



CHAPTER TWO

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF AMERICA IN THE TIMES OF EARLY FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

The American theological currents via its missionary activities influenced the Korean church greatly, especially through the establishment of seminaries and the training of future pastors. Presbyterianism was transferred into Korea through American, Canadian and Australian missionaries' activities. Among these, American missionaries played a major role in the missionary work (Lee 1985:20). Therefore, in order to understand the characteristics and theological currents of the Korean Presbyterian church, we need to analyze the theological, historical and religious backgrounds of the early foreign missionaries.²²

Theological characteristics of the Korean Presbyterian church were commonly classified into 'Puritanical Reformism'²³ or 'Conservative Evangelism' (Park 1992:19); 'Calvinistic Evangelism, namely Reformed theology' (Na 2002:13); and 'Reformed Evangelism' (Lee 1983:196). These terminologies were considered in terms of the early missionaries of the Korean mission and the theological background of Park Hyung-Nong (1897-1978) and Park Yun-Sun (1905-1988). These were regarded as the pillars of the Korean Presbyterian church. Fundamentally, the root of these can be retraced from some important scholars of the Princeton and the Westminster Seminaries viz., C. Hodges (1787-1878), B. Warfield (1851-1921), G. Machen (1881-1937), C. Van Til (1895-1987), G. Vos (1862-1949), E. J. Young (1907-1968), L. Berkhof (1873-1957) and J. Murray (1898-1975) (Na 2002:13).

²² The theological inclinations of early foreign missionaries in the nineteenth century will be dealt with in Chapter Three (:94-100).

²³ Park (1976:11) said, 'theology of Presbyterian Church is the one that embodied the Westminster Confession of Faith, adding Puritanism in Anglo-America to Calvinistic Reformism in the West. The theological tradition of Korean Presbyterian Church is the progress which Puritanical Reformism in Anglo-American Presbyterian was introduced and grown.'



Undoubtedly, their more profound origin is Calvin (1509-1564) and Calvinism. But the scope of this chapter along with the topic is limited to the Westminster Standards (1648), which became a normative confession of Christian faith at that time, because ‘the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, especially the Shorter one, have always ranked among the most notable expositions of Calvinism’ (Walker 1959:414).²⁴ In addition, the starting point of their theology in the nineteenth century was for nothing else but to protect the faith written by the Confession and the Longer and Shorter Catechisms against liberalism (Ahlstrom 1961:262).

Regarding religious and theological backgrounds, we have to mention liberalism and the foreign missionary movement as well, which was in good spirits in the nineteenth century. Therefore, this chapter will preferentially consider the theological characteristics of the Westminster Standards. It will focus on the leading scholars of the Princeton and the Westminster Seminaries, since they had worked so hard in keeping and defending the Confession. This study will also consider liberalism and the foreign missionary movement.

2.1. The Westminster Standards as the Stronghold of Conservative Theology in the Nineteenth Century

This section is divided into two parts- the historical background and the theological characteristics of the Westminster Standards.

²⁴ Lane (1984:150) said, ‘Westminster Confession, a statement of seventeenth-century Reformed belief is comparable in length and status to the Lutheran *Augsburg Confession*. The Westminster Confession was intended to replace the *Thirty-nine Articles*... the Confession reflects seventeenth-century British Calvinism.’ However, despite certain differences between the Confession and the teaching of Calvin, the Confession was generally accepted. For details, see Lane’s *the Lion Concise Book of Christian Thought*, (Herts: Lion, 1984), 150-151; Gonzalez (1975:270) called it as ‘one of the hallmarks of Presbyterian Calvinism.’



2.1.1. The Historical Background of the Westminster Standards

In 1776 when America became independent from England, the predominant theology at that time in America was Puritanism, which was rooted deeply in Calvinism. Puritanism was created by the English Reformation, and was the theology and religion of the early Puritans who settled down in America (Lee 1985:20-21). Their passionate efforts for religious reformation were found upon the Westminster Standards. The historical background of this is as follows.

Since the promulgation of the Supremacy Act (which declared that “the only supreme head in the land of the Church of England”) on November 3, 1534, Henry VIII (1509-1547) rejected the papal system. Consequently, continental Reformed theology penetrated into England. Besides this, other diverse factors too laid the foundations of English Puritanism.²⁵ Furthermore, during the period of Edward VI (1547-1553), the influence of the continental reformers centering on Luther was increased much more. However, the reign of Mary (1553-1558) was coloured with the persecution of the reformed theologians and pastors. After this, at the time of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603), many reformers who had taken refuge in Geneva, Zurich and Frankfort as a result of the previous oppression, returned home with intense aspirations toward Protestantism. They were called “Puritans” in the 1560’s as a term of abuse (Chadwick 1972:175).²⁶

The Puritan reformers tried to purge the superstitious remnants of Roman Catholic left within the church, viz., the objection to the prescribed clerical dress, kneeling at the

²⁵ Before the influences of the continental Reformed theology on England, diversified causes for English Reformation were already in full activity. Stevenson (1959:132) pointed out four reasons; the continuous influence of Lollards since Wyclif and the Renaissance, the spread of anti-intellectualism and Lutheranism. Walker (1959:357-358) mentioned similar currents, which included as follows: Wyclifianism; Humanism; Erasmus’ teachings and national consciousness for Englishmen.

²⁶ Scholars have diversified opinions on the origin of the term ‘Puritan’. This term ‘Puritan’ was used first in the Vestiarian Controversy from 1559 through 1567 (Trinterud 1951:46). According to Davies (1948:1), the first official allusion to it occurs in the Privy Council about the year 1580.



reception of the Eucharist, the use of the ring in marriage and the use of the sign of the cross in baptism (Walker 1959:402-403).

However, unlike their desire for reformation, Elizabeth I promulgated an Act of Supremacy in January 1559, which declared that she was the supreme head of both the state of England and the church. In addition, she established an Act of Uniformity and prescribed a unified norm for church services, prayers and the Eucharist of the Anglican Church. Those who disobeyed this were censured by severe punishments (Byington 1900:12-13). The principal religious policies under the reign of Elizabeth I were as follows. In 1563, Matthew Parker (1504-1575), an archbishop of Canterbury, drew up Thirty-nine Articles as commanded by the Queen. These were adopted as the creed of the Church of England. In 1565, the Queen insisted that all church leaders must adhere to certain provisions. For example, they must wear clerical dress during services. As a result, many Puritans rejected this provision. Consequently, many church leaders resigned or were dismissed from their offices.²⁷

During this persecution, the responses of Puritans were diverse. Concerning this, they were generally divided into three groups: those who remained in the Church of England up to the bitter end, those who separated from the church at the outset and those who tried to remain in the Church of England and had to unavoidably succumb to the provisions. The Independents belong to the second group while the Presbyterians belong to the third category.²⁸ Therefore, even though Puritanism happened in a specific period (Henry VIII through Oliver Cromwell), and place (England) and later on was

²⁷ ‘Thirty-seven out of ninety-eight were suspended from the ministry, and deprived of their livings... When the Puritan ministers of London were driven from their churches in 1565, their followers held meetings in private houses, and in public halls, without any disorder, and listened to the Bible, and the sermons of their ministers. A congregation of this sort was arrested by the sheriff in 1567 (Byington 1900:17).

²⁸ The Puritans are subdivided in more detail. Rerry (1944:66-77) divided the Puritans into five groups as follows: first, reformers within the Anglican Church (1559-1662); second, the immigrants of New England (1620- 1630); third, the winners of the Puritan Revolution (1642-1660); fourth, the people during the theocracy of New England (1650-1690); fifth, the people during the Great Awakening by Jonathan Edwards (1730-1750).



transferred into America, it was not limited to the movement of a specific denomination. Lewis (1975:7) mentioned that God explained and applied His Word to each generation of human beings. Thus, the Puritans were used for this reason as to be an instrument to God's glory.

In 1570, Thomas Cartwright, while giving a lecture on Acts in Cambridge (1535-1603), insisted that the government of the Church of England was supposed to be the Presbyterian system. After a while, pastors from London, Northamptonshire and Essex, established the Presbyterian Church. While such a situation was supported by the House of Commons, bishops showed animosity toward it in 1588 (Chadwick 1972:178). After all, Cartwright continuously emphasized that the Presbyterian system was the government pattern for the church, which the Bible prescribed. He was thereafter exiled from England, was put in jail, and was expelled from one country after another. The Presbyterians tried to reform the church from within, by staying inside the circle of the Anglican Church. As the Anglican Church laid stress on the uniformity of the church, the Presbyterians became disconnected from it.

In 1575, the Queen appointed Edmund Grindal as an archbishop after Matthew Parker's death (1504-1575). This made many Puritans to place their hope on him because he expressed his sympathy for the Puritans. He strengthened the preaching function of pastors. He not only published the Geneva Bible with Calvinistic annotations, but also eliminated the papacy-oriented ministers from important positions. He also established the unofficial system of 'Prophesying'.

The Queen regarded these measures of Grindal as a menace to the Anglican system of church government and removed him. With this state of affairs, the Puritans concluded that there could not be any more reformation in the Anglican Church. As a result, the number of nonconformists, who thought that the governing system of the church should be without bishops, greatly increased. Walker (1959:368) evaluated the time of Elizabeth's reign and stated that the earlier history of the great revival of the religious life of England was a coincidence; nothing was to be owed to her.



In 1581, Robert Browne, a disciple of Cartwright, was the left-winger among many Puritans within Cambridge University. He rejected the Presbyterian system's thought of a Free Church against the authoritarian church system and therefore established the Independent church in Norwich. Like the Anabaptists, he had the separatist tendency to insist on the church to be composed of only the elect. Browne emphasized that the covenant is the qualification of a congregation and at same time, denied the authority of an established state and church. As a result, he was jailed in 1558. Thereafter, he was released from jail, took his followers and migrated to the Netherlands. However, his congregation was in conflict with each other and he went to Scotland alone. He was again jailed there. After that, he came back to Norwich. He spent his last days there as a parish pastor. The origin of the Congregational church in England was indebted to Robert Browne (:405-406).

After Elizabeth I died, James VI of Scotland succeeded to the English throne in the name of James I (1603-1625). Taking this opportunity, two countries united into one. In 1604, the Presbyterian Puritans again put their hopes on him. They said that the Church of England restrained the Presbyterians from keeping the church government to be led by bishops. They tried to introduce the system of Presbyterianism and established its stronghold in England. But James I regarded it as a dangerous system for the extension of royal authority and therefore rejected their petition.²⁹

In 1625, after James I died, Charles I (1625-1649) succeeded on the English throne and adhered to the Anglican Church very strictly. He said that there could be no true church without bishops, and that the Roman Catholic Church was a true church, of which the Church of England was the purest part of it.

