. McLaren, according to whom Parents' Association "did not offer any assurance of Christian conduct of the school as a reason for its transfer, though the buyers were sympathetic to Christian education and made it evident that within their opportunity they would continue Christian instruction."

(C. McLaren, "Report of the Committee appointed by the APM with the object of seeking the safe guarding of the Spiritual liberty of Christians." Typewritten document, p. 7). Though they promised "to carry on Christian schools as at present," actually it was impossible a non-Christian group in its constitution and objective to conduct Christian education.

continue financial support until the end of the school year in the following March (March 31, 1940) and Miss M. Davies consented to the request that she remain as principal until the takeover was effected at that date. Thus this historic piece of missionary educational work was ended. The APM had passed up an overture from a Presbytery to continue this school and sold the property at close to the market value to a secular organization.

Dr. S.C. Chun writing in his book said of this incident:

The action was taken because the mission could not conscientiously ask or allow other Christians to do what was the original reason for closing the school, and they did not see fit to make a virtual gift of the property to be used for other purposes.<sup>49)</sup>

The fact should be pointed out that APM disposed of school property to a non-Christian group which continued educational work, but of course without any pretence of stressing Christianity. This was an unfortunate consequence.

#### 4. Shrine Issue in the South Kyung Sang Province

The turning point for the Christian churches, especially the Presbyterians, was the approval of Shinto shrine worship by the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1938. When government authorities found its requirements satisfied the schools, it began to concentrate on enforcing shrine worship on the church. The pressure of the government upon Christian churches to participate in Shinto ceremonies now increased significantly. It became more and more difficult to resist the government's demand. During 1937 and 1938, the Methodist church, the second largest Protestant group in Korea, accepted the demand to comply with the shrine ceremonies and other Christian groups followed by force of the government. The Presbyterian church was the last anvil. However, Presbyterians too, finally agreed to obey the government order to participate in the shrine ceremonies.

49. S. C. Chun, *Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea*, (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1979), p. 222.

The General Assembly of the Korean Presbyterian church held on September 10, 1938, in Pyung Yang was forced by the unusual use of police power to resolve that shrine worship was not religious in nature and that all Christians were to be encouraged to participate in the ceremonies<sup>50)</sup> The proposal was moved and seconded by presbytery moderators specially designated by the police. The moderator of the Assembly, declared the motion carried without putting the negative, which was an illegal proceeding. It was declared passed. It read:

We understand that the shrine is not religion and not contrary to Christian doctrine in principle, and we realise that shrine worship is a patriotic national ceremony, and we will take the lead in the performance thereof and also in the present national emergency we will take our part as members of the whole movement of national citizenship and give our devotion as imperial citizens behind the guns<sup>51)</sup>

After the session the Rev. Kil Chang Kim, vice-moderator, with the representatives of each presbytery, was appointed to go to the shrine in the city in order to represent the assembly. This was a most humiliating experience for the Korean Presbyterian church. The 'surrender' of the Korean Presbyterian church was forced by police pressure and this official resolution by the largest and most influential Christian denomination in Korea was much used by the police as an effective tool to persecute Christians who refused shrine worship.

Even before the General Assembly, as the presbyteries began to meet in the

50. At the time the Assembly was composed of eighty-six Korean Pastors, eighty-five elders and twenty-two foreign missionaries from the then twenty-seven presbyteries including four presbyteries in Manchuria. All the officers were Korean. Most of the commissioners had been informed by the local police that the shrine issue would be raised. They were warned not to oppose any action favourable to Shrine obeisance. Those who were outspoken against bowing were refused permission to travel, so that only those who would vote for Shrine worship or who would maintain silence on the issue at the Assembly were allowed to go. The Assembly met under police surveillance. When the General Assembly was opened three Japanese police officials in uniform sat on the platform with the officers of the Assembly. Many plain-clothed policemen were interspersed with the Assembly delegates and uniformed police surrounded the outside.

51. *Minutes of the 27th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea*, 1938, p. 6

Spring of 1938, a concerted campaign was made across the country by the Japanese police authorities to force each presbytery to go to the shrine as a body. Consequently, prior to the General Assembly, seventeen presbyteries of the then twenty-three, including the presbyteries of Soon Chun, Pyung Yang, Anju and Seoul, had given in on the shrine issue and agreed to bow at the shrines.

Despite the demanding submission for conformity, South Kyung Sang Presbytery maintained a strong resistance for a long time. It is well known that this presbytery passed a resolution of non attendance at the shrine worship as early as 1931 when it was not yet an issue. This was mainly due to the strong leadership of several Calvinistic pastors such as Rev. Ki Chul Chu. Its June, 1938, meeting which was held at Hai Un Dai<sup>52)</sup> was another historic event in that it was a most inspiring and stimulating gathering against the attempted conforming to the shrine worship, and in that it served as a diverging point in the process of gaining power by the conformists.

During these years, the Japanese, satisfied over the progress of Shinto ideology in the school system, turned their attention on the churches. Thus the shrine question arose in the churches many times and they appealed to the presbytery to negotiate on their behalf. Consequently the government relations committee of the presbytery was formed and under police pressure submitted its report affirming that since 'no religion was involved,' shrine attendance did not violate the Christian conscience. This capitulation to official demands showed the lack of spiritual discernment and discrimination of the Committee, which accepted as true the false witness of those who claimed that Shinto nationalism was not religious.

