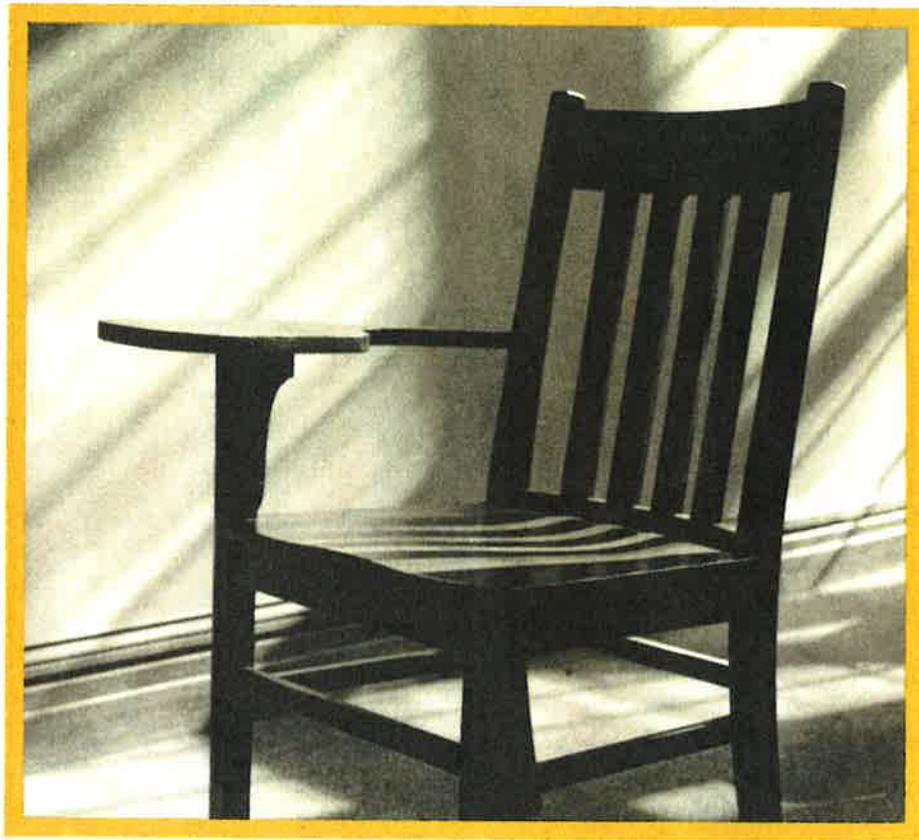


# CRITERION

*A Publication of the University of Chicago Divinity School*





DEAR ALUMNI AND FRIENDS—

In this Spring 2001 issue of *Criterion*, we are pleased to print a diverse selection of the quarter's happenings:

The Alumnus of the Year 2000 address by James M. Wall, Senior Contributing Editor of the *Christian Century* magazine, titled "The Shift in My Head: Reflections on Life after Swift Hall." Mr. Wall was honored in Swift Lecture Hall on April 26 with the following framed inscription:

*For his important contributions to the journalism and scholarship of religion, culture, and film; for his heartfelt commitment to improving the wellbeing of humans, animals, and the environment; for his exemplary participation in local and national politics; and for his steadfast devotion both to his country and to his Christian faith, the Baptist Theological Union names James M. Wall as the Alumnus of the Year 2000 of the University of Chicago Divinity School.*

Two tributes, made earlier that same day, to members of the Baptist Theological Union Board of Trustees: Donald A. Gillies, who stepped-down as president of the BTU after twenty-seven years of service, and retiring board member Ralph H. Elliott. These dedicated members of the BTU and Divinity School communities were honored by the new BTU President, Susan B. W. Johnson, and Dean of the Divinity School, Richard A. Rosengarten.

A Wednesday Luncheon talk delivered on April 25 by Timothy S. Lee, Visiting Professor for 2000–2001 in Korean Religion and History in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. Dr. Lee's talk, "The Great Revival of 1907 in Korea: Its Evangelical and Political Background," was based on a chapter of his Ph.D. dissertation, which he is currently revising into a book.

A Bond Chapel sermon delivered on April 18 by Franklin I. Gamwell, Shailer Mathews Professor of Religious Ethics in the Divinity School. His sermon, "A House Divided," based on Mark 3:23-30, reflects on the economic and spiritual divisions threatening the human household today.

And, finally, a farewell tribute to Stephanie Paulsell, who resigned as Director of Ministry Studies and Senior Lecturer in Religion and Literature at the end of the Spring Quarter, by Elizabeth A. Musselman, Ph.D. student in Theology in the Divinity School.

I hope you enjoy this issue,

JENNIFER M. QUIJANO

*Editor*



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# THE SHIFT IN MY HEAD

## REFLECTIONS ON LIFE AFTER SWIFT HALL

James M. Wall

**I**n his invitation to deliver these comments, Dean Richard Rosengarten suggested that I link the theological education I received at the Divinity School with my own experience as, in his words, a “commentator for the past thirty years.” His suggestion frees me from having to comment on theological education as an enterprise, and allows me instead to explore my own professional journey and to consider the ways in which this School contributed to that journey.

Such an assignment is, I must confess, an exercise in massive egotism, a looking back at one’s own experiences with a captive audience required to at least politely pay attention. Perhaps this exercise will be made more tolerable to you as you travel with me on this journey, if you will keep in mind that you have made and are still making your own journey, one no doubt both as disappointing and as satisfying as mine has been for me. Perhaps these comments will stimulate in each of you the desire to reflect on your own educational experience here and to consider how that experience has shaped your professional life. If so, write about it, if only for your grandchildren to read someday in the future.

Like all of you, I can trace where I have traveled in part to mentors who challenged me and encouraged me to unite my past with the possibility of my future. At this institution, my mentors were harsh on my pietism and my evangelical/liberal background. One memory stands out: Chuck Long, the Dean of Students when I arrived here, heard me comment one day on a “Methodist theologian.” He dryly observed, “a Methodist theologian is a contradiction in terms.” Fortunately, he didn’t say it was also an oxymoron, for at that stage in my education an oxymoron was one of many words the meaning of which I was only beginning to experience and learn.

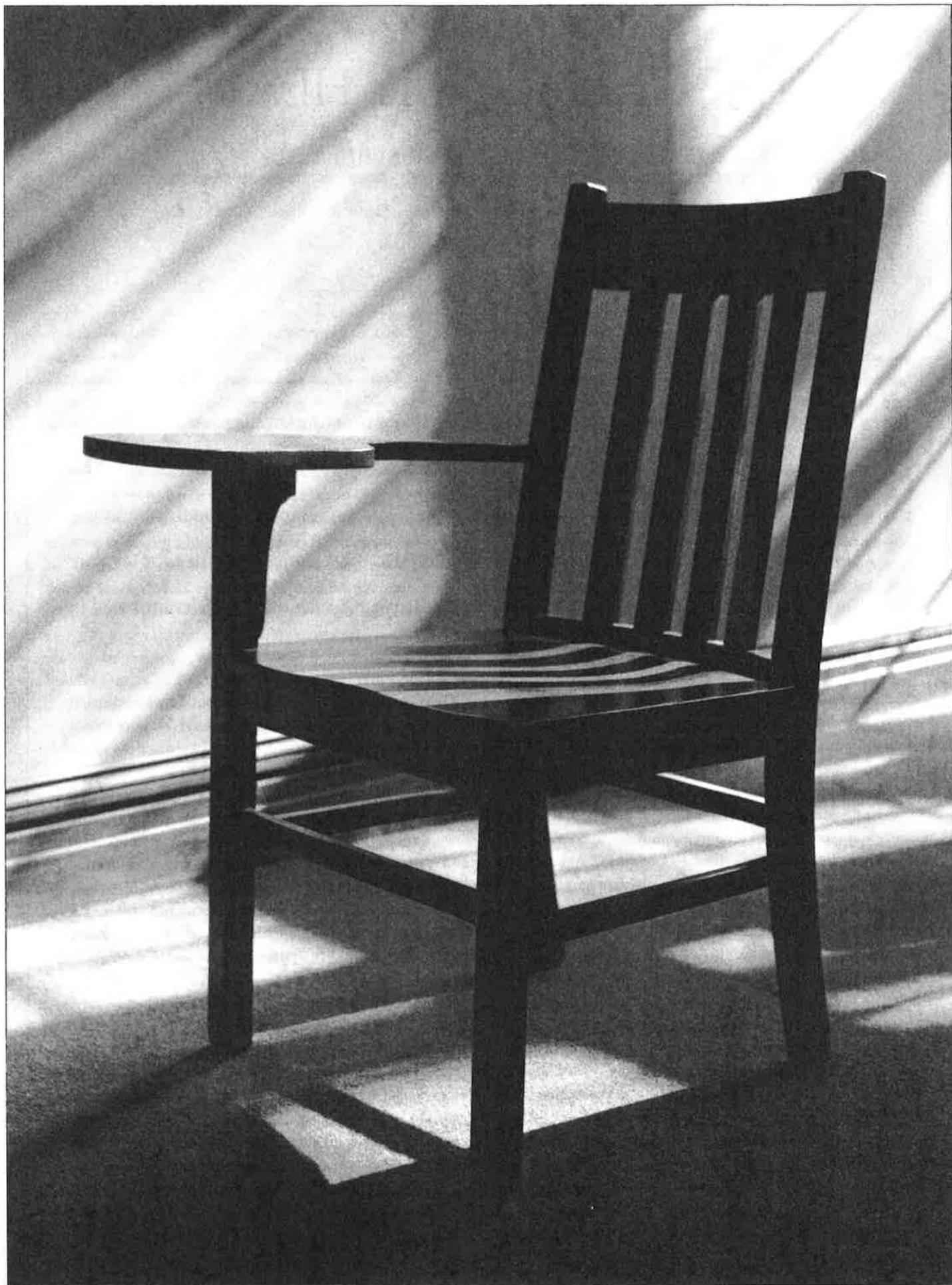
It was at the Divinity School that I found four mentors in particular: Seward Hiltner, who showed me the importance of perspective, both as a methodology and a guiding principle; Joseph Sittler, about whom more later; Ross Snyder, who had me get down on the floor to talk with children, listening and responding to their perspective; Nathan Scott, who allowed me to find respectability in the creative arts and granted me permission to celebrate the arts as an avenue into the mystery of God’s presence.