²⁹ As shown in his favorite expression, "No bishop, no King," he was no more arbitrary than Elizabeth was. In April 1603, James I was presented with the "Millenary Petition," which was a very moderate statement of Puritan desires. As a consequence, a conference was held at Hampton Court in 1604 between bishops and Puritans. No changes desired by the Puritans were granted except a translation of the Bible of King James Version in 1611.



Charles' policy of the church government was supported by William Laud, who was appointed as the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. He carefully overlooked the petition of the Puritans and tried to examine the starting point of reformation. He was also a Calvinist who believed in the doctrine of predestination, but rejected all kinds of movements against the Anglican Church, including Puritanism. He restored several things which were excluded from the previous system viz., to decorate the windows of the church with stained glass; to erect the statue of Jesus crucified and the cross in the chapel, as well as an organ; to call the communion table the alter, laying it over the pulpit; and to separate the space between the seats of the congregation and a pulpit by drawing a line. Furthermore, Laud enforced a system of penalties on the people who did not attend the Anglican Church. He insisted that the Church of Scotland should use the Common Prayer Book in its services. Owing to the fact that things were turning sharply against the Puritans, certain members of the Puritan group separated and migrated to the Netherlands in 1608. Thereafter, in 1620, they left for Plymouth in Massachusetts (Walker 1959:411-412).

On the contrary, due to Laud's uniformity policy for the Anglican Church, the Puritan movement became more active than before. When James I ascended the throne in 1603, the Baptists and Congregationalists were in the minority, increasing in number slowly. Objecting to the religious oppression, Parliament was in opposition to the king. At that time, a civil war broke out in Scotland on these grounds. The King sent the relief army there, but the king's camp lost the battle against Scotland. Charles I could not convene a Parliament because he did not want to provide war funds for reparation. For that reason, it took a long period before Parliament was held in 1640. Parliament consisted of three classes: the Presbyterians, the Royalists viz., the supporters of the Anglican Church and the Independents with Cromwell as the leader. The Presbyterians who were a majority party consorted with the Episcopal party and suggested to the king that the Anglican Church had to introduce the Presbyterian system and reform her theology. As a result, Parliament resolved to open the Convention in the Westminster Abbey in London. Due to the king's refusal on five occasions, Parliament opened the Westminster Convention without the king's consent and only with the House of Lords' approval. Afterwards, the Westminster Assembly was held from July 1643.



The Westminster Assembly was held at the Westminster Abbey in London on 1 July, 1643 through until the 22 February, 1649. The reason for the assembly was that Charles I prohibited the use of Knox's Liturgy (Book of Common Order) in the Scottish church and tried to replace it with Laud's Liturgy. This was also the cause of a Civil War in 1642. One hundred and twenty-nine Puritan pastors, who mostly embraced Presbyterianism within the Anglican Church, were representatives at this Assembly. A few Congregational laymen and two or three adherents to the Anglican Church were involved in it. There were thirty lay Members of Parliament and six representatives from Scotland in the Assembly. Four out of six people from Scotland and seven representatives from England played a major role in drawing up the Westminster Confession of Faith. What the Long Parliament entrusted to the Assembly, preferentially was to revise Thirty-nine Articles. When the work was half way completed, Civil war broke out between Parliament and Charles I. Parliamentary army led by Oliver Cromwell won the War with the help of reinforcements from Scotland. As a result, the right to speak, from Scottish representatives, became more powerful than ever before. In November 1647 when the Assembly was drawing to a close, *the Westminster Confession of Faith*, *the Directory for the Public Worship of God*, *the Larger Catechism* for the preachers and *the Shorter Catechism* for the education of the congregation were drafted. On 20 June, 1648, the House of Commons accepted the Confession of Faith, which the House of Lords already approved.

When Parliament tried to disperse Parliamentary army in 1646 and failed to do so, the Independent Puritans led by Oliver Cromwell, who held real power over the military authorities, took the reins of Parliament in December 1648. Parliament was paralysed and the Presbyterians lost a golden opportunity to make an official norm on the Anglican Church concerning their Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian system. Thereafter, Charles I sought refuge in Scotland in 1646, but he was extradited by the English Parliament in 1647, censured as a foe of the people and was beheaded on January 30, 1649. Under the reign of Cromwell, the Presbyterian pastors were persecuted and expelled from the parish. The Presbyterian leaders, who excluded the Independents, cooperated with the Anglicans and tried to set the Presbyterian Church as a state religion.



Unfortunately, the Republican government established by Cromwell, shortly came to an end. This abrupt ending meant that the Puritans did not provide the people with peace, order and social stability and were hence not supported by the people during the period that they were in power. The dictatorial Republican government of Cromwell was regarded as despotic monarchy from the national point of view.

Reopened in 1662, the Long Parliament re-adopted *the Westminster Confession of Faith*. Parliament legalized the Presbyterian system of church government on March 14, 1660. After that, Parliament promulgated the restoration of Imperial rule which was dissolved after Charles II (1660-1685) came to the throne. While the Presbyterians put their hopes on him, the Episcopal Church recovered and the Presbyterian Puritans were swept away by the currents of the times. In 1662, Charles II promulgated an Act of Uniformity and at the same time, enforced the use of a revised Book of Common Prayer. As a result, more than two thousand Puritan pastors resigned or were forced out of their office. Since then, the influence of Presbyterianism in England declined up until the present time.

James II (1685-1688), a Roman Catholic, tried to supremely govern the church, but lost popularity. Mary, a daughter of James II and the Duke of William Orange were announced as the King and the Queen of England by the Glorious Revolution in 1688. In accordance with the passing of the Bill of Rights and the Bill of Tolerance in 1689, all Puritans were no longer prevented from enjoying the freedom of religion. Thereafter, England became a Protestant nation until now and adopted the Anglican Church as a state religion.

2.1.2. The Theological Characteristics of Westminster Standards

As mentioned above, the Westminster Standards consisted of four elements, viz., the Form of Government, the Directory for the Public Worship of God, the Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechism. They were also listed in the usual order as indicated. This section will consider these elements briefly, except the Confession of Faith, in accordance with the objective of this study.



2.1.2.1. The Form of Presbyterian Church Government and Ordination of Ministers

The members of the Assembly³⁰ had a tendency to be satisfied simply with restoring the apostolic system of church government. However, after representatives from Scotland arrived on September 15, 1643, the Presbyterian system of church government was dominant over all the others. However, the Independents and the Erastians stubbornly opposed it. The Independents with Thomas Goodwin as a leader proposed that each congregation had the divine right to rule over themselves under the direction of God's Word. The Erastians under the guide of Lightfoot suggested that in order to avoid autocracy in the church, it should be subordinated to the state. In doing so, it would be the best measure to prevent the clash between church leaders. They also suggested that the right of discipline done by the church concerning a common guilt should be assigned to the state.

After much debate, the Presbyterian system of church government was adopted as the biblical pattern. Alexander Henderson played an important role in drawing up the Presbyterian form of church government during the session. The other sides withdrew from this resolution. The Independents withdrew on the premise that there was one visible and universal church in the New Testament, the Presbyterian form of church government emphasized the external unity between churches by placing classical assemblies and synodical assemblies over individual consistories. On the ordinary officers of the church, it provided that there were pastors, teachers, elders and deacons in terms of the law of the Geneva church of Calvin in 1541 and the Second Book of Discipline in 1581. In addition, on the regulation of Ordination, which only bishops with apostolic right confirmed, it provided that a Presbytery authorized the right of

³⁰ The Assembly consisted of one hundred and twenty one theologians, ten members from the House of the Lords and twenty Members from Parliament. The Scottish church sent four pastors and two elders there at the request of Parliament. The representatives played an important role as members of an advisory committee. The mean number of every Assembly session was from six to eight persons. Those who played an important role were twenty persons or so. Most of them had the same Reformed faith, but had different opinions concerning the government of the church (Oh et al 1978:515).



confirmation.

2.1.2.2. The Directory for the Public Worship of God

The draft-makers worked with the following purposes: First, to make a divine church system and to exclude all kinds of rituals that were inconsistent with God's Word; second, to reach a consensus on the form of Worship that could be used throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland; third, to provide general help for pastors (Davies 1996:409).

The representatives of the Assembly abrogated the Book of Common Prayer used so far and began to make the new directory of worship following the pattern of the Reformers. The work regarding the draft of the form of church government was not so difficult. Even though each representative had diversified opinions, the moderate course was chosen and sent to Parliament at the end of 1644. It was confirmed that the churches in England and Wales should use it from January 3, 1645. After one month, the General Assembly and Parliament of Scotland ratified it.

This Directory of Public Worship indicated guidelines for public worship in the following topics: reading of scriptures; public prayer; sermon; prayer after sermon; taking the Eucharist; keeping of Sunday; wedding ceremony; visiting of patients; funeral services; fasting services and singing of the Psalm.

2.1.2.3. Two Catechisms: The Longer and the Shorter

The Longer catechism was to give help for the pastors on the pulpit according to the custom of the Continental Reformed church. The Shorter, an abridged edition of the Longer, was for the children. In the case of the former, the debate lasted from April 1647 through to October 15, 1647. It then was submitted to Parliament for screening and approval on October 22, 1647. The Longer passed the House of Commons on July 24, 1648, but did not pass through in the House of Lords. In Scotland, the General Assembly adopted the Longer on July 20, 1648 and the Shorter on July 28 of the same



year. Parliament also adopted it on February 7, 1649. The Longer consisted of one hundred and ninety six questions and answers; the shorter, one hundred and seven questions and answers. This became the textbook of faith in Scotland up until today. Before drawing up the Shorter Catechism, the Catechisms, made by the Puritan theologians viz., Samuel Rutherford and Herbert Palmer, existed. Among these, Ezekiel Rogers's Catechism had a big influence in the Puritan circles. Behind these Catechisms, was a strong influence of John Craig's catechism of Scotland. There was another influence from John Calvin's catechism as well.

2.1.2.4. The Confession of Faith

The Westminster Assembly began to revise the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church in order to respond to the misgivings of the opposition party. These Articles are regarded as constituting one of the sound Reformed creeds. However, when they had finished revising the fifteenth clause, Parliament put a stop to it. The work was stopped in order that the Assembly could make laws for church governance and ordination before resuming the previous work. The relation between state and church was described and agreed upon without much discord. The English Parliament ratified the Confession in June 1647, in August of that year it was ratified by the General Assembly in Scotland, while the Scottish Parliament ratified theirs in February 1649.

