

A SELF-PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE 1907 REVIVAL
MOVEMENT IN KOREA

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Division of Religion
Drew University in partial fulfillment of
The requirement for the degree,
Doctor of Philosophy

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July 2014

ABSTRACT

A Self-Psychological Approach to the 1907 Revival Movement in Korea

Ph.D. Dissertation by

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July 2014

The 1907 Revival Movement in Korea can be characterized by a sense of defeat and helplessness, a sensitivity to their sins and wrongdoings, petitions for forgiveness, public confessions of their sins, and resulting feelings of peace and joy. These unique characteristics of the movement have become an important object of research in the contemporary Korean Protestant Church. However, most research has centered on the historical, theological, and spiritual functions and significance of the Movement. This dissertation focuses on the psychological approach and is designed to enrich and enlarge the historical account of the 1907 Revival Movement by paying attention to the emotional, psychological, and unconscious motivations of the movement.

The domestic and foreign circumstances in the latter years of the Joseon dynasty can be epitomized as a period of national crisis which resulted from both the internal collapse of an established system as well as external threats of foreign forces. The Korean people at that time experienced the profound sorrow of losing their country through annexation and the severe oppression and ill-treatment by the corrupt officials of the Japanese Government. In this period of national crisis, Protestant Christianity was

introduced into Korea by American and Canadian missionaries who started the 1907 Revival Movement in which the movement participants experienced their self-perception as unworthy sinners needing to be saved, a desperate aspiration to be forgiven, and an outburst of emotion by praying with extreme actions and behaviors.

There were significant fundamental psychological processes in the 1907 Revival Movement which can be explored in terms of Heinz Kohut's key concepts of selfobject, group self, and selfobject experiences such as idealizing, mirroring, and the twinship experience. The sense of defeatness and helplessness that Korean people experienced under Japanese occupation can be identified by what Kohut calls self-fragmentation of the Korean group self. However, the movement followers could fill up their structural defect in their nuclear self through the selfobject experiences provided by their religious experiences, which contributed to maintaining the cohesive sense of their selves.

The self-psychological analysis of the 1907 Revival Movement illustrates the positive aspects of religious experiences as selfobject experiences for their psychological health which have significant implications for the Korean Protestant Church in the contemporary era, as it experiences decline and stagnation due to its failures of selfobject functions. This research study suggests ways to improve the contemporary churches' selfobject functions, such as 1) the churches' active participation in social issues and activities; 2) the establishment of the consolidated theological viewpoint between self-surrender and self-acceptance; and 3) the development of transformational leadership based on the notion of servanthood.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have written this dissertation without the help and support of several individuals who contributed and extended their valuable assistance in the preparation and completion of this study in one way or another. It is a deep joy to convey my gratitude to them in my humble acknowledgment.

First of all, I would like to express my most earnest appreciation to my advisor, Dr. Angella Son, for her supervision, advice, and guidance from the very early stage of this research, as well as her emotional support, care, and encouragement. I also give my gratitude to my second reader, Dr. Arthur Pressley for supervising not only my dissertation work but also my clinical work in the Harlem area of New York City with his analytic thinking. I also gratefully acknowledge Dr. J. Terry Todd for his valuable advice and crucial contribution to this thesis as a historian. My sincere thanks also go to Dr. Mi Ja Sa for her advice, constant support and encouragement.

I would also like to give special thanks to my wife, You Sun Yim who always cheered me up and stood by me through the good times and bad. She is really like the sun which has lighted my way and has given me new courage to face life joyfully. Many thanks go in particular to my son, Jun Geon, and my daughter Juna who have been proud of my work and who have shown their potentials in a strange place where the language and culture are different. I am deeply grateful to my parents and brothers who supported and encouraged me with their unbounded confidence in my ability. They always prayed

for not just my personal success but God's plan for my study.

My sincere thanks also go to the pastors, elders, children, and other members of the Korean Church of Elizabeth with whom I have shared fellowship in Christ. They provided valuable assistance and support in diverse ways which helped me concentrate on my study. I would also like to thank the children with whom I, as a student psychoanalyst, worked together at the Harlem Family Institute. The therapy sessions with them taught me what it means to become a good therapist.

I believe that I have been guided by God who has given me strength and knowledge to finish this research. God let me have the valuable experience with which, I believe, God wants me to serve others. I would like to attribute all the honor and glory to God.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I. The Need for a Psychological Analysis of the 1907 Revival Movement

The Korean Protestant Church has grown rapidly since Christian missionaries first landed in Korea in April, 1885. Scholars agree that the driving force of this growth in Korean Protestant Christianity was the 1907 Revival Movement. In addition, the 1907 Revival is seen as an important factor in the maturing of the Korean Church's structure and theology. The history of the Korean Protestant Church cannot be adequately described without mentioning this Movement.

The Korean Revival Movement in 1907 is referred to as the great revival meeting which took place in the Jang Dae Hyeon Church located in Pyeong Yang, Korea from January 2nd to January 22nd, 1907. However, the 1907 Revival Movement can be viewed as a subsequent series of revival meetings and Bible conferences that occurred following a prayer meeting of the missionaries at Wonsan in 1903, which is generally considered to be the origin of the 1907 movement. In this document, I use the 1907 Revival Movement to signify a series of revival meetings and conferences in the early 1900s, in particular, from the missionaries' prayer meeting at Wonsan in 1903 to the Pyeong Yang revival movement in 1907, because the meetings were closely interconnected historically and my psychological study is interested in the reason why these successive revival meetings occurred during this specific period.

The 1907 Movement was shaped by the climate of the era in which it occurred,

which is considered by many to be one of the darkest periods in Korean history. In the early 1900s, Korean people were burdened by war, and especially by the control of the Japanese from the year the Japanese protectorate was established in 1905. At the same time, they were at the mercy of corrupt officials and the severe exploitation by the Japanese government. The loss of a nation's identity and basic rights, and the devaluation by others can certainly cause collective feelings of powerlessness, helplessness, and hopelessness. This psychological instability had an enormous effect on the development of the 1907 Movement which was characterized by the sensitivity to sins and wrongdoings, a deep sense of defeat and shame, the petition for forgiveness, the confession of the sins in public, yet, also by a feeling of peace and joy.

However, the influences of the psychological processes on the 1907 Revival Movement have neither been previously acknowledged nor studied. Recently, there has been much research, symposia, and seminars in the Korean academic world to consider the backgrounds and influences of the movement celebrating the centennial of the movement.¹ However, most research has centered on the historical, theological, and spiritual meaning, as well as the significance of the Movement. Psychological processes and their influences on the 1907 revival have been ignored and consequently neglected.²

¹ In 2007, the Korea Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, commemorating the movement, had a seminar which illuminated the meaning and contribution of the movement from various perspectives. The content dealt with during this seminar was published in the same year. Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, eds., *Primary Source of the Korean Great Revival 1903-1908* (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2007)

² The only exception is Professor Mi Ja Sa's psychological analysis of the conversion experience in the 1907 revival. She applied William James' theory of conversion to the religious experiences in the movement. Her study is a worthy psychological approach to the movement, but she did not engage full-scale research on

By overlooking the psychological aspects of the 1907 Revival Movement, the earlier studies do not have the following benefits that a psychological approach can bring to the research of the Movement: 1) The psychological approach enriches the historical account of the 1907 Revival Movement by paying attention to the emotional and unconscious basis of historical thought and action. By doing so, it can enlarge and refine concepts of the explanation for human religious experiences and conduct in the Movement by accounting for the emotional origin and psychological motivation. 2) It places a focus on the oppressed and devalued groups or classes who had religious experiences in the 1907 Revival as opposed to an emphasis on significant individuals or abstract theological discussion. This helps to bring out the liveliness of the world of lived experience from the perspective of those who live it. 3) It explains how religious experiences of theological doctrines and religious practices of the movement fostered the psychological health of the Korean people participating in the movement during that period by meeting these psychological needs. In order to bring depth to my study, it, thus, focuses mainly on the positive psychological functions of religious experiences for mental health while I fully acknowledge that the negative psychological functions of religious experiences were also present at the 1907 Revival.

In this study, I argue that there were significant fundamental psychological processes that occurred in the 1907 Revival Movement. In particular, I bring Heinz Kohut's self psychology into constructive dialogue and engagement with the religious

the topic. Mi Ja Sa, "A Religious Psychological Consideration to the Conversion as a Key Phenomenon of the 1907 Revival Movement," in *Primary Source of the Korean Great Revival 1903-1908*, ed. Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2007).

experiences during the 1907 Revival Movement. The self psychological approach to the revival movement led me to propose that the sense of defeatedness and helplessness that the Korean people experienced under Japanese occupation can be identified with what Kohut calls self-fragmentation of the Korean group self, and the psychological processes in the movement facilitate potential for the narcissistic nourishment of the self leading to renewed cohesiveness of the self. An integral aspect of this study centers on the attempt to explore and identify how the religious experiences met the psychological needs of the Korean people in the movement through the selfobject experiences of idealization, mirroring, and twinship as presented in Kohut's psychology of the self. In other words, the presence of these psychological dynamics functions as a supportive selfobject environment, according to Kohut's self psychology. Thus, the thesis of this dissertation is: The examination of the psychological processes in the 1907 Korean Revival Movement based on Heinz Kohut's self psychology can shed light on religious experiences as selfobject experiences and, thereby, reveal the positive function of religious experiences for human beings and their psychological health.

II. Reasons for Using Kohut's Psychology of the Self Methodology for the Psychohistorical Study

The principal methodology employed in this study is psychohistorical. Psychohistory has many different meanings and uses. The most basic definition of psychohistory is the "psychological study of history" with the "use of any one of many different psychological theories (or any combination of these theories) for the purpose of

historical analysis.”³ In the broadest sense, psychohistory can be understood as history informed by psychology or psychology informed by history.⁴ The framework of this method tries to merge psychological theory with historical inquiry. Considering that psychohistory is the psychoanalytically-oriented approach to history, it can be said that it seeks to delve into the unconscious motives for historic people or group’s attitudes and actions with the help of contemporary psychodynamic theory.

Freud analyzed the characters of famous figures such as Moses⁵ and Leonardo da Vinci⁶ with his psychoanalytic theory. However, his paradigm of individual psychopathology focused on internal drives and hidden conflicts. Thus, there was limited room for discussion regarding the relationship between the individual psyche and the historical environment. In his first biographical study, *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood*, published in 1910, he quite clearly said that the “aim of our work has been to explain the inhibitions in Leonardo’s sexual life and in his artistic activity.”⁷ He was not interested in the full life of Leonardo, entangled with its historical context. Freud’s evident focus was directed toward his sexual conflicts and their manifestations in

³ Richard W. Noland, “Psychohistory, Theory and Practice,” *The Massachusetts Review* 18, no. 2 (1977): 295.

⁴ George M. Kren and Leon Rappoport, eds., *Varieties of Psychohistory* (New York: Springer Publishing. Co., 1976), 1–14.

⁵ Sigmund Freud, “Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, vol. 23 (London: Hogarth Press, 1981).

⁶ Sigmund Freud, “Leonardo da Vinci: A Study in Psychosexuality,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, vol. 11 (London: Hogarth Press, 1981).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

the artistic form.

On the other hand, Erikson understood how important culture could be on an individual. Considering Erikson's work as the third of his four paradigms of psychohistory, Lifton, a psychohistorian, noted that Erikson was concerned with "the kinds of inner conflicts illuminated by the Freudian tradition," but "he placed the great man...within a specific historical context."⁸ In his work *Young Man Luther*, in which he combines the clinical methods of analysis with exhaustive cultural studies to deal with Luther's identity issues, Erikson expressed his understanding of how important a specific historical context could be on an individual by saying, "we cannot lift a case history out of history."⁹ Bruce Mazlish, a professor emeritus of history at MIT, also posited that in its best moments, psychohistory "attempts to understand the social conditions shaping the development of the individual psyche and then the psychological factors forming the social conditions."¹⁰ In addition, there have been many studies that pay attention to life histories and demonstrate how social paradigms, historical conditions, and cultural views impact the person.¹¹

Psychohistory is frequently criticized by traditional historians because of its disregard for conscious purpose and the conjectural and reductionist nature of its

⁸ Robert Jay Lifton and Charles B. Stozier, "Psychology and History," in *Psychology and its Allied Disciplines: Psychology and the Social Sciences*, ed. Marc H. Bornstein (Hillsdale, NJ: Psychology Press, 1984), 168.

⁹ Erik H. Erikson, *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: Norton, 1962), 15–16.

¹⁰ Bruce Mazlish, "What Is Psycho-history?," in *Varieties of Psychohistory*, eds. George M. Kren and Leon Rappoport (New York: Springer Publishing. Co., 1976), 21.

¹¹ William McKinley Runyan, *Life Histories and Psychobiography: Explorations in Theory and Method* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 12.

explanations of historical causality, based on incomplete evidence of early childhood experiences and relations. Runyan identifies three specific critiques of reductionism as applied to psychohistory: 1) that psychological factors are emphasized at the expense of external social and historical factors; 2) that psychobiography focuses excessively on psychopathological processes and gives insufficient attention to normality and creativity; and 3) that it tends to explain adult character and behavior exclusively in terms of early childhood experience while neglecting later formative processes and influences.¹²

Considering the problem of reductionism present in psychohistory, it is important for a psychohistorian to choose a psychological theory which is appropriate to the historical subject matter, acknowledging the cultural contexts and historical factors, and reflecting on the formative influences of adulthood on the inner world. Psychohistorical theory and practice can be classified according to the following psychological lens employed for the study of history:¹³ 1) Freudian psychohistorian focuses largely on “the discovery and interpretation of suppressed childhood traumas in the unconscious,” and they tried to find out reliable sources regarding the earlier periods of historical figures.¹⁴ 2) In the case of Erikson, his development of the new psychohistory in the direction of a psychoanalytical ego psychology, with particular focus on issues of identity and, more recently, on varieties of psychohistory employs ego psychology which takes note of ego’s functions that mediate between the id, and the superego and reality. 3) Object relations

¹² Ibid., 208–209.

¹³ Jacques Szaluta, *Psychohistory: Theory and Practice* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 117–170.

¹⁴ Harry Ritter, *Dictionary of Concepts in History*, annotated edition (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 347.

theory emphasizes psychic structures which comprise introjected objects which can be seen as the intrapsychic representations of significant figures in the infant's life. The notion of the intrapsychic objects is very useful in psychologically interpreting history, because a specific historical and cultural context represented by values and ideals embodies the individual object world.¹⁵ 4) Lastly, there are psychohistorians who use the self psychological approach which holds that the development of narcissism follows its own line and disturbances in this development generate a weakened and fragmented sense of self.¹⁶

In choosing a particular psychological method, I have been guided by the question of which psychological tradition seems most suitable to the themes presented in the 1907 revival movement, which seems to be closely associated with the devaluation of the self due to the experiences of oppression by others and recovery by religious experiences. I also considered the critique of reductionism in choosing a psychological approach which can respond to the criticism. I have chosen Kohut's psychoanalytic self psychological concepts of selfobjects and selfobject experiences in building a framework for psychologically analyzing the movement because he has developed an innovative understanding of human motivation by his proposals about the nature and functioning of

¹⁵ Hughes shows how object relations can be used in psychohistory in the work on relations between British and German statesmen preceding the outbreak of World War I. Judith M. Hughes, *Emotion and High Politics: Personal Relations at the Summit in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain and Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

¹⁶ Thomas Kohut draws on self psychology to elucidate the historical significance of Wilhelm II's personality, his impact on the German people, and their influence on him. Thomas A. Kohut, *Wilhelm II and the Germans: A Study in Leadership* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

the self not from the pathological but formative perspective. Through the lens of his self psychology, the religious experiences of the individuals participating in the movement can be depicted as therapeutic experiences, prompting them to advance from a state of fragmented self to a cohesive one. In other words, whereas the Korean people at that time experienced oppression and domination through the power of the corrupted officials and Japanese government, some of them had the opportunity to satisfy their narcissistic needs of mirroring, idealizing, and twinship through their participation in the 1907 Revival Movement.

In addition, Kohut's self psychology is very useful in delving into the external social, cultural, and historical influences on an individual's psychological development. His concept of selfobject as an expansive concept of object can include a non-human object such as a society and/or a religion as a whole. In other words, historical conditions and religious experiences can play the role of selfobjects which designate objects experienced as a part of the self. Therefore, Kohut's self psychology can be viewed as a proper psychological theory in examining the relationship between an individual and social situations, which need to be the key aspect of the updated psychohistorical approach for being open to the criticism of reductionism by traditional historians.

Furthermore, the work of Kohut offers a holistic perspective about the historical issues related to what people feel and what motivates them to act. Psychoanalytic drive theory has always pushed scholars to explore the evidence of early experiences where historical sources are unusually insufficient because it insists that one's childhood, especially the oedipal period, is a source of adult behavior, character, conflicts, etc. However, for Kohut, trauma can occur at any point in the life cycle and exists in any

event in which selfobjects fail to sustain or nourish the self. Therefore, Kohut's theories permit one to look at history in its entirety with equal importance to both past and present.

To sum up, following Kren and Rappoport, this study uses the psychohistorical approach, which considers the close relationship between one's individual inner world and specific historical conditions. Thus, I will probe the historical and political situations of the Korean people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who were victimized by wars and by the Japanese protectorate that had been established in 1905. In addition, I will analyze how the historical conditions produced an effect on the inadequate sense of the inner self of Koreans. I will also examine, from the perspective of Kohut, how religious experiences, expressed in the 1907 revival movement, enabled its followers to experience the selfobject needs by which their fragmented selves were able to maintain a cohesive sense of self and, at the same time, how this psychological growth influenced the social and historical conditions of that era.

III. History of Scholarship

The books and publications written by missionaries sent to Korea are primary resources for this study. As Protestant missions opened in Korea, the pioneer missionaries wrote books about the culture and history of Korea, church growth, and revival movements which include descriptions and testimonies of the 1907 Revival. Among the missionaries who left behind an important record in the history of Korean Protestant Church and its development through the revival movements are the following: James Gale,¹⁷ George Jones and Arthur Noble,¹⁸ Horace Underwood,¹⁹ Alfred Wasson,²⁰

¹⁷ James S. Gale, *Korean Sketches* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1898), *Korea in*

Harry Rhodes,²¹ Allen Clark,²² Samuel Moffett,²³ James Fisher,²⁴ William Blair and Bruce Hunt.²⁵ They also sent home reports regarding their missionary work which were collected in the periodicals such as *The Korean Repository*, 1892, 1895-1898, *The Korea Review*, 1900-1905, and *The Korean Mission Field*, 1898-1945. While written documents by missionaries are abundant, Koreans, themselves, did not leave records with historical information about the Revival Movement during the first thirty years of the Protestant mission efforts in Korea.

One can ask whether the missionaries' accounts are valid or not as primary materials to understand what happened in the movement, because their description can be distorted by their religious interests and perspective. It would appear quite reasonable to

Transition (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909).

¹⁸ George H. Jones and W. Arthur Noble, *The Korean Revival: An Account of the Revival in the Korean Churches in 1907* (New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910).

¹⁹ Horace G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea Political, Social, Religious* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1908).

²⁰ Alfred W. Wasson, *Church Growth in Korea* (New York: International Missionary Council, 1934).

²¹ Harry A. Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (1884-1934)*, vol. 1 (Seoul: YMCA, 1934).

²² Allen D. Clark, *History of the Korean Church* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961).

²³ Samuel H. Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962).

²⁴ James E. Fisher, *Pioneers of Modern Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1977).

²⁵ William Blair and Bruce Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering Which Followed* (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1977).

assume that the missionaries' testimonies and reports are colored, and even distorted, by their socio-cultural, theological, imperial, and cultural frames. For example, many missionaries viewed the Korean people as an ethnic group which is lazy, uncivilized, and superstitious, and should be civilized with the help of western culture and Christianity. This shows that even if they did not intentionally distort what they observed in the movement, their descriptions were influenced by their own biased perspectives and worldviews. However, that does not mean that their descriptions are not valuable for this psychohistorical research because my interest in this psychohistorical study lies not in the missionaries' religious and spiritual interpretation on the revival movement but rather in their descriptions of religious experiences in the revival movement. A series of common patterns are displayed in their descriptions on the religious experiences of the 1907 revival movement. What my study attempts to focus on is the descriptions of the repeated patterns of religious experiences evident in the missionaries' delineation of the 1907 movement.

More importantly, the missionaries' articles and reports in the journals and newspapers have been used as credible resources by the scholars in Korean church history in their research and analysis of the 1907 Revival Movement. For instance, according to Jeong Min Seo who collected, organized, and classified materials about the 1907 Revival Movement, the missionaries' reports and articles are useful to deeply understand the contents of the religious experiences because of the consistent patterns reported about the movement, even if they have limits to examine its social meaning and reverberation, which were not stated.²⁶ Therefore, even if the missionaries' descriptions

²⁶Jeong Min Seo, "Hangukgyohoe Chogi Daebuheunge Daehan Sahoejeok

of the 1907 Revival Movement were influenced by their socio-cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, their descriptions are enough to analyze the repeated patterns of religious experiences of the movement.

Korean scholars have examined the 1907 Revival Movement since Korea's liberation from Japan and their research constitutes secondary sources which can be classified into two groups according to their theological perspectives: the conservative group and the progressive group. The conservative group insists that the revival in 1907 can be considered the original form to which the Korean churches ought to return or a model of revivalism. On the other hand, the progressive group asserts that the revival movement can be criticized from the perspective that it quieted the anti-Japanese struggle of the church members under Japanese colonization and changed the fate of the Korean churches, making them historically irrelevant today.

Emphasizing the positive effects of the movement, Baek Nak Joon claims that the movement brought a moral sense into the hearts of some Korean people and established religious practices such as the early morning prayer meeting and the Bible study, which have contributed to the growth of Protestantism in Korea.²⁷ Min Kyung Bae maintains that the religious experiences of the 1907 revival movement made it possible for some Korean people to participate in the historical crisis and societal problems.²⁸ Park Jong Hyun asserts that the 1907 revival movement contributed to resisting Japanese oppression

Baneung [A Social Response to Early Revival Movement of Korean Church],” *Korean Christianity and History* 26 (2007): 89, 93.

²⁷ Nak Joon Baek, *A History of Korean Protestantism [Hangukgaesingyosa]* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1973).

²⁸ Kyung Bae Min, *Gyohoewa Minjok [Church and Nationality]* (Seoul: Korean Christian Publishing, 1981).

by establishing an identity as Christians.²⁹

However, the historian, Lee Man Yeol, argues that the 1907 revival movement weakened the Korean sense of independence from Japan by focusing on the topic of inner faith and, thus, accelerated the depoliticization of Korean churches.³⁰ No Dae Joon contends that the movement was planned by missionaries for the purpose of maintaining the religiosity of Korean churches against the social consciousness and control of the churches and Christians.³¹ Woo Wan Yong asserts that the movement can be seen as a model of non-nationalistic behaviors and asserts that it caused the nationalistic Christians to leave the churches.³²

One might wonder about the roots of the differences between the conservative and the progressive points of view. One can argue that the differences originate from the antithetical theological understanding about the separation of church and state, sin and repentance, spirituality, and the practice of revivalism which the early missionaries brought to Korea in the late 19th century. However, these studies focusing on the theological interests inadvertently exclude the perspective of the common people who underwent oppression and exploitation by the Japanese government and corrupt officials

²⁹ Jong Hyun Park, “Hangukgyohoeui Sinangnaeyeongwa Geu Oeyeonguchoun Sanggwangwang Gye Yeongu [A Study on the Relationship Between the Form of Internal-Combustion and the Out-Reach of the Korea Church]” (Ph.D. diss., Yonsei University Press, 2000).

³⁰ Man Yeol Lee, *Hanguk Gidokgyowa Minjokuisik [Korean Christianity and National Consciousness]* (Seoul: Knowledge Industry, 1991).

³¹ Dae Joon No, “1907Nyeon Gaesingyo Daebuheungundongui Yeoksajeok Seonggyeok [Historical Characteristics of the 1907 Revival Movement],” *The Study of Korean Christian History* 15, 16 (1986).

³² Wan Yong Woo, *Biungwa Seopriui Minjok Gyohoesa [National Church History of Misfortune and Providence]* (Seoul: Mokyang Book Company, 1991).

in the Joseon Dynasty. They could not deal with what the 1907 revival really meant to the Korean people at that time and how the people experienced the movement.

On the other hand, some research was based on the sociocultural perspective. For example, Lee Cheol attempted to explain the rise and decline of the 1907 revival movement on the basis of Max Weber's theory of charisma. In his opinion, the presence of charismatic leadership in terms of Weber's sociological theory had a decisive effect on the thriving of the revival movement in the early 20th century in Joseon.³³ Seo Jung Min, historian of Korean church history, dealt with the social responses of the 1907 revival movement and its social effects by collecting news articles about the movement that appeared in print media, investigating how people deal with those movements socially.³⁴

High valuation can be put on their works which get into close touch with the voices of the ordinary people. My research, similarly, analyzes the characteristics of the religious experiences of the movement from the psychohistorical perspective in order to account for the emotional meaning and psychological motivation of the religious behavior of the common people in the 1907 Revival Movement. This makes it possible to reveal the psychological needs of the oppressed ordinary people which were hidden in the studies that focused on the theological and spiritual perspectives.

As for Kohut's psychohistorical materials, Kohut, unlike Erikson, never wrote a fully developed study of a historical event or figure. However, he mentioned many

³³ Chull Lee, "A Sociological Study on the Cause of the Rise and Decline of the Pyongyang Great Revival of 1907," *Phenomenon and Awareness* 32, no. 1 (2008): 109–27.

³⁴ Jeong Min Seo, "Hangukgyohoe Chogi Daebuheunge Daehan Sahoejeok Baneung [A Social Response to the Early Revival Movement of the Korean Church]," *Korean Christianity and History* 26 (2007): 81–113.

historical cases to explain his theories. Among them, he wrote of Winston Churchill, whose charismatic leadership healed the fragmented group self and played a positive role. In an early paper, Kohut turned to Churchill to illustrate the role of what he then called the “grandiose self” in determining personality. Kohut analyzed Churchill’s uncanny ability to free himself from apparently hopeless situations and attributed such behavior to Churchill’s grandiosity which was not adequately guided by his ideal.³⁵

At several points, Kohut also commented on the demonic and perplexing figure of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis. In his writing, Kohut considers Hitler as a pathological narcissist who tried to channel his unresolved narcissism into politics. Hitler was able to function as a compensatory selfobject for the German people who had suffered the defeat of World War I because he mirrored their narcissistic injuries. In their weakened condition in maintaining their narcissistic equilibrium, the Germans “were ready to see in Hitler and in the National Socialist Party a chance for the deployment of the narcissism of the archaic grandiose self to which they had regressed.”³⁶ In Kohut’s opinion, in times of crisis, these primitive and unstable identifications “take place always in relation to a single dominant figure who, by his presence, is able to give instant relief to the diseased group self.”³⁷ This “diseased group self” is unable to sustain national or cultural cohesion in the face of defeat. The Nazis exploited the narcissistic rage of “the diseased group self” of the German people and their sensibilities about their losses by their defeat

³⁵ Heinz Kohut, “Forms and Transformations of Narcissism,” in *Essential Papers on Narcissism*, ed. Andrew P. Morrison (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 61–87.

³⁶ Heinz Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities: Reflections on a New Psychoanalytic Approach*, ed. Charles B. Strozier (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985), 67.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

in WWI. Kohut's psychohistorical materials give a basic direction to my study which deals with the impact of religious experiences on the "diseased group self" of Koreans around 1907, the period following the fall of the Joseon Dynasty, the murder of Queen Min, and the ongoing corruption and brutality at the hands of the Japanese forces.

In addition, a sample of the most influential contributions in the new psychohistorical studies of self psychology include Thomas A. Kohut, the son of Heinz Kohut, and his application of self-psychological theories to the study of historical figures and events such as his study of Wilhelm II, The Kaiser and the Germans;³⁸ Charles Strozier's utilization of self psychology in a study of Lincoln,³⁹ in an edited collection of psychohistorical approaches to the leader,⁴⁰ and in a psychohistorical examination of the apocalyptic outlook of fundamentalists in America;⁴¹ including Hyman L. Muslin and Thomas H. Jobe's psychohistorical analysis of Lyndon Baines Johnson, the thirty-sixth president of the United States from the viewpoint of self psychology.⁴²

³⁸ Thomas A. Kohut, "Psychohistory as History," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (1986): 336–354; Thomas A. Kohut, *Wilhelm II and the Germans: A Study in Leadership* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

³⁹ Charles B. Strozier, *Lincoln's Quest for Union: A Psychological Portrait* (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2001); Charles B. Strozier, "Lincoln and the Crisis of the 1850s: Thoughts on the Group Self.," in *The Leader: Psychological Essays*, ed. Charles B. Strozier, Daniel Offer, and Oliger Abdyli (New York: Springer, 2011), 57–76.

⁴⁰ Charles B. Strozier, Daniel Offer, and Oliger Abdyli, eds., *The Leader: Psychological Essays* (New York: Springer, 2011).

⁴¹ Charles B. Strozier, *Apocalypse: On the Psychology of Fundamentalism in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994); Charles B. Strozier, "Christian Fundamentalism, Nazism, and the Millennium," *Psychohistory Review* 18, no. 2 (1990): 207–217.

⁴² Hyman L. Muslin and Thomas H. Jobe, *Lyndon Johnson: The Tragic Self, a Psychohistorical Portrait* (New York: Insight Books, 1991).

IV. Significance of the Study.

This dissertation contributes to the academy and society in the following ways.

First, my work will add another level of psychohistorical understanding to the existent body of scholarship about the 1907 Korean Revival Movement. Many scholars' studies on the movement have centered on the theological and spiritual characteristics of the movement. In their research, they have generated a variety of opinions towards the movement according to their theological positions. There has been, however, no attempt to analyze the psychological background or understanding of the movement from the perspective of the oppressed people who had religious experiences through this movement. The psychohistorical approach employed in this study attempts to fill this gap in scholarship on the movement. It tries to understand the emotional origin of the religious behavior and experiences of the oppressed Koreans at that time by combining the insights of psychotherapy with historical inquiry.

Secondly, this study is the first psychoanalytical self psychological analysis for exploring the 1907 Korean Revival Movement. An integral aspect of this study centers on the attempt to explore and identify what makes the religious experiences in the movement meet the psychological needs of the Korean people who participated in the movement employing the practices of idealization, mirroring, and twinship as presented in Kohut's psychology of the self. In other words, the presence of these psychological dynamics functions as a supportive selfobject environment according to the thinking of Kohut. This implies positive psychological aspects of religious experience for human maturation and development. While Freud had a negative perspective on religion, my study reveals the therapeutic functions involved in the religious experiences, such as conversion,

repentance, and prayer, through the examination of the psychological processes in the movement.⁴³ In addition, it also illuminates how the theological concepts and images can be used for the psychological growth and development of people.

Lastly, my study is also significant in that it gives an opportunity for Korean churches to think about how to address the current problems related to the churches in Korean society by restoring their selfobject functions. The Korean economy has grown rapidly for the last three decades at the expense of the worth of the inner self. The Korean churches which have advanced along with the economic development, have also sought endless expansion, causing the ill effects of excessive materialism and the pursuit of power. As a result of the self-immersed attitude, the Korean churches are stunted in their growth and their confidence has been lost. In this period of the churches' stagnation, the

⁴³ Swinburne defines a religious experience as "an experience which seems (epistemically) to the subject to be an experience of God (either of his just being there, or doing or bringing about something) or of some other supernatural thing." See Richard Swinburne, *The Existence of God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 295. Two implications can be found in his definition of the religious experience. First, according to him, the religious experience is related to the relationship with the sacred beings or supernatural things. The description of the religious experience involves aspects of the relationship with the ultimate beings. When one experiences the existence of the supernatural beings which seem to have relationship with the subject, the experience can be named a religious experience. Secondly, this definition of the religious experience is closely associated with an internal description of a person's experience. The religious experience is not a factual report or description of externally existing entities but "an internal account of what an experience seems or appears to a person to be." See James Franklin Harris, *Analytic Philosophy of Religion* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002), 148. Based on Swinburne's definition and its implications, religious experience can be defined as an account of internal experiences regarding relationship with the sacred being. As this definition can pave the way for analyzing religious experiences in a psychological way which describes an inner experience of a person about external objects, it provides a beneficial starting point for the forgoing discussion of this dissertation which deals with the self-psychological implications of religious experiences in the 1907 Revival Movement in Korea. In this dissertation, the word is used to refer to the Korean people's experiences in the relationships with God whose images were provided by the missionaries and their developed revival movements

psychohistorical analysis of the 1907 Revival Movement can help the churches to reflect on their function as a selfobject in the society and, accordingly, to provide necessary social actions, relevant theological ideas and pastoral strategies which support and strengthen the psychological health of the Korean people, by considering how the movement satisfies the mirroring and idealizing needs.

V. Structure of the dissertation

My discussion starts from examining the historical, sociological and political context and environmental factors related to the 1907 revival movement and its development and unfolding process. The domestic and foreign circumstances of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be epitomized as a period of national crisis which came from both the internal erosion of an established system as well as external threats of foreign forces. They experienced the profound sorrow of losing their country and the severe oppression and exploitation by the corrupt officials and the Japanese Government, which, unavoidably, were connected to the devaluation of their communal selves. In this period of the national crisis, the Protestant Christianity was introduced into Korea by the American and Canadian missionaries who started the 1907 Revival Movement

In the third chapter, Heinz Kohut's Self Psychology is probed in terms of his key concepts of selfobject, group self, and selfobject experiences such as the idealizing, mirroring, and twinship experience. In Kohut's view, narcissism is not a self-preoccupation or self-love. Rather, he considered it as one of the object relationships, just as object love involves object relationship. However, while in object love, the object is

experienced as separate from the self, whereas in narcissism, the object is experienced as part of the self. Kohut terms the object experienced in narcissism as a selfobject and develops the concept of selfobject experiences as the quality of the relationship between the self and the selfobject.

In the fourth chapter, the 1907 Revival Movement is analyzed in terms of the concepts of selfobject experiences through which a narcissistic personality can have a chance to experience psychological healing. In particular, in this study I explore the idealizing, mirroring, and twinship experiences manifested in religious experiences in the 1907 revival movement and its implication for the mental health of the movement participants whose development was disrupted by their sense of despair and hopelessness caused by the national crisis of the era. I argue that there were significant fundamental psychological processes in the 1907 revival which can be examined by bringing Heinz Kohut's self psychology into constructive dialogue and engagement with religious experiences during the movement. I propose that the sense of defeatedness and helplessness that Korean people experienced under Japanese occupation can be identified as what Kohut calls self-fragmentation of the Korean group self. In addition, the psychological processes in the movement facilitate the potential for the narcissistic nourishment of the self leading to renewed self-esteem, maintenance of a sense of self-cohesion, and empowerment of the Korean people taking part in the movement.

An integral aspect of this study centers on the attempt to explore and identify what made the religious experiences of the participants in the movement meet their psychological needs of the participants for idealization, mirroring, and twinship as presented in Kohut's psychology of the self. In other words, the examination of the

psychological processes in the 1907 Korean Revival Movement, based on Heinz Kohut's self psychology, can shed light on religious experiences as selfobject experiences and, thereby, inform how a religion can be relevant to human beings and their psychological maturation. In the last chapter, therefore, I look at the implications of this discussion about the relationship between religious experiences and psychological maturation and make several suggestions for Korean churches to become more relevant selfobjects to Korean people today.

CHAPTER TWO

**THE 1907 REVIVAL MOVEMENT IN KOREA AND ITS HISTORICAL AND
THEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND**

In this chapter, I investigate the historical crisis of the late Joseon period and the development process of the 1907 Revival Movement in Korea, one of Korea's darkest periods. The historical crisis was engendered by the internal collapse of the Joseon's social and political structure and the external invasions by foreign powers. Finally, the crisis ended up with Korea losing its national sovereignty due to the annexation by Japan in 1910. The following table organized by year illustrates the historical events closely related to the Japanese invasion, which contributed to the crisis of the late Joseon period

Year	Historical Events
1862	Jinju Peasant Rebellion
1862-1894	Peasant Rebellion
1863-1873	Seclusion Policy of Daewongun
1876	Ganghwa Treaty signed by Korea and Japan, unequal treaty
1884	Gapsin Coup
1894	The Donghak Peasant Rebellion
1894-1895	The Sino-Japanese War: Treaty of Shimonoseki
1895	Assassination of Empress Myeongseong(Queen Min) by Japanese solidiers
1896-1898	Doknip Hyeophoe(Independence Club)
1903-1907	Revival Movement
1904-1905	Russo-Japanese War(Treaty of Portsmouth)
1905	Taft-Katsura Agreement
1905	Korea-Japan Protectorate Treaty
1910	Korea-Japan Annexation Treaty

Table 1 Historical Events Closely Related to the Japanese Invasion

The early missionaries in Korea began to propagate Christianity in these unstable circumstances of the Joseon dynasty in which the Korean people felt total helplessness and frustration. These internal difficulties and external adversities enabled the Korean people to turn to Christianity and its teachings. The influence of Christianity peaked in the 1907 Revival Movement which was ignited by Rev. R. A. Hardie's repentance.

I. The Historical Background of the 1907 Revival Movement

Political, economic, and social circumstances of a certain period are bound to affect the lives and psychological states of people. At the same time, the psychological state of people can also exercise influence on producing a particular historical situation and event. Therefore, in order to explore the psychological characteristics of the 1907 Revival Movement, it is necessary to first examine the domestic and foreign circumstances of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which had a strong impact on the lives and psychology of the Korean people at that time, closely associated with the formation of the 1907 Revival Movement.

The second half of the nineteenth century of the Joseon dynasty can be described as a period of a national crisis which resulted in the Japanese Annexation of Korea in 1910. The crisis was a multidimensional crisis involving political, economic, and social spheres whose influences permeated all aspects of the society in its totality, affecting lives of all classes of people in one way or another. The crisis originated both from the internal erosion of the established agriculture and social status system as well as from the external threats. Internally, the peasant economy was devastated and social hegemony began to collapse. For this reason, the traditional social order and values did not function properly.

Externally, foreign powers threatened the existence of the Joseon dynasty as an independent entity. In particular, the Japanese imperial ambition became the most prominent menace to the Korean peninsula. The internal deterioration of the Joseon dynasty and the external intervention by foreign imperial forces interacted with each other, ultimately causing the loss of the sovereignty of the Joseon dynasty.

1. The Internal Devastation of the Joseon Dynasty

A. The Radical Transformation of the Social Status System

The Joseon dynasty aimed at harmony of power between the central and local aristocrats. The balance of power between the two dominant groups was well-maintained in the early Joseon period and enabled the Joseon dynasty to form an ideal Confucian society whose ethical and moral foundations were based on Confucianism. However, the balance of power became vulnerable and, at times, was lost in the nineteenth century. Accordingly, the traditional social structures and values began to collapse, bringing about tensions in the society.

From the start, the Joseon society, based on the Confucian hierarchical social system, was composed of four classes. The governing class at the top was known as the *yangban*. They possessed and controlled land ownership as well as wielded prerogative power politically as aristocrats. The second group of social hierarchy, known as the *joongin*, took charge of minor administrative positions such as medical treatment, translation, and so on. The common folk occupied by the *sangmin* constituted the third group below these two dominant classes. Most of them were peasants who comprised a large proportion of the population and they were in charge of supplying various taxes,

military services, and economic resources. The lowest class was known as the *cheonmin* who were mostly slaves.¹

The hierarchial system formed a pyramid structure with the *yangban* class at the top, the *joongin* class in the middle, and the *sangmin* and *cheonmin* classes at the bottom in the early period. In other words, the dominating class, the *yangban*, was a small fraction of the general population, and the middle and lower classes mainly dominated the demographic composition of social classes. This firm structure began to change in the early eighteenth century and the modification of the boundaries of social status reached their zenith during the nineteenth century. As upward mobility became a more common occurrence at the end of the Joseon dynasty, the proportion of *yangban* class increased dramatically, while the proportion of commoners decreased steadily while slaves virtually disappeared. Even some *yangban* were treated badly by local officials, when their economic power began to be weakened.²

The fluctuation in social classes was caused by a variety of factors. The *cheomin*(the lowest class) chose to move upwardly so as to escape from their masters. About 50% of the slaves moved up in the social class by using this method.³ Social changes in the rural areas also had a great influence on the upward mobility. As new jobs in the agricultural sector were created due to advances in agricultural technology by

¹ Sangyil Park, *Korean Preaching, Han, and Narrative* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008), 17.

² Suk Jong Chung, "Joseon Hugi Sahoe Sinbunje Ui Bunggoe [The Breakdown of the Social Status System in the Late Joseon Period]," *Daedong Munwha Yeongu*, no. 9 (1972): 311.

³ *Ibid.*, 321.

introduction and spread of new methods of farming, this made it easier for the slaves to choose to escape from their bondage. The growing economic wealth through the enhancement of agricultural productivity also increased possibilities for the commoner peasant to move upward. A higher social position could be purchased by the common people who benefited from successfully adopting new agricultural technologies in their farming. On the contrary, there were poor peasants at the other extreme who did not improve their farming techniques and, thus, still remained subject to maintaining a subsistence level of production, due to increased taxes caused by political exploitation. Therefore, the peasant commoners were divided into two groups. One was made up of wealthy peasants who were ready to move upward with their stored wealth through the new agricultural methods, and the other consisted of the majority of poor peasants who could not adapt to the agricultural development.⁴

As the state suffered from financial difficulties, it attempted to a new source of revenue to cover their budget gap. One of the easy ways for financial resources was to sell official titles and *yangban* status and even the governmental offices to wealthy commoners who could satisfy their desire of upward mobility. Even though the Joseon dynasty had embraced Confucianism as its national ideology which criticized pursuit of material interests, its financial depletion forced the government to consent to the sale of the titles and offices.⁵

⁴ Sung Ho Kim, “Gunse Toji Jedo Ui Maekrak [The Land System in the Early Modern Period],” in *Nongji Gaehyeoksa Yeongu [Studies in the History of Land Reform]*, ed. Sung Ho Kim et al. (Seoul: Nongchon Gyongje Yonguwan, 1989), 48–51.

⁵ Sung Ho Suh, “Gaehanggi Bongeongjeok Gukga Jaejeongui Wigi Wa Minjung Satalui Gangwha [The Crisis of State Finances and the Intensification of the Exploitation

Even if price for buying the governmental titles and aristocratic status rose, many wealthy peasants looked for them because those positions brought not only economic benefits of a reduced tax burden but also the psychological satisfaction of enhanced self-esteem. As a result, a radical transformation of the social status system became inevitable. The traditional Confucian values and hierarchical structures did not carry considerable weight in the Joseon society as it had previously existed and were not enforceable. Rather, wealth became an important criterion and value in the social status system. In other words, as the economic wealth came to be a dominant factor in determining one's social position, the traditional values and social order based on Confucianism began to diminish.⁶

B. The Change in the Nature of the Village Society

Local gentry and elites had great influence with the provincial administration, which was one of the important features of agrarian politics in the Joseon rural villages. In addition, authority of the *yangban* clans in the village was so powerful that they

of the People in the Early Modern Period],” in *1894 Nyeon Nongmin Hangjaeng Yeongu [Studies in the Peasant Rebellion of 1894]*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Yeoksa Bipyeongsa, 1991), 157.

⁶ This historical flow could be seen in a local magistrate's lament even in the early eighteenth century in which he pointed out that people in the country had become so crazed by economic interests that they had forgotten about everything else, such as the morality of the human being, and even death. See Suk Kyu Koh, “19 Segi Nongmin Hangjaengui Jeongaewa Byeonhyeok Jucheui Seongjang [The Development of Peasant Rebellions and the Rise of Carriers of Social Change in the Nineteenth Century],” in *1894 Nyeon Nongmin Hangjaeng Yeongu [Studies in the Peasant Rebellion of 1894]*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Yeoksa Bipyeongsa, 1991), 331; For the psychological meaning of the relentless pursuit of economic gain, see Heinz Kohut, “Letter 1980,” in *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut, 1950-1981*, ed. Paul H. Ornstein, vol. 4 (Madison: International Universities Press, 1991), 4.

controlled most of the administrative affairs, including minor judiciary decisions whose jobs belonged to local bureaucrats, sent to the rural villages by the central government. In particular, this tendency was more strengthened as the consanguineous village as an extension of their estate was created in the rural area.⁷ The lower divisions were basically self-governing units controlled by the powerful local elites.

The leaders of the village society organized a voluntary organization known as the village *gye* for the purpose of the effective control of the village. This *gye* was completely formed in the mid-eighteenth century, with two subdivisions which were the upper division composed of the *yangban* class members and the lower division made up of the common people, such as peasants. In this local organization, the upper division exercised dominion over the lower division. The village *gye* played an important role in maintaining the traditional social classification of status between the *yangban* and other classes and efficiently distributing tax burdens and labor services among the villages.⁸

The local gentry tried to design social norms through which *yangban* was able to control the behaviors of members in the village in favor of them. Nevertheless, the main function of the village *gye* lied on the management of resources for the relief of the poor people in the village. The community emphasized mutual cooperation by which the *yangban* class attempted to develop ideal moral society to strengthen cohesion and

⁷ Sung Je Koh, "Geunse Hyangchon Jedoui Bunggoewa Chonrak Sahoewi Gujojeok Byeonwha [The Decline of the Village System and the Structural Transformation of Village Society in the Yi Dynasty]," *Haksulwon Nonmunjip*, no. 14 (1975): 107.

⁸ In Geol Kim, "Joseon Hugi Hyangchon Saho Tongjechaekui Wigi [The Crisis of Social Control in the Rural Village of the Late Joseon Period]," *Jindan Hakbo*, no. 58 (1981): 102.

solidarity among members in the village.

Unfortunately, as the state tried to make the system of government centralized and local administrations intervened by giving more dispositional power to local bureaucrats, the nature of the village society was changed. In doing so, the powerful *yangban* in the provincial administration was excluded from district administration. As a result of the state's efforts, the local government began to directly control the village society, which, thus, was considered as a tax unit and was downgraded to a mere tax collection agent. The village lost its function as a self-governing unit facilitating mutual cooperation.⁹

The gradual disintegration of traditional values was the inevitable consequence of this change in the nature of the village society from a voluntary organization to a mere tax collection agent. What mattered to the village society was to increase economic interest in the management of common property in order to compensate for the unpaid taxes of the village. Its interest in economic growth and prosperity distanced the village from the traditional values and spirit which put a high emphasis on mutual cooperation and relief for the poor. The members of its lower division and commoners' division were considered objects of exploitation, rather than of support.¹⁰ As a result, the village society became heartless and the conflict among classes deepened.

C. The Corruption of Local Bureaucrats

The misconduct and dishonesty of local bureaucrats and officials in imposing taxes

⁹ Byung Ook Ahn, "Joseon Hugi Jachiwa Jeohang Jojikuiroseoui Hyanghoe [The Hyanghoe as a Self-Governing Resistance Organization in the Late Joseon Dynasty]," *Seongsim Yeodae Nonmunjip*, no. 18 (1986): 110.

¹⁰ Kim, "Joseon Hugi Hyangchon Sahoe Tongjechaekui Wigi," 138.

exacerbated the disintegration of the traditional village system. They economically harassed peasants in the process of taxation by using illegitimate methods. The simplest way was to arbitrarily inflate tax rates. They also fabricated the tax register by falsely reporting the areas of uncultivated land or by reducing the size of the cultivated land in order to lower taxes. They also employed various illegitimate means in the process of tax collection. Illegal measuring instruments were used and unreasonable service charges were imposed on the preservation of grains in the storage house, lost grains in the process of measuring and packing, and grain used as samples in the evaluation of grain quality, and so on.¹¹

Even if new farming skills and equipment increased the yield of agricultural production, the common peasants did not enjoy benefits of affluence. Rather, the local officials embezzled the surplus produce by not including the development of agricultural productivity in the old tax register. In addition, the corrupted officials used their positions to enrich themselves. They forged tax registers, charged various taxes on peasants, and arbitrarily raised tax rates. The government did not have an institutional strategy to fight corruption in the taxation procedures nor did the state have the resources and capacity to introduce a new taxation system.¹²

However, the illegal and unjust activities in the process of taxation created the worsening financial state in the central government. At that time, local government budget was covered by their own efforts. Since the eighteenth century, most expenses of

¹¹ Yak Yong Jeong, *Mokmim Simseo [Guidelines for Local Administration]*, vol. 2 (Seoul: Changbi Publishers, 1979), 245–246.