I have been shaped by these teachers and their colleagues, as well as by my fellow graduate students in this School, some of whom could be brutal adversaries in theological conversations.

I came here after serving two years in a Georgia pastorate. Before starting that ministry, my higher education involved four years as an undergraduate (two at Emory University and two at Georgia Tech), and three years at Candler School of Theology, also at Emory, where I earned my basic theological degree. There were also several years in which I worked as a sportswriter for both the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Atlanta Constitution*, and two years during the Korean War when I

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Mr. Wall delivered his *Alumnus of the Year 2000* address on April 26 in Swift Lecture Hall.





. . . in retrospect, I can see that I came to this campus as a writer interested in scholarly matters,  
not as a scholar who wanted to write. *Critical distinction.*

served in the Air Force as a public information officer, flying a great deal over what was then the territory of Alaska, but what we looked upon as the front lines defending democracy from the communist hordes in Korea.

I had planned to return to sportswriting after the Korean War; instead, I went to seminary to become a Methodist preacher. My boss at the paper, a sports editor named Ed Danforth, was outraged at this act of excessive piety; he had put in a lot of time training an eighteen to twenty-one year-old sportswriter, sending me on stories I was too young to cover, and tolerating a writing style that was too poetic, even by southern sportswriting standards. His observation was to the point: "Wall, your problem is, you had one too many forced landings on the tundra in Alaska." Perhaps he had a point. I don't know if my decision to enter the ministry was driven by gratitude that I survived many hours in the air and all those landings in Alaska's cold wilderness, or by a belief that I had more to learn about the God who had already given me more blessings than I had any right to have. Whatever the motivation, off I went to Emory's Candler School of Theology.

Candler is today one of the nation's leading denominational seminaries, but in my day it was still struggling with the conflict between evangelical Methodist traditionalism and liberal scholarship, with a heavy dose of Boston personalism, providing a theological base that made it difficult for me to grasp the thinking of people like Karl Barth and Rudolph Bultman.

What Candler taught me, however, was that the church could be a place of intellectual respectability, not an easy task for a faculty that had to work within a culture that disapproved of pastors who used manuscripts for their sermons because a written document closed the door to the movement of the spirit. Candler was the best possible preparation I could have had for the University of Chicago; it was a bridge from evangelical pietism to academic rigor.

And, I ask you, was it a coincidence or the movement of the previously mentioned spirit that one of the esteemed faculty members at the University, not the seminary, was Pomp Colwell, who as a young man had served for a time as

president of the University of Chicago. Colwell's mother was a neighbor of my aunt in Decatur, Georgia. We Georgians believe in the importance of such connections, both spirit and family.

After graduating from Candler, my new bride and I spent two years on a two-point Georgia United Methodist circuit, where I spent much of my time reading the *Christian Century* magazine, a breath of intellectual joy once a week, and a magazine for which, to my amazement, I would one day serve as editor. As a starting pastor, I preached sermons drawn from the *Century* and from seminary lectures. Our home was a place for theological conversation, as my wife was also a Candler graduate, with her master's in Christian Education.

We moved to Chicago at the invitation of Seward Hiltner, who was in the process of building a team of pastoral theological scholars at the Divinity School. We moved into what our district superintendent described as "an adequate parsonage," where we lived as I served a United Methodist church on the southwest side of Chicago. It should have been a clue as to where my passion really was that my interest in Seward Hiltner was based on my faithful reading of *Pastoral Psychology*, a magazine he edited in his spare time. In retrospect, I was following Hiltner the editor rather than Hiltner the scholar. As it turned out, I got exposed to both.

Also, in retrospect, I can see that I came to this campus as a writer interested in scholarly matters, not as a scholar who wanted to write. *Critical distinction.* Indeed, after I passed that dreadful German exam—at the "high level," I might add with a certain amount of pride—and exams in the seven different fields in preparation for further work on a doctorate in Religion and Personality, Hiltner called me into his office and said, "Wall, you are not interested in the academy, you are a writer—Get yourself a master's degree from this place and go out and write." And that is exactly what I have done. As an editor, I once had to write Professor Hiltner and tell him that something he had written and submitted to us was not what we could use. It was probably too academic for our readers. He wrote back a terse note: "You may be a good writer, but you are a lousy editor."



*What Coles describes as a “shift in my head” was his conversion to a new perspective that gave him the desire and the ability to start linking faith to fact without denigrating either.*

My master's thesis at the Divinity School linked Sigmund Freud with John Wesley. It was a thesis that utilized Hiltner's notion of perspective as a guiding principle, and his belief that if the theologian was to engage the world, he or she must develop the ability to link disciplines. I took with me from these hallowed halls a profound appreciation for the mental processes that required a clarity of one's own perspective and a respect for the perspectives of others.

Just how successful I have been in applying this thesis in my work is for others to judge, but looking back I do believe I have tried in my various chosen assignments to do just that. My ministry has been basically an attempt to link disciplines, writing about and participating in religion and categories, religion and politics, cinema, science, media, and international affairs, with a special focus on the Middle East.

Since leaving the Divinity School with my master's degree, I have edited two religious magazines, the *Christian Advocate* of the Methodist church and, for twenty-eight years, the *Christian Century*. I have written many columns, editorials, news reports and essays, and a few books. In between times, I have run state-wide presidential political campaigns that put me in close contact with George McGovern, Jimmy Carter, Paul Simon, Gary Hart, Al Gore, and Bill Clinton, all politicians with one thing in common: They either had formal religious training (McGovern, Hart, and Gore), or were steeped in the religion of their particular culture (Carter, Simon, and Clinton).

As editor of the *Christian Century*, the post I held from 1972 through 1999, I have traveled from Bolivia to Cuba to Poland, from Angola to Kenya to Jerusalem, from London to Paris to Rome, and through it all, I tried to write about what I saw and experienced as a religious journalist. In recent years, I have come to realize that if there is a unifying theme to the writing and editing, it was, plainly put, a desire to convert others, to use a Methodist phrase, and to urge my readers to join with me in experiencing what Robert Coles described as “a shift in my head.”

Coles writes of that shift in his book, *The Secular Mind*, which addresses a theme he says first began to develop

when he was a resident in child psychiatry at the Children's Hospital in Boston. I have resonated with Coles' memory of his own educational years because it evokes similar memories of my own. Coles took a course at Harvard taught by Paul Tillich, and he writes: “I still remember the shift in my head as I left the hospital (where the emphasis, even in psychiatry, was on doing, on trying to accomplish a specific task) for quite another world, across the Charles River, where we were, as Tillich kept reminding us, “free to let our minds wander, take us where we wanted to go with no set limits” (p. 3).

What Coles describes as a “shift in my head” was his conversion to a new perspective that gave him the desire and the ability to start linking faith to fact without denigrating either. I can point to a similar experience which occurred to me here in Swift Hall. I think I could even show you the classroom and perhaps even the desk, so vivid is the memory in my mind. It was in a class on theology taught by Joe Sittler, one of my Divinity School mentors.

First, some background: It was not until I studied Methodism's founding parent, John Wesley, at Candler, that I realized the importance of a pivotal moment in Wesley's life that led to the formation of the Methodist church. Since local Georgia parishes did not make much of that history, I had to discover it in seminary. The time was a precise moment in May of 1739. The place was an upper room on Aldersgate Street, London, where Wesley went, as he later wrote, “rather reluctantly” to hear someone read from Luther's preface to the book of Romans. In his journal, John Wesley records that he felt “his heart strangely warmed—in that moment; I felt I did believe.” That was Wesley's conversion, not at an altar rail at the close of a sermon, but while listening to a study leader read Luther's interpretation of Pauline theology.

My own enlightenment moment was not so dramatic, at least it did not lead to the development of a denomination. My experience did break me from the bonds of what I can only describe in retrospect as an uneasy combination of unconscious biblical literalism and liberal orthodoxy. As I recall, Sittler was answering someone's question, perhaps



*Like Wesley, I came to see something new, that the Resurrection is the event in history that reveals that death is no threat, because the one who creates also loves unconditionally and continues to create.*

mine, but I cannot be sure, in which he explained a concept that essentially said to me that "God is not confined to time and space." That is one of those factoids which we all know to be true, but until that moment in that classroom downstairs, I did not really know what it meant; I had not had the Wesleyan experience that hit me with the force of an Aldersgate experience where I understood what Wesley described as feeling his "heart strangely warmed." I have returned again and again to this moment in my own reflections because it continues to remind me that since God is not confined to time and space, then he must be smarter than we are and never bound to our frail and excessively human conclusions.