The theological character of the Confession of Faith was Puritanical Calvinism. The content of these Articles was drafted mainly from various sources such as the Irish Articles, the Geneva Confession of Calvin and the Knox's Confession of Faith. Covenant Theology was the predominant characteristic. Beside this, four other principles were stressed: Biblical authority, the sovereignty of God, the principle of conscience and the autonomous rights of individual churches.

The Westminster Confession of Faith consists of thirty-three chapters and has the following framework. The first chapter is the longest one and is a prologue to the rest of the other chapters. It speaks about the Holy Scripture as the rule of faith and life. The first clause talks about the necessity of the Bible. The second discusses Biblical



inspiration. The third section contains the disqualification of the Apocrypha from the Canon of Scripture. The fourth section describes the self-sufficiency and authority of the Bible. The fifth section discusses the inward work of the Holy Spirit as a starting point for the infallible truth and divine authority of the Bible. The sixth section describes the perfect nature of the Bible and the necessity of the inward illumination of the Spirit for its interpretation. The seventh section mentions the perspicuity of the Bible. The eighth discusses God's care and providence concerning the original languages of the Bible. The ninth section talks about the infallible rule of interpreting the Scripture, while the tenth section talks about the Holy Spirit as the Supreme Judge of all controversies about religion. The second chapter through to the eighteenth one contains matters relating to the Christian faith. The nineteenth to the thirty-third chapter talks about the life of the Christian faith. A detailed description of the content of these chapters is as follows. Chapter two to five mention God and His work; chapter six to eight contains the Fall of Man and Christ as the Mediator; chapter nine to eighteen deals with the Saving Work of Christ, effected by the Holy Spirit. Concerning the Saving Work, it demonstrates plainly that the Holy Spirit is the Lord and Giver of life, the only efficient agent in the application of redemption. By indwelling in all believers, they are vitally united to Christ and to one another in the Church. Chapter ten to fifteen talks about God the Father and his calling of man in Christ with his Word and Spirit, because man has lost all the ability and the will to do any spiritual good. Those whom God has called, he has freely justified. All those who are justified could enjoy the liberties and privileges of the children of God in and for His only Son, Jesus Christ. Those who are called and regenerated are further sanctified personally, through the virtue of Christ's death and resurrection, by His Word and Spirit dwelling in them. Chapter sixteen to twenty records the result of the saving grace of God which include, the saving faith, repentance unto life, good works, the perseverance of the saints and the assurance of grace and salvation. The end of the Confession of Faith is chapter twenty-one through to thirty-three. This section clarifies the Christian duty.³¹

We will consider the theological characteristics of Puritanism reflected in the

³¹ On the names and contents of each chapter of the Confession, see appendix 1.



Confession of Faith.

2.1.2.4.1. The Motto of ‘Bible First’

Calvin started his theology from the human condition and the goal of human existence and then mentioned the importance of the Bible as a means of helping us attain the goal of human creation. Meanwhile, the Confession of Faith almost regarded the Bible as a book of jurisprudence in which texts are to be found to prove and support all kinds of doctrines (Gonzalez 1975:270). The difference between Calvinism and Puritanism, which came after the former, was made by the historical situation, within which the Puritans were involved.

The difference could be found in the controversies against the Anglican Church and Roman Catholic Church. The basis of the Vestiarian controversy (1559-1567) was the abolition of the Book of Common Prayer and the objection to the remaining vestiges of Catholicism in the Anglican Church viz., ministerial celibacy, the sacrament of confession, irreverent mass, superstitious abstinence from meat, purgatory and clerical vestments (Park 1979:30). As Davis (1952:19) mentioned, it seems to be right that if ‘sola fide’ was the motto of Luther’s reformation, ‘sola Scriptura’ was the one of Puritanism. The authority of Holy Scripture was described in the first chapter of the Confession as follows:

for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God....The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man’s salvation, faith, and life, is either set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelation of the Spirit of God, or traditions of men (W.C.F. 1.4.5).

On the authority of the Scripture as the self-sufficient Word of God, it was well discovered in Richard Baxter’s sayings (1656:368) of his *the Reformed Pastor*,



The Scripture sufficiency must be maintained, and nothing beyond it imposed on others; and if papists, or others, call to us for the standard and rule of our religion, it is the Bible that we must show them, rather than any confessions of churches, or writings of men. We must learn to distinguish between certainties and uncertainties, necessities and unnecessaries, catholic verities and private opinions; and to lay the stress of the Church's peace upon the former, not upon the latter.

In addition, he said in *The Saint's Everlasting Rest* (1650:288);

when we attempt to think of God and glory, without the Scripture's manner of representing them, we are lost, and have nothing to fix our thoughts upon; we set them so far from us, that our thoughts are strange, and we are ready to say, what is above us is nothing to us.

Hindson (1976:23) supported this point;

The greatness of Puritanism was its fidelity to the Word of God as the only source of true doctrine and right practice. But it was not merely a religious creed; it was a philosophy of life that integrated man's whole being with the teaching of Scripture... They considered Scripture the foundation of all reasonable truth and sought to discern "reality" in relation to what the Scripture taught.

As mentioned above, at the core of the Puritan movement was the absolute authority of Scripture. They considered the Bible as the revelation of God and the unique norm concerning the faith and life of a Christian. While the Roman Catholics interpreted the Bible from the standpoint that the Pope and tradition were above the Scripture, the Puritans could not tolerate this interpretation. Throughout the seventeenth century, Puritans persistently criticised the Church of England for its shortcomings and lobbied for changes of its worship and governments.



2.1.2.4.2. Covenant Theology

At the time of the Puritans, there was a standardized Puritan form of church government, even though the Episcopalians, Presbyterians and the Baptists referred to themselves as Puritans. As a consequence these groups drew up both the Confession of Faith and the Shorter Catechism on the basis of the Covenant theology (Trinterud 1951:55). In the Confession of Faith, the details of covenants greatly consisted of two kinds: a covenant of works and a covenant of grace.

The first covenant made between God and man was a covenant of works, wherein life was promised to Adam, and in him to his posterity, upon condition of perfect and personal obedience. Man, by his Fall, having made himself incapable of life by that covenant, the Lord was pleased to make a second, commonly called the covenant of grace: wherein he freely offered unto sinners life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in him, that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe. This covenant of grace is frequently set forth in the Scripture by the name of a testament, in reference to the death of Christ, the testator, and to the everlasting inheritance, with all things belonging to it, therein bequeathed. This covenant was differently administered in the time of the law, and in the time of the gospel: under the law it was administered by promises, sacrifices, circumcision...which were for that time sufficient and efficacious, through the operation of the Spirit, to instruct and build up the elect in faith in the promised Messiah... and is called the Old Testament. Under the gospel, when Christ the substance was exhibited, the ordinances in which this covenant is dispensed, are the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and Lord's Supper... yet in them, it is held forth in more fullness, evidence, and spiritual efficacy, to all nations, both Jews and Gentiles; and is called the New Testament. There are not, therefore, two covenants of grace differing in substance, but one and the same under various dispensations (W.C.F. 7.2-6).



Of course, the origin of the Covenant conception did not begin with the Puritans in England. Moller (1963:56-58) pointed out that the Covenant theology within England, which started with William Tyndale (1492-1536), was brought to light little by little by John Bale in 1538 and John Hooper in 1548. The term was further systematically formed by Dudley Fenner and his fellow, Thomas Cartwright in the 1580's.³² But William Perkins (1558-1602), who was called the father of Puritanism, published *Golden Chaine* in 1592, in which he systematically dealt with the idea of a covenant in the whole of the theological structure.

In Perkins's idea of a covenant, the reason why the Puritans laid emphasis on it became clear.

God's covenant is His contract with man, concerning the obtaining of life eternal, upon a certain condition. This covenant consists of two parts: God promise to man, men promise to God. God promise to man, is that, whereby he binds himself to man to be his God, if he perform the condition. Men promise to God, is that, whereby he vowed his allegiance unto his Lord, and to perform the condition between them (Perkins Works I 1608:32 Spells are added and revised).

As mention above, this conception of the covenant had the character of a mutual

³² When Zwingli (1484-1531) and Bullinger (1504-1575) introduced the covenant idea in the 1520's for the first time, they did not divide it into two parts: a covenant of works and a covenant of grace. In 1562, such a division was done by Ursinus (1534-1583), a framer of Heidelberg Catechism (1563), thereafter since 1590; the division of two covenants was universally accepted by the reformed theologians of the Continent and England. In place of the covenant of works, he put 'Natural covenant' or 'Legal covenant,' which was separate from the covenant of grace. The scope of the covenant included all humankind, beginning with Adam. On this subject, see Davies, A. 1990. *The Origin of the Federal Theology in Sixteen-Century Reformation Thought*. (New York: Oxford) and William, K. 1978. *A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven: Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts*. (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan). From the end of 1580's to the early part of the 1590's the Puritans accepted it positively. They developed this into a covenant of grace. This was the relation between God and those who are saved; while the covenant of works was the relation between those who did not belong to the covenant of grace and God (McGiffert 1980:45-46).



contract, in which God's absolute sovereignty and man's duty and responsibility co-existed. As Prieb (1967:73) points out;

The problem confronting Perkins is age-old. Committed unswervingly to the preservation of the doctrine of God's free and absolute sovereignty, Perkins nevertheless, must find an acceptable place for man's responsibility or active involvement in the covenant relation. For neither he nor anyone, was willing to consider man a continuously totally passive recipient.'

Despite the fact that Perkins was influenced by Calvin, he struggled to promote the active participation of man and the covenant idea resulting in him presenting man with a passive and fateful attitude as a side effect of predestination. As a result, man must do his best for morals and piety before God.³³ Such a side reflected is in the Confession.

Furthermore, the Puritans did not see piety as a private side of the covenant (which had emphasis on the relation between God and man); they expanded the scope of the covenant from individuals to the church and up to the state. We call the former the church covenant and the latter the state covenant.

The kernel of church covenant was spontaneity of congregation.³⁴ This was welcomed

³³ Greve (1976:169-170) said, 'whereas Calvin left the dynamic relationship between God and man in terms of grace and discipline, Perkins went one step further and visualized election by a more tangible principle. A covenant could be seen as a contract, with both parties having responsibility, whereas election was more intangible. Perkins had not disagreed with Calvin but had gone beyond him with his dynamic view of covenant. While for Calvin the source of piety was election, for Perkins it was in the covenant.'

