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**THE ROOTS OF PURITANISM IN THE KOREAN
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH**

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I declare that “The Roots of Puritanism in the Korean Presbyterian Church” is my own work, and that all the sources that I have read or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references.

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ABSTRACT

“The Roots of Puritanism in the Korean Presbyterian Church” offers an analysis on Puritanism and an alternative to the contemporary Korean Presbyterian Church, which has lost its course; specifically in the current century of mission in Korea. The reasons for the abovementioned idea are as follows. Firstly, Puritanism was not foreign concept to Korean Christians, who have had contact with the concept before. Early missionaries in America fought against Conservatism (or Fundamentalism) and Liberalism. The conservative camp especially tried to hold on to the Westminster Confession of Faith and the authority of the Bible. These were the representatives of Puritan legacies. Puritanism was naturally implanted into Korean soil through early foreign missionaries who preached the Gospel. Therefore, the suggested idea must take on the character not of a creation but of a restoration in terms of the Korean Presbyterian Church. Secondly, it is due to its confidence that the Puritans pursuing points, which tried to establish the whole society on the basis of the Bible, are the answer to the contemporary Korean Presbyterian Church, which has stagnated in both number and quality of faith. The Puritans did not separate faith from the secular world. Instead, they tried to establish their society on the Bible. The Covenant with the church and the state as well as the individual was a strong vehicle for their thoughts. Their ultimate aim was piety in the presence of God.

Meanwhile, the early Korean Presbyterian Church adopted the Twelve Articles of Faith and the Westminster Confession of Faith as official creeds. It meant that the Korean Presbyterian Church kept the Puritan point of the Bible and faith from 1884 to the



middle of the 1930's. The faculty of Pyongyang Theological Seminary, which was a unique training school for would-be ministers, taught the Puritan faith and theology thoroughly. However, Korean political changes tremendously influenced her Christianity. During the period of Japanese Imperialism (1919-1945), the early conservative faith and theology had to face the challenge of Liberalism. The whole of the Korean Presbyterian Church submitted to the Japanese iron-fisted rule and Shrine Worship in 1937. However, the Puritan faith and theology were rediscovered through the faith of the few resisters of Japanese rule.

After Liberation from Japan in 1945, the antagonism of ideology caused Korea divided into two. On the one hand, North Korea fell under the banner of communism, which thoroughly eradicated the church in terms of its ideology more than the Japanese did. On the other hand, South Korea joined under the banner of democracy and churches were found to be in an unparalleled prosperous condition. The few resisters of Japanese imperialism cried out for the Puritan faith and demanded that the Korean Church should officially repent the sin of Japanese Shrine worship. However, an overwhelming majority consisting of the ecclesiastical authorities rejected their proposal as well as their faith and treated them as religious outcasts. The few resisters detached themselves from the established denomination and formed the Goshin Party. After the separation, schisms of denomination accelerated, because of differences in faith and theology or religious concession.

In addition, Pentecostal theology and its spirituality as a substitute to Puritanism were more dominant in Korean Christianity than any other denominations. The Private



experience and the charismata of the Holy Spirit were the keys points of the Pentecostal movement. They contributed to the concern and development of Pneumatology in Korean Christianity. However, Pentecostalism made the Presbyterian Church interpret the Bible without theological balance. The church began to seek material blessings instead of spiritual ones and to the pursuit of this world instead of the next. In addition, the Presbyterian Church was only concerned with itself without being indifferent to the ungodly society beyond itself.

In conclusion, the restoration of Puritanism, which tried to base both the society and the church on the foundation of the Bible, is the best solution to the future contemporary Presbyterian Church.

KEY TERMS: Puritanism, Covenant, Westminster Confession of Faith, Pyongyang Theological Seminary, the Twelve Articles of Faith, the March First Movement, Liberalism, Chosun Theological Seminary, Shrine Worship, the Korean War, Pentecostalism, Park Hyung-Nong, Kim Chae-Choon, Presbyterian Church of Korea, .



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

J. S. R. T.	Journal for the Study of Reformed Theology
J. N.	Jangsin Nondan (The Journal of the Presbyterian General Assembly Theological Seminary)
M. S.	Ministry and Theology
P. C. U. S.	Presbyterian Church in the United States (or Southern Presbyterian Church)
P. C. U. S. A.	Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (or Northern Presbyterian Church)
S. J.	Shinhak Jinam (The Journal of Chongshin University)
W. C. F.	Westminster Confession of Faith
I. C. R.	Institutes of the Christian Religion



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

1.1.1 Background to the Problem

The Korean Church has had a short history of Protestantism, which is over one hundred and twenty years old.¹ During this short period, there has been a rapid growth in the number and quality of Christians in the Korean Protestant Church. Specifically, the number of Christians has doubled every ten years from 1960 to 1980. The *New York Times* reported in August 1992 that among the fifty biggest churches in the world, twenty-two were located in Korea (Lee 1998:22-34). In addition, according to a statistical study conducted in 1992, the number of Korean Christians exceeded tens of millions (Kidogkyomoonsa 1992:277-296). There are about three hundred theological seminaries, fifty thousand pastors, and nearly forty thousand churches that grew within the past century since the beginning of the mission in Korea (Chung 1996:21).²

Yun (1994:153) indicated that the Korean Church has already entered the phase that assures it of a leadership role and popularity as the major spirit of the times. Therefore, the Church acquired the role of the most dominant national religion. In other words, the

¹ Generally speaking, the first official visit to Korea by foreign missionaries was carried out by H. G. Underwood from the Northern Presbyterian Church and Mr. and Mrs. Appenzeller from the Northern Methodist who arrived in Incheon via Japan on April 5, 1885 (Kim 1992:67, Kim1997:91-95, Lee 1978:80). There is no objection that H. A. Allen's visit to Korea in 1884 was the start of the Korean mission. Since 1884, the founding year, the Korean Presbyterian Church celebrated the semi centennial anniversary of mission in 1934. In 1984, she celebrated its centenary.

² The number of Protestants in Korea was ten and a half million people. Compared to the statistics of 1998, which was nine million and seventy thousand people; the number was meant to increase up to eight hundred thousand persons (The Korean Gallup Poll 2005:311). Refer to the appendix of Chung's book (1996), *Korean Church and Reformed Faith*, and the statistical chart of Kim's book (1992), *A History of the Korean Church* for details.



Korean Church obtained the power to exercise a greater influence over the Korean society than any other religious or ideological group. From the dawn of the mission history to the present, the church has shared in the pleasures and pains of the Korean society. On this basis, it can hardly be argued that the Korean Church has indeed contributed much to the process of modernization and democratization of Korea society. These results can be attributed to the providence of God. God has been working through all these ages, creating the passion in Korean Christians for the Lord.

However, a recent assessment of the Korean Church shows a decreasing trend as well as a retardation in its growth.³ In addition, the side effects of rapid growth gave rise to the problems of diversification viz., Secularism, Epicureanism and the Motto of “Church Growth First,” the lack of the ordained ministry’s ethical conscience, the sect of heterodoxy and separation of denominations entered the church along with the corrupted trend of the times:

which degenerated into the anthropocentric culture, which was dominated by humanism instead of theocentrism, secularism instead of transcendentalism, material or scientific technique instead of spirituality, ethnocentrism and individualism instead of universal cosmopolitanism (Kim 1998:21-22)

The contemporary problems in the Korean Church can be summarized as the separation of daily life from faith or a rift between the world and the church. In the early stages of

³ Since 1991, according to Myung (1996:116), the rate of the growth of the Korean Church has slowed. The statistics of 1991 was thirty six thousand, eight hundred and thirty two churches. This number shows that there was a decrease of three hundred and fifty eight churches as compared to the previous year (1990). In case of *Yejang Tohap*, the annual rate of growth was 0.45 per cent and *Yejang Hapdong* recorded an annual growth of 0.06 per cent. (*Yejang Tohap* and *Yejang Hapdong* are some of the largest denominations among the Presbyterian Churches in Korea representatively). Compared to the statistics of the 1900s, which showed thirty five thousand, eight hundred and sixty nine churches and ten million, three hundred and twelve thousand, eight hundred and thirteen Christians, those of 2002 showed approximately fifty thousand churches and twelve million Christians. The rate of growth of the church and believers, which up to the 1900s had shown sharp quantitative growth, has been stagnant since 2002 (Institute for Church Growth 2006:178).



Protestantism in Korea, it rendered great services to the modernization of the Korean society by promoting human rights laws, abolishing of old customs and resisting the Japanese rule over Korea. During the end of the period of the Chosun dynasty, (the former name of Korea) and Japanese imperialism (1910-1945), there were not many Christians, yet their influence had a significant impact on Korean society and gave a positive image to the people. The contemporary Korean Church is larger than in the past; however, the influence of the Church over the Korean society has faded. Although there are voices that criticize and scold the Korean Church internally and externally, the Church seems to lack the ability to bring about a positive and desirable change. A chain of events is applicable not only to the Korean ecclesiastical situation, but also to the universal world church. Commenting on the twentieth century Christian thought, Gonzales (1975:390) said,

Our century will probably be the fact that the entire basis from which theology speaks had been greatly reduced.... Because of the foregoing, the scope of theology has also been narrowed because in most cases its audience had been increasingly limited. Theology is no longer “the queen of all sciences.”.... In any case, theologians speak mostly to the church, or to those at its borders who are contemplating the possibility of belief. But its voice of in the forum of humanity is often hardly audible... The one point at which theology is most often heard with interest-or at least with curiosity- in the world at large is in its pronouncements on social justice and such related subjects as violence, revolution, etc.

Despite the prevalence of the context of low spirituality, we ought to still confess God as the Lord of the Church, the Lord of humanity, and proclaim that the God of the Bible as the God of the world.

1.1.2 Alternative Solutions

In order to deal with problems as above mentioned, alternative solutions have been offered within the religious circles of Korea. Comparing the Korean Church with the



aged European Church, Lee (1999:508-525) still optimistically analyzed the present condition of the Korean Church. He suggested that if the Korean Church lays emphasis on the younger generation and arouses new hope in the older, and, at the same time, evangelizes with a new enthusiasm, the church shall have some possibilities of continuous growth. Kim (1998:28-31) proposed five points of missions for the contemporary Korean Church. The first mission was that the view of God was rightly formulated. The God of the moderns, who could be found only through the revelation of the Bible and illumination of the Holy Spirit, is a transcendental Creator and personified Redeemer who came into the history of man, identified with neither the process of history nor Minjung (the people), nor a deity of other religions. The prosperity of the material civilization and worldly pleasures cannot replace God. In order not to be done so, the contemporary churches will have to experience God anew, live before God and vividly witness the moderns. The second mission was to formulate the view of man rightly. The Korean Church has to restore the identity of man as mentioned in the Bible. Because man's original status as a creature of God was deprived of the status of a machine. The third mission was to rightly set up and execute the points of view of Culture and Nature. Kim mentioned that the Cultural Commission⁴ was not to spoil and exploit nature endlessly, but to exploit it rightly: to use and preserve it for God's glory and human welfare. Man has to understand that he is not a master of nature, but a manager of it.

Considering the geo-political standing of Korea, the fourth mission was to set up the

⁴ God blessed them and said to them, "Be fruitful and increase in number, fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air and over every living creature that moves on the ground" (NIV Gen 1:28).



Right Formulation of a View of Unification with North Korea. The Korean Church should try to keep in touch and make exchanges with North Korea in all dimensions in order for the waves of renovation and liberalization to reach North Korea and the two Koreas to be united and world mission achieved. The fifth mission, finally, was to establish the view of the world beyond. The Korean Church has to point out and show the world beyond to the moderns, who are losing memory of the world beyond; this is accomplished only through the Second Advent of Christ.

Furthermore, Kim drew up the following four specific schemes. Firstly: spiritual awakening by means of prayer, as well as the renewal of services by praise-and prayer-centered services, instead of sermon-centered services. Secondly: moral awakening and social participation of the Korean Church. Thirdly: the unification and harmony Movement. Fourthly: the renewal of theological Education by cultivating men of spiritual, ministerial and moral talent and church education. This is to be achieved through deep moving and practice-centered education instead of knowledge-centered education.

Similarly with the problems mentioned above, Kim (1997:410-412) commented on the twelve problems with which the Korean Church is confronted.⁵ He pointed out continuously that the future of the Korean Church would become dim if the Church fails to devote itself in keeping the truth, living a disciplined life, cultivating a high moral purity or if it returns to its former conservative church life (:414).

Moreover, Chung (1996:290) approached the problem theologically, defining his position that the Korean Church must be responsible for the study, development, and growth of Calvinistic theology in order to contribute to the world Church as well as to itself.

⁵ The concrete items are as follows: varied theologies; moral and spiritual deterioration of ministers; church emphasis on the spiritual gifts; faith focusing on the worldly blessing; hyper-fundamentalism; the priority of a private church; churches losing their denominational characteristics; the absence of a policy for foreign mission; the establishment of Korean theology; the success of the Korean faith of martyrdom; the problem of female ministers and the inclination toward a numerical decline.



Furthermore, similarly with Chung, Kim (1992:300-301) mentioned two assignments in terms of the Korean Reformed theology:

The first is to creatively succeed in the two thousand year old tradition of Christianity, which has been introduced through the Western Church. These days, Western theology has renounced the traditional doctrines and faith of Christianity and has become secularized. It has lost the identity of theology and of the church. In Asia, specifically, the Reformed theology in Korea, should recover the tradition of Christianity, in order to succeed in the spirit of the Reformation of Augustine, Luther and Calvin. It should re-discover the identity of the church and theology in postmodern society and proclaim the Second Advent of Christ. The second requires discussions with the unique religions and cultural traditions of Asia; to give theological direction about diversified high technology and ecological problems of a highly information-oriented global village. For the sake of doing the first thing, the Reformed theology must become the universal ecclesiology. In order to solve the second thing, the Reformed theology has to be the revolutionary cultural theology.

Similar to the above-mentioned solutions, diversified alternative ideas were enumerated to the contemporary Korean Church. To sum up, Calvin's explanation was appropriate,

For the gospel is a doctrine not of the tongue but of life. It is not apprehended by the understanding and memory alone, as other disciplines are, but it is received only when it possesses the whole soul, and finds a seat and resting place in the inmost affection of the heart (*Institutes of the Christian Religion* III. 6. 4).

Therefore, Korean theology should deal with and find a cure for the realm of life including politics, economy and culture as well as Christian faith. It is possible through sacrificed individuals and organizations with unwearied enthusiasm to transform the whole society on the basis of the Bible for the future of the Korean Church.



1.1.3 A Better Solution: Puritanism

In order to achieve the forwarding ways mentioned above and to address the contemporary church problems, the Korean Church has to pay attention to Puritanism. There are two decisive reasons for proposing such a solution and they are as follows:

Firstly, what the Puritans were trying to seek had something to do with realistic alternative ideas for the contemporary Korean Church. Morgan (1963:4) commented on the historical value of Puritanism that the Puritans were those who “designed to make the visible church a closer approximation of the invisible than St. Augustine probably had in mind.” Furthermore, not only the problem of the visible church, but also

Every Christian was bound to obey God not merely as a sanctified man (in order to prove to himself that he was saved) but as a member of each group to which he belonged. If he failed, he not only demonstrated his own damnation, but he brought the temporal wrath of God upon his family, upon his church, and upon his state. In New England, these ideas penetrated to every level of society (Morgan 1944:10).

As New (1964:85) mentioned, activism had become the hallmark of Puritanism. It was applicable not only to a member of church but also to the whole country. Therefore, compared with the lax and flexible ethics of Anglicanism of those times, “in the formation, Puritan ethics were comparatively worldly and pragmatic, in their application they were disconcertingly astringent and assertive” (:86). The purpose of which was only to glorify God on the basis of the Bible as the unique norm of life and faith. Puritans regarded man’s chief end as not to amuse or to be amused, but “to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever”⁶ as written by the first question of Westminster Shorter Catechism of 1674.

Like this, Puritan ideas can clearly present very forwarding ways for the Korean

⁶ Q 1. What is the chief end of man? A 1. Man’s chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him forever (Westminster Shorter Catechism 1674 in LCC: 2001).



Presbyterian church if it is determined to take action against the inner corruption of the church and the secular menace of the outer world.

Secondly and the more important other reason than the former, is that the earliest style of the Korean Christian faith was Puritanical, owing to the foreign missionaries who were taught by the Puritan heritages and transplanted them to Korea. However, the contemporary Korean Church seems to wander aimlessly along with the current of the times without knowing the early roots of Christian faith. The recovery of Puritanism is in connection with the identity of early Korean Christianity.

1.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

Many historians have mentioned the theological origin of Korean Christianity. Generally speaking, the style of the Christian faith in Korea was completely Puritan since the beginning of the mission. The standpoint has been accepted at home and abroad. As Kim (1992:30) pointed out:

The tradition of Korean Protestantism, generally speaking, originated from Lutheranism, Calvinism and Anglicanism. Presbyterianism holds the greatest majority in the Korean Church, and it is agreed that it has its root in Calvinism (or Reformism). The Methodist Church, the second largest denomination in Korea, has almost the same theological root as the Presbyterian Church in a broad sense. The Anglican Church did not grow as much as the other denominational churches, because of its strong English style. The Lutheran Church was the latest denomination to come to Korea ... At the outset, it was said to have no intention of forming its own churches.

Calvinism, which Kim mentioned as the origin of Korean Christianity, was identical to Puritanism in England. Calvinistic theoretical sources and strengths for reformation of the Anglican Church supported Puritanism. McNeill (1954:310) agreed to this point as follows:



It was to be [a] characteristic of the English Puritans that they were more unyielding on points of worship and ceremony than their instructors, Calvin, Bucer, and Knox.⁷

In addition, considering the records of the early missionaries, Brown (1936:434 in Kim 1997:116), the General Secretaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., pointed out that there was no church in the world that enthusiastically prayed, studied the Bible, collected contributions and preached the Gospel as the Korean Church. He also reviewed the mission work before 1911 as follows:

The typical missionary of the first quarter century after the opening of the country was a man of the Puritan type. He kept the Sabbath as our New England forefathers did a century ago. He looked upon dancing, smoking, and card playing as sins in which no true follower of Christ should indulge... In theology and Biblical criticism, he was strongly conservative... The higher criticism and liberal theology were deemed dangerous heresies. In most of the evangelical churches of America and Great Britain, conservatives and liberals have learned to live and work together in peace; but In Korea the few men who hold ‘the modern view’ have a rough road to travel, particularly in the Presbyterian group of missions (Brown 1919:540).

In 1972 when Dr. Weber first went to lead a society for the study of the Bible in Korea, he admired the Korean Church as “an Apostolic church” (He 1974:37). What has been said above clearly reveals the Puritan aspects of the Korean Church.

In order for the contemporary Korean Church to get out of its dwindling situation, it must not adopt Puritanism, but recover it. The hope is that Puritanism shall impress the Reformed theology in the life of the church and society. The most important reason for

⁷ Generally speaking, Calvinism had been introduced in England more through the influence of Bucer and Bullinger than that of Calvin. John Hooper called the first Puritan was a great admirer of Bullinger. However, these men were not Calvin’s revivals but his heralds (McNeill 1954:310-311).



the above-mentioned statement is the debt owed to the early American missionaries who preached the Gospel in Korea, and who were, for the most part, the descendants of Puritans from New England. Consequently, their theology and faith were based on early Puritanism. In view of this, the theological standpoint of Puritanism was naturally transplanted into the Korean soil through the missionaries (Kim 1997:115-135).⁸ In a certain sense, the Korean Christians could be regarded as the descendents of Puritans, because the mission body of North America, which was stimulated by Puritanism, has brought up Korean Protestantism.

Therefore, this study is an attempt to discover the kind of theological and ecclesiastical characteristics of the nineteenth century foreign missionaries who came to Korea. This investigation also intends to discover the factors that influenced these missionaries' formation and development of the Korean Church and the nature of the ensuing results. The study will, therefore, survey several methodologies of church history and related literature.

1.3 Methodology

There are generally three types of methods in the study of Church History. These include Church History as chronological description of historical facts, Church History as mission history and Church History from a theological point of view. In addition to these, there have been studies in martyrlogy,⁹ history of disciplines, dogma, denominations and division. These approaches to history could be a part of Church History from a theological point of view, but includes much more specific subjects.

However, the first three methods of the study of Church History have been the main

⁸ To put it concretely, there were the Twelve Faith Articles of 1907, the Smaller Catechism of Westminster, the administration of church from the American Presbyterian Church, the Ordinances of Discipline from P. C. U. S. A. , the modified Prayer Book from the Southern Presbyterian Church in the constitution of Korean Presbyterian Church, which were newly passed in 1922 (Rhodes 1943: 389 in Kim 1992:142).

⁹ The first martyrlogy of the Korean Church is *Hyun Sek-Moon's Gihae Ilgi* in 1905 (Kim 1997:29).



approaches used to understand and cover the contemporary history of the Korean church, which has not had as long a history as Protestantism. The various approaches, methods, development and relevant literature concerning the history of the Korean church discussed in terms of the above standpoints are as follows.

1.3.1 Church History from a Chronological Descriptive Perspective

This perspective traditionally assumes the narrative form, which deals with the sequential telling of a story, the history of events, mainly the history of those men who act them out (Black and MacRaild 2000:95). Church History from a chronological descriptive perspective was in wide use, but on the other hand, it has a weak point. When the past is analyzed on the basis of the conception of time the analysis might possibly become anachronistic. Black and MacRaild (:16) pointed out this possibility with a quotation from Butterfield's *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931).

The study of the past with one eye, so to speak, upon the present is the source of all sins and sophistry in history, starting with the simplest of them all, the anachronism.

To apply the above to Church History, all theological and historical thought is formed as the result of our own context, subjective experience and ideological perspective. Troeltsch (1972:10) once mentioned the diverse factors which influenced historiography:

All historical phenomena are unique, individual configurations acted on by influences from a universal context that comes to bear on them in varying degrees of immediacy.

“Influences from a universal context” means that all the historians are affected by a personal, a religious, a socio-economic, a national and a general context in which they belong to and live. Conversely, reading historical sources forces readers to have a ‘willingness to enter the world of the author and don the garb of his [their] assumptions’ (Oberman 1981:163). Therefore, historians who are called “the last advocate of the



dead: a spokesperson for the ‘dead’ past” (Oberman 1986a:11) should be careful that various factors which influence historiography are seen only from a single point of view. Holloway (1967:1) supported this with a quotation from Leopold von Ranke:

If there is meaning in history it can only be discovered by a patient and detailed examination of the facts by men trained in the use of objective methods of historical scholarship. To be objective, it is necessary that only what the documents reveal must have actually happened should be reported.

Such an aspect is the golden rule undeniable to historiography. Seen from this viewpoint, many records by early missionaries in Korea did not completely satisfy Ranke’s mention because they were enthusiastic evangelists rather than historical scholars, who can treat with objective methods of historical scholarship.¹⁰ For instance, Allen, the first medical missionary in Korea, mentioned his *Things Korean* (1908:114-115) that the commons were apt to lay a plot against others for their interests readily. It can be somewhat subjective judgment being a lack of objectivity. Nonetheless, these records should win public recognition because they are the solitary historical materials concerning the early history of Korean church.

The early Korean missionaries sent reports of their mission to their homelands from the beginning of their missionary works. Their reports and books covered several fields of studies such as the geography, history and the culture of Korea as well as the establishment and growth of the Korean churches. *The Korean Repository* (1892, 1895-98), *The Korean Review* (1900-95) and *The Korean Mission Field* (1896-1942) were the important historical materials as well as stories of missionaries that were included in the periodicals. These periodicals can be classified into church history as mission history in terms of the contents of the books (Kim 1997:25). *The Korean Repository* was the first magazine translated into Korean. It rendered a great service in introducing Korean

¹⁰ Han (1970:99) mentioned that early foreign missionaries in Korea belonged to New Side and New School rather than Old Side and Old School. The former laid stress on revival movements but the latter attached importance to education of ministers in the nineteenth century. Missionaries in Korea put stress on revival movements more than anything else.



politics, economics, culture, religion and language to foreign missions which was trying to send missionaries to Korea. The writings in these magazines provided foreign missionaries dispatched to Korea at the end of the nineteenth century with reliable tips (Yoo and Yun 2004:3-4).¹¹

Paik Lak-Gune's *The History of the Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*, was the first book that was published in English concerning the History of the Korean church in 1929. Kim Yang-Sun's book, *The Ten-year History after Liberation of the Korean Church*, was written by a Korean for the first time. This book included some material concerning the split of the church and the vicissitudes of the ten years after liberation from Japanese rule (1945). It also dealt retroactively with the history before Liberation. In addition, his nephew, Kim Kwang-Su, published Kim Yang-Sun's book, *The Studies of History of Christianity in Korea* posthumously (1971) These two books received much recognition as indispensable materials concerning the history of the Korean Church. Chae Phil-Geun had published *A History of Development of Christianity in Chosen* serially in the *Gidok Daily News* for almost a year (1938.8-12).

Recently, A Society for the Study of Christian History in Korea published *A History of Christianity in Korea* volumes I (1989) and II (1991). The Society has brought together several contributors who referred to many reference books internally and externally. They wrote that church history grew in the soil of Korean culture and history without a specific theological point of view. Lee Yung-Hun wrote *A History of the Korean Church* (1978), which is regarded as a detailed and praiseworthy book. Kim

¹¹ For instance, the first number of *the Korean Repository* on January in 1892 representatively included the following articles: 'The Korean alphabet' (Hulbert 1892:1-9), 'The Japanese Invasion' (Jones 1892:10-16) and 'Notes on Recent Russian Archaic Researches Adjacent to Korea, and Remarks on Korean Stone Implements' (Macgowan 1892:25-30). The final number of this magazine on December in 1898 typically included the following articles: 'Korean Songs' (Gale 1898:443), 'the Korean Pharmacope' (Landis 1898:448-464), 'Popular Movement in Korea' (Yun 1898:465-469). For details of the whole contents of these magazines, see Yoo and Yun's *19 Segimal Seyang Sengyosawa Hankuk Sahoi* (The Foreign Missionary of the Close of the Nineteenth Century and the Korean Society) (2004:339-375).



Hae-Yeon's book, *A History of the Korean Church* (1997) deserves special mention in this regard.

1.3.2 Church History from a Missio- Historical Perspective

To consider history as mission history, the conception of mission needs to be given a definition. Saayman (1995:188) introduced Kritzinger's conception of mission as follows:

Mission is ... the attempt to embody God's liberating presence in every human situation. It never takes place a vacuum, but is always concerned with specific people in specific situation, and searches to discover the meaning of the Good News in each context.

The above definition is to be considered in relation to the context in which mission occurs. Mission history should not deny but deliberate on the various areas of human surroundings like socio-economic, political, religious and cultural situations in order to reach real history without being subjective. With regard to the viewpoint of mission history, historiography generally follows the three patterns of pre-critical, critical and post-critical writing chronologically and progressively (Millard 1991:78). Especially, the patterns are more remarkable in the third world including Asia because of "positive assessment of missions which are lauded as the harbingers of Western values and a positive view of colonialism (Du Plessis 1911:264-5 in Duncan 1997:9) and strong criticism against it. For instance, Millard (1991:78) applied these patterns to South Africa's situation that pre-critical gives the white point of view (missionaries and government officials), critical gives a critical analysis from both black and white perspectives and the post-critical approach brings the focus of the black and the oppressed.¹² This study belongs to the second category, namely, a critical writing because it does not always evaluate all kinds of the theological aspects affected by early missionaries positively. Also, it criticizes liberal theology called "the Korean theology"

¹² However, Millard (1991:78-91), instead of these patterns, insisted that real history is reinterpretation in the light of the context of the times in which the author lived.



which depended on the unique socio-political situation in Korea, especially from 1960's to 1980's without understanding western Christian history.

The following records mainly belong to the first category (pre-critical writing: missionaries' viewpoint). Early foreign missionaries left abundant records concerning church growth and development in Korea.

Firstly, a missionary Charles A. Clark¹³ published *The Korean Church and the Nevius Method* in 1930, in which he regarded a special mission policy viz., the Nevius Methods, as fruits of the church growth. A missionary, Alfred W. Wasson's book,¹⁴ *Church Growth in Korea* (1934), dealt with the mission history of the Southern Methodist Church in U.S.A. He demonstrated that the growth of the Church in Korea has been oscillating in ten-year cycles depending on the political and social conditions of Korean society. Furthermore, Roy E. Shearer's book,¹⁵ *Wild Fire: Church Growth in Korea*, explained that the rate of church growth differs in various geological areas in addition to Wasson's theory. He showed that the rate of church growth in the middle and southern-eastern parts of Korea was slower than that in the northwestern parts of the country. All the above studies dealt with church history from a mission history point of view.

1.3.3 Church History from a Theologico-Historical Perspective

Church historians, like secular historians, organize and interpret the data collected to reconstruct the past according to a chronologically reasoned order. In this intellectual process, they can get away from neither subjectivity nor certain supposition. Therefore, church historians must free themselves from an uncritical position and avoidable prejudices. In order to do so, historiography must basically adopt a theological and critical method with the Church as norm (Brown 1985:1-18). This means that Church

¹³ C. A. Clark (*Kwak An-Ryun* in Korean) taught practical theology and religious education in Pyongyang Theological Seminary and published many books. He played an important role in theological education in Korea (Kim 1997:25).

¹⁴ A. W. Wasson is known as *Wang Young-Duk* in Korea.

¹⁵ R. E. Shearer is known as *Se Myung-Won* in Korea.



History as a chronological description or mission history is, in a broad sense, Church History from a theological point of view fundamentally because all works of church historians were influenced by their theological backgrounds, consciously or unconsciously. However, what the section mentions means Church History which has a special theological viewpoint from a starting point of research. For instance, Cullman insisted that all history is to be understood in the light of salvation history. He contended that Christian knowledge of the “not yet,” combined with the “already,” plays a decisive role in “being fellow-workers in carrying out the saving plan in history” (Cullman 1967:338).

In the early part of the 1960s, theological circles in Korea began to debate the concept of “indigenization theology.”¹⁶ Among three general approaches to history (pre-critical, critical and post-critical) as mentioned before, this belongs to the third approach to history. This viewpoint attempted to regard the Koreans not as the object of mission but as the subject of mission. Liberal theologians especially have regarded it as an important topic for the history of the church in Korea since then.

To consider some literature with the theological and ethnocentric perspective (the post-critical writing), Palmer published *Korean Christianity: the Problem of Identification with Tradition* in 1967. Here, he dealt with the identification of conventional culture and Christianity as important keys concerning the success of the mission work in comparison with Chinese Christianity. For him, the central issue of Christian mission was to assimilate different cultures. Palmer (1967:96) said, “... in conclusion, and in view of the record of Protestantism in Korea and China, it must be said that Christian identification with Asian tradition can be a distinct advantage...”

¹⁶ This term ‘Indigenization’ was used first by Jang Byung-il’s article, The Theological Understanding of *Tangun* Myth -Indigenization study concerning a creation narrative-, carried in the *Gidokyo Sasang* in December 1961. There were two groups divided within the positive standpoint concerning the indigenization of Christianity. One group held a view of indigenization that evangelism itself has to be retranslated from a Korean perspective. Yun Sung-Byem, Ryu Tong-Shik and Kim Kwang-Sik agreed with this standpoint. Another advocated that indigenization was applicable within the area of the Korean culture only. Kim Jung-Jun, Lee Jong-Seng, Han Chul-Ha and Hong Hyun-Sel belong here (Kim 1992:291-92).



Harvie M. Conn,¹⁷ a missionary, wrote more than four times about the development of Korean theology from 1966 to 1968. He dealt with the controversies and confrontations between conservative and liberal theology up to the period of liberation from Japanese rule (1945).

Min Kyung-Bae's *Hankuk Gidokgyo Hyungseungsa: Hankuk Minjok Gyohoi Hyungseungsa (A History of Church in Korea: A History of the Formation Process of the Korean National Church)* (1972) was written from an ethnocentric point of view. He expressed his regret at the early history of the Korean church because he regarded it as history recorded from a foreign imperialistic point of view. Furthermore, he pointed out the negative influences given by early missionaries. He emphasizes discontinuity from such a historical point of view. Furthermore, he stressed the need for a national church to establish Korean independence. For him, the decisive forces of a national church consist of Christian piety (legacies inherited from Christian tradition) and Korean nationalism (legacies inherited from the Korean tradition). Ryu Tong-Shik's *Hankuk Shinhakeui Kwangmaeck (A Vein of the Korean Theology)* (1982) introduced various theological points of view and systematized them. Ryu also wrote in terms of Min's viewpoint.

However, his point of view came under serious criticism owing to its lack of a theological appropriateness by the conservative camps (Kim 1992:18, Kim 1997:28). Kim Young-Jae described Korean Christianity from the Reformed point of view of Church History in his *A History of the Korean Church* (1992). Kim's historical point of view was the opposite of Min and Ryu's. His approach to the Korean history belonged to the critical writing by giving criticism to both the conservative and the liberal viewpoints in terms of the reformed perspective. The differences between them remained as an irreconcilable rift between conservative and liberal camps of theology existing in Korea.

¹⁷ H. M. Conn is known as *Kan Ha-Bae* in Korea.



All the above mentioned materials were written from various theological points of views.

1.3.3.1. Collision of Two Theological Approaches in Understanding the Korean Church: Ethnocentric vs. Reformed Viewpoints

Two different representative views exist concerning the understanding of the history of the Korean Church. One is an ethnocentric position and the other is the Reformed perspective. The ethnocentric idea is a new approach to the history of the church in Korea interpreted by Korean historians. It did not come to the fore of religious circles of Korea until the 1960s. Many historians depended on foreign missionaries' historical writings because of a lack of historical material written by Koreans. From the end of the 1970s and up to especially the 1980s, it was a big issue among the historians who were concerned with national consciousness and self-respect. The most representative figures are Min Kyung-Bae, Park Bong-Bae, Se Nam-Dong and Ju Jae-Yong. According to them, 'the understanding of the Korean Church developed by foreign missionaries is cultural subordinationalism or cultural colonialism' (Han 1996. A Task and View of Korean Theology in the 21st Century. *J.N.*, 12, 414-435). They contended that Koreans themselves should take the initiative in understanding the history of the Korean Church. In order to do so, they asserted under the guise of tracing the self-identity of Korean Christianity that the early missionaries' achievements should be negatively evaluated. (Han 1996:414-435).

Meanwhile, Kim (1992:31) refuted this approach, arguing that they showed a tendency to reject any consideration of the historical tradition of the Western church. For example, the Great Revival of 1907 was acknowledged as an event, which laid the cornerstone for Korean Christianity at home and abroad.¹⁸ However, ethnocentric theologians regarded

¹⁸ According to Song (1980:722), 'before and after 1907, the Korean Church ascertained and experienced the work of Holy Spirit in a pragmatic manner, and understood that the Spirit played an important role in the Christian life, the development and revival of the church.' Also, a missionary, Reynolds (1935:9-10 in Park 1991:20) described the revivals of the three special areas, Wales, Chosun (a old name of Korea) and India in the early part of the twentieth century, as resulting from the work of the Holy Spirit among



it critically as the result of the enthusiastic religious sentiment of the Koreans, or the achievement of the de-politicization of the Korean Church. In other words,

They (the foreign missionaries) made Korean Protestantism only be concerned about the spiritual and the world beyond, but on the other hand also co-operated with Japanese imperialism by paying no attention to politics and contemporary problems (Min 1974:42).

Meanwhile, the Reformed point of history, which placed its root from Calvin and his school, was ardently represented by Park Hyung-Nong in Korea. He completely emphasized the Reformed point of history, defining the faith of the early missionaries as Puritanical Calvinism. Furthermore, Park and his party considered it as a standard theology and insisted on defending it as the tradition of the Korean Church.¹⁹ Actually, an ethnocentric interpretation of the history of the Korean Church became extremely meager owing to Park's theological activities.

The two above mentioned opposing viewpoints concerning the interpretation of the

Christians who devoted themselves to prayer. Consequently, great meetings of revival were held, sins were confessed and churches grew greatly in numbers and quality.