¹² Yong Sup Kim, *Hanguk Geundae Nongeoop Yeongu [Studies in the Agricultural History of Early Modern Korea]*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1988), 322.

the local government, including the stipends of officials, were obtained through imposing various taxes on local villagers some portion of which was given to the central government. However, the financial health of the central government was deteriorating, the state demanded more taxes to the local government.¹³ The local bureaucrats and petty functionaries had to seek illegitimate ways to supply their expenses.

This financial distress of the state was caused by the war with Japan in 1592.¹⁴ The war lasted seven years and almost completely drained Korea of human and material resources. Right after the war, only one-third of the land of the pre-war period remained as the taxable land, from 1,708,000 *kyeol* (1 *kyeol* is equal to about 10000m²) in 1591 to 541,000 *kyeol* in 1611, and it did not recover to the pre-war level until the early nineteenth century.¹⁵ In addition, the government suffered from a shortage of funds due to the rapid changes in the international situation in the nineteenth century which demanded many expenses to cover these changes.

Therefore, the internal crisis of the Joseon dynasty in the late nineteenth century originated from the perplexing contradiction between the financial needs of the central and local government and the inability of the peasants to have their needs supplied. As the economic basis which maintained the traditional values and social order was being

¹³ Ok Kun Kim, *Joseon Wangjo Jaejeongsa Yeongu: Jisepyeon [A Study of the Financial History of the Joseon Dynasty]*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1984), 288.

¹⁴ Japan invaded Korea as a way of seeking to direct the internal disorders of their own society outward to enhance the solidarity and the tranquility of Japan, itself. Consequently, the entire country was trampled by the Japanese armies. Refer to Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner and Edward J. Shultz (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), 209–210.

¹⁵ Kim, *Joseon Wangjo Jaejeongsa Yeongu: Jisepyeon*, 1:371.

destroyed, the traditional social structures did not function properly. The erosion of the traditional social order was well-manifested in the blurring of class boundaries and the increasing social mobility in the nineteenth century.

D. Peasant Rebellions

Peasant rebellions from 1862 to 1894 were a natural consequence of the internal crisis of the Joseon dynasty. In other words, they were the most obvious symptoms reflecting the corrupting and decaying Joseon society. Until 1862, the rural areas of Korea were relatively less turbulent. Even in the enormous economic distress, peasants did not engage in the rebel movements. However, the peasant rebellion in the Jinju area in 1862 caused quite a stir throughout the country. In 1862, there were thirtyseven rebellions throughout the country but mainly in the three southern regions of Jeolla, Kyeonsang, and Chungcheong.¹⁶ The rebellions occurred on a regular basis, increasing over the years. The uprisings lasted until they culminated in the monumental revolt, the Donghak peasant rebellion in 1894. For example, in 1893 alone at least sixty-five rebellions occurred in the fifty-five regions.¹⁷

The increase of tax collection of peasants and the misconduct in taxation processes

¹⁶ Jin Ok Choi, “1860 Yeondaewi Minran [Popular Uprisings in the 1860s],” in *Jeongtong Sidaewi Minjung Woondong [Popular Uprisings in the Traditional Period]* (Seoul: Pulbit, 1981), 386–388.

¹⁷ Yang Sik Kim, “Kojongjo Minran Yeongu [A Study of Popular Revolts during the Reign of King Kojong],” in *Hanguksaui Ihae: Geun Hyeondae Pyeon [Understanding Korean History: The Early Modern and Modern Periods]* (Seoul: Munhakgaw Jiseong, 1990), 671.

caused a dominant number of peasant rebellions from 1862-1894.¹⁸ For example, the Jinju peasant rebellion in 1862 was a direct result of an unreasonable demand of the Commandant of the Kyongsang province who asked to collect all grain loans that amounted to 52,000 *seok* (1 *seok* is the same amount of 180 liters) at once whose amount had been calculated by legal and illegal methods of corrupted officials.¹⁹ At that time, the local government's demand was beyond the range of the peasants' payment because the common peasants were living below the level of subsistence.²⁰ Such actions illustrated the local officials' corruption to the extent that they were apathetic to the adversity of the peasants and their economic pains aggravated by enormous tax burdens.

The British traveler, writer, and Bishop, Isabella L. Bird travelled throughout Korea during the 1880s. Her travel record points out the social and economic unequitable circumstances of the Joseon society which the common peasants experienced:

There are innumerable peasant farmers who have gone on reducing their acreage of culture year by year, owing to the exactions and forced loans of magistrates and *yangban*, and who now only raise what will enable them to procure three meals a day. It is not wonderful [not a wonder] that classes whose manifest destiny is to be squeezed, should have sunk down to a dead level of indifference, inertia, apathy, and listlessness.²¹

¹⁸ Woo Keun Han, *Donghakran Giine Gwanhan Yeongu [A Study of the Causes of the Donghak Rebellion]* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1971).

¹⁹ Jin Bong Kim, "Jinjoo Minrane Daehayeo [On the Jinjoo Popular Uprising]," *Baeksan Hakbo*, 1981, 456.

²⁰ Yong Sup Kim, *Joseon Hugi Nongeopsa Yeonku [Studies in the Agricultural History of the Late Yi Dynasty]*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1971), 203.

²¹ Isabella L. Bird, *Korea and Her Neighbours: A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Vicissitudes and Position of the Country* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1898), 280–281.

In addition, Bird characterized the Korean class system as being that of “the Robbers and the Robbed.”²² The dominating officials she considered to be “the licensed vampires of the country.”²³

The traditional Joseon agrarian society was based on Confucianism which accentuated a hierarchical social order, mutual cooperation and moral principles. However, lack of finance in the central government led to not only the malpractice of the taxation system but also expedient upward mobility by the purchase of official titles and noble status. This social atmosphere produced the devastation of the peasants’ lives in which they were exploited, oppressed and devalued by excessive materialism and the power of economic wealth. The exploitation and devaluation were increased by the external pressure which threatened the existence of Joseon as an independent entity.

2. The Intensification of Crisis by the External Threat

The Joseon society managed to retain its independence in spite of the internal sources of crisis. However, its political and economic situation was steadily worsening due to the external foreign invasions in the late nineteenth century. Many foreign forces, most prominently Japan, but to a lesser degree America, Britain, and Russia continuously knocked on the firmly closed doors of Korea and demanded political and economic agreements. As Joseon did not cope with the increasingly harsh international reality, it became more difficult for Joseon to form its own political independence and military and economic power. Finally, it became a battlefield of foreign forces’ power struggles. As a

²² Ibid., 281.

²³ Ibid.

result, various political groups which supported a particular foreign force emerged, intensifying the power struggles under which the Korean common people could not help but be exploited and oppressed by foreign forces.

A. Daewongun's Seclusion Policy

While all other Asian countries opened their doors to and made treaties with western countries much earlier, Joseon was left unknown to the world until the end of the nineteenth century. The first treaty was signed with Japan in 1876. However, it was not until 1882 that Korea made its first treaty with a western nation. The delayed response to the open door had a lot to do with Daewongun's seclusion policy.

On December 8, 1863, the twenty-fifth King, Cheoljong, died without an heir, and Gojong was appointed as the twenty-sixth King by Dowager Queen Cho.²⁴ Because of his young age, the Dowager Queen Cho appointed his father, Daewongun, as regent, who ruled over the country instead of the young King. During the 1800s, the central government power was decentralized and devolved to regional governments. This tendency ran counter to the social and political ideal of Joseon dynasty, based on the rigid Confucian hierarchical social and political structures. Thus, Daewongun attempted to centralize the political system again. However, his effort proved to have only limited effects due to his closed-minded and intolerant characteristics.²⁵

Daewongun took immediate measures to correct the concentration of political

²⁴ Homer B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co, 1909), 114.

²⁵ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 261.

power and interests on the regional elites. He tried to restore the hierarchical status system based on the authority of the King.²⁶ His revolutionary action facilitated the restoration of the traditional royal power, and the common people expected that the Korea's sovereignty would be strengthened through this action. However, he did not have an agenda to rebuild Korea through the political and economic reformation. James Palais, a scholar of Korean history, describes the goal of Daewongun as follows:

The basic goals of Daewongun were to preserve the country and the dynasty by removing the superficial causes of peasant discontent (bureaucratic corruption, illicit taxation, and official usury), restoring the power and prestige of the throne to earlier levels, increasing the central government's control over financial resources, eliminating subversive and heterodox doctrines, and building up military strength by traditional means... Yet because he possessed no overall Utopian plan for reform, he had no intention of leveling or transforming society, economy, or polity. Therefore, while his reforms were disquieting to many, they never threatened the basis of the traditional order.²⁷

Daewongun's plan in the closed-door policy was to maintain the status quo and to restore the previous splendor of the Kingdom. However, it made it more difficult to cope actively with the changing international circumstances and, thus, to build up a national power.

In Palais' opinion, Daewongun's "foreign policy was simple and straightforward: no treaties and no trade with the Westerners, no toleration of Catholic proselytizing within Korea, and no reordering relations with Japan."²⁸ That was because he thought that Joseon's security would be threatened by the invasion of foreign forces and the gradual spread of Christianity. As a result, Joseon dropped farther and farther behind

²⁶ James B. Palais, *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 2–3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 177.

other nations which kept up with the times by organizing their political and economic structures with new ideas, policies, and trends. Homer Hulbert, an American missionary who strongly urged the independence of Korea in the early twentieth century, pointed out two great mistakes of Daewongun “in supposing that he could eradicate Roman Catholicism by force, and in supposing that he could prevent the opening of the country to foreign intercourse.”²⁹ Consequently, the chance for the country to reform the political, social, and economic system was delayed by Daewongun’s seclusion policy.

B. The Ganghwa Treaty in 1876

When King Gojong became an adult and Daewongun relinquished his grip on the political power at the end of 1873, the Korean government reassessed its foreign policy. The Korean government discussed this issue given the military threat from Japan, and it finally changed its foreign policy from a closed-door policy to having an open-door policy.³⁰

On the contrary, Japan was successful in modernizing the nation through the Meiji Restoration in 1868 which reestablished imperial rule under the emperor, Meiji. The system of the emperor harmonized with the modern system, enhancing the military and economic power.³¹ The Meiji government modernized the country by employing a new social system and modern technology. At the same time, it emphasized its imperialism

²⁹ Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, 114.

³⁰ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 268.

³¹ Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Seizure of Korea, 1868-1910: A Study of Realism and Idealism in International Relations*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), 17–18.

and community life so that it established a highly centralized system of the emperor. It was necessary for the Japanese government under imperialism to colonize Joseon for the purpose of invading Mainland China. To them, Joseon was “not only a vital base to her continental expansion but also a shield against invasion.”³² Japan attempted to form an unequal relationship with the Joseon dynasty, using its increased military strength and economic power as a first step toward the colonization of Korea. The Ganghwa treaty signed in 1876 between Joseon and Japan was an outgrowth of this Japanese effort.³³

Given many articles in this treaty defining the commercial trade between Korea and Japan, the Ganghwa Treaty in 1876 was disadvantageous for Korea because it imposed the harsh economic exploitation of the Korean people. According to some articles in the treaty, Japanese merchants could use three ports in Korea without government interference in the name of encouraging free trade in Korea. Japanese merchants and their commercial activities were protected in Korea in compliance with the extra-territorial rights provided in the treaty. In addition, they enjoyed exemptions of customs duty for years. Consequently, the Japanese government was able to establish a foundation necessary for the future exploitation of the Korean economy for the benefit of

³² John A. Harrison and George McAfee McCune, *Korean-American Relations, the Initial Period, 1883-1886*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 2.

³³ In order to establish official relations with Korea, Japan sent the battleship, *Unyo*, on the pretext of surveying sea routes along the coast of Ganghwa Island and induced an attack by the Korean army stationed there. In so doing, the Korean army fell into the Japanese strategic trap. The *Unyo* immediately responded to it with its superior firearms. Japan intentionally rebuked the attack of the Korean army on a non-military Japanese ship to receive compensation for the alleged Korean belligerence, and eventually to establish a treaty with Korea. After several disputes and meetings between the two countries, the Ganghwa treaty was signed by Korea and Japan in 1876. Han-Kyo Kim and C. I. Eugene Kim, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism, 1876-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 17.

Japan's development through these rules and regulations.³⁴

C. The Gapsin Coup of 1884

During the years from 1882 to 1884, a number of youthful officials in the government united to organize a new political party known as the Radical Reform Party or the "party of civilization" (*Gaehwadang*). They cried out for a change in the political reforms following the precedent case of the Meiji Restoration in Japan.³⁵ They asserted that measures to modernize Korea were urgently needed and the modernization of Korea could be achieved by breaking the Chinese control and overthrowing the pro-Chinese Conservative party in the Joseon government with the help of Japan.³⁶

On the contrary, the Conservative party tried to maintain the close tie between Korea and China which, they thought, would be helpful for the independence of Korea. It seemed inevitable that two political parties experienced conflict which derived from the fundamental difference about the need for solidarity with China.³⁷ The Radical Reform Party chose a coup as the way of expanding political and social change in 1884 by taking advantage of the situation in which half of the Chinese soldiers withdrew from Korea, due to a conflict between China and France. They used a banquet on December 4, 1884 held to celebrate the opening of the first post office in Korea at which most of the key

³⁴ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 269.

³⁵ Kim and Kim, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism, 1876-1910*, 41.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 42–43.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 44–46.

government officials took part.³⁸

A new regime was organized by this coup and the Radical Reform Party created revolutionary reforms that included land taxes, equal rights for all people, and reforms in public finance.³⁹ However, the revolution failed within three days because they were betrayed by Japanese soldiers who promised to help them but retreated when China sent troops to the palace. However, above all things, they failed to develop a bond of sympathy with the public. Their revolutionary thoughts were irrelevant to the feeling or thinking of the common Korean people.⁴⁰

Instead, as a result of the coup, Sino-Japanese rivalry over the control of Korea was intensified. Japan denied being involved in the coup but, rather, they sternly called for the immediate recovery from the loss due to the mob violence against its citizens. One of the results of this coup was the Treaty of Tientsin in 1885 between Japan and China, according to which both military forces were forced to withdraw from Korea and their troops dispatched to Korea should be notified in advance to the other party.⁴¹

D. The Donghak Peasant Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)

A series of peasant rebellions which began from 1862 throughout the country reached a peak in one monumental uprising, the Donghak peasant rebellion, in 1894. The

³⁸ Ibid., 48–49.

³⁹ Yeong Ho Choe, “The Kapsin Coup of 1884: A Reassessment,” *Korean Studies* 6, no. 1 (1982): 106.

⁴⁰ Kim and Kim, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism, 1876-1910*, 50–51.

⁴¹ Ibid., 55–56.

Donghak movement founded by Choi Je Woo in 1860 in the Gyeongsang area blended ideas from different religions such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Roman Catholicism. The movement emphasized human rights as shown in *Innaechon* which means that the human being is viewed as heaven. In Choi's opinion, people should worship this heaven residing in their body. Moreover, he had an apocalyptic view of history that the messianic kingdom of equality was coming. It spread out into the southern area of Korea where the common peasants were most ruthlessly exploited and tortured by the corrupted officials. However, it was banned and its founder was executed due to its radical doctrines against the socio-political Confucian foundations of the Joseon dynasty.⁴²

At that time, the common people were suffering from the double torture of the excessive tax burdens by the corrupted officials and the harsh exploitation of foreign forces. For example, large scale Japanese fishing damaged the livelihood of Korean fishermen. Japanese and German steamboats to transport taxed grain under the government sponsorship reduced a lot of jobs of the Korean people who had been engaged in the transportation work. Further, the mounting export of crops to Japan had an enormous impact on the Korean economy. Foremost was the rise of crop prices. In these circumstances, the religious ideas and doctrines of the Donghak movement encouraging human dignity delved deep into the hearts of the common people and raised the political and economic issues at the end of nineteenth century. In the end, they were manifested as

⁴² Bok Ryong Shin, *Donghak Sasangkwa Hanguk Minjokjuui*[*Donghak Thought and Korean Nationalism*] (Seoul: Pyungminsa, 1980), 66.

a form of the uprisings and rebellions of the general public.⁴³

The Donghak peasant rebellion of 1894 reflected the political and economic situation at that time. The aim of the rebellion was “inwardly to punish corrupt officials and outwardly to drive away foreign barbarians.”⁴⁴ The peasant rebellion began in February, 1894 when the magistrate of Gobu, Jo Byeong Gab collected illegal taxes and oppressed the peasants. Annoyed peasants gathered in Gobu in Jeolla and Jeon Bong Joon, one of the Donghak leaders, led them. They attacked the government office, broke into the armory, and seized weapons. They took out the tax grain in the government warehouse and distributed it to the people.

At first they were victorious. The Korean government sent troops, but they were defeated by the peasants in a series of battles. The government asked China to send military force. The Chinese government decided to dispatch troops. However, they did not give official notification to Japan which was against the Treaty of Tientsin. The Japanese government also sent eight thousand soldiers to Incheon. Four-thousand of them went directly into the capital.⁴⁵ A military conflict between China and Japan in Korea was inevitable due to the Chinese government’s disregard for the treaty. However, the conflict was caused by Joseon’s ignorance of international affairs, its lack of confidence

⁴³ Economic hardship resulted in the rise of banditry and a wave of local uprisings. Miners revolted in Hamgyeong and Gyeongsang Provinces, as did the fishermen of Jeju. Additionally, peasant uprisings frequently occurred in almost every province. Woo Keun Han, *Hanguk Tongsa [The History of Korea]*, trans. Kyung Shik Lee (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974), 403–404.

⁴⁴ Ji Yeong Oh, *Donghaksas [The History of Donghak]* (Seoul: Yeongchang Sukwan, 1940), 112.

⁴⁵ Kim and Kim, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism, 1876-1910*, 80.

in the ability of its own troops, and its inability to control internal disturbances. The incompetence of the Joseon government provided the Japanese government with a good opportunity to drive the Chinese power out of Korea and to expand its own influence.⁴⁶

Soon thereafter, on August 1, 1894, the Japanese government officially proclaimed war against China and on August 20, Japan put pressure on Korea to conclude a provisional agreement through which the Korean government had to yield to the Japan's demands. The Japanese government asked the Korean government to build railways between Busan and Seoul and between Seoul and Incheon which would facilitate the transportation of the Japanese troops and equipment effectively. In addition, Japan secured the right to use all ports on the Jeolla coast. Finally, the Korean government was compelled to ratify a treaty defining cooperation with Japan against China.⁴⁷ When the Japanese army took to the battle field against the Donghak rebellion, the peasants were no match for the drilled and organized Japanese troops. The uprisings were brutally suppressed and the leaders were killed. Jeon Bong Joon was arrested and sent to Seoul on December 28 in 1894. Most of the other leaders were dispatched soon after. The slaughter in the provinces continued until the end of January. Consequently, the Donghak movement failed to reflect their will and ceased to be a political power in Korean history.

In 1895, the Chinese army was also defeated by Japanese troops at Pyeongyang. The Japanese occupied Port Arthur on the Liaotung peninsula, Weihaiwei on the Shantung peninsula, and the island of Taiwan. China was not able to defend against the Japanese attacks and agreed to the treaty of Shimonoseki in April 1895. After the Sino-

⁴⁶ Han, *The History of Korea*, 410.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 411.

Japanese War, the radical reforms of the pro-Japanese cabinets in Joseon were conducted under the auspices of the Japanese military power. The reforms accelerated the political and economic exploitation of Japan and Joseon was gradually tied down with the unequal relationship with Japan. Consequently, the Sino-Japanese War led to intensifying serious oppression of the “commoners and the lowly” by corrupted officials and Japan.⁴⁸

E. The Assassination of the Queen

The Japanese government believed that they were able to wield absolute power in Korea as the result of the victory in the Sino-Japanese War. However, after the Sino-Japanese War, Russia advanced towards Korea because they realized that the Korea Peninsula could play a role of “the strategic key to the retention and exploitation of Eastern Siberia.”⁴⁹ In addition, Korean politicians began to ask for Russian assistance because they expected that the Russian influence would curb the Japanese excesses. Japan could not challenge Russia’s entry into Korea because it consumed most of its energy in the war with China. Instead, they attempted to continue to maintain friendly relations with Russia until they saved their forces, sometime revealing their anger against the pro-Russian politicians.⁵⁰

This political situation eventually led to the assassination of the Korean queen who, as a representative pro-Russian politician, drew in the Russian forces. Miura, who stayed

⁴⁸ James S. Gale, *Korean Sketches* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1898), 211.

⁴⁹ Harrison and McCune, *Korean-American Relations*, 1:2.

⁵⁰ Duk Ju Lee, *Joseoneun Wae Ilbonui Sikminjika Doeossneunka? [Why Did Korea Become a Japanese Colony?]* (Seoul: Editeo, 2002), 243.

in Korea as a Japanese counsel, planned to eliminate Queen Min and pro-Russian group, and commanded Japanese *samurai* and policemen to sneak into the Gyeongbok Palace, to kill Queen Min, and to burn her slain body to hide the evidence of how she had been killed.⁵¹ Homer B. Hubert, Gojong's political instructor, described the brutal murder as follows,

The description of the scene, as given by the Hiroshima court, stops abruptly with the entrance into the palace before the actual business of the day began...The Queen was found in one of the rooms which constituted her suite, and was ruthlessly butchered. It is impossible to state with absolute certainty whether the blow was struck by a Korean or by a Japanese, but the overwhelming probability is that it was done by one of the armed Japanese. The body was wrapped in some sort of blanket, saturated with petroleum, and burned at the edge of a pine grove immediately to the east of the pond which lies in front of the royal quarters.⁵²

After the assassination of the queen, the Japanese soldiers detained the king and the prince in the king's palace. The king was afraid that the king, himself, might be killed by them, too. At that time, missionaries assuaged the king's fear and protected the king and the prince by conveying to them food, visiting, and staying with them everyday.⁵³ The historical event indicates how the Korean national power had been seriously damaged and undermined by foreign forces, particularly, Japan. There was nothing the Joseon dynasty could do to protect the Queen and King of the nation at that period from the vicious attack of the Japanese soldiers and guards.

⁵¹ Fred A. McKenzie, *The Tragedy of Korea* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1908), 55–56.

⁵² Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, 138–139.

⁵³ Fred A. McKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920), 57.

F. The Independence Club and the Russo-Japanese War

Russian involvement made Japan's invasion of Korea proceeded slowly. Meanwhile, the Korean government attempted to carry out the political and social reforms. Most of all, the government invested all its energies in making modern industrial development by founding the Joseon General Telegraph Bureau and the Mining Bureau in 1897. It also tried to be more financially independent to resist concessions and requests by aggressive foreign powers. In addition, it aimed at building up a strong central government to be consistent in carrying out a policy.⁵⁴ However, the government's efforts on the reforms of the political and social systems were belated because Joseon already relied on foreign forces too much.

In the mean time, Jae Pil Seo organized the Independence Club, *Doknip Hyeophoe*. He went to the United States after he joined the failed 1884 revolution and returned to Korea at that time. The main goal of the Club was geared towards the Korean independence and enlightenment of the citizens by encouraging the public to be interested in the nation's independence and freedom.⁵⁵ In particular, the Club focused on three specific areas. First, the Club emphasized the importance of maintaining the nation's independence opposing foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of Joseon. Secondly, the Club highlighted the rights of speech and conference of all citizens through which it aimed at the public's participation in the political process. Thirdly, the Club stuck to modern education for the public which, they think, would promote the nation's

⁵⁴ Bae Yong Lee, "The Foreign Powers Disseizin of Concessions after the Opening of Port and Choson's Opposition," *The Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 70 (June 1992): 31–33.

⁵⁵ Han, *The History of Korea*, 439.

defense capacity.⁵⁶

The Independence Club with its widespread popular support was in a privileged position to demand that the King and the officials in the government initiate the political and economic reforms. The Club's pressure moved King Gojong to proclaim the establishment of the independent Empire of the Great *Han*, *Daehan Jeguk*, assumed the title of emperor targeted at giving Korea equal status with China. However, the government placed under restraint of foreign forces did not have sufficient power and privilege to perform the reforms and to accomplish these demands.⁵⁷ Consequently, the Independence Club was not able to meet many of its objectives, despite widespread popular support. Rather, their attempt to modernize the country revealed the serious internal weakness of Joseon, its increasingly dysfunctional government and society.⁵⁸

On the other hand, Japan made an elaborate plan to take control of Korea. At first, they increased their military strength, after they realized the expanding Russian power in Korea. The Japanese government knew that the war is the only way to remove Russian power from Korea and to occupy the territory of Korea. The Russian occupation of Manchuria in 1900 also served as a justification for military action against Russia by the Japanese government. First of all, Japan concluded the treaty of alliance with British on January 30, 1902 to deal with the expected problems and to receive diplomatic assistance in the case of war. Through the treaty, the British and Japan shared common strategic

⁵⁶ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 304.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 301.

⁵⁸ Kim and Kim, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism, 1876-1910*, 111.

interests to inhibit the expansion of Russian power in China and Korea.⁵⁹

Then, the Japanese government proposed a compromise by which Japan held an unchallenged position in Korea and Russia had an immovable right in Manchuria. However, the Russians rejected the Japanese proposal.⁶⁰ As a result, Japan decided to declare war against Russia. On February 8, 1904, Japanese battleships launched a surprise attack on the Russian base in Port Arthur. Once Japan declared war against Russia, Japanese troops landed in Incheon and marched directly into Seoul. They forced the Korean government to sign a protocol by which Japanese armies could use any port of Korean territory without permission and also invalidated treaties between Korea and other countries which were signed without Japanese consent.⁶¹ Furthermore, in August, 1904, Japan introduced a new adviser system with a view to interfering in Joseon's domestic affairs. According to this new system, Japanese advisers could be involved in the administrative work and the Korean government had to assign their duties to Japanese functionaries.⁶² The system meant the beginning of Japan's full control over Korea and the loss of the national independence of Korea.

While the war was demonstrating Japan's advantage, the Japanese government tried to lay a firm foundation for a predominant status of Japan in Korea through the cooperation with the major powers. A typical example was the Taft-Katsura agreement in July 1905 between the United States and Japan in which the United States recognized

⁵⁹ Ibid., 101.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 99.

⁶¹ Han, *The History of Korea*, 445–446.

⁶² Ibid., 446.

Japan's occupation in Korea, and, in exchange, Japan promised non-intervention in the Philippines, an American possession. In August, Britain and Japan entered into a similar agreement acquiescing to Japan's domination in Korea and British control in India.⁶³

G. The Treaty of 1905

Finally, Japanese troops defeated the Russian army against all expectations from countries around the world, and the war ended with the Treaty of Portsmouth in September, 1905, which included Russian approval of Japan's "paramount political, military, and economic interests in Korea, and Russia's pledge not to hinder Japan from taking whatever actions it deemed necessary for the guidance, protection, and control of the Korean government."⁶⁴ Consequently, Japan succeeded in firming up its domination of Korea by eliminating the last threat.

Japan subsequently tried to make their predominant position in Korea lead to a protectorate over Korea. Finally, when Ito Hirobumi arrived in Seoul as the supreme administrator of Korea in November 1905, the Protectorate Treaty became effective. According to this Treaty, Korea was deprived of its rights regarding the relations with foreign countries which were transferred to the Japanese Foreign Office. From that point on, the Japanese government intervened in all of Korea's new agreements with other countries, and a Japanese resident-general became second only to the Korean emperor.⁶⁵ Practically speaking, Korea lost its national sovereignty through this treaty, with Japan

⁶³ Ibid., 447.

⁶⁴ Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 309.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 310.

effectively annexing Korea in 1910.

Most Korean people strongly objected to the Treaty of 1905 and attempted to negate the effects of the treaty through countless oral protests and demonstrations against the treaty held throughout the country. However, these struggles and efforts to oppose the treaty were unable to generate a solution to reverse this situation and no change occurred in the Japanese policy.⁶⁶ Consequently, the loss of sovereignty and the independence of Korea created an enormous amount of dishonor and hurt to the Korean people's pride in their long history of independence that had lasted approximately four thousand years. In addition, their hearts were badly injured and devaluated by the exacerbated exploitation and oppression of Japan.

II. A Historical Description of the 1907 Revival Movement and its Characteristics

In the suffering period, Christianity was introduced to Korea and started to exert a deep influence on the Korean people. Missionaries from North America came to Korea and spread the ideas and doctrines of the Christian religion. The propagation of Christianity led to rapid growth, engaging with the historical adversities of the Joseon dynasty.

1. The Progress of the 1907 Revival Movement

A. Religious Vacuum and the Introduction of Christianity

Korea began to open itself to Protestant Christianity in the late nineteenth century

⁶⁶ Ibid., 311.

when the country was in political, cultural, social, and economic chaos. The influence had a wide-spread influence on the daily lives of all classes of people in one way or another. In describing this period, one can only say that it was an era in which Korea's traditional religions had lost their influence on the people.

The Joseon Dynasty, established in 1392, regarded Confucianism as its national ideology. On the contrary, the dynasty repudiated Buddhism. As a result, Buddhism slowly declined during the Joseon period and lost its influence on the daily lives of the common people.⁶⁷ Most of all, as the state religion or philosophy, Confucianism was deeply ingrained in the spiritual lives of the public. In addition, Confucianism, as the political ideology, became involved in politics and provided guidelines on how to organize the structures of its law, morals and politics, and how to build up a hierarchical system in its society. However, as it became rather formalistic and legalistic in the late nineteenth century, Confucianism and its supporting hierarchical social structure began to lose their power and influence on the practical lives of the people.⁶⁸

As Confucianism became less attractive than before, people began to be interested in the apocalyptic beliefs based on secret and prophetic writings. In particular, shamanism, one of the objects of religious persecution during the Joseon period, was quite popular. In the midst of rapid social changes and collapse of the traditional values, people sought a life of ideal happiness in the belief of the future Buddha Maitreya, the future Buddha, rather than in this life, and they possessed an escapist fantasy that the Maitreya could

⁶⁷ George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1980), 21.

⁶⁸ In Suh Kim, *Kim In Suh Jeojak Jeonjip [Collection of the Writings of Kim In Suh]* (Seoul: Gimunsa, 1976), 35–46.

provide an escape from reality.⁶⁹

This period can be described as one of a religious vacuum in which the traditional religions were dissociated from daily lives of the common people causing alternative religious ideas to spring up. It was in this period when Protestant Christianity was introduced into Korea by American missionaries⁷⁰ who started medical and educational work first because the Korean government did not allow the churches to open.⁷¹ However, the common people and working class soon became fascinated with not only the developed educational and medical systems introduced by Christianity but also the egalitarian idea taught by missionaries in comparison to the highly abstract and unpractical Confucianism.⁷²

At first, the early Korean Christians visited churches with political, social and economic purposes. Some people went to the churches to get daily necessities such as sugar, medicine, or money.⁷³ In the multi-dimensional crises involving the political,

⁶⁹ Hanguk Jeongsin Munhwa Yeonguwon, *Hanguk Minjok Munwha Daebaekgwaja Sajeon [Encyclopedia of Korean People and Culture]*, vol. 8 (Seoul: Ungjin, 1994), 585.

⁷⁰ On September 20, 1884, Horace H. Allen, a medical missionary serving under the Presbyterian Board, arrived in Korea as the first resident Protestant missionary. In 1885, Allen began to manage the newly established Korean Government Hospital. He became an effective diplomat in 1901. Clark, *History of the Korean Church*, 56–57. In April, 1885, Horace G. Underwood, a Presbyterian, and Henry G. Appenzeller, a Methodist, arrived as the first career missionaries to Korea which was facing serious crisis. They arrived at Chemulpo, near the west coast of Incheon City. The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *Hanguk Gidokgyohoesa [A History of the Korean Church]* (Seoul: Christian Literature Press, 1989), 185.

⁷¹ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 120–121.

⁷² Gilsop Song, *Hanguk Sinhak Sasangsa [History of Theological Thought in Korea]* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1987), 20.

⁷³ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 343.

economic, and social spheres, they started to think that with the help of Christianity they were able to achieve social and political liberation, because Christianity that came from western powers was considered as a driving force of their development.

Poverty, oppression, and distress, resulting from excessive taxation and the corrupt administration of Justice, had begotten in many minds a longing for relief, and a hope that the missionary could secure it for them. A Methodist missionary told me that most of those who came to the missionary for the first time were influenced by this motive. Beyond any other people that I saw in Asia, the Koreans impressed me as pathetically stretching out their hands for help and guidance out of bitter bondage.⁷⁴

Moreover, a sense of despair, humiliation, and failure pertaining not only to the politics of the rulers but also to the real lives of the ordinary people laid the groundwork for a strong spiritual desire for a new religious experience which was closely related to the Korean Revival Movement in 1907.

B. Hardie's Repentance

The origin of the 1907 Korean Revival movement can be traced to the prayer meeting of the missionaries at Wonsan in 1903 and the spiritual experience of Rev. R. A. Hardie, a Southern Methodist missionary whose efforts were largely focused in Wonsan.⁷⁵ Hardie came to Korea from Canada as a medical doctor who was supported by the Canadian Colleges Mission, in 1890. He joined the Southern Methodist Mission in 1898 and undertook evangelistic work at Wonsan in the Gangwon province of Korea in 1900. His repentance and religious experiences can be viewed as an original form which

⁷⁴ Arthur J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East: The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy in the Orient* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 517.

⁷⁵ "The Religious Awakening of Korea," *Korea Mission Field* 4. no. 7 (1908): 105.

was also reenacted and re-experienced on a nationwide scale in 1907.⁷⁶ James E. Fisher asserted that “there is no other missionary sent to Korea and Korean to be related to the Great Revival Movement more closely than Hardie.”⁷⁷

At that time, a group of missionaries of the Methodist Mission had prayer meetings and Bible studies for a week. Hardie was a participant at the meetings and led Bible studies. While he was preparing for the studies, he realized that he had been unable to do his evangelical tasks properly and felt pressure to reveal his incompetence. He revealed his deficiencies in front of the missionaries, “I was convicted with deep and overwhelming grief and repentance for [my] coldness and shortcomings.”⁷⁸ He confessed his own spiritual devastation and the failure of his mission in the Gangwon area. In particular, Luke 11:13 came up to his mind. Hardie wrote,

Yesterday I wrote a prayer and in that prayer I said, Lord, I claim the promise in Luke 11:13, “If ye, being evil know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your father which is in heaven give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him.” Have I ever prayed that prayer before? Yes, I have. But I received nothing. Why was that? I now believe it was because I did not tell anybody. I want my prayer this time to be different so I am telling you I now claim for myself this baptism with the Spirit. I do not feel any difference yet, but I believe that the baptism with the Spirit will come.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ The Institute of Korean Christian History Studies, *A History of the Korean Church*, vol. 1 (Seoul: The Christian Literature Press, 1989), 268.

⁷⁷ James E. Fisher, *Pioneers of Modern Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1979), 115.

⁷⁸ Lillias H. Underwood, *Underwood of Korea: Being an Intimate Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. H.G. Underwood, D.D., LL.D., for Thirty-One Years a Missionary of the Presbyterian Board in Korea*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918), 224.

⁷⁹ Jeong Min Seo, “Chogi Hangukgyohoe Daebuheungundongui Ihae [An Understanding of the Early Korea Church],” in *Hanguk Gidokgyowa Minjokundong [Korean Christianity and Nationalism]*, ed. Man Yeol Lee (Seoul: Poseong Press, 1995), 246.

The Bible Conferences and prayer meetings among the missionaries at Wonsan continued. In the subsequent prayer meetings in August, 1903, Hardie also made a confession before the Koreans in public. He repented for his lack of faith, the hardness of his mind, and racial superiority.⁸⁰ According to Alfred W. Wasson who observed the revival movement of the Korean Church, Hardie was the last person to reveal his defects and shortcomings before a congregation and to emotionally react.⁸¹ Considering his character which hardly expressed his own feelings in front of people under normal circumstances, one can infer how heavily he was burdened by his own hidden sin. He recalled;

As I stood before our Wonsan congregation, that first Sunday morning after I had entered upon a realization of the fullness of the Spirit, and with shame and confusion of face confessed my pride, hardness of heart and also much that these had led to, they saw for the first time what conviction and repentance meant in actual experience.⁸²

Hardie's fellow missionaries and the Korean believers were motivated by Hardie's repentance and confession of his own sins and they began to open their hearts, as well. Most missionaries shared his spiritual devastation and inability, and their failure in mission works which Hardie disclosed. Additionally, Koreans also began to reflect on themselves. Thus, his confession and repentance led to a bond of sympathy among some missionaries and some Korean believers who opened their closed minds toward one another and repented for their own sins and wrongdoings in public. Through this

⁸⁰ Wasson, *Church Growth in Korea*, 31.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 29–30.

⁸² Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, 1:281.

confession, the participants in the meeting felt filled with the Holy Spirit.⁸³

Hardie's confession of sins and repentance are very important to understand the 1907 Korean Revival Movement because the movement recapitulated the individual pattern on a national level. The essential characteristics of the 1907 revival movement can be described as a sense of defeat and shame, recognition of incompetence and helplessness, confession of sins in public, and a feeling of peace and joy which were exhibited in the Hardie's case.⁸⁴

C. The Expansion of the Religious Experiences

The similar pattern of the Hardie's religious experience was also repeated among some Koreans as well as among other missionaries at the different meetings at Wonsan. In a Bible study led by Hardie, Jung Son Choi suddenly stood up to make his misconduct revealed related to robbery. He prepared for a piece of paper on which all his misdeeds were written, and he read them. He told in public that he was not able to sleep because of his feelings of guilt.⁸⁵ A young Korean teacher of J. Robert Ross felt deep sorrow about the death of his wife because he led a loose and dissolute life when his wife was in the agony of death. In addition, he cursed his dead wife simply because she disturbed him from having an enjoyable time on New Year's Day by dying on that day. He expressed

⁸³ Young Seok Oh, "Again 1907, The Holy Spirit of Life and Peace Waiting in 2007," in the *Primary Source of the Korean Great Revival 1903-1908*, ed. Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2007), 86.

⁸⁴ Boo-Woong Yoo, *Korean Pentecostalism: Its History and Theology* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1988), 77.

⁸⁵ James S. Gale, "Dr. R. A. Hardie," *The Korea Methodist* 1, no. 9 (1905): 114.

his regret for what he did, and he begged for forgiveness by shedding tears. He was firmly thinking that he had killed his wife.⁸⁶ The open confession of his misconduct regarded as a sin made him experience peace of mind. A lot of people were shocked and stimulated by his confession of sin because he was considered as a right-minded person, due to his origin of an honored and prestigious noble family.⁸⁷

Since August 1903, Hardie's religious experiences began to be known to the whole area of Wonsan with a series of revival meetings in winter, which Hardie planned. Consequently, the same religious experiences spread out among the Korean people. The Korean Christians confessed of any wrong doings and began to repent in public what he did secretly. They could not enjoy peace of mind until they confessed what they had done wrong. The revival meetings created an ambience in which they not only became sensitive to their sins and wrongdoings, but also were motivated to reveal themselves before a congregation which was expected to be tolerant of their misconduct.⁸⁸

The passion for revivalism was also passed down to different areas beyond Wonsan. The leading role was played by Hardie who conveyed the spiritual experiences to other locations and contributed to sharing his own experience with other Koreans. His first target area was Gangwon province where his several attempts to devote himself to missionary work for three years had met with failures continuously. Later, he also visited Gaeseong, Seoul, Pyeongyang, and Jemulpo, successively, and also held the revival meetings before he returned to America for a sabbatical term in 1904. In the revival

⁸⁶ Ibid., 24.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 32.

⁸⁸ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 385.

meetings which he planned, many Korean people had similar religious experiences. They were invited to confess their own sins, grieve for their misdeeds, express their feelings freely, and to feel relieved through the disclosure of their sins and the confidence of being forgiven.⁸⁹

The strong wish for confessing one's own sins and being forgiven, spread through the schools as well as in the churches. Even the young children between ten and sixteen years old experienced the same religious fervor and they reacted with tears to their sins. During the revival meetings of 1904, when Hardie visited, many students repented of their sins and felt the strong pain about their sins like the adults. They shared their concealed experiences with friends and made their personal stories related to the misconduct known to them. They wished that their brothers and sisters would have the same experiences.⁹⁰ They expected that their school would be renewed by confessing their own sins, and a new vision and ambition would be recovered through these meetings.⁹¹

Most participants in these absorbing meetings of 1904 felt unseen forces which encouraged their mind to turn to confessing their own sins. It was perceived and understood as the strong power of the Holy Spirit. Rev. Charles. D. Morris, an American Methodist missionary, described the Pyeongyang meeting in 1904 as follows:

God was with us in power. Preachers and a lot of people in our missionary association repented of the sins in their lives. After a lot of conflict in mind they

⁸⁹ W. F. Bull, "Genuine Repentance," *Korea Mission Field* 2, no. 6 (1906): 105.

⁹⁰ In that sense, they wrote letters to plead with their brothers and sisters to go to church. See Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 43.

⁹¹ Carolina Institute, *Korea Methodist* 1, no. 3 (January 1905): 18.

stood up in public meeting and admitted their sins clearly and begged for forgiveness earnestly. People repented that they did not treat their own families with a suitable attitude as a Christian and hated their brothers. Some repented they did not repay their debts and repented of anything they had. A lot of people screamed out severely, captured with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. I have never seen more personal and stronger repentance like this anywhere before than what I have seen during the revival meeting.⁹²

What the Korean people confessed was obviously very personal experiences. For example, in a revival meeting in Jemulpo located in Incheon, a young woman exposed her buried secret that she lived together with a man over a year without marriage. In the Joseon society, cohabitation before marriage was considered a gross misdeed, due to the strict moral mode of Confucianism. However, she was accepted and respected by the congregation in the revival meeting, without judgment, and the man with whom she cohabited also confessed this and they married after the revival meeting.⁹³ Moreover, two women, who had shared an uneasy relationship, were reconciled with each other, and renewed their relationship by making a public confession of their hatred toward each other and forgiving the other party. Their reconciliation stimulated many people to open their minds and caused them to disclose their sins.⁹⁴ Consequently, Morris reported in the Northern Methodist Annual Conference in July 1905, that he had never seen more personal repentance than what he had seen.⁹⁵

⁹² C. D. Morris, "Revival Services in Pyeng Yang," *The Korea Methodist*, no. 1 (November 1904): 7.

⁹³ J. R. Moose, "The Development of a Native Ministry," *The Korea Mission Field* (November 1904): 11.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁹⁵ Yong Kyu Park, *Pyeongyang Daebuheungundong [The Pyeongyang Great Revival Movement]* (Seoul: The Word of Life, 2007), 80.

The passion of the Revival Movement began to be clearly felt throughout the country in 1905, when the Russian-Japan War began and the Japanese protectorate was established, and the domestic politics and foreign policy were subjected to the arbitrary interference by the Japanese government. In 1905, the revival meetings were held in the major cities, such as Gaesung, Gangwha, Wonsan, Seoul, and Pyeongyang. In particular, the Korean people regularly gathered together at the lunar New Year's Day to have the revival meetings. Missionaries planned a series of the revival meetings with the belief that the hopeless Korean people could be relieved from their sins and the suppression of the foreign powers through the revival movement.⁹⁶ In Particular, their focus was geared to the evangelical position emphasizing that an urgent matter of personal conscience is relief from their own sinful state, and every person needs the obvious evidence of rebirth and the presence of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁷

How intense the religious experiences were can be estimated by the fact that many people walked to the church for joining the revival meetings distances of five miles, ten miles, twenty miles or thirty five miles carrying babies on their backs and food on their heads. Every meeting was crowded with people who aspired to having new religious experiences about "the Holy Spirit's ability to cleanse the sins and shower the abundant love of Jesus on people."⁹⁸ Participants began to be strongly attracted to the religious experiences and the missionaries' evangelical emphasis on confessing their own sins and

⁹⁶ Moose, "The Development of a Native Ministry," 204.

⁹⁷ W.G. Cram, "A New Year's Revival in Songdo," *Korea Methodist 1*, March 1905, 54.

⁹⁸ Arrena Carroll, "Women's Special Study Classes in Songdo," *Korea Methodist 1*, October 1905, 166.

being forgiven by God's grace. In addition, they also began to seek to reach holiness and purity by satisfying God's requirements which, they believed, would be taught by the Holy Spirit.

The heightened atmosphere of this revival movement was built up in the fall of 1906 when a missionary named Howard A. Johnson came to Korea and reported to the Korean church about the revivals in Wales and India. His visit further fueled the Korean believers' religious fervor and also produced their expectations that the Korean churches might experience the same blessing. This highly elated mood served as a positive stepping stone for the successful revival movement in 1907 which the missionaries aimed to achieve.⁹⁹

D. The Pyeongyang Revival Movement of 1907

The Revival Movement reached its peak in Pyeongyang in 1907. An annual Bible training class had been held at the Jangdaehyeon Church in Pyeongyang. However, the 1907's Bible class was very different from those of other years. Missionaries and the Korean believers had great expectations about the Bible training class which had been shaped since the successive revival meetings after Hardie's demonstration of repentance, and Howard Johnson's visit in 1906. They wished that people would have the strong religious experiences during the Bible classes. The classes continued for a ten-day session in the daytime, filled with special evangelical preaching and prayer meetings at night.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Yoo, *Korean Pentecostalism*, 79.

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Moffett reported that the Bible training classes perfectly fits the situations of the Korean people and are in line with the characteristics of them and their

Usually, approximately eight hundred people participated in the annual Bible training class before 1907. However, its participants in 1907 doubled and the number of people estimated at about fifteen hundred to two thousand people which completely filled the church that usually accommodated fifteen hundred people.¹⁰¹ Reports from a missionary, George McCune, said that someone had to walk about seventy or ninety miles on the unpaved country roads, in spite of the piercing cold in the winter to join in the classes and meetings.¹⁰² In addition, the costs of attending including transportation, food, and lodging during the Bible classes had to be covered by the participants.¹⁰³ Thus, sometime, they needed to carry their food on the way to the church. These show the underlying need for a new religious experience which the Korean people longed for to support them in a turbulent period when the Korea national sovereignty was in an extremely precarious state and the social and value system was in danger of being destroyed. According to J. R. Moose of the Southern Methodist mission, “The general unrest and lack of something to which they may cling is causing the people to turn to the missionary and the message he has, and they are trying to find out if we have something which they can trust.”¹⁰⁴

study patterns. Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, ed., *Hanguk Gyohoe Daebuheung Undong 1903-1908 [The Great Revival Movement in Korean Church from 1903 to 1908]* (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2007), 71–72.

¹⁰¹ George S. McCune, “The Holy Spirit in Pyeng Yang,” *The Korea Mission Field* 3, no. 1 (January 1907): 1.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering Which Followed*, 67.

¹⁰⁴ J. R. Moose, “A Great Awakening,” *The Korea Mission Field* 2, no. 3 (January 1907): 51.

The 1907 revival meeting in Pyongyang repeated the features of the previous revival meetings which were described as the confessions of secret sins and wrongdoings, and an intense religious experience of prayer. However, they were reenacted in the revival meeting in 1907 differently, in terms of the extent and intensity. Hardie's demonstration of repentance was manifested in a large area in the country and for long periods of exposure to the intense religious experience. All participants felt that they were unable to resist a surge of the compelling religious fervor and they had no choice but to confess their sins and faults. The irresistible force of the religious power was shown in their non-daily actions such as rolling over on the floor, beating their heads on the floor, and shedding ceaseless tears.¹⁰⁵ A description observed in a part of an article in the *London Times* pointed out these intense and peculiar aspects of the 1907 revival.

The Europeans described its manifestation as terrifying. Nearly everybody present was seized with the most poignant sense of mental anguish; before each one his own sins seemed to be rising in condemnation of his life. Some were springing to their feet pleading for an opportunity to relieve their consciences by making their abasement known, others were silent, but rent with agony, clenching their fists and striking their heads against the ground in the struggle to resist the power that would force them to confess their misdeeds. From eight in the evening till five in the morning did this same go on.¹⁰⁶

The key manifestations of the revival meetings in 1907 lied in self-perception as unworthy sinners necessary to be saved, a desperate aspiration to be forgiven, and an outburst of emotion by praying with the extreme actions. Graham Lee, the senior pastor

¹⁰⁵ These actions were not schizophrenic behaviors of the Korean people. They can be seen as distinct expressions of the Korean primitive spirituality known as *Pungryudo* which indicates a chief Korean religious characteristic in which they seek union with the ultimate being in the bodily movements such as singing and dancing. Dongsik Yoo, *Pungryudowa Hangukui Jonggyo Sasang [Pungryudo and Thoughts of Korean Religions]* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1997), 48.

¹⁰⁶ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 370–371.

of Jangdaehyeon Church, also described a sudden impulse to confess their misconduct and to be forgiven as follows:

After prayer, confessions were called for, and immediately the Spirit of God seemed to descend on that audience. Man after man would arise, 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. My own cook tried to make a confession, broke down in the midst of it, and cried to me across the room “Pastor, tell me, is there any hope for me, can I be forgiven?” and then threw himself to the floor and wept and wept, and almost screamed in agony...Again after another confession they would break out in uncontrollable weeping, and we would all weep, we couldn’t help it.¹⁰⁷

William Blair, a Presbyterian missionary, who served forty years in the northern part of Korea, also gave the following statements of exhibiting the intense desire of the Korean people to confess their sins and to be accepted by God.