That moment in Sittler's class was for me an existential breakthrough, the meat on the bones of Hiltner's perspective and linkage, Joe Sittler giving warmth and release to the laser-beamed rationality of Hiltner's methodology. Of course, pastoral counseling also introduced me to Carl Rogers, whose client-centered techniques allowed for the working of the spirit through accepting, listening therapists, one of whom, a woman, helped me gain personal maturity at the same time the faculty pushed me toward an intellectual maturity. I don't know the policy today, but in Hiltner's day, all of his graduate students had to have counseling at the counseling center. Perhaps he figured most of us had chosen the field because we had a few missing insights into our own psyches. It was a good concept, and I hope it continues.

Like Wesley, I came to see something new, that the Resurrection is the event in history that reveals that death is no threat, because the one who creates also loves unconditionally and continues to create. This "shift in my head" also freed me to engage culture as a colleague, not as a moralist judge, because my orders of engagement come from the only absolute we can ever know: a supreme, loving, creative God who is not confined to the space and time of our ambiguous cultural patterns. Such an attitude is especially important for a writer on cultural matters for it tends, when heeded, to minimize pontification and absolutism.

A book we published with some of my *Christian Century* columns has the title *Hidden Treasures: Searching for God in*

*Modern Culture*. I felt that title summarized my task as a writer. Going through these columns I realized that the image of "search" was something I first picked up in reading Walker Percy's *The Moviegoer*. Binx Bolling, who narrates the story, is riding a bus in New Orleans, staring at an attractive young woman sitting nearby. He is fantasizing, as movie-goers will do, about meeting her. But, at that moment, the notion of the search occurs to him. Binx speaks: "What is the search you ask? The search is what anyone would undertake if he were not sunk in the everydayness of his own life...To become aware of the possibility of the search is to be onto something. Not to be onto something is to be in despair" (p. 13). As a footnote to history, the novel is a favorite of Bob Kerry, former senator from Nebraska and a possible presidential candidate in 2004, who cited that same quote in a recent magazine interview.

For the Christian, the search must be conducted, I came to believe, in what Joe Sittler liked to call "the stuffness of existence," the "everydayness" of our own lives into which we are sunk unless we are engaged in the search. The search for me is an attempt at the linkage of my theological education at the Divinity School and my childhood Methodist evangelistic fervor, honed into respectability at Emory University. I like to think that this linkage forged for me a Revised Standard Version of my Methodist fervor.

It is a heavy responsibility to act as a commentator on cultural forms from the perspective of the Christian faith. Those of us in the religious community who draw our wisdom and direction from a particular theological perspective have an obligation to respect the perspective of the creators and participants in the cultural forms we would critique. Whether looking at movies, politics, international affairs, scientific affairs, or any other element in modern culture, we must know and respect the form and dynamic of the material against which the critique is delivered. Linkage means linkage, two entities coming together in mutual respect, honoring the content of both.

In the same way, understanding the importance of perspective means getting into the arena or, as Ross Synder demonstrated, getting face to face with the other; if it is a



*... I have found that the ugly but joyful reality of political power is both alluring and off-putting because it demonstrates so well the full reality of human depravity as well as the ecstasy of human achievement.*

child, then get down on the floor so you don't pretend to loom from above as a superior being knowing more than the child. Don't try to utilize a movie as a teaching tool unless you know how the film fits into the critical community which studies film, its form, its content, and its history.

And don't draw judgments against politicians from a moralistic stance without acknowledging the forces at play within the political arena against which you would level the charges of immorality. Like the rest of you, I deplored the personal behavior of our former president, Bill Clinton, but I was even more incensed at the attempt by his political enemies to use his personal moral failures as an excuse to attack him in his role and function as president. This country came close to removing a president from office for personal immoral behavior that had no direct relationship to the conduct of his official duties. That would have been a dangerous precedent that would have constituted the triumph of an absolutist morality, the God-people imposing their particular goodness on others in the name of a God who is not confined to cultural patterns, nor time nor space.

Linkage and perspective, concepts learned and developed here, have guided me as I have been involved in political activity, most of which has been in the presidential nominating process, except for one venture into the election of a United States senator, the son of a Lutheran minister, named Paul Simon. As an activist in political matters, I have found that the ugly but joyful reality of political power is both alluring and off-putting because it demonstrates so well the full reality of human depravity as well as the ecstasy of human achievement.

I have found essentially that same reality in the world of cinema, about which I have written and taught for more than forty years. For the past decade I have also served as a Protestant religious advisor to the Motion Picture Association of America's ratings board (there is also a Catholic advisor). I was invited by Jack Valenti, the former political aide to Lyndon Johnson (see how connections work?) to serve as a consultant to the appeals board. This means that four to eight times a year we view a film that wants a different rating and determine if its rating should be changed.

In each of the fields on which I have commented and in which I have participated, I have found that there is a common thread. Cultural activities can be a dirty business, but these same activities provide both exciting and creative opportunities for growth and change. These arenas of the movies, politics, media, Middle East, and the church, I must add, are processes I have come to both love and hate, sometimes at the same moment, a feeling captured so well in a scene from the movie *Patton*, with which I close.

George C. Scott, in the role of General Patton, stands silently beside his aide, looking out on the carnage of a battlefield on the morning after a major fight between Allied and German forces: After a long pause, he says, in a voice that mixes anger and awe, "God help me, I love it." □

# IN PROFOUND GRATITUDE

## TRIBUTES TO OUTSTANDING MEMBERS OF THE BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL UNION BOARD OF TRUSTEES



*The Baptist Theological Union was incorporated in 1865 to found, endow, support, and direct the Chicago Baptist Theological Institute. Today the BTU Board of Trustees oversees endowments that provide generous support to the University of Chicago Divinity School. On April 26, 2001, the BTU convened at Swift Hall for its Annual Spring Meeting, marking the retirement of Donald A. Gillies as the BTU President, a position in which he served for twenty-seven years, and Ralph H. Elliott, twenty-one-year board member. The new BTU President, Susan B. W. Johnson, joined Dean of the Divinity School Richard A. Rosengarten to honor these two outstanding members of the BTU and Divinity School communities.*

### DONALD A. GILLIES

*Richard A. Rosengarten*

In his *Politics*, Aristotle writes as follows:

“. . . [W]e must therefore consider whether the rulers and the subjects ought to change, or to remain the same through life . . . If then it were the case that the one class differed from the other as widely as we believe the gods and heroes to differ from mankind, having first a great superiority in regard to the body and then in regard to the soul, so that the pre-eminence of the rulers was indisputable and manifest to the subjects, it is clear that it would be better for the same persons always to be rulers and subjects once for all.”

Nowhere is it written in the bylaws or the 1942 agreement of the Baptist Theological Union that Aristotelian principles govern the politics of the organization. But whether the source is Aristotle or simply good sense, it has been the case with regard to the presidency of the Union that, for

the past twenty-seven years, the dictum that the pre-eminent shall rule has been the abiding principle in its selection of leadership. And Donald A. Gillies has been the holder of that office, by the general acclaim and appreciation of his fellow Trustees and to the great good fortune of four deans of the Divinity School—Joseph Metsuo Kitagawa, Franklin I. Gamwell, W. Clark Gilpin, and myself—who have been unusually well-served by his knowledge and his discretion.

Donald A. Gillies joined the BTU in 1967, on the heels of his promotion to partner at the Chicago law firm of Altheimer and Gray. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Denison



DONALD A. GILLIES

University and subsequently of Northwestern University's Law School (where he was editor of the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, and a member of the editorial board of the *Northwestern Law Review*), Don brought to the Board invaluable expertise in tax, trust, and estate law. In 1974, Don was named president of the BTU. In that time he has presided at fifty-four meetings of the BTU in this Common Room, at innumerable subcommittee meetings, at countless consultations and debriefings, and has devoted many a solitary hour to the review of its business. Given their close relation, it is no exaggeration to say that this time was devoted to the service of the Divinity School, and that we who are the denizens of Swift Hall owe Don a profound debt for his selfless industry, his incisive analytic skills, and his steadfast devotion to this work. It is no exaggeration to say that Don knows everything there is to know about the BTU and its relationship to the University, and that in him the Union and the Divinity School have had the benefit of an exceptionally learned and devoted stewardship.

Those of us who know Don can speak not only of public accomplishment, but of personal generosity, wit, and good humor. The extent of our gratitude for his service might also note that he is lavish with his skills and capacities, so that they extend in a range of directions throughout the wider community: through his work for the Chicago Bar Association and the American College of Trust and Estate Counsel, and through his exceptionally lengthy list of civic and charitable commitments centered primarily in this windy city, but happily including a nod or two toward Granville, Ohio!

From the standpoint of the Divinity School, all the trustees of the Baptist Theological Union are indubitably "gods and heroes," but on that Parnassus it is surely the case that Donald Gillies stands tallest, *primum inter pares*, and that he himself has done the most to advance its mission in the past quarter century. It is, therefore, a privilege to salute his leadership on the occasion of his retirement from this office with our most profound thanks and gratitude for his wisdom, his tireless devotion, and his ceaseless dedication to the Baptist Theological Union and the Divinity School. □

### RALPH H. ELLIOTT

*Susan B. W. Johnson*

Ralph Elliott has announced his decision to retire from the Baptist Theological Union effective with this Spring 2001 Meeting.