¹⁹ Han (1993:569-595), divided and introduced theological lines after Park Hyung-Nong as follows: 1. Evangelistic Theology in the line of the Reformed tradition - Kang Sa-Moon, Gye Il-Seung, Kim Ki-Moon, Kim Myung-Yong, Kim Young-Han, Kim I-Tae, Kim In-Soo, Kim Jung-Eun, Kim Ji-Chul and Kim Chul-Young...etc. 2. Fundamentalist Theology laid emphasis on Calvinism – Kwon Sung-Su, Kim Kwang-Su, Kim Myung-Hyuk, Kim Se-Yun, Kim Young-Jae, Kim Ui-Won, Kim Jung-Woo, Kim Hei-Bo, Na Yong-Hoa and Park A-Ron... etc. 3. Fundamentalism on the basis of the modern Dutch Reformed Theology – Park Yun-Sun, Se Chul-Won, Oh Byung-Se, Lee Geun-Sam, Lee Seung-Mi, Lee Bo-Min, Lee Hwang-Bong, Jung Hun-Taeck, Cha Young-Bae and Choi Hong-Sek...etc. 4. Liberal Neo-orthodox Theology – Kim Gyun-Jin, Kim Jae-Jun, Kim Jung-Jun, Park Bong-Rang, Oh Young-Sek, Lee Jang-Sik, Jung Kyung-Youn, and Jung Ha-Eun. 5. Progressive Theology – Go Jae-Sik and IL Tae-Soo. 6. Neo-orthodox Cultural Theology – Kim Kyung-Jae and Jung Wung-Seb. 6. Minjung Theology – Kang Won-Don, Kim Sung-Jae, Kim Yong-Bok, Kim I-Gon, Kim Chang-Rak, Moon Il-Hoan, Moon Hi-Sek, Min Young-Jin, Park Sun-Kyung and Park Jae-Sun...etc. Theological perspective has been enumerated from the above in order to analyze the various theological inclinations within the Korean Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian theological perspective has a majority in Korean Protestantism. But briefly, two parts will be divided: the Reformed Theology (from 1 to 3) vs. the Liberal Theology (from 4 to 6).



history of the Korean church have conflicted sharply within its tradition. However, this confrontation started to pay attention only to the illiberality of the understanding of history. The ethnocentric point of view of church history has a tendency to not acknowledge the horizontal flow of church history. Consequently, they tried to understand the church and the theology of each period with only the vertical relation of the Word to the context which they live like heresy and eschatological movement.²⁰ Kim's evaluation (1992:31-32) of them seems to be right. It is as follows:

The Korean Church excessively regards early missionaries as the Apostles of itself and this may unconsciously produce an unexpected result; discontinuing the continuity of the ecclesiastic tradition. Therefore, according to the tradition of the Korean Church, it is supposed to rediscover Calvinism into the historical development of Reformism as well as early missionaries' faith. If we called Korean Christianity Puritan or Pietistic, we have to have an understanding of the historical situation in which such movements broke out and what the original spirit of the movement was.

Therefore, the best way to understand Korean Christianity is that a horizontal point of view (the historical theological line of missionaries flowing into Korea) and a vertical point of view (the relation between the unique context of Korea and evangelism) are considered in the unique context of the history of the Korean Church without prejudice. For instance, the unique tradition of the daily dawn prayer meeting in Korean soil shows

²⁰ For instance, Rev. Kim Jang-Ho established the new denomination called "Chosun Gidok Gyodan" (the Korean Presbyterian Group) and seceded from the General Assembly on 7th July, 1918. He justified himself, saying that the purpose of my denomination was to prevent the Korean Christians from schisms because of missionaries' struggle for power. Rev. Kim denied all kinds of miracles in the Bible. The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1923 condemned Rev. Kim a heretic (Min 1993:405). Also, Hwang Kuk-Ju cried out that Jesus himself descended upon him after a long prayer. He regarded himself as reincarnated Jesus in 1930's (Lee 1978:289). Hwang raised a non-biblical mystical movement and became the matrix of non-biblical mysticism in Korea subsequently. Both of two despised the horizontal aspect of Christianity, which was begun from the apostolic succession as a starting point of Christian faith. They only sought the vertical relation of Christian faith between God and themselves or their circumstances. The aspect became the starting point of heresy in the history of Korean Christianity.



religious enthusiasm for God and the Bible, which is in accord with Puritanism.

This thesis can be classified under the third approach to the study of history (a history as the theological perspective), because this study describes the Puritan roots in the history of the Korean Church. Moreover, the basic approach of this thesis will be chronological descriptive, at the same time, critical and theological as mission history in terms of the Reformed theological viewpoint.

1.4 Hypothesis

The following hypothesis is argued in this thesis:

The Korean Church inherited a Puritan faith and theology. However, with the lapse of time, its form became distorted, extinct and is now beyond recognition. In the mean time, various theological lines - Pentecostal spirituality, fundamentalism, liberalism and even secularism – have formed a popular foundation of Christian faith within the Presbyterian Church and took seats in the church, putting on a mask of Puritan theology and spirituality. Therefore, the true recovery of the Korean Presbyterian Church is the rediscovery and the pursuit of Puritanism.

1.5 Periodization of the Study

In order to enhance theological enterprise, the Korean Presbyterian Church established the theological Seminary under S. A. Moffett's leadership (1864-1939) on May 15, 1901, eighteen years after missionary Underwood made the first step to Korea with the Gospel. It was called Pyungyang Theological Seminary,²¹ which was a training institute

²¹ The official name of the Seminary was Union Theological Seminary. In 1902, two presbyteries from Pyungyang were recruited as students and four people working as a church-preacher applied for it. They studied together. There was a rule that students studied three months per year and graduated within five years. This was decided by the Presbyterian Assembly in 1905 (Paik 1970:303). In 1907, the first graduates from the Seminary became pastors. In the meantime, the first Synod of the Korean Presbyterian church was established on September 17, 1907 (Sejong 1998:246).



for pastors run by the Presbyterian Association. It consisted of four representatives from four foreign missions viz., Southern and Northern Presbyterian Church, Presbyterian Church of Victoria and Canadian Presbyterian Church.

Besides Moffett, the missionaries who had exerted influence over the Korean Presbyterian theology were as follows: C. A. Clark (1878-1961), W. D. Reynolds (?-1951), W. C. Eerdmans, S. L. Robert, J. C. Crane, W. L. Swallen and E. F. Hamilton (Kim 2002. A History and Theology of Korean Theological School. *J. S. R. T.* 3, 1-12). Considering their Seminary of graduation,

among the forty missionaries from the Northern Presbyterian Church, who came to Korea from the beginning of the mission until 1901; sixteen came from the Princeton Seminary and eleven from McCormick Seminary (Kim: 1-12).

That meant that Pyungyang Theological Seminary was greatly influenced by Princeton Theological Seminary with C. Hodge, A. Hodge and B. Warfield as leaders. Therefore, focusing on Princeton Theological Seminary including McCormick, Westminster and Calvin Seminary, the study will research the American theological background from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century.

The investigation shall cover the history of the Korean Church which was divided into three major periods: First, the formation of the Korean theology by foreign missionaries (1885-1909). Second, the adherence to the Korean theology (1910-1944). Third, the development, decline and distortion of it (1945-to the present).

These divisions are considered in the context of changes of Korean politics. Even though the community of faith like the church has a transcendent property, it is impossible to exist without having any relationship with the historical and the social situations of the society, to which it belongs. From this view, the Korean Church is not an exception. Korean Christianity has developed in the vortex of political incidents including the annexation by Japan (1910) between the first and second period, the Liberation from Japan (1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953) between the second and



third period.

1.6 Thesis Outline

In order to discover the root of Puritanism in the Korean Presbyterian church, and to solve the stagnant problems within its regarding Puritanism, this investigation will use both primary and secondary sources.

Chapter Two will consider the historical, theological and ecclesiological backgrounds in America from the eighteenth to nineteenth century as a unit. It was during this period that the foundation of the Korean Christianity was laid. The study shall utilize the theological and chronological approach. The study shall focus on the study of Westminster Standards, which the Korean Presbyterian Church still regards as the basis of important confessions, including the historical and theological backgrounds, characteristics and the position of those times upon them. In addition, the study will include some of the theological seminaries and theologians who had fought against liberalism and tried to keep the Confessions, and who had an influence on the early foreign missionary work in Korea.

Due to the fact that in that period, the early missionaries were met with the strong challenge of liberalism, liberalism will be investigated. Lastly, the missionary movement of the nineteenth century, which was regarded as the greatest century, will also be studied. The above three issues were the main religious matters of those times, which the early missionaries were influenced by and had to face.

Chapter Three shall examine the theological and ecclesiological principles that the early major foreign missionaries had to adhere to from the beginning of the mission up until 1909. The period was one in which the Korean Presbyterian Church experienced the great revival and laid the groundwork as a church itself. They became the direct and permanent foundation of Presbyterianism.

Chapter Four will trace the Presbyterian Church under the rule of Japanese imperialism. This was the double faced period decorated with apostasy and martyr. When apostasy



was committed on a large scale of General Assembly, a few martyrs showed Puritan spirituality by their death. This rang an alarm bell. On the contrary, during this period, liberalism also rose up and developed under the aegis of the Japanese government. The issues mentioned above will be studied in the fourth chapter.

Chapter Five will consider the more complicated picture of the Korean Presbyterian Church, which had to be faced since the Liberation from Japanese imperialism until the present. The post-management of apostasy on a scale of General Assembly, was expressed by schisms of denomination in a Presbyterian Church. In addition, the explosive growth of each denomination was unique in the world. This period, on the contrary, shows that Pentecostalism, instead of Puritanism, was completely dominant in the Korean church. The reverse side of this tendency leaves many problems awaiting solutions, like the separation of faith and life, the reduction of the influence and corruption of the church. Therefore, these diverse causes will be analyzed in the Korean context, with focus on Pentecostalism.

A summary of the findings shall be embodied in Chapter Six, including the way forward for the Korean Church in terms of the rediscovery and application of Puritan characteristics.

1.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the problems leading to the stagnation and current crisis in the Korean Church were discussed. Diverse alternative solutions were also described to address the above-mentioned problems. These solutions were summarized in the theology and life of Puritanism (in the subsection that deals with the aims and objectives of this study). Moreover, three patterns or viewpoints for understanding the situation of the Korean church were briefly introduced with related literature. This study follows the third viewpoint among the diverse methods of the historical study viz., Church History from a theological point of view. The hypothesis used in the investigation is presented in the light of respective periodization of American theological backgrounds during the nineteenth century and in the history of the Korean Presbyterian Church. In the next



chapter, the investigation shall focus closely on the historical, theological and ecclesiological formation during the nineteenth century American context.



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 (Carroll 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 the 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.



CHAPTER THREE

THE EARLY FOREIGN MISSIONARIES' WORKS AND THOUGHTS

This chapter will deal with the early foreign missionaries' works and thoughts, which had a direct effect on the formation of a faith line of Presbyterianism in Korea. This period covers the chronological history of the Korean Christianity from 1884 to 1909. It is a commonly accepted theory to regard the visit of Allen in Korea, in 1884 (a doctor and missionary from P. C. U. S. A.), as the official year, in which Christianity began to take root on Korean soil. The 1909 was the year before Korea was annexed by Japan,⁵⁹ after which, Korean Christianity was set into another phase. This is the reason why this chapter covers up to the year 1909.

3.1. The Frontiers of the Korean Mission

Before 1884, there had been many attempts to make contact with Korea for missionary work, but they were fruitless.

First of all, Kim (1997:71-74) mentioned that the first missionaries, who came to Korea, were J. J. Weltvree (1595-?) in 1627 and H. Hamel in 1653. However, this statement is not an officially accepted one and it seemed that they were rather the first westerners than missionaries to make contact with Korea. In general, it is accepted that it was K. F. A. Gutzlaff (1803-1851) who first came to Korea as a Protestant pastor and missionary. Gutzlaff, a German missionary from the Holland mission and translator for the East Indian Company, came to Korea by the Lord Amherst in August 1832.⁶⁰ He tried to evangelize the Koreans and their King by distributing the Bible while staying in Korea

⁵⁹ On this topic, refer to no. 1 of footnote, cf. Song (1981:81).

⁶⁰ Before Gutzlaff, there was Basil Hall who came to Korea at first on 1st September 1816. He gave several foreign gifts and the Bible written in classical Chinese to the Koreans and went back to China (Lee 1978:60).



(Gützlaff 1834:316-356). His passionate efforts and care for the Gospel were handed down by his journal. According to his diary on July 26, 1832;

They heard and read repeatedly, that Jesus Christ, God over all, was also their Redeemer; but their affections were never roused. Such callousness of heart bespeaks great degree of mental apathy which seems, to be very characteristic of the Coreans [Koreans]. Yet I provided those who were willing to receive the gospel, with books, and they promised to bestow some attention to the subject, and took great care to keep possession of their books. To my great sorrow, our visitors were afterwards prohibited by the mandarins from receiving any more books, or any thing whatever; so that they did not dare take even a button... At all events, it is the work of God, which I frequently commended in my prayers to his gracious care. Can the divine truth, disseminated in Corea, be wholly lost? This I believe not: there will be some fruits in the time appointed of the Lord (Gützlaff 1834:339-340).

However, his efforts did not immediately produce a special response from the Koreans; the providence of God was continues preceded as arranged.

Next, Rev. R. J. Thomas (1840-1866), an English missionary from the London Mission, arrived at Sorae, in the Hwanghae Province of Korea (one of eight provinces) in September 1865. He distributed pieces of the Bible written in classical Chinese to people. One year later, in August 1866, he revisited Korea by the General Sherman and evangelized the Koreans by distributing the Bible. Afterwards, he was the first to be martyred by Koreans while making a thorough investigation regarding the illegal anchorage of the General Sherman (Griffis 1897:394).⁶¹ Such events proved a strong

⁶¹ There was a saying concerning the martyrdom of Thomas, The soldier, who had killed Thomas, regretted his rash action, and papered a wall with the Bible, which had been handed over to him. Afterwards, the soldier, someday, was much impressed while looking at the wall and reading the Bible without thinking and repented his sin. When Rev. Moffett organized a learning-Bible class in October, 1893, one of the attendants was the man who had received the Bible from a martyr Rev. Thomas. The Korean church tendered her thanks by holding a memorial service at the very place, which he was



incentive to the Korean mission.

After the tragedy of the General Sherman, A. Williams, a Scottish missionary from the London Mission and the ones who sent R. J. Thomas to Korea, became deeply interested in the Korean mission. He began itinerant evangelism from Manchuria up to Koryo Gate, which was a kind of an annual market where Koreans and Chinese gathered together (Lee 1978:63). Afterwards, he served as a guide to Rev. J. Ross and Rev. J. McIntyre for the Korean mission (Kim 1997:80).

The two missionaries had the wonderful idea of translating the Bible into Korean. With the help of Koreans like Se Sang-Ryun, Lee Sung-Ha and Paik Hong-Jun, The Gospel of Luke was published in 1882 and the Gospel of Matthew, Mark and the Acts in 1883. The whole New Testament was translated and three thousand copies of the book were published in the name of '*Yesu Seongyo Geonse*' in 1887. In addition, Ross and McIntyre did their best to preach the Gospel to the Koreans as well as to translate the Bible. They baptised seventy-five Christians in Manchuria. Through them, the Korean mission was invigorated. The above three people, who were involved in the translation of the Bible, were also active as evangelists and sellers of the Bible. For instance, Se Sang-Ryun brought six thousand copies of the Bible into Korea through the In-Cheon port and distributed them to the provincial cities (Kim 1992:63-65).

Many missionaries and Koreans played an active role in evangelizing the Koreans living in China in the early years of the mission. Such works made progress within Japan as well. Among the early frontiers of the Korean mission in Japan, Lee Su-Jeong as a Korean played an important role in missionary works.

In September 1882, Lee Su-Jeong accompanied the trade mission to Japan in obedience to an order from King Gojong. He was learned about Christianity there and was baptized by Japanese Rev. Yasgawa on 29 April 1883. While staying in Japan, Lee testified his faith to Korean residents. One of his many achievements was to translate

martyred, on 18th May 1927. A memorial church was established in that place on 14th September 1933. For details, see Rhodes (1943:73-74), Min (1993:99-102) and Kim (1997:76-79).



the English Bible into Korean in 1884 and 1885 respectively.⁶² When Rev. H. Underwood visited Korea in 1885, he tucked the Bible in his bosom and came into Korea (Reynolds 1906:171). The Bible was revised and published in Seoul in 1894. Further, Lee sent a petition concerning the Korean mission to several American churches. Because of this petition, R. S. Maclay (1827-1927), who was appointed manager of the Korean mission, by the American mission, was dispatched to Korea on 24 June 1884 (Kim 1997:86-87).

As a consequence of energetic evangelical works in Manchuria and Japan, the fact that the Korean Bible already existed before official missionaries were permitted to come into Korea by the Korean government, was the most extraordinary phase and unparalleled in the history of world missions.

As mentioned above, even though attempts of the western missionaries were frequent and built the foundation of the Korean mission, their work did not bear fruit.

3.2. The Large-Scale Entry of Early Foreign Missionaries

Soon enough, foreign missionaries came to Korea on a large scale. This was due to political change in Korea. Daewongun (1820-1898), the manager of the Korean government at those times, employed the policy of national isolationism to quarantine Korea from the outer world. After his resignation, Korea signed a treaty of amity with Japan, which meant opening the country. With a treaty of Korean-American amity in 1882 at the top of the list, the Korean government made treaties with many countries like England, Germany, Russia and France. In 1885, the twenty second year of King Gojong, the freedom of missions was gradually allowed in society and by 1896, it was entirely allowed (Kim 1997:131).⁶³

⁶² The Bible, which Lee Su-Jeong translated into Korean in 1884, was called as *Hyunto Hanhan Sinyak Seongse*, consisting of only the Gospel of Mark and the Acts and adding the Korean letters to the suffix to classical letters. In 1885, *Magabokeum Haeseul* (A Commentary on the Gospel of Mark) was published by the American Bible Association

⁶³ It was in 1896 that a prohibitory decree of western religion was withdrawn by the government. It is not



The highly developed, ancient civilization of Korea had reached its lowest ebb, when it was opened up to the West. This seemed to be the time pertinent for the evangelization of Korea, from the foreign missionaries' perspective. Latourette (1944:412) also described it as follows:

In A.D 1800 Korea was in the hands of a decadent dynasty and was in poor condition to meet the international intrigue which accompanied the penetration of the Far East by the occident. Fearful of the complications which might ensue from the coming of Western peoples and later in being subjected to armed pressure by them, the Korean rulers were much more tardy in admitting the occidentals and entering into relations with them than was either China or Japan.

“In poor condition,” mentioned above meant that after 1876, Korea was forced to make a commercial treaty with Japan. Thereafter, the Korean regime could not help opening its nation and making treaties of amity and commerce with western countries without diplomatic preparations: with the United States in 1882; England, German, Italy and Russia in 1884; France, Austria, Belgium and Denmark in 1886 (Kim 1992:59). Many foreign missionaries, taking advantage of such confused situations, tried coming into Korea. They regarded the political situation in Korea as God's providence. According to S. A. Moffett's mission diary, we see missionaries having an ardent passion for Korea.

My first impression here is that the Koreans very greatly need the Gospel and I trust and pray I may be prepared to help give it to them.... (28th January, 1890). I pray that in the apportionment of new missionaries this summer Korea may receive more than one or two. I have just heard from Rev. W. M. Baird now at Del Norte, Colo, saying that he hopes to be able to carry out his desire to preach to the heathen and that he expects to be ready for the work next fall... We have hoped that we might work together and so I plead that he be sent to Korea. I desire further to say just this that since her coming my strongest feeling has been one of constant gratitude to God that he has led me into this work in Korea. I believe there

until 1906 that allowed the freedom of religion more legitimately (Kim 1997:131).



are great possibilities before this country (18th March, 1890).

As we have seen above, the intensive desire of the Korean mission made the large scale entry of missionaries possible.

To consider it in chronological order, Dr. Horace N. Allen, a missionary from P. C. U. S. A., arrived at Jemulpo in Korea on 20 September 1884, as an official doctor of the American Consulate.⁶⁴ Horace G. Underwood, a pastor and missionary from P. C. U. S. A. and the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Henry D. Appenzeller from M. E. C. U. S.⁶⁵ came to Korea on 5 April 1885. Succeeding them, Mr. & Mrs. Scranton from M. E. C. U. S. and Scranton's mother, Mary F. Scranton, entered Korea. They all came to Korea with the great vision of evangelizing Korea. It was the result of God's providence among many missionary fields. Especially, the progress of deciding upon the mission of Korea by H. G. Underwood, who came to Korea as the first missionary of the Presbyterian Church, was as follows:

The previous winter, Mr. Underwood had been present when a paper was read on the need for men to open work in Korea. Mr. Underwood set to work to try to find someone for this work. He himself had been thinking in terms of service in India but, when no one volunteered, the conviction became strong that he should himself volunteer for service in Korea. He was turned down twice and was about to return to his first decision in favor of India, when he was finally appointed to Korea, July 28, 1884 (Clark 1961:58).

Among the inflow of many missionaries on a large-scale, Rev. Davies and Miss. Davies, who were dispatched by the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, came to Korea in October

⁶⁴ The official title of Allen's position was "Physician to the Legation with No pay." General L. H. Foote, the U. S. Minister Plenipotentiary of those times, deliberately appointed Allen to the post owing to the Korean-American Treaty of 1882, which had no a clause to secure the freedom of Protestantism (Kim 1991:7).

⁶⁵ The official term is Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. It is also called the Northern Methodist.



1889. They mainly evangelized in the Kyungsangnamdo Province (one of eight provinces in Korea). However, Rev. Davies died as the result of smallpox after one year's stay in Korea (Kerr and Anderson 1970:9 in Min 1993:154). Consequently, at his death, the Presbyterian Church of Victoria was concerned about missions to Korea and sent many missionaries as well as devoting themselves to the rural and famine enlightenment drives.

The beginning of the Canadian Presbyterian Church mission in Korea originated with Rev. W. J. McKenzie (1861-1895) who came to Korea in December 1893 in his private capacity. Even though it was hard for a foreigner to adapt to Korean customs, he shared the pleasures and pains of life with the Koreans. The sudden change of life, fever, poverty and his solitude drove him to his death (McCully 1903:222). Although he had lived in Korea only for one and a half years, his death stimulated the Presbyterian General Assembly of Canada to send the following three people to Korea: Rev. W. R. Foote; Rev. D. M. McRae and Rev. R. G. Grierson. They started the Presbyterian mission of Canada in the Hamkyung Province in Korea (Min 1993:156).

In the case of the Baptist Church, Malcolm C. Fenwick (1865-1935), who was dispatched by the Korean Union Mission in Toronto, came to Korea as a private evangelist on 8 December 1889 (Yoo 1987:39, 42). He stayed in Se Byung-Jo's house in Sorae, studied the Korean language for ten months, and evangelized in Wonsan. In 1894, he went back to America and organized the Korean Itinerant Mission as Hudson Taylor did the China Inland Mission. He came back to Korea again in 1896. At that time, the Ella Thing Memorial Mission, which belonged to Clarendon Baptist Church in Boston, sent Rev. and Mrs. E. C. Pauling, Mr. and Mrs. Steadman, S. Ackles, A. Ellmer and A. Gardeline to Korea in 1895. They did missionary work in Ganggye, Hongsung and Gongju, but it was interrupted due to financial difficulties in 1900. Fenwick took over their areas and took pains in evangelizing the Koreans (Kim 1997:102-103). Afterwards, his organization, Daehan Gidokkyohoi (The Korean Christian Church) became the mother of the Baptist Church in Korea, after Liberation from Japan (Kim 1964:15).



In 1892, the Presbyterian Church in the United States (P. C. U. S. or Southern Presbyterian Church) began the mission of Honam Province in Korea by sending Rev. L. B. Tate and Miss. M. S. Tate; Rev. and Mrs. Reynolds, who was a professor of systematic theology at Pyeongyang Theological Seminary, and Rev. and Mrs. Junkin (Kim 1992:68-69).

The Anglican Church in 1890, embarked on missionary work by Bishop C. J. Corfe and his partners consisted of six pastors and two doctors. They established and consecrated the first Anglican Church in Jemulpo on 30 September 1891. The reason why the Anglican Church was trying to evangelize Korea was due to the report of Archdeacon J. Wolfe, a Chinese missionary, concerning Korea. It also provided an opportunity for Rev. Davies from Australia to come to Korea (Clark 1971:109).

In addition, the Seventh Day Adventists; the Holiness Church; the Pentecostal Church and the Plymouth Brethren, called the Free Church, came to Korea at a similar period as the above denominations.⁶⁶

3.3. The Early Foreign Missionaries' Works

This section will investigate missionary work done by early foreign missionaries. However, for the purpose of this thesis, the focus will particularly be put on Presbyterianism and parts related to it. It will be divided into five sections: medical work; educational work; youth work; evangelical work and revival meetings.

3.3.1. Medical Work

When foreign missionaries came to Korea, they did not obtain official approval from the government for missionary work. Therefore, they could not do evangelical work directly, thus began indirectly with medical and educational works (Kim 1992:73-74).

⁶⁶ For details, see Kim (1992:70-71); Kim (1997:106-111); Min (1993:158-162) and Lee (1978:89-91).



Ganghyewon, the first national hospital, was established on 25 February 1885 on Allen's earnest request to King Gojong.⁶⁷ It was renamed to Jejungwon on 12 March 1885. The number of the cured showed how significant the pervasive effect of this hospital was within a Korean society. The number of the patients cured by the hospital was two hundred and sixty five during the first year. One hundred and fifty of them underwent operations. The number of those who came to the dispensary was ten thousand four hundred and sixty (Rhodes 1934: 116). Jejungwon had more wards for women as the result of Miss. Dr. Lillian S. Horton's devotion in 1888. When Dr. Avison became the director of Jejungwon in November 1893, he changed it to become one of the organs of the Presbyterian mission responsible for aid to financial problems. From that time, that hospital had five hundred patients per month. This made it expand to accommodate more patients. On the 23rd of September 1904, Jejungwon was renamed as the Severance Memorial Hospital after Louis H. Severance, who donated thousands dollars to establish more schools in Korea (:199).

As Severance Hospital showed a satisfactory reputation among the Koreans, the board of missions of the Methodist Church, established a clinic on 10 September 1885 and inaugurated medical mission work under Dr. Scranton's guidance. He worked together with Allen at Ganghyewon during the first two or three months after his arrival in Korea. On 15 June 1886, he bought a new building and opened a hospital with the approval of the government. King Gojong named it "Sy Pyung Won" (Relief Hospital). Even though foreign missionaries began from indirect mission work like medical work, they used it to their advantage as a mission base. Medical work was directly connected with evangelism there. According to Clark (1932:85):

Hospital evangelism has begun, though some preaching of the gospel had

⁶⁷ The reason why Allen could request to establish the hospital from the king Gojong was as follows: at those times, there was a sharp political conflict of interests between conservative and progressive parties concerning the national opening. On 4th December 1884, when the progressive party revolted against the opposite party, Min Yong-ik, a leader of the conservative party, got a cut and fell into a dangerous condition. At that time, Allen treated his injuries. Owing to this accident, he won the confidence of King Gojong. This accident served as a momentum (Song 1976:35-36).



been done in connection with the medical work, from the beginning. At the Sy Pyung Won, a staff prayer meeting was held each morning, at 8 A.M. An hour later, an evangelist conducted a Bible study for patients in the wards and, at noon, led a service for the dispensary patients. In the afternoon, there was a class for in-patients on the Methodist catechism.

The advantages of medical work caused the building of another hospital. Dr. Scranton considered the hospital only for women and children and requested a woman doctor from the headquarters of mission of the American Methodist church. On 20 October 1887, Miss Dr. M. Howard was sent to Korea in response to the request. The Methodist church appointed her as the director of the hospital and opened the first hospital for women only, in Korea. It was named “Bogu Yegoan” (the protecting-relief inn) by the Empress Minbi (Kim 1992:75-76). However, the treatment was not offered free. The Koreans had to pay for it with foodstuffs instead of cash. Allen (1908:205) recorded,

The Koreans seemed to go on the principle of no cure no pay. Payment moreover seems seldom to be in money. I have been given hundreds of eggs, quantities of meat, live pigs, chickens, pheasant, and all manner of eatables, by grateful patients.

While the Methodist doctors mainly took care of patients in local areas, the Presbyterian doctors conducted two kinds of work simultaneously: caring for patients and education Koreans in medicine. The Presbyterian Church of Victoria began medical missionary work in Busan in 1896. The Anglican Church did so too in Incheon in 1890 (Kim 1992:76).

3.3.2. Educational Work

Before the modern schools in Korea were established, the educational institutes based on Confucianism were so pedantic that it could not be of any use in daily life.⁶⁸ The

⁶⁸ The education systems of those times consisted of three: Sedang (primary school), Hyanggyo (middle school) and Sunggyungwan (university). According to Han (1970:239 in Kim 1992:77), there was sixteen thousand five hundred and forty Sedangs (primary school), and one hundred forty one thousand six



educational work done by foreign missionaries was warmly welcomed by the multitude, except by the conservatives (Kim 1992:77).

Underwood from the P. C. U. S. A. opened the Kyungsin School, which provided orphans with lodging and teachings in the early 1880's. During Mr. and Mrs. Rev. Underwood's absence due to the American journey, Moffett was in charge of the school, which was renamed to "Yesugyo Hakdang" (The Christian School). This school was the mother of the Jeungsin girl school, which the Presbyterian Church established and managed in 1895. This school was also started for orphans. In 1894, the Presbyterian Church founded the Sungsil Hakdang (fruit pursuing school) and Sungeui Girls School (hope pursuing school) (Lee 1978:99).

On 3 August 1885, Appenzeller from the Methodist Church, opened a school at his house with two students. The school obtained the approval of the Methodist Church in the following year. King Gojong granted the school the name of "Baejae Hakdang" (school for rearing talent) on 3 August 1886. Mrs. Mary F. Scranton also opened the first girls' school in Korea with a student at her room. The Empress granted it the name Ewha Hakdang (pear blossom's school) on 22 October 1886. In the days before modernization, Korea considered female education as worthless and their opportunity for education had long been neglected, because women were regarded inferior to men. Besides, Kyekmul Hakdang (status and things), the predecessor of the present Gwangsung School (shine and achieve) and Jungeui Girls' School (justice) were also established by the Methodist Church. Since 1897, when the board of foreign missions decided upon the policy concerning the local school, middle schools for boys and girls were established in the main cities. Large churches managed the primary schools. It was of great help towards national enlightenment as well as the cultivation of talent (Lee 1978:99). The number of private Christian schools established from 1885 to 1909 goes as follows:

The number of Presbyterian schools was six hundred and five and the number of students was fourteen thousand seven hundred and eight. The

hundred and four students.



number of Methodist schools was two hundred and the number of student reached six thousand four hundred and twenty three (Min 1993:248).

The many Christian schools mentioned above, gave many people opportunities to listen and obey the Gospel. In addition, national leaders and patriots were trained in them.⁶⁹ Considering the educational focus of schools, Lee (1996:96) mentioned it as follows:

Firstly, to promote Koreans above their current situation. Secondly, to make them proud of their culture and in addition, to make them free people, who settle racial problems and private and social affairs voluntarily and autonomously among them.

The purposes mentioned above, became the cause to preserve the Korean spirit even under the rule of Japanese imperialism. Among the schools established by foreign missionaries, Yeonsei University and Ihwa Woman University were developed as the most representative educational institutes in Korea (Kim 1997:326-327).

3.3.3. Youth Work

The representative examples of youth work were the Young Men's Christian Association (Y. M. C. A) and the Young Women's Christian Association (Y. W. C. A). On 28 October 1903, P. L. Gillet organized the Y. M. C. A. in the name of Hwangsung Gidok Chungyenhoi (the Capital Christian association) in Seoul (Kim 1992:81).

The business programs of the Y. M. C. A. were diversified. As with religious programs, there was Sunday Ganghwa (lecture), Bible study, especial evangelism and address meetings. The Y. M. C. A. managed practical vocational education since 1906, such as printing, carpenting; iron working; shoemaking and photographing. It also gave the young generation the opportunity to learn foreign languages like English, Chinese and German. Besides these, physical education, including baseball, football, boxing, Judo, fencing, ssireum (Korean wrestling) and archery were outstanding enterprises of the Y.

⁶⁹ For details, see Appendix 2.



M. C. A.. As mentioned above, the organization played an important role in the modernization of Korea (:82).

The Y. M. C. A. developed social enlightenment movements and evangelism simultaneously, a youth organization emphasized only the revival and growth of the church, beginning its foundation in the Presbyterian Church. McCune organized Chungyeonhoi (an association of the youth) at Suncheoneub church in Pyungyang Bukdo (one of eight provinces). Clark organized it at Seungdong church in Seoul in about 1904. After these, other churches followed this model and founded similar organizations within the church in the name of Chungyeon Jeondohoi (the evangelical association of the youth), Myenryehoi (the association of encouragement) and Gongryehoi (the association of contribution). In 1923, Anderson, who received a commission from the association of missionaries, cooperated with Gweon Dae-yun and Yoon Chi-Byung and organized the national youth formation called the Christian Endeavour by itineration and encouraging of other local churches (:82-83).

3.3.4. Evangelical Work

Missionaries tried to evangelize Korea without consulting the government, which was afraid that foreign countries might interfere in the domestic affairs of Korea by using missionaries as a decoy. For this reason, missionaries began to evangelize privately within immediate neighborhoods. Evangelical works were divided into three categories: literary work, wayside evangelism and itinerant evangelism.

3.3.4.1. Literary Work

Distributing Bibles, pamphlets and evangelical sheets which were written in Korean was the most effective evangelical work for missionaries who were unaccustomed to the Korean language. For this reason, missionaries always carried evangelical sheets with them and employed a “Maesein” or “Kwensein” (distributor), who went around and circulated many Bibles and evangelical sheets. The religious tracts, including the Bible, were written in Hangul (the Korean alphabet) and played an important role in the



diffusion of Hangul to Koreans. In those times, Hangul was regarded as inferior and was called Enmun (the vulgar language) by the educated class (Kim 1992:79-80).

To consider the association's related literary works, a Permanent Bible Committee was organized in 1887, by H. G. Underwood, with H. G. Appenzeller; Scranton and J. W. Heron as the main leaders (Lee 1978:102-103). The Board of Bible Translation, a subordinate organization of the committee, published the Korean New Testament as a definitive edition in 1906, which was regarded as the unique authorized Bible before the revised Bible of 1937. Eight hundred and seventy seven thousand, seven hundred and twelve copies of the New Testament were published by 1907. Millions of people, including King Gojong, read it with pleasure. The Old Testament was completely translated and issued in 1911 (Kim 1971:74). The Korean Religious Tract Society⁷⁰ was organized by Rev. F. Ohlinger on 25th June, 1890 (Kim 1997:123-124). This Society published two hundred and fifty thousand Christian books including *The Saints Doctrine of Christianity* by Rev. Underwood in 1890 until 1903. *Jangwonyangwusangron* by Moffett, *Pilgrim's Progress* by Gale and *Sanminphilgi* by Hulbert was widely circulated (Lee 1978:103).

Hymnals as well as the translation of the Bible and religious books were issued in about the same period. *Chanmiga* (hymn) by Rev. Jones from the Methodists in 1892, *Chanyangga* (hymn) by Rev. Underwood in 1893 and *Chansungsi* (hymn) by Moffett in 1895 were issued and used respective their country. In 1908, the united hymnal made by both Presbyterianism and Methodism was published (Lee 1978:103).

3.3.4.2. Sarangbang (a reception room) Evangelism and Wayside Evangelism

When missions on the street were officially disallowed, most missionaries used Sarangbang to evangelize the Koreans. Sarangbang was a kind of men's-only reception room in the traditional Korean house. Men took a break and talked about present

⁷⁰ Founders of the association were as follows: H. G. Underwood; D. L. Gifford; G. H. Jones; J. S. Gale; H. B. Hulbert; S. A. Moffett; W. D. Reynolds; W. M. Baird; J. W. Heron and D. A. Bunker. This was renamed Yasokyosehoi (the Association of Christian Literature) in 1919 (Kim 1997:123-124).



situations, especially off-seasons farmers.

Missionaries, who were trained to speak Korean to a certain extent, frequently read the books out aloud on the streets. When people crowded around them, they evangelized. Representatively, Rev. S.A. Moffett laid emphasis on the sidewalk evangelism and was called the Man of the Street. Rev. Moffett and Han Sek-Jin got up early in the mornings and after a prayer meeting, they walked around the crowded market and alley and preached the Gospel (*A Life of Dr. S. A. Moffett* s.a: 134-135 in Kim 1997:116-117).

3.3.4.3. Itinerant Evangelism

The first itinerant evangelism of the countries, originated from Appenzeller's evangelical journey with W. B. Hunt in 1887. In addition, Songchun Church in Hwanghae Province made a petition for Baptism to Rev. Underwood in 1887. Rev. Underwood took religious books and medicines and left on an evangelical trip to Songdo, Songchun, Pyungyang and Euiju. He administered baptism to twenty people during the trip. When he was on his way to Pyungyang for a second trip of two weeks, a ban on Christianity was issued and he was sent back to Seoul. These events became the beginning of itinerant evangelism (:117). After that, Rev. Underwood married Dr. Liliat S. Horton in the spring of 1889. Their honeymoon was replaced by a missionary trip, during which they went from Pyungyang to Euiju via Ganggye for two months and took care of six hundred patients. In addition, they sold many Bibles and religious books during their honeymoon. Underwood administered baptism to thirty-two people out of many converts (Underwood 1904:34-38). In August 1887, Appenzeller and Jones itinerated Wonju, Daegu and Busan on horseback. Moffett and Reynolds itinerated Gongju in 1892 and missionaries from the Southern Presbyterian Church no longer rivals in the Genla Province any more. In 1893, W. M. Junkin and L. B. Tate itinerated Jeonju for two weeks (Kim 1997:118-119).