God is not always in the whirlwind, neither does He always speak in a still, small voice. He came to us in Pyengyang, that night, with the sound of weeping. As the prayer continued, a spirit of heaviness and sorrow came upon the audience. Over on one side, someone began to weep and, in a moment, the whole congregation was weeping...¹⁰⁸

They began a meeting the like of which I had never seen before, nor wish to see again unless in God’s sight it is absolutely necessary. Every sin a human being can commit was publicly confessed that night. Pale and trembling with emotion, in agony of mind and body, guilty souls standing in the white light of that judgment, saw themselves as God saw them. Their sins rose up in all their vileness till shame and grief and self-loathing took complete possession. Pride was driven out: the face of man forgotten. Looking up to heaven, to Jesus whom they had betrayed, they smote themselves and cried out with bitter wailing. “Lord, Lord, cast us not away forever.” Everything else was forgotten; nothing else mattered. The scorn of men, the penalty of the law, even death itself seemed of small consequence if only God forgave. We may have our theories of the desirability or undesirability of public confession of sin. I have had mine, but I know now that when the Spirit of God falls upon guilty souls there will be confession and no power on earth can stop

¹⁰⁷ Lee Graham, “How the Spirit Came to Pyeng Yang,” *The Korea Mission Field* 3, March 1907, 34.

¹⁰⁸ Clark, *History of the Korean Church*, 134.

it.¹⁰⁹

He also gave an account of missionaries' concern about the Korean people's intense religious experiences. They had to be convinced that God would forgive their sins and comfort them.

As soon as we were able, we missionaries gathered at the platform and consulted, "What shall we do? If we let them go on this way, some will go crazy." Yet we dared not interfere. We had prayed to God for an outpouring of His Holy Spirit upon the people and it had come. Separating, we went down and tried to comfort the most distressed, assuring them of the forgiveness of God.¹¹⁰

The most intense religious experiences were manifested on both days, January 14th and January 15th, 1907. On Monday, January 14, 1907, some congregation members were asked to pray together by Rev. Graham Lee who was one of the missionaries leading the meeting. When he encouraged them to pray aloud after a short sermon, the whole audience began to pray out loudly and in unison. Many voices were forming a harmonious sound which shook the participants' mind. Blair compared the audible prayer to the falling of many waters.

Dr. Lee said, "If you want to pray like that, all pray," and the whole audience began to pray out loud, all together. The effect was indescribable. Not confusion, but a vast harmony of sound and spirit, a mingling together of souls moved by an irresistible impulse to prayer. It sounded to me like the falling of many waters, an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne. It was not many, but one, born of one Spirit, lifted to one Father above.¹¹¹

The audible prayer was one of the marked characteristics in the Movement which took its place as an element of the revival meetings in the Korean Protestant Church after

¹⁰⁹ Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 74.

¹¹⁰ Clark, *History of the Korean Church*, 135.

¹¹¹ William N. Blair, *Gold in Korea* (Topeka, Kansas: H. M. Ives & Sons, 1957), 66.

1907. The audible prayer created an ambience which promoted a craving for the more powerful spiritual experiences. Thus, after the audible prayer, when the Korean believers were allowed to stay longer to pray, if they chose to do so, about six hundred people remained to have the compelling religious experiences. There were also many people who wanted to confess their own sins and, stayed in line to publicly tell their personal experiences related to their misdeeds and wrongdoings of the past. The missionaries and the others kept weeping, while people confessed their sins. Waiting for their turns for the confession, they stood up for a long time. Some believers burst under the emotional pressure and they jumped and screamed before they finished their confession. This confession, weeping, and praying lasted until 2 a.m.¹¹²

What they disclosed during the meetings was so awful that it could have evoked horror or disgust in the Joseon society based on Confucian values. However, it was tolerated and accepted in the revival meetings without any judgment and criticism. Some confessed that they killed their friends before they believed in God and many people openly told that they violated all God's law by stealing, cheating, and engaging in violence. Some staff of the church made a confession of their stealing their church money, and their hatred and envy that they had had for certain colleagues.¹¹³ Both missionaries and Koreans unveiled their most secret sins and feelings. What they repented also included their severe hatred towards other people.¹¹⁴ One of the elders named Kang

¹¹² Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 72.

¹¹³ George McCune, "Letter to Dr. Brown," January 15, 1907.

¹¹⁴ After achieving victory in the Russian and Japanese War, the Japanese government totally occupied the Korean nation. As Koreans saw themselves stripped of their dignity as an independent nation, hostility toward the Japanese swept over the land,

uncovered his aversion against the elder Kim. People were shocked by his confession, because he had been considered as the last person to dislike other people. Even if the elder Kang had been a person who hardly showed what he felt, he fell to the ground while he was confessing.¹¹⁵

The evening meeting on Tuesday of January 15th was practically the same as the Monday meeting. After a short sermon of the Korean pastor, Seon Ju Kil, those who wanted to go back home were sent back and those who remained prayed, wept, and confessed. They were wailing miserably due to their sins and impropriety. People repaired their strained relationships with others who had been regarded as enemies. Many people confessed their immorality such as cheating, misappropriation of public money, and stealing in public.¹¹⁶

Blair described the mood and situation of the revival meeting on Tuesday as follows:

It seemed as if the roof was lifted from the building and the Spirit of God came down from heaven in a mighty avalanche of power upon us. I fell at Kim's side and wept and prayed as I had never prayed before. My last glimpse of the audience is photographed indelibly on my brain. Some threw themselves full length upon the floor, hundreds stood with arms outstretched toward heaven. Every man forgot every other. Each was face to face with God. I can hear yet that fearful sound of hundreds of men pleading with God for life, for mercy. The cry went out over the city till the heathens were in consternation.¹¹⁷

Lord Cecil also witnessed this night and wrote as follows:

which made it difficult for a Japanese citizen to travel alone in Korea. Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 66–67.

¹¹⁵ Graham, "How the Spirit Came to Pyeng Yang," 34.

¹¹⁶ W. L. Swallen, "Letter to Dr. Brown," January 18, 1907.

¹¹⁷ Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 73.

From eight in the evening till five in the morning did this same go on, and then the missionaries, horror-struck at some of the sins confessed, frightened by the presence of a power which could work such wonders, reduced to tears by sympathy with the mental agony of the Korean disciples whom they loved so dearly, stopped, but many of the Koreans spent the night awake; some in prayer, others in terrible spiritual conflict.¹¹⁸

The reconciliation of the church leaders played an important role in facilitating the confession of sins. One of the elders, known as Mr. Kim who had been silent during the meetings, suddenly began to frankly confess that he had hated the elder Kang who had already confessed his hatred toward the elder Kim. In addition, he honestly spoke to the congregation that he had also abhorred the Pastor Pang who was the missionary, William Blair. After his confession, he turned his face to Pastor Pang and said, “Can you forgive me, can you pray for me?”¹¹⁹ Blair was shocked by the elder Kim’s confession, because he was faithful to his duty as Blair’s associate in the Men’s Association in Pyeongyang and Blair had not perceived that the elder Kim had been hating him.¹²⁰

People continued to confess their own secrets and awful sins. A member of the congregation repented for killing his daughter with poison and telling this horrible sin to no one. A person gave two dollars to Graham confessing that he stole money, when he worked in the church. Many husbands confessed their hatred toward their wives and told of their wishes of having their wives killed. Some among them honestly confessed this to their wives directly.¹²¹ A woman revealed that she killed her child by beating his head on

¹¹⁸ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 357.

¹¹⁹ Blair, *Gold in Korea*, 63.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ McCune, “Letter to Dr. Brown.”

the tree because she could not carry him in the Sino-Japanese war in 1904.¹²² Someone disclosed that he was a robber some years ago and, then, gave himself up to the police.¹²³

Underwood's wife described some essential characteristics of the 1907 revival in her book which left behind a record of the life and work of Rev. H.G. Underwood, the first Presbyterian missionary in Korea. They can be seen as representing the core of the 1907 revival.

They were all alike in character, affecting foreigners as well as natives, marked by an agonizing sense of the hideousness of even the smallest sin, which frequently felled the penitent to the ground unconscious or in terrible convulsions of horror and grief. This was followed by confessions of every thought, word or action committed against God's holiness. There were prayer continuous and heartfelt; whole congregations prayed aloud at the same time, and wept and rejoiced together.¹²⁴

One can find out that the Korean people felt too much pressure because of their misbehaviors which they had done in the past. They also had a strong wish to be forgiven by the absolute being and to become righteous and holy. Their burdens and desires were too big for them to be restrained and controllable in opening to the public their secret stories about their sins expressing their emotions in excessive and exaggerated ways.

E. The Fire of Revival around Various Parts of the Country

After the Bible training class ended on January 15th in 1907, the ambience of the meetings was also reenacted in schools in Pyeongyang and the fire of the revival set in the Jangdaehyeon Church, extended to other areas of Pyeongyang, and then, to main

¹²² James S. Gale, *Korea in Transition* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909), 207.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹²⁴ Underwood, *Underwood of Korea*, 224.

cities in Korea. During the 1907 revival in January in the church, the Union College and Academy were temporarily closed. As soon as the school was reopened, the principals suggested a prayer meeting before class to students and teachers and they, too, had the same religious experiences. Jonathan Goforth reported that “agonized cries were heard upstairs and down. Soon the principal’s room was filled with boys agonizing over their sins.”¹²⁵ Some of the students also had an intense feeling of burden of their misdeeds in former lives, and ran to one of the missionary’s wives during the meetings and cried out to her, “Is there any hope, is there any forgiveness for us?”¹²⁶

The schools could not start their classes due to the heat of the revival which lasted for two weeks. Many students wept and made a confession of their coldness, willfulness, and jealousies before the missionaries. William Baird who was a missionary of North America witnessed the following:

Sometimes they beat their foreheads and hands against the floor, sometimes they literally writhed in anguish, roaring as if the very devils were tearing them, and then last, when there seemed no more power of resisting left, they would spring to their feet and with terrible sobs and crying, pour out their confession of sin. And such confessions! It was like hell uncovered.¹²⁷

Other local schools were also influenced by this revival at the Union College and Academy. Students in the schools also experienced the same feelings of shame about their wrongdoings which they committed and they felt an urgent request of repentance. The same manifestation of the religious experiences occurred to the young students. The

¹²⁵ Jonathan Goforth, *When the Spirit’s Fire Swept Korea* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1943), 18.

¹²⁶ William Baird, “The Spirit among Pyeng Yang Students,” *The Korea Mission Field* 3, 1907, 65.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

only way to relieve themselves from the burden of their sins was to confess them in public and to get positive proof of being forgiven. One can observe their delight as a result of revealing their guilty deeds and thoughts in the W. L. Swallen report of some testimonies of the students in the Pyeongyang Theological School. They said “I thank the Lord that this burden of sin has been taken away,” “I thank God that I have come out of the darkness into light,” and “I thank God that I know that my sins are forgiven, and I am a saved man.”¹²⁸

The heat of the revival in Jangdaehyeon Church spread rapidly to other districts by the participants who became hot by the religious experiences. In the Bible classes in the country districts in February 1907 which William Blair and Graham Lee led, Graham Lee witnessed that the pattern of the revival in the country districts repeated that of January in Jangdaehyeon Church. He stated, “At that class the manifestations were exactly the same, terrible agony on account of sin and great joy and peace resulting from confession of it.”¹²⁹ Moreover, encouraging signs of the revival were scattered all over the area of Korea, particularly, central cities such as Seoul, and Daegu. The same religious experiences were recapitulated in the revival meetings there. In other words, Korean people strongly felt convicted, cried in great agony, confessed their sins in public, called for God’s prompt mercy, and recovered their composure by securing positive evidence of God’s forgiveness.

¹²⁸ W. L. Swallen, “God’s Work of Grace in Pyeng Yang Classes,” *The Korea Mission Field 3* (1907): 80.

¹²⁹ Graham, “How the Spirit Came to Pyeng Yang,” 37.

2. Characteristics of the 1907 Revival Movement.

Even if the 1907 Revival Movement occurred only after twenty-two years since the first missionary came to Joseon, it not only had a strong influence on the lives and religious experiences of the Korean people but also formed religious traditions which have characterized the Korean Protestant Church henceforth.

A. The Religious Characteristics of the Movement.

The 1907 Revival Movement exhibited rich religious experiences which were observed in traditional Christian countries. Therefore, many scholars attempted to explain the religious characteristics of the 1907 revival, referring to the religious experiences seen in those countries.

First, Boo-Woong Yoo considered the 1907 Revival Movement as a Pentecostal Movement because, in his view, the movement satisfies two standards of Pentecostalism, in other words, “belief in the Holy Spirit” and “the movement as a socio-historical structure.”¹³⁰ He argues that “missionaries viewed the Great Pentecostal Revival of 1907 as an outpouring of the Holy Spirit and emphasized the spiritual and religious dimension of the mass experience.”¹³¹ In his view, people who converted to Christianity through the revival movement were of the socially low status and previously had experienced the animistic religion referred to as shamanism. This was in concordance with the social and religious features of people who were initiated into Pentecostalism.¹³² Based on these

¹³⁰ Yoo, *Korean Pentecostalism*, 4.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 103–104.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 4.

characteristics of the movement, he concludes that the 1907 revival can be seen as part of the Pentecostal movement. Rev. William Blair, a Presbyterian missionary at that time, also described the 1907 revival as a Pentecost in Korea, saying, “just as on the day of Pentecost, they were altogether in one place, on one accord praying, and suddenly there came from heaven the sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.”¹³³ He recorded that “Christians returned to their homes in the country taking the Pentecostal fire with them.”¹³⁴

However, the most classical Pentecostal denominations in the United States at that time had nothing to do with the 1907 revival in Korea. They did not send their missionaries to Korea during the revival. In addition, there are no references which mention manifestations of speaking in tongues in the movement which was emphasized as the initial evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, the religious experiences of the 1907 Revival Movement shared similarities with those of Pentecostalism in terms of the recognition of sins and individual repentance, the experience of God through the Spirit, emphasis on prayer, and eschatological faith.¹³⁶

Second, Deokjoo Rhie asserted that the 1907 Revival Movement was in close

¹³³ Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 71.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹³⁵ Ig-Jin Kim, *History and Theology of Korean Pentecostalism* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2003), 2.

¹³⁶ Allan Anderson, citing the words of witness, Frank Bartleman, about the Azusa Street revival, speaks of “one central and distinctive theme in Pentecostal and Charismatic theology” as “a personal encounter with the Spirit of God enabling and empowering people for service” which was also emphasized in the 1907 revival in Korea. Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 187.

connection with a Wesleyan Revival Movement because of their similar emphasis on a personal relationship with God, prayer, Bible study, holiness, repentance, and regeneration.¹³⁷ Yongkyu Park also claims that the religious phenomena in the 1907 revival matched the Wesleyan movement in terms of the confession of sins and the experience of forgiveness.¹³⁸ In his opinion, the origin of the 1907 revival can be traced to the First Awakening of Jonathan Edwards in the United States and the revival movement by John Wesley in England, and the Second Awakening by Charles Finney in the United States, the revival by Moody, and the revivals in Wales and India which displayed similar features of the fervent repentant prayer and the experience of the Holy Spirit.¹³⁹

However, the central religious characteristics of the movement could be found in its unique pattern of the religious experiences exhibited as forms of agonizing self-awareness of sins, an intense feeling of shame about wrong behaviors and thoughts, an urgent request for confessing their sins, and the consequent relief with the realization of forgiveness through the work of the Holy Spirit. Moffett briefly but accurately described the features of the revival as follows: “In these meetings men realized the terrible consequences of sin, the suffering that sin had brought upon sinless Christ, his love in dying for them, and they agonized, some of them almost unto death. Relief came when

¹³⁷ Deokjoo Rhie, *A Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea, 1903-1907* (Seoul: Korean Christian History Institute, 2000), 100.

¹³⁸ Yong Kyu Park, *Hangukui Widaehan Buheung [A Great Revival in Korea]* (Seoul: The Word of Life, 2000), 34–35.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 16, 20, 238.

they realized their complete forgiveness.”¹⁴⁰ In fact, the pattern was a reenactment of Hardie’s religious experience which came to be viewed as the starting point of the 1907 revival which first started with Hardie’s deep sense of defeat and shame, recognition of helplessness, confession of sins, and a feeling of peace and joy which were duplicated on a national level as important aspects of the 1907 revival.

Among the elements of the pattern, most of all, the recognition and confession of sin can be stressed due to their importance in understanding the movement. Ick Ro Chung, who attended this revival at the Jangdaehyun Church in 1907, confessed his sins as follows: “The unknown fear of sins, which I have never experienced before, came to me suddenly. I was agonized how I could flee away from these sins and escape from them. Some of the attendees ran out of the church that could not bear this painful experience.”¹⁴¹ Most attendants were faced with the heavy burden of their sins which pressed them to make their secret stories and thoughts disclosed. They also intensely felt a sense of deficit and a feeling of helplessness which could be only alleviated by securing positive proof of being forgiven.

The recognition of sin and individual repentance were connected to conversion experiences. The experience of being born again in the 1907 revival consisted of repenting for one’s sins and gaining an assurance of salvation.¹⁴² A theology of

¹⁴⁰ Samuel Austin Moffett, “Evangelistic Work,” in *Quarto Centennial: Papers Read before the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. at the Annual Meeting in Pyeng Yang, August 27, 1909.*, n.d., 21–22.

¹⁴¹ McCune, “The Holy Spirit in Pyeng Yang,” 1.

¹⁴² Rhie, *A Study on the Formation of the Indigenous Church in Korea, 1903-1907*, 158.

regeneration has played a significant role as a main theology in Korea since Hardies' confession. It emphasizes the experience of being "born again" in which people feel justified by faith. Rev. W. G. Cram, a Southern Episcopal Methodist missionary, evaluated this revival "to take confession of sins as an evidence of genuineness or a proof of the witness of the Holy Ghost to regenerate."¹⁴³ In other words, being sensitive to their own misdeeds in the former lives and their necessity of repentance were viewed as the apparent proof of being converted to Christianity.

The movement can be also characterized by the Bible classes and prayer meetings convened by the missionaries. The prayer and the study of the Scriptures were important elements of the movement which were very simple religious acts. That is, the attendants were able to access the religious experiences by way of the Bible Study and prayer meetings. A great number of people gathered in the church, at the same time, and they repeated the same things together, by engaging in Bible studies and prayer. Nevertheless, this repetition formed an intense feeling of unity rather than boredom or fatigue.

In particular, praying out-loud together in the prayer meetings became one of the most important properties of the movement. Blair, who observed the entire process of the movement from start to finish, portrayed the audible prayer during the movement as "the falling of many waters, an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne."¹⁴⁴ This type of prayer, known in Korea as *tongseongkido* in which people pray loudly together in one voice enabled the Korean people to feel a sense of kinship and equality. Additionally, the audible prayer echoes the Korean people's fervent yearning for a relationship with God

¹⁴³ W.G. Cram, "A Genuine Change," *The Korea Mission Field* 3, May 1907, 68.

¹⁴⁴ Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 71.

by way of prayer through which they might want to address their emotional issue of helplessness. They might look for a way of communicating with God and experiencing God's presence which could serve as "much or more about experiencing God's transforming touch" to them at that time.¹⁴⁵

The emphasis on the Bible study had a close connection with the doctrine of biblical inspiration which is one of the characteristics of the early missionaries' theology in Korea.¹⁴⁶ The most outstanding theological argument of the 1907 Revival Movement was the inerrancy of the Bible which was vigorously defended by the foreign missionaries in Korea and by Korean Protestant Church leaders alike. Korean pastors and conservative missionaries fought against any attempt to modify the literal understanding of the Bible. For them, the central theme of the Bible was Jesus Christ's love and salvation of the world through His death on the cross. He rose from the dead and ascended into heaven and would come again. Thus, the Bible was the essential resource for interpreting God's plan through the missionaries' work.¹⁴⁷

B. The Impact of the Movement on the Korean Church and its Followers

The great revival of 1907 and its religious experiences have exercised broad

¹⁴⁵ Tony Lee Richie, "Awe-Full Encounters: A Pentecostal Conversation with C. S. Lewis Concerning Spiritual Experience," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 14, no. 1 (2005): 111.

¹⁴⁶ According to C. A. Clark who was a missionary from the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the American Protestant missionaries believed in the truthfulness and the authority of the Bible as an infallible book, Christ's virgin birth, his redemptive death, and his bodily resurrection. Harry A. Rhodes and Richard H. Baird, *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission* (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1934), 56.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

influences on the Korean churches and its followers. In addition, the format and style of the Revival Movement have continued to serve as the basic structure of the revival meetings since then in Korea. The influences and effects can be explained in three categories.

First, the 1907 revival allowed the Korean people to have new religious experiences which were different from those offered by previous Korean religions. Before they experienced the great revival of 1907, the notion of sin did not have any spiritual significance, because they understood the term as “violating the laws of the country.”¹⁴⁸ However, their refreshing experience of the conviction of sin and repentance functioned as a spiritual way of discovering and manifesting their disavowed inner pain which “gave the converts a personal experience of the value of confession and repentance and faith in Jesus Christ.”¹⁴⁹ Their experiences were genuine experiences as Cram said, “It was genuine. There was no false fire of lies or deceptions. Missionaries never attempted to force the Christians to confess their sins as a necessary evidence of their purity.”¹⁵⁰

Second, the new religious experiences caused a renewal of their thinking, their ways of living and behavior.¹⁵¹ After the revival meetings, the Korean people began to

¹⁴⁸ Martha Huntley, *To Start a Work: The Foundation of Protestant Mission in Korea (1884-1919)* (Seoul: Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1987), 273.

¹⁴⁹ George H. Jones, *The Korean Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: The Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910), 47.

¹⁵⁰ W. G. Cram, “A Genuine Change,” 68.

¹⁵¹ The temporal change, of course, cannot be seen as psychological or spiritual maturation. However, what is obvious is that the religious experiences were psychologically influencing the daily lives of the Korean people. The psychological

quit their bad habits, forgive each other, and make peace with one another. Bishop M. C. Harris, who was in charge of the Korean Methodist churches at that time, reported positive aspects of the movement in terms of a new style of living and behavior as follows: “Drunkards, gamblers, thieves, adulterers, murderers, self-righteous Confucianists and dead Buddhists, and thousands of devil-worshippers have been made new men in Christ, the old things gone forever.”¹⁵² Wasson thought that this change also was closely associated with the turbulent social and political circumstances in the late nineteenth century. However, he mainly attributed the change “in the attitudes and institutions of the people who desperately needed enrichment of the society, as well as their personal life” to the religious experience in Christianity.¹⁵³ In addition, as George Paik asserted, the 1907 revival facilitated “the spiritual rebirth of the Korean Church” through which the Korean people obtained both consolation and hope even in the hopeless and distressed situation.¹⁵⁴

Third, the revival in 1907 served as a catalyst in an explosive growth of the Korean Church. Spencer Palmer describes the growth of the Korean Protestant Church as follows: “among the examples of Asian receptiveness to the Christian religion, the most remarkable is in Korea, where missionary results have been called one of the marvels of

dynamics explaining the reasons of the change will be addressed in chapter 4.

¹⁵² Joseph B. Hingeley, *Journal of the Twenty-Fifth Delegated General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church Held in Baltimore, MD, May 6-June 1, 1908* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1908), 862.

¹⁵³ Wasson, *Church Growth in Korea*, 50.

¹⁵⁴ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 361.

modern history.”¹⁵⁵ The 1907 revival was a starting point of this marvel in Korea. The members of the Presbyterian churches in Korea increased from 54,987 in 1906 to 73,844 in 1907, an increase of 34% of growth. The Methodist churches achieved even more rapid growth. The Northern Methodist churches achieved an 118% growth, from 18,107 in 1906 to 39,613 in 1907.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, the revival paved the way for the growth by forming new and unique religious traditions in the Korean Protestant Church, such as early morning prayer meetings, unison prayer in a loud voice(*tongseongkido*), and Bible classes.

C. The Relationship between the 1907 Revival and Nationalism

The 1907 revival has been evaluated in terms of nationalism by many scholars. In Soo Kim asserts that the 1907 Revival Movement contributed to promoting citizen awareness. In his view, Christians at that time “turned from their self-centered lives, from being passive members of the community to active and caring citizens.”¹⁵⁷ He asserted that the rapid growth of the Korean churches during the early twentieth century enhanced nationalism in Korea because hope for national independence was an important factor in the growth of Christians.¹⁵⁸ Young Hoon Lee also noted that “the Revival Movement brought not only repentance of sin, but also a dramatic change in the lives of the Korean

¹⁵⁵ Spencer J. Palmer, *Korea and Christianity: The Problem of Identification with Tradition* (Seoul: Seoul Computer Press, 1986), vi.

¹⁵⁶ Rhodes, *History of the Korea Mission Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A*, 1:285.

¹⁵⁷ In Soo Kim, *Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism. 1885-1920* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1996), 130.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Christians.”¹⁵⁹ In other words, their interest was not only in personal salvation in Jesus Christ but also in the changes of civility. Gyeong Bae Min commented that those who began to believe in Jesus were encouraged to live their lives ethically and morally.¹⁶⁰ That made it possible for the Korean Christians to speak out against the exploitation by the Japanese.

However, many progressive scholars also assert that the revival movement can be criticized in that it quieted the anti-Japanese struggle of the church members under Japanese colonization and changed the faith of the Korean churches to become historically and politically irrelevant today. Man Yeol Lee criticizes that the Korean sense of independence from Japan began to abate by the 1907 revival focused on the topic of inner faith and, as a result, the depoliticization of the Korean churches was quickened. In his opinion, the 1907 revival movement was specifically designed by missionaries for the purpose of directing the attention of Korean Christians away from the political interests by stressing an other-worldly faith in Christianity.¹⁶¹ Jang Sik Lee argues that the early missionaries intentionally held the revival meetings to prevent the church resources from being used by Korean nationalists who became members of the Church, expecting that the power of the Church would be helpful for the independence from Japan.¹⁶² Jae Yong

¹⁵⁹ Young Hoon Lee, “The Holy Spirit Movement in Korea: Its Historical and Doctrinal Development” (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1996), 76.

¹⁶⁰ Kyung Bae Min, *Hanguk Gidok Gyohoesa [Korean Church History]* (Seoul: Korean Christian Publishing, 1985), 262.

¹⁶¹ Man Yeol Lee, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik [Korean Christianity and National Consciousness]* (Seoul: Knowledge Industry, 1991), 246.

¹⁶² Jang Sik Lee, “Buheungundongui Jeonwhanjeom [Transition in the Revival Movement],” *Gidokkyo Sasang [Christian Thought]*, no. 216 (June 1976): 55.

Joo points out that the most significant limitation of the 1907 revival was the placing of too much emphasis on individual salvation leading to the neglect of social participation and social awareness, particularly, the plight of the poor.¹⁶³ Soon Kyoung Park also criticizes the Revival Movement based on the fact that it produced submissive Christians obeying Japanese aggressive attitudes and withdrawing social justice.¹⁶⁴

While many early Korean Christian leaders tried to borrow strength from western Christianity to liberate the country, missionaries were reluctant to have their gospel involved in political situations. The early missionaries inherited conservative and evangelical traditions in America which emphasized the separation of the state and religion as the church's basic attitude toward politics.¹⁶⁵ Their conservative tendencies were embodied by theological studies, literal Biblicism, extreme pietism, and eschatological faith in the 1907 revival which were not compatible with the topics of politics and social justice. One of their primary concerns was to give consolation and hope to the Korean people in the hopeless and agitated country by focusing on the religious and spiritual aspects of Christianity.

However, the missionaries' efforts contributed to making the Korean Christians interested in the political issues and social problems by building their inner strength among them which was needed to endure throughout the coming years of political

¹⁶³ Jae Yong Joo, "Hanguk Gyohoe Buheung Undongui Yeoksajeok Bipan [A Historical Critique of the Revival Movement the Korean Church]," *Gidokkyo Sasang [Christian Thought]*, no. 243 (September 1978): 70.

¹⁶⁴ Soon Kyung Park, *Minjok Tongilgwa Gidokgyo [National Unification and Christianity]* (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1986), 25.

¹⁶⁵ Min, *Hanguk Gidok Gyohoesa*, 134.

turmoil and severe hardship. Through the religious experiences of the revival, the Korean Christians became active and caring citizens rather than passive members of the community who never felt responsibility for others outside of their kinship structures.¹⁶⁶ The Korean Christians “had deepened their sense of responsibility for the welfare of others.”¹⁶⁷

Despite the efforts of the missionaries to direct the Korean believers from political matters, the rapid growth of the Korean Protestant Church during the early twentieth century was closely associated with nationalism.¹⁶⁸ Good examples are “A Million Souls Movement,” that occurred in 1909 and “The March 1st Independence Movement in 1919.”

A Million Souls Movement was motivated by the missionary, M. B. Stokes’ suggestion in 1909 to pray for fifty thousand new converts from 1909 to 1910. However, as all of the Korean churches agreed to participate in the movement, they decided to increase the number to one million. Many Christian bodies supported the campaign in which an unprecedented amount of literature was distributed for the purpose of missionary. Tracts, scripture portions, and Bibles were printed and given to non-believers.¹⁶⁹ Even so, in fact, the movement did not have any interest in political matters, it is important to note that the movement made it possible to emphasize and promote education as a way of understanding the Bible. The interest in education produced a

¹⁶⁶ Kim, *Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism. 1885-1920*, 130.

¹⁶⁷ Jones and Noble, *The Korean Revival*, 39.

¹⁶⁸ Kim, *Protestants and the Formation of Modern Korean Nationalism 1885-1920*, 130.

¹⁶⁹ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 371–374.

national spirit. Many schools were founded by Christian leaders and missionaries and they also “encouraged a national consciousness and the spirit of independence.”¹⁷⁰

In addition, the Church planned and processed the Declaration of Independence on March 1, 1919, independent of the missionaries. Following the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese severely oppressed the Koreans. The oppression engendered the craving for the independence which resulted in the Declaration of Independence in 1919. The Korean Protestant churches, thus, served as a channel for spreading the Independence Movement throughout the country. They printed and passed out the pamphlets and they also were used as bases for the Independence Movement. Sixteen of the thirty-three signers of the Declaration of the Independence Movement were Christian leaders. According to a mission report, “to be a Christian in Korea is same as participating in the independence movement.”¹⁷¹

Through these historical data which show that the 1907 Revival was connected to the chief independence and social movements, it can be said that the Movement contributed not only to the individual transformation of the Korean Christians, but also the social reforms and the anti-Japanese movements. The religious experiences lifted up a sense of the subjectivities of the Korean Christians who began to resist any attempt to damage their enhanced selves.

In this chapter, I provided a brief description of the historical crisis of the late Joseon period and the development process of the 1907 Revival Movement. The late

¹⁷⁰ Chol-choon Kim, Yi-sup Hong, and Pow-key Son, *The History of Korea* (Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1970), 245.

¹⁷¹ Min, *Hanguk Gidok Gyohoesa*, 304–310.

Joseon period can be described as a time of the overall crisis which came to the Protectorate Treaty in 1905. The crisis derived from the internal erosion of an established system and the external threats of foreign powers. In these unstable circumstances, the Korean people suffered a deep blow to their pride of the continuous history of four thousand years. When Joseon went through a general national crisis, Christianity was introduced by the American missionaries and its teaching penetrated deep into the Korean people's bones and hearts. The rapid spiritual influence of Christianity culminated in the 1907 Revival Movement in which intense religious experiences such as the confession of sins and fervent prayer experience were manifested. In the next chapter, I examine Heinz Kohut's theory of Self Psychology, focused on his terms of group self, selfobject and selfobject experiences that are utilized in analyzing psychologically, the historical process of the religious experiences in chapter four.

CHAPTER THREE

HEINZ KOHUT'S THEORY OF SELF PSYCHOLOGY

This chapter explores the essential concepts of Heinz Kohut's self psychology that are specifically relevant for understanding the religious experiences of the 1907 Revival Movement in Korea. In particular, I focus on his notions of selfobject, selfobject experiences, and group self which are very useful in analyzing the psychological process of the Korean people which took place in the late Joseon period, especially during the 1907 Revival Movement. The explanation of Kohut's notions provides a theoretical basis for the following chapter which deals with the psychohistorical analysis of the 1907 revival.

I. A Brief Sketch of Heinz Kohut's Life and Work

Most psychiatrists and psychoanalysts regard Heinz Kohut(1913-1981) as one of the most important figures in the area of psychoanalytic therapy in the twentieth century. His creation of self psychology brought about a transformation in the psychoanalytic point of view. In 1984, Howard and Margaret Baker surveyed leading American psychiatrists who were asked to consider the most important developments in their field in the last decade. In this survey, only thirteen books and one article were chosen by the respondents and Heinz Kohut was mentioned two times with his books *The Analysis of*

*the Self and The Restoration of the Self.*¹

Heinz Kohut was born in Vienna in 1913. His father was well-educated and succeeded in his business but was often away from home and died of leukemia at 49 years of age in 1937 when Kohut was 23 years of age. In his memory, his mother was an inconsistent character who vacillated in her relationship with her son, exhibiting both closeness and remoteness. After careful consideration about the personality of Kohut's mother through numerous interviews with her acquaintances, Charles Strozier described that "she seemed to be oppressively close at times, then apart and distant at others."²

Kohut received a rigorous and classical education and trained to be a doctor at the University of Vienna. He came across Freud's theories while in medical school at the University of Vienna and was fascinated with the ideas generated by Freud's methods of psychoanalysis. After the Hitler regime annexed Austria, he had to move to a refugee camp in England and, later, he immigrated into the United States in 1940. Kohut studied neurology and psychoanalysis at the University of Chicago, and subsequently studied further at the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis.³

Until the mid-1960s, Kohut was leading an active life as a classical analyst who

¹ Howard S. Baker and Margaret N. Baker, "Heinz Kohut's Self Psychology: An Overview," *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 144, no. 1 (1987): 1.

² Charles B. Strozier, "Glimpses of a Life: Heinz Kohut (1913–1981)," in *Progress in Self Psychology*, ed. Arnold Goldberg, vol. 1 (New York: Guilford Press, 1985), 4.

³ Geoffrey Cocks summarizes Kohut's life as followers in his introduction to *The Curve of Life*. "In Kohut we see the conjunction of a special set of early life experiences, an innate brilliance and creativity, and within the cultural milieu of fin-de-siècle Vienna, the unique intellectual and emotional stimulation of psychoanalysis. The curve of Heinz Kohut's life would bear all these lineaments toward new worlds across space, time, and thought." Heinz Kohut, *The Curve of Life: Correspondence of Heinz Kohut, 1923-1981*, ed. Geoffrey Cocks, 1st ed. (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1994), 31.

was well-recognized by Anna Freud, Hartmann, and other more orthodox psychoanalytic theorists. He enjoyed the honor of being elected president of the American Psychoanalytic Association.⁴ He was well-respected as a born teacher and speaker with great attraction and enthusiasm, as well as an articulate advocate for classical psychoanalysis. Although his published works did not come out in earnest during this period, in 1959 Kohut produced a groundbreaking paper, “Introspection, Empathy and Psychoanalysis,” in which he emphasized the importance of empathy as the main psychoanalytic instrument for understanding a patient. This publication can be seen as a prelude to the change in his thinking.⁵

In 1966, when Kohut was fifty-three years of age, and had reached his peak in terms of his prestige and leadership, he published a seminal paper, “Forms and Transformations of Narcissism” which is usually regarded as the initial stage of his theory of self psychology. This paper was based on his hypothesis that narcissism develops through its own normal line, geared toward building up self-cohesion which can be reached with the help of selfobject functions optimally offered by empathically-attuned parents. Kohut also proposed that narcissism develops into its higher forms culminating in the mature qualities of creativity, empathy, humor, acceptance of one’s finitude, connection to a transcendent reality, wisdom, and empathy.⁶

In *The Analysis of the Self* which was published in 1971, his hypothesis about

⁴ Charles B. Stozier, *Heinz Kohut: The Making of a Psychoanalyst*, 1st ed. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001), 133.

⁵ Eda Goldstein, *Object Relations Theory and Self Psychology in Social Work Practice* (New York: Free Press, 2002), 41.

⁶ Kohut, “Forms and Transformations of Narcissism,” 61–85.

narcissism which has its own developmental line was repeated.⁷ Kohut explained that in the therapeutic relationship with narcissistic patients, the omnipotent object and the grandiose self are activated in specific transferences. He also described clinical and technical problems in the narcissistic transferences and a new clinical approach with which to deal with patients who have disordered selves. Even if he introduced a new understanding of narcissism, throughout the book he tried to make it clear that his idea was a complementary approach to the classic drive theory.

Before Kohut published his second book, *The Restoration of the Self* in 1977, his approach moved from the classical drive theory through a revolutionary transformation proposing a new metapsychological understanding of narcissism. In his opinion, the primary psychopathology was derived from structural and functional deficiencies of the patient's self rather than the libidinal and aggressive drives. Eventually, in *The Restoration of the Self* in 1977, he formulated an original psychoanalytic theory focused on the self which can be viewed as the center of one's psychological universe.⁸ In this book, he emphasizes the necessity of a psychology of the self and elaborated on a theory of the development of the self which consists of two poles, placing Freud's drive theory and its structural model in a secondary position. His concern focuses on the developing self and the relationship between the self and its selfobjects. In this book, he makes clear the differences between classical theory and his new psychology of the self, accentuating

⁷ Heinz Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self: A Systematic Approach to the Psychoanalytic Treatment of Narcissistic Personality Disorders* (New York: International Universities Press, 1971).

⁸ Heinz Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1977).

the explanatory power of the self by examining the topics of the classical psychoanalysis, such as interpretation, resistance, dreams, and aggression.

Kohut's last work, *How Does Analysis Cure?* was posthumously published in 1984. He responds to the criticisms aroused by *The Restoration of the Self* in which he asserted that the analyst's listening is not a neutral activity but an empathic immersion into the patient's experience.⁹ However, his discussions were not restricted to the responses to the criticisms. He reexamined and summarized his central ideas in terms of the curative process. In other words, he linked his own thinking of key clinical constructs to the process of the analytic cure which are fundamentally different from the other psychoanalytic schools. In his view, the essence of psychopathology is closely associated with the damaged self which derives from disturbances in the early self-selfobject relationships. That is, cure lies in the transformation of the self-selfobject relationships. In this book, he also elaborated on describing the curative process by explaining the concept of empathy, the roles of defenses and resistances, the purpose of interpretation, and structure formation.

II. The Originality of Kohut's Self Psychology

Kohut's self psychology was created in consequence of his clinical work with patients who suffered from narcissistic personality disorders.¹⁰ He was able to observe

⁹ Heinz Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, ed. Paul E. Stepansky and Arnold Goldberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

¹⁰ Kohut writes that in his contemporary cultural milieu, the problem is not so much repression as it is a weak and wounded self, "enfeebled, multifragmented...and disharmonious." (Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 60.) The cultural milieu in his time is one of alienation and fragmentation interwoven with family environments in which

the activation of the narcissistic transferences in the therapeutic relationship with the narcissistic patients and have a clear view of the dilemma of these people. Distinguishing emotional states of emptiness and depression were displayed in the specific transferences, and became evident when the relationship with the therapist was interrupted by empathic failures of the therapist. The patients exhibited a “depleted self” which had a tendency to be fragile, fragmented, and disintegrated.¹¹ Kohut’s careful observation of the patients and conceptualization of the narcissistic transferences enabled him to understand the patients’ suffering from narcissistic personality disorders which were inaccessible to the classical psychoanalytic theory.¹²

Therefore, it is imperative to understand the meaning of the term, narcissism, for the purpose of understanding Kohut’s self psychology. In fact, it has been well known that Kohut distinctly contributed to recognizing narcissism as “the most central and salient aspect of the psychological functioning...of all people.”¹³ Kohut understood

children often experience indifference and are “deprived of the give and take with a close and interested environment.”(Heinz Kohut, “Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage,” in *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut, 1950-1978*, ed. Paul H. Ornstein, vol. 2 (New York: International Universities Press, 1991), 680–681.) This indifference, as well as other empathic failures in the child’s surroundings, inhibits the development of healthy narcissism and its contributions to the formation of a whole, strong, and cohesive self.

¹¹ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 243.

¹² Kohut characterized a narcissistic personality disorder as follows. “In the narcissistic personality and behavior disturbances, in the contradistinction to the psychosis and borderline states, the outline of a specific nuclear self has been established in early development. The structuralization of the pattern of the self has remained incomplete; however, with the result that the self reacts to narcissistic injuries with temporary breakup, enfeeblement, or disharmony.” (Ibid., 6.)

¹³ Robert S. Wallerstein, “Self Psychology and ‘Classical’ Psychoanalytical Psychology: The Nature of Their Relationship,” in *The Future of Psychoanalysis: Essays in Honor of Heinz Kohut*, ed. Arnold D. Goldberg (New York: International Universities

narcissism as having its own independent development line within a person. In “Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage,” Kohut declared, “If I were asked what I considered to be the most important point to be stressed about narcissism, I would answer: its independent line of development, from the primitive to the mature, adaptive, and culturally valuable.”¹⁴

From this perspective, the development of the narcissistic self consists of two separate developmental lines, rather than a single developmental line from the primitive stage of narcissism to object love which is Freud’s view.¹⁵ Kohut postulates “two separate and largely independent developmental lines: one which leads from autoerotism via narcissism to object love; another which leads from autoerotism via narcissism to higher forms and transformations of narcissism.”¹⁶ For him, narcissism has its own developmental line which reaches its own mature forms instead of object love.

Kohut’s discovery was attributed to a new scientific methodology of “vicarious introspection,” or “empathy” by which an analyst can obtain access to the psychic reality

Press, 1983), 21.

¹⁴ Kohut, “Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage,” 617.

¹⁵ Freud explains concretely the concept of narcissism in his essay “On Narcissism.” In his opinion, a baby is in the state of being united with its environment, the mother, which can be defined as primary narcissism. He asserted that in normal development, this state of fusion is replaced by object love. Therefore, a narcissistic pathology occurs when the libidinal energy is withdrawn from others toward the self. Consequently, he thought that narcissistic patients could not be analyzed due to the libidinal investment toward the self making it difficult to form adequate transference relationship. Sigmund Freud, “On Narcissism: An Introduction,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, vol. 14 (London: Hogarth Press, 1957).

¹⁶ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 220.

of the patients' inner world and collect its data.¹⁷ Freud's psychoanalysis was constructed based on the ideal of scientific objectivity which prevailed in nineteenth century science. In his view, dispassionate objectivity is required for investigating human beings' inner lives.¹⁸

Within Freud's psychoanalytic theory which should be explained from the perspective of scientific mechanism, the structure of the psyche is biologically determined by drives or libido comprised of love and aggression. In his opinion, all types of psychopathologies are caused by conflicts between the libido and the censoring force which later was internalized into the human internal world as superego. The stereotyped form representing the conflicts is the oedipal complex in which a child struggles with the conflict between its desire for the mother and restriction by the father. Orality and anality in the classical theory express defensive retreats from an oedipal position to regressive points in psychosexual development. Freud attributed the psychopathologies of his patients to a fixation of the drive organization. In his view, analysts require neutrality in the relationship with patients and should not satisfy the patients' psychological needs. Instead, analysts can help patients to reveal the unconscious repressed libidinal and sexual drives provoked by the analysts' neutral responses.

Kohut thought that this mechanical approach was appropriate to explain the structural neurosis which Freud most frequently encountered. However, Kohut found that

¹⁷ Kohut defines vicarious introspection as "the capacity to think and feel oneself into the inner life of another person, It is our lifelong ability to experience what another person experiences, though usually, and appropriately, to an attenuated degree." Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 82.

¹⁸ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 67.

it could not give a full account of other disorders. He claimed that psychoanalysts should employ a new scientific methodology which was germane to addressing the experience of the self and psychological phenomena beyond structural neurosis. In his opinion, this approach is “introspective-empathetic observation and theoretical conceptualization of the participating self.”¹⁹ Consequently, the psychology of the self is “a psychology of complex mental states which, with the aid of the persevering empathetic-introspective immersion of the observer into the inner life of man, gathers its data in order to explain them.”²⁰

With the employment of a new methodology, Kohut began to realize that the development of the self and its progression are prior to consideration of the drives. He believes that “the nucleus of the patient’s anxiety is related to the fact that his self is undergoing an ominous change—and the intensity of the drive is not the cause of the central pathology, but its result.”²¹ When the self is weakened or fragmented as a result of the empathic failures of its selfobject, it “turns defensively toward pleasure aims through stimulation of erogenic zones, and then, secondarily, brings about the oral (and anal) drive orientation and the ego’s enslavement to the drive aims correlated to the stimulated body zones.”²² Therefore, his central issue in theory and practice was placed in the cohesion of the self. For him, libidinal drives are not a “psychological bedrock” as

¹⁹ Ibid., 68.

²⁰ Ibid., 302.

²¹ Ibid., 104.

²² Ibid., 74.

in the Freudian drive theory but rather an outcome of a fragmented self.²³

Kohut also examined the Oedipal complex within the framework of the psychology of the self. In his view, a healthy oedipal stage should be differentiated from a pathological Oedipus complex. The former can be described as a joyfully experienced phase of self development in which the child's "primary affectionateness and assertiveness of the oedipal-phase self" are responded to with the parents' fondness and pride.²⁴ On the other hand, the Oedipus complex indicates a pathological distortion of proud and joyful qualities because the parents consider the normal expressions of affection and assertiveness as "sexually stimulating and aggressively threatening."²⁵ Therefore, according to Kohut, infantile sexuality and destructive aggression of the oedipal stage can be seen as disintegration products, and "the presence of a firm self [as the] precondition for the experience of the Oedipal complex."²⁶

Kohut devised two new words, "Guilty Man," and "Tragic Man" to differentiate his deficit model from the Freudian conflict model.²⁷ Guilty Man signifies a primarily oedipal figure struggling with structural conflicts resulted from a heightened tension between prohibited sexual and aggressive drives, and superego demands against such longings. Tragic Man represents those who carry the burden of depression caused by a psychological deficit, and, thus, make every effort to maintain cohesion of his

²³ Ibid., 117.

²⁴ Heinz Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, eds. Paul E. Stepansky and Arnold Goldberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 22.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 227.

²⁷ Ibid., 132–133.

fragmenting self. This difference became obvious in terms of how to reach the psychological development. While Freud thought it is important for people to realistically gratify libidinal impulses within inevitable conflicts, to achieve development, Kohut asserted that one's development is attained within the matrix of mutual empathy between the self and the selfobject. The stability and the cohesiveness of the self depend on self-experience with others. These ongoing needs for responsiveness throughout life are conceptualized as positive selfobject experiences which are one of the key terms in Kohut's self psychology.

III. Structure of the Self

The experience and disorders of the self were well-explained by Heinz Kohut's employment of a new scientific methodology which enabled psychoanalysts to understand psychological phenomena beyond structural neurosis. Thus, it was possible to modify the understanding of the configuration of the psyche by adopting a new methodology termed, "vicarious introspection." Kohut views the development of the self as primary and its vicissitudes precede consideration of the drives. The psychology of the self began to hold a dominant and central position in explaining psychological abnormality.

Kohut's theoretical and practical focus can be found in the cohesion of the self which is an important indicator of the development of the self. What it designates is the state of the self which all of its sectors harmoniously constitute. It is not easily fragmented and enfeebled by a series of hardships and frustrations in life and perceives the hidden dimension of the psyche, what Freud called "the unconscious." Libidinal

drives considered as the “psychological bedrock” for Freud were understood as disintegration products of a fragmented self.²⁸ The enfeebled self attempts to reassure itself by turning to its erogenous zone for stimulation, to reinforce that it is alive. A person who has a firm sense of self will incorporate these bodily desires into the structure of the self, and, thus, maintain his/her psychological stability.

The definition of the self in the preface to *The Analysis of the Self*, was still under the influence of Freudian images of human personality. According to him, the conception of the self was understood as a content of the psychic apparatus and a structure of the mind because the self is “cathected with instinctual energy and it has continuity in time.”²⁹ From this perspective, there can be many selves, each of which has its own psychic locations within the mind and whose representations “are present not only in the id, the ego, and the superego but also within a single agency of the mind.”³⁰ However, Kohut’s term of the self went through the progression in respect of the relational nature of the self by which a nuclear self begins to develop.³¹ He described that the early self originates in the interaction between the caregiver and infant which has the potential to facilitate the infant’s later development. In other words, the beginning point of self-development can be traced to the process by which a caregiver interacts with an infant.