The attitude of the presbytery was, on the whole, against the Committee's recommendation. Some members were fearful of the consequences, but after long discussion were strengthened in their resolve. The committee in humiliation proposed its resignation. The motion was seconded, and Rev. S. R. Choi, the moderator, announced at the closing act of business of the presbytery "that the recommendation of the government relations committee was

52. For a detailed description on the presbytery meeting at Hae Un Dai church titled "Unto the church in Smyrna write", *Messenger*, (July 15, 1935), pp. 39-40.

contrary to the mind of the presbytery, that committee had therefore resigned and that their recommendation had become null and void".<sup>53)</sup> The moderator then read from the book of Revelation, the message to the church in Smyrna, which was dramatic and symbolic. "Fear not the things which thou art about to suffer, behold, the devil is about to cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days, Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life" (KJV. Rev. 2 : 10).

It is necessary at this point to remember that thanks to the strong leadership of a few, an official presbytery decision was avoided and there remained some resistance to the presbytery.<sup>54)</sup> After the presbytery meeting in June, 1938, in Hae Un Dae and the official affirmation of the General Assembly in September, pressure became greater upon presbyteries, congregations and also individuals who refused to conform. Police detention, duress, threats of deprivation of livelihood and torture were all freely employed as a means of persuasion. A good many ministers had already, under the subtle methods of pressure used, given way and become ardent advocates of obeisance. Two of the leading figures who had gone over and agreed to the authority's demands were Revs. Kil Chang Kim and Man Il Kim<sup>55)</sup> They became the leaders of the conforming movement in the Presbytery.

The resisting, non-conforming ministers were discharged from their parishes and lost their positions in the church by force. Meanwhile the very men who had been humbled by the lack of confidence vote and who had disgraced themselves by the compromise in the name of Presbytery came back into

53. A report entitled "The crisis facing the Christian church in Korea" by Dr. C. McLaren p.2. According to another typewritten article of Dr. C. McLaren, after their recommendation had been rejected and their resignation accepted "they became party to sending out to the churches as in the name of the presbytery, and its officers, the very recommendation which had been so emphatically rejected" (McLaren, "They will cast you out of their synagogues", p.1).

54. Because of his open declaration the Rev. S. R. Choi had been under inquisition at the police station some twenty times and then arrested in 1938. He died in prison in June 1945, two months before the Liberation from the Japanese occupation, without one iota of compromise.

55. C. f. Frank Cunningham's letter to Rev. H. Matthew, Secretary of the F. M. C. dated July 19, 1938.

power and influence.

The result of this loss of resisting leadership was quite clear. The faithful conservatives who stood firm were shut out, and the leadership of the church which had been in their hands, fell to those who had accepted the demands of the authorities. As was expressed by Dr. C. McLaren, "the presbytery which had gone into the fight with flying colours, lost its courage. Resistance crumbled away".<sup>56)</sup>

The attitude and position of the presbytery moved quickly from this point. The first plain evidence of this swift transition was their relationship with the mission policy and missionaries who stood against shrine worship. The Mission council of APM convened in Masan in June, 1938, and decided informally that the mission schools which up until then had gone out and had "silent prayer" could no longer do so. When it became apparent that the missionaries would stand fast to their policy enunciated in February, 1936, (again re-affirmed in January, 1939), and that this would involve the closure of mission schools, the presbytery became increasingly hostile to the mission policy.<sup>57)</sup> Criticisms were made against the mission policy and missionaries who supported resisting leaders and their activities. They accused missionaries of wanting to oppose and destroy the organized (established) church and form an underground church.<sup>58)</sup>

In the struggle between the presbytery and the Australian Mission, the presbytery appointed a mission relations committee to confer with the members of the Mission. The five members of this committee were all leaders of the

56. C. McLaren, "They will cast you out of their Synagogues", Unpublished typewritten paper, p. 3.

57. In September, 1938, Presbytery sent a petition with the signatures of twenty two members that schools be continued to the Mission Executive (*Extracts from the Records of APM* vol. 26, p. 4). This petition was sent out when the mission council held in Masan in June that year decided informally to reject silent prayer. Upon hearing this decision twelve ministers of South Kyung Sang Presbytery met on August 19, and decided to send a request to the Mission Executive.

58. See the Report by the South Kyung Sang presbytery entitled, "An account of the present situation in the church in the South Kyung Sang Province of Korea" (1939).

conforming party.<sup>59)</sup> One of these was Rev. Kil Chang Kim who had been a notorious conformist in shrine ceremonies.<sup>60)</sup>

On December 28 and 29, 1938, the committee and the Mission Executive met together at the Pusanchin church, Pusan, in a round table conference.<sup>61)</sup> In fact it seemed impossible from the beginning that they would reach an amicable settlement. The meeting was a frustrating one. The presbytery committee explained the policy of the Assembly and presbytery and then asked the Mission to comply with the decision of the Korean church. They wanted to see both unite in a common front in order to preserve the church. When we take into consideration, in this context, the theoretical basis of complying ministers it soon became apparent that the mission's disassociation with the conforming party was inevitable. Consequently, it is not surprising that relations between the mission and the presbytery deteriorated after this conference.<sup>62)</sup> In such a situation it was a wise decision that the missionaries of the APM not join hands with the conforming leaders and congregations, but with an uncompromising party. If they had united with compromising leaders they would have been forced to betray others who had been fighting a noble battle for their Christian convictions.