Ralph has been a member of the BTU Board since 1980, and has been an expressive and engaged participant throughout his twenty-one years of service. He brings to those conversations a voice seasoned by years of engage-

ment in both the local parish and theological education, suffused always in this context by his particular concern for the flourishing of the American Baptist tradition. He has thus been an exemplary Trustee for the Divinity School in his commitment to education in service of the church, and has reminded us constantly of the ends to which our endeavors, as Union and as Divinity School, are directed.



RALPH H. ELLIOTT

Ralph's loyalty to Baptist tradition and to real scholarship at least once cost him dearly, and that occasion forced him to leave the Southern Baptist Convention and eventually brought him into the American Baptist Churches. It is surely a sweet irony of history that Ralph's scholarship on the Book of Genesis—which precipitated his departure from an SBC seminary (and at incredible personal trauma to his family)—would subsequently be, perhaps indirectly but truly, reaffirmed in his trusteeship of a university-related divinity school whose intellectual architect, William Rainey Harper, always declared a place where scholarship would be free, even from the quiet tyranny of the piety of its trustees.

Ralph's accomplishments as churchman, educator, ecumenist, writer, and teacher truly defy brief summary in this context. It may perhaps not be too much to note an overarching theme in all of them: the connection between grace and gratitude. Ralph's work here is a reflection of a more general spirit of recognition of the grace notes of his own life, and of the imperative that such experience places upon expression that recognizes and confesses human gratitude for these gifts. The intrinsic giftedness of life, and the human imperative to name and celebrate that generosity, is as natural to his being-in-the-world as breathing. It is a tonic that all of us who are his associates in the Baptist Theological Union shall treasure in memory even as we lament its loss in the future. □

# THE GREAT REVIVAL OF 1907 IN KOREA

## ITS EVANGELICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Timothy S. Lee



*Today, I want to talk about an aspect of my work that deals with Korean Evangelicalism, or revivalism, as my teacher Jerald C. Brauer insisted on labeling that conservative Protestant movement. I remember discussing an issue on Korean revivalism in one of Brauer's seminars, when he said, "Well, there's your dissertation topic." Of course he was right; I ended up writing a dissertation entitled "Born-Again in Korea: The Rise and Character of Revivalism in (South) Korea, 1885–1988," which I am now revising into a book.*

What I want to share with you today—the 1907 Great Revival in Korea—comes largely from that dissertation, but before I talk about the revival, it would be helpful, I think, if I give you some context for this talk.

In Asia, Christianity flourishes the most in the Philippines, where about 85 million people, or 92 percent of the population, is Christian, mostly Roman Catholic. India has the second largest number of Christians with about 30 million people, or three percent, of the population. Then comes China with about 17 million, followed by South Korea with about 13 million. The number of Christians in Japan by contrast is much smaller: less than one million people, or less than one percent, of the population.<sup>1</sup>

Though Christianity has fewer adherents in South Korea than in India or China, it thrives much more in South Korea. Demography makes that clear: Christians constitute about 28 percent of the total population. Aside from a few thousand Eastern Orthodox, Korean Christians are either Roman Catholic or Protestant. The Protestants are by far the larger majority; there are 9.1 million of them, versus 3.4 million Catholics.<sup>2</sup>

My study of Korean Protestantism in the 1980s and 90s—based on surveys of the religious ethos and analysis of the denominational make-up of the Korean Protestant

Church—shows that evangelicals constitute about 95 percent of Korean Protestants.<sup>3</sup>

Evangelical churches—near 39,000 according to a 1999 study—are ubiquitous in the Korean landscape; evangelical schools, hospitals, and other institutions far outnumber their counterparts from other religions.<sup>4</sup>

Three of the past seven South Korean presidents have been evangelicals and, according to a Buddhist-sponsored study, over 40 percent of the nation's current executive, administrative, and judiciary posts in government are held by evangelicals.<sup>5</sup>

By comparison, Buddhism—the largest non-Christian religion—claims as its adherents 8.06 million Koreans, or 23.2 percent of the total South Korean population. Though more numerous than evangelicals, the Buddhist presence in Korean society is not as pervasive as the evangelical, possessing about 1,400 temples (most of which are located in out-of-the-way places) and claiming only nine percent of the highest governmental posts.<sup>6</sup>

The question naturally arises: Why is Protestantism especially successful in Korea? This is a complex issue, one

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*This talk was delivered at a Wednesday Luncheon in Swift Common Room on April 25, 2001.*





*Evangelical churches—near 39,000 according to a 1999 study—are ubiquitous in the Korean landscape; evangelical schools, hospitals, and other institutions far outnumber their counterparts from other religions.*

I tried to answer in around three hundred pages in my dissertation. In a nutshell, there were three factors that enabled Protestantism to succeed in Korea: First, Evangelicalism's appeal to individual Koreans as a religion of salvation when it first arrived in Korea (it came at a time when Korean society was in disarray and its traditional religions were losing their hold on the people); second, Evangelicalism successfully merged with Korean nationalism and South Korean anti-Communism, thereby becoming legitimated in that society; and third, the intensive proselytization efforts that Protestants carried out in Korea, efforts that ranged from "old time revivals," like the ones we are familiar with in this country, to huge or mammoth evangelistic crusades that swept South Korea in the 1970s and 80s. None of these, however, would have happened had there not been the Great Revival of 1907.

The years that spanned 1890 and 1910 constitute one of the most traumatic scores for the Korean people. In 1894, Koreans experienced the Tonghak Rebellion, the largest ever peasant rebellion to erupt in Korean history.

From 1894 to 1895 and then from 1904 to 1905, Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars raged on Korean soil respectively. Flushed with victory, Japan imposed a protectorate over Korea in 1905, going on to annex the peninsula five years later, extinguishing the five-hundred-year-old Chosŏn dynasty in the process.

It was in the midst of such sociopolitical turmoil that a seminal event in the history of Korean Protestantism took place. The Great Revival of 1907 occurred first among Protestant churches in P'yŏngyang—the city most ravaged by the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895)—and then spread

quickly among others in the peninsula. The 1907 revival was seminal because it did for Korean Protestantism what the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century did for American Protestantism: It laid an evangelical basis for Korean Protestantism, or, as the historian L. George Paik argued, the 1907 revival was "the spiritual rebirth of the Korean Church," which "gave to the Christian Church in Korea a character which is its own."<sup>7</sup>

In explaining the cause of the Great Revival, some writers have tended to lean towards sociopolitical reductionism, regarding it as a collective catharsis induced by political turmoil and stress that overwhelmed Koreans in the wake



*First graduating class of P'yŏngyang Theological Seminary*

of the imposition of the protectorate.<sup>8</sup> There is some truth to this explanation: Denizens of P'yŏngyang did become devastated and susceptible to massive emotional upheaval as foreign soldiers overran their beloved city, and their national sovereignty was violated by a traditionally disesteemed nation. Nevertheless, a moment's reflection shows that this hypothesis is far from satisfactory. For one thing, it

fails to explain why a massive emotional upheaval—which the Great Revival in part was—occurred only among the Protestants, and why similar kinds of events did not occur among other Koreans in P'yŏngyang. There is no reason, after all, to suppose that the Protestants resented or feared the Japanese any more than the others. The hypothesis also fails to explain why the emotional upheaval in question took a form that was distinctly familiar to the missionaries who steeply involved themselves in it.

Paik himself posits three factors that, as he puts it, went into the "preparation for the revival": the Koreans' sense



*The 1907 revival was seminal because it did for Korean Protestantism what the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century did for American Protestantism: It laid an evangelical basis for Korean Protestantism . . .*

of failure at their political degradation, the desire for a heightened spiritual experience prompted by news of revivals elsewhere, and “the definite attempt of the missionaries to bring about a revival.”<sup>99</sup>

In principle, Paik’s explanation is persuasive, especially his emphasis on the missionaries’ agency. Still, there is an aspect of his explanation that is, if not neglected, left underdeveloped in his magnum opus, *A History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832–1910*—namely, the matter of how Korean nationalist politics figured in the missionaries’ efforts to bring about a massive revival, something Paik could be forgiven for slighting since, when he published his book in P’yŏngyang in 1929, Korea was nearing the end of its second decade under Japanese colonialism. This paper, then, is an attempt to develop Paik’s line of thought, fleshing out the political as well as the religious concerns that informed the missionaries’ works that resulted in the 1907 revival.

To discern the missionaries’ intention with regard to the 1907 revival, an excellent source to turn to is the first few years of *Korea Mission Field* (henceforth referred to as KMF), an interdenominational missionary journal published between 1905 and 1941, which served as the official organ of Korea missionaries. Evidence from this journal makes it clear that the 1907 revival was the outcome of careful planning by the missionaries, which was informed by reasons theological as well as political, the latter being their concern to prevent the churches from being drawn into the politics of nationalism that engulfed Korea at the time.