³⁴ 'a company or congregacione of the faythfull called and gathered out of the worlde by the preachinge of the Gospell, who followinge and embracing true religione, do is one unitie of Spirite strengthen and comforte one another, dayelie growinge and increasinge in true faythe framinge their lyves, governmente, orders and ceremonies accordinge to the worde of God (The Seconde Parte of a Registerl: 86 in Morgan 1965:14).' According to Nuttall, (1957) the mature congregational ways of church government are as follows: 'come ye out: the principle of separation; unto one another: the principle of fellowship; willing mind: the principle of freedom; be ye holy: the principle of fitness.'



within the Congregational and Independent Puritans. Afterwards, the Puritan reformed movement in terms of the church covenant did not occur in England, but rather in Massachusetts in America; while the Presbyterian Puritans remained in England and pursued the spiritual reforms through private piety.³⁵

Meanwhile, the Puritans who left for the New World regarded the Israel of the Old Testament as the ultimate model. Their purpose was that the congregation who had a relationship with God in terms of the Covenant should establish the holy covenant community, viz., City on a Hill, which was completely ruled by God's word and law. This was the State covenant which made a contract between God and the people including the ruler. They believed that whoever destroys the covenant between God and the people, God's curse would fall on such a person in terms of the conditions of the covenant. The character of the State covenant did not belong to the covenant of Grace, but fundamentally to the covenant of Works. It focused on the whole community's obedience and prosperity or disobedience and curse. It was not like the covenant of grace which brings private redemption. John Winthrop's address on-board a ship to America in 1630 reflected this point of view:

When God gives a special Commission he looks to have it strictly observed in every Article, when he gave Saul a Commission to destroy Amaleck he indented with him upon certain Articles and because he failed in one of the least, and that upon a fair pretence, it lost him the kingdom, which should have been, if he had observed his Commission: Thus stands cause between God and us; we are entered into Covenant with him for this work; we have taken out a commission; the Lord had given us leave to draw our own Articles we have professed to enterprise these Actions upon these and these ends, we have hereupon besought him of favour and blessing: Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the palce we desire, then had he ratified this Covenant and sealed our Commission, [and] will expect a stricker performance of the Articles contained in it, but if we shall neglect the observation of these Articles which are the ends we have propounded, and dissembling with our God,

³⁵ On regarding Covenants of Church and State, see 2.1.3.2.1 of this thesis.



shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us and be revenged of such a perjured people, and make us know the price of the breach of such a Covenant (Winthrop 1931:294 Spells were added and revised).

As mentioned above, Covenant theology was the groundwork of Puritanism.

2.1.2.4.3. Sabbatarianism

The Puritans put more emphasis on the Sabbath, far beyond the viewpoint of other churches in the continent, including Calvin. For instance, the standpoint of the Second Helvetic Confession,³⁶ concerning the Lord's Day is as follows:

(THE TIME NECESSARY FOR WORSHIP) Although religion be not tied unto time, yet can it not be planted and exercised without a due dividing and allotting-out of time. Every Church, therefore, does choose unto itself a certain time for public prayers, and for the preaching of the Gospel, and for the celebration of the sacraments; and it is not lawful for any one to overthrow this appointment of the Church at his own pleasure...(THE LORD'S DAY) ... we see that in the ancient churches there were not only certain set hours in the week appointed for meetings, but that also the Lord's Day itself, ever since the apostles' time, was consecrated to religious exercises and to a holy rest; which also is now very well observed by our churches, for the worship of God and the increase of charity. (SUPERSTITION)... For we do not account one day to be holier than another, nor think that mere rest is of itself acceptable to God. Besides, we do celebrate and keep the Lord's Day, and not the

³⁶ This confession was first drawn up in 1561 as a personal confession of Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zurich. It was made public in 1566 by the request of Frederick III of the Palatinate. He needed to justify his Reformed faith and asked Bullinger to provide an exposition of the faith. It was published in Zurich, on 12 March, 1566. The Second Helvetic Confession was broadly accepted as one of the most universal of Reformed creeds (Leith 1973:131).



Jewish Sabbath, and that with a free observation (The Second Helvetic Confession. XXIV).³⁷

Calvin (I. C. R. 2. 8. 28-34) also supported the above view, that the Sabbath was a figure of things to come and has therefore been abolished by Christ. Christians should have nothing to do with the superstitious observance of days. He explained the meaning of the Sabbath for the church as follows:

The sabbath being abrogated, there is still room among us, first, to assemble on stated days for the hearing of the Word, the breaking of the mystical bread, and public prayer; and, secondly, to give our servants and labourers relaxation from labour (I. C. R.. 2. 8. 33).

The Confession of Faith, on the other hand, stated that

As it is the law of nature that, in general, a due proportion of time be set apart for the worship of God; so, in his Word, by a positive, moral, and perpetual commandment, binding all men in all ages, he hath particularly appointed one day in seven for a Sabbath, to be kept holy unto him: which, from the beginning of the world to the resurrection of Christ, was the last day of the week; and from the resurrection of Christ, was changed into the first day of the week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's Day, and is to be continued to the end of world as the Christian Sabbath. This Sabbath is to be kept holy unto the Lord when men, after a due preparing of their hearts, and ordering of their common affairs beforehand, do not only observe and holy rest all the day from their own works, words, and thoughts about their worldly employments and recreations; but also are taken up the whole time in the public and private exercises of his worship, and in the duties of necessity and mercy (W. C. F. 21.7-8).

Comparing the above two quotations and being very close to Calvin on many points, the Confession seemed to be more schematized than Calvin's original point of view

³⁷ This version is a revision of the English translation found in *Creek of Christendom* by Philip Schaff (New York: Harper & Bros., 1922) (Leith 1973:131).



(Gonzalez 1975:271-272) and the Second Helvetic Confession (1566). When James I issued a Declaration of Sports in 1618 and commended the popular games and dances for Sunday observance, the Puritans stubbornly opposed this royal policy. Afterwards, Sunday was set aside as the Christian Sabbath and applied the meaning of the Fourth Commandment to it in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Christians within the English-speaking areas kept Sunday as the day which the Lord blessed for rest and service up until now. The strict observance of a Sunday can also certainly be understood on that point which gave rise to piety to the church as the Covenant idea did.

These three characteristics were maintained and developed by American Puritans. During the nineteenth century, they lasted in the name of fundamentalism in the American context.

2.1.3. American Puritans and the Influence of the Westminster Confession of Faith

This section will deal with the theological contexts of the Pilgrim Fathers who founded several theological seminaries during the nineteenth century: Princeton, McCormick and Westminster theological seminaries. These seminaries had an influence on the early foreign missionaries in Korea. Therefore, a short description of the history and main characteristics of Puritans in America and the influence of the Westminster Confession of Faith during the nineteenth century follow.

2.1.3.1. A Brief History of the American Puritans

As Walker (1959:430) mentioned, American Christianity was imported from the Old World. As the colonization of America represented many races of Europe, so the various types of European Christianity was reproduced on the new continent.³⁸ Since

³⁸ Whereas the Roman Catholic has been dominant in South and Central America, one form of Christianity in the northern part of America had been dominant at the beginning of colonization. That situation has been great variety and necessary mutual toleration, which contributed to the rise of full religious liberty (Walker 1959: 430-432).



the beginning of the seventeenth century, other people migrated to America through the sailing route discovered by Columbus in 1492. Thereafter, the Puritans boarded a ship called the Mayflower. The pure spirit of America was hence formed by the Puritans' settlement.³⁹

The Puritan Separatist, called the Pilgrim Fathers, left England and stayed for ten years in Leyden, Holland, but did not prosper as they had hoped. The War threatening clouds hung over not only the European continent; the community was facing another crisis, which was that their children did not follow the faith of the former generation. The Pilgrim Fathers, consisting of forty-one people, drew up, while onboard, the Mayflower Compact on November 11, 1620. These Puritan Separatists arrived in Plymouth via Netherlands, hoping to make a solemn contract between God and their whole life. The Mayflower Compact⁴⁰ showed this point very well:

[We] do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of
GOD and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a
Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation.

³⁹ According to Sweet (1947:30-33), a Puritan was already in the State of Virginia before Alexander Whitaker, Jr., a Puritan teacher who rejected an endowment and a white vestment. In 1619, Sir G. Yeardley became the governor of Virginia and objected the despotic administration of Charles I. The nature of the laws, which he had passed in July 1619, was Puritanical.

⁴⁰ The full text of the Mayflower Compact was as follows: In the name of GOD, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James; by the grace of GOD, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King; Defender of the Faith; & c. Having undertaken for the glory of GOD, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a Voyage [Expedition] to plant the first Colony in the northern parts of Virginia; [We] do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of GOD and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation; and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony; unto which, we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our name. Cape COD, 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland 18; and of Scotland 54. Anno Domini 1620 (Arber 1897:409).



In 1630, another Puritan group who had John Winthrop (1588-1649) as their general, migrated to the new continent with a thousand people. Unlike the Puritans of Plymouth, they tried to stay and reform the Anglican Church, but they were disappointed with William Laud's anti-Puritan policies and left for Massachusetts in America. They regarded Israel in the Old Testament as their ultimate purpose. As a result, they tried to establish 'a City on a Hill.' Each of them made a covenant of grace with God. They turned their communities into becoming a holy covenant community under God's Word and Law, like Israel of the Old Testament. Their land was made to enjoy God's blessings (Carrol 1969:8).

After that, until 1640, more than twenty thousand Puritans crossed the Atlantic Ocean for New England (Walker 1959:412). These non-separatist Puritans, passing the first winter, underwent all sorts of hardships. It made them form a friendship with the Puritans of Plymouth. The barrier of faith between two different kinds of Puritans was pulled down.⁴¹ Their harmony was regarded as one of the most wonderful dramas in the Church History of America (Brooks 1976:38). They established Harvard University in 1637 to transfer their faith and Puritan legacy onto their descendants. They passed an act on public schooling in 1647 and intensified the biblical training there. However, the decline of Puritan hopes for a holy commonwealth was not by external causes, but an internal one. For the zeal of the founders was not matched by their descendants. In addition, such passions became less by the rise of liberalism (Walker 1959:434).