In those times, Itinerant journeys caused much hardships to missionaries, because the transportation system was very poor. However, itinerant evangelism was needed continuously, and even though the number of missionaries was small, the number of



converts increased. According to Rhodes (1943:85), Mrs. Baird itinerated the whole country three times from Busan. J. S. Gale did this eight times from 1889 to 1897. Gale chose a different route each time and traveled throughout Korea for missionary work. He traveled the whole country twenty five times on horseback until 1915. The Korean government issued a special visa for the missionaries in order to travel the inland provinces of Korea. The special visa was a favor granted by the government, which included accommodation, exchange of money and personal protection. On average, the number of churches changed by itinerant missionaries was twelve to seventy five. The size of the congregation varied from tens to hundreds of people. Itinerant evangelism was an important kind of mission used in Korea until the early twentieth century (Kim 1997:120-121).

3.3.5. Missionary Policy

In the progress of missionary works from various point of views, early missionaries felt it necessary to divide and control the mission territories. The three reasons for this are: firstly, to avoid competition; second, to prevent the same type of missionary works between the missionaries from different countries and denominations (Van Dusen 1961:25), and thirdly, to give exact information of the missionary territories to the younger missionaries (Kim 1992:90). “The Council of Mission Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government”⁷¹ which was to be the super-denominational organization around Presbyterian missionaries, was inaugurated on 28 January 1893. In spite of different nationalities, the council was organized with the purpose of establishing a Presbyterian Church in Korea (Lee 1978:91-92).⁷² As a result, ‘all the male Presbyterian missionaries in Korea were entitled to be members of the

⁷¹ In short, it was also called as “The Presbyterian Council” (Kim 1992:90).

⁷² At first, Baptists; Episcopalians and Southern Methodists were not interested in this suggestion to unite missions. For that reason, the desire for union of the churches was mainly formed among Presbyterian missions. Only the Northern Presbyterian Mission and the Australian Mission came to an agreement to make “the United Council of Missions” in 1889. However, due to the death of M. J. Davies, who played a role in uniting between missions, the spirit of the mission was at a low ebb. After that, the mission was encouraged by the Southern Presbyterian Mission, which joined into it in 1893 (Paik, 1987:199). The Canadian Mission also joined the council after that.



Presbyterian Council' (Yim 1996:13). As the Korean Churches were established in one place after another, the Presbyterian Council took charge of the function of the General Assembly, which ruled over all the Korean churches until the Korean Presbyterian Church was established completely (Clark 1918:15-16 in Min 1993:197). The Presbyterian Council made two important decisions in the history of Korean Christianity: "the Comity Arrangements" and "the Nevius Method" (Min 1993:197-198).

3.3.5.1. Comity Arrangements⁷³

As the Korean Churches increased in numbers, the Presbyterian Council made a decision, along with the purport of the Council of Missions, to divide the mission territory. Chungchung and Chulla Provinces were under the control of the Southern Presbyterian Mission. The Canadian Presbyterian Mission managed Hamkyung Province. The Victorian Presbyterian Mission was in charge of Kyungsangnamdo Province. The Northern Presbyterian Mission was in charge of Kyungsangbookdo; Hwanghae and Pyungan Provinces (Kim 1992:92). Every mission did its evangelical work within its partitioned territories without trouble.

The united efforts between missions were also effective between other denominations. On 11 June 1892, the Northern Presbyterian Mission and the Northern Methodist Mission partitioned the mission territory (Min 1993:197-198). The reason for this was that it was inefficient and conflictive for two missions to occupy a small town and its outskirts. To occupy a small town, one would have to receive consent from the other. However, open ports and towns with a population greater than five thousand did not require consent. In addition, towns which the denominations had already established sub-stations and regular Sunday services belong to the respective mission (Clark 1930:90). The transfer of membership between churches was done only by the condition of recommendation of those in charge (Paik 1987:450).

⁷³ It was called as "the Comity Agreement" (Yim 1996:13).



The above principle was kept for a long time without any serious trouble. The Comity Arrangements, in the history of Korean Christianity, were evaluated as having both advantages and disadvantages. An advantage was the Comity Arrangement as the institutional device for the effective activities of missions, a disadvantage was it being the cause of localism and factionalism of the denominations within the Korean Church (Min 1993:198).⁷⁴

3.3.5.2. The Nevius Method

In June 1890, seven Presbyterian missionaries held a Missionaries' Conference in Seoul for a fortnight, the main speakers of which were Mr. & Mrs. Rev. John Nevius from P. C. U. S. A., working in China. Nevius had been widely known as an author of *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches* among missionaries in Korea (Kim 1992:92). After a long discussion and prayer with Nevius, it was decided to adopt the so-called Nevius Method and to apply it to Korea. Underwood (1908:109-110) summarized it as the following four principles:

- (1) Each Christian must abide in the calling wherein he was found and support himself by his own work and be a witness of Christ.
- (2) Church methods must be developed only so far as the native church is able to take care of and manage the same.
- (3) Church itself must call out for full time work those who are qualified best and whom the Church can support.
- (4) Churches are to be built in native style and by the Christian themselves from their own resources.

The Nevius Method mentioned above was often summarized as the principles of the “three selves: self-propagation; self-governance and self-support.”⁷⁵

In 1893, the first Presbyterian Council officially presented the ten articles of mission policy, most of which were also drawn up on the basis of Nevius Method:

⁷⁴ On this topic, see Suh (1985:5-18); Yim (1996:11-14) and Lee (1978:91-93).

⁷⁵ Among three principles, self-support was regarded as the most fundamental factor (Clark 1930:242).



1. It is better to work at the conversion of the working classes than that of the higher classes. 2. The conversion of women and the training of Christian girls should be a special aim, since mothers exercise so important an influence over future generations. 3. Much could be effected in Christian education by maintaining elementary schools in country towns, therefore we should aim to qualify young men in our boy's schools and send them out as teachers. 4. Our hope for an educated native ministry lies in the same quarter, and should be constantly kept in view. 5. The Word of God converts where man is without resources: therefore it is most important that we make every effort to place a clear translation of the Bible before the people as soon as possible. 6. An aggressive church must be a self-supporting church and we must aim to diminish the proportion of dependents among our membership, and to increase that of self-supporting, and therefore contributing, individuals. 8. The mass of Koreans must be led to Christ by their own fellow-countrymen: therefore we should thoroughly train a few as evangelists, rather than preach to the multitude ourselves (Vincent 1893:671)⁷⁶

Most historians positively evaluated the impact of the Method on the Korean Church. Clark (1930:33) said that the rapid growth of the Korean Church was caused by the Method. Moffett (1973:214-216) also pointed out two reasons concerning the growth of the church in Korea; "the power of the Holy Spirit and the indigenization policy of missions [the Nevius Method]." We can know how effective the Method was in Korea according to the report of the Mission Station, there were fifty-six Christian schools and one thousand, one hundred and ninety two Christian students in Korea in 1906. All schools were not subsidized by foreign missions. In addition, among seventy churches which had a building, only two churches were helped by missions (Palmer 1967:29 in Kim 1992:96). Eighty percent of churches all over the country were self-supportive up until 1910 (:96). Furthermore, Min (1993:199) commented on the Nevius Method in

⁷⁶ The items remained are as following: Six, all religious books should be purely written in the Korean language. Nine, the services of our physicians should be done by not only distribution of medicine but also deep care for the patients. Ten, patients from the country, who were once treated in hospital, are continuously taken care of by our physicians. The cure with love is to get the opportunity of evangelization judging from accumulated experiences.



more depth:

It has had an important effect on the type of faith; the intellectual level of ministers, the ecclesiastical system as well as the development of the Church... Owing to this [the Nevius Method], the modernization of Korea was set in the right direction.

The Method especially targeted the working class, the lower class and women and was enforced in Korea. It was the strategy that educated and trained the above mentioned as the main body of missions, which was self- propagation, self-supporting and self-governing.

The Method put emphasis on the reading of the Bible and Bible study classes in order to achieve its purpose. Therefore, Clark (1971:87) pointed out that the real core of the Nevius Method puts emphasis on the Bible study system, which encouraging all Christians to study the Bible and to teach others the truth, which they have found. In those times, many Bibles were in circulation. The number of Bibles in circulation in 1896 was two thousand nine hundred and ninety seven. In 1906, one hundred and twenty seven thousand, two hundred and sixty nine Bibles were in circulation (Paik 1987:347). With so many Bibles in circulation, different levels of the Bible study appeared: Firstly, the local conferences were held in a Church for all Christians of the community. In this class, outstanding Christians were selected as leaders who then took charge of services. Secondly, district classes, where believers from many congregations studied the Bible for a week. Thirdly, general classes, where over 1,000 believers, gathered to study the Bible. Missionaries and leading Korean ministers (Davies 1910:39 in Yim 1996:24) normally led the classes.

3.3.6. The Early Revival Movement

According to Lee (1978:105), three of the most remarkable events in the history of the Korean Protestants, from 1884 to the period of annexation by Japan (1910-1945), were the Great Revival Movement of 1909, the First March Movement of 1919 and the Movement against the Worship of Japanese Shrines after 1935. The first movement



concerned the spiritual and inner awakening of Christian faith. The second one was the national drive of the Korean Church with an independent national spirit. The third was the movement which tried to keep the Christian faith free against the oppression of polytheistic Japan.

3.3.6.1. The Opening of the Great Revival

The Revival movement began from Pyongyang in 1907, which originated from the meeting in 1903 on the mount in Wonsan. Miss. M. C. White, a Chinese missionary, was invited as a lecturer of the meeting; two or three Methodist missionaries held a prayer and a Bible study meeting in 1903. Not long thereafter, a similar meeting with Presbyterians and Baptists was held for a week, with Rev. F. Franson as a lecturer. Among the attendants were, Dr. R. A. Hardie and some Korean believers. Dr. Hardie, who was sent to Korea by the Canadian Colleges' Mission, had been a member of the Southern Methodist Mission since 1898. He worked for a mission in Gangwon Province for three years. While attended the meeting, he was disappointed at the result of his mission. He experienced the power of the Holy Spirit and felt a deep sense of sin and God's awesome holiness during the meeting. After that, whenever Hardie preached the Gospel, the attitude of the Korean audience changed from cold to enthusiastic (Kim 1992:110-111). Dr. Hardie recorded:

After I had entered upon a realization of the fullness of the Spirit and with shame and confusion of face confessed my pride, hardness of heart, and lack of faith, and much that these led to, they saw for the first time what conviction and repentance mean in actual experience. I told them of how by simple faith in God's promise. I had claimed the gift of the Holy Ghost (Annual report of the Board of Foreign Mission 1905:39-43).

The experience of Dr. Hardie greatly impressed the Korean congregation. Many people repented and returned to the Lord. Daily meetings for Bible study and prayer began here and there to impel converts to confess their sin. Since Dr. Hardie's experience, this became one of the remarkable characteristics of the meetings (Song 1976:55).

In the spring of 1904, a super-denominational meeting was again held in Wonsan. A. F.



Robb and Jeon Gye-Eun, who belonged to Presbyterian Church, and the Methodist Jeong Chun-Su, experienced being filled with the Holy Spirit as Dr. Hardie had evangelized eagerly; missionaries and believers everywhere prayed for revival in Korea (Moose 1906:51 in Kim 1992:111). Hearing the astonishing news of revival in Wonsan, Presbyterian missionaries invited Dr. Hardie to lecturer at a Bible conference in Pyongyang in August 1906. As the fire of inspiration for revival began to spread in all directions, similar meetings were held. During this, Rev. H. A. Johnson came from New York to make an on-site inspection of the mission to Korea. He was invited as a lecturer of this meeting. He reported on the revivals of India and Wales. It stimulated the Korean Christians to pray for these same revivals. Korean Christianity especially instituted the dawn prayer meeting, which was spearheaded by Rev. Gil Sun-Ju, who earnestly requested to God for the filling of the Holy Spirit (Swallon 1909:182 in Kim 1992:111).

3.3.6.2. The Development and Dissemination of the Great Revival of 1907

The flame of the revival, having flared up sporadically through Bible studies and prayers, reached its peak on 6 January 1907, at Jangdaehuen Church in Pyongyang. The Bible conference gathered more than a thousand men every day for ten days, and even women sat at the outside of the church. W. Blair, W. M. Baird and G. Lee were the main speakers of the meeting and especially Rev. S J. Gil played a decisive role in the Revival. The outstanding features of the meeting were the contrition of tears and crying. To consider some responses, G. Lee said that the prayer meeting at noon was the very event of Bethel (Gen. 28) to us (Rhodes 1934:282). W. Blair recorded the experience as follows:

Then began a meeting the like of which I had never seen before, nor wish to see again unless in God's sight it is absolutely necessary. Every sin a human being can commit was publicly confessed that night... guilty souls standing in the white light of that judgment, saw themselves as God saw them... but I know that when the spirit of God falls on guilty souls, there will be confession, and no power on earth can stop it (Moffett 1962:53 in Song 1976:55-56).



Jeong Ik-Ro, one of elders at Jangdaehuen Church, witnessed;

The face of Rev. S. J. Gil was filled with dignity and authority, and was flaring up with purity and holiness that night. He was not Rev. Gil anymore, but Jesus Himself. Even though he was blind that he could not see me, I did not dare to flee the presence of him. It seemed as if God called me here. The fear of sin, which I never experienced before, took me by surprise. I worried how I could shake off and flee from the sin. A man was also distressed and ran out the church. However, he came back into the church with a face filled with anxiety and a vision shuddered with death. He screamed, 'Oh God! What shall I do?' (Kim 1971:87).

Rev. G. Lee also recorded;

Man after man would rise, confess his sin, break down and weep, and then throw himself on the floor and beat the floor with his fists in a perfect agony of conviction ... Sometimes, after a confession, the whole audience would break out into audible prayer, and the effect of that audience of hundreds of men praying together in audible prayer was something indescribable... And so the meeting went on until 2 A.M., with confession, weeping and praying (Clark 1961:134).

The revival movement also spread to schools with the same magnitude as the revival above. Three hundred students at Sungduk School confessed their sins and experienced the work of the Holy Spirit at the prayer meeting, which Kim Chan-sung, a teacher, led. The Methodist School under the guidance of Chae Jung-Min, a teacher; Sungsil University; Pyungyang Girls School and the Methodist theological Seminary also caught the fire of the revival. Foreign missionaries and the Korean reverends spread it all over the country like a wild fire. Graham Lee went to Suncheon, W. L. Swallon to Gwangju, W. B. Hunt to Daegu and S. J. Gil to Euiju and Seoul (Lee 1978:111-112).

As mentioned above, the revival began from Wonsan and spread all over the country through prayer meetings and Bible studies. In 1906 and 1907, the Korean Church experienced the astonishing work of the Holy Spirit, reaping repentance.



3.3.6.3. The Results of the Great Revival

The results of the Great Revival upon the Korean Church can be summarized in four sections. First, the Great revival of 1907 was evaluated as the pure repentance movement. It made the Korean Church reach ethical maturity. Clark (1971:165) commented that despite the emotional experience, this Revival was not an orgy intoxicated by irresponsible feelings. Sir W. Cecil regarded that the event of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Pyongyang was similar to the very event of Rev. Wesley's times before the Great Revival. Compared with the event of Rev. Wesley's times recorded in his diary, the two events were the same (London Times 1905. 8 in Kim 1937:154-155). According to the report of the Revival, which M. C. Harris gave to the General Conference of M. E. C. in 1908, it was affirmed as follow:

The effects of following this movement are wholly good: the church raised to a higher spiritual level, almost entire absence of fanaticism because of previous careful instruction in the Bible; not one case of insanity, but many thousands clothed in their right mind; scores of men called to the holy ministry; greater congregations searching the Word, as many as two thousand meeting in one places for the study of the Bible... Drunkards, gamblers, thieves, adulterers, self-righteous Confucian[ist]s, and dead Buddhists, and thousands of devil-worshippers have made new men in Christ, the old things gone forever (Journal of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Foreign Missions of the M. E. C. 1919: 861-862).

However, not all the historians of the church agreed with the views above. Some historians of the church with an ethno-centric point of view differ from this point of view. For instance, Min (1974:44)⁷⁷ regarded the event as the result of the eager religious sentiment of the Koreans, or the accomplishment of de-politicization of the Korean Church. In other words, the missionaries made the Korean Church estranged from its own politics and realistic matters through the Revival. Thus, they made the Korean Church only seek spiritual things and the afterlife. As a result, it reluctantly

⁷⁷ See Min (1993:270-276) for details.



produced the result of cooperating with Japanese imperialism.

However, as Kim (1992:117-118) criticized, Min's point of view seemed to be for the Koreans, but it had no persuasive power, because any kind of revival could not be artificially invented by human beings. It is accepted as the universal view that the Revival was a pure biblical repentance movement.

Secondly, since the Revival, prayer meetings and Bible study were regarded as important factors of Christian life for Korean believers. The Great Revival of 1907 also originated from the class of Bible study, which consisted of Presbyterian men as mentioned earlier. The dawn prayer meeting, which Rev. Gil Sun-Ju started first for the revival, also continued not only during the period of the revival but everyday since (Lee 1978:119). The Korean Church, since then and up until now, has undergone similar experiences like the revival and the prayer meetings of the earlier times. It became the permanent pattern for Christian life in the religious circles of Korea (Kim 1998: 38-39).⁷⁸

Thirdly, the Revival acted as the catalyst in the growth of the church's members. Comparing the number of baptismal believers of 1905 with 1907, the latter was eighteen thousand nine hundred and sixty four and the former, nine thousand seven hundred and sixty one. This shows an increase of one hundred and ninety four point two percent after the Revival. In addition, while the number of churches in 1905 was three hundred and twenty one, the number of churches in 1907 was six hundred and forty two. The number of churches increased exactly two hundred percent after the Revival (Underwood 1908:146-148).⁷⁹ An aftereffect of the Great Revival was its expansion toward Manchuria in 1908. It even spread to Mainland China in 1910 (Latourette 1929:574, 619).

⁷⁸ Kim mentioned that the aftermath of the Great Revival led to the revival by Rev. Lee Young-Do in 1927, the revival of 1928 and 1929, the revival of the latter half of 1940 led by Rev. Lee Sung-Bong and, lastly, up to the revival of 1970's and 1980's by Rev. Robert Schuler and Cho Yong-Gi (Kim 1998:38-40).

⁷⁹ See Clark (1930:151) for the statistics of Christians from 1895 to 1907.



Fourthly, a mood of reconciliation was produced between missionaries and the Korean Christians. There were perplexing differences between the two from the beginning of the mission owing to the differences of national characteristics, opinion, customs and ways of thinking. The experience of the Revival broke these troubles.

The first great result of the revival was a transformation in the lives of the members of the church. Like a great cleansing fire, it moved through the churches and lifted the morality of its members to a plane of sincerity and purity never attained before... Missionaries and Koreans were fused into one fellowship by this common experience. The zeal of the Christians in supporting and extending the church was increased (Wasson 1934:32-33).

As pointed out above, the Korean church matured greatly because of the Great Revival of 1907 (Jones 1910:47).⁸⁰

3.4. The Theological Thoughts during the Period (1884-1909)

We already mentioned the fact that the American Presbyterian missionaries played a more important role in the Korean Church and its Christians than missionaries of other countries or denominations, because they were the majority and held important posts in the Korean Church. The Korean Church naturally took over their theology and style of Christian faith. Therefore, we need to examine their theological point of view in order to understand Korea's view.

3.4.1. The Theological View of the Early Foreign Missionaries

In addition to the description of A. J. Brown (1919:540), which pointed out that 'The typical missionary of the first quarter century after the opening of the country was a man of the Puritan type,'⁸¹ we can also comprehend the Presbyterian theological point of view from the theological Seminary from which they graduated. The majority of the

⁸⁰ World Missionary Conference 1910:80 in Min 1993:280.

⁸¹ See p. 9 of Chapter 1.



missionaries were trained at conservative seminaries in the United States. This was the main reason why the Korean Presbyterian Church was characterized by conservative and evangelical theology from the beginning of its mission to the mid 1920's. To classify missionaries into denominations from 1885 to 1910 (Chun 1979:71), there were one hundred and thirteen missionaries of P. C. U. S. A.; fifty one from the P. C. U. S.; seventeen Canadian ones; thirteen Australian ones; sixty one from M. E. C. U. S. (the Northern Methodist) and forty nine from S. M. C. (the Southern Methodist Church). In terms of the Annual Report of P. C. U. S. A. in 1922 (Chun 1979:90),

There were 144 missionaries of the Northern Presbyterian Mission in Korea: 8 unordained men, 40 ordained men, 9 male doctors, 32 single women, and 55 wives.

We need to classify the ordained into the theological seminaries respectively:

Among the ordained men, 7 theological seminaries are represented. Princeton comes first with 16, McCormick next with 11, San Anselmo with 4, and Union [in New York] with 3.... About 10 Bible institutes are represented, Moody easily leading with the Bible Seminary in second place.

As mentioned above, most of the theological seminaries were conservative and evangelical, except Union Theological Seminary in New York.⁸² Their education was directly transferred to theological seminaries and religious leaders in Korea. Therefore, we need to study the theological characteristics of each theological Seminary.

To number of working years of missionaries in Korea from 1884 to 1920's goes as follows: McCormick graduates numbered eleven people who worked in Korea for a duration of ten to thirty five years and Princeton graduates numbered fifteen people.

⁸² Charles A. Briggs and Harry Emerson Fosdick were representatively known as liberals, and sincerely taught (the) higher criticism at Union Theological Seminary in New York. Briggs was suspended from ministry by the General Assembly of 1893 as the result of his denial of the infallibility of the Bible (Loetscher 1954:77-80).



However, in the case of the Princeton graduates, most worked less than fourteen years. The number of missionaries from McCormick was thirty up to the 1930's (Lee 1999:45-46, 50). That meant that McCormick graduates had more decisive effects on the formation of Korean theology than any other Seminary's graduates did. The prominent figures of graduates from McCormick within Korea were S. A. Moffett, C. A. Clark and W. L. Swallon. To consider their theological thoughts:

First, Moffett (1889-1939) was one of the men who established and organized Pyungyang Theological Seminary. He occupied the chair of the Seminary until 1924. It is no exaggeration to say that his thoughts characterized Korean theology and faith (Park 1996:74). This point was clearly shown in his sermon at the jubilee memorial service for the mission of Korea in 1934,

When I first visited Korea, I prayed and made a resolution in the presence of God before engaged in mission work. I vowed only to preach the message of the Cross or if not, I would be cursed (Kim 1956:173).

As mentioned above, he was called "an uncompromising conservative" among the Koreans (Park 1996:74).

Secondly, Allen, (1858-1932) a man of the Old School, strongly followed verbal inspiration instead of mechanical inspiration (Park 1996:79).⁸³ He also believed in the

⁸³ American Presbyterianism was divided into two in 1741: the Old-Side and the New-Side. It was caused by the sharp difference of opinion concerning the revival and the education of ministers. The latter enthusiastically welcomed the revival. They insisted on supplying ministers swiftly for the increasing churches in numbers. To solve these problems, they saw that the short and intensive education for training ministers was inevitable. However, the former was indifferent to the revival and made no concession concerning training ministers at all. They insisted that training ministers was thoroughly put in force. Two parties were united in 1758. Afterwards, they reunited in 1870 after experiencing another division. The second division was caused by the opposite of the Old-School against the New-School, which tried to unite with the congregational church in the circle of the American Presbyterianism. Such quarrels made P. C. U. S. A. turn around from strict Calvinism and have somewhat the spirit of toleration against other denominations. The corrected confession of faith in 1903 proved the fact (Loetscher 1964:8).



absolute sovereignty of God, the ultimate authority of the Bible, the rigid observance of the Sabbath and stressed on service. To keep the purity of Christian faith, he strongly opposed ancestor worship as the ritual of traditional religion and shrine worship which led to his execution by Japanese imperialism after the Annexation of 1910 (Park 2004:75).

Thirdly, Swallon (1892-1932) also held on the idea of the Bible as the Word of God. He had a strong confidence that the Bible was infallible with all field of study including physical science, natural science, geography, medicine and other field of natural science (Swallon 1931:30-37). His point of view concerning the Bible as the book written by the inspiration of God gave support to his conviction.

The early foreign missionaries, who graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary, received their theological training under the guidance of C. Hodge (1797-1878); A. A. Hodge (1823-1886) and B. B. Warfield (1851-1921) were also famous conservative theologians who fought against liberalism. Warfield had taught two thousand seven hundred and fifty students from 1887 until 1920 at Princeton Theological Seminary (Noll 1983:19); amongst them, notable figures in Korea were S. L. Robert, F. E. Hamilton and M. J. Edmunds.

W. D. Reynolds and J. C. Crane, from the Union Theological Seminary, were professors of Systematic Theology at Pyongyang Theological Seminary. Reynolds sharply attacked drawbacks and issues of modern theology (Park 1996:91). When he was in charge of the systematic theology in 1937, he had a strong passion in establishing the Reformed faith against modern theological tendencies,⁸⁴ because the graduates of those times participated in the liberal associations and were deeply interested in modern theology. To cope with that, he studied for one year at Princeton under the guidance of Emil Brunner, Otto Piper, John E. Kuizenga and W. T. Stace and several other

⁸⁴ To sum them up, first, advocates of modern theology did not believe in things supernatural and removed them. Second, they deconstructed the biblical theory of creation by accepting the theory of evolution concerning the origin of the world. Third, personal interpretation of Bible without fair background. Four, they refused the historical events written in the Gospels (Park 1996:90).



professors. In addition, he attended the lectures of P. Tillich and J. Moffatt and others at Union Theological Seminary in New York. He searched several theological magazines an extensive range of books of modern theologians (Crane 1953:VII in Conn 1997:34). Park (1996:87) summarized Reynolds's theological thoughts as thoroughgoing and verbal inspiration of the Bible.

As mentioned above, early missionaries who graduated from conservative theological seminaries and who succeeded the same Christian conservative faith and theology, brought them to the Korean Church. Their approach to the Bible was notably conservative as their approach to theological seminaries. The Puritanical and Calvinistic characteristics of the early Korean Church were clearly expressed in the following: The Twelve Articles of Faith and Pyungyang Theological Seminary.

3.4.2. The Puritanical Aspects during the Period

3.4.2.1. The Twelve Articles of Faith

The Puritanical theological characteristics of this period also strongly showed that the Korean Church adopted the Twelve Articles of Faith as their main theological foundation. The first Synod of the Korean Presbyterian Church⁸⁵ adopted it in 1907. The Twelve Articles of Faith was borrowed from the confession of faith of the Indian Presbyterian Church in 1904. The preamble of the Articles clarified the reason as to why the Westminster Confession of Faith and two Catechisms (the Longer and the Shorter Catechisms) were adopted as official creeds in Korea.

The Presbyterian Church of Korea, in adopting the following as its Confession of Faith, to be subscribed by ministers, elders, and deacons,

⁸⁵ The independent synod of Presbyterian Church was organized with the following seven Korean ministers at Jangdaehuen Church in Pyungyang in 1907: Han Sek-Jin, Lee Kyung-Jo, Lee Gi-Pyung, Gil Sun-Ju, Bang Gi-Chang, Song Rin-Se and Yang Jeon-Back. All of them were the first ministers from Pyungyang Theological Seminary in Korea. The Presbyterian council cannot but give an official approval to the establishment of the independent synod due to the ordination of graduates in 1905 (Kim 1997:189).



does not thereby reject the Doctrinal Standards of the parent churches which established the Church of Korea, but, on the contrary, it commends them, especially the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as worthy exponents of the Words of God, and as systems of doctrine to be taught in our churches and seminaries, and adopts, as the Catechism, the Westminster Shorter Catechism (Clark 1930:245).

The contents of the Twelve Articles of Faith are as follows: First, the Bible as the Word of God and the unique norm of Christian faith and duty. Second, the diverse natures of God separated from all things. Third, the Trinity. Fourth, the creation, preservation and managing works of God concerning all things. Fifth, the work of God in creating human beings. Sixth, the depravity of Adam and his descendants. Seventh, the work of the Son of God. Eighth, the work of the Holy Spirit. Ninth, the means of grace: the Bible, the Sacraments and prayer. Tenth, the Sacraments: the Lord's Supper and baptism. Eleventh; the duties of a Christian. Twelfth; the Resurrection of the Saints and the Last Judgment (Clark 1930: 245-247).⁸⁶

The twelve articles displayed the Reformed doctrines and also its strong Calvinistic trends (Paik 1966:376). It meant that the theological characteristics of early foreign missionaries were definitely Puritanical and conservative. The above-mentioned characteristics were cultivated in Pyongyang theological Seminary.

3.4.2.2. Pyongyang Theological Seminary

The Presbyterian Council decided to establish and govern the theological Seminary in Pyongyang in 1901. S. A. Moffett was elected as the first chairman. In 1902, the Seminary began to teach its first two students, who were elders. In the following year, four people entered the Seminary and studied together with them. The educational system required that students study for three months per year and graduate within five years. The Presbyterian Council agreed to the system and called the Seminary the Union

⁸⁶ See appendix 2. for the full text.



Theological Seminary (Paik 1970:303). The number of students in the regular course was one hundred and seventy two until 1907 and two hundred and twenty nine until 1914. The number of graduates was six hundred and fifty until 1936 (Clark s a: 187 in Conn 1988:21). In order to cope with the growing number of students, six professorates were established in 1916. A quarterly magazine was also published in 1918, aiming to compensate for the shortage of study materials. The system of the theological education before 1902 was enforced in the form of winter theological classes, which begun in the middle of December and was done for only a month. The five year curriculum was not adopted until 1901. The regular classes were taken for three and half months a year and the remaining nine months were allocated for homework. In 1922, the three years' study course, in which students studied for nine months a year, was introduced. With the beginning of three years course, a full-time faculty came into existence in Korea (:21). Theological characteristics of Pyongyang Theological Seminary can be summarised by what H. E. Blair (*Report of the 50th anniversary Celebration of the Korean Misison* 1934:121) said at the 50th Celebration of the Korean Mission in 1934, 'the Bible is the one textbook emphasized and studied.' This meant that the Seminary began from a strong Puritan aspect. Furthermore, he mentioned that the Seminary adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith based on historic Calvinism. Presbyterians depending upon the Presbyterian system of undoubtedly accepted the Bible as the Word of God like Old-Princetonians. From such a standpoint, the missionaries taught the Cross-of-Christ-centered gospel and the Pauline interpretation of it, and the Korean Church willingly accepted it (:121).

The conservative point of view of the Bible by the Pyongyang Theological Seminary laid the foundation for faith of the Korean Presbyterianism and contributed much to the growth of the Presbyterian Church.

3.4.3. The Dispensational Aspects

In addition to the Calvinistic characteristics, dispensational aspects also affected the Korean Church. Even though most early missionaries trained in conservative theological seminaries, the Bible Institutes spurred their direct and immediate motive



for foreign missions. The revival messages of D. L. Moody (1837-1899) had a deep effect on the missionaries (Kim 1992:147). The Moody Bible Institute, established by Moody himself, became the Mecca of his active works. Mann (1937:104) recorded it as follows:

At the beginning of 1900- the year following Moody's death- the students of the Institute engaged in active Christian work, were numbered and classified as follows: In home, city and rescue missions, 202; evangelistic preachers and singers, 180; pastors, pastor's assistances and church visitors, 368; foreign missionaries, 186; Sunday School missionaries, 58; educational and philanthropic workers, 38; Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, 25.

Moody, one of the premillenarian leaders, strongly believed in the infallibility of the Bible and Premillennialism (Marsden 1980:33). His eschatology was mainly colored by dispensationalism. The graduates of the Bible Institutes under Moody's influence, helped to shape the premillenarian pattern of faith in the Korean Church. The Millenarianism of the Korean Church was as follows: Jesus Christ will be reincarnated in the air, and will enjoy a banquet in the sky with the those who were resurrected. It will last seven years. During the meantime, Armageddon War shall be on the Earth, causing a third of non-Christians to perish in the war (Lee 1966:185). Generally speaking, the reason why the Korean believers preferred dispensational millennialism was due to the unfortunate political and social setting of Korea, which ruined the old dynasty and could not help but depend on the power of foreign countries. It made the Korean Christians live in the hope of a strong eschatological expectation. Conn (1988:43-44) said,

The most outstanding influences of dispensationalism in the Korean Church were found to be the conception of the kingdom of God and the principle of the simple interpretation of the Bible, which the Korean Church adhered to. Dispensational principles, which translated all the promises of prophecy into the thorough literal interpretation and their through literal application, may be considerably persuasive in the context of the Korean Church. Because the early church, which did not make good



use of historical theological materials, languages and theologies in studying the Bible was easily swayed by dispensationalism.

Despite the early Korean Church easily accepted the dispensational eschatology along with Conn's viewpoint, Lee (1966:172-174) also pointed out that the eschatological expectation and the private devotion of Christ's kingship were the main factors against Shinto Shrine worship of the Japanese. Dispensationalism contributed to the merits of the Korean Church.

3.4.4. The Ecumenical Aspect

This study has already researched that early foreign missionaries had strong Calvinistic and Puritanical characteristics concerning their theology and faith. In addition, a dispensational aspect shows itself in the eschatological form of faith of the Korean Church. However, unlike the division of the missionaries' own countries according to their denominations and doctrines, there were undivided, ecumenical efforts between denominations and countries with theology to keep unity in Korea. In other words, the Presbyterian missionaries did not separate themselves from the other denominational missionaries in Korea. For instance, the Comity Arrangement and the Presbyterian Council were representatives of the ecumenical efforts.

Cooperation between denominations was the same within the Methodist Church camp. The Methodist Conference approved of establishing a church on 26 June 1905 in Seoul, 'the time is ripe for the establishment of one Korean national church, to be called the Church of Christ in Korea' (Official Minutes of the Korean Mission Conference M .E. C. 1905:21 in Song 1976:61). All kinds of works were developed by missionaries: medical; educational; evangelistic works. This enthusiastic effort for union bore the fruit named 'the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea' (Paik 1929:368). The aim of which was to 'cooperate in Christian works and ultimately the organization of a Evangelical Church in Korea' (:368). Afterwards, the General Council changed its name into 'the Federal Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea. Its activities continued until the Second World War. This organization was supported by



more than two thirds of all Christians in Korea and performed its role efficiently as one of the most representative organizations (Song 1928:62).

To summarize, various characteristics of American theology influenced the Korean Church through American missionaries. However, Puritan theological aspects were mainly embroidered as the universal characteristics of the Korean Church. Its Puritan aspects were clearly discovered in the period of forceful Japanese occupation of Korea (1909-1945).



CHAPTER FOUR

THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH UNDER THE RULE OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

This chapter describes the Puritanical aspects of the Korean Presbyterian Church under the rule of Japanese imperialism (1910-1945). This period was recognized nationwide as a time of ecclesiastical apostasy by yielding to the policy of Shinto Shrine worship. It was also a time of persecution of the Puritanical faith, with a small numbers of Christian leaders, including laymen, keeping their faith and forming a sharp contrast. There were some important events in conjunction with the Korean Presbyterian Church like March First Movement,⁸⁷ Shinto Shrine worship and the rise of liberal theology. This study will especially consider how the Presbyterian Church maintained its faith and responded to affairs both local and abroad.

4.1. The General Delineation of the Korean Society and Church under Japanese Imperialism (1910-1945)

Since 1910, when Korea was forcefully annexed by Japan, the Japanese military government tried to destroy the Koreans completely. Firstly, Chosun Chongdokbu (the Government-General of Chosun) established the united system, which had united the police and the military policy, under the pretext of maintenance of public peace in Korea. The main activities of the institute were to stop freedom of expression, to forbid the selling of books that could inspire patriotism, including Korean history and geography, and to suppress a national movement for independence. In 1915, the institute published *Chosunbandosa* (The history of Chosun Peninsula), which was written in the colonial view of history. Chosun Chongdokbu allowed the Koreans to

⁸⁷ The March First movement was the event in which the Koreans rose against Japanese rule for national independence on 1st March, 1919. Japanese imperialism established Shinto shrines, Japan's indigenous religion in all parts of the Korean country. They made the Koreans worship Japanese religion compulsorily as a part of policy to unite Japanese and Korean. It was designed so that Japan could make Korea regard her territorial ambition of a Chinese invasion as positive (Kim 1997:263).



only learn Japanese as a means of communication and minimized the education of technology (Lee 1978:147-152).

During Terauchi's period,⁸⁸ he situated twenty thousand military police and spies to maintain control throughout the country. They searched houses at any time and arrested Koreans. Individual freedom and the rights of people were violated and mass media was thoroughly censored. Japan adopted a policy to demolish Korean history and culture and despise the Koreans. In addition, they conspired to "Japanize" the Koreans under the name of "Naesunilche" (the unification of Japan and Korea). The first step of their policy was to reduce schooling hours of Korean history and the Korean language in the schools and eventually ban it. All Koreans were forced to worship at the Shinto Shrines. At the close of the 1930s, they forced the Koreans to change their names into the Japanese style of naming. Furthermore, they encouraged divorces between the Koreans and started registered prostitution, even in small villages, in order to degenerate the Koreans (McKenzie 1920:183,186,199 in Kim 1992:159). Chongdokbu composed a land-surveying law in 1912, which forced landowners to register their lands. Most Korean landowners hesitated to go along with the law. As a result, they lost their lands and could not help but immigrate to China.