The beginning of the Great Revival could be traced back to a meeting of missionaries in a town called Wŏnsan

in Kangwon province, northeast of Korea. In 1903, a small group of Methodist missionaries met in this town for a week of Bible study and prayer. During this meeting, the missionaries were moved by a confession made by one of their members, R. A. Hardie, who had failed to develop a church in that province. Agonizing over his failure, Hardie confessed his shortcomings to his colleagues. Later, Hardie made a similar confession to some Korean members of his church, including those who were working as his servants. He told them of the grace of God that he felt in his repentance, and he expressed the wish that they too might be able to own the “actual and living experience” of grace. The

following year, Hardie confessed once more at a larger Bible conference held among the missionaries in Wŏnsan, greatly moving those present. Soon he became a sought after speaker, invited to lead numerous prayer meetings and Bible conferences around the country. Influenced by Hardie’s efforts, in September of 1905 the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea decided to set aside a

period of two weeks in 1906 for revivals, beginning on the first day of the lunar New Year (January 26).

In reality, the General Council’s plan to hold revivals was influenced by more than evangelical piety; it was also influenced by Korea’s political circumstances. By planning to hold revivals at the time the Russo-Japanese War was winding down, the missionaries wished to prevent any political unrest from developing in Korean churches. The war had greatly politicized the Korean populace, and it had also caused multitudes of Koreans to join the church, most of whom did so in the hope of finding a haven, others in the



*Early Presbyterian missionaries and Korean colleagues, Seoul.*



... like Charles G. Finney, Dwight Moody, and Billy Sunday before them, the missionaries had no doubt that revivals were the best means of bringing about true conversion.

hope of using the church to further their nationalistic agenda. And since just about all Koreans, Christian or not, were susceptible of being incited by nationalistic entreaties, it was highly likely that, if left to Koreans, the church would become politicized.

A politicized church, however, was anathema to the missionaries, for they believed that it would invite abuse from its members as well as from those who opposed the members' politics. The missionaries loathed the prospect of the church's resources being exploited by Korean nationalists; they also dreaded the prospect of it being ransacked by the opponents of Korean nationalism. Thus, to prevent the church from suffering at the hands of either partisan, the missionaries had declared themselves to be politically neutral and sought to head off any nationalistic movement from arising within its ranks, sublimating whatever nationalistic fervor that was already brewing. To accomplish these ends, the missionaries turned to revivals, as seen in the following statement by the General Council on the rationale for holding revivals:

At the meeting of the General Council in September a resolution, providing for a simultaneous revival movement in the church throughout Korea, was passed. . . . Perhaps, as never before in the history of the church in Korea, there is need for a manifestation of the power of God. The gospel has met with a cordial response as it has been preached here and the Church has steadily increased in numbers. A crisis has been reached. The political situation brings the entire people to a state of unrest. The hope of the nation and the individuals that compose it lies not in agitation and discussion, but in God. The way to combat the unrest in the Church is to stress the hope that the Gospel offers.<sup>10</sup>

In their desire to deepen Korean Christians' faith, the missionaries turned to revivals almost instinctively. This was understandable, for having been raised and trained in the tradition of American revivalism, the missionaries were accustomed to revivals. And like Charles G. Finney, Dwight Moody, and Billy Sunday before them, the missionaries

had no doubt that revivals were the best means of bringing about true conversion. An article by a Southern Methodist missionary conveys how they felt:

I believe that we are on the borders of Canaan, so to speak, and that we are now face to face with such an opportunity as the Lord seldom gives to a generation. . . . we are now at a place in the history of the church in Korea when the problem is not so much of getting people to hear and believe the Word; but it is how to properly care for and instruct those who are now coming to us and begging to be taught. Nothing will solve this like a genuine old-fashioned revival of heartfelt religion. Let people be saved and *know* they are saved and we shall have no trouble about having someone to testify for our Lord. . . . It is all right to have study classes. I have not a word to say against them. But I do believe that what the Church needs just now more than any thing else is REVIVAL. Let every worker in Korea pray as never before that the coming Korean New Year may be the time when this revival shall come and this be the real beginning of Korea's Pentecost.<sup>11</sup>

The missionary's desire that the scheduled revivals focus not so much on attracting new believers as on deepening the faith of those already attending church was more explicitly stated by a group of concerned missionaries who expressed the following in their open letter to KMF: "That the first aim [of the revivals] be spiritual. Work within the church, rather than the enrollment of new names. Let the work first be *deep*, and breadth will naturally follow."<sup>12</sup>

When the lunar New Year arrived, the revivals took place as scheduled. The results, especially in the northern provinces and in Seoul, were encouraging. By and large, the revivals of 1906 had been fruitful: many souls were saved, but they had been mainly local affairs, and had failed to appease political agitation within the church. They were not enough. The missionaries and Korean church leaders yearned for something bigger, something more immersing and more encompassing.



*“Man after man would rise, confess his sins, break down and weep, and then throw himself to the floor and beat the floor with his fists in a perfect agony of conviction...”*

By the summer of 1906, missionaries in Korea became highly anxious because the possibility of their churches becoming engulfed in politics seemed imminent. The anxiety was especially acute for the Presbyterian missions. For, prior to the Russo-Japanese War, they had set upon September of 1907 as the time when the first presbytery of Korea—the foundation of the Korean Presbyterian Church—would be established. There was a real chance that this presbytery would become a basis, not for the Presbyterian Church, but for Korean nationalism. The missionaries' concern was well expressed by the Northern Presbyterian William N. Blair, who wrote:

All eyes were turned upon the Christian Church. Many Koreans saw in the Church the only hope of their country. There is no denying the intense loyalty of the Korean Church. Christianity gives men backbones. There were not lacking many hot-heads in the church itself who thought the church ought to enter the fight. The country wanted a leader and the Christian Church was the strongest, most influential single organization in Korea. Had she departed even a little from the strict principle of non-interference in politics, thousands would have welcomed her leadership and flocked to her banner. . . . Have I made the situation plain? We were about to turn over the authority of our Church to Korean hands, to establish an independent Korean Church. Suddenly we found ourselves in the dangerous situation described. How could we take so critical a step at such a time? Yet we had to do what we had promised to do or break faith with our Korean brethren. So it was that God compelled us to look to Him.<sup>13</sup>

In August 1906, Hardie was invited to P'yöngyang to lead a week of Bible study and prayer, participated in by both Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries. After this meeting, the Presbyterian missions in Seoul and P'yöngyang were visited by Howard Agnew Johnson of New York, who informed them of the religious revivals that had taken place in Wales and India, stirring both the missionaries and Korean

believers to yearn for similar happenings in Korea. By the latter part of 1906, the missionaries from both denominations and many Korean church leaders were anxious for an “outpouring of the Holy Spirit.” The Presbyterians, in particular, prayed that such an outpouring would occur during the winter Bible study classes that were to take place in January of 1907. On January 2, the Presbyterian lay leaders from all over the country arrived in P'yöngyang, and the Bible study classes started as scheduled. The missionaries and Korean church leaders, such as Kil Son-ju, led the meetings with high hopes. On this particular day, however, the participants did not evince any sign of heightened enthusiasm. This state of affairs continued for the next few days. Then, on January 6, after the evening service, a prayer session was held during which an outpouring of the spirit began. It was a powerful outpouring; a missionary who was present at that session described it thus:

Two or three most earnest prayers, one after another, were followed by such an outpouring of the Spirit as I had never before witnessed, great strong men, half a dozen at a time, pleading for forgiveness and confessing their sins in great agony of spirit. . . . From that day on there was not a day without some new proof of His presence with us individually and collectively.<sup>14</sup>

On Saturday, January 12, when Blair preached during the worship, another noticeable scene of repentance and renewal occurred. Significantly, in his sermon Blair preached that it was unchristian for Koreans to hate the Japanese. His sermon had some effect; he wrote, “A number with sorrow confessed lack of love for others, especially for the Japanese.”<sup>15</sup>

As the second week of the Bible study session was coming to an end, it was clear that the revival was engrossing all the Presbyterians in P'yöngyang. However, the climax of this particular revival had yet to occur. It came the following Monday, on January 14. Graham Lee, one of the two missionaries who led the meetings, wrote of it in KMF:

After prayer, confessions were called for, and immediately the Spirit of God seemed to descend on that audience. Man after man would rise, confess his sins,



. . . the contagion of revivalism continued to spread to others parts of the country. . . . By June 1907, when the fervor began to subside, every Protestant mission in the country had been affected.

break down and weep, and then throw himself to the floor and beat the floor with his fists in a perfect agony of conviction....Sometimes after a confession the whole audience would break out in audible prayer, and the effect of that audience of hundreds of men praying together in audible prayer was something indescribable. Again after another confession they would break out in uncontrollable weeping, and we would all weep, we couldn't help it. And so the meeting went on until two o'clock A.M. with confession and weeping and praying.<sup>16</sup>

The P'yöngyang Bible study class for the Presbyterian Church ended the next day. But what happened during the class was only the beginning of the Great Revival—upon leaving P'yöngyang, its participants initiated revivals in their own hometowns. Thus, the revivalistic fervor that was ignited in the central church spread to other quarters of P'yöngyang, at first mostly among the Presbyterians, and then among the Methodists.