2.1.3.2. Main Thoughts of the American Puritans

The Puritans in New England had a wonderful vision as mentioned above, to establish the new continent as a City on a Hill. That meant a society was organized and ruled by the Covenant Idea, the Congregational government of the Church and Millenarianism as central principles of the society. These conceptions came from the Bible, which they regarded as the one and unique norm of Christian faith and work.

⁴¹ For details, see Rothbard's *Conceived in Libert*. pp. 241-243.



2.1.3.2.1. Covenant Theology

As Won (1998:170-171) pointed out, before 1640, the idea of the Church as a covenant community, which began with the separatists, was no longer popular within the Church of England and the English government. However, this Covenant idea became universal, indispensable and a normal factor for both separatist and non-separatist Puritans, who migrated to America in the early seventeenth century (Burrage 1904:93).

This was mentioned several times in the covenant Church of Plymouth by John Robinson⁴² in 1620, the Salem covenant⁴³ in 1629, the Charlestown-Boston covenant and the Watertown covenant⁴⁴ in 1630. Among these, to consider the Charlestown-Boston Covenant of July 30, 1630;

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, & in Obedience to his holy will & Divine Ordinance. We whose names are hereunder written, being by His most wise, & good Providence brought together into this part of America in the Bay of Massachusets, & desirous to unit ourselves into one

⁴² In 1646, Edward Winslow wrote the comment of John Robinson concerning this covenant as follows: 'Here also he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby wee promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word' (Dexter 1868:404 in Won 1998:170).

⁴³ Salem church was founded first in 1629 as John Endecott with some group arrived in America with the Church covenant. The content is as follows: 'We covenant with the Lord and one with another; and doe bynd ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his waies, according as he is pleased to reveale himself unto us in his Blessed word of truth' (Walker 1893:116).

⁴⁴ 'The Watertown Covenant of July 30, in 1630: ...we do all...solemnly and with all our Hearts, personally, man by Man for our selves and ours promise, and enter into a Covenant with the Lord our God, and before him with one another, by Oath and serious rotestation made, to Renounce all Idolatry and Superstition, Will-Worship, all Humane Traditions and Inventions whatsoever, in the Worship of God; and forsaking all Evil Ways, do give ourselves wholly unto the Lord Jesus, to do him faithful Servie, observing and keeping all his Statues, Commands, and Ordinances, in all Matters concerning our Reformation; his Worship, Administration, Ministry, and Government; and in the Carriage of our selves among our selves and one towards another, as he hath prescribed in his Holy Word...' (Mather 1702:83).



Congregation, or Church, under the Lord Jesus Christ our Head, in such sort as become all those whom He had Redeemed, & Sanctified to Himself, do hereby solemnly, and religiously (as in His most holy Proesence) Promise, & bind ourselves, to walk in all ways according to the Rule of the Gospel, & in all sincere Conformity to His holy Ordinances, & in mutually love, & respect each to other, so near as God shall give us grace (Ellis s a: 3 in Walker 1893:131 Spells are revised).⁴⁵

In the contents of this covenant, their goal was clearly set from the beginning. To construct the holy commonwealth in America was the beginning of the foundation of the biblical church in the terms of God's will. As John Field described,⁴⁶ the biblical church was supposed to contain three items: the Separation from the world, Friendship between saints and Obedience of the Word. 'Being by His most wise, & good Providence brought together into this part of America in the Bay of Massachusets, & desirous to vnite our selves into one Congregation, or Church' meant the separation from the world. 'In mutually love, & respect each to other, so neere as God shall giver vs grace' meant friendship. 'To walke in all wayes according to the Rule of the Gospell, & in all sincere Conformity to His holy Ordinances' meant the obedience of the Word. Other Covenants easily discovered the same principles of J. Field concerning a church.

They tried to make the whole of society as well as the church holy. It meant that the scope of the parties who contracted with God increased from an individual up to the church and the state. This State covenant was the essential means for the holy commonwealth. The pious life of an individual could not be accomplished without the help of the community. With the help and encouragement of the whole community, the pious life of the individual could be established rightly in terms of the Bible. The

⁴⁵ The above-covenant was renewed by Rev. Hugh Peter of Salem church in 1636 (:116-118). .

⁴⁶ Most of Puritans accepted the definition of a church given by John field, the author of *An Admonition to Parliament* of 1572, in which he described a church as 'a company or congregatione of the faythfull called and gathered out of the worlde by the preaching of the Gospell, who following and embraceinge true religione, do in one unitie of Spirite strengthen and comferte one another, dayelie growing and increase in true faythe framing their lyves, governmente, orders and ceremonies accordinge to the worde of God' (The Seconde Parte of a Register, I :86 in Morgan 1965:14).



Puritans believed that the collective and outward obedience of God and His Word by the state was directly related to God's blessings (Won 1998:239-241). In order to accomplish this, they voted for governors annually and pastors preached many sermons for the elections. The reason was that the election was an important measure to achieve the will of God. The election right was given only to the regular members of the church. Government officials, who were elected by votes of the born-again Christians, had to establish the holy commonwealth based on the State covenant (Miller 1939:421).

2.1.3.2.2. Congregational Government of Church

When the independent and separatist Puritans migrated and settled in America from the 1620s through to the 1630s, they adopted Congregationalism as a pattern of church government. As background to this, it could be said that 'their bitter experiences in the English Church had prepared them to look with more favor upon the non-prelatical churches' (Byington 1900:95). However, a more direct cause was the adoption of the Platform of Church Discipline (or Cambridge Platform).⁴⁷ According to it, God gave the power to rule over the church not to bishops or higher bodies of the church, but to saints, who made a covenant with Him. Therefore, a congregation, as a church, had the right to administer discipline themselves, to select the officers of the church, and to manage various matters within (Strehle 1988:343). This system meant that one man played an important role within the congregation and each member of a congregation was to be a visible saint, who made a visible church covenant with God.

3. This Form is the Visible Covenant, Agreement, or consent whereby they

⁴⁷ It was drawn up by a synod of 1646 and 1647 at Cambridge, which the General Court of Massachusetts convened the churches in all the colonies of New England to decide on the government pattern of the church. It reflected a universal conception of church government in the days of the Puritans. It consisted of seventeen chapters. It dealt with the government system of the church, the election and ordination of church officials, the maintenance of an office, the membership system and the discipline of the church as well as the relation between the state and the church. Even though not every article was compulsorily accepted, the documents were believed to be the norm by the Puritans (Emerson 1977:79-82).



give up themselves unto the Lord, to the observing of the ordinances of Christ together in the same society, which is usually called the Church-Covenant; For we see not otherwise how members can have Church-power one over another mutually. The comparing of each particularly church unto a city, and unto a spouse, seemeth to conclude not only a Form, but that that Form is by way of Covenant (The Cambridge Platform IV. 3).

As a result, the criteria to become a member of a congregation were thoroughly examined in the presence of the church.

The doors of the Churches of Christ upon earth, do not by God's appointment stand so wide open, that all sorts of people good or bad, may freely enter therein at their pleasure; but such as are admitted thereto, as members ought to be examined and tried first; whether they be fit and meet to be received into church-society, or not... 2. The things which are requisite to be found in all church members, are, Repentance from sin, and faith in Jesus Christ. And therefore these are the things, whereof men are to be examined, at their admission into the church and which then they must profess and hold forth in such sort, as many satisfy rational charity that the things are there indeed... 5. A personal and public confession, and declaring of God's manner of working upon the soul, is both lawful, expedient, and useful, in sundry respects, and upon sundry grounds... 7. The like trial is to be required from such members of the church, as were born in the same, or received their membership, and were baptized in their infancy, or minority, by virtue of the covenant of their parents, when being grown up unto years of discretion, they shall desire to be made partakers of the Lord's supper: unto which, because holy things must not be given unto the unworthy, therefore it is requisite, that these as well as others, should come to their trial and examination, and manifest their faith and repentance by an open profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's supper, and otherwise not to be admitted there unto (The Cambridge Platform. XII. 1648: 2.5.7).

According to Walker (1893:245):



And as the New England fathers held strongly to the doctrine that the visible church should consist of none but evident Christians, none were admitted to the adult membership of the churches who could not relate some instance of the transforming operation of God in their own lives. The peculiar experience of the Puritans made the test a natural one for the first generation of the New England settlers, and the preponderating weight of opinion in the community viewed those who could not meet it as unfit for a share in the ordinance of the Gospel. This view involved a radical departure from the practice of the English Establishment; but the early Congregationalists clung to a regenerate membership as an absolute essential to the properly constituted church.

2.1.3.2.3. Millennialism

The origin of Millennialism in England could be traced back to Thomas Brightman (1562-1607), who was the first Puritan who interpreted the situation of England with an eschatological viewpoint.⁴⁸ He studied intensively and preached the Book of Revelation with the hope of the reformation of the church. He interpreted Millennialism as a historical and literal fact, which begun during Wycliffe's reformation in 1330 and had spread in Europe. Millennialism was perfected at the time when the whole world was controlled by the church. The Millennial period consisted of the elect from eternity, excluding hypocrites. During that time, discipline was thoroughly observed in the church in order to make it pure. Without discipline, England was excluded from the control of the saint. Johann Alsted of Germany and Joseph Mede of Cambridge supported this point of view. It spread through the sermon of the Independent Puritans like Thomas; John Owen and John Cotton (MaClear 1977:68). John Cotton introduced Millennialism into New England. He concentrated on establishing the pure and visible church.

⁴⁸ In general, the eschatological viewpoint of the Puritans was divided into two types: pessimistic and optimistic. Arthur Dent and John Bunyan represented the former, which was a minority among the Puritans. The latter was supported by the majority. John Bale (1495-1587), John Foxe (1517-1587) and Thomas Brightman laid direct foundation for it in England (Oh 1987:11-27).



The reason why the Puritans used the covenant idea, adopted congregationalism as a pattern of the church government and regarded church members after examining their faith thoroughly was to make the holy commonwealth in America over which God rules and blesses. Furthermore, the more direct background of the above aspiration was prompted by millennialism. The very core of the state covenant was that the rise and fall of the state depended on whether it obeyed the covenant it had with God or not. In other words, when the Puritans left for America to found the holy commonwealth, there was an idea in the heart of both separatist and non-separatist Puritans, that Europe including England, was punished by God because of its corruption and apostasy.