The primary, rudimentary self may begin to occur at “the point in time when, within the matrix of mutual empathy between the infant and his self-object, the baby’s

²⁸ Ibid., 117.

²⁹ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, xv.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 95–100.

innate potentialities and the selfobject's expectations with regard to the baby converge."³² But the nascent self remains weak and its structure is unorganized. Its sense of cohesion and resilience depends on others' empathetic attitudes through which the weak self establishes the firm structure of the self. The nascent self cannot separate others' existence from its realities because the self experiences them as part of the self. Kohut referred to them as selfobjects which means "persons whom the small child invests with narcissistic cathexes and thus experiences narcissistically."³³

Kohut points out that once a baby is born, at least in Western culture, his/her parents think of the baby as if he/she already possesses a self. That is, parents expect that the infant as a self begin immediately. However, if the baby's neurophysiological capacities do not sufficiently develop, he/she cannot become conscious of self-awareness. However, the baby is "from the beginning, fused via mutual empathy with an environment that does experience him [sic] as already possessing a self—an environment that not only anticipates the later separate self-awareness of the child, but already, by the very form and content of its expectations, begins to channel it into specific directions."³⁴ The infant's unique self, which has its own innate potentialities, is facilitated in the relationship with an environment which displays empathetic disposition. In other words, the creation of the self is closely associated with the matter of whether the primary caregiver responds or does not respond empathically to the infant's potentialities.

A core or nuclear self is formed by this relationship with the outside world,

³² Ibid., 99.

³³ Ibid., 99–100.

³⁴ Ibid.

although it remains dependent on the empathic attitudes of its selfobjects. Kohut asserts that there are many selves in our minds and the nuclear self “is most centrally located in the psyche...is experienced as basic, and is most resistant to change.”³⁵ He defines the nuclear self as follows.

This structure is the basis for our sense of being an independent center of initiative and perception, integrated with our most central ambitions and ideals and with our experience that our body and mind form a unit in space and a continuum in time. This cohesive and enduring psychic configuration, in connection with a correlated set of talents and skills...forms the central sector of the personality.³⁶

In addition, Kohut explains about specific aspects of the nuclear self and what happens to it as children grow. The nuclear self began to form its basic pattern of integrity and authenticity through its relationship with selfobjects which provide perfect care for the self. However, because it is too much to hope that its selfobjects as human beings can perfectly care about the self, the nuclear self does not experience perfect development. From the beginning, the nuclear self cannot help but experience, to some degree, frustration by its selfobjects when it seeks genuineness and wholeness. It is inevitable that the self goes through narcissistic injuries which traumatize the self. In response, the child tries to restore the sense of wholeness and perfection by building up two compensatory structures known as the bipolar self which sees the development of the self proceeding along two poles, that is,

the establishment of the child’s cohesive grandiose-exhibitionistic self (via his relation to the empathetically responding merging-mirroring-approving self-object), on the one hand, and...the establishment of the child’s cohesive idealized parent-

³⁵ Heinz Kohut, “Discussion of ‘On the Adolescent Process as a Transformation of the Self,’” in *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut, 1950-1978*, ed. Paul H. Ornstein, vol. 2 (New York: International Universities Press, 1991), 660.

³⁶ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 170–178.

imago (via his relation to the empathetically responding self-object parent who permits and indeed enjoys the child's idealization of him and merger with him), on the other.³⁷

One pole of the bipolar self is constituted by the grandiose self, which can be easily found in the infant's claims for its perfection, wholeness, and bliss—"I am perfect." One of his/her ways to retain the entirety is to think that all good things are inside the self, but all bad things are external to it. The infant wishes that his/her perfection meets with the approval and acceptance of others with admiration and even awe. The infant's grandiose self can be brought into being by caregivers who respond to the child's manifestation of grandiosity and exhibitionism with mirroring and approval. However, the adequate responses entailing the acceptable impediment of caregivers gradually enable him/her to begin to accept realistic limitations on his/her greatness and convert it into its mature form of ambition, realistic assertiveness, and self-esteem.³⁸

There is the idealized parent imago at the other pole of the bipolar self in which the infant attempts to retain its perfection and greatness by investing the caregivers with perfection and merging with them—"You are perfect, but I am part of you." The caregivers are perceived as possessing all perfection, power, goodness and morality and "the child feels empty and powerless when he is separated from it, and he[she] attempts, therefore, to maintain a continuous union with it."³⁹ The infant's strain in times of frustration is mitigated by tension regulating and soothing functions of the idealized

³⁷ Ibid., 185.

³⁸ Ibid., 105.

³⁹ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 37.

parental imago.⁴⁰ In addition, the idealized parental imago becomes transformed into the internalized soothing structures of values and ideas which play an important role in maintaining internal balance.⁴¹

Kohut devised a dynamic concept to explain the basic structure of the self. He proposed that there is tension arc between these two poles. It is amalgamated by talents and skills which help to achieve the project of the ambitions and ideals carried in the nuclear self. He compared this tension arc to an electrical arc comprised of different electrical poles by which the flow of the electricity from higher to lower is created. In this way, a similar flow is formed between two poles, the grandiose self developing ambitions and goals, and the idealized-parental imago developing values and ideals.⁴² The creation of the tension arc resulted from the interaction of the push from ambitions and the pull from ideals. This push-pull dynamic determines a specific type and pattern of manifestation of the talents and skills.⁴³ In his later work, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, Kohut created a “tri-polar self” in which the pattern of skills and talents is assigned to the third pole.⁴⁴ In other words, the intermediate area of talents and skills becomes one of three constituents in the structure of the self.

IV. Selfobject

⁴⁰ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 106.

⁴¹ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 40.

⁴² Angella Son, “Relationality in Kohut’s Psychology of the Self,” *Pastoral Psychology* 55, no. 1 (2006): 86.

⁴³ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 180–183.

⁴⁴ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 201.

Scholars agree to the opinion that one of the powerful contributions of Kohut in psychoanalysis is the employment of the term, selfobject. Howard Bacal opened his essay, “The Selfobject Relationship in Psychoanalytic Treatment” with these words, “It is generally agreed that the selfobject concept is the cornerstone of the self-psychological perspective in psychoanalysis.”⁴⁵ Michael Franz Basch stated, “In terms of practice and technique, the concept of the selfobject is most important contribution to our investigation and treatment of psychological life, since Freud discovered the psychoanalytic method and the significance of the transference.”⁴⁶ Ernest Wolf mentioned similarly, “for a full appreciation of Kohut’s theoretical and clinical achievement, the self and its selfobjects must be made the center of concern and the focus of one’s conceptualizing.”⁴⁷

Heinz Kohut formulated the concept of the selfobject in *The Analysis of the Self* in 1971. His term of selfobject refers to an object which performs a narcissistic function for the self. In this period, his new formulations about narcissism were explained within the framework of ego psychology. He tries to explain narcissism in terms of a special kind of libidinal investment in objects together with the ego-psychological description of narcissism as a libidinal investment of the self. He refers to these narcissistically invested objects as selfobjects characterized as “objects...which are either used in the service of

⁴⁵ Howard A. Bacal, “The Selfobject Relationship in Psychoanalytic Treatment,” in *A Decade of Progress*, ed. Arnold Goldberg, vol. 10, *Progress in Self Psychology* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1994), 21.

⁴⁶ Michael F. Basch, “The Selfobject Concept: Clinical Implication,” in *A Decade of Progress*, ed. Arnold Goldberg, vol. 10, *Progress in Self Psychology* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1994), 1.

⁴⁷ Ernest S. Wolf, *Treating the Self: Elements of Clinical Self Psychology* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1988), 24.

the self...or objects which are themselves experienced as part of the self.”⁴⁸ In other words, selfobjects are objects which are not experienced as a separate being. He compares “the expected control over [selfobjects]” with the control which a grownup expects to have over his own body.”⁴⁹ On the contrary, Kohut maintains that true objects are loved and hated objects which are experienced as separate by “a psyche that...has acquired autonomous structures [and] has accepted the independent motivations and response of others.”⁵⁰ Psychological structures are built up by internalizing the soothing and tension-regulating functions of selfobjects as the narcissistic libido is gradually withdrawn from the archaic selfobjects.

Later, Kohut emphasized the inner experience of selfobjects’ functions in defining the concept of the selfobject. In an essay entitled, “Selected Problems in Self Psychological Theory,” Kohut clearly noted the subjective aspect of a selfobject.⁵¹ He wrote as follows: “Selfobjects, as they arise in the transference, are inner experiences. Specifically, they are inner experiences of certain functions of others on which our analysands focus because of certain thwarted developmental needs of the self...”⁵² He elaborated further that “In its strict sense the term ‘selfobject’ denotes an inner

⁴⁸ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, xiv.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁵¹ Kohut dropped the hyphen out of “self-object” after he published *The Restoration of the Self* in which he still used the term, “self-object.” He intended to strengthen this concept and to emphasize the subjective role that selfobjects play in human experience, by eliminating the hyphen. Strozier, *Heinz Kohut*, 335–336.

⁵² Heinz Kohut, “Selected Problems in Self Psychological Theory(1980),” in *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut, 1950-1981*, ed. Paul H. Ornstein, vol. 4 (Madison: International Universities Press, 1991), 494.

experience.”⁵³ In a letter dated July 24, 1980, Kohut again addressed this point in the following way: “The concept of a selfobject refers not to an object in the social sphere, to an object in the interpersonal sense of the word, but to the inner experience of an object...the selfobject is defined by our experience of its function.”⁵⁴ This is similar to a comment made by Kohut in the conversation on January 29, 1981, with Charles Strozier. He said, “a selfobject is an object, at least in a sociological sense it is an object, and yet is experienced by the person as performing functions that are normally performed by himself.”⁵⁵

In his final book, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, he expressed “the general meaning of the term selfobject as that dimension of our experience of another person that relates to this person’s functions in shoring up our self.”⁵⁶ This suggests that a selfobject is not necessarily a person because Kohut’s emphasis is found in the functions and experiences a selfobject provides for the development and maintenance of the self. To put it delicately, his notion of selfobjects was broadened in order to indicate the responses of the environment which the self unconsciously experiences as a part or extension of herself/himself furnishing psychic functions related to the structuring of the cohesive self.

Contemporary authors in self psychology have maintained that a selfobject is not always a person, but rather, as Stolorow wrote, “a class of psychological functions

⁵³ Ibid., 495.

⁵⁴ Heinz Kohut, “The Psychoanalytic Treatment of Narcissistic Personality Disorders,” in *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut, 1950-1978*, ed. Paul H. Ornstein, vol. 1 (New York: International Universities Press, 1978), 670–671.

⁵⁵ Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 217.

⁵⁶ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 49.

pertaining to the maintenance, restoration, and transformation of self-experience.”⁵⁷

Stolorow’s emphasis is geared towards particular functions of an object experienced subjectively, performing an important role in maintaining and restoring the self. Joseph Lichtenberg, and his colleagues, preferred to use selfobject experience instead of selfobject, because selfobject can be described as an intrapsychic phenomenon which indicates the individual’s experience of an object as a part of himself/herself although the object exists outside the individual and is separate from the individual.⁵⁸ Ernest Wolf, like Stolorow and Lichtenberg, defined selfobject in terms of subjective experience. He states:

Precisely defined, a selfobject is neither self nor object, but the subjective aspect of a self-sustaining function performed by a relationship of self to objects who by their presence or activity evoke and maintain the self and the experience of selfhood. As such, the selfobject relationship refers to an intrapsychic experience and does not describe the interpersonal relationship between the self and other objects.⁵⁹

What Wolf stresses about the selfobject lies in the self-maintaining functions and the inner experience of the self in the relationship with objects which do not have to be a real human being. What is important in defining the selfobject is the intrapsychic experience of the self which is related to experiences supporting and promoting a sense of the self. Based on his argument, it can be said that, in adulthood, one can have selfobject experiences through ideological, artistic, religious, and other sources that fulfill selfobject

⁵⁷ Robert D. Stolorow, “Critical Reflections on the Theory of Self Psychology: An Inside View.,” *Psychoanalytic Inquiry* 6, no. 3 (1986): 389.

⁵⁸ Joseph D. Lichtenberg, Frank M. Lachmann, and James L. Fosshage, *Self and Motivational Systems: Towards A Theory of Psychoanalytic Technique* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1992), 129.

⁵⁹ Wolf, *Treating the Self*, 1988, 184.

needs. Wolf also points out that the use of symbols as selfobjects instead of persons represents a “characteristic of the progressive changes in the developmental line of selfobjects.”⁶⁰ In addition, he maintained that “religious experiences can be counted among the variety of selfobject experiences that function to maintain selfhood in adulthood.”⁶¹ In other words, a religious experience, as a selfobject experience can function in a positive way not only to sustain or enhance an individual’s sense of self and development of the self but also to promote ongoing self-integration and self-affirmation.

What is needed to be noted in terms of the selfobject is that throughout life, a selfobject experience provides the functions of strength, and cohesiveness for the self. Even if many psychoanalytic models also argue the environmental influences in psychological development, they focus on the assumption that healthy psychological development signifies separation and independence from others. They usually tended to envision human development as proceeding from dependence to independence in which individuation and self-sufficiency are the clear indications of maturity. However, Kohut suggested that individuals need others’ sustaining responsiveness throughout their whole life. In adulthood, as in infancy, one needs to find necessary selfobjects’ responses in one’s environment to feel wholeness and cohesiveness of the self.⁶² As Bacal wrote, “the

⁶⁰ Ernest S. Wolf, “On the Developmental Line of Selfobject Relations,” in *Advances in Self Psychology*, ed. Arnold Goldberg (New York: International Universities Press, 1980), 128.

⁶¹ Ernest S. Wolf, *Treating the Self: Elements of Clinical Self Psychology* (New York: Guilford Press, 1988), 53.

⁶² Through his clinical work, Kohut came to recognize that his patients’ maturation process was closely related to the formation of the self. The experiences led him to believe that it was through the resolution of the frustrated archaic selfobject needs that patients achieve psychological growth. Such resolution does not mean a move from

systematic development of the idea that the self's strength and the fulfillment of its potential depend on its experience of phase-appropriately responsive selfobjects from birth to death, is the unique contribution of Heinz Kohut."⁶³ Psychological support from external objects is inevitable in one's whole life for his/her full psychic development from Kohut's point of view.

V. Three Types of Selfobject Experiences

In general, Kohut described three types of selfobject experiences which correspond to the three structural aspects of the developing self.

Throughout his life a person will experience himself as a cohesive harmonious firm unit in time and space, connected with his past and pointing meaningfully into a creative-productive future, only as long as, at each stage in his human surroundings (he experiences the important persons in his environment) as joyfully responding to him [i.e. the selfobject experience of mirroring], as available to him as sources of idealized strength and calmness [i.e. the selfobject experience of idealization], as being silently present but in essence like him [i.e. the selfobject experience of twinship], and, at any rate, able to grasp his inner life more or less accurately so that their responses are attuned to his needs and allow him to grasp their inner life when his is in need of such sustenance.⁶⁴

In this single remarkable sentence, he divides the selfobject experience into three groups,

selfobject relations to object love but rather from early forms of selfobjects' needs to more generally mature ones. In 1984, he wrote, "The need for, and the experience of imagoes used for the creation and sustenance of the self undergoes a lifelong maturation, development and change. We must not confuse (1) the archaic selfobjects that (a) are the normal requirements of early life (b) are required later on, either chronically in disorders of the self, or, passingly, during periods of special stress in those who are free of self-pathology with (2) the mature selfobjects that all of us need for our psychological survival from birth to death." Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 193–194.

⁶³ Howard A. Bacal, "Winnicott and Self Psychology," in *Self Psychology: Comparisons and Contrasts*, eds. Douglas Detrick and Susan Detrick (Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 1989), 269.

⁶⁴ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 52.

that is, the selfobject experience of *mirroring*, the selfobject experience of *idealizing*, and the selfobject experience of *twinsip* which can be connected to three major constituents of the self.

1. The selfobject experience of *mirroring*

Kohut's accumulating clinical experiences with narcissistic patients led him to define that the mirroring selfobject experience is

the therapeutic reinstatement of that normal phases of the development of the grandiose self in which the gleam in the mother's eye, which mirrors the child's exhibitionistic display, and other forms of maternal participation in and response to the child's exhibitionistic enjoyment confirm the child's self-esteem and, by gradually increasing selectivity of these responses, begin to channel it into realistic directions.⁶⁵

As quoted above, in Kohut's view, children have exhibitionistic desires to be recognized and admired about their achievements, which arise from the grandiose-exhibitionistic pole of the self. When these desires are echoed by the parents mirroring response such as "the gleam in the mother's eye," children can have the mirroring selfobject experience.

Kohut highlighted the maternal phase-appropriate acknowledgement of the children's exhibitionistic needs to have their accomplishments affirmed and mirrored because the children are able to build an internal sense of being important, valuable, and accepted from their parents' empathic participation. As they grow, this sense of security and well-being is internalized through the mother's relevant echoes and acceptance to the child's grandiosity and exhibitionism.⁶⁶ As food is needed for physical survival, this

⁶⁵ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 116.

⁶⁶ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 107.

mirroring of the child's grandiosity is considered the essential requirement for psychological survival. A noticeable lack of the appropriate mirroring selfobjects generates a sense of deprivation and fragmentation in the child's self. In this case, he/she desperately continues to search for an object in their whole life to fill the inner void due to suffering from a "missing part of their own psychological equipment."⁶⁷ As the child realizes his/her realistic limitations under optimal developmental conditions, his/her grandiosity is transformed into mature forms such as goals, purposes, and ambitions, and he/she becomes resistant to the specific limitations and frustration imposed by reality with self-esteem.⁶⁸

A hypersensitive response to criticism is one of the primary symptoms of narcissistic patients who, in particular, have defective mirroring experiences as the basis of a central selfobject disturbance. Such patients have difficulty in enduring even minor slights and show a limited capacity to recover easily. The prominent emotional characteristic is coldness accompanied by arrogance or self-aggrandizement which is manifested as defensive indications to conceal feelings of shame and depreciation.⁶⁹ Kohut's emphasis lies in the importance of phase-appropriate confirming, echoing, or affirming responses closely associated with mirroring. A firm and vigorous sense of the self can be seen as the fruit produced by these mirroring responses.

Some criticized Kohut's mirroring selfobject experience on the basis of the classical Freudian theory of gratification which sees symptoms of addiction and

⁶⁷ Heinz Kohut, *The Kohut Seminars: On Self Psychology and Psychotherapy with Adolescents and Young Adults* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), 41.

⁶⁸ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 107.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 136, 180.

regression as a result of an excessive libidinal drive gratification. Meares warned “a literal understanding of Kohut’s definition, [of a selfobject]...leads to the danger of addiction to certain responses of the other.”⁷⁰ According to Freudian psychoanalytic theorists, because narcissism is considered pathological, the gratification of narcissistic patient’s needs can make the problem worse by pathologically leading to addictive states. However, Kohut had different views about narcissism which enabled him to distinguish between its pathological and transforming dimensions, and, thus, to recognize growth-promoting scope of narcissistic gratification connected to the cohesive development of the self. In other words, selfobject mirroring and affirming responses evoking deeply satisfying narcissistic gratification activate development-facilitating potentials. Replying to the Freudian claim that gratification causes addictive behavior and regression, Bacal also points out that malignant regression and fragmentation come from persistent selfobject failures, not from gratifying the patient.⁷¹

In his early work, Kohut classified the mirror transference activated in the psychoanalytic setting into three types according to degrees of differentiation between self and object. The most primitive form, prevailing in severe narcissistic disorders, was merger transference. Merger denotes a serious state of patients whose selves attempt to be fused with the external object and, thus, are not able to differentiate between self and object. A second subtype of mirroring transference was twinship or alter-ego transference

⁷⁰ Russell Meares, “The Conversational Model: An Outline,” *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 58, no. 1 (2004): 56.

⁷¹ Howard A. Bacal, “Optimal Responsiveness and the Therapeutic Process,” in *Progress in Self Psychology*, ed. Arnold Goldberg, vol. 1 (New York: Guilford Press, 1985), 206–207.

which was labeled later as a distinct selfobject transference. In this twinship transference, even if the object is more differentiated from the self than in the merger transference, the selfobject had to serve as a faithful copy of the self. The most developmentally advanced type of mirroring transference is mirror transference in the narrow sense which is the least archaic mirroring self. Even though the self is able to not only perceive itself as a differentiated unit from the external object, and consider itself as an independent center of initiative to some extent, it is desperate to find a selfobject which can provide affirmation and echoing needed to sustain self-cohesion.⁷²

2. The selfobject experience of *idealizing*

The other method of enhancing the cohesiveness of the self is the idealizing selfobject experience closely associated with the idealized parent imago pole which is one of the mainstays of the self alongside the grandiose-exhibitionistic pole.⁷³ According to Kohut, through the idealizing selfobject experience, the child attempts to save “a part of the lost experience of global narcissistic perfection by assigning it to an archaic, rudimentary (transitional) selfobject, the idealized parental imago.”⁷⁴ Idealizable figures are vital for the child’s maturing process because they can offer the child an opportunity

⁷² Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 114–116.

⁷³ One of his colleagues, Michael Basch defined the idealizing therapeutic relationship as follows: “One’s unrequited longing to be strengthened and protected when necessary by an alliance with an admired, powerful figure...It is the need to be united with someone one looks up to, and who can lend one the inspiration, the strength, and whatever else it takes to maintain the stability of the self system when one is endangered, frustrated, or in search for meaning.” Michael F. Basch and Carol G. Basch, *Understanding Psychotherapy: The Science Behind The Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 72.

⁷⁴ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 37.

to revive its needs for power and greatness through “feeling linked to the admired other: the self, in effect, walking proudly in the shadow of his admired object.”⁷⁵ The parents need to allow themselves to be idealized for the children and respond to their needs with calmness, strength, and acceptance. At first, the children cannot perform the soothing and relieving psychic function. They only control their strain and anxiety by experiencing the parents as both a soothing and firm existence.⁷⁶ These experiences play a significant role in human psychological development, because the children can create their own ideals and goals only when the needs for idealization are appropriately accepted by parents.

People who failed to satisfy their narcissistic needs for idealization in their childhood reenact the need for an idealizable object in the relationship with authority figures. In particular, the patient experiences the analyst as a powerful and all-knowing being. When they feel disappointed by the idealizing figures who are expected to have calming and limitless powers, they display coldness and haughtiness towards the glorified figures. Kohut’s case of Mr. A who is a young man in his mid-twenties, explains the psychological process of the idealizing selfobject experience which occurs in the clinical setting.⁷⁷ Mr. A’s chief experience which colored his childhood was his disappointment in his powerless father. The family had been forced to flee Europe prior to World War II, when Mr. A was nine years of age. In the United States, even if his father had had high ambitions, he failed in his business again and again. Mr. A began to feel the difference between his father’s lofty ambitions and his actual incompetent performances. Kohut

⁷⁵ Kenneth M. Newman and Howard A. Bacal, *Theories of Object Relations: Bridges to Self Psychology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 232.

⁷⁶ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 86.

⁷⁷ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 57–73.

analyzed that Mr. A was profoundly disappointed in his idealized father. Mr. A's relationship with his father was transferred to relationships with other authority figures and the analyst, and the lack of idealizing experience gave rise to some narcissistic symptoms. Kohut noted, "Whenever A was disappointed in figures of authority in his life, or in Kohut himself in the transference, he became cold and haughty, adopted certain odd speech patterns, and combined a manifest sense of superiority with self consciousness, shame, and hypochondria."⁷⁸

What is interesting in the case of Mr. A is that three types of selfobject experiences were combined during psychotherapy. In other words, patients can display a hunger to idealize, to be twined and to be mirrored at the same time. Kohut observed,

In the transference manifestations of his specific structural defect, he seemed insatiable in two (tyrannically and sadistically asserted) demands that he directed toward the idealized analyst: (a) that the analyst share the patient's values, goals, and standards (and thus imbue them with significance through their idealization); and (b) that the analyst confirm through the expression of a warm glow of pleasure and participation that the patient had lived up to his values.⁷⁹

This case of idealization clearly illustrates that the types of selfobject experiences can be experienced as an integrated form without conflict. They take place in a therapeutic setting as growth-enhancing experiences to promote a cohesive sense of the self.

The classical psychoanalytic theorists usually regarded idealization as reaction formation of aggression. In his earlier writing, Kohut also agreed with the idea of such connection between idealization and a defense against aggression.⁸⁰ However, he pointed out that as they paid little attention to the positive value of an idealizing selfobject

⁷⁸ Strozier, *Heinz Kohut*, 57.

⁷⁹ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 62.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

experience, they were not able to find out its potency for the structuralization of the self. Consequently, he looked beyond the classical view of idealization as a defense mechanism to conceal aggression in his self psychology theory, and threw light on the developmental and therapeutic function of the idealizing selfobject experiences as a growth-promoting constituent of the cohesive self.

The idealizing attempts of a child can confront an unresponsive attitude by the idealized selfobjects which may be too narcissistically vulnerable or depressed to provide the idealizing selfobject function. In this case, the child's basic needs of using idealization can be frustrated and the failure of empathetic selfobject responses has a devastating effect on the structure of the self, resulting in not only a sense of exhaustion but also abnormal behaviors such as addictions or perversions. In addition, as a result of blocked selfobject needs, one continues to seek idealized selfobjects and cling to vaguely idealized ideas to maintain a feeling of perfection and cohesiveness derived from ongoing connection with them. However, eventually, this temporary equilibrium does not produce a sense of self-cohesion which the fragile and enfeebled self intended to reach. Instead, the transitory state leads the self to experience feelings of emptiness or powerlessness. The self's psychic firmness can be established in the continuous relationships with the available idealized selfobjects which are able to hold its idealizing needs and wishes.

3. The selfobject experience of twinship

In *The Analysis of the Self*, Kohut classified the mirroring selfobject experience into its various forms: merger, twinship(alter ego), and mirroring in the narrow sense. Later, he began to view the twinship selfobject experience as having its own important

meaning, and differentiated it from mirroring. He viewed the change “as the necessary outgrowth of our broadened clinical experience and our deepened understanding of the clinical phenomena.”⁸¹ Thus, twinship is an independent selfobject experience which has the same value as mirroring and idealization as a distinct pole in its own right. It represents a third sphere of the ongoing selfobject needs which indicate the need to “experience the presence of essential likeness.”⁸² The third selfobject needs are also called alter-ego needs. Its selfobject relationship evokes a feeling that we are “a human among humans,”⁸³ and originates in the sense of a child who wants to be just like his/her parents.

Kohut noted that the twinship selfobject experience occurs “where the patient assumes that the analyst is like him or that the analyst’s psychological makeup is similar to him.”⁸⁴ The innate selfobject needs are based on the human’s wishes of being one among others and obtaining a deep sense of security from maintaining this experience of belonging. An alter-ego selfobject is expected to faithfully duplicate what the self thinks, feels and, consequently, how it behaves so as to be elated by a strong sense of togetherness and sameness. Detrick also calls twinship an experience of sameness, a view confirmed by a letter from Kohut in which he mentions the “aliqueness” selfobject experience.⁸⁵ Consequently, the salient feature of twinship can be aptly described as

⁸¹ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 193.

⁸² Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 194.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Kohut, “The Psychoanalytic Treatment of Narcissistic Personality Disorders,” 489.

⁸⁵ Douglas Detrick, “Alterego Phenomena and the Alterego Transferences,” in

sharing subjective experiences such as thinking, doing, and feeling.

Kohut adduced practical cases in the child's participation in everyday events that can be helpful in understanding the twinship selfobject experience. For example, self-sustaining experiences grounded on a sense of likeness can be seen in the examples of the little girl silently working in the kitchen next to her mother or the little boy working next to his father.⁸⁶ In addition, his account of a patient's childhood shows the importance of the twinship selfobject experience in childhood. The patient recalled in her childhood memory that she silently kneaded dough on a small table beside her grandmother who was also kneading dough on a big table.⁸⁷ The psychological importance of her experience of friendly closeness with her grandmother became known later after her nuclear family moved away from her grandmother. The intensely lonely girl, who no longer stayed with her grandmother, developed the image of a genie in a bottle. She perceived the genie as a twin indicating a silent presence, "who would keep her company and made it possible for her to survive the hours of loneliness." As Kohut reports, "Just being together with the twin in silent communion was often the most satisfactory state."⁸⁸

The twinship selfobject experience emerges in the therapeutic relationship between the analyst and the patient as a form of twinship transference. The patient wants to feel and think what the analyst is feeling and thinking, or he/she wants the analyst to

Progress in Self Psychology, ed. Arnold Goldberg, vol. 1 (New York: Guilford Press, 1985).

⁸⁶ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 197.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 196.

experience what the patient is feeling and thinking. The strong need for sameness and closeness in the psychoanalytic setting may be experienced when the analyst and the patient share similar feelings, think congruous thoughts, or hold coinciding values. Kohut gave Greenson's example in which a patient sighed deeply. "The patient sits down, very depressed. And after a long silence he sighs deeply. The psychotherapist waits a while, and then he too sighs deeply."⁸⁹ Based on his clinical experiences with the patients who had the narcissistic needs for sameness and togetherness Michael Basch comments that "the most basic of these three is the alter ego or twinship experience. I prefer to call this the 'kinship experience' because it asserts and strengthens the sense of being a member of a group—the acceptance of 'being like' the other."⁹⁰

When the twinship selfobject needs are sufficiently experienced, a deep sense of security and belonging is formed and the archaic narcissistic needs are capable of transformation into more mature forms which contribute to positive psychic health, adaptation and achievement. Like the other selfobject needs, the alter-ego and twinship selfobjects pass through development throughout life, but are never relinquished. In addition, people continue to need what he called "the reassuring feeling of essential likeness,"⁹¹ through which one's feelings of separateness and aloneness are alleviated and diminished.

⁸⁹ Heinz Kohut, *The Kohut Seminars: On Self Psychology and Psychotherapy with Adolescents and Young Adults*, ed. Miriam Elson (W. W. Norton & Company, 1987), 67–68.

⁹⁰ Michael F. Basch, *Practicing Psychotherapy: A Casebook*, 1st ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 17.

⁹¹ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 193.

VI. Faulty Self Developments

The adult personality gradually emerges in normal development, in which archaic grandiosity and exhibitionism are transformed into higher forms such as goals and ambitions, while the idealized parent imago becomes inner ideals and values. What the development brings forth in one's later life is self-enhancement, "ego-syntonic ambitions", and the unique pleasures of a commitment to meaning.⁹²

This cohesive self does not come from its own effort. Instead, the successful creation of the self structure depends upon "the quality of the interaction between the self and its self-objects in childhood."⁹³ In Kohut's view, what determines the psychic development of the self is the empathic responses of parents or persons in the parent role. When they cannot provide the suitable empathic responses to the mirroring and idealizing needs of the child, disturbances in the development of the self occurs. The disorder will manifest itself as deficits or fragmentation of the self. Kohut wrote:

I believe...that defects in the self occur mainly as the result of empathy failures from the side of the self-objects—due to the narcissistic of the self-object; especially...due to the self-object's latent psychoses—and that even serious realistic deprivations (what one might classify as 'drive' [or need] frustration) are not psychologically harmful if the psychological environment responds to the child with a full range of undistorted empathic responses.⁹⁴

The defects in the self are due not to frustrated desires but unempathic selfobject responses. In the relationship with chronic unempathic selfobject, the development of the self becomes arrested with the archaic self and object configuration which are cut off

⁹² Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 111–119.

⁹³ Heinz Kohut and Ernest. S Wolf, "The Disorders of the Self and Their Treatment: An Outline," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 59 (1978): 414.

⁹⁴ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 87.

from conscious awareness. The self with the archaic configuration not only develops defensive structures which enable the self to shield itself against the unempathic attitudes of its selfobjects but also continue to strive to be mirrored and idealized.

When parents chronically fail to provide mirroring for the children, grandiosity is not modulated and integrated into the adult personality, but separately remains part of the inner world in its original form producing the wish to be completely admired and needing desperate attention.⁹⁵ Massive failures in mirroring cause two main psychic dysfunctions: “(1) the heightened tendency to hypochondriacal preoccupation, self-consciousness, shame, and embarrassment, and (2) the lowering of the capacity for healthy self-esteem and of ego-syntonic enjoyment of activity and success.”⁹⁶ In the same way, when the idealized selfobjects are unavailable to children, the archaic idealized parent imago remains detached or split off without being incorporated into the whole structure of personality. The interrupted development of the pole of idealization leads to the lowed self-esteem which is closely associated with lethargic, powerless, and worthless feeling. Such people continue to seek external omnipotent powers and their support and approval with which they attempt to fill their void.⁹⁷

Kohut employed the concepts of “vertical” and “horizontal” splits to visualize the defensively unintegrated, split off, and separated structures of the self.⁹⁸ The self regions which are conscious are divided into two areas. One area contains images of a grandiose

⁹⁵ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 69.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 79, 84, and 92.

⁹⁸ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 210–213.

and superior self and the other area entails images of a depressed and empty self. Different behavior patterns are developed by the two separated sections. The vertical split is necessary because it helps narcissistic patients to protect themselves from shame and embarrassment related to grandiosity. A horizontal split created by repression depends on the self from being aware of unacceptable selfobject needs and keeps painful and unacceptable ideational material out of consciousness. These defenses protect the nuclear self “against the reactivation of the infantile need for acceptance because of the fear of renewed traumatic rejection.”⁹⁹ An individual using this horizontal split “may experience himself...as chronically inferior, weak, and depressed.”¹⁰⁰

Kohut found that the minority of narcissistic patients develops only a horizontal split by which the aspects of the grandiose self are not sufficiently integrated into the rest of the personality, leading to narcissistic symptoms such as “diminished self-confidence, vague depression, absence of zest for work, and lack of initiative.”¹⁰¹ The more common group can be seen in the narcissistic personalities whose grandiose self is active in the personality but vertically split off from the control of the reality ego. These personalities display inconsistent patterns of behavior and feeling. Sometimes, they may be vain, boastful, and intemperately assertive with regard to their grandiose claims but, at other times, they may feel inferior, humiliated, and deprived.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Kenneth Newman, “Defense Analysis and Self Psychology,” in *Advances in Self Psychology*, ed. Arnold Goldberg (New York: International Universities Press, 1977), 266.

¹⁰⁰ Wolf, *Treating the Self*, 1988, 187.

¹⁰¹ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 177.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 176–177.

Narcissistic rage is a symptom common to the narcissistic personalities which express aggressive anger caused by real or imagined injury to the narcissistic vulnerability of the self. While the classical drive theorists think of aggression as the primary psychological drive, Kohut considers aggression as a by-product motivated by an injury to the self.

[L]et me emphasize again that rage and destructiveness...are not primary givens, but arise in reaction to the faulty empathic responses of the self-object. The rage...is not seen as a primary given—an original sin requiring expiation, a bestial drive that has to be “tamed”—but as a specific regressive phenomenon—a psychological fragment isolated by the breakup of a more comprehensive psychological configuration and thus dehumanized and corrupted...¹⁰³

In the same way, Kohut saw the infantile sexual drive not as the primary psychological configuration but as the secondary configuration derived from the fragmentation of the self. He articulated, “Drive manifestations in isolation establish themselves only after traumatic and/or prolonged failures in empathy from the side of the self-object environment.”¹⁰⁴ In his view, the perverse sexual drive is “the disintegration products of the self” that appear with the breakup of the self-selfobject matrix and then cause an attempt to bring enlivenment.¹⁰⁵ It is the fragmented self in consequence of the failures of the empathic responses that begins to be immersed in stimulating the perverse sexual activities. As Teicholtz summarizes, “Kohut...placed self and relationship at the center of human motivation and narrative and questioned Freud’s notion of sexual and aggressive drives as the primary organizers of personality, experience, and

¹⁰³ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 123–124.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁰⁵ Heinz Kohut, *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut 1950-1978*, ed. Paul Ornstein, vol. 1 (New York: International Universities Press, 2011), 103.

psychopathology.”¹⁰⁶

VII. Therapeutic Process

The resonance between the analyst and analysand plays a critical role in the therapeutic process of self psychology for bringing about change in the psyche. In classic psychoanalytic tradition, the therapist took a neutral attitude during sessions remaining nonverbal except for critically timed interpretations. However, for Kohut, the analyst is considered as a person whose “psyche is engaged in depth.” He/she employs “prelogical modes of perceiving and thinking” to achieve this analyst attitude. Thus, in Kohut’s view, “the continuous participation of the depth of the analyst’s psyche is a *sine qua non* for the maintenance of the analytic process.”¹⁰⁷ The empathetic-introspective stance is core to this process for two reasons: “First, the analysand must realize that he has been understood; only then, as a second step will the analyst demonstrate to the analysand the specific dynamic and genetic factors that explain the psychological content he had first empathetically grasped.”¹⁰⁸

In classical drive theory, mental illness is removed by being aware of the unknown sector called the unconscious, which was closely connected to its onset and meaning. Kohut also agreed that psychoanalysis cures the psychological symptoms by making conscious what had been unconscious. However, he also took a different view of successful analysis in which he put an emphasis on creating a “psychological matrix that

¹⁰⁶ Judith Guss Teicholz, *Kohut, Loewald, and the Postmoderns: A Comparative Study of Self and Relationship* (Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 1999), 6.

¹⁰⁷ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 251.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

encourages the reactivation of the original developmental tendency. In other words, the nuclear self of the patient is consolidated, the talents and skills of the analysand that are correlated to the nuclear self are revitalized, while other aspects of the self are discarded or receded.”¹⁰⁹ Consequently, the desirable result of analysis not only enlarges the conscious region into the unconscious area where the repressed drive-wishes compose, but, more importantly, “the heretofore isolated pathological sector of the personality establishes broad contact with the surrounding mature sectors, so that the preanalytic assets of the personality are strengthened and enriched.”¹¹⁰

In Kohut’s opinion, this optimal process can be experienced in selfobject transferences which are activated in the analytic relationship between the analyst and the patient. Kohut’s notion of transference is in contrast to Freud’s understanding of transference which signifies a repetition of childhood experiences by directing a “portion of the libidinal impulses...[which] has remained wholly in the unconscious” toward a figure.¹¹¹ On the contrary, for Kohut, transference can be explained with Gill’s definition of transference—“the patient’s experience of the relationship.” The core of Gill’s definition lies in the patient’s subjective experience of the relationship. Therefore, selfobject transferences can be interpreted as the patient’s experience of the relationship as “the reactivation...of structure-building attempts that had been thwarted during

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 178.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 32–33.

¹¹¹ Sigmund Freud, “The Dynamics of Transference,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, vol. 12 (London: Hogarth Press, 1981), 100.

childhood.”¹¹²

The origin of the selfobject transferences activated in the analytic setting can then be traced to unavoidable shortcomings of parental care that were then replaced by either a) “establishing a grandiose and exhibitionistic image of the self: the grandiose self”; or b) “by giving over the previous perfection [of primary narcissism] to an admired, omnipotent (transitional) self-object: the idealized parent imago.”¹¹³ When the selfobject transference is mobilized by the pole of the idealized parent imago, Kohut called it “idealizing transference.” When the selfobject transference is activated by the pole of the grandiose self, it is viewed as “mirror transference.”

Empathy is the way of enabling the analyst to see these selfobject transferences in which he/she serves as a selfobject. Kohut defined empathy as “vicarious introspection,”¹¹⁴ by which he meant that introspection in our own experience makes it possible to understand what it means for another person in resembling psychological situations. In this description, empathy has a value as a special type of information-gathering, a “value-neutral mode of observation: a mode of observation attuned to the inner life of man.”¹¹⁵ However, he gradually came to see empathy as “a powerful emotional bond between people,”¹¹⁶ such that “the mere presence of empathy, has a

¹¹² Merton M. Gill, *Psychoanalysis in Transition: A Personal View* (Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 1994), 156.

¹¹³ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 22–28.

¹¹⁴ Heinz Kohut, “Introspection, Empathy, and Psychoanalysis: An Examination of the Relationship Between Mode of Observation and Theory,” *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association* 7 (July 1959): 459.

¹¹⁵ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 84.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

beneficial, in a broad sense, a therapeutic effect—both in the clinical setting and in human life, in general.”¹¹⁷ His understanding of empathy was enlarged from a mere method of collecting information by introspection to an essential means of creating an important difference in the developmental lives of individuals.

In his last work on the subject of psychoanalytic therapy, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, Kohut laid out the thesis that empathic self-selfobject relationships are the psychological oxygen of life.¹¹⁸ Just as a child needs to be given the atmosphere which includes enough oxygen in order to grow healthily, he or she needs to be in an empathic environment to have a cohesive self.¹¹⁹ The importance of empathy in our daily lives is not only true for childhood development, as argued in the earlier writings, but also it remains true throughout life. In fact, for Kohut, the maturing process does not mean moving from dependency to individuation. Maturation is determined by the qualities and characteristics of relationships with selfobjects. The mature self-selfobject relationship is characterized as a shift “from the self relying for its nutriment on archaic modes of contact in the narcissistic sphere...to its ability to be sustained...by empathic resonance.”¹²⁰ Selfobjects are necessary throughout one’s entire life. In particular, the presence of selfobjects compensates to some extent for deficiencies in the formative years

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 85.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 47.

¹¹⁹ What Kohut means by the empathic environment for a child is that which “responds to his need to have his presence confirmed by the glow of parental pleasure and to his need to merge into the reassuring security and strength of the powerful adult Heinz Kohut, *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut 1950-1978*, ed. Paul Ornstein, vol. 2 (New York: International Universities Press, 2011), 848–849.

¹²⁰ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 70.

of one's life. Good therapy can be simply interpreted as a particular form of this development-facilitating human functioning in relationships, such that "the gradual acquisition of empathic contact with mature selfobjects is the essence of the psychoanalytic cure."¹²¹ In his view, "the restitution of the self" can be possible through "the reestablished empathic closeness to responsive self-objects."¹²²

There are two different perspectives in Kohut's theory about the role of empathy. At certain times, placing interpretation on the position of healing agent, he maintains that a dynamic or genetic interpretation can be prepared by means of the aid of empathy through which the analyst can collect the data. At other times, the beneficial and therapeutic effect as the healing agent was attributed to empathy. In other words, the experience of empathy itself began to be recognized as a therapeutic force in the psychoanalytic approach.¹²³

In his concluding point of his final address, "On Empathy" which was delivered three days before he died, Kohut tried to resolve this paradox related to the concept of empathy by suggesting that empathy has a developmental line.¹²⁴ That is his theoretical basis for the middle ground between the information-gathering empathy and curative empathy. According to Kohut, empathy advances from an early type of empathy, expressed in the mother's body-close holding, touching and smelling, to a later type of

¹²¹ Ibid., 66.

¹²² Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 281.

¹²³ Kohut's latter view on empathy is similar to Carl Rogers's understanding of empathy. In Rogers' view, empathy performs as the therapeutic quality for relieving mental suffering. Carl R. Rogers, *A Way of Being* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), 151.

¹²⁴ Kohut, "Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage," 532–535.

empathy, experienced in the still close, but slightly detached holding through words and facial expressions. He claimed that this progress from a lower form of empathy to a developmentally higher form of empathy can be observed in the treatment situation. Initially, the patient experiences a tightly-knit empathic merger by the understanding of the analyst. As the patient makes developmental progress, the analyst provides a higher form of experience-distant, or explanatory empathy instead of experience-near empathy. The analyst's role of this step is not unconditionally confirming what the patient feels and thinks but is one of explaining objective reality from the experiences of the patient's own private world. Kohut's argument shows that his empathy takes the form of an admixture of experience-near understanding and experience-distant explanation. According to him, correct interpretations serves as a trustworthy evidence that another person has understood him.¹²⁵ In this way, Kohut expanded the notion of empathy which contains elements of a means for an appropriate therapeutic action and the actual healing agent itself.

The cure process in the therapeutic treatment of self psychology requires a particular occasion besides the empathic responses of the analyst. The patient experiences cure within the context of the empathic environment referred to as "optimal frustration" through which firm self structure can be formed. It seems that Kohut first used this term to describe the psychoanalytic process.¹²⁶ In 1963 when Kohut still thought within the classical drive theory, he coined optimal frustration with "sufficient delay in satisfaction to induce tension-increase and disappointment in the attempt to obtain wish-fulfillment

¹²⁵ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 184.

¹²⁶ Bacal, "Optimal Responsiveness and the Therapeutic Process," 202–203.

through fantasies.”¹²⁷ He asserted that the internalization of innumerable experiences of optimal frustration enables the infantile impulses to be transformed into “the neutralizing psychological structure,” while “the barrier of defences” is created by frustrating experiences in the traumatic intensity.¹²⁸

In *The Analysis of the Self*, Kohut related the optimal frustration to the narcissistic equilibrium. In his view, optimal frustration plays an important role in maintaining the narcissistic equilibrium because tolerable disappointments make it possible to establish internal structures “which provide the ability for self-soothing and the acquisition of basic tension tolerance in the narcissistic realm.”¹²⁹ Objects performing selfobjects’ functions outside the self become internalized into the psychic structures which take on the selfobject tasks.

Kohut elaborated on this psychological process by employing the notion of “transmuting internalization,” which is an essential concept to explain how the psychoanalytic treatment has a therapeutic effect and how maturation takes place in a normal developmental process. This psychological process indicates internal reconstruction of archaic selfobject responses as a form of more stable psychic structure.

Little by little as a result of innumerable processes of microinternalization, the anxiety-assuaging, delay-tolerating, and other realistic aspects of the analyst’s image become part of the analysand’s psychological equipment. . . . In brief, through the process of transmuting internalization [via optimal frustration] new psychological structure is built.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Kohut, *The Search for the Self*, 2011, 1:356.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:369.

¹²⁹ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 64.

¹³⁰ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 323.

The therapeutic procedure reproduces structure-building and the accruing process which the patient did not previously experience in his/her development, because it entails not only the analyst's empathic responses but also unavoidable optimal frustration. When a patient meets an analyst who provides the utmost mental and emotional support through empathy, he/she reactivates archaic needs for archaic gratification, based on a body-close relationship with empathic selfobjects. However, he/she also realizes that the analyst has limited capacity to bring archaic gratification because the analyst relies on verbal empathy alone as the means of healing. This therapeutic setting creates the necessary optimal frustration.¹³¹ Even if the patient feels frustrated by not being gratified, the frustration helps him/her to internalize soothing voices and images of empathic selfobjects which become settled as a permanent institute in the psychic structure. As a result of the metabolizing of empathy, the patient begins to gradually give up his/her dependence on the archaic objects, and opens himself/herself to the presence of an understanding other.

Although optimal frustration is necessary in the process of human psychic development, the most important thing in the development of human beings is empathy. The traumatic deficiency of empathic responses causes psychopathology from Kohut's perspective. In Kohut's opinion, human beings "can no more survive psychologically in a psychological milieu that does not respond empathically to him than he can survive physically in an atmosphere that contains no oxygen."¹³² The essential nutrient in a normal psychological development of a human being is empathic responses of selfobjects.

¹³¹ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 99–104.

¹³² Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 253.

VIII. Group Self

According to Kohut's self psychology, the development of the self is facilitated by the empathic responses of selfobjects and one's inner potential can become highly feasible through selfobject experiences. Under optimal circumstances, archaic grandiosity is transformed into ambitions and assertiveness, and archaic idealizations change into inner ideals and values by internalizing the psychological functions of mirroring and idealized selfobjects. However, when significant selfobjects are not able to provide the selfobject functions properly, the self fails to internalize the functions and constantly searches for external selfobjects which are available to mirror its grandiosity and to satisfy its idealizing needs. In other words, the absence or nonperformance of selfobjects produces deficits of the self leading to the psychopathological symptoms of the self. The behaviors of the self with defects are motivated by its wish to conceal its undeveloped structure. The restructuring of the self can be possible in the relationship with empathic selfobjects which can give timely and empathic intervention to the patients with self deficits.

In Kohut's opinion, the individual self-developmental process and its malfunctioning due to environmental defect can be also applicable to "the group self," which Kohut first introduced in his paper, "Creativeness, Charisma, Group Psychology: Reflections on the Self-Analysis of Freud." In this work, he offers the relationship between Freud and the psychoanalytic community as an example of the psychological dynamics between a leader and a group. Kohut claimed that analysts cannot carefully reflect on Freud's theories and concepts, because they are deeply immersed in his theories

and ideas through the close study of *The Interpretation of Dream*. In other words, “The pull toward establishing a gross and uncontrolled identification with Freud is strong.”¹³³ The powerful idealization of Freud by psychoanalysts enabled the psychoanalytic community to maintain its psychological equilibrium. At the same time, the idealized imago of Freud created “powerful emotional bonds” in the community which ensure its essential continuity and sameness.¹³⁴ However, as the individual psychoanalyst’s narcissistic energies were channeled through the shared ego ideal, creative activities closely associated with the grandiose self have not been developed in the community. In other words, the strong idealization with Freud has impeded “the ambitious strivings and the cognate self-expanding urge toward new discoveries.”¹³⁵

Kohut’s psychoanalytic study of groups led him to believe the existence of a psychological structure applicable to the groups, that is, the group self. In his view, the group self indicates “members deeply felt inner experience of the group ideals and goals.”¹³⁶ In other words, the group self exists when members in a group conceive the group as “a deep going structure, a portion of the self” which “represents a collective project focused on achieving the goals and ideals of the group.”¹³⁷ The group self is a

¹³³ Heinz Kohut, “Creativeness, Charisma, Group Psychology: Reflections on the Self-Analysis of Freud,” in *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut, 1950-1978*, ed. Paul H. Ornstein, vol. 2 (New York: International Universities Press, 1991), 797.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 798.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 800–801.