The frustrations of the South Kyung Sang Presbytery were demonstrated to the full at the presbytery meeting held in Milyang in December 1938. Since the majority of the ministers had given a lead to the church as a whole to bow

59. C.f. J. Stuckey's letter to Miss B. Campbell, Secretary of PWMU dated Feb. 6, 1939, p. 3, F. Cunningham's letter to Rev. H. Matthew, Secretary of FMC dated Dec. 14, 1938.

60. He was one of the delegates who visited Japan in company with other prominent Korean church leaders and officials. The main object of the visit which had been arranged by the authorities was a visitation to important shrines in Japan, including the Grand shrine of the Sun goddess at Ise.

61. The missionaries who attended this meeting were Dr. C. McLaren, Revs. F. Borland, F. Cunningham, F. L. Macrae (one day), M. Trudinger, H. Lane, J. Stuckey and of the ladies S. M. Scott, M. Davies, M. Withers, M. Alexander. (See Stuckey's letter to B. Campbell dated Feb. 6, 1939, p. 3).

62. After the final decision of the mission not to give over its middle school to the Presbytery, but to sell the building to the School's Parents' Association' the ill will of this party in the Presbytery became more manifest.

before the storm, the presbytery showed many signs of having been stricken and blighted with little hope of resistance. The presbytery was convened on December 6.<sup>63)</sup> Next morning, as usual, there was a dawn prayer meeting. Immediately afterwards, without warning, thirty police rounded up all members present, headed them into waiting cars and drove them off to the shrine where they were obliged to make obeisance. No single individual was allowed to escape. Four missionaries, F. Borland, F. Cunningham, H. Lane and J. Stuckey, attended this presbytery and were given a brief and definite warning by the police that they should refrain from interfering in any way.<sup>64)</sup> It was much the same when the General Assembly met during September of that year. This humiliation of South Kyung Sang Presbytery as a body was a direct cause of the conflict and disorder in the presbytery after liberation from the Japanese rule in 1945, and also served to divide the Presbyterian church for the first time in Korea.<sup>65)</sup>

As mentioned in the previous section, the Mission council of January, 1939, held in Chinju decided definitely that they could not approve of any attendance at the shrine, and also could not support any institutions or any kind of work that took any part in attendance at the shrine. This firm decision was very important and it created a sensational response in the presbytery. Almost immediately a special meeting of the presbytery was called on February 7, 1939, at Tongnai church, Pusan, where the decision of the special Mission council of January was discussed. Since the policy of the presbytery was

63. A considerable number of the faithful ministers and elders were absent in this Presbytery meeting, Rev. S. R. Choi who behaved so courageously in the June meeting was not able to be present. Rev. Yak Sin Lee, because, he had been physically abused and forced to do what he would not, was too sore at heart about it to be present. The ministers of Chinju, Kuchang and Masan were likewise absent, together with many faithful elders.

64. F. Cunningham's letter to Rev. H. Matthew, dated December 14, 1938.

65. In the years immediately following Liberation, two related areas especially became the stages upon which the conflict was waged. The area of most immediate need was the 'shrine issue'. What was to be done about it and about the ministers and people who had been involved in it during the war years? Connected with this problem was the question of the liberal leadership that had assumed control of the church during the Japanese occupation. Such issues created serious strife and in the end brought division in the church.

apparently contradictory with the APM, it was decided that some necessary action should be taken with regard to missionaries or Korean members who opposed this policy.<sup>66)</sup> They further resolved to send letters to Australian churches in order to explain the so called 'real situation in Korea.'

On February 29, 1939, as a consequence of this decision, a fifteen page report was printed and sent to the Home Board of the APM. It was entitled "An account of the present situation in the church in the South Kyung Sang Province of Korea", which was prepared by conformists in the presbytery. The report can be summarized in three main points. Firstly, it emphasized that the shrine was not a religious practice but an act of patriotism, and Secondly, it criticized the mission and its policy as wrong and unjust. Thirdly, it asked the Home Board to continue educational work in the field. The report defended the position taken up by the Presbytery concerning the shrine issue. Furthermore, it tried to defend the demands of the Japanese authorities. It reads :

The motive of the Authorities in demanding attendance at it (shrine worship) is their insistence of a national consciousness and also a realization of the present situation. There is no idea of religion in it.

One of the reasons for the insistence of this upon the Christian church is because in the past there has been suspicion of Korean Nationalism within the church. Also a suspicion that there is a leaning upon Western support and thus weakening spirit of self-support. Therefore they want to correct this idea. It is not that they want us to have another religion as well as Christianity. The Constitution of the Empire gives freedom of Religion to its nationals who carry out their duty to the country as nationals.

Some say it is disobedience to the ten commandments. But to us there is only one God, and beside Him there are no other gods. Some missionaries say this may be so, and though we may believe this yet we fear this may be a stumbling block to weak Korean Christians. But we want the Korean Christian to have a strong progressive faith that will be able to meet the needs of the times.<sup>67)</sup>

66. To give an example of action taken by the presbytery, Rev. J. Stuckey who opposed the policy of the presbytery was deprived of the leadership of country churches. And Rev. Harold Lane was removed from his church by the decision of the presbytery (see J. Stuckey, "The Shinto shrine issue in Korea between 1935-1940", *Monthly Kosin* No. 96 (Aug. 1989) p. 45.

67. "An account of the present situation in the church in South Kyung Sang Province of Korea", pp. 6-7.