William Bradford (1590-1657), one of the leaders of the separatist Puritans, recorded concerning the migration from Leyden in Holland to America;

Those prudent governors with sundry of the sagest members began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers and wisely to foresee the future and think of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discourse of things hereabout, at length they began to incline to this conclusion: of removal to some other place... They lived here but as men in exile and in a poor condition, and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place; for twelve years of truce were now out and there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain... After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part to put this design in execution and to prosecute it by the best means they could (Bradford 1970:23,27).

As observed above, the Puritans believed that they were on the verge of war in Europe as a punishment from God. This was the first reason that prompted them to migrate to America. When the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) occurred in Europe, they regarded it as the sign of God's punishment. In a letter of John Winthrop, addressed to his wife on May 15, 1629, in which he point out very clearly:



The increasing of our sins gives us so great cause to look some heavy Scourge and Judgement to be coming upon us: the Lord had admonished, threatened, corrected, and astonished us, yet we grow worse and worse, so as his spirit will not allways strive with us, he must need give way to his fury at last. [The Lord] hath smitten all other Churches before our eyes, and had made them to drink of the bitter cup of tribulation, even unto death; we saw this, and humbled not ourselves, to turn from our evil ways, but have provoked him more than all the nations round about us: therefore he is turning the cup toward us also, and because we are the last, our portion must be, to drink the very dregs which remain: my dear wife, I am verily persuaded, God will bring some heavy Affliction upon this land, and that speeded. John Winthrop, “John Winthrop to His Wife,” (Winthrop Paper, II:91 Spells are revised).

John Winthrop also proclaimed that New England was the place where their covenant with God lied and their prosperity depended on. He said this while they were on board towards America in 1630:

Thus stands the cause between God and us; we are entered into Covenant with him for this work; we have taken out a commission; the Lord had given us leave to draw our own Articles we have professed to enterprise these Actions upon these and these ends, we have hereupon besought him of favour and blessing...but if we shall neglect the observation of these Articles... the Lord... make us know the price of the breach of such a Covenant... Now the one way to avoid this shipwreck and to provide for our prosterity is... to do Justly, to loue mercy, to walk humbly with our God, for this end, wee must be knit together in this work as one man, we must entertain each other in brotherly Affection. we shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when he shall make us a pray and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations: the lord make it like that of New England (Winthrop Papers, II:294-295 Spells are revised).

As seen above, a City on a Hill as the ultimate purpose of the state covenant was promoted by the millennial concept.



2.1.4. The Influence of the Westminster Confession of Faith in America

The Church of England did not adopt the Westminster Confession of Faith, but it remained the basic standard of faith in the English-speaking Reformed churches (Lane 1984:151). The case of America was not an exception. The origin of Presbyterianism in America can be traced back to the New England Puritans who were on Long Island in the 1640's. The Scottish also established Presbyterian churches in Delaware and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia in the 1680's and 1690's. A prominent figure among those who organized the original Presbytery at that time was Francis Makemie (1658-1708). By 1706, seven ministers established the first Presbytery in Philadelphia. Ten years down the road, this Presbytery had grown so much that it organized itself into a General Synod with three constituent Presbyteries (Smith; Handy and Loetscher 1960:256). The theological currents of the Early Congregationalists in New England did not differ from those of the English-speaking Puritans. New England Puritans adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith in substance (Walker 1959:433). The Presbyterian Church made all their ministers and ministerial candidates subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith after 1720 (Smith, Handy and Loetscher 1960:262-263). Even though there were advantages and disadvantages concerning the Confession of Faith,⁴⁹ it consolidated the foundation of the Church, becoming one of the most important heritages in America of the Reformed theology, as from the early Christian Church up until today.

In what follows, we will examine another difficult challenge created by liberalism against the Reformed theology during the nineteenth century era.

⁴⁹ There were several challenges for the revision of this Confession of Faith: the Adopting of 1729, which was a kind of compromise for the subscription controversy; the General Assembly of 1889 and of 1900. The General Assembly of 1903 adopted the eleven items over the Confession including the statements on missions, the Holy Spirit and salvation for those in infancy. For details, see Ahlstrom, S, *Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University, 1972), 812-815. the General Assembly of 1889 and



2.2. Liberalism⁵⁰

This section consists of three parts: The Rise of Liberalism, the Quintessence of Liberalism and its Response centered on the Princeton and Westminster theological seminary.

2.2.1. The Rise of Liberalism

The second and third generation of the first Puritans, who migrated to Massachusetts in 1620, lost their interest in the Christian faith. The central axis of theology also moved away from God towards man because Enlightenment ideas, which broke out from England and France in the eighteenth century and spread to America. This was followed by the American Revolution (1775-1783). The Colonial militia found themselves in the company of the British and the French troops whose Christian views were at best uncertain and whose morals were invariably loose. In the 1720s and 1760s, the flames of the Great Awakening⁵¹ flared up completely in the eastern seaboard, followed by five decades of lethargy and declension (:41).

The Enlightenment ideas put great emphasis on Deism and the authority of reason. These ideas explained the contents of Christianity rationally. It only regarded rational and moral truths in the Bible to be appropriate. It also replaced Bible inspiration with 'reason' and the Trinity with Unitarianism. Liberalists were interested in the moral life of Jesus instead of His Divinity, and did not believe in the total depravity of humanity, regeneration and God's providence. The ideas of liberalism spread in New England, particularly in Connecticut and Massachusetts.

⁵⁰ Liberalism is also named Modernism. Regarding this topic, see J. G. Machen, *Christianity and Liberalism* (New York: The Macmillan 1923), 2.

⁵¹ The early revival, which was encouraged by Frelinghuysen and Gilbert Tennent, reached its climax in 1726. The following revival was through Jonathan Edwards in New England in 1734-1735. After 1740, Whitefield played an important role in the revivals in America (Douglas et. al 1974:428-429).



This Revolution also opened a wide door for rationalism. Timothy Dwight (1801:19 in Wells 1989:41) mentioned it as ‘a long train of immoral doctrines and practices which spread into every corner of the country.’ The consequence of liberalism in the nineteenth century was that, the foundation of the traditional Christian faith and its worldview were shaken. American Christianity was at its nadir. John Lathrop’s sermon in 1798 was mirrored this.

In these American States, there has, for many years, and more especially since our late revolution, been a visible to infidelity, and an observance growth in impiety and immorality. Family religion is falling into disuse; the ancient strict observance of the Sabbath is mightily relaxed, social worship in the church, as well as in the family, is sinking into neglect, not to say contempt... In this state of general indifference, the barriers against infidelity are fallen down, and the way is open for its swift and easy progress (Lathrop 1798:12).

As mentioned above, the generation after the Declaration of Independence was indifferent to religious issues and their train of thought reflected the rationalistic and deistic picture of the Enlightenment in Europe. In 1798, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church described situation of those times;

We perceive with pain and fearful apprehension a general dereliction of religious principles and practice among our fellow-citizens, a visible and prevailing impiety and contempt for the laws and institutions of religion, and an abounding infidelity, which in many instances tends to atheism itself. The profligacy and corruption of the public morals have advanced with a progress proportionate to our declension in religion (Vidler 1961:237).

As religion continued to ebb away, Darwinism, after the American Revolution and the publication of Darwin’s *Origin of Species* in 1859, also extended itself into the intellectual and social fields of America, including philosophy, religion, sociology and literature. Liberalism began to challenge the biblical and historical notions concerning



human beings and the world (Furniss 1963:76); man was not considered depraved and corrupt. According to liberalism, man was progressing steadily toward perfection, and since science was used to explain everything, nothing could be explained supernaturally (Conn 1973:155-156).

After the above-mentioned period, the waves of liberalism from England and Germany were introduced into America.

2.2.2. The Quintessence of Liberalism

During the nineteenth century, according to Dillenberger and Welch (1954:211-215), four remarkable spirits affected the Protestant thoughts and resulted in the formation of Liberal theology, which included the Liberal Spirit, Scientific Discovery, Uncertainty and Continuity.

Firstly, the Liberal spirit was open-minded, tolerant, humble and devoted to the truth, which were in Christian thoughts during the nineteenth century. It led towards a remarkably greater freedom in dealing with historic affirmations and to new conceptions for truth in religion, philosophy and science. Secondly, scientific discovery played a decisive role in the birth of theological liberalism. The results of modern science and its successful application to the practical mastery of nature led to new and overwhelming confidence in the scientific method as a means for arriving at a truth, which, in Liberal theology, meant not only the whole acceptance of scientific study of the material world, but also the application of scientific methods of research in biblical criticism and in the history of religion. Thirdly, uncertainty led to theological skepticism to the possibility of achieving certain knowledge about reality, resulting in the suspension of theological formulations in general. Fourthly, the idea of Continuity meant the unity of all truths and the tolerance of the liberal spirit, especially in the evolutionary principle. All kinds of factors set the stage for the birth of Liberal theology, which took a concrete form in the thought of Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who is known as the Father of Liberal theology.



Schleiermacher was regarded as the first systematic theologian, who interpreted the Christian faith in terms of the Enlightenment. A considerable part of the foundation of his theology was taken from the philosophy of Kant.⁵² He dealt with the origin and characteristic of religion, ‘it resigns, at once, all claims on anything that belongs to either science or morality. Whether it has been borrowed or bestowed it is now returned’ (Schleiermacher 1799:35). He laid little emphasis on creeds and dogma and interpreted religion in terms of the absolute dependence of man on God, and the sense of wholeness that comes with this feeling. ‘It is an immediate consciousness, and not a series of intellectually held doctrines or a system of morality’ (Gonzalez 1975:321). For him, sin was interpreted as man’s failure to realize that dependence, and the importance of Jesus lay, not in the biblical stories about him but, in His unreserved embodiment of that dependence. Therefore, Schleiermacher caused many Protestant theologians to dismiss, as irrelevant, old items of faith that were contradicted by science and scholarship and concentrated on the irreducible tendencies and yearnings of the spirit (Gay and Webb 1973:660-661). Meanwhile, his thoughts were much developed by Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889).

Schleiermacher was also enormously influential in the shaping of American liberalism. For him, religion was not an abstract and speculative contention concerning God, but just value judgments, by which religious affirmations were decided to be essential or not (Reardon 1966:139). His opinion regarding faith in Christ was not inference from the study of history, but of value-judgment. Schleiermacher mentioned;

The intuition of the universe creates in the religious individual a “feeling of dependency.” The universe is active, the religious individual passive.