Chongdokbu regarded the Korean church as a source of a national movement for independence and despised it in the beginning. It meant that the Korean Church, which had experienced great revivals, had to experience hardships for its faith under Japanese imperialism. It was closely observed by the Japanese police. According to Brown (1912:8-9), a secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Mission,

For more than two years, reports have reached us from various parts of the country of growing suspicion and harshness by Japanese local gendarmes toward the helpless Korean Christians... Pastors were required to report the names of converts at police headquarters. A gendarme entered a

⁸⁸ Terauchi was the first governor-general of Chosun Chongdokbu. He was the one who played an important role in sealing the Korea-Japan Annexation on 22nd August, 1910 and promulgated it on 29th August, 1910.



private house, drew his sword threateningly and asked why the owner joined “the Jesus Christ” the night before... In one country church, a Japanese official walked into the pulpit during a Sunday service and denounced Christianity to the congregation.

As the Japanese police had suspected, many leaders of national independence came to visit the church and explored ways to introduce a national independence and mass education campaign. For instance, Shinminhoi (New People Society), which was organized by An Chang-Ho (1878-1938) and Jeon Duk-gi (1875-1914), who were central figures in 1907, consisted of Christians. The organization established a porcelain company with journalists, servicemen and businessmen and founded schools for a mass education drive. Shinminhoi also participated in publishing and prepared for armed activities. As descendants of Shinminhoi, Daesung School and Osan School in Pyongyang were established to resist the Japanese movement; other such establishments include Sungsil School in Pyongyang and Shinsung School in Sunchun. Churches in the areas of Pyongyang, Jungju and Sunchen were strongholds of the national movement (Kim 1997:198-199). Haese Gyowjuk Chonghoi (West coastal education Association), which was organized in Hwanghae province in 1908, also had the purpose and consisted of Christians under the flag of “One Township One Association.” Activities of these organizations were thought to be dangerous by a Japanese.

In 1911, Chongdokbu fabricated the so-called “One Hundred and Five People Incident” to oppress the Korean church and to eliminate its patriots. In addition, the 1919 persecution against the March First Independence Movement and Shinto Shrine worship were representative cases of the persecution suffered under Japanese imperialism. As Son (1974:152) pointed out that,

The persecutions of 1911 and 1919 were aimed against Christian Nationalists while the entire Shinto Shrine campaign was a universal religious persecution.

Therefore, in order to understand the atrocity by Japanese rule against the Korean Church, one needs to mention briefly “the One hundred and Five People Incident.” The



incident also worked as a motive for the national independent movement, “the First March Movement,” against Japanese imperialism.

4.1.1. One Hundred and Five People Incident

In order to eliminate Christian organizations, including Shinminhoi and other foreign missionaries that strongly supported Christian organizations, Chosun Chongdokbu fabricated the case of “One hundred and Five People Incident” in the following way:

At Syen Chun [Senchun], the conspirators proceeded on the 28th (Dec. 1910) to the station again and arranged themselves on the platform with the Japanese and Koreans who came there to welcome the Governor General. The train arrived about noon, and every one of the would be assassins watched intently for the opportunity, having ready his revolver or short sword under his long cloak. The Governor General descended from the train and saluting the welcomers passed within three or four steps of the conspirators. Owing, however, to the strict vigilance of the police officers and others, they could not accomplish their nefarious object (Brown 1912:5).

Due to the incident, there were extensive arrests all over the country from 1 January 1911. As a result, five hundred church leaders, including six pastors, fifty elders and eighty deacons, were arrested (Kim 1971:105). Their offenses that they were accused of were plotting against the governor-general’s life and being involved in its execution. Several missionaries were also reprimanded for their cooperation in the incident. Representatively, G. S. McCune, a headmaster of Senchun School, was suspected of giving arms to the plotters, which was considered a crime (McKenzie 1920:222 in Kim 1992:161). According to the prisoners’ confession, several American missionaries advised the Koreans to be brave and to kill the Governor-General without hesitation (Clark 1961:160).⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Missionaries’ names involved the case were as follows: As members of the M. E. C., Bishop Harris, Dr. Noble, Mr. Becker and Mr. Morris and, as Presbyterians, Underwood, Moffett, Wells, Swallen, Blair, Bernheisel, Baird, Holdcroft, Lee, McCune, Roberts, Sharrocks. Ross, Lampe, Whittemore (Song



However, these stories were fabricated by the Japanese military police. In addition, P. L. Gillet, a general director of Y. M. C. A., was banned from the country by the Japanese military police because he could reveal the fabrications against and the oppression of the church by Japanese imperialism to foreign countries (Sejong 1979:69).

A public trial was held on 28 June 1912 with three judges presiding in Seoul. The judges did not allow witnesses to be called and the only evidence presented was the fabricated confessions secured by the military police. The Japanese intention for continuing with the case was to, whether it was true or misunderstood, check activities of the church (Clark 1928:163). It was an open secret among missionaries who stayed in Korea.

Subsequently, one hundred and five among those who were convicted of a crime in the first trial, appealed to a higher court and were found innocent and acquitted. Six “Masterminds” were sentenced to five years’ servitude. When they were released from prison and arrived at Pyungyang Station in February 1915, nine thousand citizens enthusiastically welcomed the heroes who served their term of imprisonment for the nation and for the Christian faith (Lee 1978:152).⁹⁰

In conclusion, the Incident led to two results. One was, as Moffett (*the fiftieth celebration of the Korean mission of the P. C. U. S. A.* 1934:46) mentioned, that:

This persecution also made the Gospel more widely known and more favorably thought of by the Korean people; it strengthened the faith of pastors and elders and brought about an even greater friendship and sympathy between missionaries and the leaders of the church.

Another was that this case proved an incentive for the nationwide independence movement. The Koreans let loose their indignation against Japanese imperialism

1928:68,18). Cf. Paik (1929:400).

⁹⁰ For the detailed records of accomplices, cruel tortures and trials at those times, see Lee (1978:147-152) and Kim (1992:161-162).



through the March First Independence Movement in 1919.

4.2. The March First Movement and the Korean Church

Since 1910 when Korea was invaded by Japan, while Japanese imperialism disbanded the Korean military and infringed on its police authority and jurisdiction, the Korean church became more and more organized and grew up to become the national body, spreading all over the country. Although the March First Movement was the national movement, which united various religious bodies like Chondogyo⁹¹, Christianity and Buddhism in the fight against Japanese imperialism, the Movement was widely dispersed by the church all over the country (Sejong 1979:71). We will consider the relation of the independent Movement and the Korean Presbyterian Church.

4.2.1. Motives of the March First Movement

In 1905, the Eulsa Treaty was implemented; this was a time in which Japanese imperialism deprived Korea of its policing power and jurisdiction, after which they annexed Korea in 1910. After that, harsh Japanese controls over all kinds of Korean life led to frustrations of all the people. Their dissatisfaction was expressed through the Movement on a national scale.

Concurrently, one of the most important causes that led to the Movement was the principle of self-determination proclaimed by President W. Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference on 8 January 1918. Among the Fourteen Points were the conditions for settlement of the War. W. Wilson emphasized that all nations had the right to decide for

⁹¹ It was founded by Choi Zae-u in 1860. He developed a syncretistic religion taking advantage of the fundamental elements from various religions like Confucianism, Taoism and Roman Catholicism. From Confucianism, he took the concept of five relations (father-son, king-subject, husband-wife, elder-younger and friend-friend); from Buddhism, the concept of heart cleansing ; from Taoism, the concept of body cleansing from natural and moral filth; from Roman Catholicism, the concept of organizational and ritualistic elements. Therefore, he insisted that the main doctrine of Chondogyo was that heaven and human beings are one.



themselves and freedom was supposed to be given to even small countries. He also insisted on putting an end to the invasion of small countries by stronger ones.

Compared to the Korean at home, the effect of self-determination stirred up many overseas patriots for independence of Korea. For instance, in January 1919 the Koreans in Sanghai, China, organized Shinhan Cheonggyendan (the reconstruction association of new Korean youth) and sent Kim Gyu-Sik to the Peace Conference to communicate the Korean's desire for independence (Kim 1992:168-169). Furthermore, five thousand Koreans in Hawaii organized the Korean National Association and promoted various national movements in its auspices. Some members of the Association tried to see President Wilson and to attend the Peace Conference to present Korea's situation. Even though these actions did not bring instant responses, the Korean situation was reported by the press and spread by rumors. Other overseas patriots in China, Japan and Korea eventually called for independence (Song 1976:77-78).

Another important cause of the Movement was a rumor relating to the sudden death of King Gojong on 21 January 1919. The rumor was that the Japanese killed King Gojong. The Government-general announced that the cause of the king's death was cerebral anemia. However, the Koreans did not believe the announcement and anti-Japanese sentiments rose even higher. Together with sorrow of national ruin, the news made the Koreans express their regret, which was beyond measure. Beyond these direct causes, atrocious policies of the Government-general concerning Korea were fundamental causes.

4.2.2. Progress of the March First Movement

One month before the March First Movement broke out, two hundred students declared the independence of Korea at Y. M. C. A. in Tokyo on February 8, 1919. They demonstrated through the streets, and even in front of police stations, for independence. Consequentially, while many students were arrested and imprisoned by Japanese police, the news motivated many national patriots at home to strike for independence (Chun 1946: 97-99). The movement in Tokyo served as a stimulus and decisive motive for the



domestic independent movement.

In the meantime, the domestic movement for independence was in progress with two flows. One flow was progressed within Chondogyo with Son Byong-Hi, the supreme leader of Chondogyo, as the central figure. The other was within Christianity with Park Hi-Do, a manager of Y. M. C. A., and Kim Won-Byek, a student of Yeonhi College, as central figures. These two flows were united by the persuasion of Lee Sung-Hun and developed further onto a national scale (Sejong 1979:72-73). Hyon (1946:26-29) described it in the following way;

Christians in Seoul and other provinces keenly felt the necessity of an independence movement, and they were holding frequent meetings in secret. They were in a state of excitement about the affair. In Seoul, Rev. Ham Tae Yong, Mr. Lee Gap-Song, and others met to discuss the movement. This is the reason why the Christian leaders immediately agreed to the proposal of Chondogyo when the proposal was suggested through Lee Sung Hun.

At last, on 1 March 1919 at two in the afternoon, national leaders, consisting of thirty-three people, came together at Taeha Restaurant in Seoul as planned. They read the Declaration of Independence⁹² and gave three cheers for independence in the presence of Government-general officials invited intentionally. They were immediately placed under arrest. At the same time students and the crowd gathered at Pagoda Park and equally recited the Declaration and cried “Daehan Doklip Manse” (Hurrah for the Korean Independence) and poured out into the streets. Several thousand copies of the Declaration were distributed by the students to the crowd in the streets. The Movement of independence was not only confined in Seoul. It spread on a national scale within a few days and even to Manchuria.⁹³

⁹² The drafts of the Declaration of Independence was made by Choi Nam-Son, a historian. See appendix. 4. for full text.

⁹³ The following day of the Independence Movement, (2 March 1919) was the eve of the state funeral of King Gojong and Sunday of Christians. Therefore, on the second day, demonstrations partially continued only in some places. The day of state funeral, 3rd March 1919, had no demonstration in Seoul.



However, the demonstration was, to its surprise, characterized by a non-violent and orderly movement. Barstow and Greenbie (1919:925 in Song 1976:94) recorded the character of the movement,

There were no attacks on Japanese property or persons – simply a cessation of labor, and a gathering of the people for orderly demonstration under the catchword “manse.” The Koreans, en masse, did not even try to retaliate when the Japanese attacked them. They used neither clubs nor weapons of any sort. Any it was against people like these – against this pathetic dignity and high-mindedness in revolt, that the Japanese retaliated with atrocities that rival those of Belgium and Armenia.

4.2.3. The Result of the March First Movement

The non-violent demonstration, which extended over two months all over the country, produced tremendous misery to Korea because Chosun Government-General consistently retaliated with inhumane measures like terrorism and atrocities. After the Movement, Chosun Government-General falsely reported and eliminated the victims of the Movement from March to April of 1919.⁹⁴ However, even though it is impossible to calculate the exact number of victims, a witness testified that at least forty thousand people were arrested and approximately six thousand people were killed (Martin 1919:11 in Min 1993:342).

The damage to Korean Church by the Government-General was announced the following May 1919;

There were seventeen razed chapels and twenty-four were partially destroyed. Except for these, the number of damaged chapels was forty-one and the damage to church property was worth thirty thousand dollars. The damage to Osan Middle School worth five thousand dollars. Compared to

⁹⁴ According to the report of Chosun Government-General, the numbers of death were one civilian and five hundred and fifty three demonstrationists. The number of deaths and injuries in total was two thousand one hundred and ninety five. For detail, see Min (1993:342).



in total, one thousand five hundred and fifty six imprisoned people who were Confucians, Cheondogyo-believers and Buddhists, the number of Christians in jail until 30th of June 1919, was two thousand one hundred and ninety. In addition, the number of ministers was one hundred and fifty one. (Sejong 1979:73).

The statistics was also fairly distorted in comparison with the report of the General Assembly of Presbyterianism held in October 1919:

There were one thousand eight hundred and four arrested Presbyterians, one hundred and thirty four arrested pastors and elders, two hundred and two imprisoned church leaders and forty-one were killed. The number of people in jail to the period of General Assembly was one thousand six hundred and forty two. The number of deaths by flogging was six. Twelve chapels were destroyed and only in Hamkyung Synod, twenty-six people were murdered. Owing to the church leaders being confined, Presbyterian at the October session of General Assembly made decisions to discontinue the lectures of the Seminary and entrusted the official seats of General Assembly to foreign missionaries (Sejong 179:73-74).⁹⁵

However, the Japanese brutalities were continuing even more severely at the borders of the country than the inside. Most of it was centering on Manchuria. *Dokrip Paper* (Independent news) recorded the massacre of the Koreans by Japanese army during twenty seven days (9th October to 5th November) and in Gando on 8 December 1920 (Min 1993:347);

At every corner, Japan soldiers slaughtered innocent people and raped women. Houses, stacked grains, chapels and schools were razed to the ground. The statistics of the massacres in Sebukgando (The North-West Gan Island) was three thousand four hundred and sixty nine killed people,

⁹⁵ When the eighth session of the General Assembly was held in Pyungyang in October 1919, Chairman Kim Sen-du, former chairman Yang Geon-Baek, former secretary Ham Tae-Yeong and Revivalist Gil Sun-Ju were in jail (*Chosun Yesugyo Jangrohoi Sagi* (Ha) (The History of Chosun Christianity–Second Vol.) 1965:24 in Kim 1992:173).



one hundred and seventy ones were arrested, seventy one raped, three thousand two hundred and nine common destroyed, thirty six schools destroyed, fourteen chapels razed and the damage to fifty four thousand and forty five (unrecognizable unit) rice [rice bags] destroyed.

As seen above, most of the retaliations by the Japanese imperialism against the Movement was inflicted on the Korean church and society. Even though the March First Movement did not bring the independence to Korea, its results were very influential in the Korean society. It will be summarized as the following three things (Lee 1978:157-158).

Firstly, a provisional government was established in Sanghai. Subsequently, it was the organization which continuously promoted the independent movements against Japanese imperialism and the participation in the Second World War. It played a decisive role in liberation of Korea in 1945. Secondly, with the Movement as its starting point, Japanese imperialism began to govern Korea from the bayonet of the cultural policy after the Movement. For instance, Saitto took office as new Governor-General instead of Hasegawa. He acknowledged freedom of speech, assembly and religion to some extent. Thirdly, the community spirit of Korea was expressed in concrete action, such as problem conquering barriers like antagonistic relationship between denominations or religions. In addition, Korean Christians promoted their faith through hardships. The relationship between Christians and non-Christians became harmonious (Kim 1997:211).

4.2.4. The Standpoints of Religious Circles

Chosun Government-General regarded the Korean Church as the hidden power that led to the outset of the Movement. This regard could be proven by the oppression given to the Korean Church as enumerated above. However, unlike the last mentioned facts, there were different points of view between foreign missionaries and Korean Christians concerning the Korean political situation.



4.2.4.1. Missionaries' Standpoint

Foreign missionaries, who had stayed in Korea since 1910, when Japan annexed Korea, were met with difficulties concerning their views on the Korean political situation. They stood at the crossroads of the Korean political situation. This is because they still needed to have the confidence of the Koreans and, at the same time, avoid vexing the Japanese, in order to continue their missionary work

When A. J. Brown, a general secretary of the Board of Foreign Mission, visited Korea in 1909, he held a meeting in Pyongyang to determine the Koreans' attitude toward the Japanese government. He explored the following four attitudes at the meeting. Firstly, anti-Japanese attitude – this was the common attitude among the Koreans. Secondly, apathy attitude – this would be an unsatisfied attitude of both parties. Thirdly, pro-Japanese attitude – this meant they were supporters of colonialism. Fourthly, loyal recognition-attitude – this meant to keep a neutral policy. They followed the fourth one by unanimous consent and persuaded the Koreans to follow it as well (Kim 1992:162).

The missionaries did however not actually remain indifferent or neutral in attitude. Because of the cruel retaliation of Japanese government, the missionaries reported the whole affair of the Movement to their homeland. Missionaries were the very people who made the Movement and the Japanese response known to the international society. F. W. Scofield collected the materials at the massacre incident of Jeamri Church⁹⁶ and sent it to his homeland (Lee 1978:157). Missionaries in Japan also made a strong protest to the Japanese government to treat the Koreans properly (*The Korean Situation* s.a.:2 in Kim 1992:176).

Many missionaries cooperated with the Movement at an individual level. A. L. Becker, a medical professor of Yeonhi College, advised Park Hi-Do that the Declaration of

⁹⁶ On 15th April, 1919, two p.m., when the demonstration for independence reached the last moment, Arida, a Japanese lieutenant, called Christians to the Jeamri Chapel near Suwon. The Japanese Army took aim at Christians and set fire to them and the chapel. Approximately thirty believers were burnt to death in the fire and the chapel was burnt to ashes (Park 1946:112).



Independence was better read outside the country than inside. E. W. Mowry, a professor of Sungsil University, protected the students in his own house who prepared the Declaration and the Tekukgi (the national flag), also translating it, and sent it to the headquarters of the homeland. Because of his activities, he was sentenced to a six-month imprisonment in Pyongyang. G. S. McCune, principal of Shinsung Middle School in Senchun, was expelled on suspicion of planning the Movement with church leaders. S. A. Moffett, principal of Sungsil University, was arrested for addressing Korean independence at the world mission conference. To add to the previously mentioned people, there was also Rev. Thomas, W. A. Noble and P. L. Gillett who participated in the Movement and also in the hardships with the Koreans. In those times, when Chosun Government-General implored the missionaries to discourage the demonstration of the Korean society, they turned down Japanese's proposal flatly and preserved their standpoint in the following way:

We will not take part in politics that are incapable with the quelling political and social inconveniences spread through all the country. We will do nothing but evangelize and save spirits and only give mental comfort to those in need ... (The 30th of April 1919 Record of Eastern Affairs Committee of the American Christianity Association in Kim 1997:210-211).

4.2.4.2. The Standpoint of Korean Church

Korean Christians eagerly participated in the Movement with the Koreans, protesting the Japanese rule and restraint. Among those who signed the Declaration of Independence were sixteen Christians, fourteen Cheondogyo-believers and two Buddhists.⁹⁷ Church leaders intended to join the Movement, not from a complete church dimension but from the private stance of every Christian. This was caused by the

⁹⁷ A detailed list of them is as follows: Gil Sun-Ju, Lee Phil-Ju, Lee Byung-Jo, Kim Chang-Jun, Yang Jeon-Baek, Yoo Ye-Dae, Lee Gap-Sung, Lee Myung-Ryong, Lee Seung-Hun, Park Hi-Do, Park Dong-Woan, Sin Heung-Sik, Sin Sek-Gu, Oh Hwoa-Young, Jung Chun-Su, Choi Sung- Mo (Walton 1990:122). Among them, there were nine pastors, three elders and four jeondosas (probationers) (Moon 1975:18).



following two reasons. Firstly, they worried that missionaries and the church would meet misfortune and be suspected of the participants in the Movement. Secondly, they were trying to uphold the principle that the church remained neutral in political issues as missionaries had taught the Koreans (Kim 1992:173).

However, the private participation of Christians in the Movement did not receive a lukewarm attitude. Exodus was the text of the Bible patronized by church preachers at the worship after the March First Movement (Kim 1960:26). Whenever believers assembled, they prayed for national liberation from Japan, basing themselves on the simple faith of believing the Bible literally, thus Korean Christians regarded the history of the Old Testament as their own history. The Israelites request and prayers for salvation from Egypt, which appeared in Psalms and Prophecies, became the very prayers used by the Korean Christian (Park 1970:190,191).

4.3. Shintoism and the Korean Church

Since the March First Movement broke out in 1919, Japanese imperialism changed its policy from military force to cultural measures. However, there was only in the change of name; there was no essential difference. As Min (1993:478) pointed out, ‘the history of the Korean Church, which had been under persecution of Japan, reached its most difficult times because of the compulsory policy of Shrine worship.’

Meanwhile, Japan invaded Manchuria and established a puppet Manchurian regime on September 1931. Japan conspired to conquer China again, and thus Japan used the Korea as a supply base for the war against China and also attempted to Japanize Korea. To create an obscurantist policy for the Koreans, Japanese imperialism took advantage of Confucianism to exalt toadyism, which was subordination the Japanese ethos. Japan also forced Korean Christians to practise Shintoism in order to discourage the church, which was the last stronghold of the national movement for independence (Lee 1978:193).

The Korean Church actually showed the Puritanical aspects through the vigorous strife



against Shintoism better than during the March First Movement. During the time of the latter, the Korean Church was pointed out to have participated in the Movement passively, even though it is an enormous organization. For instance, there were no traces of Christianity in the Declaration of Independence even though Christian leaders were sixteen among thirty-three people forming the nucleus (Min 1972:263-264). However, the Korean Church showed splendid Puritanical faith well as a counter action against Shintoism. Before considering the counter-movement of the Korean Church against Shintoism, we need to deal with the notion of Shintoism, because of different views between conservative and liberal. Such views would decide the course of action.

4.3.1. Various Evaluations of Shintoism

Attitudes toward Shintoism were greatly different within and without Christianity. Some summarized that Shintoism was a religion or, others summarized it as a national ritual. While Presbyterians regarded it as a religion, Roman Catholics, Methodists and liberalists regarded it as a natural ritual. The respective attitudes led to a course of action: either obedience or resistance.

In 1822, Japan declared Shinto to be not “a religion” but “a ritual of the state” and to be separated from other religions (Kim sa: 195-196 in Yang 1997:124). Such a view was continuously maintained until 1920’s. The Methodist Church in Korea just followed literal explanation, thus most of them worshipped Japanese Shrines. As a result, schools in the Methodist line were maintained without much conflict until the Liberation from Japan Imperialism. Overall, Methodist Churches easily endured the oppression by Japan (Sejong 1979:101).

After some argument on the subject, the Roman Catholics were decided on the same line as the Methodist Church. The Vatican issued “the duties of Catholics towards their country” to the fathers in Japan, Korea and Manchuria concerning Shrine in 1936 in the following way:

The Apostolic Delegate to Japan from Rome advised the superiors of the



various religious institutes and congregations to allow the faithful to take part in such civic rites. ... (Oak 2004:482).

In addition, the Seventh Day Adventist Church also approved of it in December 1935 and the Holiness Church, who had continuously rejected Shrine worship, finally accepted it as a national ritual in 1943 (*The History of Presbyterian Church in Korea* 1988:156).

Meanwhile, the Presbyterian Church had two contrasting opinions; while liberal parties regarded Shrine worship as a kind of national ritual, conservative parties regarded it as idolatry. However, the Presbyterian Church did not overcome Japanese oppression and could not help but approve Shrine worship at the thirty-seventh General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on 9 September 1943.

Originally, Shintoism is the religion native to Japan, which was translated as “kami nomichi” or “the way of the kami” or “the way of gods” in Japanese. Its characteristics were pantheism and nature worship. The numbers of Kami is countless and is normally estimated at eight million (Lee 1966:2-9). The religion mainly regarded gods and the power of nature as sacred things. The sun goddess Amaterasu-Omikami was considered as the master of gods, and storms, rain, sea, rivers, water, land and its fruits, mountain, tree, fire were all as gods (Moore s a: 93-114 in Kim 1997:261).

In November 1936, the National Christian Council in Japan was troubled by the problem and approved of it as a national ritual along with the other policies of the Japanese government. Meanwhile, Shrine worship caused various responses from foreign missionaries. While the Canadian Mission easily approved it as a national ritual, the Northern Presbyterian Mission rejected it in spite of the abolition of the Christian schools that they ran. The Southern Presbyterian Mission and the Victorian Presbyterian Mission rejected it even more. Darby Fulton, a director of Southern Presbyterian Mission, played a decisive role in rejecting Shrine worship. He pointed out that Shrine worship was not a trifling matter but a fundamental matter of Christian faith, namely that it was a matter of deciding between monotheism and polytheism (Brown 1962:153 in Kim 1992:209).



In conclusion, Shintoism rose to the surface of debate of those times in the process of confrontation with Christianity. As Brown (1919:337) mentioned in his report of mission,

The other great national faith of Japan is Shintoism. Is it a religion? No one ever thought of arguing that it is not until the Christians in Japan objected to the observances of Shinto rites on the ground that they are incompatible with Christianity...

In addition, the identity of Shinto Worship was the dilemma in the circle of the Korean Christian.

The Shrine question in Japan and Japanese-controlled areas is a perplexing one. Can Christians justify compliance with the Japanese demand that they bow at the national shrines? The problem had become acute in Korean in recent years and [the] sentiment is divided. The debate here fairly represents both sides. Which is right? The authors are both prominent missionaries in Korea (*The Presbyterian Tribune* 1938.Jan.20).

It was surely not easy to decide whether or not Shintoism was a religion. In terms of the Japanese government, whether Shrine worship was a national ritual or idolatry, Japanese imperialism used shrine worship as the tool to accomplish its desires. The above point made the conservative Korean Christians take up an unyielding stance. In the long run, the Korean Church underwent all sorts of hardships owing to Japanese enforcement of Shrine worship from the mid of 1930's to 1945, the year of Liberation from Japan.

4.3.2. Shrine Worship as a Tool of Japanese Imperialism

It was only in 1918 that Japanese imperialism took shrine worship to Korea. However, the construction costs of shrines were included in the budgets of the Government-General since 1912. In 1925, a shrine called Chosun Singung was first established at Namsan in Seoul. After that, shrines were gradually established all over the country



(Lee 1978:199). However, it was not until the late 1930's that Japanese imperialism enforced Shrine worship more strictly. The Manchurian invasion was used by Japan, to include the Koreans in order to exalt and share the thoughts of invading China. McCune, President of the Union Christian College of Pyongyang during that period, (Oak 2004:483) recorded the real purpose of Shinto Shrine worship as follows:

Since the reconstruction of Japan took place, the military party had dreamed and planned for the expansion of the Japanese Empire so that it should completely control all eastern Asia, dominate the whole of the Orient and spread even further. In order to unite the Empire into an individual unit for the carrying on of the great struggle necessary for the fulfillment of the dream, the old Shinto cult was once more reinstated as the national religion proclaiming the divine person of the Emperor and his direct descent from Amaterasu-omikami, the Sun Goddess... The military leaders are determined to carry through their program even though it means the destruction of the many educational institutions built up in Korea by Foreign Mission Boards.

Whether shrine worship was simply a national ceremony or not, the necessary procedures which were enforced on Koreans, took on the character of religion.⁹⁸ In rejecting Shrine worship owing to Christian faith, the Koreans could not help but bear the brunt of oppression. In 1932, the Chosun Government-General forced Christian schools in Pyongyang to participate in a ceremony, which worshipped a Japanese emperor and military men that died in the Manchurian War. Furthermore, they informed all the schools that the teachers and the students had to worship at the Japanese shrine regularly. In November 1935, Yasdakke, a Japanese governor of Pyungan Namdo (one

⁹⁸ Shrine worship, even though stressing that everyday life was the service for gods, generally consisted of four factors in the Shrine temple. First, Harai (Purification) meant that worshippers and priests rinsed out their mouths with clean water and poured water on the tip of hands in order to remove uncleanness, unrighteousness and vice. Second, Shinsen (Offering) was the factor that was believed to be the curse to descendants if it was done slighted. Third, Norito (Prayer) was processed that priests put unique accent and rhythm and read a pray written in traditional Japanese. Four, Naorai (Symbolic feast) meant the progress to drink the wine made of cereals which the priest or a female shaman gave. For the details, see Lee (1978:196-197).



of eight provinces), ordered all principals within the Province to worship a Shrine before the united conference. Since then, Shrine worship became a serious problem to Korean Christians (Kim 1971:177-179).

4.3.3. The Resistance of the Korean Church

Since 1937, before the resistance of the Korean Church against Japanese Shrine worship, Governor-General forced the Koreans to pray for the victory of war, which was the time when the war of China-Japan broke out. Many schools, which were against it, were closed down.⁹⁹

With violent force, the Government-General made the church a victim by forcing the church to worship at the Japanese shrine. When Pyungbuk Synod, which was one of the biggest synods in numbers, was held on 19 February 1938, the Sunchun police station hatched a plan. It made Kim Il-Sun, chairman of the Synod, work as a secret agent for Japan, and made him introduce a resolution in favour of Shrine worship. Even though only two or three members came to vote under surveillance of police officers in civilian clothes, the resolution was passed without difficulty. Japanese imperialists used coercive measures like this, forcing seventeen out of twenty-three synods over the country to submit to Shrine worship. At last, the Government-General made a resolution in favour of shrine worship to be passed at the Twenty-seventh General Assembly of Presbyterian Church. When the meeting was over, twenty-three Chongdaes (representatives of General Assembly) including vice-chairman, Rev. Kim Gil-Chang, directly went and worshipped at the shrine in Pyungyang (Kim 1997:269, 271).¹⁰⁰ Rev. Hong Taeck-Gi, chairperson of General Assembly, read a resolution of the General Assembly for Shrine worship as follows:

⁹⁹ Gwangju Sungil boys middle school, Supia girls middle-school, Mokpo Youngheung boys school, Jeongmyung girls middle-school and Gunsan Youngmyung school were abolished and Sunchun Maesan middle-school, Jeonju Shinheung middle-school and Gijeon girls middle-school closed voluntarily. More than ten schools were abolished in terms of the resistance to Shrine worship (Kim 1997:265-267).

¹⁰⁰ See Kim (1997:269-272) and Min (1993:484-485) for the detailed process of the resolution for Shrine worship of the Twenty-seventh General Assembly of Presbyterian Church.



I understand that the Japanese Shrine is neither a religion, nor against Christian doctrines, and that Shrine worship is just a patriotic national ceremony. Therefore, I declare to make every effort as a citizen of the Japanese emperor, under the current state of emergency, by being the first to do Shrine worship and participating in orders of the mobilization of the entire army (The Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh General Assembly of Chosun Yesugyo Presbyterian Church 1938:9 in Min 1993:485).

While Korean Churches succumbed to Japanese authority by worshipping at the shrine during the Japanese oppression, a resistance the movement, which was organized regionally, also started spreading nationwide. In September 1931, Kyungnam Synod passed a resolution against Shrine worship. The Korean Church celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of mission in 1934; she regarded that year as the Jubilee and held a festival and colorful events commemoration the year in Pyongyang. A commemorative ceremony was held in the playground of Sungsil School along with a demonstration.

After the humiliating approval of shrine worship, anti-movements were continuously progressed all over the country with some reverends as leaders: Rev. Lee Gi-Sun and Eld. Park Gwan-Jun in Pyungbuk Province, Rev. Han Sang-Dong, Rev. Ju Nam-Sun and Choi Duk-Gi, probationer, in Kyungnam Province, Rev. Lee Won-Young in Kyungbuk, Rev. Son Yang-Won in Cheonnam Province and Bruce F. Hunt in Manchuria (Lee 1978:242-243). Furthermore, all students and professors of Pyongyang Theological Seminary, which was regarded as the centre place of Korean Christianity, set out on an anti-movement of Shrine worship leading to police detectives resided at the school and kept watch over them. In the end, Pyongyang Theological Seminary was adjourned for an indefinite period on September 20, 1935, and then abolished in 1938. Two hundred churches were also abolished, two thousand church members were consigned to prison and about fifty Christian leaders wore the crown of martyrdom (Moffett 1962:75).¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, foreign missionaries also stubbornly opposed to the resolution of General

¹⁰¹ Also, see Clark (1971:230).



Assembly. On 28 September 1938, P. C. U. S. passed a resolution to secede from Chosun Yesugyo Presbyterian, which yielded under pressure of Japanese imperialism. P. C. U. S. A. also did so in May 1938. Furthermore, P. C. U. S. and P. C. U. S. A., including the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (P. C. V.), supported pastors who were expelled from the different synod owing to the objection against Shrine worship (Kim 1971:191). On the one hand, it was the Sanjeonhyun Church in Pyongyang, which systematically objected to Shrine worship in North Korea. On the other hand, there were Rev. Han Sang-Dong, who was Rev. Ju Gi-Chul's successor of Munchang Church in Mansan, Rev. Ju Nam-Sun, Rev. Hwang Chul-Do and Rev. Lee In-Jae who took lead in the counter-movement in South Korea. The former was represented as Rev. Ju Gi-Chul and the latter as Rev. Han Sang-Dong (Kim 1992:214-215).

We need to consider and revise the activities of the two reverends because we can feel Puritan faith and piety in their lives like the Puritans who tried to keep pure and obey God's Word from the corrupted religious circles of the Anglican Church in England and America.

4.3.3.1. Rev. Ju Gi-Chul's Resistant Activities

Rev. Ju Gi-Chul (1897-1944) was regarded as the 'Glory of Korean Church (Lee 1978:210)' in the history of Christianity because he objected to Shrine worship and sacrificed himself for the cause.

On November 25 1897, he was the fourth child of seven brothers and sisters by elder Ju Hyun-Sung in Woongchun in Kyungnam Province. He received great grace in the revival meeting led by Rev. Kim Ik-Doo. This was while he was teaching at Kyonam School, but immediately transferred into Pyongyang Theological Seminary and became the thirtieth graduate from it. After that, in 1936, he was invited as the chief minister by Sanjeonhyun Church, where Elder Cho Man-Sik had been working, via Choryang Church in Pusan and Munchang Church in Mansan. Sohn referred to the ministry of Rev. Ju as follows:



He was sent to Korea by God. He was a man of God and righteous before God. I am thankful that I am one of those who were directly influenced by his faith. In earlier days, I was a student in his class at Kyungnam Bible Institute. His class was like a revival meeting full of God's grace. Moreover, his zeal for the Lord and his ardent passion were his typical characteristics (Kim 1958:6).

He took the lead in the anti-movement of Shrine worship during his ministering against it. Before that, Rev. Ju surprised the religious circles by submitting a resolution against Shrine worship to Kyungnam Synod in 1931 (Kim 1970:136). He was arrested by the police three times from 1938.¹⁰² Pyongyang Synod, which he belonged to, approved of Shrine worship and removed him from office on December 19, 1939. When the police arrested him for the fourth time, they abolished Sanjeonhyun Church in May 1940 and he was severely punished on the rack in Pyongyang and martyred on May 21, 1944 (Kim 1971:195).

The sermons of Rev. Ju reflected his theological thoughts as well as the philosophy of his ministry. As Kwon (Kim 1958:11)¹⁰³ mentioned, "His sermons were his confessions, his life, and his spirit sealed by his blood".

One of the most remarkable ideas shown in his sermons was the 'Coram Deo' spirit (before the presence of God). On September 1, 1936, he preached on the subject of "Ilsagako" (the mind not to be scared of even death) at the Pyongyang Theological Seminary. He emphasized three points. Firstly, be ready to die for following Jesus. Secondly, be ready to die for leading other souls to Jesus. Thirdly, be ready to die for witnessing the truth of the resurrection.

Shall we live after denying Jesus? Alternatively, shall we die to follow Jesus? It is a real death to deny the true Jesus, while to die for Jesus means

¹⁰² Rev. Ju Gi-Chul's were arrested three times: January 1938, September 1938 and August 1939 (An 1956:41).

¹⁰³ Kim In-Sye, a ardent follower of Rev. Ju Gi-Chul, shorthanded his sermons and published them. Rev. Ju himself never wrote any article or book.



to live in the real sense of the Word. The time when Jesus was welcomed has past; now it is the time of persecution and suffering; let anyone who does not want to follow Jesus, go! But all those who are willing to follow Jesus are required to deny themselves.... Why are we Christians hesitating to abandon our lives for the Lord...? Why should we remain firm to the end in obedience to God's commandments, confronting the idolatry of the Shinto Shrine at the cost of our lives? Without question, it is because of the idea of God-centeredness (Kim 1958:14-15).