For the Presbyterian missionaries, the most important group of people to have arrived in P'yöngyang in 1907 was the seventy-five seminarians who had come to attend Presbyterian Theological Seminary for the Spring Term, scheduled to begin on April 1. Out of these students, seven were to be selected for ordination in September; they were to be the backbone of the Korean presbytery, which was to be established in the same month—the very presbytery that Blair feared might fall under the spell of Korean nationalism. Because these seminarians, especially the seven designated for ordination, were crucial for the future of the Korean Presbyterian Church, the missionaries were anxious that each one of them undergo a born-again experience. To ensure this, eight months before the school began, a plan had been set for the students to hold an hour-long prayer meeting each evening of the term. Once the term started, however, all the missionaries' anxiety and planning proved superfluous. The seminarians were at once infected with the revivalistic spirit that prevailed in the city. One missionary wrote, "These, who are to be the pastors of Korean churches, experienced the fire of the Holy Spirit burning sin out of

their lives."<sup>17</sup> Another missionary wrote, "We now feel assured that the first [Presbyterian] ministers who are to be ordained and take their place as pastors in the Korean Church will be Holy Spirit filled men."<sup>18</sup>

Even as these Presbyterian seminarians were undergoing the experience of rebirth, the contagion of revivalism continued to spread to others parts of the country. Earlier in February it had already affected most of the major cities, such as Songdo, Taegu, and Seoul. By June 1907, when the fervor began to subside, every Protestant mission in the country had been affected.

The impact of this revival was not limited to Korea. In May, news of the Korean revival was reported to a gathering of Chinese Christians in Manchuria. Seven years earlier, China had experienced the Boxer's uprising, and these Chinese Christians still suffered from the spiritual depression that followed it. In the hope of finding ways to overcome this depression, the Chinese sent two of their members to P'yöngyang to investigate the revival. Upon their arrival in January of 1908, the Chinese representatives participated in the city's Bible study classes and prayer sessions, where the spirit of the Great Revival still lingered. Deeply moved by their experiences, they returned to Manchuria in February, where they started their own revival, using the methods they had learned in Korea. The revival soon spread, not only to other Manchurian churches, but also to churches in mainland China. Kenneth Latourette described the results of the revival as follows: "Permanent moral and spiritual transformations were recorded and many accessions to the Church."<sup>19</sup>

In his book *Christians of Korea*, Samuel H. Moffett relates a conversation between missionaries and Korean Christians about the Great Revival. A Korean states, "Some of you go back to John Calvin, and some of you to John Wesley, but we can go back no further than 1907 when we first really knew the Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>20</sup> As implied in the Korean's statement, the Great Revival of 1907 was a paradigmatic event for the Korean Protestant Church, a breakthrough in which the worldview and ethos distinctive of Evangelicalism was securely anchored in the



... the Great Revival of 1907 was a paradigmatic event for the Korean Protestant Church, a breakthrough in which the worldview and ethos distinctive of Evangelicalism was securely anchored in the church.

church. It is reasonable to surmise that Korea's sociopolitical turmoil at the turn of the twentieth century was one of the causes of the revival, though regarding that as the sole cause of the event would be to fall into an unwarranted reductionism. To avoid this, agency of the event's key actors, especially the missionaries, must be taken into account, as Paik has sought to do, albeit constrainedly. Evidence makes it clear that the missionaries planned for and carried through the revivals motivated primarily by their evangelical faith. Evidence also makes it clear that that primarily religious motive was colored and filled by an implicitly political one: to purge the churches of Korean nationalism, which also sought to lay claim to the Korean soul. □

#### END NOTES

1. For the figures, see "Phillippines—A Country Study," on the Library of Congress's web page: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:Afield> (DOCID+ph0001); and the web page by the Government of India's Ministry of External Affairs: <http://www.indiagov.org/culture/religion/christ.htm>. Also see Kumazawa Yoshinobu and David L. Swain, eds., *Christianity in Japan, 1971–1990* (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1991); "China Keeps Pressure on Catholic Church," *Christian Century*, 5 Nov. 1997, 1000; and Ann Martin and Myrl Byler, "What's Happening to Christians in China?" *Christian Century*, 24 Sept.–Oct. 1997, 837.
2. The figure for Korean Christians is taken from a survey conducted in 1997 by Korea Survey (Gallup) Polls. The survey found that, of South Koreans eighteen years or older, 20.3 percent claimed to be Protestant, 7.4 percent Roman Catholic, and 18.3 percent Buddhist. The Korean population for 1997 was about 45 million, while the Chinese was about 1.25 billion.
3. Timothy S. Lee, "Born-Again in Korea: The Rise and Character of Revivalism in (South) Korea, 1885–1988" (University of Chicago, dissertation, 1996).
4. According to a recent study by Korean Computer Mission (*Joong Ang Ilbo*, 3 February 2000), as of 1999 there are 38,950 Protestant churches in Korea. These churches are served by 68,380 ministers. Korean Protestants tend to be urban dwellers, constituting about 20 percent of the populations of most major cities in Korea.
5. *Pulgyo Sinmun*, 21 March 2000.
6. Byung-jo Chung, "The Buddhist Lay Movement in Korean Society": 87–100, in Lewis R. Lancaster and Richard K. Payne, *Religion and Society in Modern Contemporary Korea* (Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1997). *Pulgyo Sinmun*, 21 March 2000.
7. George L. Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea: 1832–1910* (1929: Reprint, Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970), 374.
8. See Hidemura Kenji, "Social Change and Christianity in Modern South Korean Society," *The Anthropology of Korea: East Asian Perspectives*, ed. Shima Mutsuhiko and Roger L. Janelli (Osaka, Japan: National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, 1998), 112. A similar sentiment is expressed in Carter Eckert et al., *Korea Old and New* (Cambridge: Ilchokak & Harvard University Press, 1990), 250.
9. Paik, *History of Protestant Missions in Korea*, 370. For a more comprehensive treatment of Korean Evangelicalism, see Lee, "Born-Again in Korea."
10. "The Time Opportune," *KMF* 2 (December 1905): 29–30.
11. J. R. Moose, "A Great Awakening" in *KMF* 2 (January 1906): 51–52. Emphasis original.
12. "A Call to a Special Effort," *KMF* 2 (December 1905): 30.
13. William N. Blair, *Gold in Korea* (Topeka, KS: H. M. Ives & Sons, 1947), 63, 65.
14. W. B. Hunt, "Impressions of an Eye Witness," *KMF* 3 (March 1907): 37.
15. William N. Blair and Bruce F. Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Sufferings Which Followed* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Trust, 1977), 69.
16. Graham Lee, "How the Spirit Came to Pyeng Yang," *KMF* 3 (March 1907): 33–37.
17. G. S. McCune, "Opening Days at the Theological Seminary," *KMF* 3 (June 1907): 89–90.
18. Swallen, "God's Work of Grace in Pyeng Yang Classes," *KMF* 3 (May 1907): 77–80.
19. Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions to China* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 574.
20. Samuel H. Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 64.

# THE HOUSE DIVIDED

Franklin I. Gamwell

**A**nd he called them to him, and spoke to them in parables, “How can Satan cast out Satan? If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house is divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand. And if Satan has risen up against himself and is divided, he cannot stand, but his end has come. But no one can enter a strong man’s house and plunder his property without first tying up the strong man; then indeed the house can be plundered.

“Truly I tell you, people will be forgiven for their sins and whatever blasphemies they utter; but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit can never have forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin”—for they had said, “He has an unclean spirit.”

Mark 3: 23-30

— I —

“If a house is divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand.” It is a witness to the skill with which Abraham Lincoln invoked allusions to scripture that many Americans likely attribute the house divided metaphor to him. To be sure, he was the more successful in this rhetorical practice because destiny summoned him to interpret awesome events: the gathering storm and elemental fury of a civil war that some have called the death and rebirth of a nation. But this fact would not have so impressed his words on our national memory had not his interpretations also been singularly profound. Just so, his house divided speech, delivered in 1858, was his prophetic warning that the nation could not endure half-slave and half-free, a foreboding confirmed less than three years later.

Would that a contemporary Lincoln might prove able sufficiently to impress on us that the human household

today is threatened by the division between rich and poor. The distribution of goods and resources, of the means for living and living well, is indeed a complicated matter in our complicated world. By any sane standard, however, this distribution is prodigiously unequal—and whatever may have been the case in previous eras, when differing communities were more or less isolated from each other and the ways whereby want might be met were far more meager, we are now increasingly aware that we are all bound together in a global community whose integrity and peace is menaced by massive disparities of wealth. Some years ago, the noted economist Robert Heilbroner was led to virtual despondency in his essay *The Human Prospect*. Quite apart from the justice of the matter, he foresaw, the time is approaching when the have-not peoples of the world will become so aware of what they could have, and accessible weapons of modern war will make them so able to threaten those who do have, that there will be appalling international disruption and bloodshed.

But we need not envision such apocalyptic possibilities or even contemplate the vast disparities throughout the world to sense that maldistribution in a house divided. The

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*This sermon was delivered in Bond Chapel on April 18, 2001.*





*Profit, position, privilege, or pleasure; family, class, or country—there is no limit to the demons prepared to possess us whenever we choose one of them in conflict with the all-inclusive One who alone is worthy of our worship.*

breach between rich and poor within the borders of our own Republic is sufficiently stark to make the point. During the past two or three decades, moreover, economic inequality in America has notably widened, and it seems apparent that economic policies following on the conservative turn in American politics over this period have magnified, or at least permitted, this movement. Of even greater moment is that this inequality is not widely perceived as a problem, except by the poor, and was not so much as mentioned in our recent presidential campaign. I am far from saying that this division among us portends a civil war. But the presence or absence of poverty in this society is now a matter open to public choice. However much in other times and places widespread want belonged among the things that could not be changed, it endures in our land because we consent to it. And if this is so, can there really be any doubt that this inequality among us threatens the integrity of our Republic as a government not only of and by but also *for* all of the people, and lays in ruins the higher possibilities of our national household?