⁵² Kant (1724-1804) accepted the empiricist idea that all data of knowledge are derived from experience, and simultaneously, experience can never know the causality and substance of an object. He termed the former as phenomena, the latter as noumena. Kant’s important achievement for theology was to lead the end of Rationalism and Deism of the preceding generations by insisting that the mind cannot penetrate beyond the phenomena to the noumena: Such issues viz., the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of self-make human beings drop out of contradiction. For him, the proper locus of religion was not the purely rational, but the ethical. On this point, Schleiermacher seemed to be responding to Kant (Gonzalez 1975:313-314).



Religious feelings are produced such as “reverence for the eternal and individual, humility, gratitude, joy, confidence, trust.” “The intensity of these feelings determines the degree of religion.” These feelings and individual attitudes are spoken of as the real essence of religion (Neve 1946:107).

As Neve (1946:107) commented, his thoughts were theological rather than psychological. Schleiermacher’s concept of “value-judgement” was more developed by Ritschl. The following sentences exemplify this:

If by trusting for my salvation to the power of what he has done for me, I [Ritschl] honour him as my God, then that is a value-judgment of a direct kind. It is not a judgment which belongs to the sphere of disinterested scientific knowledge, like the formula of Chalcedon. ... The nature of God and the Divine we can only know in its essence by determining its value for our salvation (Vidler 1961:110).

Ritschl tried to emphasize that theological statements were not impartial, morally neutral evaluations. For instance, the Early Church Fathers had corrupted Christianity by mixing it with Greek philosophy: turning the God of the Bible into the absolute of the philosophers and the Jesus of the Gospel into the eternal Word of Greek Platonism (Lane 1984:173-174). Ritschl’s thoughts influenced many liberal theologians such as Adolf von Harnack, Wilhelm Hermann, Johannes Weiss and Emil Schuerer. As Lane (1984:171) mentioned,

Liberalism is a thorough-going adaptation of Christian theology to the modern world. Liberals are prepared to sacrifice many elements of traditional Christian orthodoxy in their search for contemporary relevance.

Niebuhr (1937:193) described such a respect of liberalism as follows: ‘A God without wrath brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministration of a Christ without a cross.’ As a result, there was an inevitable clash of understanding of the Christian faith between liberalism and conservatism. In opposition to the liberal movement, a movement called ‘Fundamentalism,’ which keeps some



traditional and conservative faiths of Christianity, sprung to life by the establishment of some theological seminaries in America.

2.2.3. The Responses against Liberalism: Fundamentalism with the Princeton and the Westminster Theological Seminaries

The Princeton Theological Seminary was founded to put a stop to liberalism in New Jersey in 1812. The theology of the Seminary was ‘a distinctly American and a distinctly nineteenth-century expression of a classical Reformed faith’ (Noll 1989:15). Three of the many individuals who contributed to the Princeton theology were of importance: Archibald Alexander as a founding professor, his student, Charles Hodge and B.B. Warfield, who had studied under Hodge (:15-16). These Princeton theologians had a wide application of the Calvinist heritage in setting out their own faith. Noll (1989:18) described this point as follows:

Their wide-ranging use of Augustine on salvation, of Calvin, of several major Puritans, of Luther and orthodox Lutherans, of the Westminster Standards, and of Swiss dogmaticians after Calvin suggests the breadth of their Reformed commitments. The winsome proclamation of this Calvinism was the heart of their concern.

The following principles were the firm foundations of the Princeton belief, which shared the key emphases of the Reformed faith:

The Fall perverted a perfect creation, led to divine condemnation, and established human guilt. Adam’s sin was imputed to all humans, who properly deserve the condemnation which that sinfulness entails. The same process of imputation that rendered humanity doomed in Adam justified the elect through faith in Christ. God expressed his saving purposes in covenanting to offer salvation through Christ. Sinners, turned from God by rebellious natures, were “bound” to their own sinful desires until God changed their hearts through Scripture, Christian nurture, preaching, and the sacraments. Redeemed sinners, though hamstrung by the lingering effects of the Fall, yet were fitted by the Holy Spirit for



fruitful service in the Kingdom of God (:18-19).

These Princetonians kept a high view of the Bible's inspiration and authority throughout the struggle with liberalism. Especially, their teaching concerning the Scripture was very clear:

the Bible was God's written word; it was a genuine product of human activity that could be studied historically; yet the Bible was also the presentation of the most perfect truth in all that its human authors (under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit) meant to affirm; it was effective in doing the converting and sanctifying work of the Spirit (:21).

According to Alexander's message, which inaugurating Princeton Seminary in 1812, the foundation for the Seminary's existence was specifically to establish the Bible.⁵³ Ahlstrom (1961:262) pointed out that the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Longer and Shorter Catechisms, was a starting point of Alexander's theology. Thence, these Princeton theologians expended their time and energies on the same subject. In 1915, Warfield defended against higher criticism, arguing the Bible as A Divine Book because of its *Inspiration*. C. Hodge also struggled against Higher Criticism, which began to enter the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century, by publishing the *Systematic Theology* in 1872-73. He demonstrated his teaching on the Scripture as the correct position, which was of Roman Catholics and subjectivist pietists. A. Hodge and Warfield became catalysts in scrutinizing the new criticism more thoroughly. They published *Inspiration* as a memorable essay in 1881. Likewise, Princeton's fidelity to the perfect inspiration of the Bible remained unswerved (Noll 1989:19-20).

Afterwards, J. G. Machen (1881-1937) of Westminster Seminary succeeded the early theological tradition of the Princeton Seminary. Machen separated from Princeton Seminary and established the Westminster Seminary in 1929, because Princeton Seminary was inclining towards liberalism. In Machen's inaugural message of the Westminster Seminary in 1929, he underlined two articles of its constitution. One was

⁵³ He preached on John 5:39 "Search the Scriptures." For details, see A. Alexander, *the Sermon, Delivered at the Inauguration of the Rev. Archibald Alexander* (New York: J. Seymore, 1812).



the final authority of the Bible. The other was that since Princeton has lost the evangelical backgrounds, the new Seminary would be established to firmly uphold the Reformed theological tradition as elucidated in the Westminster Confession of Faith.

Unsurprisingly, the founding of the Westminster Seminary made the liberal Princeton unhappy. This resulted in the formation of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions and of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church by Machen and his people in 1936 (Reid 1989:97-98). These theological seminaries have had a great influence on the formation of Korean theology, because Park Hyung-Nong, Kim Jae-Jun and Park Yun-Sun from these seminaries, had an important influence on the Korean Presbyterian Church.

In attempting to reform the situation within which Liberalism infiltrated into many theological seminaries, Christian publishing companies and Christian leaders, stood against it with the Annual Bible Conference, the Public Evangelical Meeting, the foundation of conservative theological Seminary, focusing on missions and evangelism under the motto of 'Fundamentalism.' Several bible conferences between 1876 and 1900 have had the effect of rallying around the conservative Christians, who played an important role in the rise of fundamentalism. The Bible conference, which was held at Niagara-on-the-lake, Ontario, in 1895, declared five points as the essential doctrines of traditional Protestant Christianity: the Inerrancy of the Scriptures; the Virgin Birth of Jesus; the Deity of Jesus; the Substitutionary Atonement; the Physical Resurrection of Jesus Christ and His Bodily Return (Gasper 1964:8-11).⁵⁴ Sandeen (1970:103-131) mentioned that Princeton theology and Premillennialism were the two main keys to understanding fundamentalism. The former gave the movement its life and shape, while the latter contributed to the structure and leadership of the movement. However, this movement was also not a new idea in the traditional Christian history. Hong's statement depicts this well:

so many of the disputes afflicting American Presbyterians had revolved

⁵⁴ The General Assembly of 1910 adopted the five doctrines of fundamentalism but did not include the Second Advent of Jesus, which was continuously reaffirmed by the General Assemblies of 1916 and 1923.



around the Westminster Standards, so too the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, which profoundly divided Presbyterians in the twentieth century, involved a disagreement over Westminster Standards (Hong 2001:45).

Fundamentalism was to protect biblical Christianity which existed a long time before the emergence of liberalism. Marsden mentioned it as follows:

The belief that the facts and laws they were dealing with were matters of plain common sense was basic to the dynamics of the movement. Although fundamentalists emphasized that it was scientific, they never regarded their scheme of Biblical interpretation as esoteric. Esoteric, complicated, mystical, allegorical, and other fantastical interpretations were the characteristic productions of theology professors, especially, Germans. Their own scheme was by contrast presented as a simple and straightforward interpretation of fact according to plain laws available to common sense and the common man. Fundamentalism did not develop in seminaries, but in Bible conferences, Bible schools, and perhaps most importantly, on the personal level of small Bible-study groups where the prophetic truths could be made plain (Marsden 1980:61-62).

The Princetonians provided the dynamics of that very movement. When the controversy between the modernists and the fundamentalists spread throughout the entire church and manifested itself in numerous ways, Machen published *Christianity and Liberalism* in 1923, which proved to be one of fundamentalism's most remarkable representatives. In his book, he clarified the definition and danger of liberalism;

the present time is a time of conflict; the great redemptive religion which has always been known as Christianity is battling against a totally diverse type of religious belief, which is only the more destructive of the Christian faith because it makes use of traditional Christian terminology. This modern non-redemptive religion is called "modernism" or "liberalism." (Machen 1923:2) Two lines of criticism, then, are possible with respect to the liberal attempt at reconciling science and Christianity. Modern



liberalism may be criticized (1) on the ground that it is un-Christian and (2) on the ground that it is unscientific. We shall concern ourselves here chiefly with the former line of criticism; we shall be interested in showing that despite the liberal use of traditional phraseology modern liberalism not only is a different religion from Christianity but belongs in a totally different class of religions (:7).

He introduced the liberal doctrines of Christianity as the basis of criticism, in which liberalism could not be Christianity;

Upon the Christian doctrine of the Cross, modern liberals are never weary of pouring out the vials of their hatred and their scorn (:119)... They speak with disgust of those who believe "that the blood of our Lord, shed in a substitutionary death, placates an alienated Deity and makes possible welcome for the returning sinner"(Fosdick 1922:5 in Machen 1923:120)... In the first place, then, the Christian way of salvation through the Cross of Christ is criticized because it is dependent upon history... it is sometimes said that as Christians we may attend to what Christ does now for every Christian rather than to what He did long ago in Palestine. But the evasion involves a total abandonment of the Christian faith (:120).

Fundamentalism also influenced early missionaries in Korea.⁵⁵ These fundamentalism-inclined missionaries came to Korea riding on the huge waves of missionary movements of the nineteenth century.