Park (1980:s.a. in Chung 1996:107)¹⁰⁴ commented on Rev. Ju's theological thoughts in the same line of Calvinism as follows:

Rev. Choo's [Ju] theology of "Il-sa-ka-go" (being ready to die) was based upon the idea that we Christians should be ready to die to keep the first commandment.... To put it another way, would be "the idea of God's honor" because the reason we keep the first commandment is to glorify the Creator God.... much same as the idea of "Soli Deo Gloria" which Calvinism has developed from the ideas of Calvin, Augustine, and Paul.

As mentioned above, his thoughts on Coram Deo were incompatible with Japanese Shrine worship. The last sermon was "My Five Petitions" based on Mat. 5:18 and Rom. 8:18 and 31-39. This showed his feelings against Shrine worship.

1. May I overcome the power of death, which I am nearly facing at my death. I cannot help praying, "Please allow me to overcome the power of death." All things living lament tremble and grieve before death. Are there so many people who were afraid of death and gave up faith to escape it... Oh! Lord, please do not take trouble with taking care of me. Make me keep the Lord's commandment although my body comes to break into flour..." My beloved Christians, those who belong to Christ must behave like Christians whether by life or by death... Don't be grieved even though I die. Rev. Ju cannot kneel to the other gods except God (Lee

¹⁰⁴ There is no page referred from previous quotation.



1978:213).¹⁰⁵ 4. Let me live in righteousness and die in righteousness...
Alas! The name of Jesus my Lord is falling to the ground Oh! Pyongyang
Oh! Pyongyang My Jerusalem of the land of propriety of the East! Oh!
Taedong River. Cry with me for a thousand years. I will offer to my Lord
my life, however humble it might be (Kim 1976:161).

According to *Kidok Shinbo* (Christian Messengers press) (May 13 1936),

From 1938 to 1945, about 2000 Christians were arrested for their refusal to
practise Shrine worship, and about 50 persons died in prison for their faith.
Rev. Ju (1897-1944) of Pyongyang was one of the 50 martyrs.

The Korean government regarded Rev. Ju as one of the deceased patriots and laid his
remains in the Armed Cemetery at Dongjak-Dong in Seoul (Lee 1978:217).

4.3.3.2. Rev. Han Sang-Dong's Resistant Activities

Whereas Rev. Ju was one of the main leaders of North Korea against Japanese Shrine
worship, Rev. Han Sang-Dong (1901-1976), who succeeded to Rev. Ju's post at
Moonchang Church in Masan, played a leading role in a counter movement with Ju
Nam-Sun, Hwang Chul-Do and Lee In-Jae in the southern parts of Korea (Kim
1992:215).

Rev. Han was to resign from his post at the synod because of pressure from the police.
He separated himself from the synod for Shrine worship and organized a new synod in
cooperation with missionaries, who resided in Busan, Masan, Jinju and Gechang (Kim
1997:278). On November 29 1939, they formulated the following principles to
inaugurate the opposition movement (Kim 1971:196).

1. The dissolution movement of the present Synods

¹⁰⁵ The remained were as follows: 2. May I endure long-term hardships. 3. May God look after old
mother, wife and children. 4. May I live and die along with righteousness. 5. May God receive my spirit
(Lee 1978:213-214).



2. To refuse the baptism of pastors who are in favor of Shrine worship
3. To organize the new synod consisting of only believers who are against Shrine worship
4. To seek mutual assistance between anti-Shrine worshippers
5. To travel and worship in groups and to concentrate our efforts to kinder spirits.

On March 28 1940, when Rev. Ju was released from prison, Rev. Han met with him and other supporters in Pyongyang, in the northern part of Korea. They planned to hold a national campaign against Shrine worship. As for important figures, there were Han Sang-Dong in Busan, Lee Chan-Su in Masan, Hwang Chul-Do in Jinju, Ju Nam-Sun in Gechang and the northern leaders of Korea: Lee Ju-Won, Lee Hyun-Sok and Son Myung-Bok. Rev. Han was arrested in Busan on July 3, 1940 and was transferred to Pyongyang in 1941, where he had to go through all kinds of hardships. Many foreign missionaries also cooperated with the campaign. Representatively, F. E. Hamilton and D. L. Malsbary donated funds to the campaign. B. F. Hunt printed papers for causes against Shrine worship and distributed it over Manchuria (Kim 1997:278).

Park Yun-Sun, who had been one of the leading figures since the establishment of Koryo Theological Seminary with Han Sang-Dong, said this of Rev. Han,

The history of the Korean Church was glorified by late Rev. Sang Dong Hahn, who took the initiative in campaigning against worship at Shintoist shrines during the later period of Japanese imperialism. He lived only for the glory of God and endured suffering in prison for six years [1940-1945] (Shim 1977:3).

4.3.4. Puritanism as the Foundation of Resistance

Park (1960:1) referred to foundation of faith of anti-Shrine worshippers,

Most of them were Presbyterians who possessed conservative and Reformed faith. They believed that Bible was the Word of God and the absolute standard of faith and life.



This correctly corresponded to the first chapter of the Westminster Confession, which English and American Puritans used as an instrument of church reformation against the lukewarm measure of the Anglican Church. Lee (:183-194 in Kim 1992:219) commented their faith in the following four ways: Firstly, obedience to God's command and love for the church. Secondly, the eschatological expectation and private confidence of the Lordship of Christ. Thirdly, the unyielding testimony of faith for God's Word. Fourthly, to evaluate martyrdom highly for God's glory. As a result, anti-Shrine worshippers endured all kinds of hardships with the expectation of the Second Advent of Christ and affection for God's Word.

These were the same factors that were already discovered in the Puritans. Kim (1992: 222) commented in the following way:

Anti-shrine worshippers, as conservative Christians of Korea, mostly believed in the millennium. They rejected the Shrine worship through the faith believing that the millennium defied the Shrine worship and got the power to endure sufferings.

They believed that the Second Advent of Christ was imminent, and that when Jesus Christ would come again, all the countries and authorities would kneel to Jesus, the Ruler, and when the millennium begins and Jesus establishes his own kingdom, all Christians would rule over the world with him (Lee 1968:173, 188 in Kim 1992: 222).

Martyrdom or sufferers expressed such attitudes as follow. In July 1941 when Rev. Ju and Rev. Han met each other by chance in Pyungyang Prison, Rev. Ju said him,

“Rev. Han, everything is through with me now. I won't be able to go on living.”... I am comforted with the thought of Jesus' receiving me to heaven upon my death.... (Shim 1984:133).

In addition, Rev. Han prayed during the cruel torture by the Japanese imperialists,

“Dear, Lord, please take my life! Each day is too heavy a burden for me



to bear. I am too weary. I am too tired...” ... “Thank you Lord for Your beautiful grace for a sinner like me that could also march in the glorious rank of martyrs...” (:147-148).

Although the church no longer endured a threat of Japanese arms, the Korean Church surrendered. Only Puritanical faith shines through anti-worshipping of shrines.

4.4. The Rise of Liberalism

During the period of oppression of Koreans by Japanese imperialism along with shrines worship, the Korean Presbyterian Church was faced with several after-effects. For example, the number of Christians was reduced during the period of Japanese imperialism. Patriots of the independent movement, who regarded church as a strong foothold, entered into the church, but were very disappointed at the fact that the church yielded under Japanese pressure. The focus of the Christian faith was also transferred from something realistic like history or culture to the afterlife. Christianity lost the opportunity to hold real power over Korean society. Among these after-effects, the rise of liberalism was one of the vital issues. This meant that Japanese Shrine worship became the starting point of two confrontational streams in the history of Presbyterianism in Korea. Liberalism in Korea was bred in the incubation of the Chosun Theological Seminary.

4.4.1. Chosun Theological Seminary

Due to oppression of the shrine worship, Pyongyang Theological Seminary was abolished in 1938. To make matters worse, missionaries were forced to leave the country, and the main stream of conservative theologians, like Park Hyung-Nong, sought refuge in Manchuria. Many celebrated pastors were also put in jail and martyred. These situations necessitated the establishment of new theological seminary. The movement was conspicuous to take lead in the academic circles of liberal theology. With Rev. Chae Phil-Geun, Rev. Kim Young-Ju, Rev. Cha Jae-Myung and Elder Kim Dae-Hyun as leaders, the Chosun Theological Seminary was established in Seoul on April 19 1940 (Min 1993:507). It served as the Mecca of liberal theology and was



renamed the Hankook (Korea) Theological Seminary.¹⁰⁶

Dr. Kim Chae-Choon, one of the most important people, who consolidated the foundation and the framework of the Seminary, mentioned the purpose of foundation, “Liberation from the control of western missionaries and conservative theology” (Kim 1992:227). He regarded all the past days of Church History in Korea as “Bu Jae” (absence). He promised to begin the new start of a discontinued Church History and looked upon himself as a leader (Kim 1957:5). He also referred to the following five ideas of what the theological education ought to keep (Yoo 1968:87-88).

1. Introduction of worldwide level of theological thought and evangelism
2. Autonomous Christian’s faith in terms of piety and study
3. Reconfirmation of Calvin Theology by freedom of a professor’s study and teaching without the theological limits.
4. Adoption of criticism on the hermeneutics of Bible.
5. Realization of the positive aspect of Korean theology and ecclesiastical authority in terms of virtue.

As for the faculty, Chae Phil-Geun, Kim Young-Ju and Ham Tae-Young were educated in Japan and were blamed by the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in the mid 1930s for having liberal theology or sympathizing with liberalists (Conn 1967:174 in Kim 1992:226).¹⁰⁷ As stated above, the issue of Shrine worship served as a momentum to accelerate bipolarization of theology: conservatism vs. liberalism. The two conflicting streams of theology remained the irrevocable characteristic in the history of

¹⁰⁶ At the end of Japanese imperialism over Korea, Chosun Theological Seminary had also undergone all sorts of hardships by Japanese policies of oppression like any other schools. The Seminary was too far with the conservative tradition of Pyongyang theological Seminary. After Liberation from Japan in 1945, When the Communists came to power on the North Korea, The Seminary was abolished. After that, Chosun Theological Seminary was reestablished in Seoul by Dr. Kim Chae-Choon (Kim 1992:226-227).

¹⁰⁷ Rev. Chae Phil-Geun became the focus of public censure because of translation of the Abingdon Commentary under the influence of liberalism in 1934. Kim Young-Ju openly denied Mosaic authorship of the Five Scriptures (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy) and became a target of attack from 1934 to 1935. Ham Tae-Young was under the same censorship due to his liberal theology (Hunt 1960:38 in Conn 1988:103).



the Korean Church.

4.4.2. Park, Hyung-Nong vs. Kim Chae-Choon

4.4.2.1. The Life and Thought of Park Hyung-Nong

Park, Hyung-Nong (1897-1979) was a representative figure that spoke for the conservative theology. In 1929, he took Th. B and Th. M degree from the Princeton Theological Seminary under the influence of J. Gresham Machen and C. W. Hodge. After that, he studied and got a Ph. D degree from Louisville Theological Seminary under the influence of A. T. Robertson in 1933. As his academic careers shows, Park learned the points, which decided the future of the Korean Church. In 1930, Park became a systematic professor of the Pyongyang Theological Seminary. He took an active part as a brilliant theologian and preacher there. One of his five collections of his sermons,¹⁰⁸ *Keep Faith in God* was published in 1941 during Japanese imperialism. The sermons reflected his theology well.

Christian missionary works have been very successful all over the world since Christianity was introduced. It is very praiseworthy. However, numerous different gospels have risen. Some people within churches struggle to compromise with those so-called scholarships; Christian psychology, Christian sociology, or Christian philosophy. In the twentieth century, churches went astray without even deciding which gospel to follow. Celebrating the seventieth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity in Korea, we have a lot to appreciate. How should we cope with many changed gospels, which are now preached by many lectures or writers? ... I want you to keep your conservative faith in God. Missionaries keep telling us that we should study the Bible for our churches to be successful, but before that I'd rather tell you that we should believe the Bible as the word of God... An agitation in your faith in God

¹⁰⁸ He published the five collections of sermons: *Keep Faith in God* in 1941, *Our refuge* in 1953, *The Remnant of God's People* in 1954, *God's Grace in Adversity* in 1955 and *Dr. Park's Collections of Sermons* in 1977.



can appear if you believe in a variety of heresies, religions, such as the religion of science, evolution, pantheism, and social religion. However, our Christianity may disappear from this world.... How should I easily give up such precious faith that those such as Luther, Calvin, Wycliffe, the Puritans, and other sincere Christians have passed down to me! I hope that the Korean churches will remain constant forever. I sincerely want you to be the faithful keeper of such true faith.

Liberalism, which began to spread into the church, was his target of attack. Park (1964:8-9) described the situation of those times as follows:

For the early fifty years of mission, the Korean Presbyterian Church succeeded in holding fast to orthodoxy theology. However, thereafter, it cannot keep away from the danger of liberalism any more, which has infiltrating into the church. In cooperation with the liberal movement, which was prevalent in public, dissenters hostile to Reformed faith stealthily appeared within circles of Presbyterian churches. I read several kinds of religious magazines and translations extensively and found in it to be various, freely published liberal concepts of theology. Higher criticism and fallacy of the Bible was emphasized and some sentences denying the Virgin Birth of Christ, Jesus' Deity, Redemption, Reincarnation, and Reward and Punishment of the afterlife, were found here and there (Park 1941:236-237).

He especially laid emphasis on the Inerrancy and Verbal Inspiration of the Bible in terms of the scientific and historical exactitude and the Bible being against liberalism (Park 1996:200). He referred to the object of his theology in *Kyoeui Theology Je 1 Guen Seron* (The First Book of an Introduction of Doctrine Theology) as follows:

The main purpose of the writer is to receive and transmit the Reformed Orthodox Theology of Calvinism as it was, not to write a creative work.... it is my desire to transmit to the new generation the very right theology which missionaries of this land transmitted eight years ago (Park 1983:16).

According to his statements, Park clarified his mission was to introduce Puritan and Reformed theology, which could be defined as follows:

The theology, which added the Puritan thoughts of Britain and the United States to the Calvinistic Reformism of Europe, was embodied into the Westminster Standards (Park 1976:11). The theology, which the Puritan missionaries of Britain and the United States received and introduced, was also regarded by the Westminster Standards as the standard of doctrines and the rules by which it must be conformed (:15).

Therefore, it was natural for him to be called “a Machen of Korea,” or “a Fighter for Conservative Theology” (Park 2004:193). Kim (2000:281) mentioned the achievement of Park Hyung-Nong in the following way:

He contributed much in forming a peak in terms of the history of Korean theology standing aloof from many denominations, as well as the formation of the conservative church and conservative theology of the lines in Korea.

4.4.2.2. The Life and Thoughts of Kim Chae-Choon

In the 1920's, when Japanese imperialism began to take root in Korea, many Korean theological students went to Japan for their studies. In the 1930's, when they came back from the Japanese universities under the influence of Liberalism, their influences climbed to its peak in Korea. Kim Chae-Choon also belonged to the category of these. He went to Japan as a twenty-five year old to study at the Chungsan Hakwon (Blue Mountain Institute), which was characterized by radical liberalism and looked like an agent of Union Theological Seminary (Kim 1956:189). K. Barth's theology dominated Japanese theology in the 1930's (Park 1991:152).

After that, he went over to America and studied at Princeton in 1931 and at the Western Theological Seminary, which was also exceptionally liberal. He struggled studying the liberal theology more indepth for a long time. After he came back to Korea, he taught



the Bible at Pyungyang Sungin School and worked as a member of the editorial staff of *Shinhak Jinam* (The Theological Review) in 1933- 1945 (Kim 1956:190). Kim (:190) commented the theological inclination of Rev. Kim Chae-Choon in the following way:

Even though Kim Chae-Choon was not a radical liberal theologians who dared to criticize the Bible destructively, he was certainly a liberal theologian who completely conflicted with conservative theologians who emphasized the verbal inspiration and the historical and scientific Inerrancy of the Bible. Kim Chae-Choon tried to confront and fight the conservatives as he had a disregard for them.

As mentioned-above, Kim tolerated both extremes of the two theologies freely on the basis of higher criticism and called himself “a liberal-conservative” (Kim 1973:33 in Yim 1995:47). Park Hyung-Nong stubbornly opposed the liberal activities of Kim Chae-Choon within *Shinhak Jinam* and it resulted in him being ousted from his post. It meant a skirmish of two parties: Conservatives vs. Liberals

4.4.2.3. The Conflicts between the Conservatives and the Liberals

The reasons of the spread of liberal theology mentioned in Korea Conn (1997:53-68) refers to three things.

Firstly, the beginning of liberal theology was from early foreign missionaries. Hunt, who came to Korea from P. C. U. S. A. in 1887, referred that there were at least one of the missionaries among them who did not believe in the Inerrancy of the Bible (Galbraith 1952:153 in Conn 1997:53). Compared to P. C. U. S. A., the Canadian Presbyterian Mission had a tendency to be liberal. After 1925, when the Mission completely passed into the hands of the liberals, many more missionaries that were liberalists worked in Korea. Representatively, there were William Scott as the chairperson of the Mission, Kim Kwan-Sik and Jo Hui-Yem, who finished their studies in America and who took part in the educational institute with liberal theology.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Before 1925, many conservative missionaries played an important role in Korea like Grierson,



Second, Comity Arrangements of 1893 played an important role in spreading liberalism within the Korean Presbyterian Church. The principles between the Methodist Mission and the Presbyterian Mission turned many Presbyterians into Methodists, who were under liberal theology at the beginning of the mission, because Presbyterians in the area controlled by the Methodist Mission had to go to the Methodist Church.

Thirdly, conservative Koreans and missionaries also contributed to the spread of liberal theology in Korea. This was because, although they are while privately conservative, they had tolerance of educational activity of liberalism in religious circles. For instance, Namgung Hyek, who became the first Korean professor at Pyungyang Theological Seminary in 1927, introduced Kim Chae-Choon to the Seminary.

Despite the signs outlined above, a full-scale collision between the two opposing parties was vividly expressed by Park Hyung-Nong and Kim Chae-Choon. As an active participant and regular writer of *Shinhak Jinam* from 1933 to 1935, Kim Chae-Choon wrote several articles in which much of liberalism was included.¹¹⁰ Kim Chae-Choon confessed after coming back to Korea;

I came back to Korea as thirty-two years old. I felt that the Church as well as the society were being attacked by an oppressive blockade and indigestion.... The feeling made me provide the wider spread of vision to the new generation, which made them grow up along with the global trends of theology. I would pursue this focus as the purpose of my works. I just felt the need to make a breathe hole in the Presbyterian Church of Korea, canned by orthodoxy... (Kim 1963:22-24).

McCrae, Foote, Young and Robb within the Canadian Presbyterian Mission. For the details, see Brown (1919:540), Jeon (1955:82) and Kim (:185-188).

¹¹⁰ For instance, ‘the Immortal View of the Soul shown by the Book of Job (*S. J.* 1933, 69, 31-36), The Inner Life of Jeremiah in terms of the biographical point of view (*S. J.* 1933, 71, 43-51), The Life of Amos and His Prophecy (*S. J.* 1933, 72, 43-47), The Study on “Immanuel” Prophecy of Isaiah (*S. J.* 1934, 73, 32-38), The Bookman Movement and its Critique (*S. J.* 1935, 79, 44-58), The Study on the Resurrection of Christ (*S. J.* 1935, 80, 44-58) and The Respectable End (*S. J.* 1935, 81, 49-53)’. The full references of the above articles are in the bibliography of the thesis.



Even though the early thoughts of Kin Chae-Choon were not as liberal as those of the western liberal theologians, his attitudes dealing with theology, and not the contents of his theology itself, were regarded as liberal in the conservative outlook of Korea. For instance, Kim Chae-Choon (The Study on “Immanuel” Prophecy of Isaiah. *S. J.* 1934:32-38) wrote the following concerning the Resurrection of Christ;

The Resurrected Body of Christ is the glorified, spiritualized, eternal body, which, at the same time, exactly corresponds with His spiritual life, as well as not losing even an attribution of a completely bodily being.

Even though he followed the conservative and traditional point of view like the above-mentioned shows, he treated it differently when writing. Kim Chae-Choon (1934, 16:32-38) commented on Isaiah 7:14 that the original intent of Isaiah was not to refer to Jesus Christ but to the “Ideal King” through this verse. A fellow writer of the New Testament had put it there. Also, the Hebrew “Alma”, which was translated into virgin, interpreted “a young woman”. Kim (1971:189) classified Kim Chae-choon’s theology as neo-orthodoxy rather than liberalism.

While the influence of liberalism was limited for only a few people at those times, several troubles between conservative and liberal parties began to spread all over the country. The General Assembly of 1934 dealt with the intense issues of women’s rights within the church and the authorship of Genesis. The former originated from the article of Rev. Kim Chun-Bae, which reported in a *Kidok Shinbo* (Christians Messengers Newspaper) in the name of “A Writing sent to General Assembly of Presbyterianism”. He interpreted that the meaning of 1 Corinthians 14:34 (Women should remain silent in the churches, NIV) as only a lesson and custom of a church in the country two thousand years ago and not the eternal truth. The latter originated from Rev. Kim Young-Ju, who was under indictment because of contradiction of Moses’ authorship of Genesis. The General Assembly of 1934 chose an investigation committee in order to examine and report on these two cases. Park Hyung-Nong was the leader of the committee. In 1935, the report of the committee was passed by unanimous vote as follows. As for the pastor who contradicted Moses’ authorship of Genesis, ‘Owing to the pastor who violated the Creed of our church, the first Article, it is right to refuse him to be a religious worker of



our church' (Park 1964:10).¹¹¹ Also, on womens' participation in the church's affairs,

Despite the Bible not allowing the educational authority of women, to interpret the Bible freely in order to go with the current of the times, raising the women's rights movement, it means that the mentality of the movement is nothing else but a destructive critical attitude of the Bible... If anyone is found to do so, the Synod will deal with him in terms of Chapter 6 Article 43 of *Kwenging Jorye* (the book of disciplinary regulation) (Kim :179-185).

Besides these, the twenty-fourth General Assembly of 1935 disciplined a few Presbyterian pastors¹¹² who got involved in the translation of the *Abingdon Commentary*, which based on liberalism, was translated and published by the Methodist commemorating the seventieth anniversary of the mission. Park Hyung-Nong commented the Commentary in the following way;

The book translated the Bible in terms of the principle of higher criticism. The history of revelation was considered by a preconceived idea, called the evolutionary theory of religion. Therefore, it doubted or contradicted traditional writers and dates of each book of the Scriptures and pointed out revision of posterity at every turn. It emphasized that there were changes in the view of God in the Bible, and the revelation of the Bible was not from miracles but from human experience.... Furthermore, it contradicted the Virgin Birth of Christ and doubted the Deity of Christ. Jesus instructed wrongly on historical facts and authors of some books of the Old Testament because of a limited knowledge. His consciousness of the Messiah was formed at the very time of Peter's Confession of Belief in the

¹¹¹ Art. I. The Scripture of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God, yet the only infallible rule of faith and duty. See appendix. 3.

¹¹² Representatively, Chae Phil-Geun and Song Chang-Geun were involved as translators of the Commentary. Afterward, Rev. Chae obeyed the admonition of General Assembly, but did not forsake liberal theology. Rev. Song resisted to the bitter end that, despite that the Commentary was not against the Christian doctrines, the General Assembly curbed freedom of theology (Conn 1997:82-83).



region of Caesarea Philippi.... The book contradicted the bodily Resurrection of Jesus and stressed that its concept was first from the revelation literature of the Jews. In addition, the book insisted that Heaven is not corporeal thing but only good life of privates and God's rule of society. Besides these, the liberal statements, which were opposed to the orthodox church, were found without limit (Park 1964:9).

Furthermore, the General Assembly concentrated on other efforts to halt the advance of the liberals, which played an active part in the writings of those times. When *Kidok Shinbo* (Christian Messengers Newspaper), which was published by the Christian Literature Society of Korea in Seoul, became hotbeds of liberal writings. Rev. Jeon Phil-Sun, a Presbyterian liberalist and publisher of the newspaper, was taken in sanction by the Assembly. Besides this, the Positive Faith Society, which was organized by Shin Heung-u in 1934, was active in the publishing of liberal writings. The Assembly strongly censured the organization, which tried to raise the funds from America to publish liberal books.

However, a series of measures like the above did not fill up the crack between the two parties. On the contrary, the gap between two different parties grew more and more with the process of time. As for actual application of theology like Japanese Shrine worship, the two parties went in opposite directions. After that, the two parties were the direct source of division of the church and polarization of theology in Korea (Kim 1992:201).

4.5. Conclusion

The course, which Korean society took under the Japanese rule from 1919 through to 1945, was full of trials and tribulations. The March First Movement was a national struggle for liberation against such a suppressed history. This took up a non-violent character from the beginning to the end. The Korean Church played an important role in the Movement from the outset. Church organizations, scattered on a national scale, served a infrastructure to the Movement. Judging from this, Christianity developed as a national religion.



In the meantime, the Korean Presbyterian Church, after it had experienced the great revivals early in the 1900s, encountered two big enemies internally and externally in this period. One was Japanese Shrine worship and another was the spread of liberalism. The approval of the General Assembly in 1938 on the issue of the former was the apostasy of Christianity. The different solid views between the conservative and the liberal on the issue of Shrine worship made way for a depolarization of theology. However, even in the heat of apostasy, a small number of Puritanical Christian leaders kept their faith while bearing hardship and martyrdom.

Their faith was greatly praised even within the public society as well as in religious circles after liberation from Japan. In addition, ex post facto measures of apostasy were one of the most sensitive issues in the new period. It came in sight with the spilt and conflict within religious circles. The Korean Church was confronted by such new times. The next chapter shall open insight into this.



CHAPTER FIVE

THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AFTER LIBERATION

This chapter will cover the period from the Liberation from Japan in 1945 to the present. Although many events had an effect on the Korean Church and society, enumerating all of them will be pointless and the purpose of this study will be lost. In particular, this chapter will consider several important events, which had an effect on the Presbyterian Church. The goal of this chapter is to show how the events influenced the Presbyterian Church. It also focuses on how the Korean Presbyterian Church maintained and developed its faith and theology inherited from previous generations in the complicated historical streams of the period.

5.1. General Sketch of the Period

After emancipation from the Japanese colonial regime, Korea involved itself in social disruptions: the establishment of a pro-Christian government, the Korean War (1950-1953), militarists' despotism under the banner of anti-Communism and the gains and losses of the Korean society affected by rapid economic development. However, this series of events did not mean the end of the sufferings for the church such as Japanese imperialism, but caused a different dimension of dangers which the Korean Church had to face. A long-standing feud between theological liberals and conservatives after liberation continued. Taking advantage of the confusion, Pentecostalism appeared and solidified her footing on the scene of the Korean Christianity. The Pentecostal spirit as the mainstream within the Presbyterian Church affected the period. This section will consider mainly in terms of the two categories, church and political aspects, in detail.

On August 15, 1945, when the Second World War ended because of the Allies' victory against Japan, Korea enjoyed emancipation from Japan. However, at the same time, Korea was met with the misfortune of territorial division, which was divided into two parts at 38 degrees North latitude on September 2, 1945. It was caused by the official



decision of the Allies, which put the Korean Peninsula under military administrations of U. S. A. and U. S. S. R.¹¹³ until Japanese armies surrendered and recovery of social order within Korea had taken place. Both countries tried to hold joint conferences, aimed at unification of South and North of Korea, but it failed and still remains so.¹¹⁴ The case of Korea was submitted to the U. N., and a result, the National Assembly was formed by election of only South Korea on May 10, 1948 and Daehan Minkuk (an official name of Korea) was established.

North Korea also established an independent government based on communism. Unfortunately, the Korean War broke out because of invasion by the North Koreans, which alienated these two countries even more. As Kim (1992:230-231) pointed out, ‘the South and North of Korea became the most distant countries which has most solemnly confronted each other.’

The study needs to dichotomize the period: the first part (1945-1960) and the second part (1961-the present). The standard and the range for this division originated from the Korean War, because after Korea it faced new phases, politically and ecclesiastically.

5.2. Reconstructions and Schisms of Church

5.2.1. Political Background

During the first period (1945-1960), political power was turned over from the Japanese rulers to the Koreans. While most Koreans were passive concerned with political participation, due to Japanese occupation for thirty-six years, Christian politicians saw it

¹¹³ Italy was defeated by the Allies’ army in the European line of battle and Mussolini was executed, and Germany also lost the Second World War on May 8, 1945. Hitler had died. Taking advantage of the situation, U. S. S. R. abrogated the neutrality pact with Japan and watched for invasion of Manchuria. On August 22, 1945, the U. S. S. R. army entered Pyongyang, implanted communism in North Korea and controlled it to the full (Lee 1978:221-222).

¹¹⁴ Joint commission of America and the Soviet Union congregated twice, which was from March 20, 1946 to May 6 and from May 21, 1947 to July 10. However, they came to a rupture by a stubborn resistance by representatives on the U. S. S. R. side (Lee 1978:226).



as an excellent opportunity. In North Korea, Christian political parties shot up like mushrooms after the rain. Pastors Han Kyung-Jik and Ha Young-Yoon formed the “Gidok Sahoi Minju Dang” (Christian Socialist Democratic Party) in September 1945. Elder Cho Man-Shik and Pastor Yi Yoon-Young also founded the “Chosun Minju Dang” (Chosen Democratic Party) in November, the same year. Two years later, Pastor Kim Hwa-Shik organized the “Gidokgyo Jayu Dang” (Christian Liberal Party) (Kim 1956:62).

The objects of these organizations were to check that the Communist Party should not come to power, to establish democratic government, and secure human rights and the freedom of worship.

On January 20, 1946, Odo Yenhap Nohoi of North Korea (the United Synods of Five Provinces) adopted the five clauses concerning the administrative principles of the church and the norm of Christian life and presented it to the communist government as follows (Kim 1956:68):

1. Regarding the keeping of the Lord’s Day as life, the church will not attend those kinds of events excluding worships on Sunday.
2. The Church must sternly separate from the State.
3. It is an inevitable duty and right to keep the chapel gloriously.
4. In case of being engaged in political affairs, an incumbent must give up his position.
5. The Church ensures freedom of worship and assembly.

On the contrary, the Communist government started a puppet organization called *Gidokgyo Yenmaeng* (Christian League) on November 28, 1946, whose objects were to check Odo Yenhap Nohoi, and to give rise to an interval of trouble to Christianity. The Communists intentionally held a general election for establishing Chosun Democratic People’s Republic on Sunday on November 11, 1946. They took all measures to win Pastor Park Sang-Sun over to join the organization. He worked for a Chinese missionary, but was persuaded to become the chairperson of the organization. In 1949, a famous revivalist and Pastor, Kim Ik-Doo had to take up this position. Many Christian



leaders suffered hardship like arrest or confinement. In addition, many Christian parties were also broken up by the oppression of the Communists not before long (Kim 1992:235).

The church, a unique organization against the communists, expected difficulties in the near future was active in politics within its abilities. As a result, the church of North Korea had to take a more difficult course under the rule of the Communists than that of Japanese imperialism.

In the case of South Korea, many Christian leaders came back from exile. Under the U.S. military government, they had the chance to get involved in politics to their hearts' content. Among them, Rhee Syng-Man was elected President of the first republic of Korea in August 1948. The national atmosphere of those times was quite tolerant of Christianity. During the campaign of the presidential election, all denominations of Christianity, including the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the Holiness Church and the Salvation Army, made strong determinations to support S. M. Rhee as President. It was reflected by the fact that the Koreans received a Christian President. Also,

When the first National Assembly [was held] on May 31, 1948, around fifty out of the two hundred representatives were professing Christians. At the opening session, the acting chairperson Syng Man Rhee asked the ex-pastor Yoon Young Yi to pray to God (*The Christian Weekly*. June 9. 1948).

As stated above, the national support for Christianity was meant as an attempt to find a new breakthrough in Christianity for the nation's future, in religion because of great disappointment in the old religions (Buddhism or Confucianism), which were predominant in the past.

However, Rhee's Government, which started with full support of all people, began to corrupt soon after election. Wanting to maintain the presidency, Rhee and his party had to change the constitution, which stated that one person could not be elected president



more than two times. Rhee achieved this through several fraudulent elections, he grasped political power until 1960 for 12 years after the founding of the country in 1948.

He won the fourth presidential election through an illegal election on March 15, 1960. This led to the start of the Revolution on April 19, 1960, in which students, including high school students, took the lead and cried out for a democratic procedure, a change in regime and the ending of Rhee's prolonged seizure of power and dictatorial government. About thirty thousand students and high school students poured into the streets and marched to the police headquarters. As the police fired on them, the protesting students suddenly began to riot. One hundred and thirty students were killed and more than one thousand students were wounded that day. Following day, the government proclaimed martial law on a national scale. Because of this, the demonstrations gradually spiraled into main cities like Busan, Daegu, Kwangju, Incheon, Mokpo and Chungju and with a large number of students as supporters. Thus, observing the state of things, Rhee announced that he would resign his presidency as of April 26, 1960 (Encyclopedia Britannica 1999).

In conclusion, the period (1945-1960) was a period in which the church had formed friendly relations with the government. During Rhee's rule, the church always supported him and his government mainly because he was a Christian. *The Christian News* (May 28, 1956) once admired President Rhee, during the third presidential election, as a "Korean Moses." In the early process of starting the roots of democracy in Korea, the church and Christians appeared dishonest and immature in politics. The Koreans, with the Korean War, experienced a rough time in politics during the last sixteen years (1945-1960).

5.2.2. Ecclesiastical Background

Kim (1992:231) commented that the main issues of Protestantism after liberation in 1945 were the participation of Christians in politics and the repentance movement that unfolded within church. While the former was more striking in North Korea than in South Korea, the latter was to the contrary. Under the control of the U.S Army, South



Korea enjoyed the freedom of faith to its content and each denomination did its best to reconstruct itself. However, the Korean Church was unfortunately divided into several denominations in terms of the way they believed to be right in the vortex of reconstruction. One of the most important and immediate causes of schism originated from ex post facto measures of Japanese shrine-worshippers.

5.2.2.1. Denominational Reconstructions

Firstly, considering some denominations in Korea, the Methodist Church was experiencing a sharp tension during the period between two camps called “reconstructionists and revivalists.”¹¹⁵ However, the two camps came to an agreement on April 1, 1949 on the condition of “unconditional unification.” Furthermore, the theological seminary, which belonged to the Methodists and was established by the revivalists in March 1948, continued without any big troubles after the unconditional unification (Min 1993:518- 521).

Like the unification of the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, the Salvation Army and the Anglican Church also did their best to reconstruct their denominations. However, Kim (1992:243) commented on such a reconstruction;

The reconstruction or renovation of the church was carried out in terms of only the numerical link bound together by the common interest within the circles of the denominational churches of Korea. So to speak, the reconstruction of the church was to dissolve the unified organization made by Japanese imperialism and to restore their own denominations. In addition to it, spiritual reconstruction, which must precede all else to clear the sins of Japanese shrine worship, was not greatly referred to (Kim 1992:243).

¹¹⁵ At the end of Japanese imperialism, Reconstructionists were the ones who were expelled from the denomination because of the objection to Shrine worship. Revivalists were the ones who were opposed to the faith of the Reconstructionists and maintained the denomination, even during Japanese despotism. For details, see Min (1993:517-518).

However, the Presbyterian Church had to pass through some complicated procedures on spiritual reconstruction due to denominational divisions.

5.2.2.2. Spiritual Reconstruction within the Presbyterian Church

About twenty anti-worshippers, who met with the liberation in prison, regarded themselves as ‘Chulok Sengdo’ (Christians released from prison).¹¹⁶ They came together at Sanjenghyun Church in Pyongyang, which Rev. Ju Gi-Chul had ministered, and announced the principles of reconstruction on September 20, 1945 in the following way:

1. As all churchly leaders (pastors and elders) who worshipped Japanese shrines, have to re-minister after having contrition and purification through taking disciplinary measures.
2. The disciplinary measures are done by self-accusation or self-discipline; pastors have to have at least two months’ leave of absence for contrition and self-discipline.
3. During the absence of pastors and elders, deacons or laymen hold church services.
4. The principles of church reconstruction are notified at each synod or branch of churches all over the country and must be enforced simultaneously.
5. The theological Seminary for cultivating ministers must be recovered (Kim 1956:45-46).

Unfortunately, all did not warmly welcome the above principles. For instance, a retreat meeting for two hundred pastors was held for a week at Welkok Church in Senchun on

¹¹⁶ The detailed names of them were as follows: Reverends- Lee Gi-Sun, Go Heung-Bong, Chae Jeong-Min, Han Sang-Dong, evangelists- Kim Rin-Hee, Kim Hwa-Jun, Se Jeong-Hwan, Jo Su-Ok, Lee Hyun-Suk, Choi Duk-Ji, Son Myung-Bok, Lee Ju-Won, Bang Gye-Sung , Helper- Kim Hyung-Rak), decons (Park Sin-Geun, Jang Du-Hee, Yang Dae-Rok, Lee Gwang-Rok,), Elder- Oh Yun-Sung, Teacher- An I-Suk (Choi 1972. A Historical Study on Shrine worship and Reconstruction Church in Korea. *S.J.* 159, 52-113).