Rev. J. Stuckey, then a young member on the mission staff, immediately sent a dissenting report<sup>68)</sup> to the home church and others who had something to do with Presbytery and Mission. He said in his reply that "an amazing fabrication of half truth, misrepresentations and actual falsehoods" had arrived.<sup>69)</sup> Further more, he said the Presbytery report lacked authenticity and integrity in that its text contained no valid objective facts, in that the historical accounts in the text were subjectively adopted or rejected to buttress its claims. Above all the report purposely distorted the truth, by a biased misinterpretation. Mr. Stuckey concluded that, "the account, so biased, so full of inaccuracies is not a reliable one to make the basis of any action."<sup>70)</sup>

The fact that the account of a presbytery committee was sent to Australia before being given to the Australian missionaries working in Pusan was sad enough. What was worse however, was that the long list of signatures attached to the end of the document were actually relevant only to the last page, which was a simple request for APM to continue their schools. In the mean time as a result of police pressure there arose an even sadder incident in the Chinju church, which had provided the strongest non-shrine leadership by ministers or missionaries.<sup>71)</sup> On February 9, 1939, the Chinju church, the first and largest congregation in the Chinju district, issued and sent out two so called Proclamations, one to the national congregations and fellow Christians entitled "Proclamation to our beloved brethren of other congregations-from

68. Titled "Being a reply to the Account of the Present Situation in the Church in South Kyung Sang Province sent to the Presbyterian Church of Victoria".

69. J. Stuckey, op. cit, p. 46.

70. J. Stuckey, "Being a reply to the Account", p. 6.

71. Chinju was the strongest anti-shrine district in the presbytery. According to "An Account of the Present Situation in the Church in South Kyung Sang Province of Korea", out of more than 70 churches in Chinju district, 40 were without either pastor or home missionaries. In spite of the fact that there had been strong pressure brought to bear by the existing church leaders to bring them back, none of the young men who were forced out of their positions had come back into that service. Therefore, at the presbytery meeting of December, 1938, conforming presbytery leaders moved to appoint a committee to visit these churches and advise them to reopen, and also to call new home missionaries or ministers to lead them. By this means the presbytery might persuade resigned church workers to comply with the policy of the presbytery. But the motion failed due to the strong opposition of the Rev. F. Borland.

Chinju congregation", and another one to the Australian mission, entitled "Announcement sent by the Chinju church to the chairman of the APM council".<sup>72)</sup>

These documents were prepared under police harassment, and clearly proclaim that they not only regarded themselves as citizens of the Japanese Empire and submitted blindly to the policy of the Japanese government, but they also accepted the demands of the government to bow at the shrine.

Furthermore they adulated the authorities, and declared that they reject the foreign leadership and support. In the text of the "Proclamation to our beloved brethren of the congregations" it stated :

In order to achieve our holy work we take the sword of righteousness and swing it, not forgetting that we are citizens of glorious Japan...We on behalf of the Fatherland, the Japanese State, also on behalf of eternal peace of Orient, turn about into the proper attitude of Japanese subjects. and give willing assent to shrine worship. How many will there be who oppose us with old and crafty schemes, openly and secretly persecuting us and trying to throw down our achievements?..... Our splendid Japanese people have been given the leadership of the Orient in order to establish the peace of the Oriental people and ave gone forth to a holy war.

Again, keep this for reference. Within our holy brotherhood there are those of another race who, saying that the oriental people are trampling down our Japanese peoples' mission wishing to destroy our achievements.<sup>73)</sup>

Furdther it stated;

Beloved brethren ! At this time when the beautiful Day of Remembrance of the foundation of the Empire is at hand, we ought at the same time to remember the Third Holy War (Sino-Japanese, Russo-Japanese, and this affair) : we ought to cleanse ourselves by breaking off our fellowship with such people and turn right about into the attitude of true Japanese subjects establishing the Japanese spirit to

72. The original text was in Japanese, the first time that any Korean Christian church has published any announcement in that language. The whole text in the English version can be found in the *Chronicle*, (May 1, 1939), pp. 13-14, and *Messenger*, (April 21, 1939), pp. 682-683.

73. *Chronicles*, (May 1, 1939), pp. 13-14.



shine brightly before the world. So you, beloved brethren, and we, definitely making up our minds together to drink deeply of the true spirit of Christ, embark on the strong mission of the Chinju Church to set up the Kingdom of God. In the future, also, we ought both in spiritual and material completely to reject the leadership and support of those non-Japanese foreigners.

On a separate sheet we send them an announcement. Therefore we desire to found a Japanese church in step with the forward movement of the Japanese state.<sup>74)</sup>

In "the Announcement sent by the Chinju church to the Chairman of the Australian Presbyterian Mission Council" Chinju congregation made a declaration that they were setting up a "Japanese" church, and were opposed to APM and its policy. The full text of the Announcement is as follows :

The Chinju congregation of the Korean Presbyterian Church at this important time with the intention of saving the Fatherland by the hand of Christian believers, will show worshipful respect to the Emperor, the ancestors and the meritorious heroes of the nation by fulfilling the first duty of Japanese subjects, viz, to bow at the shrines. Founding our endeavours on the Japanese spirit which shines brightly before the world, we shall work for the setting up of a "Japanese" Church; consequently we shall forcibly oppose all who obstruct our holy band in its progress along the single road of the "Japanese" Christian. We make the above as an announcement.<sup>75)</sup>

Though the text of the above two proclamations was prepared by a committee of three appointed by the meeting of office-bearers, it was apparently executed under the control of the police. It was approved by a meeting of office-bearers at which a detective was present, and announced as a decision of the congregation at a Congregational meeting<sup>76)</sup> The fact that this document was printed and sent out to all churches and police stations at the expense of the Chinju police is valid evidence of the police control.