¹³⁶ Walter N. Stone, “Group-as-a-Whole: A Self Psychological Perspective,” in *Contributions of Self Psychology to Group Psychotherapy: Selected Papers*, ed. Walter N. Stone (London: Karnac Books, 2011), 35.

¹³⁷ Walter N. Stone, ed., *Contributions of Self Psychology to Group Psychotherapy:*

term which exists in the members' inner experience livening up the group into a self structure which pursues its own values and ambitions. This term is very useful to investigate the formation, cohesion, and fragmentation of a particular group. Kohut described the concept of the group self as follows:

It will have become obvious to those who are familiar with my recent work that I am suggesting, as a potentially fruitful approach to a complex problem, that we posit the existence of a certain psychological configuration with regard to the group—let us call it the 'group self'—which is analogous to the self of the individual. We are then in a position to observe the group self as it is formed, as it is held together, as it oscillates between fragmentation and reintegration, etc.—all in analogy to phenomena of individual psychology to which we have comparatively easy access in the clinical situation.¹³⁸

Kohut is assuming that there is a certain psychological structure in the group similar to the individual self as “the collective experience of we-ness.”¹³⁹ In addition, he asserts that the group self “can be conceived of, like the self of the individual, as being laid down and formed in the energetic arc between mirrored selfobject greatness (ambitions) and admired selfobject perfection (ideals).”¹⁴⁰ In addition, in an interview not long before his death, Kohut maintained that the group self can be explained according to the degree of cohesion or fragmentation just as one can also understand an individual from a psychological cohesion or deficits of the self.¹⁴¹

Selected Papers (London: Karnac Books, 2011), xx.

¹³⁸ Kohut, “Creativeness, Charisma, Group Psychology,” 837.

¹³⁹ Charles B. Strozier, *The Leader: Psychological Essays* (New York: Springer, 2011), 47.

¹⁴⁰ Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 82.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 206–207.

However, the group self is not a concept which has a clearly defined boundary seen in a specific measurable sociological entity like class or race. The term is usually used with regard to the group's selfobjects, the leaders in Kohut's works. In other words, analogous to an individual self and its selfobjects, "a group self can only be grasped empathically from within the experience of we-ness."¹⁴² Therefore, the group self can be described and defined in the transference relationship with the group's selfobjects which signify the leaders who may occur in various forms—artists, politicians, religious types, or military heroes. They are objects who respond to and confirm a sense of group grandiosity, and provide opportunities for idealistic mergers, in particular, when a group self experiences a kind of depleted narcissistic state due to historical crises of war, and radical political and economic changes.¹⁴³ During these periods of collective debilitation and tension, a group searches for a strong and soothing selfobject who allows fusion and idealization. That is, in such periods of crisis and changes, the enfeebled group self attempts to gratify their selfobject needs and to make up for their sense of defect by being linked to the strong and charismatic leaders who serve to provide identification of group greatness and enhance the group need for union. Such leaders play important role in sustaining and channeling the motivations of the group self.

Kohut investigated the leaders and their style of leadership more closely, and he analyzed their leadership in terms of their charismatic or messianic qualities. In his view, a leader can take on a charismatic or messianic type of leadership in relation to a group.

¹⁴² Strozier, *The Leader*, 48.

¹⁴³ Won-jae Lee, "A Study on the Problems of Speculative Drives in the Aspects of Education as Well as in Gwageo during the Late Choson Dynasty," *Korean Journal of Education Research* 48, no. 4 (2010): 6.

When a leader provides grandiosity in the power of the charismatic leadership, he/she is able to strengthen the weakened pole of ambitions of a group self. On the contrary, when a leader shows a sense of values in the moral righteousness through messianic leadership, he/she is able to bolster the declined pole of values and ideals of a group self.¹⁴⁴ In other words, while charisma is closely associated with the pole of grandiosity, messiahship functions in connection with the pole of idealization. The occurrence of the charismatic or messianic leadership and its decline are contingent upon a selfobject need of a group self at a particular point in time.

Kohut provided some historical examples for this discussion about the group self. In Particular, he presented the leadership styles of Churchill and Hitler who led two former World War Two hostile nations, England and Germany, respectively. When England was confronted with the greatest crisis in the war, the British people longed for a strong and charismatic leader whose function was performed by Churchill “whose mystique emanated...predominantly from the grandiose self, not from the idealized superego.”¹⁴⁵ They attempted to feel great and mighty by being merged with him and with his steadfast belief in his and the nation’s power and strength. However, when their selfobject needs to feel inseparably infused with a charismatic figure were gratified after their victory, they were able to turn to other leaders who were not charismatic.

Kohut also examined Nazi-Germany and its actions.¹⁴⁶ His analysis was directed towards the deprived German group self due to the absence of sustaining selfobject

¹⁴⁴ Kohut, “Creativeness, Charisma, Group Psychology,” 827.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 827–828.

¹⁴⁶ Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 80–94.

responses before Hitler seized absolute power, which resulted in a serious acute disorder displaying the form of serious fragmentation. When the German people experienced a painful loss of the object which caused the damage of its vitality and cohesion, they searched for a strong charismatic and messianic leader who could meet their selfobject needs. Therefore, the result was a product of its particular historical context in which the German group self turned to Hitler who exploited German sensibilities about their loss.

Even if Hitler can be considered a narcissistic personality who suffered narcissistic injuries producing a chronic rage that led to a pathological destructiveness, his specific personality was very effective in relation to the weakness of the German group self and its state of fragmentation.¹⁴⁷ Hitler was a kind of the leader who understood his environment “only as an extension of his own narcissistic universe,” and he comprehended others “only insofar...as they can serve as tools toward his narcissistic ends, or insofar as they stand in the way of his purposes.”¹⁴⁸ In Kohut’s opinion, this narcissistic personality made it easy to have stunted empathy which is unable to comfort the grieving and assist the injured group self with care and sensitivity.¹⁴⁹ That is why the German people narcissistically injured after the first World War blindly followed the leadership of Hitler. Kohut’s discussion about the types of leadership and their effect on a group self shows how a charismatic and messianic leader can serve as a selfobject for the group self in a particular historical and environmental circumstances.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 82.

¹⁴⁸ Kohut, “Creativeness, Charisma, Group Psychology,” 834.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 840.

The concept of “the group self” has been expanded by other self psychologists who were interested in applying self psychological constructs to group psychotherapy. They attempted to explain the group dynamic in the frame of the relationship between the self and the selfobject. Stolorow and his colleagues approached the psychological process of the group in the intersubjective frame. They viewed the group as an intersubjective space in which the individual intersubjectively participates in the creation of a selfobject that he/she is able to use.¹⁵⁰ Consequently, this individual intersubjective engagement in the creation of a selfobject generates a unique group dynamic by which a specific group has its own system as an individual self. The individual self would be influenced by this group dynamic in shaping its own self structure. Bacal writes “in the group, the state of the self...depends upon the quality of the relationship between the self and the selfobject matrix of the group.”¹⁵¹

Ashbach and Schermer developed the self psychological group therapy which has many implications for understanding a psychological process of a particular group. They provided seven stages of group therapy which describes a changing procedure of a group through its relationship with a selfobject: (1) “orientation,” (2) “group regression,” (3) “establishment of selfobject transference,” (4) “intensification of narcissistic effects,” (5) “reemergence of horizontal split off states of neediness,” (6) “transmuting internalization

¹⁵⁰ Robert D. Stolorow, Bernard Brandchaft, and George E. Atwood, *Psychoanalytic Treatment: An Intersubjective Approach* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1995).

¹⁵¹ Howard Bacal, “Contributions from Self Psychology,” in *Handbook of Contemporary Group Psychotherapy*, ed. Robert H. Klein, Harold S. Bernard, and David L. Singer (Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 1992), 163.

and integration,” and (7) “termination.”¹⁵² Even if they presented the stage model for applying it to longer-term group therapy, the stage model is helpful in examining psychological processes occurring within a particular group as a whole which has its own purposes and ideals.

Expanding Kohut’s concept of “the group self,” Karterud and Stone defined it as “a collective project” with inherent ambitions, ideals, and resources.¹⁵³ Their definition of the term contributed to discovering a new selfobject function which has not previously been perceived, “a discursive selfobject function.”¹⁵⁴ In their opinion, the reason why people feel strengthened after a group session is partly because they participated “in a kind of discourse, rich in cognitive and affective perspectives and nuances, that the individual is unable to perform for himself” because the conversation is “a supraindividual discourse event.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² In phase I, the beginning group talks about its basic rules. In phase II, the members “regress safely to points of narcissistic fixation or derivatives thereof.” In phase III, stable narcissistic transference is formed. In phase IV, the intensification of the narcissistic injuries occurs due to the selfobject transferences. In phase V, states of intense neediness for grandiosity “profoundly blocked by an empathic wall, is reemerged. In phase VI, the mature level of a self structure is created within the supportive selfobject matrix through the gradual internalization of the selfobject functions into the personality. In phase VII, the therapy is terminated on the basis of suitable indicators which tell that the patient is now able to continue to grow without therapy. For more information about the seven stages of group therapy, refer to C. Ashbach and V.L. Schermer, “The Role of the Therapist from a Self Psychological Perspective,” in *Handbook of Contemporary Group Psychotherapy*, eds. Robert H. Klein, Harold S. Bernard, and David L. Singer (Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 1992), 296–307.

¹⁵³ Sigmund Karterud and Walter N. Stone, “The Group Self: A Neglected Aspect of Group Psychotherapy,” *Group Analysis* 36, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 10.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Strozier also employed the concept of the group self to analyze the historical figure, Abraham Lincoln. First, he posited the existence of a northern psyche. This cohesive group self was divided by a collective paranoia and rage attributed to Lincoln and his antislavery friends who were expressing narcissistic rage toward the fragmenting self due to their misunderstanding that slavery and the slave power would cause a major threat to Republican institutions. The collective rage could be resolved only by war—“the collective version of the temper tantrum.”¹⁵⁶ Strozier’s discussion which faithfully follows Kohut’s concept of the group self shows again the relationship between a leader and the group self, and the leader’s strong influence on the group self and its psychological process.

The subsequent discussions on the group self inherited Kohut’s argument that group has its own ambitions and goals. Even if some of their interests were focused on the group therapy and its psychological process, their studies were all based on the presupposition that group has its own system, analogous to the individual self structure. This discussion can be applicable to the group self of a nation as is explained in detail in the next chapter that analyzes the psychological processes in the 1907 Revival Movement in Korea.

IX. Kohut’s Understanding on Religion

According to the biographer, Charles Strozier, Kohut never wrote a book or paper regarding religion and spirituality, but he was interested in those topics.¹⁵⁷ Raised as a

¹⁵⁶ Strozier, *Lincoln’s Quest for Union*, 201.

¹⁵⁷ Strozier, *Heinz Kohut*, 327.

secular Jew, Kohut attended services at a Unitarian Church in Hyde Park near his home in Chicago, and he became acquainted with the minister and maintained a friendship with the minister. Kohut even gave occasional sermons to the congregation. Strozier stated that Kohut was a regular reader of *Christian Century* magazine and welcomed the attempt to analyze the religious phenomena in terms of self psychology¹⁵⁸ and to apply his ideas to pastoral theology.¹⁵⁹

Kohut had a different opinion from that of Freud who had a negative perspective on religion.¹⁶⁰ Kohut criticized Freud for applying the “yardstick of scientific values to

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Angella Son’s discussion on “the Relational Self” is one of the good examples of the application of Kohut’s self psychology to pastoral theology. As a result of interdisciplinary dialogue between Karl Barth’s understanding of relationality as human essence and Heinz Kohut’s understanding of narcissistic phenomena, Angella Son developed the concept of the Relational Self which can be seen as a new subject matter and an aim of pastoral theology and care. Relationality of the relational self can be described as six dimensions: “relational, dynamic, wholistic, unilateral, mutual, and doxological.” (1) Relational: Human beings’ self love is defined in terms of object relationship (2) Dynamic: The central self can be seen as dynamic. (3) Wholistic: Human beings should be understood as a whole self. (4) Unilateral: For the self’s development, another’s empathy should be given to the self. (5) Mutual: Empathy has to be sustained to maintain the developed state of the self. (6) Doxological: The developed selves naturally exhibit the quality of joy and thanksgiving. Angella Son, “Theological Anthropology and Narcissism: Interdisciplinary Dialogue between Karl Barth’s Theological Anthropology and Heinz Kohut’s Psychology of the Self. Human Being as Relational Self” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 2000), 223–274; Son, “Relationality in Kohut’s Psychology of the Self.,” 81–92.

¹⁶⁰ According to Freud, religious ideas are based on the psychological dynamic of the father-son relationship which provides the motivation for the formation of religion. Religion provides its followers with the ways to endure the sense of helplessness and vulnerability, by means of the regression to childhood, when children are protected from dread by the help of their fathers. Consequently, according to Freud, a belief can be defined as “an illusion when a wish-fulfillment is a prominent factor in its motivation.” (Sigmund Freud, “The Future of an Illusion,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, vol. 21 (London: Hogarth Press, 1981), 30.)

religion.”¹⁶¹ In his opinion, Freud did not see the full range of the aspects of religion and the true purpose of religion. There are three great cultural enterprises for Kohut which are science, art, and religion. In his view, religion occupies the specific position in the human being’s culture which can be related to selfobject functions. Science is related to explanations. Art deals with beauty. On the contrary, what religion handles is to “shore up, to hold together, sustain, to make harmonious, to strengthen man’s self.”¹⁶²

In the concluding portion of *The Restoration of the Self*, Kohut quoted a passage from the play of the playwright Eugene O’Neill’s play, *The Great God Brown*, to show how valid the religious experience is. In this play, Brown declares, “Man is born broken. He lives by mending. The grace of God is glue.”¹⁶³ Kohut recounted that this quotation described human beings’ deep “yearning to achieve the restoration of [their] self.”¹⁶⁴ In other words, he positively evaluated the religious experience and its metaphor which are closely associated with human beings’ strong desire toward the recovery of the self.

Kohut made only a passing reference to religion and did not give any details in his major books. The majority of his references about religion were connected with his concept of the selfobject experiences. When the issue of religion was raised in an interview with Strozier written in the book, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, Kohut commented that “as a supportive selfobject, religion is not poor by a long shot. Freud’s concern was with religion as irrational dogma. But he ignored the supportive aspect of

¹⁶¹ Strozier, *Heinz Kohut*, 328.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 287.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

religion.”¹⁶⁵ In another interview concerned with “cultural selfobjects,” one of which is religion, he commented on the need to be:

accepted and mirrored—there has to be the gleam in some mother’s eye which says it is good you are here and I acknowledge your being here and I am uplifted by your presence. There is also the other need: to have somebody strong and knowledgeable and calm around with whom I can temporarily merge, who will uplift me when I am upset. Originally, that is an actual uplifting of the baby by the man or woman and enjoying him or her, or following in his or her footsteps.¹⁶⁶

What Kohut tried to discuss the fact that religion can perform as a selfobject in humans’ culture just as parents enjoying their children does for them. Religion can positively influence the psychic world of human beings and strengthen the structure of the self by providing selfobject functions.

First of all, Kohut recognized that the psychological function of religion is deeply involved in the idealizing selfobject experience.¹⁶⁷ In Strozier’s view, human beings can hardly remove the concept of God which has a considerable impact on them “because there must be something idealizable, something that nears perfection or that is perfect, something that one wants to live up to, something that lifts one up.”¹⁶⁸ When people experience the presence of God through inspiring sermons, songs, rituals, words, and the rhythms of the church year, they can feel a sense of uplift and healing by being linked to the omnipotent and idealizable being. The unstable and debilitated state of the self

¹⁶⁵ Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 261.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 226–227.

¹⁶⁷ Kohut gave some examples of two basic narcissistic configurations in light of adult experience. He said that “national and racial pride and prejudice” have a close connection with the grandiose self, and the relationship of the true believer to God is closely associated with the relationship to the idealized parent imago. Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 27.

¹⁶⁸ Strozier, *Heinz Kohut*, 329.

aroused by its deficits and fragmentation is soothed and uplifted by these elements of religion. Strozier explained this sense of uplift through the concept of God “at its most idealized and philosophical level” by citing Kohut’s saying, “There is something about this world in our experience that does lift us up beyond the simplicity of an individual existence, that lifts us into something higher, enduring, or as I would rather say, timeless.”¹⁶⁹

Secondly, for Kohut, religious experiences can satisfy the mirroring selfobject needs, through what can be called God’s grace, which indicates that “there is something given to you, some innate perception of your right to be here and to assert yourself, and that somebody will smile at you and will respond to you and will be in turn with your worthwhileness.”¹⁷⁰ A deep-rooted belief in the existence of a transcendent Being which accepts and acknowledges the invaluable worth of the humanity has a similar force as does the gleam in the mother’s eye that provides cohesion for ourselves. The crumbled self can feel relieved and integrated by God’s being on the side of the self mirrored and admitted as it is by the ultimate authority.

Thirdly, the alter-ego or twinship selfobject experience can also be found in religion from the viewpoint of Kohut. In particular, religion can satisfy the twinship needs by shaping a community of a congregation and sacred environment where believers participate in rituals and services in which they confess a common faith, read the same scripture, sing the same songs, and listen to the same sermons. The same experiences

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 332.

¹⁷⁰ Charles B. Strozier, “Heinz Kohut’s Struggles with Religion,” in *Religion, Society, and Psychoanalysis: Readings in Contemporary Theory*, ed. Janet Liebman Jacobs and Donald Capps (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), 170.

within the sacred space of the church meet the twinship selfobject needs by promoting a sense of togetherness and sameness. Strozier explained that the shared religious experiences “tend to flatten out what might otherwise be felt as significant differences between people in terms of personality, background, wealth, profession, or even appearance.”¹⁷¹ The same-minded participants in the sacred community build up the deepening human system of connections in the shared experiences considering as one of God’s children.

Consequently, the deepest needs of the self can be met by the religious provision of the three selfobject experiences for believers. However, it is impossible to clearly draw a line among the three forms of them because these selfobject experiences are mixed in actual relationships. What is more important for Kohut is not the specific mode of the experience but the fact that the experience “brings about the (re)establishment of a cohesive and durable narcissistic object relationship.”¹⁷² In other words, the concept of God is experienced simultaneously as an omnipotent transcendent figure with which they want to be fused, as an extension of their greatness which is mirrored back to them, and as a human-like provider of shared experiences facilitating a sense of kinship and likeness.

Kohut’s terms of the group self and his understanding of religion serve as key tools to analyze the 1907 revival movement together with his concept of selfobject experiences. They provide a theoretical foundation for the my study which is focused on how the Korean group self’s development was interrupted in the era of historical crises of war,

¹⁷¹ Strozier, *Heinz Kohut*, 171–172.

¹⁷² Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 123.

dislocation, and transformation, and how the religious experiences produced in the 1907 revival movement responded to the needs of the Korean fragmented self's selfobject needs.

In this chapter, I explored Heinz Kohut's self psychology by concentrating on his understanding of selfobjects in relation to the self: 1) mirroring, 2) idealizing, and 3) twinship. Mirroring selfobjects sustain the self by providing the experience of affirmation, and recognizing the self's grandness and assertiveness. The experience results in the positive self-esteem, and the development of sound ambitions and purposes in life. Idealizing selfobjects allow the person to have the experience of being part of an admired and respected selfobject so that he/she can foster ideals and values in life. Finally, twinship selfobjects sustain the self by satisfying the need to experience the presence of essential sameness. The twinship selfobject relationship allows us to feel that we are a human among humans.

In the next chapter, I use Heinz Kohut's psychoanalytic self psychological concepts of three types of selfobjects and selfobject experiences for analyzing the 1907 Revival Movement. From the eyes of Kohut's self psychology, the religious experiences shaped in the Movement served as the therapeutic process in which the selfobject's needs of mirroring, idealizing, and alter-ego could occur resulting in the transformation of pathological narcissism into a more mature forms. In other words, the fragmented Korean group self, due to specific historical adversities was soothed and uplifted by the religious selfobjects which contributed to the maintenance of the cohesiveness of the group self.

CHAPTER FOUR

A SELF PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE 1907 REVIVAL MOVEMENT

The focus of this chapter is to analyze the 1907 Korean Revival Movement from the perspective of Kohut's self psychology. To accomplish this task, I examine the psychological state of the Korean group self in terms of its matrix of the relationships with selfobjects. Therefore, included in the analysis are 1) the selfobject functions of *Joseon Jujahak* in the early years of the Joseon dynasty, 2) its gradual failures of the empathic response to selfobject needs in the late Joseon period, 3) the gradual disruption to the sense of the Korean group self, 4) the Korean group self's continual attempts to find substitutes for the weakened and fading *Joseon Jujahak*, and 5) the selfobject functions of Christianity in this period, particularly, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The fragmentation of the Korean group self started gradually in the late Joseon period. In my opinion, *Joseon Jujahak* was a significant selfobject to the Korean group self, sustaining the image of its self-worth and a sense of self-cohesion in the early years of the Joseon dynasty. However, it gradually began to fail to sustain and mirror its selfobject needs due to the disruption of the peasant economy and political system which supported the Confucian society, and the changing international circumstances in the later of Joseon dynasty. Consequently, the Korean group self gradually began to be devaluated because of the loss of the selfobjects in the late Joseon period. However, the disruption to the sense of self reached its peak in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth

century when Joseon started to lose its sovereignty and the country and its people were exploited by foreign forces and corrupted officials.

My analysis chiefly focuses on the reduced self development of the Korean group self in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and its restoration by the selfobject experiences provided by the newly introduced Christianity, emerging as replaced selfobjects in Joseon society. However, as far as it helps the explanation, I also explain the gradual fragmentation of the Korean group self due to social changes, and the continual attempts to find selfobjects to recover the devaluated self development in the late Joseon period.

I. Selfobject Functions of the Political, Social, and Religious Systems of the Joseon Dynasty

The task to which I now turn is that of considering the selfobject functions of the political, social, and religious systems of the Joseon Dynasty as a first step to examine the self psychological implications of the 1907 Korean Revival Movement. Given that the Joseon Dynasty was founded essentially upon a hierarchical structure based on Confucianism, the task is closely connected to an examination of the selfobject functions of the Joseon dynasty's hierarchical society and Confucianism for the Korean group self.

From its earliest era in the 14th century, the Joseon society was based on a hierarchical social system in which the dominating class known as the *yangban* strictly controlled the village societies. However, it is important to note that the hierarchical society was able to provide a system of moral ideals and mutual aid for people which performed idealizing and mirroring selfobject functions. In the early period of the Joseon

dynasty, the demographic composition of social classes reflected a pyramid shape. The ruling group constituted a small fraction of the society. They possessed not only an ideal value system but also a sense of responsibility as the dominant group which was derived from Confucianism.

The main function of the Joseon village society was also to build up an organization that facilitated mutual cooperation. The ideal goal of the village society focused on forming a mutual aid function of the organization, mobilizing and managing the resources for the relief of poor people in the villages, not on creating an efficient economic system to maximize profits. In this social environment which emphasized ideal moral values and mutual cooperation, the idealizing and mirroring selfobject functions were available for the Korean group self.¹

Kohut uses the term, the group self, in relation to the group's selfobjects, the leaders.² In his view, the group self has the three constituents, as the self of the individual, that is, a grandiose self, an idealized self, and one's skills and talents.³ The leaders as

¹ Joseon developed "a nonofficial, local, and autonomous social organization" known as *Hyangyak* to educate the masses in Confucian ways. The *hyangyak* system emphasized mutual relationships based upon Confucian teachings, and facilitated a community-based spirit in the Korean villages where "the lives of the people depended upon the family, the clans, and communal mutual aids. Chai-sik Chung, "Korea: The Continuing Syncretism," in *Religion and Societies: Asia and the Middle East*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1982), 616.

² Even if Freud did not use terms such as the group self, he explained a psychological process of uniting individuals into a group through the psychic mechanism of identification. In his opinion, group bonds are maintained by the members' same ego ideal which is created by identifying the group leader. Sigmund Freud, "Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, vol. 18 (London: Hogarth Press, 1981), 116.

³ Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 82–83.

selfobjects for the group self represent the group sense of grandiosity with which the group self can identify, and the idealizable figures into which the group self can merge. It is through the leaders' empathic responses that the group self's selfobject needs are sustained and channeled.

The dominating leaders in the early Joseon society served as idealizable figures by providing ideal morals and social norms for the Korean group self. In addition, the dominating group was able to retain the group grandiosity through its efforts to actualize a utopian society in which people voluntarily abide by the norms and mutually cooperate. The leaders also empathically responded to the daily needs of the common people. It can be said that the hierarchical system in the early Joseon period was based on the dominating group's moral duties and social responsibilities.

In addition, the *Joseon Jujahak*, which was the philosophical and religious foundation of the Joseon hierarchical society, can be seen as buttressing the group leaders' selfobject functions theoretically. The three themes of the *Joseon Jujahak* can be characterized as 1) "humanity as a heavenly being,"⁴ 2) "community-based consciousness,"⁵ and 3) the achievement of unity with the Divine.⁶ The fundamental idea of the nature of personhood for the *Joseon Jujahak* system is "humanity as a heavenly being." Its understanding of human beings are well-revealed in the expression, *Cheoninmugan* ("No gap between Heaven and Human beings") which became the

⁴ Yo Han Bae, "The Divine-Human Relationship in Korean Religious Traditions: The Presence and Transformation of the Themes from the *T'an Gun* Myth in the *Choson Chujahak* Tradition and Korean Protestant Christianity" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University School of Theology, 2007), 88.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 88–134.

mainstream notion in Joseon Confucianism due to the academic labor of Yi Saek, the philosophical founder of the *Joseon Jujahak*.⁷ From the Confucian perspective, a human being is, in essence, the same as a Heavenly being because Heaven is closely connected to the inner nature of human beings. In other words, in Yi Saek's opinion, a human being can be regarded as "an ultimate spiritual being who can be united with both Heaven and all natural beings."⁸

It is only in the light of the conception of "humanity as a heavenly being" that a "community-based consciousness" well-expressed in the term, "*Uri*(a Korean form of We-ness),"⁹ can yield any significant meaning. All human beings have the same ontological core of human nature derived from Heaven. Due to the fundamental common ground of viewing a human being as essentially the same as a Heavenly being, not only can one form a positive relationship with other human beings as a person who has dignity, but also, one can build up an empathic understanding among human beings in the process of being considerate toward others.¹⁰

In the Joseon community, where all human beings share the same quality as a

⁷ Ibid., 72–74.

⁸ Ibid., 89.

⁹ *Uri* does not mean a group, a social unit of individuals which refers to an aggregate of individuals. Its meaning is closely associated with a specific type of group which is an empathy-oriented and relationally connected community. This meaning is in line with Choi and Choi's definition of *Uri* which defines the Korean We-ness as a group which is characterized by its specific togetherness, warmth, intimacy and acceptance by which its members are emotionally and psychologically interconnected. Sang-Chin Choi and Soo-Hyang Choi, "We-Ness: A Korean Discourse of Collectivism," in *Psychology of the Korean People: Collectivism and Individualism*, ed. Gene Yoon and Sang-Chin Choi (Seoul: Dong-A, 1994), 67.

¹⁰ "The Divine-Human Relationship in Korean Religious Traditions," 89.

heavenly being, everyone encourages both themselves and others to realize the true aspect of their own self on the basis of empathic understanding. The distinctive feature of the community lies in placing emphasis on achieving unity with the Divine and recovering one's quality of Heavenly-being. Even though the Joseon society was highly hierarchical, members of the society shared this faith that all human beings were born with the quality of being heavenly being. What was important to the leaders in the Joseon society was to encourage members in the society to realize this quality and to guide a human society to become similar to a heavenly society. Therefore, the social hierarchy was considered as a kind of a role in the society within the *Joseon Jujahak* system in the early Joseon period which developed both personal ways and social communal ways of realizing the true self as a Heavenly being, thus transforming the earthly society into heaven-like society.¹¹

It is to be noted that the selfobject functions can be found in the three themes of the *Joseon Jujahak* tradition underlying every aspect of the Joseon dynasty. In other words, the contributions of the *Joseon Jujahak* tradition to the psychological health of the Korean group self include the development of the cohesive self by providing selfobject experiences, such as the mirroring selfobject experience, the idealizing selfobject experience, as well the twinship selfobject experience.

Jujahak's view of personhood as "humanity as a Heavenly being" and its efforts to be united with the Divine satisfied the Korean group self's idealizing selfobject needs by

¹¹ For example, *Joseon Jujahak* emphasized "quiet sitting" as a personal way of achieving a heavenly being through which "one's mind can be freed from both worldly attachment and all mental activities" and hypothesized a "society of the Great Unity" as the paradigm of the ideal society. (Ibid., 118, 120.)

identifying a Heavenly being as a source of idealized strength and calmness with the Korean group self. The *Joseon Jujahak* raised a human being to the status of a heavenly being. This perspective made it possible for the Korean group self to feel closely connected to Heaven which is the source of power and strength. Its basic principle of respect for human dignity played a key role of lifting up a sense of the group self.

In addition, the “community-based consciousness” provided the Korean group self with the selfobject experience of mirroring and twinship. The common foundation considering all human beings as the same, in essence, as a Heavenly being allowed the Joseon people to feel that we are “a human among humans” and to develop a sense of togetherness, connectedness, and belonging. The sense of kinship aroused the twinship selfobject experience which strengthened the bond of the Korean people’s relationships and developed the community-based consciousness. *Jujahak*’s thoughts focused on relationship and community made the Korean people function as selfobjects toward one another through the empathic understanding by which they experienced mirroring and affirmation. Consequently, the selfobject functions of the Joseon *Jujahak* contributed to building up the cohesiveness of the Korean group self in the early Joseon period.

In the later period of the Joseon dynasty, the *Joseon Jujahak* tradition started to fail to function as the selfobject for the Korean group self due to the devastation of the peasant economy and the demise of social hegemony. As the economic basis for maintaining the traditional values began to break down due to the effects of a war with Japan in 1592, the people’s attention was predominantly directed to economic growth and effectiveness and they used the *Joseon Jujahak*’s tradition for the purpose of gaining economic benefits and exploiting people. However, the underlying principles of *Joseon*

Jujahak were absorbed into the Korean Protestant Christianity later and continued to perform the selfobject functions for the Korean group self. The influence of the three main features of *Jujahak* on the formation process of the Korean Protestant Christianity and their contributions to the selfobject functions in the form of the Christianity are examined more closely later in this chapter.

II. The Emergence of the Depleted Korean Group Self.

First, I wish to focus on the crucial psychological condition of the Korean nation in the later period of the Joseon dynasty and the diverse influences that were responsible for the Korean state of mind at that time. Korean people were exposed to various internal and external adversities at that time. However, it is necessary to explain how these adversities were experienced by the Korean group self during that era.

Comparing the deprivations of city dwellers with those of soldiers fighting for what they believe in, Kohut explained that “the different perception of the external events by the self” makes a big difference in experiencing them as unresponsive and not sustaining.¹² In other words, while city dwellers can be depressed and frustrated due to unemployment, soldiers can be alive and feel self-esteem even in the protracted deprivations. The difference arises out of the different perception of “whether they are experienced as unempathic via-a-vis the self and its needs and demands or whether they are experienced as sustaining—either of its need for mirrored greatness or of its need for a merger with an ideal, or both.”¹³

¹² Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 87.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Therefore, what is important is whether or not certain circumstances are experienced as the absence of an empathic matrix. The Korean group self recognized and acknowledged the internal and external frustrating situations as unresponsive, unempathic, and emotionally detached. In other words, the history of the dreadful distresses of the Korean people at the end of the Joseon period functioned as empathic failures which caused the serious destruction of large areas of the two poles of the Korean group self. Combinations of many factors led the Korean group self to perceive the historical sufferings as the unresponsive and nonempathic responses. They are 1) the widespread exploitation and poverty by the corrupt officials and foreign powers, 2) the erosion of traditional values and social order, 3) the incompetence of the Joseon army and political leaders, and 4) the loss of sovereignty of the Joseon dynasty. My concern is directed towards how each of these factors affected the fate of the pole of both the ambition of the greatness of the Korean group self and the ideals of the national self.

What can be noted first is the widespread exploitation and the resulting poverty of the common peasants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Korea. Even if agricultural productivity developed at that time by the introduction of new techniques, the common peasants did not enjoy the economic advantages of affluence because the enhancement of agricultural productivity made it possible for local officials to take large gains from peasants through various illegitimate means in the process of tax collection. Corruption and exploitation were prompted by the central government's lack of financial resources which was caused by the rapid changes in the international situation of the nineteenth century. Covering the expenses for such changes, the government put economic pressure on the local officials who had to find sources of tax revenue for the

expenses of both the central and the local government. The situation incited the local officials to seek illegitimate ways of covering the expenses such as arbitrarily inflating tax rates and fabricating the tax register. The illegal tyranny and oppression of the local bureaucrats resulted in the poverty of most peasants who were subjected to maintaining a subsistence level of production.

The widespread exploitation and poverty were also prompted by the external pressures of many foreign forces, most prominently Japan, but to a lesser degree, America, Britain and Russia. The economic situation in Joseon was steadily worsening due to their invasion and oppression. The Japanese exploited the Joseon people forming an unequal economic relationship with their enhanced military and economic power. For example, large scale Japanese fishing in Korean waters damaged the livelihood of local Korean fishermen. The excessive export of rice to Japan that had been suffering from an inadequate supply of rice resulted in a steep rise in the retail price of staples. The introduction of Japanese and German steamboats to transport grain paid as taxes involved the job losses of many people. A dominant position of the companies of the western powers in the Joseon market devastated the domestic situation. Furthermore, several droughts in 1876-77 and later in 1888-89 in the Jeolla Province, which is the location of the largest area of rice fields left many farmers in disastrous living conditions.¹⁴

Such widespread disruption, exploitation and tyranny by the corrupt officials and foreign powers and the resulting poverty shattered the pole of mirrored greatness of the Korean group self. It can be said that a sense of powerlessness and deprivation resulting

¹⁴ Woo Keun Han, *Hanguk Tongsa [The History of Korea]*, trans. Kyung Shik Lee (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974), 403–404.

from the external forces caused serious harm to the pole of self-confidence of the Korean group self causing traumatic injury to the national group self. The erosion of traditional values and social order precipitated even more harm to the sense of the cohesiveness of the Korean group self.

The early Joseon dynasty and its leaders were able to provide a system of ideal morals and mutual cooperation among people based on the mechanisms emphasizing the balance of power between the monarchy and the aristocrats in central politics. The mechanisms were set up based on Confucianism whose early form, known as *Jujahak*, emphasized the dignity of human beings, community spirit, and self-actualization. Confucianism criticized the pursuit of material interests and the accumulation of the wealth, highlighting mutual cooperation and relief for the poor. However, the traditional values and mechanisms became corrupt in the nineteenth century due to the financial depletion of the government which searched for a new source of revenue by selling official titles and aristocratic status. In order to cope with the changing international circumstances, the government required even more revenue sources and created many types of tax. As the economic value and interest came to the fore, the social and political system was radically transformed. In other words, wealth became a primary means and criterion in this structure. As a result of this change, the traditional values and social order based on Confucianism began to diminish.

The collapse of the traditional values based on the Joseon *Jujahak* can be regarded as disintegration of the spiritual and psychological values of the Joseon people because Confucianism provided the social, moral, and communal ideals of the Korean group self. Therefore, the pole of ideals sustained by these ideals and goals fell as a result of the

disruption and deterioration of the traditional value system. The Korean people were deprived of their spiritual anchor imbued with their perfection, power, goodness and morality as the result of the collapse of Confucianism.

Moreover, the incompetence of the Joseon army and political leaders, and the following loss of sovereignty and the independence of Korea speeded up and promoted the disintegration of the pole that had been sustained by the communal, religious and national ideals and goals shared with the leaders and dominating group of a stable hierarchy. Joseon failed to enhance the military and economic power, regardless of the rapidly changing world situation. On the contrary, their neighbor country, Japan introduced modern systems and reformed its political and military systems. Consequently, Joseon was continuously threatened by many foreign forces and had to engage in unequal contracts with them, owing to its armies' defeats in the battles. Joseon even needed foreign armies' aid to suppress their own internal disturbances. In addition, the political leaders in the late Joseon dynasty displayed a lack of the problem-solving competence as indicated by Daewongun's closed-door policy on treaties and trade with the Westerners, no toleration of Roman Catholic proselytizing, and war of the Donghak peasant rebellion which was started because of the political leaders' exacting high taxes from the common peasants. The incapacity of the military and political leaders to manage crisis may signify the loss of the idealized selfobjects shoring up the Korean group self.

However, it was the loss of sovereignty of the Joseon dynasty that had a great impact on the pole of ideals. After the Ganghwa Treaty in 1876, Japan gradually intruded into the economic and political territory of the Joseon dynasty, diminishing its independence and autonomy. Eventually, with the Protectorate Treaty in 1905, Joseon lost

its rights, regarding its relations with foreign countries and was forced to hand over its rights to the Japanese Foreign Office. As a result, the independence of Korea actually came to an end. The loss of sovereignty for Korea must have produced an enormous amount of narcissistic hurt to the Korean people who had been proud of their four thousand year long history.

In particular, the assassination of the last Joseon empress, Queen Min, by Japanese *samurai* and policemen in 1895, further represented the decline of the Joseon national power which can be psychologically explained as serious narcissistic damage to the Korean group self. Soon after, the king and the prince were apprehended in the king's palace by the Japanese, and many worried that they would be killed as well. Foreign missionaries took care of them and protected them from probable threat by the Japanese. Without the help of foreign forces, even the king and his family could not ensure their survival. Clearly, this circumstance brought about the fragmentation of the pole of both the grandiosity and ideals of the Korean group self.

In this turbulent period in which widespread exploitation and poverty became a part of the daily lives of the Korean people, the traditional social order and value system eroded, the political leaders and government armies displayed an incapacity to deal with resolving the rapidly changing situation, and the government failed to establish an independent nation. The Korean people had no choice but to experience a deep sense of helplessness, devaluation, and emptiness. There was no way that their wishes to be great and powerful were mirrored, and no objects could be invested with perfection, power, and goodness. The Korean group self of a proud, gifted, moral and highly civilized nation was seriously damaged by this disruption and disintegration of both poles.

From the point of view of Kohut's self psychology, the psychological state at that time can be described as a serious disturbance in the strength and cohesion of the Korean group self. They no longer had the benefit of the empathic sustaining voices of the truly creative individuals among the religious or political leaders, nor from the traditional moral and communal ideals based on the *Joseon Jujahak* and the world that surrounded Korea. I posited a chronic weakness of the Korean group self which suffered from a serious acute disorder displayed in the form of serious fragmentation as a result of the absence of sustaining selfobject responses. This was experienced as a painful loss of vitality and cohesion that manifested itself in an empty attempt to feel pleasure and rage-proneness, on the one side, and a constant search for substitute selfobjects that would provide the archaic needs with empathic responses on the other.

III. Expression of the Enfeebled Korean Group Self in Society and Art

A weakness of the Korean group self was manifested in 1) the increase in the number of crimes, 2) the corruption that was prevalent in the society, 3) and significant changes in the artistic features. As the Joseon's political and social situation of the Joseon Dynasty changed into a state where the previously supported a solution for the healthy group self was no longer effective, it seemed inevitable that abnormalities in the society and alterations in art would appear.

Crime in the late Joseon dynasty was on the increase, which was a distinctive characteristic at that time.¹⁵ Most of these crimes were related to the tyranny of the

¹⁵ Man Gil Kang, *Gochyeo Sseon Hanguk Geondaesa [Rewritten Korea's Modern History]* (Secoul: Changbi, 2006), 58.

dominating group and the discontent of the exploited and oppressed classes. There were three categories of crimes which were increasing.¹⁶ The first group was associated with the fabrication of official documents which was aimed at seeking political and social benefits. These crimes indicate the overall ambience of the society where people attempted to pursue immediate gains. The second group comprised general crimes such as muggings, thefts, assaults and even murder which did not reflect the behavior of a *country of courteous people in the East*, the epithet applied to Korea. Such crimes reflected the vacant state of the self which was filled with anger. The third group included crimes related to destroying the hierarchical social order such as the killing and inflicting of injuries on parents, masters, and magistrates.¹⁷ The Joseon dynasty in which Confucianism was the ruling principle cracked down on those crimes. However, they continued to increase in number in the late Joseon period. Such growing crime rates also can be regarded as a result of the political, economic, and social adversities and the following manifestation of the national malaise of the Korean group self.

The problems of the civil service examinations in the late Joseon era also reveal the disturbance of the Korean group self. Unlike the early days of Joseon, the civil service examination known as *Gwageo* was corrupt in the late Joseon period. Many applicants

¹⁶ No concrete historical data exist which show the numerical figures, indicating either an increase or decrease in crimes in the Joseon period, exist. However, the increase of crimes in the late Joseon period is alluded to in the sharp increase of additional clauses in the criminal books in the latter part of the era period which is a remarkable alteration of the law books at that time. This means that the government needed to add steadily to the contents of the prohibition in the criminal books in accordance with the increase of various crimes. Bong-Ju Park, “‘Sugyo,’ ‘Sugyogiplok’ryuui Naeyonggwa Beopjesajeok Uimi [The Content of King’s Command and a Collection of it, and its Meaning in terms of a History of Laws],” *Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies*.

¹⁷ Kang, *Gochyeo Sseon Hanguk Geondaesa*, 58.

for the state examination adopted illegal expedients such as cheating and proxy attendance.¹⁸ Student attitudes relied on chances and, thus, developed a tendency to disregard their studies resulting from weakness in the education system. In addition, trading literary writings for the exam became prevalent among students. The illicit ways of passing the exam were prevalent until the end of the Joseon dynasty, and shows how people used illegal methods to take to a higher position.¹⁹

Moreover, a propensity for extravagance prevailed throughout the late Joseon society. The government issued a prohibition order to abstain from luxuries and implemented frugality within the Court. However, the government action did not stop people from being inclined toward luxury. In the late Joseon period, *Gyeonggukdaejeon*, a complete code of laws in the Joseon dynasty had a rule severely punishing the illicit sale of prohibited luxury goods which suggests the extravagant tendencies of the era.²⁰

Such corruption and extravagance in the late of Joseon dynasty represent not only a collapse of the ideals and morals of the Joseon Confucianism accentuating a spirit of mutual help and frugality but also the weakened state of the Korean group self due to the loss of sustaining and mirroring selfobjects. The abnormal social phenomena of the growing crime rates, moral laxity, and appearance-oriented views can be regarded as an inevitable consequence of the absence of selfobjects which could have provided the

¹⁸ Won-jae Lee, "A Study on the Problems of Speculative Drives in the Aspects of Education as Well as in Gwageo during the Late Choson Dynasty," *Korean Journal of Education Research* 48, no. 4 (2010): 174–175.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 186.

²⁰ Tae Ja Kim, *Chiraeui Meot, Sseuimui Areumdaum: Jangsingu [Beauty of Adornment and Use: Accessories]* (Seoul: A Memorial Museum of Sukmyeong Women's University, 2005), 2.

intense feeling of empathic contact and idealized omnipotence through which the unfulfilled narcissistic needs were mobilized. As “an injured, narcissistic ego is seeking reassurance” by outer behaviors of seeking pleasures, the wounded Korean group self constantly attempted to feel reassured and vital through the delinquent behaviors, ostentation of one’s power, and pursuit of pleasures.²¹

The historical enfeeblement of the Korean group self was expressed and reflected in a conspicuous change which occurred in the Korean art history during the late Joseon period when artists began to leave the traditional aestheticism that valued the idealized grandiose landscapes, to focus on the seemingly trivial scenes in the real world. Artists of the period put high value on everyday life scenes and began to paint them on canvases. The earliest genre paintings captured scenes of the common people’s manual labor, but the scope of the theme was widened into using elements of satire, humor, and even eroticism, to capture the taste and deeper emotional states of common people.²² This new approach in art was closely associated with the historical depletion of the Korean group self and it paved the way for artistically expressing and dealing with the self status of the weakening Korean group self.

For example, commoners’ poetry described the everyday life such as the general problems between men and women, love and pleasure, and lamentation of a misfortunate life. It was not able to directly criticize social issues. Instead, the poetry created comic

²¹ Heinz Kohut, “‘The Function of the Analyst in the Therapeutic Process’ by Samuel D. Lipton,” in *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut 1950-1978*, ed. Paul Ornstein, vol. 1 (New York: International Universities Press, 2011), 163.

²² Byung Mo Chung, “Joseon Hugi Pungsokhwae Natanan ‘Ilsang’ui Pyohyeongwa Geu Uimi [Portrayal and Significance of ‘Every Life’ in the Genre Paintings of Late Joseon],” *The Study of Art History* 25 (2011): 336–338.

effect by expressing public affairs in a humorous way. This new tendency in the poetry marked a new advent of popular art which was aimed at recreation and consolation. Its recreational aspect of the art provided a way of escaping from weariness, tension, anxiety, and the uneasiness of everyday life for the people who tried to maintain and reinforce their vitality and energy.²³ It can be said that this poetry functioned as an artistic means of putting their sense of self into words.

The Mask dance known as *Talchum*, developed during the Joseon dynasty, also reflected the consistently waning self status of the national self due to the absence of the selfobjects, and the attempts to find out ways of livening up its self by criticizing the corrupted dominant people. Later in the Joseon dynasty masks were used to hide the faces of those dancers who made fun of the ruling class. As a rule, nobody could ask whose face was behind the mask. The masks, humor, and behavior of the characters represented corrupt monks, the vulgar *yangban*, the aristocrats, their servants subtly ridiculing the dominating group, and the corrupted hierarchical system. The conflicts of the class system felt by the common people in the latter stage of the Joseon dynasty were relieved by this mode of artistic expression. In addition, the therapeutic efforts were made through the mask dance by adopting religious theme such as repelling misfortunes, engaging in spirit exorcism, and leading vindictive spirits to heaven.²⁴ The religious

²³ Ho-Gyong Seong, “Joseon Hugi Pyeongminsigai Tongsokyesuljeok Seonggeok [The Character as Popular Art of the ‘Commoners’ Poetry’ in the Late Joseon Period],” *The Study of Korean Classics* 20 (2009): 19–20.

²⁴ Hae Jin Chang, “Joseon Hugi Gangnyungtalchume Natanan Sahoejeok Gineonge Gwanhan Yeongu [The Study on Social Function Apparent in the Gangnyung Tal Dance in the Late Chosun Dynasty]” (Master Diss., Ewha Womens University, 2012), 55–62.

elements in the mask dance deeply sympathized and empathized the historical misfortunes and adversities which the Korean common people were facing.

Consequently, these types of the art in the later period of Joseon contributed to dealing with the empty, devitalized, weakened state of the Korean group self and served the selfobject functions for the self. The Korean people had previously felt cohesive and strong in the ambitious ideals of the Joseon dynasty as it sought to build up a utopian society based on Neo-Confucianism. They had also maintained a firm sense of the self through a reliable sustaining matrix of selfobjects within the Korean community in which the mutual aid of people was highly emphasized. However, in the historical circumstances of the late Joseon period when the traditional value system, and economic and hierarchical structures were collapsing, the art provided the selfobject functions as a substitute of the ambitious ideals of Joseon.

First, the artists at that time were successful in addressing an aspect of the fragmented, estranged, and disintegrating selves of the Korean people and empathizing them. They displayed distresses and misfortunes of the late Joseon period in their arts so that the Korean people could see their weakened selves and feel empathy by the artistic works. Second, the arts contributed to sublimating the aggression and anger feeling into the artistic activities. The Korean people must have felt rage and indignation towards the corrupted officials and the incompetent government, and they could have been displayed in a very violent way. However, a variety of artistic activities provided a way of converting the anger into a sublimated form for the Korean people. Third, the art and the artists were successful in providing refreshment and joy by making a caricature of the oppressive social structures and the corrupted officials. They help the Korean people not

only to feel an emotional release but also to bring their waning selves to life. Consequently, the art in the late of Joseon dynasty played a role of dealing with “the psychological danger by covering frightening nameless processes with namable visual imagery.”²⁵ In that sense, the artists responded to the unfolding needs of the Korean people and explored a defective and fragmented state of the Korean group self.