November 14, 1945. During the retreat, Park Hyung-Nong, who opened and taught at Dongbuk Theological Seminary in Manchuria during the Japanese imperialism, introduced and announced the principles of reconstruction there, Hong Taeck-Gi (a chairman in those days who had played an important role in passing the bill, which was Japanese shrine worship at the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in 1938) made a counterproposal against that principles. He set forth as follows:

Whether one bore hardship in prison or escaped from a country, or one was in the limelight of Japanese imperialism, trying to keep the church, all shared in the hardships of the Korean Church. Inquiries into specific people's sin on shrine worship had to be privately dealt with in the presence of God (:46).

The point of view of Rev. Hong Taeck-Gi spoke for all who opposed the five principles of reconstruction. About ten pastors asserted during the Forty-Seventh Regular Synod in Kyungsang Namdo in 1946 that 'shrine worship was already dealt with and, that it was a matter of conscience. To make it an object of criticism after liberation again was done unconscientiously.' (Han 1950:12 in Lee 1978:239).¹¹⁷

Along with the above divided points of views, there was a sharp conflict of opinion on that point between church historians in Korea. Kim (1992:238-246) commented on that;

There was not the slightest excuse on the point that the Korean Church had betrayed its conscience and was wrong in submitting to the coercive measures of Japan... Therefore, the church leaders of Korea should have publicly confessed it. Open confession was indispensable to the Korean Church starting new in every respect, and maturing spiritually.

On the contrary, Min (1993:514) also criticized,

¹¹⁷ During The Forty-Eighth Synod of 1946 in Jinju, shrine worship became an object of discussion, whether it was regarded as sin or not, But It was nothing but made a noise and did not reach a conclusion. Instead, they resolved not to discuss it again (Lee 1978:239).



The fact that began to sprout the split of the church within the year after liberation, owned to the religious victory and glorification of suffering, which pietists prided themselves being in prison, was that the Korean Church committed lése majesty, which they had to completely repent. Sometimes, the church was unconscious of the fact that only God was the Judge and Sovereign. The belief of the Korean Church has fundamentally lacked the mystery of grace since liberation.

As a result, different views concerning ex post facto measures of shrine worship caused a schism in the Presbyterian Church. Unfortunately, the Koreans had to meet three times with schism in the Presbyterian Church during the first period (1945-1960). The first schism was due to the religion called shrine worship. Goshin Party was formed and was separated from the existing Presbyterian Church in 1951. The second and third were caused by the difference in the theological viewpoint of conservatism and liberalism. Therefore, except Goshin Party, the Korean Presbyterian Church was again divided into Yejang and Kijang in 1953. In 1959, Yejang was once more divided into Tonghap and Hapdong. Chung (1995:372) called this period a period of “disorder and chaos” in itself.

5.3. The Schism within the Presbyterian Church

5.3.1. Separation of Goshin¹¹⁸

Rev. Han Sang-Don, who had been released from prison and ministered at Sanjeonhyun Church in Pyongyang, came down to Busan owing to the oppression of the church by Communist.¹¹⁹ Since the Chosun Theological Seminary, which followed the theological

¹¹⁸ It is also called as Koryo Party.

¹¹⁹ For instance, the Communist government arrested the church leaders in order to obstruct Christian political parties. On March 1, 1946, the Protestant Church independently tried holding the memorial service for the March First Movement. It meant the conflict between the Communist government and church in the North Korea. The Communist Party intentionally tried holding to elections for organization of government on Sunday and using chapel as polls on November 3, 1946. In addition, they organized the Gidokkyo Yenmaeng (Christian Union) to be against the Odo Yehap Nohoi (the United Synods of Five Provinces) (Kim 1992:233-235).



line of liberalism, had been under the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church since June 1946, Rev. Ju Nam-Sun, decided to establish the conservative theological Seminary in Busan. It was the background to the formation of the Koryo (Korea) Theological Seminary, which opened with Rev. Park Yun-Sun, from Westminster Theological Seminary, as the principal on September 20, 1946 (Lee 1978:239).¹²⁰

However, Koryo (Korea) Theological Seminary did not maintain its relation amicably with the regional synod, to which it belonged. Kyungnam Synod regarded the party of the Seminary as “self-complacent” (Lee 1978:238) and “the climax of factional theology” (Min 1993:522). Rev. Han Sang-Dong and Rev. Park Yun-Sun deepened their friendship with foreign missionaries, who called separatists from Orthodox Presbyterian Church, like W. H. Chisholm, D. R. Malsbary, F. C. Hamilton, and B.F. Hunt (Lee 1978:239). Japanese imperialism had expelled them from the country, owing to shrine worship in 1941 (Kim 1992:250).¹²¹

These friendships created antagonism between the established churches and the Seminary. Some of the members of Kyungnam Synod were opposed to the Seminary. Kim (1953:151) said as follows:

Beginning from being in close cooperation with the missionaries who supported Machen, Koryo Theological Seminary began to drift further and further apart with only a small group of authorities among the members of

¹²⁰ In order to succeed the tradition of Pyungyang Theological Seminary, the establishment committee of Koryo (Korea) Theological Seminary attempted to have Rev. Park Hyung-Nong as the president of the Seminary (Kim1992:249-250). In those days, Rev. Park Hyung-Nong, who had taught candidates for pastors at Dongbuk Theological Seminary in Manchuria after abolition of Pyungyang Theological Seminary, was late in coming back to Korea. He was elected as the president of the Seminary in October. 1947 (:251). Cf. See Conn (1988:148-174).

¹²¹ The reasons, which Rev. Park made special friendship with them, could be known by his academic careers. Twice he had chances to study at Westminster Theological Seminary. The first time was from September 1934 to May 1936 under the leadership of Machen and the second one was from September 1938 to November 1939 under the leadership of Cornelius Van Til. In addition, Rev. Park made good friends with them during his study. He was greatly influenced by them (Hong 2001:164-165).



the Kyungnam Synod. At last, they found fault with each other and did nothing but advocate and admire their own party.

Antagonism between the two produced the following results. In 1946, the Forty-Eighth Kyungnam Synod decided to cancel the approval of the Koryo Theological Seminary and did not recommend students for admission. Rev. Han also declared the official statement against the decision.

As long as the Kyungnam Synod continually does so without revising its dishonest attitudes, we will secede from the Synod until the Synod mends its ways (Lee 1978:239).

The declaration resulted in splitting into two groups within the Kyungnam Synod. Sixty-seven churches affiliated with the Synod challenged the decision of the Forty Eighth Synod and supported Rev. Han Sang-Dong. However, despite several efforts to unite each other,¹²² the Goshin Parties were excluded from the established denomination of the Presbyterian Church by the decision of the Thirty Sixth General Assembly on May 25, 1951. It separately organized the new denomination called “Kyungnam Beptong Nohoi” (Legal Kyungnam Presbytery) off the Presbyterian Church of Korea.

All the churches, which belonged to the Koryo Party,¹²³ organized the new denomination; they practiced to control themselves for three weeks. The early stage of the Koryo Party actively developed itself into the spiritual movement for repentance. After repentance for three weeks, Rev. Han announced the identity of the Goshin Party

¹²² When sixty-seven churches within the synod supported for Rev. Han, the Synod took the resignation of the whole board and reconfirmed the contrition of shrine worship to keep away from the division of the synod. However, these measures were open to censure that they would rather superficial than fundamental. The Goshin Party regarded the plans of reconstruction done by the Synod which admitted by the line not to hurt the heart of Chulok Sengdo (Conn 1988:158-160).

¹²³ According to Kim (1992:30), the church affiliated to the Koryo Party had three hundred and sixty three churches and fifty pastors. In 1956, the number increased five hundred and sixty eight in number. That corresponded to approximately ten percent of Presbyterian Churches in Korea.



as follows:

Since liberation, we have held fast to Calvin Theology, that is, the Reformed Theology. Quite a large number of churches acted in accordance with our cry.... However, we have pain in our chest when many people disturb such a valuable movement. Even though we tried to appeal several times to the General Assembly, which derided and even drove out us from the seat of the General Assembly. In addition, it did not accept our representatives of the meeting for three years. At a result, we will succeed the old General Assembly, which the Korean Church did not surrender to Japanese shrine worship. We also resolved to organize the real Assembly in terms of the Presbyterian constitution... We will keep the Reformed faith, that is, the Westminster Confession of Faith and Longer and Shorter Catechisms with hoary tradition. We believe that Calvinism was really the most logical system of Christian faith. We swear to teach as Bavinck, Kuyper, Warfield, Hodge, Machen, Berkorf and any other people did.... (*The Minutes of the General Assembly 1952-1960* 1961: 11-14).

However, the Party lost the Puritanical purity, started from the motto of “the pursuit of the truth” (Sejong 1979:115), in the early times in the throes of the divisions of the church and property rights of church. When the presbytery within a church did not reach consensus on separation from the General Assembly, the church was easily divided into two parties.¹²⁴ Under continual after-effects of the division within the Koryo Party, Rev. Park Yun-Sun, who was an establisher of Goshin Theological Seminary, resigned from the presidency and joined the established General Assembly with the other churches separated from the Koryo Party.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned, the Korean Presbyterian Church should have thoroughly atoned for its crimes done because of Japanese imperialism like Shrine worship. Nothing is more important than the movements of repentance, which cleanse

¹²⁴ For instance, Munchang Church in Masan had been in legal strife on property rights of church for ten years (Kim 1992:253).



the anti-national act, tighten the official discipline and construct the new history of nation as the early Goshin Party cried against. However, most of the Korean Churches vindicated and justified such a crime. The Goshin Party, on the contrary, drove a cry for repentance into an attempt lacking in love and understanding (Lee, M Y 1995. A Variation of Schism and Unity according to the History of Korean Church. *M. T* 69, CD material).

5.3.2. Separation of Yejang and Gijang¹²⁵

Not long after the division of Koryo Party from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the separation of Gijang Party broke out in 1954.¹²⁶ This was caused by the liberal theological inclination of Chosun Theological Seminary with Kim Chae-Choon as a central leader. The focus of the quarrel was mainly over the doctrine of the Bible. While the liberal party accepted and utilized higher criticism as a study method of the Bible, the conservative party thoroughly insisted on the inerrancy of the Bible and verbal inspiration (Kim 1992:254).

Chosun Theological Seminary had been the single Seminary in the South Korea since the abolition of Pyungyang Theological Seminary due to shrine worship on September 30, 1938. After liberation in 1946, the Seminary was decided to place itself under the management of the General Assembly by only South Korea. However, even though Chosun Seminary had the significant meaning on the point that was established by only Koreans without the help of foreign missionaries, most conservative pastors and foreign missions, which had come back to Korea after liberation, treated it coldly, except the Canadian Mission. Especially, the Southern Presbyterian Mission clarified their attitude to support the Seminary only on the following conditions:¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Yejang means Daehan Yesugyo Jangrohoi (the Presbyterian Church of Korea) and Gijang means Daehan Gidikgyo Jangrohoi (the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea). Some sneered at the schism that Jesus and Christ were divided in the Korean situation.

¹²⁶ The division year of Kijang Party was formed in 1953. The name of the Party was called “Hankuk Gidokkyo Jangrohoi” in 1954.

¹²⁷ Names of the faculty in Chosun Theological Seminary at those days were as follows: Kim Chae-



1. On the educational policy, the Seminary has to teach the pure traditional interpretation of the Bible and theology.
2. In order to do this, if needed, the Seminary will wholly retire the present faculty.
3. If the Seminary accepts the above conditions, the Mission will support some operating expenditures as well as dispatch a professor and a director to the Seminary (Lee 1978:242).

The students of the Seminary also expressed discontent, like the above, during the session of the Thirty Third General Assembly on April 18, 1947.

The reformed church was established based on the Bible as the absolute authority. We adhered to the viewpoint that the Bible that was written by revelation and inspiration from Heaven. Chosun Presbyterian Church was established based on the following confession that (The Scripture of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and duty.) This Creed was the purest and most evangelical confession, which was eternally preserved by the Chosun Church.... When the Bible loses its authority as the living Word of God, our faith will be fundamentally destroyed. Therefore, first of all, we cannot accept the educational idea of the Chosun Theological Seminary being referred to as the “conservative faith yet liberal theology.” We reject the modern thought of theology and the higher criticism of the Bible... Even though they excused the fact that the higher criticism of the Bible and liberal theology by no means destroy [our] faith, what shall we do in the reality in which such things will eventually happen? In spite of blame, curses and disturbance, we appeal to the whole missions these important issues of theological education.

April 1947

Yours truly

All the orthodoxy-loving students (Kim 1997:341-342)



The after effects of the above cases called Rev. Kim Chae-Choon to check his theology. Finally, the Thirty Fifth General Assembly decided to merge with Chosun Theological Seminary and Presbyterian Theological Seminary in 1950.¹²⁸ Furthermore, the General Assembly of 1951 decided to close two seminaries and to found a new Seminary under the direct management of the General Assembly. The new Seminary immediately opened on September 18, 1951.

A sect of Chosun Theological Seminary did not agree with the decision of the General Assembly, because it meant the cancellation of the approval of Chosun Theological Seminary as the Seminary under the direct management of the General Assembly. Rev. Kim Chae-Choon spoke his mind on this matter,

As God gave American missionaries the mission to serve the Korean Church by theological education, in a sense, more than that, we feel confident that God gave the same mission to us as well. Therefore, even though Satan has more numbers than the tiles of Namdaemoon, we are a bravely dvancing with the work on the mission (Kim 1956:253).

When the Thirty Seventh General Assembly of 1952 proclaimed,

We forbid Rev. Kim Chae-Choon his ministry by the Jesus' name and His authority in terms of Article 42, Chap. 6 of the Disciplinary Ordinances, because Rev. Kim Chae-Choon flouted the decision of the Thirty Sixth General Assembly and continually advocated the errancy of the Bible (Kim 1953:272).

The General Assembly also reconfirmed the cancellation of the approval of the Chosun Theological Seminary under the direct management of the General Assembly and the deprivation of the Seminary graduates of their rights of the ministry. With that as a

¹²⁸ When Rev. Park Hyung-Nong came back home, conservative pastors in Seoul had the mind to establish a conservative theological Seminary against Chosun Theological Seminary. As Rev. Park resigned the presidency of Goshin Theological Seminary, they began to run the Presbyterian Theological Seminary with him on June 20, 1948 (Kim 1956:227).



turning point, thirty-five pastors and twelve elders, supporting the Chosun Theological Seminary, lodged a strong protest against the decision. Fierce conflicts occurred within the regional synods or churches concerning the problem. It spread out and started the fight of the property rights of churches. At length, nine synods and forty-seven ministers divided from the established General Assembly, gathered and opened the new denomination called “Hankuk Gidokgyo Jangrohoi”¹²⁹ (The Presbyterian Church of the Republic of Korea) on June 10, 1954 (Kim 1997:343-344). Until the summer of 1954, they had the number of twelve synods and about five hundred and sixty-eight churches. Two hundred and ninety-one pastors on equal footing with Hankuk Theological Seminary and declared the following (Conn 1997:208).

1. We reject all kinds of Pharisaism and secure “the freedom of evangelism,” which was saved through the belief to only believe in the living Christ.
2. We form sound doctrines and simultaneously, secure the freedom of conscience concerning belief.
3. We reject slavish others-dependence and cultivate the spirit of self-help and self-reliance.
4. However, we are cautious about biased isolationism and are trying to be consistent with “the World Church,” which cooperates with and keeps up with all Christians over the world (Kim 1956:270-271).

In conclusion, starting from 1954, the Korean Presbyterian Church was, divided at least into three main denominations: Goshin, Yejang and Gijang. As Conn (1997:209) mentioned, the division of Yejang and Gijang was “the fight between two religions named Christianity and Liberalism for leadership of church.” It could be evaluated that the Presbyterian Church sought for its Puritanical identity through the method of division.

5.3.3. Separation of Yejang: Hapdong vs. Tonghap

¹²⁹ It is, shortly, called “Gijang.” Gijang Party had five hundred and sixty eight churches, two hundred and ninety one pastors and twenty thousand, nine hundred and thirty seven baptized Christians in 1954 (Kim 1956:287-288).



The Presbyterian Church had experienced its first division in 1951 (the Goshin Party) and the second one in 1953 (the Gijang Party) during the Korean War (1950-1953). The tragedy of the divisions in the vortex of war aroused harsh ordeals in the history of Christianity in Korea. The Presbyterian Church could not stop the third separation in 1959. The separation was called the division of Hapdong and Tonghap. It was caused by the difference in viewpoints concerning the ecumenical movement.

On September 24, 1959, the Forty Fourth General Assembly of Presbyterian Church was held in Daejeon. The Assembly met with difficulty due to the matter of Chongdaegwen (the qualification of the delegation for the General Assembly) of Kyunggi Synod.¹³⁰ After long debating with the right qualification of Chongdaegwen, the meeting was adjourned until November 24 along with the offer to the group to the ex-chairmen. The people, who were not satisfied, made a proposal of distrust of staffs as an urgent motion. They came up to Seoul and continually preceded the General Assembly at Yeondong Church. At last, they independently organized a new denomination. It was called the Yeondong Party, which made a following statement to define its position exactly from the beginning:

1. We distrust the illegal steps done by the whole staff of the General Assembly. Simultaneously, we continue the Assembly according to the regulation. It means to succeed to the authority of seventy-five years [of Korean Christianity].
2. We hold fast to the Creed and Discipline of Daehan Yesugyo Jangroi (the Korean Presbytery).
3. We maintain a friendly relationship with each foreign mission to the bitter end.
4. We do not want to schism and will spare no efforts and means to unite the General Assembly (Lee 1978:334).

Meanwhile, the rest came together at Seungdong Church, to decide on a date and advance the business of the General Assembly. The group was called the Seungdong

¹³⁰ For details, see Lee (1978:328-331).



Party. Afterwards, the Yeondong Party was assimilated into the General Assembly, which was held at Saemunan Church on February 17, 1961. They were called “the Tohap Party.” The Seungdong Party joined with the Koryo Party in December 1960 and was called “the Hapdong Party.”¹³¹

Even though the third division was an external matter of a delegating for the General Assembly, it theologically originated from the conflict between liberal camp and the conservative camp concerning the World Council of Churches.

5.3.3.1. W. C. C. (The World Council of Churches)

The W. C. C. was established as “the main international agency of cooperation between the Christian churches” (Douglas et. 1974:1060) in Amsterdam, Netherlands, in 1948. The Korean Presbyterian Church had sent delegates to the W.C.C. conference from its conception.¹³² However, the theological identity of W.C.C. had been an issue since the General Assembly of 1956. Rev. Kim Hyun-Jeong, who had attended the Evanston Conference of W. C. C. in 1954, reported

We are not supposed to confuse Unity with Union, concerning the ecumenical concept of the W. C. C.. The W. C. C. is the unity-oriented movement of churches... All are trying to compromise something based on their own denominational viewpoints. All of them do nothing but exchange views, which refers to others based on their own denominational views (*Kidokgongbo*, September 13, 1954).

However, Park Hyung-Nong (1958. *The Doctrine and Object of the Ecumenical Movement*, S. J. 118, 11-22) stated against the above report;

¹³¹ However, the Koryo party pointed out that the principles of unity were suspicious and separated from the Seungdong Party on September 17, 1963 (Lee 1978:348).

¹³² In 1948, Rev. Kim Goan-Sik first represented the Korean Presbyterian Church at the first conference of W. C. C.. When the second Evanston Conference of 1954 was held in America, Rev. Kim Hyun-Jeong, Myung Shin-Hong, Yu Ho-Jun were delegated on condition of that if the W.C.C. was on a different footing against us we withdrew from it (Lee 1978:323).



It might be a reasonable opinion that while apparently planning to cultivate friendship and cooperation of the world churches, in the more accurate sense, the W. C. C. was the movement with the double purpose of pointing out the denomination union.

Koryo Party was also identically with the above viewpoint. Park Yun-sun (1950:18), a principal of Koryo Theological Seminary, commented;

Our Presbyterian Church attends the World Council of Churches. Attending the conference, is to violate the Presbyterian doctrines. Because the activities of W. C. C. is not the traditional orthodoxy as it had stood... Neo-theologians, Crisis-theologians, Social evangelists took the lead... First, they [the staffs of the W. C. C.] are trying to take over the real power of the church (the political power of church, the number of Christian or state power). After that, they will want to control the world churches.

The conservative lines of theology that followed the above point were caused by two factors. First, there were no clear theological viewpoints in the W. C. C. (Park 1958:11) Second, the leaders of the organization mainly consisted of theologians, who belonged to neo-orthodoxy, crisis theology and social evangelism (Park 1950:18). Similarly, the Gijang Party, a party of liberal theology, actively took part in the W. C. C.. In the long run, these phases became the root of the separation of the Korean Presbyterian Church in 1959.

In addition to the separations of the Goshin Party and the Gijang Party, the Korean Presbyterian Church was once more divided into two parties- dissenters and supporters- concerning W.C.C.. The two groups, which were equally balanced in power within the General Assembly of Presbyterian Church, divided at the Forty Fourth General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in 1959. The two were named the “Hapdong” Group and the “Tohap” Group respectively (Kim 1992:260-261).



One of the most important decisive factors to accept or reject the W.C.C. was foreign missions, because the start of the organization was not indigenous but foreign. Each denomination followed the standpoints of organizations which had connections with them.

5.3.3.2. Important International Organizations: The International Council of Christian Churches (I. C. C. C.), National Association of Evangelicals (N. A. E.) and World Evangelical Fellowship (W. E. F.)

Carl McIntire stated the reasons why the conservative pastors did not entirely trust the W. C. C.. He led the International Council of Christian Churches and developed an anti-ecumenical movement against the W. C. C.. The I. C. C. C. had been established at Amsterdam in 1948. There were one hundred and fifty five “Bible believing Protestant denominations” in the I. C. C. C. in 1972 (Douglas et al. 1974:513-514). In Korea, there was K. C. C. C. (Korean Council of Christian Churches) an affiliation of the I. C. C. C. (Sejong 1979:138).

Conservative-oriented pastors, including the Goshin Party, formed friendly relations with the organization and also with C. McIntire through missionaries. The Koryo Group had branded the W. C. C. ecumenical movement since 1951 as ‘pro-Communist, liberal and “one–church-istic ecumenism” (Moffett 1962:115), these words originated from “his [McIntire] hackneyed phrase” (Yim 1995:104).¹³³ Park Yun-Sun conceded his organization in the following way;

The church of the developed countries like the Christian Society of the U. S. A., which knew nothing of the W. C. C., already founded an international organization and had been waving the flag of clear truth

¹³³ The I. C. C. C. regarded the W. C. C. as pro-Communist in the terms of the following viewpoints: first, they accepted the delegates from the Communist countries as its members. Second, J. A. Mackey mentioned that American Churches should contact churches in China rather than with the churches of other countries in the meeting of N. C. C. of the U. S. A. in 1956. Also, the Committee of “Life and Work” of the N. C. C. asked the U. S. government to recognize China officially in 1957 (Yim 1995:104-105).



against it. The name of this precious organization was the International Council of Christian Churches. The objective of the organization was to conserve the pure traditional theology (Park 1950:20).

In addition to the I. C. C. C., N. A. E. was the representative international group against the W. C. C.. It was first founded at St. Louis in America with one hundred and fifty evangelical leaders who organized a creedal statement in 1942. After that, passing through several meetings, the organization developed into the international group that coordinated worldwide efforts of evangelical service by working with evangelicals from other countries. Any denomination or individuals, which were willing to sign the statement of faith, were admitted as members of the organization (Douglas et. 1974:694).¹³⁴

The N. A. E. movement of Korea originated from the so-called orthodoxy-loving fifty-one students, including about ten people, who rose up against the liberal theology of Chosun Theological Seminary in 1948.¹³⁵ The main object of N. A. E. was to oppose the ecumenism of W. C. C.. The First General Assembly of the N. A. E. was held in April 1955 with one hundred and thirty representatives from various denominations. The organization became a customary member of the W. E. F. (Kim 1956:95).

However, the Korean Presbyterian Church tried making the earnest efforts to reunite the divided denominations twice, once in 1967 and once in 1968. It came to nothing and was interrupted by the different theological lines: conservatism vs. liberalism.

5.4. Evaluation

During the Korean War (1950-1953) and its aftermath, the three divisions, which the

¹³⁴ The statement of faith was consisted of seven articles of faith. To sum up, 1. We believe in the Bible as God's Word 2. We believe in the Trinity 3. We believe in the Deity, Redemption, Death, Ascension and Advent Second of Christ 4. We believe in the need of the Work of Holy Spirit to save the sinners. 5. We believe ourself as witnesses of Jesus by the Holy Spirit 6. We believe in the resurrection of the next world, believers and unbelievers. 7. We believe in the Church of Christ (Lee 1978:325).

¹³⁵ See the section of 5.2.2.2.



Korean Presbyterian Church underwent, did not have a positive influence inside and outside of Christian circles. *Gidok Gongbo* (5. Oct. 1959) explained the three causes of schism of the church as follow:

Firstly, it [schism of the church] makes an idol of a human being. When Hanshin [Hankuk Theological Seminary] was divided, Kim Chae-Choon was an idol for them. In the case of Goshin, Han Sang-Dong was an idol for them. Daehan Yesugyo Jangrohoi (the Korean Jesus presbytery) made an idol of Park, Hyung-Nong... Some church leaders insisted that the orthodoxy was broken down without him and he be made an idol. Secondly, the church was thrown into confusion by the ecclesiastical authorities. The church was supposed to be controlled by incumbent pastors, yet ones who were not, tried to do the church... This is the second reason that the ecclesiastical authorities used to come to power within the church by means fair or foul. Third cause was partisan spirit...

The mentioned above was the point of view, which the Korean Christian intrinsically took concerning the schism of church. Even though there were plausible excuses in disuniting the church from 1951 to 1959, the present condition in which is divided more than one hundred Presbyterian denominations in Korea, can never be positively explained. As Lee (1995. 3. A Variation of Schism and Unity according to the History of the Korean Church. *M. T.* 69, CD material) mentioned,

Division, even though it is beautified, cannot be replaced with harmony and reconciliation. It could not include love as the central ideal of Christianity. Due to this, it is not Christian to accept division and simultaneously, say love.

When religion emphasizes reconciliation and harmony and is simultaneously divided each other in terms of the profits and losses, the religious power to influence in society is weakened. In addition, ethics and morals, which the religion advocated, become void. The Korean Presbyterian Church should hold fast to something essential based on the Bible, yet solve the problems remained with friendly dialogue with mutual respect. In the very middle of the schism of the church, the new spiritual mode flowed into and



rapidly formed in Korean Christianity after the 1960s. The Pentecostal theology and faith came to the fore.

5.5. The Influence of the Pentecostal Church

5.5.1. Political Setting

After the 1960s, Korean society had to pay a high price for democracy. In March 1960, a fraudulent election by administration caused the April 19 Revolution, in which students from high schools and universities as well as student from middle schools rose to action all over the country. It resulted in many students being victimized by force by police officers, the election announced as invalid, and at last, Rhee Syng-Man's corrupt administration went out of political power.

However, the South Korean Church supported Rhee Syng Man and his administration unsparingly from the establishment of government in 1948 up to the April 19 Revolution, which awakened the church on Christian ethics regarding politics and social issues. The Church reflected the thoughtless support for the government without Christian consciousness.

The old people, who experienced the April 19 Revolution, can not help confessing in the presence of students that we do nothing but hang our head in shame (Hong 1960. The lesson from the 4. 19 Revolution, *Gidokgyo Sasang* 33, 18-23).

However, such an awakening took place in the circles of the liberal theological camp. Chang Ha-Gu, a Christian minister, described the church after the Revolution as follows, "Eyes were open but not quite awake, as if rudely awakened from a sound sleep" (Park 1975:92). This comment was based on the fact that most conservative church leaders reconfirmed their point of political view in which the church was to be separated from politics. Such a phase was exposed when Park Chung-Hee came to political power in the May 16 Military Coup. The principle of separating the church and the state was expressed to 'blind obedience' under the name of 'political apathy' during eighteen



years of Park's military despotism (1961-1979). For instance, a breakfast prayer meeting for the president was the very meeting in which pledges the loyalty of the church leaders for President Park (Kim 1992:276). Also, when there was the "Yusin" (Restoration Constitution) established in October 1972, that allowed for Park's third term, students, some politicians, liberal church leaders and workers strongly resisted his administration by means of demonstrations. However, the conservative camps still regarded the constitutional revision as a matter of private conscience and declared their support for it (Yim 1996:182).

5.5.2. Ecclesiastical Background

Taking advantage of political turbulence after the Korean War, there were many heresies and heterodoxies in the Korean society. Among newly risen religions, after the Korean War, the most representative were Tongilgyo (the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity), Jeondogwan (Mission Station), and Mt. Yongmun Prayer House (Lee 1978:284).¹³⁶

¹³⁶ To put them briefly, Tongilgyo was founded by Moon Sun-Myung in 1954. It gained much success in the West after the late 1960s. Moon offers a special interpretation of the Bible with additional revelations besides the Bible. For instance, the Fall is to be the result of a sexual relationship between Eve and the Archangel Lucifer. In addition, Jesus could offer only spiritual, not physical, salvation to the world. Most members believe him to be the Messiah, the Lord of the Second Advent (Hinnells 1984:339-340). Secondly, Jeondogwan was established by elder Park Tae-Sun, who was originally an elder under the leadership of Rev. Kim Chi-Sun at Namdaemun Church in Seoul. Elder Park had several deep spiritual experiences around 1945. After that, he had been famous since the revival meeting of 1955 in the Mt. Nam Park. Park Tae-Sun insisted on that he was the righteous of the East on the basis of Isa. 41:25, and because his appearance meant completion of the end of the world and beginning the Second Advent and Judgment of Jesus, all Christians were supposed to make a qualified living for the millennialism (Lee 1978:299-317). Thirdly, Mt. Youngmun Prayer House had been made by Na Un-Mong since 1947. He had met various mystical experiences like speaking in tongues, vision, prophesy and healing during the Korean War and, after that, started the evangelical movement. He specially interpreted the Bible by means of the Book of Changes and taught the doctrines of mixed religion. For instance, he taught that Confucius and the Buddha were God-sent prophets and showed the will of God in their times, and there were peoples saved by Confucianism and Buddhism. In 1960s most Presbyterian denominations like Gijang, Goshin and Yejang considered Na Un-Mong a heretic (Kim 1992:268-269).



Lee (1978:284-286) pointed out that the reasons for so many heresies, especially during this period were due to three factors: Firstly, political, social and economic unrest. Secondly, the division of the churches and finally, the decay and corruption of the contemporary church in a capitalist society.

Even though the above-mentioned heresy took place, the Pentecostal Movement also increased greatly during this period and had serious affects on the Presbyterian Church. This deserve our attention.

5.5.3. The Pentecostal Church and Its Influences within the Presbyterian Church

5.5.3.1. The Growth of Pentecostal Church

Park's administration had strongly inaugurated "a Five year Economic Development Plan" in order to industrialize Korea from 1962.¹³⁷ In the process of implementing the Plan, many people gave up farming and gravitated toward the cities. However, the level of national life was higher than before but desire for wealth was also much stronger. This led people to feel relative poverty, owing to the gap between haves and have-nots. In addition, the confrontational situation of North and South Korea aroused anxiety towards the recurrence of a war. Circumstances like the above-mentioned produced fertile soil for various religions, as well as Christianity. For instance, while the number of Christians was eight hundred and twelve thousand, two hundred and fifty four in 1964, it increased about thirteen times (ten million and three hundred and thirty seven thousand and seventy five) in comparison with the number of 1988. This increasing tendency was also applicable to Buddhism. While the number of Buddhists was nine hundred and fifty four thousand, two hundred and twenty five in 1964, the number of 1988 increased about fifteen times (fourteen million and eight hundred and thirty thousand and six hundred and seventy five) in number (Kim 1992:355). The churches

¹³⁷ After that, the Plan was enforced up to six times and the seventh Plan took effect from 1992 to 1996. The main objective of the first to fourth of the Plan was in pursuit of self-supporting economy and, after that, was a balanced distribution of income. Evaluation of the Plan was positive just as it had intended on the whole (Britanica 1999).



were getting larger in size in the process of the situation.

Representatively, the Full Gospel Church at Yoido in Seoul, which Rev. Cho Yong-Gi ministered and belonged to the Pentecostal and also grew remarkably.¹³⁸ Rev. Cho and his theology also played an influential role in the Presbyterian Church. Hong (1993. *A Historical Outline of the Pentecostal Movement in America. S. J.* 236, 86-203) made it clear that;

Since the mid 1950s, inter-denominational revival movements broke out in Korea. One was the eschatological revival movement, which had the elder Park Tae-Sun, as a leader. The other was the revival movement of the elder Na Un-Mong centered with Mt. Yongmun. However, these movements were at low ebb as time passed by.... Now after thirty years, it could be said that the Full Gospel Church of the Pentecostal Movement could not be bypassed in terms of the number of believers and churches and its effect upon Christians in comparison with the Presbyterian Church, Methodist Church and Baptist Church.

Sim (1995. *Evaluation of the Pentecostal Movement in the Korean Presbyterian Church. S. J.* 245, 177-203) also commented on the Pentecostal influence on the Presbyterian Church as follows:¹³⁹

The Presbyterian Church in Korea had dualism, its theological root was Calvinistic, but on the other hand, a real Christian life depended on the experience of the Holy Spirit and charisma of Pentecostals.

Therefore, we need to consider its influence upon the Korean Presbyterian Church and its results in the next section.

¹³⁸ The church of Rev. Cho is the best in number and size in terms of a single chapel. The member of Christians might be estimated at eight hundred thousand people.

¹³⁹ In the same article, Sim insisted that Presbyterian Church should be called as “semi-Pentecostal Church or semi-Presbyterian Church.”



5.5.3.2. The Influences of the Pentecostal Movement within the Korean Presbyterian Church

Even though it was only in 1928 when the Pentecostal Church was introduced into Korea, its full-scale activity did not start until April 1953, when Arther B. Chesnut, a missionary from the Assembly of God of America, organized the inaugural meeting of the Assembly of God (*A History of the Assembly of God* 1987:97-108).¹⁴⁰

After that, Rev. Cho Yong-Gi played an important role in the Pentecostal Movement in Korea. The Full Gospel Church, which he had ministered to in Seoul, a base camp of the Movement, started from only a tent church with some fruit boxes as a pulpit in May 1958, and then experienced a remarkable revival after the 1970s. This Church was also recorded as the biggest among the biggest churches in the world. According to the Guinness Book of Records, the number of believers in his church was estimated at more than seven hundred thousand people.¹⁴¹ A key to his ministry was called “the Holy Spirit Movement” or “the Spiritual Charisma Movement.”¹⁴² The main themes of Rev. Cho’s sermons were summarized as a “Fivefold Gospel and Blessing of Triple Time.” They followed the main focus of the Pentecostal Church in America, which emphasized Regeneration, Baptism with the Holy Spirit, Divine Healing, Affluent Life out of Poverty and Curse and the Second Advent.¹⁴³ Rev. Cho concretely expressed the above-

¹⁴⁰ In 1932, Rev. Park Sung-San erected the Pentecostal Church in Sebinggo but closed it because of the Second World War. After that, Evangelist Park Gui-Im and Rev. Kim Sung-Hwan played an active part in development of the Pentecostal Church, but their churches did not last long because of the Korean War (Kim 1997:358-359).

¹⁴¹ Cf. see the growth history of Yoido full Gospel Church of the book, *A Collection of Scholarly Papers in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of Dr. Yonggi Cho’s Ministry* (1996). This part with some pictures was not recorded with exact numbers.

¹⁴² Cf. See Rev. Cho’s book, *An Essay on the Holy Spirit* (1971), *The Truth of Full Gospel* (1979) and *Fivefold Gospel and Blessings of Triple Time* (1983).

¹⁴³ The Pentecostal Movements, one of the most remarkable movements in the twentieth century, was originated from the experiences of the Spirit and tongues of Rev. William Seymore in 1906 (Douglas et al. 1974:763). But it was after organization of “Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship International” in 1953 that the Pentecostal Church seriously begun to influence on the contemporary Church (Brunner 1976:52).



mentioned principles of Gospel and the blessings from three aspects - soul, all, good health - based on 3 John: 2.¹⁴⁴

He also laid emphasis on “the Doctrine of Subsequence” along with the beneficial focus of the Pentecostal Church. The work of regeneration of the Spirit was totally different from the baptism with the Spirit accompanying charismata, especially the divine healing and tongues. The Pentecostals called the latter “the Second Blessing”,¹⁴⁵ because it supplied strong confidence and power for the evangelical ministry (Duffield and Cleave 1987:320-323).