The years from 1938-1940, as we consider the main stream of the presbytery, are far from glorious in the annals of Korean Presbyterianism in

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

76. *Ibid.*

South Kyung Sang province. After the General Assembly of 1938, South Kyung Sang presbytery followed the way of compromise and apostasy as did other presbyteries. But the process of the thorough-going apostasy in the Presbyterian church was, as Dr. Harvie Conn stated, never as complete or as swift as in the Methodist church of Korea.<sup>77)</sup> Nor was it finally reached in Presbyterian circles without tremendous opposition on the part of the church. The opposition in Korea, as a matter of fact, was much stronger and more determined than in the Japanese church.<sup>78)</sup>

It should be mentioned under such renegade pressure and provocation, a few ministers, a large number of home missionaries and still more lay Christians had stood firm. Such people were under severe trial, many of them having lost their sole livelihood, and faced the prospect of virtual starvation for themselves and their families. But they remained strong witnesses to Biblical truth without compromising.

## 5. Resistance and the Anti-Shrine Worship Movement

Now we come to a different aspect of the Christian confrontation, that of protest, resistance, witness and suffering. There were more than a few true Christians in Korea but those who remained faithful to the end were very few in comparison to those who compromised and surrendered their faith to the secular authorities. In this section I shall consider the resistance movement in the South Kyung Sang province. In the conflict over the Shinto shrine issue during 1935-1945, non-complying anti-shrine leaders had to take a stand on two fronts. On the one hand they opposed Japanese militaristic shintoism while on the other hand they faced the complying majority of the church.

After the Presbyterian Assembly of 1938 the police ruthlessly forced the Christian church to bow before the shrines. The pastors of the local churches

77. Harvie Conn, *op. cit.* p. 176.

78. Kun Sam Lee, *op. cit.* pp. 148ff.

were the main object of the persecution, being required to follow the Assembly's resolution, and on their refusal the police would arrest them and ask the church to discharge them from their charge or position. At the same time police forced each presbytery to charge those who resisted in its district to take away their licence, and remove them from the minister's lists. When any congregation did not follow the order of a presbytery the church was then closed by the police. The church at large, after official approval of the attendance at shrine in 1938, by and large compromised and surrendered to the power of the authorities.

Under such a circumstance, there arose a radical resistance movement against Shinto shrine worship. Their activities became known as *Sinsa pulchambae undong*, the anti-shrine worship movement. They would gather at their homes instead of attending conforming churches for their worship and prayers, strengthening their fellowship and their resistance. And they used every possible occasion for strengthening and linking the resisting Christians together in order to maintain basic Christian faith, while they called upon the ministers and Christians who had already complied to return to the original faith. Their activities not only strengthened their own faith but also helped others to the truth because of their uncompromising witness to Christ.<sup>79)</sup> These leading figures were all arrested, suffered torture, and imprisoned before or at the general arrest of 1940, being accused of anti-national structure, and violating the peace and order of the country. They remained in prison until the end of the war (1945).

79. In order to prevent the spread of such ideas among Christians, secret police agents pursued them constantly, and their words and deeds were all recorded in detail by the police. Later when they were arrested and imprisoned the serious charge was laid that they had transgressed the law for maintaining public order and peace. Fortunately, however, such records became a valuable source which gives us details of the activities of the non-compromising Christian leaders at that time. A document, "The protocol of the preliminary examinations of the twenty-one" which was handed to twenty-one Christians who were released from prison by the Pyung Yang District Court on August 17, 1945, became the main source of the activities of the Anti-Shrine worship movement. This was later published as an appendix to a book by Young Jun Ahn entitled, *Taiyangsin kwa ssaunidul(The Saints who fight against Sun goddess-Amateraus-omikami)* (Pusan, 1956). PP. 263-389.

Because of opposition to attending Shinto shrine ceremonies during these years, two thousand Christians were imprisoned and fifty of them suffered martyrdom in prison.<sup>80)</sup> Thirty or so were released at the end of the war and during this period nearly two hundred local churches were closed by force.<sup>81)</sup>

The resistance movement to shrine worship had three centres, two in the North, North Pyung An province<sup>82)</sup> and South Pyung An province<sup>83)</sup> and one in the South, South Kyung Sang province. In Manchuria there was also a strong anti-shrine worship movement<sup>84)</sup> among Koreans. It is worth mentioning that the South Kyung Sang province was one of the strongest anti-shrine centres. The leaders of the movement in this province were as follows<sup>85)</sup>

Main figures of the province : Rev Sang Dong Han (1901-1976)

Pusan : Myung Bok Son (Evangelist), Suok Cho (Female Evangelist)

Kyung Ae Park and two Australian missionaries, Rev. M.

Trudinger and Miss D. Hocking.

Masan : Duk Ji Choi (Female Evangelist), Chan Su Lee (Evangelist), Rev.

Yak Sin Lee<sup>86)</sup> and Miss. M. Tait (APM).