2.3. The Missionary Movement

However, in the nineteenth century, two parties: fundamentalism and liberalism pitched their strength against each other. However, the period was called 'the greatest century'; thus, it was very important period in the history of Christianity (Latourette 1944:442). This was because 'never before in a period of equal length had Christianity or any other religion penetrated for the first time as large an area as it had in the nineteenth century'

⁵⁵ On this, See Chap. 3.



(Latourette 1953:469). Van Dusen (1947:35 in Kim 1992:6) also evaluated that ‘in terms of geographical extension, the Christian movement reached to the ends of the earth, penetrating every continent and touching almost all people.’ This meant that the period was the glorious epoch of mission movement. Even though the large-scale Protestant foreign missionary movement was begun by William Carey, (1761-1834)⁵⁶ known as ‘the father of modern missions,’ for this study’s purpose, only the American mission movement will be considered.

2.3.1. The Origin of Foreign Mission in America

The London Missionary Society was founded in 1795 as the first inter-denominational foreign mission society. Fifteenth years after the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which was the first foreign mission board in the United States, was organized by the appeal of a group of students in Andover theological Seminary in 1810. Samuel J. Mills (1783-1818), who was the leader of the group, influenced many students; ‘More than any other one man he was responsible for the beginning of the foreign mission from the United States’ (Latourette 1961:28). Their “haystack meeting”⁵⁷ resulted in the formation of the society of the Brethren with some of the members entering Andover theological Seminary. By joining the Seminary, Adoniram

⁵⁶ William Carey, a British Baptist missionary, experienced his conversion in 1779, afterwards, he spent forty years to evangelize India under the slogan ‘Expect great things from God and attempt great things for God.’ By the influence of his book, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christian to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, the Baptist Missionary Society was founded in 1792. After that, through his continuous efforts, many missionary societies came into existence: the London Missionary Society (1795); the Scottish and Glasgow Missionary Society (1796); the Netherlands Missionary Society (1797); the Church Missionary Society (1796); the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804) and the American Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions (1810) (Kane 1978:84-86).

⁵⁷ After Samuel J. Mills experienced a conversion in 1801, he began to prepare for the ministry with a view to overseas missionary work. During the time of Williams College in Massachusetts, a fire sparks, which he kindled, was destined to be carried to the ends of the earth. He and his colleagues (James Richards; Francis Robbins; Harvey Loomis; Gordon Hall; and Luther Rice) were known as the Society of the Brethren. They met frequently near the campus for prayer and discussions. In a sudden thunderstorm, taking refuge in the lee of a nearby haystack, they all decided to become America’s first missionaries and signed a pledge to that effect. Henceforth they were known as ‘the Haystack Group’ (Kane 1978:86-87).



Judson, Samuel Newell and Samuel Nott, Jr. Mills and Judson, who had spent thirty-seven years in Burma, were the leading spirits in the early development of the foreign missionary movement in the United States (Dillenberger and Welch 1954:173). After that, many missionary organizations were formed which were involved in foreign mission work: the Baptist Society for Propagation of the Gospel in India (1814); the Methodist Episcopal Church (1819); the Protestant Episcopal Church (1821); the Evangelical Church (1837); and other societies in every major denomination (Kane 1978:88-89). The picture of the missionary work of the United States in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was devoting to but was on a small scale. The scale changed with Dwight L. Moody's (1837-1899) evangelical revivals and the Student Volunteer Movement, which he led, came onto the stage of the foreign mission.

2.3.2. The Heyday of Foreign Missionary Movement

Dwight L. Moody and the Student Volunteer Movement gave a markable impetus to the foreign missionary movement, thus Moody was called the last of the great revivalists. After he was received into the Congregational church in 1854, he moved to Chicago, where he entered on successful evangelical work in connection with his Sunday school. Due to his vigor and enthusiasm, he soon became one of the leaders of the noonday prayer meetings which sparked the "businessmen's revival of 1856-1857." In 1865, Moody organized several state and international Sunday school teachers' conventions. His tour from 1872 to 1875 through England, Scotland, and Ireland was met with a wide and enthusiastic response. From thence, he took the singer Ira D. Sankey (1840-1908), forming the hymnal characteristics of the Moody and Sankey revivals, which 'mounted in attendance and were said to have stirred Britain more than any of that nature since Wesley and Whitefield' (Latourette 1961:32). Moody was a decisive figure on determining the nature of Young Men's Christian Association's (Y. M. C. A.) program, the chief fund-raiser for the movement, and the major factor for it winning significant popular support. In a similar fashion, the United States Christian Commission, the American Christian Commission, the Student Volunteer Movement, and the International Sunday School Association, all received his active participation and benefited from his contagious enthusiasm (Hudson 1953:137-146).



The Student Volunteer Movement led by Moody convened for the first time on Mt. Hermon for a summer conference for college students at Northfield in Massachusetts. This led to the formation of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions in 1888 (Anderson 1988:168-215). The obvious goal of this movement was to enroll many students for foreign missionary work. Due to the missionary vision of Robert P. Wilder and the spiritual power of Dwight L. Moody, the Student Volunteer Movement grew as a leading organization for hundreds of college and university students through which they could pledge their lives to missionary work abroad. Four-thousand, five hundred and twenty one missionaries devoted themselves to evangelize China, Africa and the Pacific Islands between 1899 and 1914 (Brauer 1953:211). Particularly J. R. Mott (1865-1955), who was an executive chairperson of this movement for a long period, played an important role in the development of the movement as well as early foreign missionaries in Korea.⁵⁸ Under his leadership, the World's Student Christian Federation was organized in 1895 with prophetic and pioneering characteristics. It served as a training ground for men and women who later became conspicuous in the various areas of ecumenical life (Walker 1958:539-540).

Along with the Student volunteer Movement, Y. M. C. A. was also an important source for the American foreign missionary movement. George Williams (1821-1905) founded the first Y. M. C. A. in 1844, and it has since spread through the world. In 1851, there were twenty four similar organizations in Great Britain and up until 1861, two hundred organizations in the United States. The World's Alliance of the Y. M. C. A. was established in 1855. In 1855, the Y. W. C. A. (Young Women's Christian Association) was formed and the World's Alliance of the Y. W. C. A. was formed in 1894 (:539). Even though the purpose of Y. M. C. A. was to provide young people with the Christian fellowship and to improve their spiritual condition, it also contributed much towards

⁵⁸ He also had a great influence on Horace G. Underwood (1859-1916), the first Presbyterian foreign missionary in Korea, especially with regard to his ecumenical movement. During his leadership of the World Missionary Conference, which marked a decisive moment in the birth of the modern ecumenical movement, Mott even visited Underwood in Korea, and had several important conferences with him about the movement (Kim 1992:11). On this topic, chapter three will deal with it.



Christian missions abroad. Under the leadership of Mott, the Y. M. C. A. grew rapidly in the foreign land. It is a fact that foreign work led by this theological current was an accurate indication of the vitality of American Protestantism (Brauer 1953:212).

Another important step of the American missionary movement was the organization of the Laymen's Missionary Movement in 1906, which also stemmed from the inspiration of the Student Volunteer movement. The main aims were to support foreign missionaries and the mission program and to draw businesspersons and others who were interested, into providing funds for the mission work (Handy 1961:197). Anderson's statistics (1988:177) vividly reflected that the ardent missionary passion began in the late nineteenth century. The number of American Protestant missionaries had increased strikingly from a relatively small figure prior to 1880, to two thousand, seven hundred and sixteen in 1890; four thousand, one hundred and fifty nine in 1910; to seven thousand, two hundred and ten in 1910; and even more than that from 1915. Consequently, these numbers meant that 'America took over the lead in foreign missionary work in the world with respect to manpower as well as funding' (Kim 1992:13).

2.3.3. Diverse Factors for the Activation of Foreign Mission

We need to pay attention to the reason why the foreign missionary movement was activated during the nineteenth century. According to Dillenberger and Welch (1954:166), the protestant missionaries prior to the nineteenth century were smaller in numbers, ill-supported and worked around the colonial areas. Hogg (1961:96) contrasted it with Roman Catholic missionary work, which was largely undertaken by monasteries from the Middle Ages to the present day. The Protestant church had no practical means of performing the missionary functions led by the monks. As a result, their efforts ended in a failure because they accepted converts without appropriate instruction and failed to develop native ministerial leaders. Furthermore, the doctrine of predestination seemed to negatively influence missionaries by making human efforts to convert the non-Christian both unnecessary and presumptuous. The energies of the Reformers only remained in the work of reforming the church. But, the specific



situations which contributed to the rise and rapid growth of the Protestant mission are as follow: the close relation of protestantism to the economic and political liberalism of the period; the greater flexibility with which Protestantism was able to adjust to the changing intellectual climate, and the important role played by Britain and the United States in the economical expansion of the time (Dillenberger and Welch 1954:168). Besides this socio-economic analysis, the more direct factors contributing to the new concern for foreign mission were ‘Pietism’, the ‘Wesleyan Revival Movement’ and ‘the Awakening.’ God’s love for all, compassion for the lost, Christ’s command to preach the gospel, pity for the dying, and the expectation of the Lord’s return were the nineteenth century missionaries’ specific mottos. William Carey believed these. Adoniram Judson went to devote his life to the people of Burma because of this conviction and belief. Hudson Taylor of the China Inland Mission was caught crucified in the same convictions and beliefs (Lindsell 1968:69). Throughout the nineteenth century, especially at the turn of the century, thousands of men and women with the same motto left their homelands in the West, to convert non-Christian people in Asia and Africa to Christianity (Latourette 1967:405, 406).

From early on, the foreign missionaries who came to evangelize Korea, were of the above mentioned. An example of such a missionary was H. G. Underwood, the first American Presbyterian missionary who carried in Korea, came to Korea on April 5, 1885. After Underwood, many foreign missionaries, especially from McCormick theological Seminary, Union theological Seminary and Princeton theological Seminary, came to Korea. They played an important role in the formation of Korean theology and its church.

2.4. Conclusion

As mentioned above, this chapter investigated three trajectories that served as the religious backgrounds to America in the nineteenth century. The Westminster Confession of Faith was the historical results of Puritanism in England. Calvin and Calvinism took an important position within the circle of conservative Christian faith in America. In the nineteenth century, there was liberalism and a higher criticism that



shook the inspiration of the Bible. Fundamentalism fought against liberalism. This period was also colored with foreign missionary movements. Under the influences of these factors, early foreign missionaries came to Korea. In the next chapter, we will study the theological characteristics and missionary work of the early foreign mission boards.