Consequently, Rev. Cho’s sermons, which proclaimed that all Christians spiritually and secularly could be prosperous in everything, were eagerly received by the masses of people pursuing the worldly blessings. Park (1985:35-61) named the Pentecostal movement, with Rev. Cho as the leading figure, “A 3 o’clock the Sunday Afternoon Christianity”. It meant that non-Pentecostals went to their churches, which they belonged to, on Sunday morning and went to worship at Rev. Cho’s church on Sunday afternoon.

5.5.3.2.1. A Key of Pentecostalism: Pneumatology

The Pentecostal Movement led by Rev. Cho had a tremendous effect on Protestantism as well as the Presbyterian Church in Korea. Especially, the Pentecostal viewpoint of

¹⁴⁴ Dear friend, I pray that you may enjoy good health and that all may go well with you, even as your soul is getting along well (3 John:2, NIV)

¹⁴⁵ There were two different viewpoints in the Pentecostal camps. One was that the Baptism with the Spirit was the third step after justification and sanctification in the application of the work of redemption. Another was that sanctification with justification was the finished work at the Rood of Jesus Christ and the baptism with the Holy Spirit was a second step. The former was supported by the following denominations: the Church of God, Pentecostal Holiness Church and The Church of God in Christ. The latter by the Assemblies of God and Foursquare Gospel (Synan 1992:7-8). However, all Pentecostal denominations were identical with the point that the Baptism with the Spirit, called the second blessing, was different from the work of regeneration of the Holy Spirit.



the Holy Spirit had been widely accepted in the circle of the traditional Presbyterian Church since the 1970s. Baptism with the Holy Spirit was totally different from regeneration. It also, simultaneously accompanied the charismata of divine healing and tongues.

The doctrine of the Spirit as mentioned above was identically found in the viewpoints of Cha Young-Bae and An Young-Bok among the traditional Presbyterian theologians.¹⁴⁶ While most Presbyterian Churches regarded the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Pentecost Day as an unrepeated “once-for-all” event, they rejected the point of view.

Chah (1986:16-52) commented on it,

Even though the work of redemption for sin was a once-for-all event, if the work, which the Lord who completed the work of redemption, ascending to heaven, and continually applies to [descent of the Holy Spirit], was also dealt with like above, we can not help saying that they confused the doctrine of Christ and the doctrine of the Holy spirit.¹⁴⁷

An (1987:87-101) also insisted that regeneration was different from baptism with the Holy Spirit. The descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost Day was one case that started the baptism with the Holy Spirit and its result was the fullness of the Holy Spirit. The case was never a once-for-all, because of the repeated fullness of the Holy Spirit after the baptism with the Holy Spirit.

The above-mentioned two theologians rejected the Reformed doctrine of the Holy Spirit and insisted on the continuity of the descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost Day. It might be said that both of the two helped Pentecostal viewpoint of the Holy Spirit spread in the circles of the Presbyterian Church. According to Sim’s statistics

¹⁴⁶ Chah Young-Bae and An Young-Bok were respectively professors of systematic theology at the Chosin Goshin University, which were the most conservative and followed after Calvin’s theology in Korea.

¹⁴⁷ For details, see Chah’s articles (1982:4-7,1985:8-21,1986:16-52), *the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (1987),



(1995:177-203), forty-eight percent of the theological students, who believed not to be the once-for-all case concerning the Pentecost descent of the Holy Spirit, and eighty five percent of pastors, taught that the charisma of the Holy Spirit, which happens nowadays. Sixty five percent of the pastors experienced the Holy Spirit. It showed that the point of view of Presbyterian Church concerning the baptism with the Holy Spirit held in common with that of the Pentecostal Church. Furthermore, the Presbyterian Church became grafted in the same line of faith as the Pentecostal Church, stressing the baptism with the Holy Spirit.

To consider reasons why the Movement was popular:

Firstly, the Pentecostal characteristics, which regarded tongues as the first witness of the Holy Spirit and intensively emphasized the charisma of the Holy Spirit enumerated in 1 Cor. 12., satisfied the spiritual desire of the moderns.¹⁴⁸ At the analysis of MacArthur (1978:200-201), non-Pentecostal church realized the fact that dead orthodoxy could not make the live relation with God. Therefore, they longed for the supernatural experiences of the Holy Spirit in order to overcome their stale life of Christianity.

Secondly, the Movement was a reaction against the corrupted theology of the twentieth century, which covered liberalism, secularism and materialism as Park mentioned (1985:35-61). A shout, which should receive the baptism with the Holy Spirit and, as its results, experience God-promised-gifts, was persuasive to the moderns, who did not feel the impression and gratitude of salvation even though they were saved.

Thirdly, the Pentecostal Church gave many chances for its congregation to take part in the services (MacArthur 1978:203). In comparison with the traditional Presbyterian service, in which the congregation continually sat down from the beginning to end of service, there was showmanship by the master of ceremonies, excited praises, testimony of faith and its confession in the Pentecostal service. Therefore, the congregation did not have a feeling of being outsiders or idle spectators in the service (Hoekema 1966:137).

¹⁴⁸ The Pentecostals regarded tongues as the natural and objective witness regarding the baptism with the Holy Spirit (Hoekema 1966:45).



5.5.4. Criticism on the Pentecostal Movement

Despite the fact that the Pentecostal Movement had many merits like emphasis on prayer and aspiration for fullness by the Holy Spirit, the Movement simultaneously left many negative results in the Presbyterian Church.

Firstly, “the Holy Spirit or Charismatic Movement,” which the Pentecostals sought after “tongues” as result of the baptism with the Holy Spirit, could be said to be one-sided translation concerning the Work of the Holy Spirit, which has never been introduced in the Reformed Church. It could be entrapped to dangers of Spirit-idolism, pursuing-worldly blessing or prosperity theology or mystical faith of experience, which regarded the subjective work of the Holy Spirit as the supposition of theology (Kim 1995:156-184).

Secondly, charismata of the Holy Spirit must be connected to the fruits of the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostals were busy displaying and praising the charismata unusually and miraculously without sufficient emphasis on the practice of love as its ultimate purpose. It made believers with special charismata feel superiority towards other believers without the charismata. Due to the fact that Christian heroism, which Pentecostalism produced, aroused to obtain charismata more and more, it had the tendency to make the contemporary Christians true believers of Christian faith rather than “the time-limited super-Christians” who were only proud of temporary and visible charismata like tongues or divine healing (Park 1985:35-61). Consequently, the tendency did not get the support of the Bible either. Kim (1992:344-345) compared the early revival meeting with the Pentecostal movement,

While the former was focused on repentance, reception with Jesus Christ in their heart and moral life, the latter paid too much attention to the sensible experiences like tongues and divine healing and worldly peace and blessings.

The Korean situation after the 1980s was still in political and social disorder. In 1979,

President Park Jeung-Hee was assassinated; Commander in Chief Jeon Du-Hwan carried out a coup d'état and gained real power on December 12, 1979. In the vortex of chaotic society, martial armies in Gwangju cruelly slaughtered many civilians on May 18, 1980, who cried for democratization.

However, the contemporary situation of the church paid too much attention to continual expansion of the church, especially the Presbyterian Church which was discolored without displaying the biblical way of faith in the secularized society that it belonged to (Oh 2000:292-294).

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The Korean Presbyterian Church certainly inherited the Christian faith and traditions of the Puritans from England and America as had been mentioned before.

It was proven that when the first synod of Presbyterian Church was organized in 1907 they adopted the Twelve Articles of Faith and Westminster Shorter Catechism, which were regarded as the most fundamental and important documents of the Presbyterian Church until now.

However, diverse factors prevented the Puritan legacies from being developed further in Korean situation. On the contrary, early inheritances were diluted and discovered the mixed faith of the contemporary Presbyterian Church. The factors representatively meant Liberalism, Communism and Pentecostalism. The above factors contributed to influence on the Presbyterian Church as well as the society respectively in the hard process of Korean history including results both positive and negative. However, these factors did not fundamentally give the solution on contemporary problems, which pollute and secularize the church as well as the society. Therefore, the study mentioned the restoration of Puritanism as an alternative idea of Presbyterian Church in depression.

This chapter will summarize the previous chapters and make alternative suggestions based on Puritanism.

6.1. The Summary

With the purpose and outline of the study in the chapter one, the second chapter dealt with the religious and theological situation of the times of the early foreign missionaries, who had directly transplanted the Gospel in Korea from the end of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. During these times, there existed two important streams in the Christian History. One was the theological clash between the conservative and the liberal. Another was the missionary movement.

It was because of the faith and theology based on the Westminster Standards that the conservative camp in U. S. A. tried to fight against the liberals.



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It was because of the faith and theology based on the Westminster Standards that the conservative camp in U. S. A. tried to fight against the liberals.



The Westminster Standards were the fruit of the Puritans' effort from England and succeeded by the early Puritan frontiers of America. In addition, the first and second great awakening movements made the Puritan thoughts and theology keep up with the twentieth century. The study summarized them as follows.

Firstly, one of the most important principles was the motto of 'Bible First.' The Puritans, who loved and were devoted to the Bible completely, regarded the lukewarm attitudes of the Anglican Church as idolatry, a violation of the Second Commandment. That was the direct reason why the Puritans rejected the remaining vestiges of Catholicism in the Anglican Church viz., a Book of Common Prayer, the prescribed vesture of the preacher.

Secondly, the Puritans interpreted all the aspects of life from the Covenant with God. Even covenant theology originated from continental religious reformers like Zwingli, Bullinger and Calvin prior to them, the Puritans developed it more profoundly than before.

They intensively applied the covenant to three aspects: individuals, church and state. The essence of the covenant theology was a mutual contract, which consisted of the promises of God and the responsibility of the people. In other words, if subjects concerned in the Covenant, (individuals, church or state) faithfully stayed within it they would be prosperous; in the reverse case they would be cursed and perish. From this point of view, the Puritans could not stand the tepid attitude and impiety of the Anglican Church. Therefore, the covenant theology had been used as a sacred tool for piety in the presence of God and the main reason for the departure for the New Continent.

Thirdly, the Puritans laid great emphasis on the Sabbath and used it as tool of piety. While the former two concepts were derived from the continental reformed theologians, Sabbatarianism was emphasized more by the Puritans than by the continental theologians and became one of the unique characteristics of the Puritan reform.

The above-mentioned concepts were continually maintained and intensified by the early



Puritans who immigrated to America. In addition, they persisted in the congregational way as a model of the biblical government of the church. Millennialism was also a strong motive for the immigration into America.

Meanwhile, liberal theology arose against conservative theology like wildfire during the nineteenth through to the twentieth century. With Schleiermacher as a forerunner, the movement was greatly affected by liberal theologians like Ritschl and Niebuhr. Liberal theology was the movement, which moved the major axis of theology from the objective and ultimate revelation, the Bible, to the subjective reason of human beings. The results of the change led to the sacrifice of many elements of traditional Christian doctrines. As especially, Higher criticism, which was introduced and applied by the liberals, admitted only things reasonable as the truth, the Bible began to be mangled by the reason of the human being.

The conservative movement of those times against the liberals was called fundamentalism, which 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. The faculties of Harvard and Westminster Theological Seminary were a stronghold of fundamentalism. Among them, Machen played an important role. His theology and leadership seriously influenced most of the early foreign missionaries who belonged to the Presbyterian Church. It served as the momentum to transplant the Puritan and conservative type of Christianity in the Korea.

Another important factor, which directly transplanted conservative Christianity on Korea, was due to the missionary movement overflowing the nineteenth century. Early foreign missionaries mostly received enormous stimulation from the Student Volunteer Movement led by Moody.

However early foreign missionaries with great ambition of evangelizing Korea, could not directly approach the Koreans with the Gospel. The Korea of those times under pressure of the world powers regarded all kinds of foreign influences as something



harmful. Therefore, foreign missionaries began to approach her with indirect means. They were greatly divided as four categories: medical work, educational work, youth work, and evangelical work. These works made an opportunity modernize Korean culture as well as had a friendly feeling toward Christianity.

To consider the theological pattern of foreign missionaries, most of them were conservative Calvinists and rejected biblical criticism. A. J. Brown, the General Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of P. C. U. S. A. of those days, commented on their pattern as Puritanical. Furthermore, Pyongyang Theological Seminary, which was established as the first Seminary of Presbyterian Church in Korea on May 15, 1901, was managed by the Presbyterian Council consisting of four missions: Northern and Southern Presbyterian Church, Presbyterian Church of Victoria and Canadian Presbyterian Church. The Seminary pursued the theological line of old- Princeton as it was. Because, W. D. Reynolds, who had taught systematic theology there for fourteen years, had translated and used the systematic theology of C. Hodge for teaching materials. In addition, among forty missionaries from P. C. U. S. A., who had arrived in Korea until 1901, sixteen people were from Princeton Theological Seminary, eleven people from McCormick. This number means that conservative and Puritan professors like C. Hodge, B. B. Warfield, Vantil and Machen influenced most of them. Their line of theology was naturally transplanted into Korea.

The Puritan aspect of the early days was also exposed to the Twelve Articles of Faith in 1907 when the Presbyterian Synod was established first and they adopted it as the official creed. The creed was nothing but the summary of the Westminster Confession of Faith, which was one of the most prominent fruits of the Puritans. In addition, it has been the very core of Christianity in Korea from that time up unto this day.

However, these Puritan aspects have faced a huge crisis called liberal theology since 1930's. It originated from the Korean pastors who returned from study abroad and became members of the faculty in the Pyongyang Theological Seminary. Representatively, Kim, Chae-Choon, who had learnt liberal theology from Japan and America, published eight theses of his research from 1933 to 1935. What Kim proposed



in the theses was to dilute and challenge against the traditional doctrines of Christian faith like the Virgin Birth of Christ and the Inerrancy of the Bible. Besides, Kim, Young-Ju contradicted in 1934 that Moses was the author of Pentateuch. Yoo Hyoung-Gi, who tried translating Abingdon commentaries of Bible, officially mentioned the skeptical view concerning the supernatural miracles in the Bible. These viewpoints along with the modern theology did not hesitate to criticize the doctrines of conservative theology.

Meanwhile, Park Hyung-Nong was one of the strongest defenders of conservative theology against the liberals. What the conservative stood for was called Reformed Evangelism, or Puritan Reformism. The contemporary Presbyterian Church owed it to Park Hyung-Nong that the Korean Church inherited the Puritan legacies.

The political situation of those times was a hard period because Korea was under Japanese imperialism. The Japanese military government tried to exploit the Korean more and more. Shinto Shrine worship had been in use as one of the wicked tools of Japanese imperialism. It was intended to level the mental and religious ground to take advantage of Korean for the victory of the war with China. Consequently, many church leaders were martyred and suffered all sorts of hardships. In 1938, the Presbyterian Church yielded under the pressure of Japanese imperialism and officially allowed the worship at the Japanese shrine at the twenty-seventh General Assembly.

However, despite of the decision of the General Assembly, independent resistance with foreign missions was continually stubbornly offered. Among them, Ju Gi-Chul and Han Sang-Dong were praised as models of martyrdom. That which made them endure hardships and win was identical with what the Puritans pursued. It resulted from the reverence of God and the authority of the Bible as the Word of God, which was the very spirit of the Westminster Confession of Faith.

Meanwhile, the attitude of the camp of the liberals was quite different from the one of the conservatives concerning the matter of Japanese shrine worship. While the former looked for the way that the institutional churches could actually survive by a



compromising attitude with Japanese imperialism, the latter, especially the Presbyterian Church and foreign mission, tried to hold fast to the faith in believing the Word of God as the Puritan confession of faith. When the conservative leaders of church were opposed to the Japanese shrine worship and suffered hardships the liberals regarded it as a trivial matter. On the contrary, they compromised with the standpoint of Japanese imperialism and promoted their influence in Korean Christianity. Because many conservative leaders of the church took refuge abroad including Park Hyung-Nong and Nam Gung-Hyuk and foreign missionaries in professorships went home. The camp of the liberals established the Chosun Theological Seminary and filled up a blank in the religious leadership. However, the purpose of the Seminary was to liberate the Korean Church from the domination of foreign missionary and their conservative theology. In the long run, the early Puritan faith of Christianity encountered liberalism and the two camps respectively took their own ways without reaching a compromise after liberation from Japan. The direct cause of schism originated from the matter of Japanese shrine worship, which the whole church had to stand for trial since the mission of Korea.

After liberation from Japanese rule in 1945, the trial of shrine worship resulted in many schisms in the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian Church was faced with rapid changes of home and abroad since then. First, the empty place which Japanese imperialism left was replaced by two opposite ideologies of a ruling system under the wings of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. respectively. To resist the spread of communism in North Korea, while Christian political parties were established under the banner of the separation of Church and State, the Kim Il-Sung Government inflicted severe hardships on them. Odo Yehap Nohoi (The Association Synod of Five Provinces), which was one of the biggest of Christian organization in North Korea to resist the communists and keep the Puritan and conservative Christian faith, was persecuted and destroyed. As a result, the Communists government uprooted the churches of North Korea.

On the other hand, the Protestant church in South Korea was guaranteed freedom of faith and church leaders, who took refuge from North Korea, tried to maintain their own faith and theological tradition. After liberation from Japan, the important church issues



were the renovation of the church. It not only meant the denominational renovation, which was disorganized by the coercive policy of Japan, but also included the spiritual renewal of church. However, the attempt of church renovation became the direct source of the denominational schisms. The period might well be called ‘the time of split’ in the Presbyterian Church. In the early 1950s, the Presbyterian Church was divided into three factions: Goryo, Gijang and Chonghoi. Among them, Chonghoi was the biggest organization and once again divided into two parts in the late 1950s: Tonghap and Hapdong.

The division of Goryo originated from the establishment of Goryo Theological Seminary. Han San-Dong and Ju Nam-Sun who was representatively called Chulok Sengdo (Christians released from prison in Japanese imperialism), was displeased with the Chosun Theological Seminary, which had agreed with Shinto Shrine worship and was based on liberal theology. They considered the new theological Seminary would succeed the Puritan spirit of Pyongyang Theological Seminary, which was abolished owing to Shinto Shrine worship, with the support of Kyungnam Synod. However, Goryo Theological Seminary was in conflict with the counterforce within the same synod, which succumbed to the Shinto Shrine worship policy. In the end, Goshin seceded from the established synod under the banner of defending the Puritan faith in 1952.

In the case of the Gijang fraction, Chosun Theological Seminary, which adopted higher criticism as a method of bible study and stood for liberal theology, was under the direct management of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church during Japanese rule. However, along with the resolution of the thirty-sixth General Assembly to establish a new Seminary under the direct management of the General Assembly, Kim Chae-Choon and his camp centering Chosun Theological Seminary was opposed to it and opened the new General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in 1954. At those times, Park Hyung-Nong and Kim Chae-choon were respectively key figures in introducing the conservative and liberal theologies in Korea. There had been the sharp theological debates between the two camps. They had taken their own ways without reconciliation with each other until now. Park Hyung-Nong and Park Yun-Sun played a role in



transplanting the Puritan and conservative theology in Korea. The Presbyterian Church owed it to them.

The third schism occurred in 1959 owing to the divergence of opinions concerning the World Council of Churches. While the progressive camp actively participate in the activities of W. C. C., the conservative one regarded it as unorthodox. As a result, the former organized Tonghap and the latter, Hapdong. Theological issues and ecclesiastical authority mainly caused such schisms in the Presbyterian Church. These schisms stuck a severe blow the whole Presbyterian Church in Korea because the Koreans had experienced the tragedy of a fratricidal war called the June 25th war of Korea between the South and North of Korea during that period. The Presbyterian Church did not fulfill the mission as the light and salt of the world owing to internal matters of the church herself.

After the War, the Presbyterian Church was faced with a new phase along with the rapidly changing political situation. By 1960s, there was the extended one-man dictatorship of Lee Syng-Man's administration, which was called the 'Christian Government' and its corruption. After that, military revolution broke out in 1961. The Presbyterian Church only took a negative attitude concerning the political situation of Korea under the banner of separation of Church and State. However, such political apathy led to the results to flatter and to follow the corrupted government. On the contrary, the liberal camp including the students of Seminary, who had cried for secular theology and the political theology, revealed the irregularities of the government and resisted against it by the way of a street demonstration. After all, the difference of the political standpoint between the conservative and liberals made them more and more estranged.

Meanwhile, with diverse social factors of those days like the gravitation of the population toward cities, the unrest by the confrontation of the South and North of Korea and frustration in the distribution of wealth, the Pentecostal movement showed rapid growth. Cho Yong-Gi was the most representative figure to have led the revival movement in such an atmosphere. His church was the biggest in the world in terms of a single church. The revival of his church meant the Pentecostalization of the Korean



church irrespective of all the denominations. His main teachings were very simple and were summarized as ‘Ojung Bokeum and Sambakja Chubok’ (Fivefold Gospels and triple blessings). Fivefold Gospels were Regeneration, Divine Healing and Fullness of the Holy Spirit, Affluent Life and Reincarnation. The Triple Blessings meant the blessings to go well all matters from soul up to health based on 3 John: 2. These type of messages were in accord with the poor of those times and awoke great hope in their breast. However, Pentecostal doctrines and church movement betrayed many weak points. For instance, the Triple Blessings, which should go well all matters for Christians, was not the balanced biblical truth. Because the Bible says that sufferings were God’s precious present. In addition, the movement of spiritual gifts done by Pentecostals made many Christians excited and regarded tongues as essential gifts for all Christians. It is difficult to discriminate the movement of spiritual gift from unhealthy mysticism, even if it had a big impact on the church growth and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, Pentecostal spirituality became one of the most popular types of Christian faith, and was a powerful stream of modern times in Korea. The purpose of the study is to reinstate Puritanism as an answer to solve the problems of the contemporary church. Now, it is the time to respond to how Puritanism can give the answer on the pressing problems of the Korean Church, especially the Presbyterian Church.

6.2. The Application of Puritan Ideas to the Korean Presbyterian Church

This section will consider four Puritan points of views as alternatives for the Korean Church, which has been stagnant in number and quality.

6.2.1. The Emphasis on the Education in Biblical Doctrines

Most contemporary Korean Presbyterian Church, unlike her early attitude to regard the Word of God as the unique standard of faith and life, has mainly been concerned about a more quantitative than qualitative growth. In other words, the main concern of church is partial to the numerical growth of church rather than doctrines and theology. As many commented that the growth of Korean Church has stagnated in number, many church



leaders, who had the intense aspiration toward it, had no concern of doctrines and theology but made the church grow in number preferentially. Chung (2003. *Orthodox Reformed Theology and Contemporary Conservative Theology. S.J.*, 70, 225-251) pointed out five points concerning the questions, which the numerical growth-oriented churches could get into danger as follows. First, they laid emphasis on the numerical growth of church so that they disregarded its inner growth. Second, they identified the church growth with the kingdom of heaven so that produced the supremacy of church. It deterred the church from keeping up with society in which she engaged herself. Third, the church maintained the uncertain theology to show her identity under only the banner of the growth. Four, owing to following common ideas of the society without criticizing them, the church has the tendency to promote or to overlook social immorality. Five, ministers were required to fulfill a chairperson's duties of a large enterprise because of adopting the conception of worldly success. Kim (1998:22) mentioned the motto of "Growth First" without theology and doctrines originated from Prosperity Theology influenced by Robert Schuler, Norman V. Phil and Choi Yong-gi. Prosperity Theology made lay-leaders and ministers inflate their vanity to pursue bigger churches. Especially, "the business principles of super market" by R. Schuler were adopted by many churches. Consequently, the structure of the church was getting larger and the organization and programs were more specialized. The church with the big building, large congregation and many programs became the ideal type of contemporary church (:23).

However, when the church throws away or underestimates theology and doctrines she degenerates into a sort of social club. Puritans who tried to establish America as "the City on a Hill" including Luther and Calvin, regarded theology as something precious and necessary for faith and life. So did the early missionaries, who were influenced by them and were dispatched to Korea. The Twelve Articles of Faith, which were adopted as the Creed of Faith of Presbyterian Church in Korea in 1907, was one of the most remarkable examples. It represented Reformed doctrines defending strong Calvinism (Conn 1966:31). Even though the Puritan idea was not fulfilled in England and America, their thoughts still remained in the confession of faith like the Longer and Shorter Catechisms. Brown's record (1919:525) of early mission encourages us:



Missionaries deal with each individual separately, carefully examining him and testing him as a catechumen for an average period of a year. He is not enrolled as a communicant until he shows reasonable familiarity with the Bible, maintains family prayers, contributes in proportion to his means, and lives a consistent Christian life... It is misleading to assert that Korean converts are not grounded in the faith and that they are not receiving an education. I have referred elsewhere to the congregational Bible schools every Sunday, and to the Bible training-classes which are held at all the principal stations. The special means of instruction are supplemented by preaching services and by daily study in the homes. If there are any other Christians in the world who are more familiar with the Bible than the Korean Christians, I have not had the privilege either of meeting them or of hearing about them.

Therefore, to become a balanced church, which is equipped with Christian doctrines based on a traditional and historical confession of faith, which is not tempted to heresy and heterodoxy, and which teaches the pietistic Christian life, the Korean Presbyterian Church has to emphasize the doctrines of the faith.

6.2.2. The Recovery of Preaching

As many pointed out that the problem of church was nothing but the matter of preaching, the Korean Presbyterian Church, too, allowed no exceptions. Seo (1995:5) mentioned the correlation between preaching and the crisis of the church in the following:

All kind of problems originated from preaching and the solution of them was ascribed on it. The position of sermon within the Protestant Church is alpha and omega... Therefore, nothing is more precious and decisive than preaching in a church.

Puritanism was nothing but the movement of preaching. The Puritans were powerful preachers, not abstract theologians. They studied the Word of God carefully and thoroughly and then opened its truth to their congregation. Through preaching, the Puritans seriously warned men to turn from their sin and presented Christ to the sinner



(Hindson 1976:26-27). The Westminster Shorter Catechism, which was adopted as a basis confession of faith by the first Presbyterian General Assembly of 1907, mentioned the importance of preaching as follows:

Q89: How is the Word made effectual to salvation?

A89: The Spirit of God maketh the reading, but especially the preaching of the Word, an effectual means of convincing and converting sinners, and of building them up in holiness and comfort, through faith, unto salvation (L. C. C. 1999).¹⁴⁹

Meanwhile, the early Korean Church had same coherence concerning the priority of preaching. W. R. Foate (called in Korea, Bu Du-II), a professor of Pyongyang Theological Seminary, mentioned,

The Preaching was the unique characteristic of Christianity... The blessed method saved by Christ is by means of only the preaching. Besides it, other methods like visiting, thesis and communion were used, but were nothing but auxiliary measures (Foate 1921: 96-102).

In addition, the priority of preaching is to be explained by the fact that the pulpit was located in the center of every chapel.

However, the stern realities of contemporary ministers were quite different from the Puritans and the early picture of the Korean Church. The priority of preaching seems to have been maintained positively but the content of it comes into serious question. Han agreed with the point of view and pointed out the crisis of preaching in the following:

¹⁴⁹ The Westminster Longer Catechism is similar to the Shorter One as follows:

Question 155: How is the Word made effectual to salvation?

Answer: The Spirit of God makes the reading, but especially the preaching of the Word, an effectual means of enlightening, convincing, and humbling sinners; of driving them out of themselves, and drawing them unto Christ; of conforming them to his image, and subduing them to his will; of strengthening them against temptations and corruptions; of building them up in grace, and establishing their hearts in holiness and comfort through faith unto salvation (L. C. C. 1999).



The Korean church put numerical growth on target. To accomplish her purpose, she did not adopt the biblical preaching but the pursuing-blessing and shamanic non-biblical preaching and methods (Han 1982:23).

Han's comment is to complain the actual condition of the Korean church, which is trying to preach what men love to listen. The center of preaching from Christ to human devices like drama, music and comedy interrupts true worship. When the preacher neglects evangelism of the Cross and Redemption and emphasized worldly prosperity like materials and health, the purpose of the service is to glorify men instead of God. Therefore, as the Puritans and the early Korean Church had tried to establish their city as "City on a Hill" through the preaching of the Word, the Korean Presbyterian Church should study the Bible thoroughly and exactly and simultaneously preach it rightly.

6.2.3. The Faithful Exercise of Discipline

As mentioned above, the Korean Church needs doctrines-oriented education and the recovery of preaching. The former is not to be pietism without doctrines and to protect from heresy and heterodoxy; the latter is for the life of faith provided by the Holy Ghost. It is the enforcement of discipline that keeps the two factors rightly. The Scripture demands the elimination of evil within the divine community and it can be established by the exercise of discipline uprightly. Both the New and Old Testaments order the deliberate offenders and especial criminals not to be forgiven but to be cut off or be exiled from the community of God.¹⁵⁰ Calvin, who prepared the foundation of the Puritan theology, stated the ends of church discipline as follows:

The first is that they who lead a filthy and infamous life may not be called Christians, to the dishonor of God, as if his holy church [cf. Eph. 5:25-26]

¹⁵⁰ The sins applicable to discipline were divided into two types in the Bible. One thing was religious, which were representatively idolatry, sorcery, breaking of Sabbath. Another was social were, which were murder, robbery, violence, rape and the damage of property. There were several types of discipline along with the nature of crimes like sentence of death, cutting of the part of the body, flogging and penalty. Cf. See Mt 18:15-18 and Lev 18.



was a conspiracy of wicked and abandoned men... The second purpose is that the constant company of the wicked, as commonly not corrupt the good happens... The third purpose is that those overcome by shame for their baseness begin to repent. They who under gentler treatment would have become more stubborn so profit by the chastisement of their own evil as to be awakened when they feel the rod (I. C. R. IV.12.5).

Judging from Calvin's mention, the healthier churches enforced the more frequent discipline, because all the churches in the world are always easily led into temptation of sin and has to fight against it. The Westminster Confession of Faith was mentioned to be somewhat more aggressive than Calvin's viewpoint.

Church censures are necessary, for the reclaiming and gaining of offending brethren, for deterring of others from the like offenses, for purging out of that leaven which might infect whole limb, for vindication the honor of Christ, and the holy profession of the gospel, and for preventing the wrath of God, which might justly fall upon the church, if they should suffer his covenant, and the seals thereof, to be profaned by notorious and obstinate offenders (W. C. F. XXX. III).

Despite the fact that the right enforcement of discipline leads the whole congregation as well as the private believer to holiness and purity, the Korean Church had not exercised properly and enjoyed the benefits of it unlike the early stage of her. Kim (1999:93) pointed out concerning the existing situation of discipline,

Even though most Reformed churches made a rule concerning discipline in terms of the constitution, it was actually nominal. It was sometimes exercised, but most of the cases were enforced by the means to keep the ecclesiastical authority. There truly exists no discipline in the Korean Church.

Representatively, the Koryo Church, which cried for the repentance of Japanese shrine worship after Liberation, was excommunicated by the General Assembly of 1952. The case was that several powerful men in the General Assembly turned a blind eye to the



sin of pro-Japanese apostates owing to the private interests, on the contrary, thrust the pure Christians, who wanted the purity and order of church by public penitence, out of the religious society. It led to the first schism of the Korean Presbyterian Church exercised by the unjust ecclesiastical authority. In addition, Gijang Church, which advocated liberal theology divided in 1953. After that, the Presbyterian Church has been uncontrollably spilt since 1960. According to the statistics of 1994, there were no less than sixty-two denominations in the Presbyterian Church (Year Book of Christian 1994). In addition, many irregularities like banking crimes, political maneuvering were involved in and committed by Christians, even ministers, in all levels of society. The cases show the ethical consciousness of contemporary Christians in Korea.

Christianity has been the religion, which lacks ethical judgment. The Korean Church faced up to the shameful reality and has to solve the problem only by the faithful exercise of discipline. The Korean Church meeting with the second century of mission has to pay attention to discipline in order to maintain the purity of church.

6.2.4. The Balanced Establishment of Christian Faith

One of the main reasons why the Korean Church received an unfavorable impression to non-Christians was owing to indifference to social problems. In other words, the Korean Church has done her best to preach the Gospel and redeem the souls, but it has not shown a keen interest in the injustice and pain of society, in which it engaged itself.

According to Myung (2004:78-85), the religion of the most positive image from non-Christian point of view was Catholicism and the worst negative one was Protestantism. At present, the Korean Church is divided into conservative and liberal camps. The church which sides the conservative theology, has emphasized personal salvation and spirituality and has been less concerned about the sharing in the sufferings of society.

However, while the liberal church has exerted a large influence over the conservative camps concerning the participation of society, the starting points of their theology was far from the traditional and historical theology.



The contemporary church has to be concerned about the participation in the social matters as well as the individual ones. A balance is needed in terms of the above point of view. For instance, the Puritans also liked taking part in politics in terms of the social covenant. The king, a representative of his country, has the duty to rule the nation by the Word of God. If he was not faithful in the performance of his duties, they regarded it as that the whole country would be under the wrath of God. In addition, the Puritans fought strongly against the Anglicans coming into power in order that the Puritan movement be accepted as a national body. Beyond politics, the Puritans tried to make all the realms of human life controlled by the Word of God.

Having been affected by the Puritans, the early Korean Church emphasized the balanced life of Christianity without separation between something spiritual and secular, or church and world. The foreign missionaries placed the focus on the social needs of the Korean during the early history of mission. As the political situation of Korea had been more and more serious since 1900, they established the new schools to cultivate men of ability and the hospitals to cure disease. The Korean Church of those times took her position as the institute, which implanted hope and consolation in its people. Furthermore, the Korean Church was concerned about the independence of people. There were Christians, who were over the majority among thirty-three people who had drawn up the Declaration of Independence in those days of the March First Movement in 1919.

However, with all this momentum, the Korean Church was under Japanese surveillance and oppression. Many Christian patriots were put in jail and experienced hardships. In addition, Japanese imperialism forced them to worship its shrines. The Korean Church had to face great difficulties. With those times as a starting point, she had the tendency to prefer the next to this world and to emphasize only the individual spirituality and redemption. After liberation from Japanese rule, the continuous establishment of the despotic military government made the tendency of the church hold her tongue by neglecting her prophetic mission.

The Korean Church has to be concerned about the two sides without neglecting and leaning towards one of two as we have seen in the harmony in Puritan life and theology.

The basic principle of the Reformed Church was the reformation without discontinuance (*Ecclesia semper reformanda est*). The contemporary Presbyterian Church has to drastically reform itself. The early Korean Church was brought up and developed along with Puritanism. The mission of the church is to rediscover the Puritan ideals lost in the past, which was that the Word of God controlled the whole of society, and must succeed to it.

APPENDICES

Appendix. 1. Westminster Confession of Faith (LCC: 2001)

Reference numbers, e.g. [6.001] are those found in the Constitution of the P. C. U. S. A., Part I, _The Book of Confessions_.

CHAPTER I (PCUS) CHAPTER I (UPCUSA)

P. C. U. S. is an abbreviated form of Presbyterian Church in the United States and U. P. C. U. S. A. of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Of the Holy Scripture [6.001]

1. Although the light of nature, and the works of creation and providence, do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God, as to leave men inexcusable; yet [PCUS are they] [UPCUSA they are] not sufficient to give that knowledge of God, and of his will, which is necessary unto salvation; therefore it pleased the Lord, at sundry times, and in divers manners, to reveal himself, and to declare that his will unto his Church; and afterwards for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the Church against the corruption of the flesh, and the malice of Satan and of the world, to commit the same wholly unto writing; which maketh the Holy Scripture to be most necessary; those former ways of God's revealing his will unto his people being now ceased.

[6.002]

2. Under the name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the books of the Old and New Testaments, which are these:

Of the Old Testament

Genesis Exodus Leviticus Numbers Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Ruth I Samuel II Samuel I Kings II Kings I Chronicles II Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah Esther Job Psalms Proverbs Ecclesiastes The Song of Songs Isaiah Jeremiah Lamentations Ezekiel Daniel Hosea Joel Amos Obadiah Jonah Micah Nahum Habakkuk Zephaniah Haggai Zechariah Malachi

Of the New Testament

Matthew Mark Luke John Acts Romans I Corinthians II Corinthians Galatians Ephesians Philippians Colossians I Thessalonians II Thessalonians I Timothy II Timothy Titus Philemon Hebrews James I Peter II Peter I John II John III John Jude Revelation

All which are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life.



Part I, _The Book of Confessions_.

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Matthew Mark Luke John Acts Romans I Corinthians II Corinthians Galatians Ephesians Philippians Colossians I Thessalonians II Thessalonians I Timothy II Timothy Titus Philemon Hebrews James I Peter II Peter I John II John III John Jude Revelation

All which are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life.



[6.003]

3. The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings. [6.004]

4. The authority of the Holy Scripture, 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. [6.005]

5. We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem [PCUS for] [UPCUSA of] the Holy Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts. [6.006]

6. The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly 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 revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men. Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word; and [PCUS that] there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God, and the government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence, according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed.