80. Out of the South Kyung Sang Province Revs. Sang Rim Choi, Bong Suk Choi died in prison. Among those who suffered in prison for five and a half years and were released were Revs. Nam Sun Chu, Sang Dong Han, Messrs. In Jai Lee, Hyun Sok Lee, Myung Bok Son, and two Bible women, Duk Ji Choi and Su Ok Cho.
81. Yang Sun Kim, *Hankuk kitokkyo Haibang Shipnyunsa (The Christian Church in Korea for ten years after the liberation)* (Seoul, 1956), p. 45. Hereafter cited as Yang Sun Kim I. Min Kyung Bae, *Hankuk Kidokkyohoesa (The history of the Korean Church)* (Seoul : Kankuk Kidokkyo Sohoe, 1972), p. 340 and Allen D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea* (Seoul : The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), p. 230.
82. The leaders of this province were Revs. Ki Sun Lee (1879-1950), Hung Bong Ko (1894-1954), Mr. Hwa Jun Kim (Evangelist), Kwan Jun Park (Elder, 1875-1945) and Miss Yi-Sook Ahn (teacher).
83. The leaders of this province were Revs. Ki Chul Chu (1897-1944), Jung Min Choi (1872-1953), Mr. Kye Sung Bang (Elder, 1887-?), Yun Sun Ok (Elder, 1878-1950).
84. In Manchuria Rev. Bruce Hunt, a missionary of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, then a member of PCUSA, was the leader. He was the most celebrated foreign missionary to undergo imprisonment at the hands of the Japanese. See his *For a Testimony* (London, The Banner of Truth Trust, 1966).
85. Basically based upon Yang Sun Kim's *Hankuk Kidokkyosa yon gu (A study of the history of the Korean Church)* (Seoul : Kidokkyo Munsa, 1971), p. 199. Hereafter cited as Yang Sun Kim II. Several of these leaders moved or were transferred from time to time.
86. Rev. Y. S. Lee is comparatively well known to Australian Presbyterians having been invited to Australia in 1938 on the occasion of its centenary. He had been called to the police station and beaten until he promised to conform.

Kuchang : Rev. Nam Go (Sun) Chu.  
 Chinju : Chul Do Whang (Evangelist), Revs. J. M. Stuckey, F. T. Borland  
 (APM).  
 Tong Young : Duk Ji Choi (Female evangelist).  
 Hadong : Sung Kun Park (Minister), Chom Young Kim (Evangelist).  
 Namhae : Sang Rim Choi (Minister).  
 Haman : Hyon Sok Lee (Elder and evangelist).  
 Changnyung : Young Won Han (Evangelist).  
 Hapchun : Chan Ju Kang (Deacon).  
 Sanchung : Yo Won Kim (Deacon).

Among those above mentioned figures, Rev. Sang Rim Choi (?-1945)<sup>87</sup> of Nam Hae, Rev. Nam Sun Chu (1888-1950) of Kuchang church, Rev. Sang Dong Han (1901-1976) of Moon Chang church in Masan, Rev. Chul Do Whang (1900-1966) of Chinju church, Mr Hyun Sok Lee, a chaplain of Paton Memorial Hospital in Chinju and Mrs. Duk Ji Choi were the central figures of the movement in this area. They were all discharged from the church because of their resistance to shrine worship. The Rev. Ki Chul Chu (1897-1944)<sup>88</sup>, who was the most eminent calvinist engaged in this struggle in Pyung Yang, had greatly influenced Christians in their loyalty to Christ and strong resistance on the shrine issue. In 1936, he was called from Moon Chang church, Masan, to be the minister of the San Jung Hyun church, one of the largest churches in

87. Rev. S. R. Choi was a native of the district in which the Rev. R. D. Watson was the missionary. Mr. Choi became a leader in the Presbytery and had become the Moderator of the Presbytery in 1938. He visited Mission Council of APM in June 1937 to plead with Australian missionaries to stand fast and make no compromise at all, lest some of Australians might be taken in by false Japanese promises and specious Japanese representations. He was influenced by the APM but also he influenced the APM and their mission policies especially concerned with the shrine issue. (c. f. Dr. C. I. McLaren, *They Kept the Faith*, 1940, p. 13).

88. Rev. K. C. Chu was born in Ungchun, an Australian mission territory. The Rev. F. J. L. Macrae made early contact with Mr. Chu and urged him to study for the ministry. Mr. Chu had highly successful and fruitful pastorates, first at Choryang Church, Pusan, and later Moon Chang Church, Masan, and then San Chung Hyun Church, Pyung Yang. He was arrested four times and imprisoned seven years until his martyrdom in jail. His was one of the longest and most heroic struggles against the sustained duress and hardness of heart of the persecutors.

Pyung Yang.

The principle of the resistance was based upon their Reformed or conservative faith.<sup>89</sup> They believed that the scriptures are the infallible word of God inspired by the Holy Spirit, the only standard of faith and life, and are the final court of appeal for Christian thinking. From the Biblical point of view Jehovah God alone is the creator and the living God, while the sun-goddess (*Amaterasu-Omikami*) of Japan is, if she was real, merely one of the creatures. Worship of *Amaterasu-Omikami* was clear-cut idolatry. She may have been regarded as the ancestor-goddess of Japan's Imperial House, but not the object of worship. Shrine (*Jinza*) is a place where *Amaterasu-Omikami*, the dead emperors and the national heroes are enshrined. Shinto shrine worship to a false god and idols is, therefore, regarded as violation of God's commandment against idolatry.

The conviction that Shinto obeisance at the shrine was idolatry was the basic principle of the leaders of the anti-shrine worship movement.<sup>90</sup> Consequently they never hesitated to give their negative answers on the shrine issue before the authorities because it was a violation of God's law and they were convinced that such an idolatry would bring God's wrath upon the church and state. To sum up, they tried to yield total obedience to God's word and commandments.