However, the Korean group self in the late Joseon dynasty needed more than what the art furnished. The artists’ efforts were not enough to undertake a task of providing the mirroring and idealizing selfobject experiences. Even if it is evident that the art and the artists addressed the Korean people’s troublesome experiences related to the devalued sense of the self, their endeavors were unequal to the task of giving meaning to the Koreans’ despair by placing it in their cohesive experiences in which their selfobject needs for mirroring and idealizing were met. It is true that the art was closer to popular appeal and played a therapeutic role in paying attention to their traumatic and distressful experiences to some degree. However, it was not able to attend to the central need of the Korean group self for cohesiveness. In other words, the art in the late Joseon period was insufficient in meeting the key yearning for a feeling of wholeness and greatness of the Korean state of mind at that time.

The efforts of the artists in the late Joseon period should be highly recognized because they contributed to providing a channel for releasing the dissatisfaction and discontent of the Korean people and portraying them with any degree of sensitivity. They were a creative means through which the devaluated self can express itself and gain some sense of catharsis in an open manner. In addition, they offered pure pleasure and joy for

²⁵ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 108–109.

the fragmented group self. However, what the Korean group self needed more was not to obtain some sense of satisfaction and catharsis but to feel a secure sense of assurance and firmness. Regretfully, the arts and the artists did not respond to these primary inner needs of the national self which had been gratified by the Confucian ideals of the Joseon dynasty and their effective realization as a form of the mutually cooperating community.

In the end, the Korean group self constantly searched for the substitute selfobjects. The political and religious leaders appeared at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century with high expectations of the Korean people. However, their attempts were no better than those of the artists. In other words, the political and religious leaders and their movements at that time also failed to empathically respond to the selfobject needs of the fragmented Korean group self.

IV. A Constant Search for Substitute Selfobjects

The environmental strains such as political instability, an oppressive social structure, widespread corruption, acute poverty, and weakened national sovereignty led to a chronic weakness of the Korean group self and its following lack of sense of the self. The historical distressful circumstances created narcissistic injury to the Korean group self. As a result of the narcissistic injury, the Korean people sought to turn to the substitute selfobjects which could address the narcissistic injury and restore their sense of self. At this turbulent time, many political leaders and religious leaders, and their movements occurred to recover the declining national identity. They attempted to address the narcissistically injured Korean group self by introducing innovative strategies. However, they were not in empathic contact with the fragmentation of the Korean group

self. They were not successfully able to deal with the narcissistic injury of the Korean people caused by external adversities and defeats. Their efforts served as “an inaccurately focused interpretation in therapeutic analysis” which damages the emotional bonds between the therapist and the patient.²⁶

Daewongun, who was an appointed regent in 1863, instead of King Gojong, attempted to preserve the country and the dynasty by restoring the traditional hierarchical system based on the authority of the King and also removing problems causing commoners' discontent. The central government's control over the nation increased and the widespread corruption decreased. Daewongun recognized the fragmented and devastated state of the national self. He also accurately reflected the Korean people's needs for the mirroring and idealizing selfobjects and their disappointment over their failures to understand their needs. His attempt to centralize the political system and to root out illegalities and corruption empathically responded to the selfobject needs of the Korean group self. He, thus, offered a momentary sense of intense power and pride, and a feeling of idealized omnipotence with which the Korean group self could merge.

However, Daewongun's attempts can be considered as sudden identification with the current pseudo-political power and strength. He tried to return to past glories of the Joseon dynasty which had dreamt the ideal Confucian utopia. His abrupt pursuit of restoring the kingdom's power and authority without realistic awareness of the rapidly changing international situations, and transforming society and economy can be compared to the persistent demand of a narcissistic person about archaic needs for power and unity. He denied to realistically confront and address the fragmented and depleted

²⁶ Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 89.

states of the Korean group self. Instead, he tried to protect the defective Korean group self by choosing a closed-door policy, rejecting treaties and trade with the Westerners, persecuting Roman Catholic church, any proselytization on Joseon soil, and disregarding the demand for reform to deal with international trends. Therefore, his political efforts temporarily satisfied the narcissistic needs of the depleted Korean group self but they were not able to do away with its fragmentation nor lead to its cohesiveness.

The Donghak Peasant Rebellion can also be viewed as an important attempt to recover the fragmented sense of the Korean group self in the nineteenth century of the Joseon period. The Donghak movement as a religious belief system comprised various aspects of religious and philosophical traditions such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Roman Catholicism. However, as it appeared in its basic idea, *Innaechon*, which considers the human being as heaven, the movement can be viewed as an effort to fill the void of religion that resulted from the weakness and corruption of the *Jujahak* tradition which had performed the selfobject functions for the Korean people. The Donghak movement shared similarities with *Jujahak*'s views of personhood as "humanity as a Heavenly being," and "no gap between Heaven and Human beings" which constitutes a Korean religious worldview and values. The leaders of the movement put an emphasis on equality among people, and the worship of Heaven resided in one's body. Therefore, the Donghak movement as a religious movement fit the Korean traditional religious spirituality attracted people from a wide area, particularly, in the southern area.

The succession of the Donghak movement to the Korean spiritual heritage enabled the movement to function as a sustaining selfobject which was in empathic contact with the needs of the Korean group self. The equality of human rights strenuously insisted by

the movement affected a sense of self-esteem of the oppressed in the hierarchical system which had been seriously damaged by internal adversities and external oppressions. Its basic idea of *Innasechon* provided cohesion and vigor by mirroring the exhibitionistic-grandiose needs of the common people. Its strong demands for the complete expulsion of foreign forces and the punishment for the corrupted officials served as an idealizable object for the Korean people who felt frustration and helplessness due to the insoluble political, economic and social suffering and dissatisfaction. As a result, the Donghak movement grasped the needs of the Korean group self and empathically mirrored the particular psychological experiences of the Korean common people who had been exploited, oppressed, and rejected in the absence of a matrix of selfobjects.

However, the reason why the Donghak movement ended in failure is because it gave all its energies to the political and economic issues at the end of the nineteenth century as a form of the peasant rebellions. The potential for Donghak to succeed as a popular movement was actualized by the peasant uprisings caused by the malfeasance of the local bureaucrats because the movement spoke for the margins of society. The repressed people in the Joseon society were able to get vicarious satisfaction through the Donghak movement which punished several corrupted officials and released prisoners who had been unjustly imprisoned because they had been unable to pay taxes. However, as the angry peasants started to organize its own army and to fight with the government allied army, it moved away from its religious tradition and values, and it started to lose public support. Even if their protests and struggles against injustice and unfair treatments should be highly appreciated, their selfobject functions began to be eroded after they used violence to revenge on the corrupted bureaucrats. Psychologically speaking, it can be said

that the overall state of weakness in the Korean group self in the late nineteenth century made it vulnerable to injuries to its self-esteem.²⁷

The Donghak movement inherited its traditional religious heritage and its spirit from the fundamental spirit of the Joseon *Jujahak* tradition. It was founded on the basic principle of respect for the individual as Heavenly being well-represented in the *Dangun* myth which is the myth of Korean origins.²⁸ The movement asserted that every human being must be respected as a valuable being in which Heaven resides. It also emphasized the way of restoring unity with the Divine. Therefore, the Donghak movement had distinctive potential for the growth of the Korean group self by carrying out the selfobject functions which the Korean religious traditions had also done. To some extent, the movement was able to make the national self at that time feel alive, strong, and cohesive, following the ideals of the indigenous Korean religions which the Joseon *Jujahak* had also implemented.

However, the Donghak movement found its way in the form of the peasant rebellions and uprisings which were motivated by “the need for revenge, for righting a wrong, for undoing a hurt by whatever means.”²⁹ Those motivations were deeply

²⁷ Salman Akhtar, *Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychoanalysis* (London: Karnac Books, 2009), 182.

²⁸ According to the *Dangun* myth, Hwan Ung, the son of the ruler of Heaven, descended to Earth, married Ung, and bore Dangun, the representative of all Koreans. Through this myth, the Korean people think of themselves as the descendents of Dangun originally coming from Heaven. Therefore, the Korean people have a consciousness of Heaven consciousness. In other words, to Koreans, there is neither conflict nor struggle between Heaven and humanity, and the relationship between Heaven and humanity is a harmonious one. Bae, “The Divine-Human Relationship in Korean Religious Traditions,” 4, 32-33.

²⁹ Kohut, “Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage,” 637–638.

anchored in the narcissistic injuries and disappointment over the failures of the government and officials to empathically respond to their selfobject needs. Kohut said that when a patient displays narcissistic rage toward an analyst's interpretation, the analyst cannot "continue to focus on the underlying psychopathology to which the interpretation had referred."³⁰ It can be said that the Donghak movement was not able to deal with and work through the underlying depletion and fragmentation of the national self as the movement started to display the narcissistic rage.

Political thoughts and movements of the era such as the Gapsin Coup of 1884 also failed to develop a healthy image of the Korean group self by furnishing empathic responses which could have met the unfulfilled selfobject needs. The political leaders at that time publicized their political views and pursued their political maneuvers, but they failed to realize the central need for a sense of cohesiveness and wholeness which could have been realized by giving meaning and vision to the Korean national self that had been filled with Korean despair as a result of its adversities. They were out of the empathic touch with the weakened group self by focusing on their political solutions borrowed from the other world powers without consideration to the enfeebled condition of the national self. Much like an inexperienced analyst, the Joseon leaders in the late Joseon period reacted to the threatened national self with counter hostility, inept admonitions, and poor diagnoses which were seen in the violent suppression of the Donghak movement protests, the closed-door policy of Daewongun, and the radical reform party's blind adherence to the power of the world forces. Therefore, they did not form a therapeutic working-through process of facilitating the development of the Korean

³⁰ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 92.

group self.

The Independence Club founded through the initiative of Jae Pil Seo on July 2, 1896 can be considered as a positive attempt of political leaders to respond to the weakness in the Korean group self. The Club aimed at securing Korean independence and enlightening the citizens. Particularly, it focused on safeguarding the nation's independence, establishing citizens' rights and freedom of speech, and providing modern education for its youth. In addition, as a socio-political group, the club pressured the King and the government officials to carry out political and economic reform. The club pressed King Gojong to build up the independent Empire of the Great Han.

From Kohut's perspective, the Independence Club functioned as the empathic selfobjects at the end of the Joseon dynasty, in two respects. First, they became the mirroring selfobjects by listening to the voices of the Korean common people. The Club held open forums and speech sessions through which the general public were able to have opportunities to speak out and share their opinions. For the first time, they were listened to and felt respected as citizens who had a right to talk about political and economic issues. The Korean people had a space where their exhibitionistic-grandiose self could be mirrored. Second, the Club provided the idealizable selfobjects with which the Korean people could merge. It published the first modern daily newspaper in Korea known as *Dongnip Sinmun* which constituted two different language editions, Korean and English. The newspaper not only explained the government policies to the reading public, but also exerted its influence on national maneuvers and thoughts. It played an important role of establishing communication between the government and the general people. In doing so, it facilitated the idealizing selfobject experience through the identification of the people

with the ideals and goals of the government in spite of the adversities they had experienced.³¹

However, it was not easy for the Independence Club to take care of a long-accumulated chronic weakness of the Korean group self, even if it was in touch with certain aspects of the Korean needs. The Club, first of all, not only lacked an organized structure to support its valid objectives and constructive political action but it also lacked sufficient resources and power to influence the general population. In other words, it was not in the position of providing selfobject experiences which were enough to restore the severely devastated Korean group self. The intensity of its influencing power as a selfobject was feeble. Cohesion and vigor need to be offered to a group self within a matrix of selfobjects which have to intensely and widely affect people so that their work forms an important part of a culture. The Independence Club's efforts were limited to the area of Seoul and its capacities were inadequate to stop the fragmented and depleted structure of the Korean group self. As a result, its mirroring, idealizing and twinship selfobject functions were limited.

Second, the Independence Club overlooked the narcissistic injuries of the Korean people whose self structure had been severely damaged by the internal and external adversities even if it fulfilled the selfobject functions to some extent. It demanded reformative policies and constructive suggestions to the government, and high-souled morals to the common people without considering the serious internal weaknesses of the

³¹ In the editorial section of the first issue, the author explains the purpose of publishing the paper which is to inform the common people of the domestic and international circumstances by using Korean letters and keeping the newspaper bill low. "The Editorial of the First Issue," *Dongnip Sinmun* (Seoul: The Independence Club, April 9, 1896).

national self. In other words, it lacked an understanding of the weakened state of the self in the Korean group. Therefore, they were not effective in constructing and reinforcing the Korean group self which had experienced a serious loss of vitality and cohesion even if their suggestions were innovative and refined. They should have been committed to further efforts on dealing with the frightened and fragmented state of the Korean group self which was not able to follow up their suggestions.

Similarly, the leaders and institutions in art, religion, philosophy, and politics were not successful in moving the Korean people toward a healthy course of cohesive experiences. They did not provide empathic responses to the fragmentation of the Korean group self. They were not able to offer the matrix of the selfobjects which “mobilize the unfulfilled narcissistic and point the way toward vital internal change.”³² The subsequent failures of the selfobject functions in the later Joseon period set the stage for a newly introduced religion and its 1907 Revival Movement to perform the selfobject functions.

V. Selfobject Functions of the 1907 Revival Movement.

The 1907 Revival Movement served vital selfobject functions in all three areas of selfobject needs. In other words, the religious experiences provided by the movement functioned as the therapeutic milieu in which the mirroring, idealizing and twinship selfobject experiences could arise and through which the emotional needs of the movement participants were effectively recognized and acknowledged, i.e., the frightened and depleted self of the Korean people prompted some to convert to Christianity to maintain a state of narcissistic balance.

³² Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 83.

In the following section, I will explain how the religious experiences in the movement performed selfobject functions.

1. Contextualizing Descriptions of Who(or What) are Selfobject, the Missionaries, and the Korean Christians

At this moment, it is essential to get conceptual clarity about who or what performs the selfobject functions during the 1907 revival movement. The leaders in the 1907 revival movement were the religious leaders, such as the missionaries and the Korean Church leaders who performed selfobject functions by providing the religious experiences through personal relationships between the leaders and people, theological teachings, religious practices, and social activities. However, the nature of the religious leaders was different from that of the political, artistic, and military leaders because their leadership was considered as closely associated with Divine beings. The religious leaders represented and indicate Divine beings through their religious activities and performances. Therefore, it can be said that the eventual selfobject of the 1907 revival movement was God manifested in religious experiences formed on the basis of the theological teachings, religious practices, social activities and people's personal relationships with the leaders, the missionaries and the church leaders.

It is also important to give a clear account of the early Korean Christians who were influenced by the selfobject functions of God through the work of the missionaries and church leaders. Some Korean people began to be interested in the missionaries mainly because of their economic power and their advanced medical and educational knowledge.

L. George Paik refers to those who were drawn to the missionaries for the worldly

benefits as “rice Christians.”³³ Many Korean people, however, were also attracted by the missionaries’ message of salvation.³⁴ Mostly they were comprised of people of the low class, women, and servants who had been exploited and deprived in the despairing historical circumstances which were characterized by poverty, oppression, and distress.³⁵ They tried to find refuge in the early churches. Moreover, intellectual people and politically progressive leaders also had a significant interest in the newly introduced religion and converted to the Protestant Christianity. They idealized Christianity as a religion which Korea should hold onto because they recognized it as a symbol of western power and strength.

Therefore, the first Korean people who were attracted to the Protestant Christianity were those who had strong needs and yearnings for wealth, power, and salvation, perceiving the missionaries’ religion as an image of charity and power. In other words, in the devastating situation in which the Korean people felt powerless, vulnerable, and narcissistically hurt, the Protestant Christianity and its charitable and powerful image of God became a valuable target from which the Korean people could idealize and be merged to maintain their damaged narcissistic balance. The historical, socio-cultural, and political devastating Korean circumstances moved the newly introduced Christianity in

³³ George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1980), 165.

³⁴ In the spring of 1886, A Korean named No Tosa visited Horace G. Underwood to ask for instruction about the Gospel only one year after Underwood’s arrival in Korea. By the end of 1887, Underwood had been sought out by twenty-four more Koeans who were seeking baptism. Considering the fact that Underwood was not allowed to travel inland, the Koreans’ visits show their serious interest in the message of Christian salvation. Timothy S. Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2010), 10.

³⁵ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 164.

the direction of functioning as a selfobject in the late Joseon period

Even if the missionaries' evangelical works focused on Seoul which was the center of economic, politics, and transportation in Korea, the expansion chiefly took place in the northwest area of Korea which was the region suffering from the most dire condition economically and politically. J. Hunter Wells paid attention to this geographical differentiation.

Referring to the reports of last year [1904] we find that out of the 1869 baptism that were performed by the whole Presbyterian Mission (north) in Korea, 1414 were in connection with the two northern stations of Pyeng-yang and Sunchun.[main cities in the Northwestern provinces] Out of a total of 298 churches and chapels erected and in working order the north showed 218. Out of a total financial contribution of Yen 16,444.20 the northern field furnished Yen 13,921.80. Out of a total 23,356 adherents the northern section showed 18,274.³⁶

Chul Lee ascribes the reason of this differential expansion to a number of specific needs and yearnings of the northwestern Korean people. They saw the Protestant Church as refuge which could protect them from the oppression of both the local officials and imperial foreign forces. They were also attracted to the missionaries' ideals of equality and liberty. They considered the western religion as evoking wealth and blessing through advanced scientific, educational, and economic power. They also believed that the introduced religion would help them to realize their political and economic ambitions.³⁷ The initial growth of Christians in the northwestern region can be attributed to the fact that the northwestern Korean people felt a greater sense of deprivation and had stronger

³⁶ J. Hunter Wells, "Northern Korea," *The Korean Review* 5, no. 4 (April 1905): 139.

³⁷ Chul Lee, "Social Sources of the Rapid Growth of the Christian Church in Northwest Korea: 1895-1910" (Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 1997), 98-164.

needs for security and cohesiveness because the central Joseon government discriminated the northwestern area, and two wars, the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, chiefly occurred in those provinces. However, all these historical features and the strong needs for security and strength as the result of their situation were shared in different degrees by the entire Korean population.

It is also necessary to contextualize who the missionaries are, to describe how they performed the selfobject functions through the image of God of love and power that they created. The early mission field in Korea was dominated by American missionaries who were sent overseas as a result of the American missionary movements.³⁸ The total number of American missionaries to foreign areas suddenly rose from the 1880s. Christian historians see the reason of a rapid growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as the influence of an apocalyptic and imperial view of the world in the American missionary movements. Ernest R. Sandeen points out that the apocalyptic view of history “did play a crucial and unexamined role in the Student Volunteer Movement(SVM) conferences and in the missionary revival as a whole.”³⁹ William R.

³⁸ Many missionaries launched their mission works in Korea at the end of the 19th century. There were many denominational, personal, and theological differences among them. However, about 88% of all missionaries to Korea were Americans, especially since they were comprised of American Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries. They strategically distributed the population and land to themselves for their mission work. In 1905, they covered 80% of the Korean population and more than 70% of the nation. Clark, *History of the Korean Church*, 168–170. Most of them had been influenced by Moody’s Student Volunteer Movement, and the Wesleyan Holiness Revival Movement in the U.S.A. which emphasized the power of the Holy Spirit, evangelism, and foreign mission, and became accustomed to the Holiness/Keswick theology. Kyung Bae Min, *Korean Church History*(Seoul: Korean Christian Publishing, 1985), 148-149.

³⁹ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978), 183.

Hutchison considers a rapid growth of the missionary movements as “a moral equivalent for imperialism” or the Puritan “errand into the wilderness.”⁴⁰ In the same context, the American missionaries in Korea were strongly influenced by the missionary revival movements, in particular, the Student Volunteer Movement, in the United States.⁴¹

In addition, most of the early missionaries were “educated young men and women from comfortable middle-class families.”⁴² They were children of America’s white, middle-class families, mainline Protestantism, and higher education. Their age ranged from mid-twenties to thirties “because of rigid requirements of education and practical experience, physical strength to endure hardships in the mission field, and the ability to learn the native languages.”⁴³ American missionaries in Korea also reflected America’s middle-class values including modern capitalist pragmatism as well as evangelical religious beliefs.

The American missionaries in Korea also had a theologically conservative perspective. They believed in the infallibility of Scripture, Jesus’ virgin birth, and his

⁴⁰ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 1–14, 91.

⁴¹ The Student Volunteer Movement was first organized in 1886 with the intention to recruit college and university students in the United States for missionary work abroad emphasizing their roles before God. Many students made a pledge to go abroad as missionaries after being inspired by the revivalistic SVM meetings. SVM volunteers counted for 60% among a total of the new American missionaries who came to Korea from 1905 to 1909. Dae Young Ryu, “America Protestant Missionaries in Korea, 1882-1910: A Critical Study of Missionaries and Their Involvement in Korea-American Relations and Korean Politics” (Vanderbilt University, 1998), 60–61.

⁴² Michael Thomas Parker, “The Kingdom of Character: The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (1886-1926)” (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1994), 174.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

redemptive death and bodily resurrection. They also contended the sinfulness of humanity, the necessity of repentance, and salvation through Jesus Christ. Moreover, they adhered to the Puritan type of belief. One can get a sense of what the Puritan style of the missionaries was at that time through Arthur J. Brown's description saying, "The typical missionary of the first quarter century after the opening of the country was a man of the Puritan type. He kept the Sabbath as our New England forefathers did a century ago. He looked upon dancing, smoking, and card-playing as sins in which on true follower of Christ should not indulge."⁴⁴

Consequently, as ambitious young people influenced by American missionary movements, middle class values, and conservative and puritan theology, the early missionaries in Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were hard working, success-driven, passionate, responsible and moral leaders. They were particularly sensitive to their roles as missionaries. They had a strong desire and thought to civilize and evangelize the Korean people whom they considered as an ethnic group which is lazy, uncivilized, and superstitious. They were enthusiastic about evangelizing the Korean people and gave assistance and support to them. They looked forward to reenacting a great revival in Korea which they had experienced in their home land.

A specific self-selfobject relationship was created by the interaction between the early Korean Christians and the American missionaries who participated in the 1907 revival movement with their own subjectivities and their own experiences. Their own historical, socio-cultural, economic, and religious backgrounds were creating a specific

⁴⁴ Arthur J. Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East: The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy in the Orient*, (New York,: C. Scribner's Sons, 1919), 548.

milieu that reinforced the needs and desires of human beings to feel better about themselves and to have a cohesive sense of self. The missionaries tried to feel better about themselves by being more successful in their missionary works and achieving their ambitions and goals through these evangelizing tasks. The Korean people also had a strong desire to get a sense of security and power. The missionaries needed those in need, like Koreans, whom they could support and evangelize. They thus became selfobjects to the missionaries who could maintain a cohesive sense of self when they saw many Korean people listen to them, idealize them, and become evangelized. The Korean people, in particular the early Korean churches also needed powerful objects into which they could be merged so that they could feel a cohesive sense of self. The following sections are focused on analyzing the unconscious psychodynamic processes in which selfobject experiences were strongly demanded.

2. The Mirroring Selfobject Experience

The key characteristics of religious experience of the 1907 revival movement were confession of sins and intense expressions of religious experience. The movement participants competitively tried to confess their own sins in public and were immersed in intense religious experience. What they openly spoke out was about their obscene thoughts and behaviors, unfaithful corruptions, and even nameless crimes. It was very hard for them to make a public display of those misbehaviors in the Joseon society based on ethics consciousness. However, they devoutly wished for confessing their own sins in public as shown in a line waiting their turn of revealing embarrassing personal facts. In addition, they prayed beating their chest in a loud voice and expressed their agony rolling

on the floor. What can be emphasized is an excessive way of expressing religious enthusiasm. How can it be understood from the psychological perspective?

Usually, confession is religiously defined as “the manifestation of our offences to God” “to obtain pardon from God.”⁴⁵ Augustine said that “confession lays bare the hidden disease by the hope of pardon.”⁴⁶ Saint Gregory the Great defined confession as “the uncovering of sins, and the opening of the wound.”⁴⁷ To talk about one’s own faults and misbehaviors to someone is very uncomfortable because it accompanies not only a feeling of guilt and shame but also a sense of fear of being criticized and judged by the listener. However, most of all, confession, as a religious experience is based not on fear but hope. In other words, the believers confess their own sins in the hope that they are forgiven by the action of the confession.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Luigi Francesco L. Desanctis, *Confession: A Doctrinal and Historical Essay* (1878), trans. M. H. G. Buckle (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2010), 3.

⁴⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Volume 5 (Part III, Second Section & Supplement)* (New York: Cosimo, 2007), 2580.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ As a result of confession, people can talk about truth and find out the truth about themselves. Foucault describes Christianity as a very special type of religion which imposes “obligations of truth on” people. He says that “Everyone in Christianity has the duty to explore who he is, what is happening within himself, the faults he may have committed, and the temptations to which he was exposed.” [Michel Foucault, “Sexuality and Solitude,” in *The Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984: Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinow, vol. 1 (New York: New Press, 1997), 178.] The truth about the self is made known to people by confession. The abhorrent and hateful aspects of the self are no longer denied in the moment of the confession. By doing so, people confessing their own sins can have a chance of integrating their split and separated part of themselves. Additionally, one of the important effects of confession is that, through confession, people can be liberated from the inner voices which accuse and criticize the self about what it did. Brauer mentioned this kind of effect of confession by stating the following, “There is a normal, appropriate reaction to excitation caused by very vivid and irreconcilable ideals—namely, to communicate them by speech... We meet the same urges as one of the basic factors of a major historical institution—the Roman

From the self psychological perspective, it can be said that the excessive expressions of religious experience were possible as a result of the mirroring selfobject experience. In other words, they can be understood as a result of reactivation of archaic needs of the Korean people in the movement for empathic selfobjects which mirror the unmet grandiose and exhibitionistic needs. It can be analogous to the children's grandiose and exhibitionistic display which is expected to be acknowledged and accepted by their parents. The movement participants' grandiose and exhibitionistic impulses were expressed through the excessive religious experiences in the hope that their exaggerated confession and expressions should be approved and accepted in the mirroring environment and relationship of the 1907 revival movement.

Kohut's theory may give us further insight into this confession of sins and the intense religious experiences in terms of mirroring selfobject experience. He asserts that in the initial stages of the mirroring transference, the narcissistic person often engages in acting out behaviors. It can be seen as a positive sign that the separation between "the exhibitionistic-grandiose impulses of the grandiose self" and the reality ego have begun to weaken.⁴⁹ He writes that there is "a lessening of the differentiation between self and not-self, and thus...a blurring of the differentiation between impulse, thought, and action."⁵⁰ In other words, the exhibitionistic-grandiose impulses are able to be

Catholic confessional through the sacrament of Penance. Telling things is a relief; it discharges tension even when the person to whom they are told is not a priest and even when on absolution follows." [Sigmund Freud and Joseph Breuer, "Studies on Hysteria," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, vol. 2 (London: Hogarth Press, 1981), 211.]

⁴⁹ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 155–156.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 156.

manifested as a result of the mirroring selfobject experience in which the defensive mechanisms preventing the intrusion of the impulses into the reality ego are weakened.

The missionaries reported that the Korean people in the 1907 revival movement confessed their horrible sins. They reported that they had never seen personal and strong repentance like this anywhere before. The participants to the movement confessed not only their flaming hatred and resentment towards someone and asked their forgiveness but also their criminal acts such as their involvement in robberies, thefts, and assaults. There were even a number of murder cases. A man confessed that he did not take care of his wife and left her for dead. Someone disclosed their murder of another. Some parents even had poisoned and killed their children.

The question can be raised whether or not their confessions were true.⁵¹ However, the movement followers' confessions contained psychological meaning related to the mirroring selfobject experience regardless of whether or not they were true. In other words, their competitive behaviors in confessing their horrible sins can be seen as grandiose and exhibitionistic display as a result of the mirroring experience. Through the confession, they conveyed the meaning that they were serious sinners who needed greatly to be saved. They wanted to show how great sinners they are before God. In addition, because the size of their sins is closely connected to the scope of God's saving mercy, they felt they were guaranteed to have greater love from God by confessing more serious sins. Therefore, the confession served as a result of the mirroring experience and an attempt to feel the security of their grandiose sense of the self.

⁵¹ Even if this question is important, there has been no research undertaken to date that examines the missionaries' testimonies or the Korean people's confession.

In order to concretely explain the relationship between the excessive expressions of religious experience and the mirroring selfobject experience, the following details need to be explicated. 1) The early missionaries' concern for social service activities as laying the groundwork for the mirroring selfobject experience 2) The early missionaries' evangelical messages served as the empathetic and mirroring responses—in particular, human beings' fragile and fallen nature and salvation from this fallen nature through Jesus Christ, and 3) The transference of the unmodified ambitions into the realm of holiness.

In the late 19th century, the Korean people had tragic experiences that had seriously damaged their sense of self-worth. The existence of their nation was threatened by the world powers, particularly, Japan, and the Korean people were exploited and oppressed physically and psychologically by not only the world forces but also the corrupted officials. The Korean group self suffered severe damage to their sense of greatness as a result of the subsequent national misfortunes and adversities. The incompetent political leaders did not have far-seeing schemes to benefit the people's well-being. The attempt of the common people to stand up to oppression was frustrated by the foreign coercion. Traditional religions lost their functions of lifting up the sense of the Korean national self. Even if artists at that time were able to alleviate the Korean people's anger by criticizing the current situation, their efforts were not sources great enough to strengthen the Korean group self.

In these circumstances, the Protestant missionaries were moving closer to the hearts of the common Korean people through their community service. It can be said that the early missionaries' interest in promoting the welfare of the Korean people paved the way for building up of the mirroring environment of the revival movement. From the

beginning, when Protestant Christianity was introduced into Korea by American missionaries during the late nineteenth century, missionaries consciously focused on the socially deprived population, in particular, the commoners and women for their evangelization. The missionaries' genuine concern for the underprivileged led to socially-minded activities: They established modern schools for girls and boys. They started the first school for the blind. They also founded orphanages for abandoned children. They started the first modern medical service by establishing modern hospitals.⁵² In particular, the missionaries paid attention to education for the purpose of enabling illiterate Koreans to read the Scriptures and religious tracts. They provided education for the common people and women who had previously been deprived of education. They adopted a modern curriculum which taught students the civic values of democracy, equality, human rights, and freedom. Over four-hundred schools were established by the missionaries and the early Protestant churches throughout the country by the end of the nineteenth century.⁵³

Samuel Moffett, the first Protestant missionary to establish long-term residence in northern Korea, wrote, "it was medicine, not preaching, that opened Korea to the Protestant church," and it was "education, not evangelism, that first commended it to the authorities."⁵⁴ Wasson, an American missionary, also pointed out that the Koreans, in

⁵² Dongsik Yoo, *Hanguksinhakeui Gwangmaek [The Vein of Korean Theology]* (Seoul: Junmangsa, 1993), 38–39.

⁵³ Andrew Eungi Kim, "Protestantism in Korea and Japan from the 1880s to the 1940s: A Comparative Study of Differential Cultural Reception and Social Impact," *Korea Journal* 45, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 272–273.

⁵⁴ Samuel Hugh Moffett, *The Christians of Korea* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 122–123.

general, were “drawn to the church by its emphasis upon education, its character-building power, its stable organization, its worldwide connections, its democratic fellowship, and its suggestion of supernatural help.”⁵⁵ At that time, some people visited the Protestant churches to obtain some medical and economic help but not for the religious purpose.⁵⁶

The missionaries’ enthusiasm for education and social-minded activities served as not only an indirect means of evangelization but also an effective means for affirming self-worth of those exposed to their teachings and activities. The missionaries’ active involvement in education, medical care, and other social services gave psychological relief from the despair over national tragedies and social crises to the Korean people who had a benefit from the missionaries. The churches were recognized as a place where the commoners were able to make up for their feelings of powerlessness and worthlessness due to the exploitation by the corrupted officials, and the loss of a nation’s identity and basic rights. As a result, the missionaries’ high regard and concern for the underprivileged made a significant contribution to arousing great expectations in the minds of some Korean people that they could be mirrored and accepted in the Protestant churches. Consequently, the early missionaries’ concern for community services laid the groundwork for the mirroring selfobject experience in the 1907 revival movement.

However, it is important to closely examine the early missionaries’ theological positions as a decisive factor to evoke the mirroring selfobject experience together with the missionaries’ social activities. In the critical situation where the Korean people’s sense of self-worth was devalued, the missionaries’ theological discourse functioned as 1)

⁵⁵ Wasson, *Church Growth in Korea*, 75.

⁵⁶ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 343.

empathic interpretation and 2) a new unique relational experience which stimulated the spread of the mirroring selfobject experience.

Harvie M. Conn defined “the history of Korean church in its early years” as one of “conservative, evangelical Christianity.”⁵⁷ He also described the evangelistic zeal of the early missionaries in Korea from 1884 to 1938 quoting Harriet Pollard, who said, “the mission and the church have been marked preeminently by a fervent evangelistic spirit, a thorough belief in the Scriptures as the Word of God, and in the Gospel message of salvation from sin through Jesus Christ.”⁵⁸ Samuel H. Moffett shared a similar view in recognizing the early missionaries’ theological features which are closely related to “the Great Awakenings in America in the eighteenth century, so that their theology was evangelical.”⁵⁹ The common topics and messages of the early missionaries were those of sin, repentance, salvation, and holiness and they viewed redemption from sin as the heart of the Christian gospel. In particular, as the early missionaries were influenced by Moody’s Student Volunteer Movement, they emphasized human beings’ fragile and fallen nature, the need of repentance, salvation through Jesus’ redemptive death, and the intimate encounter with God through the Holy Spirit.

Psychologically speaking, the evangelical trends which the early missionaries brought to Korea produced images and expectations which the patients usually have in

⁵⁷ Harvie M. Conn, “Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church: A Historical Outline,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 29, no. 1 (1966): 26.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁹ Samuel Hugh Moffett, “The Thought of Dr. Samuel Moffett,” *The Presbyterian Forum* 6 (1990): 14, quoted in Hong Man Kim, “Puritanism in the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A and Its Contribution to the Korean Great Revival” (Ph.D Diss., Reformed Theological Seminary, 2007), 15.

the psychoanalytic therapeutic setting. The patients engage themselves in the psychoanalytic therapy with the images and expectations that they will be mirrored, empathized, and accepted by the analysts. In the same way, hopes and expectations were awakened among the Korean people participating in the 1907 revival movement through the missionaries' conservative theological perspectives. That was because the evangelical perspective of human beings' fragile and fallen nature were very accurate at describing the Korean group self's fragmented state and the doctrine of salvation through Jesus' redemptive death instilled the movement followers with high expectations that they would be accepted as they were without any condition by the Heavenly Being, God. It can be said that the images of the merciful God and expectations of acceptance by God, manifested in the missionaries' evangelical perspectives precipitated the mirroring selfobject experience in the revival movement.

First of all, during the 1907 revival movement, the early missionaries placed great emphasis on the total corruption of human beings and their deprived nature as a result of the fall from grace and the expulsion from paradise found in Genesis 3. They dealt with the fallen state of human beings in the Bible studies and in their sermons. It is important to note that the missionaries' emphasis on the sinful nature of human beings did not serve as a negative factor giving the participants a severe reprimand and fierce criticism which the doctrine of sin can have the potential to imply otherwise. Rather, the doctrine of human sinful nature functioned as an accurate interpretation which empathically responded to the Korean group self's enfeeblement.

The fallen man and woman of Genesis shared a common condition with the tragic Korean people. Human beings' fall can be explained as a sudden end of the perfectly

caring and provident environment. The Korean people had also experienced the traumatic failure of satisfactory and benevolent responsive love in those days. The description about human beings who are alienated from the relationship of care and love with God corresponded exactly to the Korean people's situation of alienation from the bedrock of security and assurance. Therefore, the missionaries' evangelical ideas on the deprived nature of human beings appealed to the heart of the movement participants. While the effect was not intended by the missionaries, the effect of the doctrine in the 1907 revival movement is similar to the correct and well-timed interpretation of the empathic analysts.

Kohut attributed the healing agent of the psychoanalytic therapy to empathy. He asserted that "the gradual acquisition of empathic contact with mature selfobjects is the essence of the psychoanalytic cure."⁶⁰ In addition, he acknowledged empathy's curative effect by saying that "empathy, per se, the mere presence of empathy, has also a beneficial, in a broad sense, a therapeutic effect." Moreover, in his opinion, "correct...interpretations...provide no more for the analysand than further proof that another person has understood him."⁶¹ At other times, the doctrine of sin might be recognized as a voice of severe criticism irritating the Korean people. However, the evangelical teaching about sin in the revival movement functioned as an accurate interpretation which presents the movement followers with evidence that the religion had empathized and mirrored them. Even if the disclosure of the deprived and fragmented state caused the unbearable pain and sadness in the 1907 revival, it alleviated their lust, aggression, and anxiety due to its empathetic features.

⁶⁰ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 66.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 184.

The participants' recognition of the doctrine of sin as an empathic interpretation was possible because the missionaries and the Protestant Church had been built a relationship of trust with the Korean people through their social minded activities which led some Korean people to have expectations of acceptance and mirroring of the church. Additionally, the missionaries' enthusiastic passion to help those in need to evangelize them had prepared for the mirroring environment. On the basis of their experiences with the missionaries' efforts for the socially and economically excluded and deprived people, participants in the revival movement regarded the revival meetings as a safe place where their thoughts and feelings would be acknowledged and mirrored without criticisms. Therefore, the missionaries' teaching in the revival about sin and the need of repentance could be considered an empathic and understanding interpretation reflecting their psychological state of the fragmented self.

The Gospel message of salvation from sin through Jesus Christ developed the formation of the empathic and mirroring atmosphere in which the movement followers had a new unique relational experience. Without the hopes and expectations of unconditional acceptance and empathic understanding by God, the stress on the sinful nature of humanity could not maintain the role of an effective interpretation conveying the empathetic responses. In other words, the other aspect of the missionaries' evangelical message, salvation through Jesus' redemptive death made it possible to strengthen a mirroring analytic milieu in which the doctrine of human beings' sinfulness served as a therapeutic interpretation and the participants to the revival expected that they would be mirrored in spite of their gravely serious sins and immoral behaviors.

From the self psychological point of view, the evangelical description of salvation

through God's benevolent love can have therapeutic effect on the narcissistically fragmented and depleted self. The missionaries' evangelical idea of grace could be compared to a confirming presence which performs "the specific functions of providing a self-evoking and self-sustaining experience to the potential and to the emerged self."⁶² Those whose self-esteem had been belittled by the oppression and exploitation of the corrupted officials and foreign powers could see themselves understood and accepted without judgment by the doctrine of salvation. The missionaries' theological teaching about God's mercy and love provided a new relational experience to the Korean people exposed to their teaching, who could hardly expect the empathic and mirroring responses from any place at that time. The new type of relational experience confirmed and verified the sense of self and self-esteem of the movement participants.

According to Kohut, "the self has neither the ability to develop on its own nor the substance to create itself," and "it is only by another person's empathy and initiative...that true relationship can come into existence between one self and another" and the self is generated and develops.⁶³ The developmental process of the Korean group self, seriously damaged by historical, social, and political circumstances could be activated only with a new type of relationship in which the narcissistically damaged self can express its own narcissistic needs and wishes about getting attention, acknowledgement, and mirroring. The empathic analysts play the role of receiving the patients' those needs and wishes. The Gospel message of salvation through God's

⁶² Ernest S. Wolf, "The Search for Confirmation: Technical Aspects of Mirroring," *Psychoanalytic Inquiry* 5, no. 2 (1985): 271.

⁶³ Angella Son, "Relationality in Kohut's Psychology of the Self," *Pastoral Psychology* 55, no. 1 (2006): 87.

unconditional grace and love served as the mirroring selfobject which led the movement followers to the path to the development of self by forming an empathic ambience where its grandiose and exhibitionistic wishes could be exhibited.

To sum up, in the framework of self psychology, it can be said that a therapeutic effect occurred through the evangelical descriptions of both human beings' fall and salvation through God's benevolent love expressed in the missionaries' teachings. The psychological deficit of the self is empathically interpreted through the doctrine of the human beings' fallen and fragile nature. The evangelical doctrine of salvation through God's grace also promotes the empathic intuneness with participants' needs to reveal their narcissistic desires. In the 1907 revival movement, the sense of being understood and mirrored through the evangelical discourse was indeed supportive to the structure of one's self, and one's experience of self-hood. The early missionaries' social minded activities and their enthusiasm for helping others laid the foundation for the mirroring experience by creating a relationship based on trust and care.

The unmodified wishes and desires in the grandiose-exhibitionistic pole of the self, embedded in the deep side of the Korean people's mind were manifested within the safe place of the 1907 revival movement whose image was created by the missionaries' enthusiastic involvement in social activities and their evangelical messages. Those narcissistic needs were expressed in unique ways of religious experiences. The participants fervently hoped to speak out about their grave sins and wrongdoings in public, in detail, and passionately expressed their tortured mind by hitting their heads on the wall and rolling on the floor crying. The intense expressions of religious experience can be viewed as a clear manifestation of the grandiose and exhibitionistic needs as a

result of the mirroring selfobject experience.

If it had been an ordinary situation, their grandiose and exhibitionistic display would have been criticized as a disrespectful and dishonorable words and deeds. However, in the empathetic atmosphere of the 1907 revival movement, the excessive confession and intense religious exhibitions were regarded as a kind of achievements through which the narcissistically frustrated self wants to be recognized, mirrored and admired. Even if the movement participants exposed their painful secrets and expressed their agony, they were presenting their own grandiose and exhibitionistic wishes through the expressions of religious experiences. The competitive confession of sins and the intense expression of religious experience were the exhibitionistic display as a result of the mirroring selfobject experience recapitulating and exhibiting the unmodified narcissistic needs in the realm of holiness. In other words, their unmet narcissistic needs were transferred to the area of religion as a shape of religious experience. Consequently, the 1907 revival movement became a safe space where their grandiose and exhibitionistic wishes were represented in the form of religious experience and expected to be received by the mirroring selfobject, God.

In Kohut's opinion, the grandiose and exhibitionistic display indicates not only patients' narcissistic symptoms but also their aspiration for restoration. The patients who missed the empathic and mirroring responses from their caretakers reenact the grandiose and exhibitionistic needs in the psychoanalytic treatment with the empathic analyst in order to activate the maturational process of narcissism. Therefore, the competitive confessions in public and religious experiences expressed in the excessive actions can also be viewed as the grandiose attempt of the narcissist at reparation as a result of the

mirroring experience through which the broken and enfeebled self could be enhanced.⁶⁴

That is, the intense religious experiences had a therapeutic effect on the movement followers who had been narcissistically frustrated and fragmented.

3. The Idealizing Selfobject Experience

The second selfobject experience that the 1907 revival provided is related to idealization. People view the concept of God as something to be idealized which allows them to merge with its power and strength. People search for a sense of uplift by being united with this idealizeable ultimate object so that their weak, chaotic, and fragmented selves could be complemented and redeemed.⁶⁵ The child's first encounters with a powerful mother can explain what such experiences in religion represent. The baby whose self structure is frightened and fragmented in comparison to that of the adult is able to feel uplifted by merging with the majestic mother who is calm, big, and powerful. Spiritual experiences can evoke a similar sense of exaltation by merging with God who functions as an idealizeable selfobject.

As an illustration of the role of the concept of God as the idealizeable selfobject,

⁶⁴ These body experiences are grandiose and exhibitionistic displays which are temporarily seen when people have the mirroring selfobject experience. However, body experiences were able to contribute to providing a new form of self-awareness or consciousness. Because the body is "integral to some aspects of self consciousness and/or of the use of I," new bodily religious experiences understood as grandiose and exhibitionistic behaviors define some aspects of the self as having a strong and cohesive sense of self. Through this psychological process, the body experiences could have helped people to maintain their sense of self. Jose Luis Bermudez, Naomi Eilan, and Anthony Marcel, eds., *The Body and the Self* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998), 1.

⁶⁵ Charles B. Strozier, "Heinz Kohut's Struggles with Religion," in *Religion, Society, and Psychoanalysis: Readings in Contemporary Theory*, eds. Janet Liebman Jacobs and Donald Capps (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997), 168.

we may refer to the example of John R. Belcher's research in which he states that the direction of religious education and pastoral counseling among Pentecostals is to enable students and clients "to draw closer to God" because the closer relationship with God generally makes them experience divine healing and spiritual growth."⁶⁶ In other words, the encounter with God is the essential aspect of healing and growth. The core of Pentecostal counseling and maturity lies in the intimate relationship with God. In the perspective of Kohut's self psychology, the closer relationship with God provides the idealizing selfobject need which is an essential aspect for the maturity of the self.

Neftali Serrano points out the reason why a relationship with God through the Holy Spirit provides some benefits for healing and maturity. In his view, "the Spirit works at a deeper level than belief, emotion, or even behavior." The place where the Spirit works is "the heart, or the center of affection." He describes affection as involving the "will and the basic orientation of a person's life and spirit."⁶⁷ That is, the Holy Spirit works at the center of the self which, in Kohut's opinion, is "a unit, cohesive in space and enduring in time, which is a center of initiative and a recipient of impression."⁶⁸ This is made possible by religion that provides the idealizing selfobject need which touches the fragmented self that needs a calm, significant, and powerful selfobject.

The historical circumstance in late nineteenth-century Protestantism facilitated the function of the Church as the idealizable selfobject for its early Korean adherents who

⁶⁶ John R. Belcher and Toni Cascio, "Social Work and Deliverance Practice: The Pentecostal Experience," *Families in Society* 82, no. 1 (January 2001): 103.

⁶⁷ Neftali Serrano, "Pentecostal Spirituality: Implications for an Approach to Clinical Psychology," in *Spiritual Formation, Counseling, and Psychotherapy*, eds. Todd W. Hall and Mark R McMinn (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2003), 225.

⁶⁸ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 99.

turned their eyes to Christianity. The Joseon government's sovereignty was in jeopardy due to the hostile attitudes of its neighboring countries like Japan, China, and Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A sense of crisis made the nation depend on the favor of strong western powers, particularly the United States.⁶⁹ The Joseon government felt that it would be desirable to embrace their religion, Christianity, and its missionaries which were considered an integral part of the U.S. powers.

Moreover, the Korean people experienced the development of the enhancement of Japan which had already adopted western culture and technology. This made it possible for many Koreans to "believe that everything of the West was superior and best, and they were ready to accept the religion of the Westerners."⁷⁰ They perceived the Protestant Church and its missionaries as agents of tremendously strong western forces and they also thought that their salvation could be achieved with the help of Protestantism. C. E. Sharp, one of the earliest missionaries in Korea, stated the Protestant Church was perceived by some Koreans as "the only society that amounted to anything and the driving force of the highest civilization and culture."⁷¹

The idealization of the Joseon government and people of the Protestant Church and its missionaries as examples of western power as well as their favorable attitudes toward

⁶⁹ According to George Paik, "The employment of American advisers to the chief departments of the government, the request for American teachers for government schools, repeated declarations of friendship and confidence by the Korean legation at Washington, and the employment of American engineers to open mines, gave proof of the amicable feeling of the peninsular kingdom toward the American nation." Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 162.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁷¹ C. E. Sharp, "Motives for Seeking Christ," *The Korea Mission Field* 2, no. 10 (1906): 182.

them prepared for the ground for the idealizing selfobject experience. As the Korean government failed to be an idealizing selfobject, some Korean people identified Protestantism with the foundation of the powerful western countries in the uncertainty of the times and thought that they were able to resolve their grave national crisis with the help of the Protestant Christianity. Psychologically, this can be compared to an attempt of the weak self of the child to be united with the power and calmness of his/her parents. In addition to this historical background, the concept of God in Korean Protestantism and its theological trends also prompted the idealizing selfobject experience.

In the late nineteenth century, the state-sponsored Confucianism was inadequate to cope with the harsh realities because as its genuine teaching became distorted, it became irrelevant to the actual lives of the common people. Some people increasingly turned to the imported faith of Christianity as an alternative way to provide new norms and values for them in their rapidly changing circumstance. In addition, what attracted them to Christianity was its concept of a deity. The early missionaries perceived that they needed to adopt the traditional concepts to enhance the Korean people's understanding of the Christian doctrines so as to avoid unnecessary conflicts between the traditional religions and the new religion. The introduction of the traditionally revered concept of *Hananim* as the supreme God of Protestantism is a typical example of these efforts. One of the reasons that the 1907 revival was able to provide an effective idealizing selfobject is because the missionaries incorporated the Korean traditional understanding of deity.