— II —

Still, however apt the house-divided metaphor may be to portray the social and political conflicts that threaten human communities, this is not the intent with which the Gospel of Mark delivers it. To the contrary, the human prospect revealed in this passage is not social or political but, rather, the distinctive concern of religion. It is not the breach between nations or within nations that is here in focus but a war within the soul, a discord within the human spirit when one is possessed by demons. "Religion," one famous definition has it, "is what one does with one's own solitariness." If our defining mark as humans is not only to live but also to lead our lives, in the sense that what we are or do is not simply the dictate of fate but depends in some measure on our conscious decision, this is possible only because we each make a fundamental and all-embracing choice about what gives meaning or significance to everything we are or could be. Our many choices about work and play, family and public

life, always take their bearings from that inclusive decision in which we name the someone or something from which the very worth of life itself derives and which, therefore, commands all our heart and soul and mind and strength. It is this inclusive choice that is distinctively religious and incurably solitary, and it is in this household of the soul that Mark speaks of a division against itself.

The human spirit is weak, and its weakness is betrayed in our readiness to worship others in competition with the one true God from whom all things come and to whom all things go and who alone authorizes worth or meaning in our lives. Profit, position, privilege, or pleasure; family, class, or country—there is no limit to the demons prepared to possess us whenever we choose one of them in conflict with the all-inclusive One who alone is worthy of our worship. Mark's metaphor, in other words, displays a self in fundamental self-contradiction, and calls to mind the saying in Matthew: "No one can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve both God and mammon." A famous philosopher of language, one story has it, once began a lecture on the use of positive and negative terms with the claim: "It is well-known that two negatives make a positive but two positives never make a negative." From the rear of the room came the distinct if unsolicited reply: "Yeah, yeah." Two positives also negate in the soul, and this is Matthew's point: two masters destroy the self. Still, Matthew's way of putting the matter may be misleading. For the self-negation installed by serving two masters would seem to be banished by choosing one or the other, God or mammon, divinity or the demon. If division is the consequence of having two, wholeness would seem to be restored by choosing *either* one—and surely this is not what either Mark or Matthew means to say. What, then, is their intent?

Not the least of the legacy we have received from Jean Paul Sartre is his series of novels entitled *The Roads to Freedom*. Taken as a whole, this series tells a complicated story. Through more than twelve hundred pages, we meet a diversity of people against the backdrop of turmoil in mid-twentieth-century Europe. But there is also a thread of continuity.



*Whatever complexities our sophisticated world presents when it comes to allocating its goods and resources, the division into rich and poor will be relentless so long as so many continue to believe that meaning in our lives is measured by our share.*

Above all, we follow through those many pages the life of the protagonist, Delarue, and we watch his repeated choice to sacrifice his freedom as he conforms to the dictates of his passions, to the expectations of his friends and lovers, or to convention and inherited morality. And in the futility of Delarue's life, Sartre expresses the same point he delivered elsewhere in philosophical form—that human existence is condemned to be free, so that a choice against freedom can never be an escape from but only a distortion or corruption of it. Only the embrace of freedom can be single-minded; the decision to deny it is duplicity. For Mark, unlike Sartre, our most basic decision is not simply about our freedom but about our God. Yet the point is similar. We cannot decide against God without duplicity. Just because the only real source of our worth is One from whom all things come and to whom all things go, we cannot decide for the worth of anything at all without attachment to and affirmation of this God—and to make any other our master is never to escape but only to distort or debase our dependency on the all-embracing One. Only divine worship can be single-minded; the worship of some pretender is never instead of, but always in addition to—and so sets us in self-contradiction. The soul becomes a house divided.

— III —

Now, whatever his use or misuse of Mark's metaphor, Abraham Lincoln was profoundly aware that political divisions in the Republic expressed religious problems. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the ominous words of his Second Inaugural. "Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills it should continue until all wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said 'the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

If wars among peoples can reflect religious problems, it

is also true that existential duplicity can yield political strife. Although Mark's house divided metaphor is first of all religious, it may also become political, because the individuals who are divided against themselves live together in God's world. Just as the beauty of a great cathedral is a comment on all of the details within it, so a decision about God is a choice about the world. The same writer who called religion "what one does with one's own solitariness" also wrote that "religion is world-loyalty," by which he meant that a solitary choice for the only true source of our worth is also a pledge of allegiance to all of the world, because it all belongs to that all-inclusive One. By the same token, then, those who embrace a demon insofar pledge their loyalty to some of the world and exclude the rest. He who chooses against the whole can only choose for some part, and the worship of something within the world introduces division into it just as surely as it corrupts the self. Those who idolize their race create racism; those who worship unfettered industry are at war with the natural habitat; those who worship their flag scar battle lines across the human enterprise.

And those who make mammon one of their masters quicken the problem of distribution. Whatever complexities our sophisticated world presents when it comes to allocating its goods and resources, the division into rich and poor will be relentless so long as so many continue to believe that meaning in our lives is measured by our share. To the best of my reading, the engines of economic advance, which have made such stunning contributions to well-being, especially in the Western world, have also insidiously persuaded us that the good life is defined by the ever increasing enjoyment of economic rewards. For just this reason, our nation's economic growth, almost irrespective of *what* is being added, is still widely taken for granted as an incontestable social and political priority—and it is a telling debasement of our language that the phrase "standard of living," which should mean that idea in accord with which human living is at its best, is used exclusively to name our capacity to consume. And it follows that the yawning disparities of wealth, both within this Republic and between nations of the world, will be intransigent until we-who-have cease this idolatry. What



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gives worth to one's life will be defended unto death, and where mammon is believed to be that measure, none will be willing to redistribute. Until this demon, so effective in shaping our common life, is destroyed, we will remain a house divided.

– IV –

To some, perhaps, this word will seem a counsel of resignation or despair. Problems in our public life are hard enough to fathom on their own; far less likely is a happy verdict if it waits on religious change. But "what we call despair," someone once said, "is often only the painful eagerness of unfed hope." So, hear again the later words in the passage from Mark: "Truly I tell you, people will be forgiven for their sins." This, more than any other, is the declaration that dominates like a drumbeat the New Testament witness to Jesus: Through his words and deeds and confirmed by the resurrection we now celebrate once again, God has been disclosed as all-embracing love. He makes the sun rise on the evil and the good. If sin abounds, grace abounds all the more. As death itself did not end the presence of Jesus, so nothing in all creation can separate us from the love of God. Far from resignation, then, the religious substance of our public life gives us the most reason to hope. For it reveals another power in the balance. Because the source and end of all is One from whom escape is categorically denied, God is also ever-present, re-presenting the power to deny duplicity and live in the truth.

That is one meaning of forgiveness—and, thereby, of *our* resurrection. Each day is for each one of us categorically new. On every day for everyone, the fundamental choice is reopened, the demons may be overcome, the self-divided integrated by the grace of God. To seize that new day is to assume our authenticity and so to declare in speech and deed that what belongs to each is meant to help us all belong to each other. Whether this country and this world will be sufficiently impressed so that we may advance from our divisions toward integrity in the human household, remains at issue in our awesome adventure on this planet.

But the issue for those of us in this place is whether *we* answer the divine summons and thereby seek to do our part in its purpose, in the sure and certain hope that what we are and do, even before we decide, is promised everlasting worth. Moreover, we may also have this further hope, although not sure and certain: Against the demons that ever tempt the human soul weighs the futility and dissolution of life in contradiction to itself, and the divine love, having on its side the truth that God alone makes life worth living—and this, we may ever hope, will attract renewed allegiance to our common humanity and empower in our world the better angels of human nature. □

# FAREWELL TRIBUTE TO STEPHANIE PAULSELL

Elizabeth A. Musselman

**A**t the conclusion of the Spring Quarter, 2001, Stephanie Paulsell resigned from her position as Director of Ministry Studies and Senior Lecturer in Religion and Literature in the Divinity School. She has accepted a position as Visiting Lecturer on Ministry for the upcoming year at Harvard Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Students, faculty, and staff of the Divinity School joined in a farewell reception on May 23 in Swift Common Room to honor Stephanie and to thank her for her invaluable service to the School. The following tribute was given by Elizabeth Musselman, one of Stephanie's former M.Div. students, now enrolled in the Ph.D. program in Theology.

When Dean Rosengarten asked me to speak to you today about Stephanie, he reminded me that I would be speaking on behalf not only of myself, but also of all students. Although I've called this tribute "Ten Things I Love About Stephanie," I think it's fair to say that (with the possible exception of number six) I'm speaking not only for myself but for all of us who have been privileged to be students of Stephanie over the past few years. So . . .

## TEN THINGS I LOVE ABOUT STEPHANIE

— ONE —

**Her spiritual and vocational guidance.** I remember walking into Stephanie's office one day during my first year here and lamenting that the University of Chicago must have made a mistake in admitting me to the program because I wasn't really smart enough to be here. Stephanie looked at me fondly, her eyes smiling, and said: "Of course they

didn't make a mistake. You'll do well in the ministry program and you'll get into the Ph.D. program, if that's what you decide to do." She was right, and I know that her continuous spiritual and vocational guidance has followed me as well as many other students throughout our time at the Divinity School.