The second motive for the resistance was based upon their view of the true church. They believed in the church as the instrument of the Kingdom between the cross and the second coming. And they believed that the true church is the church that keeps the word of God.

For the resisting Christians the Shinto ceremonial practices were religious performances. If the church accepted the demands of the authorities it meant that the church had become impure. To be the true church they could not accept the resolution of the Presbyterian Assembly of 1938 on the shrine issue and for that reason, they strongly opposed the Shinto worship. They fought

89. c. f. *Choo Ki Chul Moksa*, series of martyrs, No. 1 ed, by the Memorial Association of the Korean Christian Martyrs, (Seoul, 1959), pp. 34-35.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

91. Ahn Young Choon, *op. cit.* p. 184.

not only for the witness of God's commandments but also for the purity of the church. They had a conviction that the true church is the church which kept the word of God sincerely (Rev. 3: 1-10). Therefore they could not allow Christians to go to the schools or churches which compromised by admitting syncretistic worship.<sup>92)</sup>

The resisting Christians did not let new converts go to be baptized by the complying ministers: their own churches were closed by the authorities and they met together in homes for worship and prayer meetings in true Christian fellowship.<sup>93)</sup> Rev. Sang Dong Han even proposed a new organization of a anti-complying presbytery<sup>94)</sup> in order to make an open protest on the one hand to the government against their wrong religious policy and on the other hand to the complying Christians to show a united and consistent witness to Christ. But obedience to God's word was more important to the leaders of the anti-shrine worship movement than preserving a visible church as a religious body which meant government control and involved a forced compromise with Shinto ideology.

At this time the so called theoretical basis of the conforming Christian leaders was preserving the church. Therefore they accepted the demand of the government. However, those who opposed shrine shrine worship were firmly convinced that true obedience to God's word was far more urgent than to preserving the church by breaking the commandments. All these ideas were based upon their conception of the true church which keeps the word of God. They believed that shrine worship was considered as spiritual adultery and

92. After 1938 the conforming churches were asked to do certain ceremonies before the beginning of the worship service in the church. This meant bowing to the East where the Imperial Palace is supposed to be located, silent prayer for the war and dead and reciting the Imperial Citizen's oath. Thus the church service on Sunday and on any occasion that Christians gathered contained a syncretic element.

93. Yang Sun Kim, I, p. 146.

94. Rev. Ki Chul Chu, anti-shrine worship leader in the North opposed Mr. Han's proposal an being premature and he suggested that the anti-shrine worship movement should find a way to weaken the existing presbyteries and win more adherents, not by organization, but by personal uncompromising witness to Divine truth. Actually this was the difference between the two leaders of the South and North. Mr. Han intended to continue and to enlarge the anti-shrine worship movement by an organization but Mr. Chu preferred to do that by personal conviction.

contradictory to Christian doctrine. Therefore Christians should not send their children to schools where shrine worship was performed; and the churches complying with it should not be attended by Christians. Rather a type of home church was preferred, where they could avoid the problem of shrine worship.<sup>95)</sup>

Because of the two basic motives as mentioned above, Rev. Sang Dong Han and other leaders met in January, 1940, at the house of Miss Tait of APM, Masan, and decided the following guidelines and objectives for their movement.

1. In order to force those presbyteries who had compromised and complied with the Japanese shrine worship orders to disband, this movement intends to prevent the commissioners' attendance at the presbytery and intend to prevent local churches from giving their financial quotas to it.
2. A new uncompromising presbytery shall be organized at as early a date as possible.
3. Among resisting Christians, mutual assistance and encouragement shall be given.
4. New converts shall not be baptized by complying ministers.
5. Worship services and prayer meetings should be held in homes to provide true Christian fellowship for those who stand for "the true witness", and strengthen the movement by way of personal evangelism, visiting individual Christians in order to persuade them not to compromise.<sup>96)</sup>

Their activities were not very successful. Not because of the lack of appropriateness of the ideas, but because of the severe oppressive measures imposed by the government authorities. The plan for a new uncompromised presbytery was never realized because of the arrest of the leaders of the movement.

To sum up, by the arrest and imprisonment of the resistance leaders in 1940 this anti-shrine worship movement broke down but they left a spiritual heritage. The church's stand on Biblical truth influenced substantially both the character and direction of the church renewal movement in the post Liberation

95. Yang Sun Kim, I, p. 146.

96. "The protocol on the Twenty-one" X, 10. Kun Sam Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

period.

It should also be pointed out that though the anti-shrine movement in this province was conducted mainly by the Korean Christian leaders, some of the Australian missionaries contributed by supporting them spiritually and by their encouragement.

In some cases they had arranged secret meeting places for the resisting leaders. Some of them were the Revs. J. M. Stuckey, M. Trudinger, Misses D. Hocking, M. Tait.<sup>97)</sup> APM as a mission, in some cases, financially supported families who were in need because of their bread winners' imprisonment. At this time economic pressure by the Japanese authorities was taken against non-conformists. While it had reduced the number of the non-conformists there were those who, having nothing and expecting nothing, left their job for conscience sake. Missionaries were therefore involved in the anti-shrine movement not as an organization but on a personal basis.

## 6. Conclusion

In conclusion there must be some note on the significance of the shrine issue in the history of the Korean church.