The first missionary who used this concept was John Ross of Manchuria. In 1882, he introduced and interpreted God as *Hanunim*, and its variation, *Hananim*, in 1883 both of which have their etymology in the word, *hanal*(heaven). In the early twentieth century,

the missionaries and the Korean believers chiefly used the term of *Hananim* to represent the Christian God.⁷² *Hanal* has two meanings. Its literal meaning is sky. However, its symbolic meaning is “one” in number, but it also carries the meaning of “big,” “great,” “light,” and “wholeness.”⁷³ The Korean people’s use of *Han-minjok* (*Han*-national people) and *Han-guk* (*Han*-nation) represent their identity as “those who have faith in *Hananim*.”⁷⁴ Ham Seok Heon, a religious thinker in Korea recognized that *Hananim* is the personification of *Han* which constitutes the backbone of the national spirit of the Korean nation.⁷⁵ Consequently, *Hananim* can be interpreted as “God in heaven,” or “the Divine reality in heaven.”

Andrew Eungi Kim, a Korean historian, asserts that “the missionaries recognized that the term referred to the highest deity in Korean religious culture from primitive times and that its use as the ultimate deity in Protestantism would prepare Koreans to accept the imported faith with ease.”⁷⁶ As a result of this effort of the missionaries to indigenize the concept of God into *Hananim*, an important dimension was added to the Korean concept of the supreme God of Protestantism. The notion of Heaven began to be magnified when

⁷² Sung-Deuk Oak, “Shamanistic *Tan’gun* and Christian *Hananim*: Protestant Missionaries’ Interpretation of the Korean Founding Myth, 1805-1934,” *Studies in World Christianity* 7 (2001): 47.

⁷³ Bae, “The Divine-Human Relationship in Korean Religious Traditions,” 138.

⁷⁴ Kyoeng-jae Kim, *Christianity and the Encounter of Asian Religions: Method of Correlation, Fusion of Horizons, and Paradigm Shifts in the Korean Grafting Process* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1994), 63.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Andrew Eungi Kim, “Political Insecurity, Social Chaos, Religious Void and the Rise of Protestantism in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea,” *Social History* 26, no. 3 (2001): 274.

the early Korean Christians used the term. In other words, *Hananim*, representing the Divine of Christianity, evoked the traditional heaven consciousness which is ingrained in the Korean people's religious heart through the *Joseon Jujahak*.

Even if the missionaries tried to redefine the notion of *Hananim* according to the concept of the Christian God, for the common Korean people, the term signified the Divine reality in heaven which they had traditionally identified as their origin as can be seen in the Dangun myth which describes the origin of Korea as a sacred union between the Divine reality in heaven and a human being in earth. The *Joseon Jujahak* tradition highlighted the heaven consciousness of Koreans by emphasizing "humanity as a heavenly being." The early Korean Protestant Church revitalized that consciousness by adopting the traditionally revered concept of *Hananim* as representing the Christian God. For Koreans, the Divine reality in heaven was a being with whom they could feel mirroring and with which they desired to be united. As Yo-Han Bae said, "Koreans accepted *Hananim* as the being who is always with the people, a near being."⁷⁷ Therefore, the substitute term of the Christian God provided opportunities for being close to and united with the Divine reality in heaven for the early Korean Christians.

From the point of view of Kohut's self psychology, it can be said that the term, *Hananim*, facilitated the idealizing selfobject experience. For the Korean group self which was weak, chaotic, and disharmonious due to the harsh realities of the era, the concept of the Divine reality in heaven could function as an idealizable figure who provides opportunities for reviving needs for power and greatness by allowing the fragmented self to feel linked to the admired figure. The early adherents to the Protestant

⁷⁷ Bae, "The Divine-Human Relationship in Korean Religious Traditions," 166.

Christianity could attempt to save a part of their lost narcissistic perfection and greatness by being connected to and united with the idealized selfobject, *Hananim*, which was closely associated with the Korean traditional religious desire of being united into the Divine reality in heaven. In other words, the Protestant Church met its followers' need for a selfobject with calm strength and limitless power through their adopting the concept of *Hananim* to represent the ultimate deity in Protestantism.

One of the theological trends of the early American missionaries in Korea, Puritan moralism, also contributed to building up the idealizing selfobject experiences. The American missionaries started their missionary work and a religious revival movement with this Puritanical zeal and fervor.⁷⁸ They advanced “the high moral code...e.g. teachings against dishonesty, laziness, disloyalty and hedonism” which was largely consistent with Confucian ideals.⁷⁹ Therefore, the Puritanical style and their ideals not only made it easy for the early Korean Christians to access the Protestantism's norms and values but also produced a space of the selfobject relationship in which they could have the idealizing selfobject experience through a merger with the Christian ideals. In other words, the Puritanical fervor of Protestantism at that time functioned as an alternative to Confucianism for idealization which sent those adhering to its teachings on the moral and

⁷⁸ Paik, *The History of Protestant Mission in Korea*, 367.

⁷⁹ Particularly, the values of Protestantism were viewed as similar to those of Confucianism in terms of the family. The filial piety of Confucianism was shown to have its counterpart in Jesus' command to honor one's parents, and the lesson on obedience to one's parents was a salient theme of sermons and Sunday school programs at the time.” Andrew Eungi Kim, “Political Insecurity, Social Chaos, Religious Void and the Rise of Protestantism in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea,” *Social History* 26, no. 3 (2001): 275.

spiritual quest of holiness they aspired to reach.⁸⁰

J. Z. Moore, an American missionary, found that during the 1907 revival, the Korean participants intensely searched for ways to hold on to the Puritanical ideals such as sexual purity, the need for diligent learning, abstinence from adultery, drinking, smoking, gambling, and other vices. However, he was surprised by the fact that they applied the results of their intense discussion to their lives, pursued them, and encouraged one another. Various seminars and discussions were held in many churches throughout the country to cover the practical application of the Word.⁸¹ The 1907 revival aroused a sense of sinfulness and righteousness among the Korean Christians and gave them the moral courage to live a life of holiness.⁸² The pursuit of holiness and puritanical perfection became the major issues in the 1907 revival movement.

The radical transformation of their practical Christian life was closely related to the idealizing experience. For the Korean people, it is very important to be united with the Ultimate Being in heaven and the ways of being in union with that Being. Protestantism, as an alternative voice to Confucianism in terms of moral pursuit, defined the identities of human beings as both children of God and sinners. In addition, the early missionaries in Korea emphasized the puritanical moral consciousness and its application to life.

Therefore, the revival movement followers perceived their moral perfection as ways of

⁸⁰ Later, the Puritanical fervor of Protestantism made a negative impact on the contemporary Christianity in South Korea. It caused a dichotomy between individual spirituality and social issues. Whereas personal faith and spirituality have been concentrated on by the church, social problems and issues have been outside its interests. This will be dealt with in more details in the next chapter.

⁸¹ J. Z. Moore, "The Great Revival Year," *The Korea Mission Field* 3, no. 8 (1907): 116.

⁸² Jones and Noble, *The Korean Revival*, 28.

being free from their sins and united with the Divine reality in heaven again. In other words, the radical pursuit of the Puritanical perfection during the 1907 revival can be viewed as means of enabling the Korean adherents to reach a kind of merger with their idealizing selfobject, *Hananim*.

Moreover, the magnified and drastic efforts of the movement participants to reach the state of holiness were also associated with evoked shame and the attempt to mollify it. According to Kohut, shame “arises when the ego is unable to provide a proper discharge for the exhibitionistic demands of the narcissistic self.”⁸³ The Korean group self at that time was frightened and weakened, and, thus, it was not able to satisfy their exhibitionistic needs. They were in the state of being most prone to experience shame. So, when the movement participants confronted their fragmentation through the Puritanical teachings of the missionaries, they felt intense shame and tried to cure and mollify their shame by “seeking to melt into the body of a powerful” Protestant Church and its Divine reality in heaven.⁸⁴

Their confessions of their secret sins and wrongdoings, and the intense religious experience of prayer⁸⁵ are also connected with their idealizing selfobject experience. In

⁸³ Kohut, *The Search for the Self*, 2011, 1:441.

⁸⁴ Heinz Kohut, *The Search for the Self: Selected Writings of Heinz Kohut 1978-1981*, ed. Paul Ornstein, vol. 3 (New York: International Universities Press, 2011), 110.

⁸⁵ The definitions of prayer are focused on an act of communication with the sacred beings which has specific purposes on the side of human beings seeking channels for relationship with a deity. Karl R. Stolz stated that “prayer may be simply and comprehensively defined as man’s intercourse with God.” Dubois-Dumee supported Stolz’s definition of prayer, maintaining that “prayers are ways to God.” Similarly, Beckman described that “prayer as the name we give to the experience of being in communication with God.” The difference in power and strength between two parties in the prayer relationship shows what the specific purposes could be. Human beings who are

other words, by confessing their terrible sins in public and expressing their helplessness in the shape of religious experience, like prayer, the Korean people in the movement not only soothed their sense of shame, but were also able to merge into their new idealizable selfobject, *Hananim*. When they realized that they were sinners and their sins disrupted the relationship between God and them, they felt intense feelings of shame and helplessness. However, they also perceived that they could break the barriers between God and them by confessing their sins and praying intensely which were necessary to cure their shame and provide them with a feeling of enormous strength. As a result of being united with the idealizing selfobject, the movement followers felt their sense of peace and joy which was one of the essential characteristics of the movement.

Consequently, through the 1907 Revival Movement, the movement participants internalized the values and norms of their new ideals which the Puritanical Protestant Church offered, and diverted their complete interest to their new ideal object, *Hananim*. They made a firm resolution of devoting their life to the service of the Ultimate Being in heaven. The confessions of their sins and their intense religious experiences enabled the Korean believers in the movement to merge into the idealizing selfobject. Through this idealizing process, the movement participants were able to have an opportunity to gain calmness and the powerful strength of the idealizing selfobject, thus diverting an unstable state of the arrested archaic narcissism to a state of narcissistic equilibrium.

in the weak position turn to the stronger for help. Their needs and requests motivate them to pray. This structure of the prayer relationship causes the idealizing experience. Karl R. Stolz, *The Psychology of Prayer* (Kessinger Publishing, 2006), 18; Jean-Pierre Dubois-Dumée, *Becoming Prayer* (Boston: St. Paul Books and Media, 1989), 18.

4. The Twinship Selfobject Experience

The 1907 Revival Movement also satisfied the deep-seated needs of the Korean people in the movement for an alter-ego. In trying to meet their alter-ego needs, people often search for others who bear some resemblance to them as selfobjects. Their value lies precisely in their similarity to them. The twinship or alter-ego selfobject relationship allows them to feel that they are “a human among humans,” a feeling that develops from a childhood sense of being in some way “just like” their parents.⁸⁶ In this twinship selfobject relationship, they do not need to feel that they are isolated because there are others who are very similar to them.

The common people in the late period of the Joseon dynasty were suffering from a variety of deeply entrenched social ills which brought a deep sense of isolation and loneliness. The change in the nature of the village society from a voluntary organization to a mere tax collection agent brought about the recognition of considering the common people as objects of exploitation. Those who purchased governmental positions tried to increase their wealth through bribery and extortion. The local bureaucrats and government officials employed various illegitimate means in the process of tax collection and required miscellaneous service charges, abusing their social position. This economic structure of exploitation and inequality caused a sense of alienation and isolation among the common people. In addition, the strict class distinction between the aristocratic class and the common people, and the strict gender hierarchy according to Confucian gender ideology, further strengthened the feeling of isolation and loneliness.

A deep sense of isolation and loneliness became all the more intense, when the

⁸⁶ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 194.

world powers competed to colonize Joseon. As Joseon became an arena for competition among other stronger nations, the Korean people felt that their foundations supporting and holding them physically and psychologically were shaken. They were forced to become victims by the internal and external oppressors. The Korean people had feelings emotionally neglected, detached, and socially isolated which made them also feel that they never belonged anywhere in the world. A feeling of belonging and being one among many was disturbed by the experiences of being alienated and separated. Consequently, such a deep sense of alienation caused a state of narcissistic imbalance.

As the most oppressed social classes, the common people and women in the late Joseon dynasty started to turn their interest towards their imported faith, Protestantism, which dispelled the sense of desolation and remoteness by providing a sense of belongingness and togetherness.⁸⁷ The twinship selfobject experiences were possible through 1) Christian view of equality 2) Jesus as a twinship selfobject who shared similar subjective experiences 3) shared religious experiences, and 4) the missionaries' emphasis on the coming Kingdom of God.

The Christian ideal of equality appealed to those interested in the Protestant

⁸⁷ As a scholar who has researched conversion for a long time, Lewis Rambo states that "the central meaning of conversion is change." He classifies the aspects of the change into five different types of conversion. These are "apostasy," "intensification," "affiliation," "institutional transition," and "tradition transition." Rambo's definition of conversion implies both outer changes including physical movement such as entry and withdrawal and inner changes including adoption of a new viewpoint and religious belief system. Both outer changes and inner changes produce the twinship experience because they secure a sense of belonging through a physical and internal movement towards an institute and a belief system providing an experience of sameness and likeness. The similar psychological process was involved in the Korean people's conversion into Christianity. Lewis R. Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 3.

Christianity, “for this Christian teaching met their deep-seated desire to do away with the discriminatory and oppressive social ranks and gender inequality.”⁸⁸ The Christian view of equality of all people before God was taught not only in the Bible studies in the churches but also in the mission schools which introduced a modern curriculum passing on to students the values of democracy, equality, human rights, and freedom. It can be said that the concentration on equality of the Protestant Church created a sense of brotherhood that we are a human among humans. The Christian teaching that all are alike before God aroused a childhood sense of being similar to our siblings and parents in some way.

Moreover, the early Korean Christians were able to turn to Jesus as an alter-ego who was one of the most highlighted topics in the missionaries’ conservative and evangelistic theology. According to William Martin’s *Samyorok* (Three Essential Teachings of Christianity) translated by Horace Underwood in 1894 and widely read by the lower class, Jesus was described as a mediator who came into the world to save humanity. In addition, the early missionaries’ theological focus was found in the faith of Jesus Christ and His Cross as noted in the sermon in 1919 by Samuel A. Moffet who was called “the pioneer of the soul of Korean people and the father of the Korean [Protestant] [C]hurch.”⁸⁹

In Hwangju, before I came to Korea to preach, I prayed to the Lord and decided before Him. I firmly resolved myself that I will never preach anything but the Truth of the Cross. Whether I live or die I will follow what the Lord tells me and preach

⁸⁸ Kim, “Political Insecurity, Social Chaos, Religious Void and the Rise of Protestantism in Late Nineteenth-Century Korea,” 271.

⁸⁹ Song Ku Chong, *A History of Preaching in Korean Church* (Seoul: Chongsin University Press, 1988), 48.

only the Gospels of salvation... Paul decided if he ever preaches anything other than the Lord's Gospel, he will be condemned. I too resolved to preach only the Gospels of Christ's Cross.⁹⁰

Moffett described his resolution to preach only Jesus Christ's Cross for salvation. These teachings on Jesus Christ taught through the Bible studies and sermons were in direct connection with *Joseon Jujahak* thought of "no gap between Heaven and humanity" and facilitated a sense of togetherness between God and humanity. Considered as the Divine reality, Jesus is not the Being who is far away from the human beings. He came to the world for their salvation. Through the faith of Jesus, the early Korean believers in Christianity could develop an alter-ego relationship with Jesus.

In particular, they psychologically regarded Jesus as a twinship selfobject because they thought that Jesus shared similar subjective experiences with them. Jesus was also devalued and humiliated by people according to the missionaries' Gospel just as the Korean people had been. Even if the early Korean adherents in the Protestant Christianity experienced Jesus as a mirroring and idealized selfobject who was majestic and idealizable, there were enough points of contact with the human Jesus that they could identify with him. In their isolation, they could turn to Jesus because Jesus also felt lonely like them and he also experienced rejection and oppression from people. Yong Do Lee, a mystic who was influenced by the 1907 revival and one of leaders in the Korean Church in the 1920s, developed this twinship relationship with Jesus. He attempted to unite with Jesus Christ who suffered at the cross. For him, Jesus was a deprecated and humiliated person. In his diary on May 7th in 1931, he wrote, "Oh, My Lord! What I have

⁹⁰ Editorial Board. *Hanguk Gidokgyo Seongyo 100junyeon Ginyeom Seolgyo Daejeonjip [Great Anthology of Sermons in Commemoration of the 100th Anniversary of Korean Mission]*(Seoul: Pakmun Press, 1974), 518.

experienced so far about you is so much humble Lord, lethargic Lord, and disgraced Lord.”⁹¹ He recognized Jesus as a tortured and suffering object much like him and the Korean people.

What should be emphasized is that the perception of Jesus as an alter-ego meant that the early Korean Protestant Christians could also share the dignity of Jesus. They could also raise the hopes and meaning of their existence on the basis of shared subjective experiences with Jesus. In other words, they were able to possess the splendor of Jesus through the sense of kinship with Jesus. As a result, the twinship selfobject experience provided self-sustaining experiences that come from feeling the presence of essential similarities.

The 1907 Revival Movement prompted the twinship selfobject experience by offering the movement participants shared religious experiences in which they felt brotherhood and solidarity. The Church surrounded them with others who confessed their own sins together and made common faith commitments. In the churches, they joined in a common spiritual experience with God to whom they directed their prayers in a shared familiar liturgy.

The togetherness in the twinship selfobject was expressed in William Blair’s sermon delivered during the 1907 Pyeong Yang revival on Saturday January 12, 1907. Blair read a Bible verse from 1Corinthians 12:27 and emphasized that all of the participants in the revival composed one community in Christ. He recalls his experience as follows.

⁹¹ Yong Do Lee, *Iyongdomoksai Ilgi [Collection of Lee Yong Do’s Diaries]*, ed. Jong Ho Lee (Seoul: Jagan Culture Press, 1993), 134.

On Saturday night, I preached on 1 Cor. 12:27, “Now ye are the body of Christ and and severally members thereof,” endeavoring to show that discord in the Church was like sickness in the body—“and if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it,”—striving to show how hate in brother’s heart injured not only the whole Church, but brought pain to Christ, the Church’s Head.”⁹²

His sermon on union in Christ describes the very characteristic of the 1907 revival, the sharing of the similar religious experiences among the participants. The religious experiences made it possible not only for them to feel that “we are a human among humans” but also for the missionaries to realize that “the Korean is at heart, and in all fundamental things, at one with his brother of the West.”⁹³

The shared religious experiences and the resulting shared sense of unity and community provided the movement participants with renewed vitality and opportunity for experiencing a cohesive and enduring sense of self. Moreover, they also brought about a sense of belonging which is connected to a sense of power and harmony. This solidarity enhanced by the shared religious experiences was reinforced “by a feeling of necessary interdependence shared by the believers united in a common observance of divine law.”⁹⁴ This interdependence can be psychologically described as similar to the concept of the self-selfobject unit. The participants in the revival experienced others as selfobjects as being similar, an alter ego. In the revival, any sharp distinction among people was lost. The group members which shared the similar religious experiences and collective efforts of observing God’s law functioned as alter-egos towards each other.

The essential likeness was experienced by people’s confessions of secret sins and

⁹² Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering Which Followed*, 69.

⁹³ Moore, “The Great Revival Year.”

⁹⁴ Marcel A. Boisard, *Humanism in Islam* (Indianapolis, Ind.: American Trust Publications, 1988), 101.

wrongdoings. All participants confessed their own sins in public. The missionaries, the pastors, and the congregation, rose and confessed their sins. There were no hierarchical, political, nor economic distinctions in confessing their own wrongdoings and misbehaviors. They all broke down and wept. They cried in the agony of conviction. When people who had been considered different in terms of faith and morality talked about their sins in public, the congregation felt that they were a human among humans much like them. They did not have to feel that only they were inadequate and hopeless due to their sins. They experienced a deeply felt sense of belonging and its following sense of acceptance by listening to others' confessions of what wrongs they had done. The essential sameness through the fact that before God all human beings were sinners facilitated the twinship selfobject experience.

The intense religious experience of prayer also contributed to the twinship selfobject experience. During the revival movement, a new form of prayer such as an audible prayer in unison (*tongsung kido*) was developed. This specific type of the prayer can be observed in Blair's description as follows:

After a short sermon, Rev. Graham Lee took charge of the meeting and called for prayers. So many began praying that Dr. Lee said, "If you want to pray like that, all pray," and the whole audience began to pray out loud, all together. The effect was indescribable—not a confusion, but a vast harmony of sound and spirit, a mingling together of souls moved by an irresistible impulse to prayer. The prayer sounded to me like the falling of many waters, an ocean of prayer beating against God's throne. It was not many, but one, born of one Spirit, lifted to one Father above.⁹⁵

All movement congregation prayed out loud, but they felt they were becoming one in union through this prayer. This specific type of prayer became a unifier which made people feel that they belonged to the same community and religious culture. The very

⁹⁵ Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 71.

sounds and rhythms of the prayer enabled people to have an experience of being one among others, resulting in a deep sense of security and solidarity.

From this revival, holding regular revivals in the individual churches formed a bedrock of the Korean Church and the tradition became “a permanent feature of Korean evangelicalism.”⁹⁶ In addition, the early morning prayer meeting became a regular program of the Bible class from 1907 on.⁹⁷ These regular meetings and programs provided a space where people could interact with one another with the same purpose of a religious experience. In these regular revival meetings and programs, people continued to experience the religious experiences such as individual repentance and the audible prayer which satisfied the movement followers’ needs for experiencing the presence of essential likeness. Moreover, the confessions of sins and audible prayer have been included in the regular rituals of the worship services in the Korean churches so that the congregation can feel a strong sense of belonging and sameness. It is evident that the twinship selfobject experiences were facilitated when the movement participants confessed their sins and prayed loudly together. Significant differences among people in terms of personality, background, wealth, profession, or even appearance disappeared in these shared religious experiences. The human bonds were strengthened by the experiences and they felt that they were equal as God’s children.

The emotional and loud elements in rituals can be also found in the Korean traditional

⁹⁶ Timothy S. Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2010), 23.

⁹⁷ Oak Sung-Deuk, “The Indigenization of Christianity in Korea: North American Missionaries’ Attitudes Towards Korean Religions, 1884-1910” (Ph.D. diss., School of Theology in Boston University, 2002), 307–308.

religion, shamanism. In a shaman ritual, a shaman who intermediates between a human world and a spiritual world, sings, prays, and talks loudly to interact with a number of different spirits. In doing so, a shaman evokes a strong feeling in the audience and displays an emotional exuberance. However, “Christianity...added a new element to Korean spirituality: lay participation.”⁹⁸

Despite the informality of a shaman ritual, most of the dancing, singing, and talking in that ritual is done by the shaman. Members of the audience may occasionally engage in verbal exchanges with the shaman, but for the most part they are spectators rather than participants. The same can be said of monastic Buddhist rituals: lay visitors to a monastery did not normally join in the chanting of the monks. In Christian churches, however, ...[the] congregation sings hymns loudly and joyfully, shouts out amens and hallelujahs, and raises its arms high to receive the Holy Spirit.⁹⁹

Consequently, through the lay participation, the Korean Protestant Church has developed what stimulates the twinship selfobject experiences in its worship. Confessing one’s sins, praying loudly, and singing with hands clapping in the worship services are general patterns in the Korean churches which invite the congregation into the essential likeness.

The missionaries and the Korean pastors’ emphasis on the coming Kingdom of God during the 1907 revival needs to be mentioned in terms of the twinship selfobject. Amidst their severe adversities, the movement followers yearned for the imminent return of Jesus which the majority of the American missionaries adopted as their main theological trend and focus. Usually, many Korean Christian historians have criticized this trend as a way of an escape from reality. However, psychologically speaking, this theological trend contributed to alleviating “the narcissistic wound of finiteness by

⁹⁸ Don Baker, *Korean Spirituality* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 134.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 134–135.

providing the notion of a Hereafter and extends the notion of continuity beyond individual lifespan to include the continuity of the universe of which each person is a part and to which each person can contribute its share.”¹⁰⁰ In other words, the apocalyptic view of Christianity at that time helped the movement followers to form a strengthened sense of belonging to the universe and, as a result of this, the twinship experience was prompted.

VI. Conclusion

In Kohut’s view, the concept of continuity is very important because a sense of continuity is closely associated with a sense of performing or not performing one’s basic ambitions and ideals. He explained as follows;

We realize there is a nuclear program in an individual...that points into the future and points to a particular fulfillment. Once the program is in place, then something clicks and we have a degree of autonomy; this degree of autonomy we call the self. It becomes a center of independent initiative that points to a future and has a destiny.¹⁰¹

Kohut also applies this thinking to the level of nations and groups. In other words, nations and groups also have their own programs which point to a very specific direction. In addition, as the individual needs in the matrix of the selfobject that enables the individual self to begin and take shape, the nations and groups are able to fulfill their own national and group self and form their own highly specific individuality with the help of

¹⁰⁰ Zari Hedayat-Diba, “The Selfobject Functions of the Koran,” *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 7, no. 4 (1997): 232.

¹⁰¹ Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 218.

the surrounding selfobjects such as political leaders, artists, historians, and religious prophets.¹⁰²

In the desperate socio-political circumstances of the Joseon dynasty in the late nineteenth century, Joseon experienced a severe crisis of losing its own national independence. Psychologically, it signified a critical disturbance of achieving the Korean group self's program and its own specific individuality which guaranteed its own sense of continuity. However, in these protracted difficult times, religious, political, and artistic leaders and groups in Korea did not properly function as empathic selfobjects to countervail the fragmentation and devitalization of the Korean group self. Thus, they were not able to support the national self's individuality to ensure its continuity. On the contrary, the early Korean Protestant Church and its 1907 revival movement understood the selfobject needs of the Korean group self. First of all, they served as selfobjects which empathized the movement participants' strong wishes and desires in their grandiose-exhibitionistic pole, allowed them to experience idealized strength and calmness, and were in essential likeness to the the followers.

In addition, the religious experiences provided by the early missionaries and their revival movements contributed to maintaining the sense of continuity of the Korean group self so that it could continue its nuclear program. Over the period of the 1907 revival movement, the total figure for the number of adherents increased rapidly. According to Chul Ha Han, the total figure in 1903 which was the beginning year of the movement was approximately 20,000 but by 1910 it had reached 200,000 among a

¹⁰² Ibid., 219.

population of thirteen million.¹⁰³ The figure constituted a small minority in Korea. However, the psychological processes seen in the 1907 revival movement became the prototype of the following revival movements in each denomination of the Korean Protestant Church. The image of God as a source of mercy and power has continued to perform selfobject functions for the Korean people drawn to the Christian faith, whose power and security have been circumscribed and threatened in the despairing modern history by the Japanese exploitation, the Korean War in 1950, its severe economic plight, and oppression of the military government.¹⁰⁴ In addition, the minority group of the Protestant Christians as a result of the 1907 revival movement made a large contribution toward the Korean people's efforts to restore its autonomy, to take shape of its specific individuality, and to perform its basic ambitions and ideals. Even if only a small percentage of the Korean people experienced the maintaining selfobject functions of religious experiences of the movement, their restored sense of self had a greater influence on the development of the sense of the whole Korean group self.

In the Japanese colonial period, the Protestant churches in Korea showed profound interests in the efforts of recovering the individuality and autonomy of the national self by actively taking part in the *Sam-il* (March 1) Independence Movement of Korea in 1919¹⁰⁵ and social activities. Among the thirty-three signers of the Declaration of

¹⁰³ Chul Ha Han, "Involvement of the Korean Church in the Evangelization," in *Korean Church Growth Explosion: Centennial of the Protestant Church(1884-1984)*, ed. Bong Rin Ro (Seoul: Word of Life Press, 1983), 56.

¹⁰⁴ In 1980 there were about 7,180,000 Protestant Christians among a population of forty million in Korea. The Protestant Christianity became the second largest religion in Korea. Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ The March 1 movement in 1919 was a peaceful demonstration in which un-

Independence in the movement, sixteen were Christians. They were all leaders who played an important role in the movement. That is an astonishing figure given the fact that Christianity accounted for just three percent of the Korean population at that time.¹⁰⁶ A Pro-Korean English journalist, Frederick McKenzie, reported that “The foundation of the leading role in the movement was from the Korean Christians who raised their nationalist consciousness to resist the Japanese suppression through the Bible and the faith.”¹⁰⁷

The churches which reached out into most regions were used as “the pathway of circulation of the Declaration of Independence and the mobilization of the Korean people.”¹⁰⁸ The Korean Church played a role in the pivotal point of the movement when it occurred on March first. For example, the movement in Pyeongyang started with the Christian worship service in a church.¹⁰⁹ The Christian leaders headed the independence movement in seventy-eight areas among 311 areas of twelve hundred demonstrations which were the major prime movers.¹¹⁰ These statistics show that the Korean Christians

armed men, women, and students protested against the Japanese annexation of the Korean peninsula. Japanese troops stormed through the crowds, killing and injuring unarmed citizens.

¹⁰⁶ Bonchul Bae, *A History of Korean Church* (Seoul: Booktopia, 1997), 33.

¹⁰⁷ Frederick A. MacKenzie, *Korea's Fight for Freedom* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1920), 7.

¹⁰⁸ Chi Joon Noh, *Iljeha Hangukgidokgyo Minjokundong Yeongu [A Study of the Korean Protestant Nationalistic Movement Under Japanese Rule]* (Seoul: The Institute for Korean Church History, 1993), 20.

¹⁰⁹ Yang Sun Kim, *Hanguk Gidokgyosa Yeongu [A Study of the Korean Christian History]* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1971), 265.

¹¹⁰ Man Yeol Lee, *Hanguk Gidokgyosa Teukgang [A Special Lecture for the Korean Church History]* (Seoul: Evangelical Students Fellowship Press, 1989), 163.

at that time actively participated in the independence movement. Many non-Christians “began to respect and trust Christians for their nationalism and spiritual leadership” when they saw that many Christians were killed and many churches were destroyed by the Japanese army and police.¹¹¹

Subsequent social reformation movements of the Korean churches also showed the early Korean churches’ efforts to restore the ambitions and ideals of the Korean group self. Even if the *Sam-il* Independence Movement of Korea in 1919 failed to achieve its goal, the Korean Church paid attention to social issues related to equality between male and female and among social classes.¹¹² In particular, the Korean Church began to show their interest in the “enlightenment movement” for the rural population, particularly for the farmers because they were economically oppressed by the Japanese government.¹¹³ Many farmers lost their lands due to the Japanese expansion and confiscation of Korean farms. The Korean Church concentrated on educating the farmers and intervened in the land disputes.¹¹⁴ In addition to this, the Korean church initiated many nationalist movements associated with social inequalities, economic problems, and violations of human rights which “advocated for the modernization of the nation and the people, based upon the gospel of Jesus Christ.”¹¹⁵

The early Korean churches put their best efforts into establishing the specific

¹¹¹ Noh, *Iljeha Hangukgidokgyo Minjokundong Yeongu*, 221.

¹¹² Lee, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik*, 336.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 367.

¹¹⁴ Lee, *Hanguk Gidokgyosa Teukgang*, 171.

¹¹⁵ Lee, *Hangukgidokgyowa Minjokuisik*, 372.

individuality and continuity of the national self. They presented the ambitions and values to which the Korean society should move. At the center of their endeavor were the 1907 revival movement and its following revival meetings which contributed to the maintenance of a sense of the Korean group self. Even if the selfobject functions of mirroring, idealizing, and twinship of the 1907 revival movement were experienced by a minority of the Korean people at that time, not only they helped to strengthen the sense of the Korean group self through the social activities, but also they have expanded the experiences reenacted by the subsequent revival movements in the Korean Church history. In this way, the 1907 revival movement and its religious experiences helped the Korean group self to hold a cohesive sense of its self.

However, the 1907 revival movement and its subsequent revival meetings had a limit as to what they intended to achieve, that is, the selfobject functions for the Korean group self. They were not able to address political and social transformation in Korea which many Korean Christians hoped to achieve with the help of the western Christianity. Rather, the early missionaries and Protestant Church in Korea organized a series of revival meetings to turn the Koreans' attention from social and political changes to religious and spiritual changes. .

In the late Joseon dynasty, some members belonging to political groups joined a church and accepted Christianity, expecting that Korea could maintain its independence by introducing American political and social systems, and its religion, Christianity. Some Korean people believed that the Christian message would enable to enhance the national prosperity and defense. For example, two influential politicians in the progressive group related to the failed Gapsin Coup of 1884, Jae-Pil Seo and Chi-Ho Yun converted to

Protestantism with their conviction that Christianity would support their independence and sovereignty. They viewed Protestantism as the antidote to the social and political ills in Korea.¹¹⁶ Many Korean nationalists who were influenced by them also converted to or relied on Christianity to find ways to resolve the national crisis. The adoption of Christianity for the survival of the nation is well described in the writing of the Charles E. Sharp, a missionary in the Presbyterian Church of North America:

Many are realizing the failure of the ancient civilization of their fathers in the stress of the twentieth century. They see that the nation styled Christian are the ones that today possess the highest civilization and culture, and, turning from the old, they are now seeking the new. But with many of these Christianity means a kind of civilization only. They do not distinguish between Christianity and some of its results. These people are calling for schools and western learning and western culture.¹¹⁷

In the early 1890s when the nation's politics became increasingly volatile, some Korean Christians became more interested in the politics and social problems of Korea. In other words, some Koreans converted to Christianity in the belief that Christianity provided great help in the national tragedy and suffering of Korea.¹¹⁸

At first, the missionaries did not express their stance regarding the politically and motivated converts. They were just happy to have new members in the churches as can be seen in the following comment written by Blair and Hunt. "While we regret that the people are coming from such low motives, we cannot but rejoice at such an opportunity

¹¹⁶ Timothy Sanghoon Lee, "Born-Again in Korea: The Rise and Character of Revivalism in South Korea 1885-1988" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1996), 73.

¹¹⁷ Sharp, "Motives for Seeking Christ," 182–183.

¹¹⁸ Gilsop Song, *History of Theological Thought in Korea* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society, 1987), 95–119.

to give them the Bread of Life.”¹¹⁹ However, as Korea was under the domination of Japan, the missionaries started to be afraid that their works would be interrupted by Japan, due to their participation in the independence movement. As a result, they sought to separate the Christian message and Korean Christian activities from the social and political movements.¹²⁰ Particularly, in September, 1901, the Presbyterian missionaries in Korea were given the order not to become involved in Korea’s political situation from the Presbyterian Association. Sometimes, they actively caused them to lose their nationalistic sentiments. Thus, in 1906, the missionaries suspended the twelve students’ participation in a rally in opposition to the Japanese protectorate over Joseon.¹²¹ Instead, the missionaries focused on personal repentance and regeneration, rather than on revenge against the Japanese.¹²² They planned a revival for turning Korean Christian concerns from the political to the religious, from freedom from social injustice and persecution of Japan, to freedom from sin and death. They also asked the movement followers to forgive Japan as Christians. During the revival, Blair gave a sermon in which he highlighted forgiveness for what the Japanese people did and “a number with sorrow confessed lack of love for others, especially for the Japanese.”¹²³

The attempts of missionaries to depoliticize and spiritualize Korean Christianity in

¹¹⁹ “Evangelistic Work,” 153-156, quoted in Lee, “Born-Again in Korea,” 75.

¹²⁰ Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 41.

¹²¹ W. M. Baird, “Pyeng Yang Academy,” *The Korea Mission Field* 2 (October 1906): 221–224.

¹²² Blair and Hunt, *The Korean Pentecost and the Suffering which Followed*, 63–65.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 69.

the 1907 revival seems to have been inevitable because the missionaries' indifference to the urgent social and political issues in Korea related to oppression and exploitation of Japan was caused by their limited capacity. They were not in a position of fixing problems of the Korean group self by recovering their lost sovereignty recovered. The missionaries also needed to protect themselves and their missionary works from the possible attack of Japan. They also needed to define a realistic boundaries with the assistance of the Korean people. However, the insensitivity of the early missionaries and their leading the 1907 revival movement in terms of the Korean social and political circumstances cast a long shadow over the Korean churches. The inclination toward depoliticalization and the insensitivity to the urgent social issues in the Korean churches have continued throughout the history of the Korean churches and, later, caused serious damage to the selfobject functions of the Korean churches, which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SELFOBJECT FUNCTIONS OF THE KOREAN
PROTESTANT CHURCH

As discussed in the previous chapter, during the 1907 revival movement the Korean Church provided the mirroring, idealizing, and twinship selfobject functions which maintained a sense of self-worth for the movement followers. Then, what are the implications of this psycho-historical investigation of the religious experiences in the 1907 revival movement for the Korean churches today? The reason why this question is important is because the Korean Church is gradually losing its selfobject functions as it becomes corrupt. In this chapter, I deal with this question by looking at 1) the Church's recent critical situation; 2) the differences in historical backgrounds between the late Joseon period and the present day; and 3) some theological, and pastoral strategies to restore the Church's selfobject functions.

There are cultural, religious, political and economic reasons which cause the present fragmentation of the Korean group self. However, this study focuses on the Korean people's stress on economic growth and its pursuit of material values and power. It explores how this materialism functions as a negative selfobject experience to the Korean people and how the Korean Protestant Church has not provided a positive selfobject experience for them in this materialistic era. In addition, it deals with the theological and pastoral strategies that can enable the churches to recover the selfobject functions.

I. The Korean Protestant Church's Recent Critical Situation

The Korean Protestant churches have had four decades of unprecedented growth since Protestantism was introduced in 1884.¹ Christianity became the second largest religion in Korea with nearly nine million followers constituting 19% of the entire population of South Korea. At present there are sixty thousand churches, and one hundred thousand ministers and the Church has dispatched twelve thousand overseas missionaries all over the world.² There are also many mega-churches in Korea in various denominations, including the *Yoido* Full Gospel Church, known as the largest church in the world, *Myungsung* Church the largest Presbyterian Church, in the world and *Kwanglim* Church, the largest Methodist Church in the world. The drastic rise of the Korean Protestant churches can be seen as evidence of remarkable success, given the fact that Protestantism constitutes only 2% of the entire population of Asia.³

However, today, the Korean Protestant Church is now facing huge challenges. The Korean Protestant denominations are undergoing decline and stagnation. The growth rate of Protestantism fell sharply to the point of stagnation(1.4 percent) between 1991 and 1994.⁴ What is more astonishing is that according to the 2005 Population and Housing

¹ Particularly, its explosive growth occurred during the eight years between 1962 and 1970. Membership grew by 333.7% from 736,000 to 3,192,000 during this period. Sung-Ho Kim, "Rapid Modernisation and the Future of Korean Christianity," *Religion* 32, no. 1 (2002): 27.

² Jung Han Kim, "Christianity and Korean Culture: The Reasons for the Success of Christianity in Korea," *Exchange* 33, no. 2 (2004): 132.

³ In spite of the physiological, cultural, and social similarities between Korea and Japan, Christianity has failed to develop a firm foundation in Japan where the regular church attendants barely reach 0.3%. Eiko Takamizawa, "Analytical Comparison of Church Growth in Korea and Japan," *Torch Trinity Journal*, 2005, 86.

⁴ Kim, "Rapid Modernisation and the Future of Korean Christianity," 27.

Census Report, the rate of growth in Protestantism dropped 1.6 percent. On the contrary, Catholicism displayed a rapid rate of growth, 74.4 percent.⁵ This result showed that many Protestant Christians are leaving their church. According to statistical research by Gallup Korea in 2004, on Korean religions and religious consciousness, large numbers of Christians are leaving their churches. According to this research, from 1985 through 2005, 16.2% of religious people experienced proselytism. Among them, 45.5% converted from Protestantism to other religions. In addition, a survey of people's attitudes toward the religions by a Gallup poll showed that the common people have a good feeling toward Buddhism(37.4%), followed by Catholicism(17%), and lastly toward Protestantism(12.3%).⁶ This survey indicates that the Korean Protestant churches' image had declined.

The stagnation and decline of the Korean Protestant churches are closely associated with the deterioration of the churches' image due to their corruption and immoral behavior. Many of the Korean churches have been recently criticized for excessive accumulation of church property, the inheritance of senior pastor positions, and the alleged embezzlement of church funds among pastors, which often cause social turmoil. Although the society is anxiously looking for the light of truth and justice from the Church, the Church is lost in the darkness of materialism and authoritarianism. Moreover, the Korean church has been divided into hundreds of divisions. It seeks money more than

⁵ <http://news.hankooki.com/lpage/culture/200611/h2006112318403584330>, Accessed on January 15th, 2013.

⁶ Kwang-o Kim, "Jonggyoe Daehan Bujeongjeok Sigak Ganghae[Negative Viewpoint About Religions]," *Hanguk Seonggyeol Sinmun[Korea Holy Newspaper]* (July 9, 2005), 10.

knowledge and love of God and the understanding of living a Christian life. It boasts about church growth more than its efforts for nurturing healthy and mature Christians. Yong-shin Park points out that Protestantism in Korea has degenerated as a way of gaining a more comfortable and affluent life in this world.⁷ He asserts, “today Protestant churches have no influence in the public sphere, because they have been retreating into a cell of ‘privatized’ spirituality, while accommodating the culture of economic prosperity, consumerism, and the pleasures of personal life.”⁸

As a result of such corruption and misconduct, the Korean Church is losing its credibility in Korean society and its important role in guiding Korean society and giving hope and comfort to people. The early missionaries in Korea focused on forming a trusting relationship with Korean people, by providing medical services and education. However, the Korean Protestant churches became an object of criticism because of their exclusiveness and selfishness. The Korean churches are perceived as a symbol of greed and egotism by people. According to a 2004 survey taken by Gallup Korea regarding religions and religious consciousness of Koreans, over sixty percent of the Protestant respondents thinks that the Korean Church is losing its own original objectives and is searching desperately for this world’s riches and honors.⁹ Non-Christians claim that the Korean Protestants’ problem lies in a lack of ethics and criticize the churches for their accumulation of wealth, exclusiveness in the relationship with other religions and

⁷ Yong-Shin Park, “Protestant Christianity and Its Place in a Changing Korea,” *Social Compass* 47, no. 4 (December 1, 2000): 520.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Gallup Korea, “Report of the Religions and Religious Consciousness of Korea,” quoted in Pil-Won Min, “A Case Study of the Contemporary Church Renewal Movement in Korea” (Ph.D. diss., Asbury Theological Seminary, 2010), 24.

cultures, and their political conservative perspectives and indifference to social issues.

According to recent research about the degree of social reliability of the Korean church, non-Christian respondents give a score 35.00 out of 90.00 corresponding to a D+.¹⁰

Byung Yeon Kim concludes that the survey indicates that the Korean Church is regarded as an unreliable and separated group in the Korean society.¹¹

What is worse, the broadcast media have begun to deal with and report the problems of the Korean Protestant Church. For example, MBC, a public broadcasting company, broadcasted a series of programs on January 26th, February 2nd, and 16th in 2008 to deal with the inheritance of senior pastor positions, the extravagant lifestyle of pastors, and the tax problems in the churches. The program had a great resonance with the wider public and after broadcasting the program, the conflicts between MBC and the Protestant churches grew increasingly intense. In addition, an internet newspaper, *Oh! My News* investigated the problems of some Korean Protestant churches' corruption in terms of the sale and construction of church buildings, and pastors' violent words from the pulpit in a series of articles.¹² What is important, the common people began to have significant negative perceptions toward the Protestant Church through the TV programs and news articles.

More seriously, several anti-Christian groups are now active in Korea and, through

¹⁰ Byung Yeon Kim, "Presentation on Analysis Report: Opinion Research on the Degree of Social Reliability of the Korean Church-Purpose, Methodology, and Result" (presented at A Seminar for Presenting the Degree of Social Reliability of the Protestant Church in Korea, Christian Ethics Movement of Korea and Church Trust Network, 2008), 27.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/view/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0001627345, Accessed on January 15th, 2012

the use of the Internet, their numbers are rapidly growing. The most representative groups are the Anti-Christianity Civil Movement, the Anti-Christianity Club and the Antidogma.¹³ They are severely criticizing the Protestant churches, based on the collected information about the churches' corruption, and the pastors' misconduct. They are openly advertising that their purposes are not only to inform the public about the churches' problems and lack of credibility but also to destroy the churches. Their reporting indicates that the common people are dissatisfied with the Protestant churches.

The given statistics and data imply that the Korean Protestant Church faces a critical challenge that demands renewal and recovery of its functions of giving hope and credibility to the people and leading the society. In this circumstance, my examination of the 1907 Korean revival movement, as a case study, from the perspective of a psychoanalytic psychology of the self can address the problems caused by the decreasing effectiveness of the Korean Protestant churches in influencing the society and identify the ways to recover their relevance to society. In other words, the psychological processes manifested in the 1907 Revival Movement in terms of the selfobject experiences have great implications for diagnosing and resolving the contemporary problems of the Protestant Church.

II. Faulty Empathy of the Korean Protestant Church

Psychologically speaking, the reason why the Korean Protestant Church is denounced by the common people is related to the failure of the churches' mirroring,

¹³ Their internet addresses are <http://www.anticrist.or.kr>, <http://cafe.daum.net/clubanti/>, <http://cafe.daum.net/antidogma/>. Accessed on January 15th, 2013.

idealizing, and twinship selfobject functions. The Protestant Church cannot empathically respond to the emotional needs and interests of the Korean people because they are too focused on themselves. They are no longer an idealizable selfobject with which people can be merged because they are widely seen as an immoral community among nonbelievers. It is unable to provide a sense of togetherness, due to its exclusiveness. The failure of the Korean Protestant Church reminds one of the *Joseon Jujahak*'s failure of the selfobject functions in the late Joseon period. At that time, the *Jujahak* was not able to mirror the general public's emotional needs, due to its exclusiveness and the unreality of its theories and practices which were out of touch with reality.

Why does the Korean Protestant Church fail to perform the selfobject functions as it did in the early 20th century? This question cannot be explained without consideration of Korea's modern and contemporary history. Therefore, to explore the failure of the Protestant Church's selfobject functions, it is important to examine 1) the characteristic of the modern and contemporary Korean history; 2) the excessive preoccupation of the Korean Protestant Church with economic affluence and rapid growth in this historical period; and 3) the psychological function of the obsession on the material values as an indicator of the faulty empathy of the Church.

1. Psychological Fragmentation of the Korean Group Self Manifested in the Modern and Contemporary Korean History.

What we need to keep in mind first is that the dominant psychological problems in our times are different from those in the late Joseon period. While the primary problem in the early twentieth century lied in an overall lack of empathic responses and cohesive

experiences, the main trouble in our times is related to a lack of the pertinent empathic responses for healthy grandiosity and exhibitionism. Even if the Korean people's physical wishes and demands are gratified, their emotional needs necessary for the cohesive self have been disrespected. In other words, the contemporary psychological problems of the enfeebled Korean group self derive from the lack of selective empathic responses.

The present defect of the Korean group self is closely associated with the Korean modern history which can be characterized as rapid modernization. The Korea's economic growth began when the dominating political group adopted industrialization as a central policy of the country in the early 1960s. The top priority of the government at that time was economic development. In particular, the Korean economy was boosted by President Jeong Hee Park who stayed in power for approximately twenty years as a military dictator. He pushed for bold economic reforms to promote the economy. He built up heavy and chemical industries through which today's giant Korean conglomerates developed. The following regimes led by the military elites also concentrated on the economic development by encouraging the development of conglomerates, aggressively intervening in the economy and marketplace while wielding disciplinary power, and fostering the collaborative relations between the government and the large companies.

The government's economic reforms and its economically focused policies caused remarkable economic development and affluence in Korea. The key economic indicators show the economic growth in these periods. The gross national product(GNP) grew from \$2 billion in 1962 to \$276.8 billion in 1992. According to the International Monetary Fund(IMF) statistics, the GNP for 1992 in Korea placed Korea as fourteenth in the world. The per capita national income increased from \$87 to \$6749 in the same period. The

same story is shown in the gross national income(GNI) which increased from \$ 252.3 billion to 474.0 billion between 1990 and 1997.¹⁴

However, there have been negative results hidden behind Korea's economic development achieved through the rapid industrialization led by the military regimes. Sung-ho Kim points out four side-effects that resulted from such rapid modernization: 1) "an imbalance between rural and urban populations;" 2) "political insecurity;" 3) "conflict between traditional values and new, Western values;" and 4) "economic inequality."¹⁵ Even though the Korean people's pursuit of riches has been brought to fruition, to some extent, by their extraordinary efforts, their excessive preoccupation with economic affluence and development have resulted in the structural fragmentation. That is, the nation has experienced an imbalance between the rich and the poor, inequality between "the haves and the have-nots," and social, political, and regional conflicts. The Korean people have been so engrossed in making ends meet that they were not able to concern themselves with maintaining harmonic or cohesive balance. The needs for social and political maturity have been disregarded for the pursuit of economic wealth. Psychological speaking, even if the demands and wishes for economic wealth and power have been gratified, other issues of the society have not been addressed. That is, the psychological and emotional needs have not been acknowledged. Consequently, this social reality has engendered the fragmentation of the Korean group self.