— TWO —

**Her wisdom in integrating ministry with theoretical learning.** Stephanie is very smart, but that's nothing remarkable for Swift Hall: everyone here is smart. What is remarkable about Stephanie is her wisdom in dealing both with practical matters of daily life in the parish and with the theological subtleties that arise in abstract classroom discussions, and particularly in helping students to discover a natural integration between the two.

— THREE —

**Her gentle nature,** which speaks for itself.



— FOUR —

**Her humility**, which doesn't necessarily speak for itself but which shows itself in all that she says and does.

— FIVE —

**Her stephanieness.** As far as I'm aware, Stephanie is the only professor in Swift Hall whose name has actually taken on an adjectival meaning for students. Often when we observe someone speaking or acting in a loving, compassionate way, we say with delight: "That's so stephanie!" In the walls of Swift Hall, stephanie as adjective means beautiful, compassionate, gracious, loving, kind. And Stephanie, although you are leaving us, your stephanieness will remain in our halls and in our hearts.

— SIX —

**Her Lutheranness.** Although she doesn't identify herself as such, I am convinced that Stephanie is really a Lutheran at heart. Her theological emphasis on honoring the body is sacramental, incarnational, and cruciform. Stephanie once wrote that Jesus' wounded and broken body "brings into focus the bodies of the sick and the wounded and the exploited." This is the same Jesus who, as Luther put it, was born as a tiny, screaming, naked little baby in Bethlehem and suckled at his mother's breasts before he grew up and entered into the brokenness of humanity through the cross. This is just the kind of divine image in which Stephanie delights.

— SEVEN —

**Her hospitality.** Whether cooking us soup at her house, telling us about her student days in her office, or lying on the grass and looking up at the stars with us on the ministry retreat, Stephanie has the gift of being able to make any space hospitable.

— EIGHT —

**Her deep love of Augustine.** (Another similarity between Stephanie and Luther!)

— NINE —

**Her love for all of us.** It is rare to find a professor in an academic institution who genuinely likes all of his or her students. And it is even more rare to find a professor like Stephanie, who genuinely loves all of her students.

— TEN —

**The way her face glows.** Last night, I was talking on the phone with a friend, who is a recent alum of the ministry program, and I mentioned Stephanie's name. My friend said to me: "You know what I love the most about Stephanie? Her face glows." And suddenly I recalled the first lines of Mary Oliver's poem "The Buddha's Last Instruction":

"Make of yourself a light,"  
said the Buddha,  
before he died.<sup>2</sup>

When I visited the Divinity School as a prospective student four years ago, our former Dean of Students made a comment about how we aren't necessarily supposed to be happy in graduate school; this place is about academic rigor and professional training and self-discipline. I've found through my years here that Rick's statement was largely true. The best of academic institutions never aim to be happy places. But I've also found that I have had a few moments of happiness at the Divinity School and most of them have been with Stephanie. I suspect that Boston will be a bit more hospitable, a bit friendlier, and a bit happier since Stephanie will be there. Thank you, Stephanie, for all that you have given to me and to the ministry program. Harvard has no idea what a precious gift they are about to receive. □

#### END NOTES

1. Stephanie Paulsell, "Honoring the Body," in *Practicing Our Faith: A Way of Life for a Searching People*, ed. Dorothy C. Bass (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1997), 27.
2. Mary Oliver, "The Buddha's Last Instruction," in *House of Light* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), 4.

# ALUMNI NEWS

EDWARD L. BOND, M.A. 1985, Assistant Professor of History at Alabama A&M University, recently published a new book, *Damned Souls in a Tobacco Colony: Religion in Seventeenth-Century Virginia* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2001). Focusing on religion as the various expressions of individual and corporate relationship with the divine, Professor Bond gives the reader an insightful picture of religion and society in colonial Virginia.

T. L. BRINK, M.A. 1974, Ph.D. 1978, Professor at Crafton Hills College in Yucaipa, California, spent the Spring Semester, 2001, teaching in Salamanca, Spain.

FRANK BURCH BROWN, M.A. 1972, Ph.D. 1979, received one of the two Honorable Mentions given by the Association of American Publishers in the category of Philosophy and Religion for his book *Good Taste, Bad Taste, and Christian Taste* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

MARCIA BUNGE, M.A. 1979, Ph.D. 1986, Associate Professor of Humanities and Theology at Christ College, the honors college of Valparaiso University in Indiana, has edited a volume entitled *The Child in Christian Thought* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001). This year she also received a Christian Faith and Life Sabbatical Grant from the Louisville Institute, and she directed the grant writing process for Valparaiso University's Project on Theological Exploration of Vocation, which was funded by the Lilly Endowment.

HUGH W. BURTNER, M.A. 1966, Ph.D. 1978, has retired after nearly thirty-two years of service in the Department of Religion at Baldwin-Wallace College in Berea, Ohio. The "Mary and Hugh Burtner Student Prize in Religion" has been established to celebrate the couple's years of service both in teaching and on staff at the College Library. Mrs. Burtner passed away in 1997.

REBECCA CHOPP, Ph.D. 1983, has been appointed Dean of Yale Divinity School effective July 1, 2001.

DAVID E. COBB, M.A. 1992, Dean of the School of Theology for the Laity and East Dallas Christian Church, was ordained to Christian ministry in the Disciples of Christ on March 25, 2001.

DUKE T. GRAY, B.D. 1965, retired from parish ministry after thirty-six years of service; he spent the last thirteen of those years at First Parish in Malden, Massachusetts.

J. ALBERT HARRILL, M.A. 1989, Ph.D. 1993, Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at DePaul University in Chicago, Illinois, has accepted a tenured position at Boston University, Massachusetts, as Associate Professor of New Testament and Early Christian Literature with a joint appointment in the School of Theology and the Department of Religion in the College of Arts and Sciences. He also received an Alexander von Humboldt Research Fellowship in New Testament for the University of Münster in Germany.

DAVID HEIN, M.A. 1977, Professor and Chair of Religion and Philosophy at Hood College in Frederick, Maryland, will publish *Noble Powell and the Episcopal Establishment in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, June 2001). Through the biography of a leading Episcopal bishop, this book tells the story of the rise and fall of the Protestant Establishment in the U.S. and includes discussion of civil rights, ecumenism, the pastoral role of bishops, and the theology of Christian friendship.

JOHN R. KEVERN, Ph.D. 1997, is President and Associate Professor of Bexley Hall Episcopal Seminary in Rochester, New York.

P. TRAVIS KROEKER, Ph.D. 1989, Assistant Professor in the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, recently published (with Bruce Ward) *Remembering the End: Dostoevsky as Prophet to Modernity* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2001). Professor Kroeker has also been appointed research fellow at the



Center of Theological Inquiry at Princeton University for the Autumn of 2001.

FRANCISCO FORREST MARTIN, M.A. 1984, Ariel F. Sallows Professor of Human Rights at the University of Saskatchewan College of Law, has published *Challenging Human Rights Violations: Using International Law in U.S. Courts* (Ardsey, NY: Transnational Publications, 2001). Mr. Martin also delivered the 2001 Ariel F. Sallows Lecture, "New Legal Restraints on the Use of Force in the New Warfare."

CAROLE MYSCOFSKI, B.A. 1975, M.A. 1976, Ph.D. 1981, Professor of Religion at Illinois Wesleyan University, received the 2001 DuPont Award for Teaching Excellence at the annual Honors Day Convocation on April 18. The teacher-scholar award was sponsored by DuPont Agricultural Products, Inc. of El Paso, Illinois, a subsidiary of the Delaware-based chemical industry leader, E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Co.

ROWLAND A. SHERRILL, M.A. 1971, Ph.D. 1975, Professor and Chair of Religious Studies and Director of the Center for American Studies at Indiana University/Purdue University in Indianapolis, Indiana, has recently been named a Chancellor's Professor at IUPUI, one of six on a faculty of over two thousand members to hold this title, conferred to honor career-long achievement in teaching, service, and scholarship.

ANN TAVES, M.A. 1979, Ph.D. 1983, won the Association of American Publishers 2000 Outstanding Professional and Scholarly Publication for Philosophy and Religion Award for her book *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experiences from Wesley to James* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

ROBIN DARLING YOUNG, M.A. 1975, Ph.D. 1982, Associate Professor of Theology at the Catholic University of America in Washington D.C., delivered the Père Marquette Lecture in Theology on March 31, 2001, in Chicago, Illinois. The lecture, "In Procession before the World': The Martyrs' Sacrifice as Public Liturgy in Early Christianity," was sponsored by the Department of Theology at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

#### LOSSES

Thomas Owens, who was for many years the Librarian at the Divinity School Library in Swift Hall, died in March 2001 at age 69; he had retired from the Law School Library four years before. His service to the Law School was widely appreciated, as were his long years spent with Divinity School students and faculty. Mr. Owens will always be remembered as a person of good humor and loyalty. He maintained a lively social life among his many friends and several godchildren.

# ALUMNI NEWS INFORMATION

CRITERION solicits your participation in keeping the Divinity School up-to-date on alumni professional accomplishments. We also invite letters to the editor. Please use the form below, or write to us separately, and mail to the address listed below.

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