The Shinto shrine issue and its controversy manifested theological conflict between liberalism and historic Christian faith. As I have already mentioned, in general, the conservative nationals and missionaries were more strongly opposed to shrine worship than those of liberal background. Of course there were other factors, besides theological ones that affected missionaries and Koreans in the consideration of their relation to Shinto shrine worship which may have led them to conclusions not completely consistent with conservative theological principles.<sup>98)</sup> For example Dr. Charles McLaren and Rev. Frank Borland of APM were comparatively open-minded to liberal theology but were outstanding opponents of shrine worship. Their opposition to the shrine worship was based not only upon biblical conviction but also upon their belief

that shrine worship inculcated ultra-nationalism.<sup>99)</sup> In spite of these exceptions, shrine issues have been the focus for theological differences between liberal and conservative Christianity. The writer shares the analysis with Chang Yup Kim that "the problem of the great persecution of the Shinto shrine was a mark of the distinction between the conservative and liberal wings as well as a severe trial for the church".<sup>100)</sup>

The outcome of the mission's varied approaches to the question "was a division of view points in theology as well as in policy".<sup>101)</sup> The Shinto shrine issue was, therefore, not only a trial for the Korean church, but also furnished one more opportunity to manifest an already apparent difference between conservative and liberal theology. This is clearly demonstrated by the two leading anti-shrine leaders who were in the prison. Revs. Nam Sun Chu and Sang Dong Han, individually, planned a re-establishment of the Reformed tradition of the church by opening a new theological seminary strongly committed to the Reformed theology after an expected defeat of the Japanese Shinto militarist regime. They understood that the compromise and failure of many church leaders in fighting against Shintoism was motivated by liberalism. Thus a new Reformed theological institution was viewed as an urgent means of re-establishing the church in its witness, resistance and suffering under such persecution as they might experience. The Shinto shrine issue also served to spread the Liberal theology and shift the leadership in the Presbyterian church in Korea. The year 1938, especially, when the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church officially approved the worship of Shinto, was a dividing point in the progress of liberal thought. From this year Conservative or Reformed leadership became weaker and disappeared. The only Presbyterian Seminary in Pyung Yang which had maintained conservative theology was closed in 1938 on this very issue.

Foreign professors and missionaries in charge of churches who were against

97. See "The protocol of the Preliminary Examinations of the Rev. Sang Dong Han" in *Han Sang Dong Mok Sa, Kui Saeng e wa Sinang* (The Rev. Sang Dong Han, His life and faith) (Pusan: Kwang Ya Pub. Co., 1986), pp. 261-275.

98. H. Conn, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

99. Both Dr. McLaren and Rev. F. Borland had profound knowledge and understanding of Japan, its history, culture and mentality.

100. Chang Yup Kim, *Protestant Theological Education in Korea*, an unpublished thesis submitted to the Biblical Seminary in New York in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Sacred Theology, 1960, p. 115.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

the decision of the 1938 Assembly resigned and withdrew from Korean Presbyterian membership. Acting on the recommendations of many of the boards, the majority of missionaries were evacuated from the field by the fall-winter of 1940.<sup>102)</sup> During these same years, pressures on the conservative Korean church leaders also intensified. The then two Korean professors in the Presbyterian Seminary, Drs. Hyung Nong Park, the most educated voice for conservative thought among the Koreans, and Kung Hyuk Nam fled to hiding places in Manchuria, and other resisting pastors who escaped prison left the country.

In this process liberal churchmen with Japanese colonial policy spread their influence, and the conservatives lost their leadership in the church and were removed effectively from the church courts. The result of this loss of conservative leadership, national and foreign, was swift and simple. As Prof. Yang Sun Kim rightly observed, "the conservatives were shut out and the control of the church, which has been in their hands, went into the hands of those who had secured their higher educational training in Japan, and these liberals brought in liberal theology".<sup>103)</sup>

In this way the Korean Presbyterian church experienced a great change from conservative to liberal control of the church. It should be noted that this theological change greatly influenced the life of the church after liberation.

The church renewal movement in the South Kyong Sang province after liberation from the Japanese occupation was the reaction to these two factors, that is conforming to the shrine worship and liberal theology.

102. H. Conn, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

103. Yang Sun Kim, I, p. 192.

## C. P. E. Bach의 Organ음악연구

손 경 순

### — 목 차 —

- I. 서 론
- II. 생 애
- III. 고전주의 오르간 음악
- IV. C. P. E. Bach의 오르간 음악
  - A. Sonata
  - B. Prelude, Fugue, Fantasie and Fugue
- V. 결 론

### I. 서 론

음악역사에서 1750년까지는 J. S. Bach와 F. Handel을 중심으로 하는 Baroque의 절정으로 일컬어진다. 그러나 이 시대가 끝나기도 전인 1730년경부터 새로운 음악조류가 나타나서 중요한 변화를 일으키게 된다.<sup>1)</sup>

이러한 변화는 시대적 변화에 상응하는 것으로서 인간이 종교의 예속에서 벗어나 개인의 타고난 개성을 조화있게 발전시켜 나가는 것을 최대의 가치로 삼는 계몽주의의 영향을 받은 것이다.

음악에 있어서의 변화는 Baroque의 복잡한 대위법에서 점차적으로 벗어나 누구나 쉽고 자연스럽게 이해할 수 있는 단순한 음악을 추구하게 된다. 이러한 경향을 주도한 대표적 작곡자 중 하나가 Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach(1714~1788)이다.

1) Will Apel, *Masters of the Keyboard Music*, Harvard Uni Press, 1965, p. 178.