The weakened state of the contemporary Korean group self can be compared to a

¹⁴ National Statistical Office, *Social Indicators In Korea* (Seoul: National Statistical Office, 1999), 530 cited in Kim, "Rapid Modernisation and the Future of Korean Christianity," 28.

¹⁵ Kim, "Rapid Modernisation and the Future of Korean Christianity," 28–29.

self structure of a child who continuously returns to drive gratification to make up for a lack of appropriate maternal empathy. Even if it seems that the mother fulfills the child's every wish and demand perfectly, the perfect mothering is carried out for her own purposes. She only takes care of the child in order to achieve her aims. The child becomes an essential tool for attaining her goals. Consequently, although the mother looks as though she is being fully in tune with the child's every demand, the child does not feel that he/she is empathically admired and confirmed by the mother's care. Instead, the child identifies himself/herself a kind of an appendage that belongs to the mother, and, as a result, the child has low self-esteem.

The gratification of the basic needs for affluence is a part of the mirroring selfobject experiences. However, the problem is that the affluence was attained by rapid industrialization at the cost of the more cohesive emotional needs for empathic understanding and respectable recognition of the society. The atmosphere of the Korean society has been so focused on economic growth that people have not been able to look after their needs for being loved and respected in more meaningful ways. The lack of the pertinent confirmation and acknowledgement of responses has produced "the formation of a depleted, depressed sector of" the Korean group self and "a depressively undertaken return to drive gratification."¹⁶ Consequently, the Korean people have tried to experience a sense of inner calm and relief by their pursuit of affluence.

Kohut's classification of the types of misapplication of empathy into three groups helps to explain and understand the psychological state of the Korean group self in the Korean modern and contemporary history. All three types of misapplication of empathy,

¹⁶ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 80.

as described below, obstruct the formation of the “tension-regulating psychic structures” which are essential components of a cohesive self.¹⁷

We find that, during the earliest phases, (a) the mother’s self-absorption may lead to a projection of her own moods and tensions onto the child and thus to faulty empathy; (b) she may overrespond selectively (hypochondriacally) to certain moods and tensions in the child which correspond to her own narcissistic tension states and preoccupations; (c) she may be unresponsive to the moods and tensions expressed by the child when her own preoccupations are not in tune with the child’s needs. The result is a traumatic alternation of faulty empathy, overempathy, and lack of empathy...¹⁸

The fragmentation of the Korean group self in the early twentieth century was closely associated with the third type of misapplication of empathy, that is, a lack of empathy. The deficit of the self structure at that time was caused by unresponsive surroundings attributed to the internal and external adversities. However, the deflection of the self in the modern and contemporary times resulted from the second type, i.e. overempathy. More concretely, it was caused by the selective overresponse to economic growth. The military regimes instilled the principle of economic interests first into the Korean people’s minds. The government was preoccupied with the main aim of improving the material living standards of its citizens. To achieve this goal, the government selectively overresponded to the needs and demands of the Korean people regarding economic wealth and power. However, the government and its leaders were not able to satisfy the overall emotional needs of mirroring understanding and respectful acknowledgement which are essential for the firmness of the self structure. The Korean government’s inordinate concentration on the economic growth and its selective

¹⁷ Kohut, *The Analysis of the Self*, 66.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 65–66.

responses to people's needs have functioned as overempathy which have resulted in the enfeebled state of the Korean group self.

In sum, during the contemporary era of Korea, there are no internal and external adversities which threaten the existence of the Korean group self and its nation. The society has built up its economic fortune and is enjoying its great wealth. However, the social conditions are producing unhealthy and harmful effects on the sense of the Korean group self, because the Korean governments, their leaders, and society have selectively responded to the economic needs of people, disregarding the more essential needs of respect, assertiveness, and trustworthiness for the cohesive self structure.

2. The Korean Protestant Church's Religious Materialism and its Failure as Empathic Selfobjects.

As the Korean society has been rapidly modernized, the atmosphere of economic prosperity and materialism, setting a high value on economic improvement has also been established. The Korean Protestant Church has embraced and followed that goal and value. The Korean churches began to have a unique response in connection with materialism. Many Korean Protestant churches' theological emphasis during this period from the 1960s to the 1980s was also placed on material values and blessings, even if some of the Korean Protestant churches developed the theoretical frame to deal with social problems. What the Church emphasized was its growth to spread the gospel. Therefore, it supported the military regimes and braced the government's emphasis on economic affluence. Yong-Shin Park mentions that at that time the Korean churches

showed a “religious materialism.”¹⁹ In his view, “economic affluence has been worshipped to the extent that the biblical concept of blessing has come to mean achieving socio-economic prosperity.”²⁰

The Korean Protestant Church was perceived as a place of providing a more comfortable and affluent life in this world. That is, the egocentric possession and dominance have been highlighted and emphasized in the theology of the Korean churches in the twentieth century. To have faith was considered to be the pathway to material blessings and liberation from poverty. Large-scale mass rallies were held by the Protestant churches in Korea from the 1960s to the 1980s and they were seen as a symbol of material blessings.²¹ Accordingly, many Korean churches rejected their social and political responsibilities and emphasized personal well-beings and privatized spirituality, instead.

The Korean Church has been developing quickly with the nation’s economic progress rising at a fast pace. It is clear that the rapid church development with the economic growth produced richness and power in the church. However, the Korean Protestant Church’s success story is derived from its affirmation of economic greed through its materialistic theology. In the hard economic times since the Korean war, its theological focus on power and wealth has gratified wishes and demands of the underprivileged and the dispossessed who, as victims of unbalanced economic growth,

¹⁹ Park, “Protestant Christianity and Its Place in a Changing Korea,” 520.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The representative examples were the National Evangelism Conference in 1965, the Billy Graham Evangelical Conference in 1973, and the Holy Assembly of the Nation in 1977. Kim, “Rapid Modernisation and the Future of Korean Christianity,” 32.

were experiencing oppression and deprivation. They viewed the churches and religious belief as “a means of escape from psychological instability and as an affirmation of ...[economic] affluence.”²² Consequently, the churches’ emphasis on the economic wealth and power functioned as a source of rapid membership growth during a different period of poverty.

However, what people needed and continue to need is “empathically modulated food-giving, not food.”²³ Seen from the point of view of the psychology of the self, what is important is an empathy-giving selfobject. No matter how well the Korean churches have been in tune with the needs and wishes of wealth and power, the gratification cannot be linked to the source of the emerging cohesive self, if the gratification is closely related to selective overempathy. The Korean Protestant churches selectively responded to the Koreans’ needs for being affluent with its prosperity theology which did not entail overall empathic or confirming responses. The selective confirming responses to the Korean people’s needs of prosperity contributed to the enfeeblement of the Korean group self which continues to seek economic wealth and power as a way to make up for the fragmentation of the self.²⁴

Moreover, the ambience of the Korean society began to change as the Korean people’s interests in the basic principles of democracy, freedom and equality were on the

²² Ibid., 33.

²³ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 81.

²⁴ This theological position has formed a bedrock of the Korean churches’ development evoking a “health and wealth gospel” which “has become an enduring feature of the Protestant evangelical and Pentecostal landscape.” See Peter B. Clarke and Peter Beyer, *The World’s Religions: Continuities and Transformations* (London: Routledge, 2009), 213.

gradual increase in the 1980s. These interests were connected to democratization movements which resulted in the transfer of power from the military regimes to civilian governments. In addition, the postmodern culture began to flow into the Korean society in the 1990s. Its characteristics can be described as “greater class differentiation, an increasing complexity of identities, a generation gap and the emergence of a civil society, not to mention a greater emphasis on consumption, on pleasure-seeking and on mass culture.”²⁵

In this changed atmosphere of the Korean society, the Korean Protestant churches have held fast to the material culture, and the authoritarian and rigid attitudes toward the society. Just as the Korean churches made remarkable progress due to their emphasis on material blessings and religious materialism, so their long-standing adoption of the material attitude led to a crisis of their credibility. Their indifference to social injustice and involvement, and their continuous pursuit of secular success and material values caused not only the decline in membership in Korean Christianity but also generated severe criticism from both inside and outside the Church. The rigid and impervious attitudes of the Korean Protestant Church continue to obstruct its selfobject functions in the society.

Therefore, what is required of the Protestant Korean Church now is not to overly satisfy the demands and wishes for wealth and power but to restore its selfobject functions as a mirroring, idealizable, and twinship presence for the cohesiveness of the self. The selfobject needs are always needed throughout all eras, whether in the late Joseon period or in today’s contemporary society. However, the main issue of our time is

²⁵ Kim, “Rapid Modernisation and the Future of Korean Christianity,” 29.

more associated with the fragmented Korean group self due to the overempathy and the misuse of its newly-obtained wealth and power. Attaining wealth, power, and energy by the Korean people could not keep them calm and peaceful but compulsively has forced them to pursue the obsessional acquisition of economic wealth and power to compensate for the enfeeblement of their self structure. Consequently, there is currently an urgent need to devise measures for improving the churches' selfobject functions.

However, given the difference of our time's historical, social, and political circumstances, it is impossible for us to encounter the narcissistic troubles with the same theological position and pastoral strategies simply taken over from the 1907 Revival Movement. Its motifs and themes need to be reformed and reconstructed by being made to correspond to the new context which can be characterized as a one-sided over gratification of material affluence, wrongly inflated structure of the self as its following result, and obsessive pursuit of economic abundance and power as a way of filling up the deficit of the self. Then, what are the theological foci and strategies of ministry which need to be transposed so that the Korean Protestant Church can fulfill its selfobject functions in our time?

III. The Restoration of the Korean Protestant Church's Selfobject Functions

As mentioned above, the greatest problem in Korean society can be found in the unbalanced growth and pursuit of wealth and power. Korea has shown remarkable economic development over the last five decades which is almost unprecedented. As a result, Korean society has enjoyed the fruit of prosperity. However, significant spiritual and moral values have not grown in proportion to the economic expansion. As a result,

Korea became a society obsessed and dominated by wealth and power. People are treated differently based on their economic abundance and social class, and authoritarian thinking and attitudes are prevalent in the society.²⁶ Additionally, a rigid and hypocritical social atmosphere has been formed to maintain the accumulated wealth and power, and its vested rights.

From the perspective of Kohut's self psychology, this social phenomena represent the depleted group self which has become "arrogant and falsely self-sufficient," due to its inordinate obsession on affluence and power which has been the key issue in Korea since the military regime.²⁷ The fragmentation of the Korean group self was not caused by the absence of the empathic responses. The emphasis of the Korean government and its leaders on wealth and power offered some selfobject needs for cohesion and strength to the Koreans who longed for economic growth and immense power. However, it did not provide wholeness. The excessive focus on prosperity has functioned as an analogous kind of selfobject experiences to support a sense of the self but it eventually became ineffective because, regrettably, it caused a fragmented self. Consequently, the weakness of the Korean group self resulted from the ineffectual empathic responses from the over

²⁶ A security guard suddenly died after he had worked at an outside guard post without a heater in severe cold temperatures. The head of the local district ordered workers to lock the doors of the outside guard post without any heaters so that the guard was not able to come out as a punishment because the security guard was late in helping the head to park his car. This unfortunate incident showed the authoritarian attitude rampant in the Korean society and the power and wealth supremacy. Hee Wan Jeong, "Sudden Death of Security Guard in Seocho-Gu Office Will Be Examined by the Prosecution," *The Kyunghyang Daily News*, January 29, 2013, http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?artid=201301291705391&code=940301.

²⁷ Kohut, *Self Psychology and the Humanities*, 248.

empathy of selective needs.

The Korea Protestant Church has continued to expand quickly over the last half century. That is because it aggressively engaged in evangelization with the prosperity gospel. It supported the military regimes' stress on the economic development with its prosperity doctrine. Its theology has been preoccupied with material affluence and dominating control which could not lead to a healthy sense of self even if they initially contributed to providing a certain degree of cohesion and strength. Then, how can the Korean Protestant Church restore the selfobject functions in the Korean society today, just as it did in the early 20th century? Even if we learn from the selfobject functions that the early Korean Christianity accomplished, the present Korean Protestant Church needs to engage in the necessary tasks relevant to our period. It should emphasize the different religious activities, theological ideas, and pastoral leadership in accordance with a new and relevant self state of the Korean group self. They can be epitomized by 1) increasing the social participation of the church; 2) a well-proportioned theological view between self-surrender and self-acceptance and; and 3) through leadership development as appropriate to the contemporary period. The social participation, consolidated theological view point, and development of a new leadership have the potential to create and enhance the images of God which perform selfobject functions for the contemporary Korean group self.

1. Increasing Social Participation of the Church

What is urgently necessary for the Korean Protestant Church to restore the selfobject functions is to reconsider Christian social involvement and to participate in the

activities on behalf of social justice. Even if the liberal Protestant churches in Korea were dedicated to social justice and human rights for the oppressed, the majority of the Korean Protestant churches which are conservative have been indifferent to social justice.²⁸

Rather, they supported the military regimes to spread the Church's doctrine to people effectively and to enlarge the size of the churches. They emphasized the material blessing which was the main issue of the government at that time, and encouraged believers not to be involved in the social activities for justice and political reform. They educated the Korean people about a non-political, more purely religious involvement.²⁹

The indifference of the Korean Protestant churches toward social participation is closely associated with the present stagnation and decline of the churches, and the loss of their influence in the Korean society. It is true that their emphasis on material affluence contributed to their growth of membership. The increase was possible because the churches provided a selective gratification of their selfobject needs which, however, turned out to be ineffective in terms of maintaining a cohesive sense of the Korean group self. Eventually, the churches' tendency towards materialism distanced the churches from the real emotional needs and wishes of the Korean group self as well as the expectations of the public about the selfobject functions of the churches.

²⁸ Liberal Protestantism in Korea expressed its disapproval of the military regimes' suppression of human rights. One of the examples is "The Human Rights Declaration," which supported human rights against the government's oppression. Their efforts to uphold democratization and social justice did not gain increasing support among the public who were more focused on material stability. Heung-Soo Kim and Seung-Tae Kim, "A History of Korean Christianity Since Liberation," in *The Yearbook of Korean Religion*, ed. Korea Research Institute for Religion and Society (Seoul: Halimwon, 1993), 80.

²⁹ Sung-gun Kim, *Jonggyowa Sahoe [Religion and Society]* (Daejeon: Moongyeong Publishing, 1997), 224–226.

It is interesting to compare the Korean Catholic Church's responses to the Korean social and political situations with those of the Protestant churches. Basically, the Catholic churches have maintained an actively participating attitude toward social issues.³⁰ Cardinal Soo-Hwan Kim set forth his opinion in an address to the Bishops' meeting in the Vatican in October, 1974, indicating that the primary focus of the Korean Catholic Church should be geared toward the poor and oppressed.³¹ Korean Catholicism was based on a theology which included social justice as an indispensable component of the Church's work and encouraged social participation as an effective way of evangelization. Thus, "the Social Justice Movement" created by the Korean Roman Catholic Church, resisted the military regimes and focused on serving the common people in Korea in the 1980s. As a result, Myung Dong Cathedral became a Mecca of democratization in Korea.³² In addition, the Korean Catholic Church has been interested in harmonizing with the values of the traditional Korean culture which have been neglected by the rapid modernization. At the same time, Korean Catholicism was open to other Korean religions and the traditional Korean culture. For example, during worship, Korean language was used in the Bible reading, preaching, and hymns instead of Latin. In addition, the Korean Catholic Church did not oppose Confucian ancestor worship which was strongly rejected by the Korean Protestant Church.³³

³⁰ Kyong-Hwan Oh, "Introspection and Prospect of Korean Catholicism since Liberation," in *Introspection and Prospect of Korean Religion since Liberation*, ed. Korea Religion Society Institute (Seoul: Minjokmunhwasa, 1989), 142–143.

³¹ Kim, "Rapid Modernisation and the Future of Korean Christianity," 30.

³² Seung-Yong Yun, "A Study on Religion's Response to Social Change" (Seoul National University, 1992), 112–113.

³³ Oh, "Introspection and Prospect of Korean Catholicism since Liberation," 152–

However, these efforts of the Catholic Church in favor of social justice and cultural adaptation did not impact greatly on the lives of the Korean people and were not connected to the membership growth in the Church. That was because many Korean people were attracted and preoccupied by the economic growth and material blessing. However, as Koreans began to experience negative aspects of the unbalanced emphasis on the economic affluence, such as an unequal distribution of wealth, discrimination by property and possession, authoritarian attitudes, and materialism cheapening human dignity, they gradually began to turn their eyes to social justice and Korean traditional values. In this situation, the Catholic Church's long-standing concern for social matters served as "the self-cohesion-maintaining selfobject"³⁴ in the Korean society which led to Catholic Church's rapid growth in the early 2000s even if the Korean Protestant Church underwent decline in the same period according to 2005 Population and Housing Census Report. The membership of the Korean Catholic Church grew from 295,000 in 1995 to 514,600 in 2005 which was an astounding 74.4% increase in the membership.³⁵

It was the Korean Protestant Church which played the same selfobject role in the Korean society in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The primary focus of the Protestant Church at that time was turned toward the marginalized and oppressed. The early American missionaries such as Allen, Underwood, and Appenzeller concentrated their energy on taking care of the socially deprived people, particularly the

153.

³⁴ Kohut, *How Does Analysis Cure?*, 1984, 61.

³⁵ Yoon-Jae Jang, "Segehwa Sidae, Seongjangui Jongmalgwa Grisdoseongyoui Seongyo[Globalized Age, The End of Membership Growth and The Mission Work of Christianity]," in *Muryehan Bokeum[The Disrespectful Gospel]*, ed. The Institute of the Third Era Christianity (Seoul: Sanchaeja, 2007), 248.

poor, the oppressed, and women. Their concern for the underprivileged was connected to their active social activities. They organized schools for the common people and women which were a place of learning a view of the society and world, and cultivating a national consciousness. They built up medical institutions which provided a free medical treatment for the marginalized. In addition, the early Korean Christians did not remain indifferent to political and social matters in Korea. They actively participated in social activities to save the Korean society. The Christian leaders played a leading role in structuring political and social movements.³⁶

However, in the decades following the 1950-53 Korean war, the age of the poverty, the dominant concern of the Korean Protestant Church was not directed to social involvement and political matters. The churches put their emphasis on the economic affluence and material well-being. In addition, in order to spread its gospel effectively, the Church assisted the military regimes with its prosperity gospel and doctrine. It is understandable that the Protestant Church emphasized material blessings in the era of poverty. However, in order to provide the selfobject experience for the people in this era, they should start to be interested in their social and political situations.

The Church's interest in what is happening in a society means that it does not set itself apart from any other groups in a society. Until the church can participate in the social issues and political matters, it cannot give the common people an impression that

³⁶ The representative examples are the Independence Club, the Movement of the *Shinminwhoe*(the New People's association), the YMCA(Young Men's Christian Association), and the March first Independence Movement in 1919. The Korean Christian leaders structured these movements to enhance a national spirit, to raise social and political issues, and to improve social and political circumstances. Shin Kim, "Christianity and Korean Nationalism, 1884-1945: A Missiological Perspective" (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 2008), 124–130.

the church is sharing their sufferings and troubles, and is being with what they are experiencing and feeling, which facilitates the mirroring and twinship selfobject experiences for the Korean group self. The churches' social involvement is needed to strengthen their influence on the common people as the selfobject. The religious teachings of the churches without social participation and practice can be compared to the demands and expectations of the narcissistically impaired parents toward their children. As they do not consider their children's selfobject needs, they fail to respond to the children empathically. Rather, they attempt to impose their narcissistic requirements on their children. In this way, unilateral communication of the Korean Protestant Church which does not have interest in social issues and problems has created empathic failures to the Korean group self.

In particular, to promote the growth of a strong and stable sense of the Korean group self in the postmodern society which is characterized by "plurality, division, openness, a multi-class system, and shifting cultural discourse,"³⁷ the Korean Protestant Church needs to become more open and friendly toward other people and groups which have different religions, worldviews and moral points of view. The Church should become a comfortable open space for everyone, regardless of their religious, political, and cultural backgrounds. It should serve as a resting place for the marginalized and oppressed who feel deprived as a result of the unbalanced economic development and the formation of a society, dominated by power and wealth. In addition, the Church should learn from the early missionaries and Christians' devoted efforts, in the area of education,

³⁷ Kim, "Rapid Modernisation and the Future of Korean Christianity," 29. Quoted in Myung-Rae Cho, "New Urbanism of Seoul," *Cultural Science* (Spring, 1994): 202-206.

medical care, social work, the civil-rights movements, feminist movements, Korean independence, encouragement of social justice, and introduction of new technologies. They should try to apply their devotion and dedication to our current era.³⁸ Consequently, the churches' open-minded attitudes toward the common people and their active involvement in the social and political issues will compensate for the fragility of the Korean group self caused by the overemphasis on wealth and power rather than on emotional needs for being respected, appreciated, and admired. The churches' openness and active interest in the lives of the public will make an important contribution to maintaining the individual sense of the Korean group self by making the Korean group self experience itself a differentiated, individuated, and independent self.

2. A Well-proportioned Theological View between Self-surrender and Self-acceptance.

The evangelistic and puritanical theological ideas of the early Protestant missionaries served as the selfobject experiences for the early Korean Protestant Christians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their emphasis on human beings' fragile and fallen nature produced an analogous psychological effect defined as "understanding interpretations" which focuses on "the empathic grasp of the experiential state of the patient."³⁹ The theological perspective reflected the Korean group self's

³⁸ For example, the Korean church can do something to provide selfobject experiences, such as, opening up the church area for the common people, taking care of the poor and the oppressed not only by supporting them economically and emotionally but also attempting to rectify the unequal social structure, creating particular nonreligious educational programs focused on giving beneficial economic and social information, setting up Bible study meetings designed to connect the Bible to social and political matters and to discuss these issues for better understanding.

³⁹ Chris Jaenicke, "Kohut's Concept of Cure," *Psychoanalytic Review* 74, no. 4

fragile state, conveying that the Church understood what the Korean people had experienced. In addition, the doctrine of salvation through Jesus' redemptive pains and death made it possible for the movement followers to have the mirroring and twinship selfobject experiences. The early missionaries' puritanical nature stimulated the union with the idealizable *Hananim* and its values and ideals. Therefore, it can be said that early Korean Christianity offered relevant theological doctrines which matched and resonated with the self-state of the Korean people at that time. However, the early theological ideas are unlikely to fit with the self-state today in Korea. Then, what are the pertinent theological teachings which can provide selfobject experiences for the Korean group self that became enfeebled, due to the misapplication of empathy, that is, overempathy? What are the balanced theological positions for the Korean people whose sense of self became arrogant, and falsely self-sufficient, due to the excessive pursuit of material affluence and power, enough to produce selfobject experiences? What theological thoughts can the churches provide for the fragmented self structure as a result of overempathy?

The Korean Protestant Church has stressed materialistic values and blessings for decades. Its theology of prosperity not only supported the Korean government which concentrated on economic growth, and contributed to offering a temporal image of cohesion and strength for the Korean people who aspired to be wealthy and powerful. However, its theology was therapeutically ineffective because it was so imbalanced as churches overresponded selectively to certain aspects of the Korean people's wishes and desires. Consequently, the Korean Protestant Church needs a balanced theological perspective to enable the enfeebled Korean group self to be restored. The well-

proportioned theology for the Korean people in the postmodern period from the self psychological perspective can be described as a balanced view between 1) self-surrender and 2) self-acceptance, both of which are closely related to both the idealizing selfobject experience and the mirroring selfobject experience respectively.

These crucial aspects of a balanced theological frame for the falsely expanded Korean group self, self-surrender and self-acceptance have been simultaneously emphasized in the Christian traditions, even if they are different from each other. In their paper, “Sacred Changes: Spiritual Conversion” which examines spiritual conversion, a life-changing transformation including the element of the sacred, Mahoney and Pargament present two theological models of spiritual conversion which relatively put more stress on one dimension of the Christian theology.⁴⁰ One is the traditional theological perspective which highlights self-surrender, and the other is the feminist perspective which sets a premium on self-acceptance.

The traditional perspective treats surrender to God’s will as a central feature of the Christian theology. Therefore, in this perspective, the primary sin is arrogant behaviors to control and plan their destiny without God’s assistance. From this perspective, God should be placed in the center of an individual believer’s life, and the true religious experience is an experience of surrendering one’s own authority to God. Through forsaking one’s efforts to resolve his/her life problems with his/her own power, Christians can experience liberation from the burden of trying to maintain his/her life and the anxiety caused by the acknowledgement of his/her feelings of weakness and vulnerability.

⁴⁰ Annette Mahoney and Kenneth I. Pargament, “Sacred Changes: Spiritual Conversion and Transformation,” *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 60, no. 5 (May 2004): 483–487.

Joel Allison's research shows an aspect of positive consequences of self-surrender "in bringing the adolescent and adulthood and in transforming a sense of diffusion, division, and fragmentation into a sense of order, integration, wholeness, and inner harmony"⁴¹ by establishing "a strong protective father" and "a consistent, organized set of values and ideals."⁴²

The beneficial process of self-surrender can be seen in the 1907 Revival Movement. The movement participants suffering from deficiency and instability turned their attention to the missionaries' Christianity which indigenized the concept of God into *Hananim*. Their weak and unstable selves can possess greatness and security by feeling linked to the Christian concept of God. In addition, the Puritanical mode of the early missionaries' evangelical theology provided a new set of ideals for the moral and spiritual quest of holiness. The frightened and fragmented self structures of the movement followers were able to make up for their defects and shortage by being united with the powerful God and being committed to God's demands and will.

Consequently, the self-abandonment actually signifies union with the Ultimate Being, considered as a powerful and omnipotent being. The self attempts to reach solidity and autonomy by religious surrender. Walter E. Conn's explanation about the relationship between moral autonomy and religious surrender, by means of the concrete example of Merton's later life, exemplifies this close correlation between surrender and self firmness. Generally, religious surrender is usually considered as not consistent with self-autonomy.

⁴¹ Joel Allison, "Religious Conversion: Regression and Progression in an Adolescent Experience," in *Growing Edges in the Psychology of Religion*, ed. John R. Tisdale (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1980), 158.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 170.

Rather, it can be deemed as the obstruction of development of self-autonomy. However, Conn claimed that “genuine religious surrender denies not moral autonomy but only illusion of its absoluteness.”⁴³ Merton’s true self supports his claim. The true self is not based on the limited ego-self but the integrated self which attains a deeper, and fuller identity through the religious surrender. The moral autonomy which the integrated self has is a “relativized autonomy.”⁴⁴ People who have this relativized autonomy embrace all of life and retain a more universal value system rather than have an identity of his limited self. Therefore, this aspect of self-surrender attempts to unify oneself with God, enabling people to merge into the power and calmness of God, helping the believers to form the cohesiveness of the self.

The aspect of self-surrender in the balanced theological perspective can function as a positive selfobject by encouraging the merger with God as the powerful figure. The Korean people are able to enjoy the material affluence and power as a result of the successful rapid modernization and its following efforts for economic growth. However, the excessive concentration on individual well-being and prosperity led to the destructive and oppressive use of power. This resulted in the fragmented self in the Korean group self. As a result, the self is expressed in arrogant and false self-sufficiency. The Korean Protestant Church has reinforced this tendency through its theology of prosperity, emphasizing individual material blessings. It can retain a more balanced theological perspective by strengthening and developing the aspect of self-surrender which helps the

⁴³ Walter E. Conn, “Merton’s ‘True Self’: Moral Autonomy and Religious Conversion,” *Journal of Religion* 65, no. 4 (1985): 514.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 528.

Korean group self to have a realistic sense of the self.

Self-surrender does not mean self-loss. It means abandonment of the absolute authority of the self. It enables people to face and accept their limited capacity and power. However, it does not let them feel frustrated and disappointed. Rather, self-surrender enables people to feel a cohesive sense of the self through the idealizing experiences by merging into a powerful and omnipotent Ultimate Being. In addition, it also enables people to have a more broadened and wide perspective about the world because they no longer value only their own opinions and they begin to let other people's opinions influence themselves. Therefore, the emphasis on the balanced understanding of self-surrender can make it possible for the Korean Christians to have a more open mind in the postmodern period about other people, disparate communities, and different religions.

Self-acceptance, meanwhile, has been stressed by the feminist tradition which asserts that it is much more important to discover self-worth in the relationship with God than to abandon and forsake self-regard.⁴⁵ The feminist perspective argues that the notion of sin as an elevation of one's self, and prideful self-assertion is influenced by "the experience of privileged white males in western culture." From the perspective of most women who are trying to acquire a strong sense of self, sin is not self-exaltation and pride but self-abandonment and self-surrender. They also consider excessive dependence on others, instead of God, as a severe sin. Therefore, Christian faith means to locate God at the center of an individual's life, where other people dominating the individual with mandatory power were placed. What it means to believe in God can be described as a

⁴⁵ Mahoney and Pargament mention Valerie Saiving's essay as a representative feminist Christian model of spiritual conversion which sees self-acceptance as an important aspect of the conversion. Mahoney and Pargament, "Sacred Changes," 485.

process of realizing his/her own depressed and empty self and, at the same time, discovering self-worth in companionship with God, and recovering autonomy. The process of discovering self-esteem and self-worth in relationship with God, after all, can be depicted as the process of self-acceptance. In the perspective of the feminist tradition, God, who is located at the center of one's life and mind, should be the One who accepts people for whom they truly are, because the very God can encourage the individuals looking for self-esteem to love themselves and to have self-worth.

Don Browning's explanation of the accepting therapeutic relationship is closely associated with the feminist view of the image of God. He asserts that the accepting therapeutic relationship is essentially grounded on the Ultimate Being's acceptance by the roots. He emphasized the relationship characterized by acceptance in the therapeutic environment because it not only facilitates healing and resolution, but also represents the reality of acceptance. He states that "the therapist's empathic acceptance announces, proclaims, and witnesses to the fact that the client is truly acceptable," not just to the counselor but to the Source of the reality, and that "the client does not come to feel that he is acceptable simply to the therapist, but accepts the fact that he is acceptable in an ontological sense,"⁴⁶ The feeling of acceptance by the Ultimate Being precipitates self-acceptance. In other words, the self-acceptance process can be ontologically attributed to God's acceptance.

God's image of accepting and mirroring human beings as they are can be seen in the 1907 Revival Movement. The early missionaries' friendly attitudes and their

⁴⁶ Don S. Browning, *Atonement and Psychotherapy* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 150–151.

economic assistance for the poor and the marginalized became the foundation of the mirroring selfobject experiences. In addition, the early missionaries' accentuation of the fragile and vulnerable state of human beings served as "understanding interpretations" which are usually provided for the severely damaged self, when other interventions are intolerable. The theological doctrine empathically understood the experiential state of the Korean people. They were able to experience God in the missionaries' theological discourse, as the mirroring and accepting selfobject, through the evangelical belief of Lord Jesus Christ as the sacrifice for human beings' sins. The mirroring selfobject experiences generated a sense of self-acceptance and self-worth which were closely connected to the cohesiveness of the self.

The self-acceptance process through the accepting and mirroring image of God is still effective and valid for the enfeebled Korean group self. The focus on the material blessing tends to form a mistaken image of the self rather than to stimulate self-acceptance. It hinders the development of the cohesive self by separating the self from its other dimensions and needs because it forces people to have an imposed image of oneself which conveys that only those who gain material wealth can be considered as valuable people. On the contrary, the self-acceptance process helps the Korean people to look through their selves in the broader context and to find their real selves. In other words, it becomes possible to take into consideration the broader picture of oneself through the process of self-acceptance by God's accepting and mirroring image.

Self-acceptance does not mean the reckless tolerance for the self. It is not related to the arbitrary acceptance of the self. Self-acceptance helps people to pass a fair judgment on the self. It makes it possible for people to understand what they really need and how

they feel about themselves and the external world. It also enables people to have a more careful perception about themselves. They can accept not only their strengths but also their limitations. Those who accept themselves as they are, do not have an unnecessary masochistic attitude towards themselves. However, they also do not have exaggerated images of themselves. In other words, they can develop a realistic appraisal on themselves. In his description of the mirroring selfobject experiences, Kohut also says that mirroring “confirm[s] the child’s self-esteem and, by gradually increasing selectivity of these responses, begin[s] to channel it into realistic directions.”⁴⁷ In other words, realistic awareness of the self and the external world can be achieved by the process of the self-acceptance through God’s mirroring responses. The theological idea of self-acceptance helps the Korean group self to find its true value and worth beyond the surface that is overly obsessed and dominated by wealth and power.

3. Leadership Development as Appropriate to the Contemporary Period.

The Korean Protestant Church’s selfobject functions can be advanced by adequate pastoral strategies which are fit into the worsening period in which the Church is losing its credibility, and its scale is being reduced. My discussion in this section is principally focused on the establishment of new leadership as a proper pastoral strategy to improve the Church’s selfobject functions because the leadership of the ministers represents God and by nature of their role as leaders, they stand to function as selfobject to the people in Korea. In other words, the development of pastoral leadership appropriate to the contemporary period led to the formation of a self-selfobject relationship between God,

⁴⁷ Kohut, *The Restoration of the Self*, 116.

manifested in their leadership and the Korean group self.

Mi Ja Sa attributes the success of the 1907 Revival Movement for the human maturation to the continuous provision of healthy leadership of the missionaries and Korean Protestant church leaders.⁴⁸ They deeply empathized with the Korean people's adversities and encouraged them to see beyond the circumstances that they faced. It can be said that the leadership at that time made it possible for the Korean churches to create an image of a merciful and powerful God generating a selfobject ambience. Therefore, what particular type of religious leadership should be steadily provided will be one of the important questions which need to be raised to improve the churches' selfobject functions. I propose that, on the basis of the recent research regarding leadership, transformational leadership based on the notion of servanthood is an appropriate leadership model for the Korean Church to advance the selfobject experiences in the contemporary era.

The types of leadership can be divided into four categories; charismatic, transactional, transformational and servant leadership.⁴⁹ Particularly, transformational and servant leadership have been influential among these four. A. Gregory Stone, Robert F. Russel, and Kathleen Patterson noted that transformational leadership "has become a very popular concept in recent years...Similarly, the concept of servant leadership...has

⁴⁸ Mi-ja Sa, "Dae Buheungundongui Jungsimhyeonsangeuroseoui Hoesime Gwanhan Jonggyosimrihakjeok Gochal [A Religious Psychological Study of Conversion as a Main Phenomena of the Korean Great Revival Movement in Korea]," in *Haksulzaryozip [Primary Source of the Korean Great Revival Movement 1903-1908]*, ed. Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary (Seoul: Presbyterian College and Theological Seminary, 2007), 54.

⁴⁹ Brien N. Smith, Ray V. Montagno, and Tatiana N. Kuzmenko, "Transformational and Servant Leadership: Content and Contextual Comparisons," *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies* 10, no. 4 (May 1, 2004): 80.

received substantial attention in the contemporary leadership field.”⁵⁰

Transformational leadership can be described as a process in which a leader and his/her followers affect each other so that the interactions increase the level of motivation and morality of both of them. A leader demonstrating transformational leadership pays attention to “the needs and motives of followers and tries to help followers reach the fullest potential.”⁵¹ In his seminal book, *Leadership*, Burns sees transformational leadership as a people-centered stance, because, in his view, the leadership is more interested in personal development than in a successful product outcome. In his view, transformational leadership “seeks to satisfy higher needs,...engages the full person,...[and] converts followers into leaders and moral agents.”⁵² On the contrary, the needs and personal development of each individual have been neglected in the task-centered transactional leadership, which centers on “exchanging one thing for another.”⁵³ In transforming leadership, Burns asserted that “transforming leaders champion and inspire followers. Followers might outstrip leaders. They might become leaders themselves. That is what makes transforming leadership participatory and democratic.”⁵⁴

The servant leadership considers leaders to be servants who serve others before

⁵⁰ A. Gregory Stone, Robert F. Russell, and Kathleen Patterson, “Transformational Versus Servant Leadership: A Difference in Leader Focus,” *Leadership & Organization Development Journal* 25, no. 4 (2004): 349.

⁵¹ Peter G. Northouse, *Leadership: Theory and Practice* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, Inc, 2013), 186.

⁵² James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 4.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ James MacGregor Burns, *Transforming Leadership: The New Pursuit of Happiness* (New York: Grove Press, 2003), 26.

guiding them. The servant leadership is based on the belief that when people are served and perceive the service, they can serve more people and, thus, lead them. The servant leaders pay attention to the others' interests more than their own.⁵⁵ Their most important function is service. Greenleaf theorized the concept of servant leadership in which a leader is recognized, first, as a servant and secondly, as a leader. He insists that servant leaders "have empathy and an unqualified acceptance" of those they serve.⁵⁶ Servant leaders care deeply about what others think. He believed "that only a true natural servant responds to any problem by listening first."⁵⁷ A transactional leader and a charismatic leader have little concern for others because the former is concerned as to the increasing product outcome by using individual energy and resources, and the latter is focused on the issues of the leaders. The servant leadership theory is based on the interdependence among people which signifies that the success of each is dependent on the success of the other.

The transformational leadership and servant leadership have similar characteristics. In other words, both theories emphasize the leaders who support their followers by listening, valuing, and empowering them. However, there are important differences in the leader's main aim between the two theories. The servant leaders are concerned with serving individuals and paying attention to the needs of others. Their main focus of choosing to serve their followers is to help them to grow so that they, in turn, can serve

⁵⁵ Smith, Montagno, and Kuzmenko, "Transformational and Servant Leadership," 26.

⁵⁶ Robert K. Greenleaf, *Servant Leadership: A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power and Greatness* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977), 21.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

others. However, transformational leaders tend to aim at achieving organizational objectives by helping others to realize their full potential. The transformational leaders' motivation is directed more towards arriving at the idealized vision for the organization by encouraging followers' creativity and paying attention to their individual needs for growth. Therefore, the servant leaders' success is determined by the degree to which the followers attain self-actualization whereas the transformational leaders' success is measured by the degree to which they obtain the good of a group.⁵⁸

A particular type of leadership which the Korean Protestant churches need to have can be described as transformational leadership based on servanthood. Most of all, the churches exhibit the transformational leadership which occurs when leaders of the churches inspire followers to share idealized visions, empowering them to achieve the vision. The leaders have more interests in the transformation of comprehensive and essential aspects of people's lives, not just in the change of their economic situation, but by encouraging their intellectual creativity, moral sensitivity, and spiritual potential. To achieve this, the churches' leaders first serve as role models which should have high intellectual, moral, and spiritual solidarity and firmness, so that the Korean group self can feel cohesiveness, and idealize the leaders. The transformational leaders will, then, provide the idealizing selfobject functions for the Korean people.

In addition, the Korean churches need to be servants before they guide society. Bickimer claims that no leadership theories in religious education can start without considering Jesus' own leadership which is well-revealed in Luke 22:36: "The leader

⁵⁸ Smith, Montagno, and Kuzmenko, "Transformational and Servant Leadership," 89.

must be like the servant.”⁵⁹ In other words, the servant leadership model is a basic model for Christian leaders. However, the Korean Protestant churches have neglected to listen to and understand different points of view in the Korean society. They have been dogmatic, trying to teach something, and to provide solutions charismatically, instead of paying attention to the Korean common people’s needs and interests, while attempting to learn from them. Of course, the churches pride themselves on being able to teach God’s words. However, the concept of God should be portrayed not as “controlling power,” but as “persuasive love,” as described in process theology.⁶⁰ The churches need to listen to what the Korean common people are saying in lieu of forcing people to accept what the churches unilaterally suggest. The Korean church leaders should “view leadership not as position or status, but as an opportunity to serve others, to develop them to their full potential.”⁶¹ The Korean Protestant churches’ servanthood will serve as the mirroring selfobject function in the postmodern period.

The transformational leadership based on servanthood represents a balanced perspective between transformational leadership and servant leadership. Such an approach suggests that the Church should play a balanced role between being a provider of a shared vision simulating intellectual, moral, and spiritual insights, and a servant who is serving others and being attentive to their needs and interests. The leaders of the

⁵⁹ David Arthur Bickimer, *Leadership in Religious Education: A Prehensive Model* (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1989), 46–47.

⁶⁰ In process theology, God encourages each person to enjoy his/her own subjective aim with non-possessive warmth. For more information about the persuasive God refer to John B. Cobb and David Ray Griffin, *Process Theology: An Introductory Exposition* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976), 52–54.

⁶¹ Smith, Montagno, and Kuzmenko, “Transformational and Servant Leadership,” 82.

churches need to raise hopes, inspire people, and positively affect their ethical and spiritual sensitivity by becoming a model. They should not look after their own interests but rather the interests of others. They need to exist as servants who transcend their own demands for the sake of others. They would then provide the necessary resources to help people to actualize their potentials. Therefore, the transformational leadership, based on servanthood, can contribute to promoting the churches' idealizing and mirroring selfobject functions.

IV. Conclusion

Much research has been undertaken about the Korean Revival Movement in 1907, concentrating on its historical, political, cultural and spiritual factors and meanings. However, to date, the 1907 Revival Movement has not been adequately analyzed psychologically. Thus, the psychological approach to the movement is worth considering because it provides an exemplary model of how psychological processes operate in religious experiences through which one can maintain a cohesive sense of self. From this psychological analysis of the movement, one can become cognizant of the benefits of religious experiences for the maintenance and improvement of the cohesive sense of the self. In addition, while it may not be directly applied to the contemporary situation without considering the contextual backgrounds, the psychological approach to the 1907 revival has specific implications for the Korean Protestant Church which is now experiencing decline and stagnation.

This discussion started from the Korean people's historical tragedy in the late nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century. The second half of the

nineteenth century of the Joseon dynasty can be described as a period of national crisis which resulted in the Japanese Annexation of Korea in 1910. The crisis developed both from the internal disintegration of an established system as well as from external risks. Internally, the peasant economy was devastated and social hegemony was diminished and even lost in some locations, which affected the internal deterioration of the traditional social order and values. Externally, the aggression of foreign powers threatened the national sovereignty and the existence of Korea as an independent entity. The crisis was aggrandized by the interaction between the internal deterioration of the Joseon dynasty and the external intervention of foreign powers. It caused a serious disturbance in the strength and cohesion of the Korean group self which was deprived of the empathic sustaining voice and the idealizable objects.

The 1907 Korean Revival Movement was located in these agonies and frustrations of the period. The origin of the 1907 revival can be traced to the prayer meeting of the missionaries at *Wonsan* in 1903 and the spiritual experience of Rev. R. A. Hardie. His sense of defeat and shame, his recognition of helplessness, together with the public confession of his own sins, and a feeling of peace and joy in these meetings became the essential characteristics of the movement. The strong desire for confessing one's own sins and being forgiven spread throughout the country and the atmosphere of this revival movement was heightened in *Pyeongyang* in 1907 where the *Jangdaehyeon* Church held an annual Bible training class. In the subsequent meetings, they gave an ingenuous account of their secret sins, such as murder, stealing, embezzlement, cheating, and so on. Consequently, the revival movement was marked by an agonizing sense of shame about their misbehavior, followed by acts of confession without any concealment, and, finally,

by congregational loud prayer.

In this chapter, I chiefly employed Heinz Kohut's psychoanalytic self psychological concepts of selfobject, group self, mirroring, idealizing, and twinship selfobject in building a framework for analyzing the movement. Unlike Freud who had a negative perspective on religion, Kohut appreciated the meaning that religion holds in the maintenance of human beings' self. In his opinion, religion is able to transform the archaic grandiose self of human beings into higher forms of narcissistic expression because it can provide the mirroring, idealizing, and twinship selfobjects for its believers.

Kohut considers the development of the self as primary and his main interest lies in the cohesion of the self which is closely related to the integration of all sections of the self. He views the development of the self as proceeding along three poles which comprise the grandiose self, the idealized parental imago, and the alter ego. In his opinion, the development of the self requires the participation of others who perform the selfobject functions. He described three types of selfobject experiences which correspond to the three structural aspects of the developing self. They are the selfobject experiences of mirroring, idealization, and twinship. When the self experiences someone as a selfobject which joyfully responds to the self, allows the self to enjoy idealizable power and calmness, and faithfully participate what the self thinks, feels, and behaves, the self can progress toward its basic pattern of wholeness and cohesion.

I have used Kohut's concepts of the self, the selfobject, and the selfobject experience to analyze the 1907 Revival Movement which serves selfobject functions in all three areas of selfobject needs which were used to sustain the self-structures of the movement participants. In other words, religious experiences in the movement provided

“an evoking-sustaining-responding matrix of selfobject experience,” which plays a decisive role in maintaining a cohesive sense of the self.⁶²

The Korean people in the early 1900s were burdened by wars, the Japanese protectorate was established in 1905, and abuses and oppression by corrupt officials and exploitation by the Japanese government. The oppression and ill-treatment by the Japanese devastated the minds of the Korean people and the relations of the people. Above all, Korean people experienced grief and depression caused by the loss of their own identity, culture, and fatherland. The loss of a nation’s identity and basic rights certainly can cause collective feelings of powerlessness which result in a significant negative impact on the national group self. This devastating and oppressive environment was more likely to lead to the fragmentation of the Korean group self as a result of the absence of mirroring, idealizing, and twinship selfobjects.

However, the Korean people could have a chance to satisfy their selfobject needs through the 1907 Revival Movement which enabled its followers to maintain a sense of self-cohesion. Religious experiences of the revival movement served as mirroring, idealizing, and twinship selfobject experiences which brought strength, calmness, and confidence in the self-structures of the movement participants. The early missionaries’ significant emphasis on the total corruption of human beings functioned as the understanding interpretation that reflected the fragmented state of the Korean group self and engendered the expectations of being mirrored and accepted by the Heavenly Being. The effort of the missionaries to indigenize the concept of God into *Hananim* provided sources of idealized power and firmness. The shared religious experiences such as the

⁶² Wolf, *Treating the Self*, 1988, 28.

confession of one's sins in public and an audible prayer in unison (*tongsung kido*) caused the shared sense of unity and community associated with the twinship experiences. The missionaries' active economic, educational, and medical support, and some Korean people's recognition of Christianity as the religion of the western power played an important role in facilitating these selfobject experiences in the revival movement. Consequently, the missionaries' personal relationships with people, their social activities, religious and puritan ideals, and enthusiasm for evangelization and revival created the images of a merciful and powerful God which performed selfobject functions in the 1907 revival movement for those participating in the movement.

The self-psychological analysis of the 1907 Revival Movement illustrates the positive aspects of religious experiences for the psychological health and well-being which have great implications for the Korean Protestant Church bewildered by its decline and stagnation, and the increasing growth of the Roman Catholic Church and Buddhism in the contemporary period. The stagnation and decline of the Korean Protestant Church stem from the deterioration of the churches' image due to their corruption and immoral behaviors. The Korean people no longer place great dependence on the Church and seek solutions to questions in their lives from the Church as a way of maintaining their sense of the self. In other words, the Korean Protestant Church does not function as a selfobject in the Korean society.

The Korean Protestant churches experienced an explosive growth after the Korean War until the 1990s, in concert with the enormous development of the Korean economy. They have emphasized the theology of prosperity and dominance in response to the Korean people's needs for economic wealth and power. Their theological perspectives

have done much to increase the growth of the churches. They selectively overresponded to the needs and demands of the Korean people for material well-being and strength. The churches' emphasis on the importance of riches and power has contributed to the fragmentation of the Korean group self, together with the Korean government's economy-first policy, preoccupied with economic growth and rapid modernization. This is because the needs for admiring and confirming responses for the cohesiveness of the self were compromised by focusing solely on the improvement of material conditions. Consequently, the Korean government and the Protestant Church's inordinate concentration on the economic growth and its selective responses to people's needs functioned as overempathy which resulted in the enfeebled state of the Korean group self.

The Korean Church should recover its selfobject functions which correctly reflect their emotional needs necessary for the cohesive self. However, the theological position taken from the 1907 Revival Movement could not work as the selfobjects in our circumstances, because whereas the deficit of the self structure at that time was caused by unresponsive surroundings and atmosphere formed due to the internal and external adversities, the contemporary Korean group self is suffering from enfeeblement of the self due to the improper use of empathy. It will be one of the major tasks of pastoral theology to create and develop theological concepts and pastoral strategies which can accurately empathize the deficit of the Korean group self and serve as the healthy selfobjects for the maturation of the self. This chapter suggests specific ways to improve the Korean Protestant churches' selfobject functions in the contemporary times, such as 1) the churches' active participation in the social issues and activities; 2) the establishment of the consolidated theological viewpoint between self-surrender and self-acceptance;

and 3) the development of the transformational leadership based on the notion of servanthood.

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