[6.007]

7. All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed, for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a



sufficient understanding of them. [6.008]

8. The Old Testament in Hebrew (which was the native language of the people of God of old), and the New Testament in Greek (which at the time of the writing of it was most generally known to the nations), being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentic; so as in all controversies of religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these original tongues are not known to all the people of God who have right unto, and interest in, the Scriptures, and are commanded, in the fear of God, to read and search them, therefore they are to be translated into the language of every people unto which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, may have hope. [6.009]

9. The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture, is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any scripture (which is not manifold, but one), it may be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly. [6.010]

10. The Supreme Judge, by [PCUS which] [UPCUSA whom] all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture.

CHAPTER II (PCUS) CHAPTER II (UPCUSA)

Of God, and of the Holy Trinity

[6.011]

1. There is but one only living and true God, who is infinite in being and perfection, a most pure spirit, invisible, without body, parts, or passions, immutable, immense, eternal, incomprehensible, almighty, most wise, most holy, most free, most absolute, working all things according to the counsel of his own immutable and most righteous will, for his own glory, most loving, gracious, merciful, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; the rewarder of them that diligently seek him; and withal most just and terrible in his judgments; hating all sin; and who will by no means clear the guilty.



[6.012]

2. God hath all life, glory, goodness, blessedness, in and of himself; and is alone in and unto himself all-sufficient, not standing in need of any creatures which he hath made, nor deriving any glory from them, but only manifesting his own glory in, by, unto, and upon them; he is the alone foundation of all being, of whom, through whom, and to whom, are all things; and hath most sovereign dominion over them, to do by them, for them, or upon them, whatsoever himself pleaseth. In his sight all things are open and manifest; his knowledge is infinite, infallible, and independent upon the creature; so as nothing is to him contingent or uncertain. He is most holy in all his counsels, in all his works, and in all his commands. To him is due from angels and men, and every other creature, whatsoever worship, service, or obedience he is pleased to require of them.

[6.013]

3. In the unity of the Godhead there be three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; the Son is eternall begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son.

CHAPTER III (PCUS) CHAPTER III (UPCUSA)
Of God's Eternal [PCUS Decrees] [UPCUSA Decree]

[6.014]

1. God from all eternity did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin; nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established. [6.015]

2. Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass, upon all supposed conditions; yet hath he not decreed anything because he foresaw it as future, as that which would come to pass, upon such conditions.

[6.016]

3. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.

[6.017]

4. These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and



unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished. [6.018]

5. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ, unto everlasting glory, out of his free grace and love alone, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereunto; and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

[6.019]

6. As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected being fallen in Adam are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither is any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.

[6.020]

7. The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

[6.021]

8. The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending to the will of God revealed in his Word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God; and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the gospel.

CHAPTER IV (PCUS) CHAPTER IV (UPCUSA)

Of Creation

[6.022]

1. It pleased God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the glory of



his eternal power, wisdom, and goodness, in the beginning, to create or make of nothing the world, and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good.

[6.023]

2. After God had made all other creatures, he created man, male and female, with reasonable and immortal souls, endued with knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness after his own image, having the law of God written in their hearts, and power to fulfill it; and yet under a possibility of transgressing, being left to the liberty of their own will, which was subject unto change. Besides this law written in their hearts, they received a command not to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; which while they kept were happy in their communion with God, and had dominion over the creatures.

CHAPTER V (PCUS) CHAPTER V (UPCUSA)

Of Providence

[6.024]

1. God, the great Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct dispose, and govern all creatures, actions, and things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy providence, according to his infallible foreknowledge, and the free and immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy.

[6.025]

2. Although in relation to the foreknowledge and decree of God, the first cause, all things come to pass immutably and infallibly, yet, by the same providence, he ordereth them to fall out according to the nature of second causes, either necessarily, freely, or contingently. [6.026]

3. God, in his ordinary providence, maketh use of means, yet is free to work without, above, and against them, at his pleasure. [6.027]

4. The almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness of God, so far manifest themselves in his providence, that it extendeth itself even to the first Fall, and all other sins of angels and men, and that not by a bare permission, but such as hath joined with it a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and



governing of them, in a manifold dispensation, to his own holy ends; yet so, as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the creature, and not from God; who being most holy and righteous, neither is nor can be the author or approver of sin.

[6.028]

5. The most wise, righteous, and gracious God, doth often-times leave for a season his own children to manifold temptations and the corruption of their own hearts, to chastise them for their former sins, or to discover unto them the hidden strength of corruption and deceitfulness of their hearts, that they [UPCUSA may] be humbled; and to raise them to a more close and constant dependence for their support upon himself, and to make them more watchful against all future occasions of sin, and for sundry other just and holy ends.

[6.029]

6. As for those wicked and ungodly men whom God, as a righteous judge, for former sins, doth blind and harden; from them he not only withholdeth his grace, whereby they might have been enlightened in their understandings, and wrought upon their hearts; but sometimes also withdraweth the gifts which they had; and exposeth them to such objects as their corruption makes occasion of sin; and withal, [PCUS giveth] [UPCUSA gives] them over to their own lusts, the temptations of the world, and the power of Satan; whereby it [PCUS cometh] [PCUSA comes] to pass that they harden themselves, even under those means which God useth for the softening of others.

[6.030]

7. As the providence of God doth, in general, reach to all creatures, so, after a most special manner, it taketh care of his Church, and disposeth all things to the good thereof.

CHAPTER VI (PCUS) CHAPTER VI (UPCUSA)

Of the Fall of Man, of Sin, and of the Punishment Thereof

[6.031]

1. Our first parents, begin seduced by the subtilty and temptations of Satan, sinned in eating the forbidden fruit. This their sin God was pleased, according to his wise and holy counsel, to permit, having purposed to order it to his own glory.



[6.032]

2. By this sin they fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body.

[6.033]

3. They being the root of mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity, descending from them by original generation. [6.034]

4. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions.

[6.035]

5. This corruption of nature, during this life, doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be through Christ pardoned and mortified, yet both itself, and all the motions thereof, are truly and properly sin.

[6.036]

6. Every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own nature, bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God, and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries spiritual, temporal, and eternal.

CHAPTER VII (PCUS) CHAPTER VII (UPCUSA)

Of God's Covenant with Man

[6.037]

1. The distance between God and the creature is so great, that although reasonable creatures do owe obedience unto him as their Creator, yet they could never have any fruition of him, as their blessedness and reward, but by some voluntary condescension on God's part, which he hath been pleased to express by way of covenant. [6.038]

2. The first covenant made with 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.

[6.039]

3. 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 [PCUS offered] [UPCUSA offereth] 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.

[6.040]

4. This covenant of grace is frequently set forth in the Scripture by the name of a testament, in reference to the death of Jesus Christ, the testator, and to the everlasting inheritance, with all things belonging to it, therein bequeathed.

[6.041]

5. 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, prophecies, sacrifices, circumcision, the paschal lamb, and other types and ordinances delivered to the people of the Jews, all fore-signifying Christ to come, 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, by whom they had full remission of sins, and eternal salvation, and is called the Old Testament.

[6.042]

6. 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 the Lord's Supper; which, though fewer in number, and administered with more simplicity and less outward glory, yet in them it is held forth in more fulness, 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.

CHAPTER VIII (PCUS) CHAPTER VIII (UPCUSA)

Of Christ the Mediator

[6.043]

1. It pleased God, in his eternal purpose, to choose and ordain the Lord Jesus, his only begotten Son, to be the Mediator between God and men, the prophet, priest, and king; the head and Savior of the Church, the heir of all things, and judge of the world; unto whom he did, from all eternity, give a people to be his seed, and to be by him in time



redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified. [6.044]

2. The Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one substance, and equal with the Father, did, when the fullness of time was come, take upon him man's nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof; yet without sin: being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, of her substance. So that two whole, perfect, and distinct natures, the Godhead and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion. Which person is very God and very man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and man.

[6.045]

3. The Lord Jesus in his human nature thus united to the divine, was sanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit above measure; having in him all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, in whom it pleased the Father that all fullness should dwell: to the end that being holy, harmless, undefiled, and full of grace and truth, he might be thoroughly furnished to execute the office of a Mediator and Surety. Which office he took not unto himself, but was thereunto called by his Father; who put all power and judgment into his hand, and gave him commandment to execute the same.

[6.046]

4. This office the Lord Jesus did most willingly undertake, which, that he might discharge, he was made under the law, and did perfectly fulfill it; endured most grievous torments immediately in his soul, and most painful sufferings in his body; was crucified and died; was buried, and remained under the power of death, yet saw no corruption. On the third day he arose from the dead, with the same body in which he suffered; with which also he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, making intercession; and shall return to judge men and angels, at the end of the world.

[6.047]

5. The Lord Jesus, by his perfect obedience and sacrifice of himself, which he through the eternal Spirit once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the justice of his Father; and purchased not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him. [6.048]

6. Although the work of redemption was not actually wrought by Christ till after his



incarnation, yet the virtue, efficacy, and benefits thereof were communicated into the elect, in all ages successively from the beginning of the world, in and by those promises, types, and sacrifices wherein he was revealed, and signified to be the seed of the woman, which should bruise the serpent's head, and the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world, being yesterday and today the same and for ever.

[6.049]

7. Christ, in the work of mediation, acteth according to both natures; by each nature doing that which is proper to itself; yet by reason of the unity of the person, that which is proper to one nature is sometimes, in Scripture, attributed to the person denominated by the other nature.

[6.050]

8. To all those for whom Christ hath purchased redemption, he doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate the same; making intercession for them, and revealing unto them, in and by the Word, the mysteries of salvation; effectually persuading them by his Spirit to believe and obey; and governing their hearts by his Word and Spirit; overcoming all their enemies by his almighty power and wisdom, in such manner and ways as are most consonant to his wonderful and unsearchable dispensation.

CHAPTER IX (PCUS) CHAPTER XXXIV (UPCUSA)

Of the Holy Spirit

[6.051 / 6.183]

1. The Holy Spirit, the third Person in the Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of the same substance and equal in power and glory, is, together with the Father and the Son, to be believed in, loved, obeyed, and worshipped throughout all ages.

[6.052 / 6.184]

2. He is the Lord and Giver of life, everywhere present, and is the source of all good thoughts, pure desires, and holy counsels in men. By him the prophets were moved to speak the Word of God, and all the writers of the Holy Scriptures inspired to record infallibly the mind and will of God. The dispensation of the gospel is especially committed to him. He prepares the way for it, accompanies it with his persuasive power, and urges its message upon the reason and conscience of men, so that they who reject its



merciful offer are not only without excuse, but are also guilty of resisting the Holy Spirit.

[6.053 / 6.185]

3. The Holy Spirit, whom the Father is ever willing to give to all who ask him, is the only efficient agent in the application of redemption. He regenerates men by his grace, convicts them of sin, moves them to repentance, and persuades and enables them to embrace Jesus Christ by faith. He unites all believers to Christ, dwells in them as their Comforter and Sanctifier, gives to them the spirit of Adoption and Prayer, and performs all those gracious offices by which they are sanctified and sealed unto the day of redemption.

[6.054 / 6.186]

4. By the indwelling of the Holy Spirit all believers being vitally united to Christ, who is the Head, are thus united one to another in the Church, which is his body. He calls and anoints ministers for their holy office, qualifies all other officers in the Church for their special work, and imparts various gifts and graces to its members. He give efficacy to the Word and to the ordinances of the gospel. By him the Church will be preserved, increased, purified, and at last made perfectly holy in the presence of God.

CHAPTER X (PCUS) CHAPTER XXXV (UPCUSA)

[PCUS Of the Gospel] [UPCUSA Of the Gospel of the Love of God and Missions]

[6.055 / 6.187]

1. God in infinite and perfect love, having provided in the covenant of grace, through the mediation and sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ, a way of life and salvation, sufficient for and adapted to the wholly lost race of man, doth freely offer this salvation to all men in the gospel.

[6.056 / 6.188]

2. In the gospel God declares his love for the world and his desire that all men should be saved; reveals fully and clearly the only way of salvation' promises eternal life to all who truly repent and believe in Christ; invites and commands all to embrace the offered mercy; and by his Spirit accompanying the Word pleads with men to accept his gracious invitation.

[6.057 / 6.189]



3. It is the duty and privilege of everyone who hears the gospel immediately to accept its merciful provisions; and they who continue in impenitence and unbelief incur aggravated guilt and perish by their own fault.

[6.058 / 6.190]

4. Since there is no other way of salvation than that revealed in the gospel, and since in the divinely established and ordinary method of grace faith cometh by hearing the Word of God, Christ hath commissioned his Church to go into all the world and to make disciples of all nations. All believers are, therefore, under obligation to sustain the ordinances of the Christian religion where they are already established, and to contribute by their prayers, gifts, and personal effects to the extension of the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole earth.

CHAPTER XI (PCUS) CHAPTER IX (UPCUSA)

Of Free Will

[6.059]

1. God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined to good or evil.

[6.060]

2. Man, in his state of innocency, had freedom and power to will and to do that which is good and well-pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it.

[6.061]

3. Man, by his Fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation; so as a natural man, being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

[6.062]

4. When God [PCUS converteth] [UPCUSA converts] a sinner and [PCUS translatheth] [UPCUSA translates] him into the state of grace, he freeth him from his natural bondage under sin, and, by his grace alone, [PCUS enableth] [UPCUSA enables] him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good; yet so as that, by reason of his remaining corruption, he doth not perfectly, nor only, will that which is good, but doth also will that which is evil.



[6.063]

5. The will of man is made perfectly and immutable free to good alone, in the state of glory only.

CHAPTER XII (PCUS) CHAPTER X (UPCUSA)

Of Effectual Calling

[6.064]

1. All those whom God hath predestinated unto life, and those only, he is pleased, in his appointed and accepted time, effectually to call, by his Word and Spirit, out of that state of sin and death in which they are by nature, to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ: enlightening their minds, spiritually and savingly, to understand the things of God, taking away their heart of stone, and giving unto them an heart of flesh; renewing their wills, and by his almighty power determining them to that which is good; and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ; yet so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace.

[6.065]

2. This effectual call is of God's free and special grace alone, not from anything at all foreseen in man, who is altogether passive therein, until, being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this call, and to embrace the grace offered and conveyed in it.

[6.066]

3. Elect infants, dying in infance, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the Word. [6.067]

4. Others, not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the Word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come to Christ, and therefore cannot be saved: much less can men, not professing the Christian religion, be saved in any other way [PCUS whatsoever] [UPCUSA than by Christ], be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may is without warrant of the Word of God.



CHAPTER XIII (PCUS) CHAPTER XI (UPCUSA)

Of Justification

[6.068]

1. Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth: not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous; not for anything wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; not by imputing faith itself, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience to them, as their righteousness; but by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them, they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith; which faith they have not of themselves, it is the gift of God.

[6.069]

2. Faith, thus receiving and resting on Christ and his righteousness, is the alone instrument of justification; yet is it not alone in the person justified, but is ever accompanied with all other saving graces, and is no dead faith, but worketh by love.

[6.070]

3. Christ, by his obedience and death, did fully discharge the debt of all those that are thus justified, and did make a proper, real, and full satisfaction of his Father's justice in their behalf. Yet inasmuch as he was given by the Father for them, and his obedience and satisfaction accepted in their stead, and both freely, not for anything in them, their justification is only of free grace, that both the exact justice and rich grace of God might be glorified in the justification of sinners.

[6.071]

4. God did, from all eternity, decree to justify the elect; and Christ did, in the fullness of time, die for their sins and rise again for their justification; nevertheless they are not justified until the Holy Spirit doth, in due time, actually apply Christ unto them.

[6.072]

5. God doth continue to forgive the sins of those that are justified; and although they can never fall from the state of justification, yet they may by their sins fall under God's Fatherly displeasure, and not have the light of his countenance restored unto them, until they humble themselves, confess their sins, beg pardon, and renew their faith and repentance.

[6.073]



6. The justification of believers under the Old Testament was, in all these respect, one and the same with the justification of believers under the New Testament.

CHAPTER XIV (PCUS) CHAPTER XII (UPCUSA)

Of Adoption

[6.074]

1. All those that are justified, God vouchsafeth, in and for his only Son Jesus Christ, to make partakers of the grace of adoption: by which they are taken into the number, and enjoy the liberties and privileges of the children of God; have his name put upon them; receive the Spirit of adoption; have access to the throne of grace with boldness; are enabled to cry, Abba, Father; are pitied, protected, provided for, and chastened by his as by a father; yet never cast off, but sealed to the day of redemption, and inherit the promises, as heirs of everlasting salvation.

CHAPTER XV (PCUS) CHAPTER XIII (UPCUSA)

Of Sanctification

[6.075]

1. They who are effectually called and regenerated, having a new heart and a new spirit created in them, are further sanctified, really and personally, through the virtue of Christ's death and resurrection, by his Word and Spirit dwelling in them; the dominion of the whole body of sin is destroyed, and the several lusts thereof are more and more weakened and mortified, and they more and more quickened and strengthened, in all saving graces, to the practice of true holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.

[6.076]

2. This sanctification is throughout in the whole man, yet imperfect in this life: there abideth still some remnants of corruption in every part, whence ariseth a continual and irreconcilable war, the flesh lusting against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh.

[6.077]

3. In which war, although the remaining corruption for a time may much prevail, yet, through the continual supply of strength from the sanctifying Spirit of Christ, the regenerate part doth overcome: and so the saints grow in grace, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.



CHAPTER XVI (PCUS) CHAPTER XIV (UPCUSA)

Of Saving Faith

[6.078]

1. The grace of faith, whereby the elect are enabled to believe to the saving of their souls, is the work of the Spirit of Christ in their hearts; and is ordinarily wrought by the ministry of the Word: by which also, and by the administration of the sacraments, and prayer, it is increased and strengthened.

[6.079]

2. By this faith, a Christian believeth to be true whatsoever is revealed in the Word, for the authority of god himself speaking therein; and acteth differently, upon that which each particular passage thereof containeth; yielding obedience to the commands, trembling at the threatenings, and embracing the promises of God for this life, and that which is to come. But the principle acts of saving faith are, accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace.

[6.080]

3. This faith is different in degrees, weak or strong; may be often and many ways assailed and weakened, but gets the victory; growing up in many to the attainment of a full assurance through Christ, who is both the author and finisher of our faith.

CHAPTER XVII (PCUS) CHAPTER XV (UPCUSA)

Of Repentance Unto Life

[6.081]

1. Repentance unto life is an evangelical grace, the doctrine whereof is to be preached by every minister of the gospel, as well as that of faith in Christ.

[6.082]

2. By it a sinner, out of the sight and sense, not only of the danger, but also of the filthiness and odiousness of his sins, as contrary to the holy nature and righteous law of God, and upon the apprehension of his mercy in Christ to such as are penitent, so grieves for, and hates his sins, as to turn from them all unto God, purposing and endeavoring to walk with him in all the ways of his commandments. [6.083]



3. Although repentance be not to be rested in as any satisfaction for sin, or any cause of the pardon thereof, which is the act of God's free grace in Christ; yet is it of such necessity to all sinners, that none may expect pardon without it.

[6.084]

4. As there is no sin so small but it deserves damnation; so there is no sin so great that it can bring damnation upon those who truly repent.

[6.085]

5. Men ought not to content themselves with a general repentance, but it is every man's duty to endeavor to repent of his particular sins, particularly.

[6.086]

6. As every man is bound to make private confession of his sins to God, praying for the pardon thereof, upon which, and the forsaking of them, he shall find mercy: so he that scandalizeth his brother, or the church of Christ, ought to be willing, by a private or public confession and sorrow for his sin, to declare his repentance to those that are offended; who are thereupon to be reconciled to him, and in love to receive him.

CHAPTER XVIII (PCUS) CHAPTER XVI (UPCUSA)

Of Good Works

[6.087]

1. Good works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy Word, and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men out of blind zeal, or upon any pretense of good intention. [6.088]

2. These good works, done in obedience to God's commandments, are the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith: and by them believers manifest their thankfulness, strengthen their assurance, edify their brethren, adorn the profession of the gospel, stop the mouths of the adversaries, and glorify God, whose workmanship they are, created in Christ Jesus thereunto, that, having their fruit unto holiness, they may have the end, eternal life.

[6.089]

3. Their ability to do good works is not at all of themselves, but wholly from the Spirit of Christ. And that they may be enabled thereunto, besides the graces they have already received, there is required an actual influence of the same Holy Spirit to work in them to



will and to do of his good pleasure; yet are they not hereupon to grow negligent, as if they were not bound to perform any duty unless upon a special motion of the Spirit; but they ought to be diligent in stirring up the grace of God that is in them.

[6.090]

4. They, who in their obedience, attain to the greatest height which is possible in this life, are so far from being able to supererogate and to do more than God requires, that they fall short of much which in duty they are bound to do.

[6.091]

5. We cannot, by our best works, merit pardon of sin, or eternal life, at the hand of God, because of the great disproportion that is between them and the glory to come, and the infinite distance that is between us and God, whom by them we can neither profit, nor satisfy for the debt of our former sins; but when we have done all we can, we have done but our duty, and are unprofitable servants: and because, as they are good, they proceed from his Spirit; and as they are wrought by us, they are defiled and mixed with so much weakness and imperfection that they cannot endure the severity of God's judgment.

[6.092]

6. Yet notwithstanding, the persons of believers being accepted through Christ, their good works also are accepted in him, not as though they were in this life wholly unblamable and unrepvable in God's sight; but that he, looking upon them in his Son, is pleased to accept and reward that which is sincere, although accompanied with many weaknesses and imperfections.

[6.093]

7. Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things which God commands, [PCUS and of good use both in themselves and others;] [UPCUSA and in themselves praiseworthy and useful, and although the neglect of such things is sinful and displeasing unto God;] yet, because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith; nor are done in a right manner, according to the Word; nor to a right end, the glory of God; they [PCUS are therefore sinful and cannot please God, or make a] [UPCUSA come short of what God requires, and do not make any] man meet to receive [PCUS grace from] [UPCUSA the grace of] God. [PCUS And yet their neglect of them is more sinful, and displeasing unto God.]



CHAPTER XIX (PCUS) CHAPTER XVII (UPCUSA)

Of The Perseverance of the Saints

[6.094]

1. They whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace; but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved.

[6.095]

2. This perseverance of the saints depends, not upon their own free-will, but upon the immutability of the decree of election, flowing from the free and unchangeable love of God the Father; upon the efficacy of the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ; the abiding of the Spirit and of the seed of God within them; and the nature of the covenant of grace; from all which ariseth also the certainty and infallibility thereof.

[6.096]

3. Nevertheless they may, through the temptations of Satan and of the world, the prevelancy of corruption remaining in them, and the neglect of the means of their perseverance, fall into grievous sins; ad for a time continue therein: whereby they incur God's displeasure, and grieve his Holy Spirit; come to be deprived of some measure of their graces and comforts; have their hearts hardened, and their consciences wounded; hurt and scandalize others, and bring temporal judgments upon theselves.

CHAPTER XX (PCUS) CHAPTER XVIII (UPCUSA)

Of the Assurance of Grace and Salvation

[6.097]

1. Although hypocrites, and other unregenerate men, may vainly deceive themselves with false hopes and carnal presumptions: of being in the favor of God and estate of salvation; which hope of theirs shall perish: yet such as truly believe in the Lord Jesus, and love him in sincerity, endeavoring to walk in all good conscience before him, may in this life be certainly assured that they are in a state of grace, and may rejoice in the hope of the glory of God: which hope shall never make them ashamed.

[6.098]

2. This certainty is not a bare conjectural and probably persuasion, grounded upon a fallible hope; but an infallible assurance of faith, founded upon the divine truth of the



promises of salvation, the inward evidence of those graces unto which these promises are made, the testimony of the Spirit of adoption witnessing with our spirits that we are the children of God; which Spirit is the earnest of our inheritance, whereby we are sealed to the day of redemption. [6.099]

3. This infallible assurance doth not so belong to the essence of faith but that a true believer may wait long and conflict with many difficulties before he be partaker of it: yet, being enabled by the Spirit to know the things which are freely given him of God, he may, without extraordinary revelation, in the right use of ordinary means, attain thereunto. And therefore it is the duty of everyone to give all diligence to make his calling and election sure; that thereby his heart may be enlarged in peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, in love and thankfulness to God, and in strength and cheerfulness in the duties of obedience, the proper fruits of this assurance: so far is it from inclining men to looseness.

[6.100]

4. True believers may have the assurance of their salvation divers ways shaken, diminished, and intermitted; as, by negligence in preserving of it; by falling into some special sin, which woundeth the conscience, and grieveth the Spirit; by some sudden or vehement temptation; by God's withdrawing the light of his countenance and suffering even such as fear him to walk in darkness and to have no light: yet are they never utterly destitute of that seed of God, and life of faith, that love of Christ and the brethren, that sincerity of heart and conscience of duty, out of which, by the operation of the Spirit, this assurance may in due time be revived, and by the which, in the meantime, they are supported from utter despair.

CHAPTER XXI (PCUS) CHAPTER XIX (UPCUSA)

Of the Law of God

[6.101]

1. God gave to Adam a law, as a covenant of works, by which he bound him and all his posterity to personal, entire, exact, and perpetual obedience; promised life upon the fulfilling, and threatened death upon the breach of it; and endued him with power and



ability to keep it.

[6.102]

2. This law, after his Fall, continued to be a perfect rule of righteousness; and, as such, was delivered by God upon mount Sinai in ten commandments, and written in two tables; the first four commandments containing our duty toward God, and the other six our duty to man.

[6.103]

3. Besides this law, commonly called moral, God was pleased to give to the people of Israel, as a Church under age, ceremonial laws, containing several typical ordinances, partly of worship, prefiguring Christ, his graces, actions, sufferings, and benefits; and partly holding forth divers instructions of moral duties. All which ceremonial laws are now abrogated under the New Testament. [6.104]

4. To them also, as a body politic, he gave sundry judicial laws, which expired together with the state of that people, not obliging any other, now, further than the general equity thereof may require. [6.105]

5. The moral law doth forever bind all, as well justified persons as others, to the obedience thereof; and that not only in regard of the matter contained in it, but also in respect of the authority of God the Creator who gave it. Neither doth Christ in the gospel any way dissolve, but much strengthen, this obligation. [6.106]

6. Although true believers be not under the law as a covenant of works, to be thereby justified or condemned; yet is it of great use to them, as well as to others; in that, as a rule of life, informing them of the will of God and their duty, it directs and binds them to walk accordingly; discovering also the sinful pollutions of their nature, hearts, and lives; so as, examining themselves thereby, they may come to further conviction of, humiliation for, and hatred against sin; together with a clearer sight of the need they have of Christ, and the perfection of his obedience. It is likewise of use to the regenerate, to restrain their corruptions, in that it forbids sin, and the threatenings of it serve to show what even their sins deserve, and what afflictions in this life they may expect for them, although freed from the curse thereof threatened in the law. The promises of it, in like manner, show them God's approbation of obedience, and what blessings they may expect upon the performance thereof; although not as due to them by the law as a covenant of works: so as a man's doing good, and refraining from evil, because the law



encourageth to the one, and deterreth from the other, is no evidence of his being under the law, and not under grace.

[6.107]

6. Neither are the forementioned uses of the law contrary to the grace of the gospel, but do sweetly comply with it: the Spirit of Christ subduing and enabling the will of man to do that freely and cheerfully, which the will of God, revealed in the law, requireth to be done.

CHAPTER XXII (PCUS) CHAPTER XX (UPCUSA)

Of Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience

[6.108]

1. The liberty which Christ hath purchased for believers under the gospel consists in their freedom from the guilt of sin, the condemning wrath of God, the curse of the moral law; and in their being delivered from thos present evil world, bondage to Satan, and dominion of sin, from the evil of afflictions, the sting of death, the victory of the grave, and everlasting damnation; as also in their free access to God, and their yielding obedience unto him, not out of slavish fear, but a childlike love, and a willing mind. All which were common also to believers under the law; but under the New Testament, the liberty of Christians is further enlarged in their freedom from the yoke of the ceremonial law, to which the Jewish church was subjected; and in greater boldness of access to the throne of grace, and in [PCUS fuller] [UPCUSA full] communications of the free Spirit of God, than believers under the law did ordinarily partake of. [6.109]

2. God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his Word, or beside it in matters of faith on worship. So that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is ts betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience, and reason also.

[6.110]

3. They who, upon pretense of Christian liberty, do practice any sin, or cherish any lust, do thereby destroy the end of Christian liberty; which is, that, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, we might serve the Lord without fear, in holiness and



righteousness before him, all the days of our life.

[6.111]

4. And because the powers which God hath ordained, and the liberty which Christ hath purchased, are not intended by God to destroy, but mutually to uphold and preserve one another; they who, upon pretense of Christian liberty, shall oppose any lawful power, or the lawful exercise of it, whether it be civil or ecclesiastical, resist the ordinance of God. And for their publishing of such opinions, or maintaining of such practices, as are contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation; or to the power of godliness; or such erroneous opinions or practices as, either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church: they may be lawfully called to account, and proceeded against by the censures of the Church.

CHAPTER XXIII (PCUS) CHAPTER XXI (UPCUSA)

Of Religious Worship and the Sabbath Day

[6.112]

1. The light of nature showeth that there is a God, who hath lordship and sovereignty over all; is good, and doeth good unto all; and is therefore to be feared, loved, praised, called upon, trusted in, and served with all the hearth, and with all the soul, and with all the might. But the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited by his own revealed will, that he may not be worshipped according to the imaginations and devices of men, or the suggestions of Satan, under any visible representation or any other way not prescribed in the Holy Scripture. [6.113]

2. Religious worship is to be given to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and to him alone: not to angels, saints, or any other creature:

and since the Fall, not without a Mediator; nor in the mediation of any other but of Christ alone.

[6.114]

3. Prayer with thanksgiving, being one special part of religious worship, is by God required of all men; and that it may be accepted, it is to be made in the name of the Son, by the help of his Holy Spirit, according to his will, with understanding, reverence,



humility, fervency, faith, love, and perseverance; and, if vocal, in a known tongue.

[6.115]

4. Prayer is to be made for things lawful, and for all sorts of men living, or that shall live hereafter, but not for the dead. [6.116]

5. The reading of the Scriptures with godly fear; the sound preaching, and conscionable hearing of the Word, in obedience unto God with understanding, faith, and reverence; singing of psalms with grace in the heart; as, also, the due administration and worthy receiving of the sacraments instituted by Christ; are all parts of the ordinary religious worship of God: besides religious oaths, and vows, solemn fastings, and thanksgivings upon special occasion; which are, in their several times and seasons, to be used in an holy and religious manner. [6.117]

6. Neither prayer, nor any other part of religious worship, is now, under the gospel, either tied unto, or made more acceptable to, any place in which it is performed, or towards which it is directed: but God is to be worshipped everywhere in spirit and in truth; as in private families daily, and in secret each one by himself, so more solemnly in the public assemblies, which are not carelessly or willfully to be neglected or forsaken, when God, by his Word or providence, calleth thereunto.

[6.118]

7. As it is of 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 the world as the Christian Sabbath. [6.119]

8. 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 an 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.



CHAPTER XXIV (PCUS) CHAPTER XXII (UPCUSA)

Of Lawful Oaths and Vows

[6.120]

1. A lawful oath is a part of religious worship, wherein upon just occasion, the person swearing solemnly calleth God to witness what he asserteth or promiseth; and to judge him according to the truth or falsehood of what he sweareth.

[6.121]

2. The name of God only is that by which men ought to swear, and therein it is to be used with all holy fear and reverence; therefore to swear vainly or rashly by that glorious and dreadful name, or to swear at all by any other thing, is sinful, and to be abhorred. Yet, as, in matters of weight and moment, an oath is warranted by the Word of God, under the New Testament, as well as under the Old, so a lawful oath, being imposed by lawful authority, in such matters ought to be taken.

[6.122]

3. Whosoever taketh an oath ought duly to consider the weightiness of so solemn an act, and therein to avouch nothing but what he is fully persuaded is the truth. Neither may any man bind himself by oath to anything but what is good and just, and what he believeth so to be, and what he is able and resolved to perform. [PCUS Yet is is a sin to refuse an oath touching anything that is good and just, being imposed by lawful authority.]

[6.123]

4. An oath is to be taken in the plain and common sense of the words, without equivocation or mental reservation. It cannot oblige to sin; but in anything not sinful, being taken, it binds to performance, although to a man's own hurt: nor is it to be violated, although made to heretics or infidels.

[6.124]

5. A vow is of the like nature with a promissory oath, and ought to be made with the like religious care, and to be performed with the like faithfulness.

[6.125]

6. It is not to be made to any creature, but to God alone: and that it may be accepted, it is to be made voluntarily, out of faith and conscience of duty, in way of thankfulness for mercy received, or for obtaining of what we want; whereby we more strictly bind



ourselves to necessary duties, or to other things, so far and so long as they may fitly conduce thereto.

[6.126]

7. No man may vow to do anything forbidden in the Word of God, or what would hinder any duty therein commanded, or which is not in his own power, and for the performance of which he hath no promise or ability from God. In which respects, monastical vows of perpetual single life, professed poverty, and regular obedience, are so far from being degrees of higher perfection, that they are superstitious and sinful snares, in which no Christian may entangle himself.

CHAPTER XXV (PCUS) CHAPTER XXIII (UPCUSA)

Of the Civil Magistrate

[6.127]

1. God, the Supreme Lord and King of all the world, hath ordained civil magistrates to be under him over the people, for his own glory and the public good; and to this end, hath armed them with the power of the sword, for the defense and encouragement of them that are good, and for the punishment of evildoers.

[6.128]

2. It is lawful for Christians to accept and execute the office of a magistrate when called thereunto; in the managing whereof, as they ought especially to maintain piety, justice, and peace, according to the wholesome laws of each commonwealth, so, for that end, they may lawfully, now under the New Testament, wage war upon just and necessary occasions.

[6.129]

3. Civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the Word and Sacraments; or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; or, in the least, interfere in matters of faith. Yet, as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free, and unquestioned liberty of discharging every aprt of their sacred functions, without violence or danger. And, as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in his church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere



with, let, or hinder, the due exercise thereof, among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession of belief. It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretense of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatsoever: and to take order, that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.

[6.130]

4. It is the duty of the people to pray for magistrates, to honor their persons, to pay them tribute and other dues, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority, for conscience' sake. Infidelity, or difference in religion, doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience to him: from which ecclesiastical persons are not exempted; much less hath the Pope any power or jurisdiction over them in their dominions, or over any of their people; and least of all to deprive them of their dominions or lives, if he shall judge them to be heretics, or upon any other pretense whatsoever.

CHAPTER XXIV (UPCUSA)

Of Marriage and Divorce

[6.131]

1. Christian marriage is an institution ordained of God, blessed by our Lord Jesus Christ, established and sanctified for the happiness and welfare of mankind, into which spiritual and physical union one man and one woman enter, cherishing a mutual esteem and love, bearing with each other's infirmities and weaknesses, comfortin each other in trouble, providing in honesty and industry for each other and for their household, praying for each other, and living together the length of their days as heirs of the grace of life.

[6.132]

2. Because the corruption of man is apt unduly to put asunder those whom God hath joined together in marriage, and because the Church is concerned with the establishment of marriage in the Lord as Scripture sets it forth, and with the present penitence as well as with the past innocence or guilt of those whose marriage has been broken; therefore as a breach of that holy relation may occasion divorce, so remarriage after a divorce



granted on grounds explicitly stated in Scripture or implicit in the gospel of Christ may be sanctioned in keeping with his redemptive gospel, when sufficient penitence for sin and failure is evidence, and a firm purpose of and endeavor after Christian marriage is manifest.

CHAPTER XXVI (PCUS)

Of Marriage and Divorce

[6.133]

1. Marriage is a union between one man and one woman, designed of God to last so long as they both shall live. [6.134]

2. Marriage is designed for the mutual help of husband and wife; for the safeguarding, undergirding, and development of their moral and spiritual character; for the propagation of children and the rearing of them in the discipline and instruction of the Lord. [6.135]

3. All persons who are able with judgment to give their consent may marry, except within the limits of blood relationship forbidden by Scripture, and such marriages are valid before God in the eyes of the church. But no marriage can be fully and securely Christian in spirit or in purpose unless both partners are committed to a common Christian faith and to a deeply shared intention of building a Christian home. Evangelical Christians should seek as partners in marriage only persons who hold in common a sound basis of evangelical faith. [6.136]

4. Marriage for the Christian has religious as well as civil significance. The distinctive contribution of the church in performing the marriage ceremony is to affirm the divine institution of marriage; to invoke God's blessing upon those who enter into the marital relationship in accordance with his word; to hear the vows of those who desire to be married; and to assure the married partners of God's grace within their new relationship. [6.137]

5. It is the divine intention that persons entering the marriage covenant become inseparably united, thus allowing for no dissolution save that caused by the death of either husband or wife. However, the weaknesses of one or both partners may lead to gross and persistent denial of the marriage vows so that marriage dies at the heart and the union become intolerable; yet only in cases of extreme, unrepented-of, and



irremedial unfaithfulness (physical or spiritual) should separation or divorce be considered. Such separation or divorce is accepted as permissible only because of the failure of one or both of the partners, and does not lessen in any way the divine intention for indissoluble union.

[6.138]

6. The remarriage of divorced persons may be sanctioned by the church, in keeping with the redemptive gospel of Christ, when sufficient penitence for sin and failure is evidence, and a firm purpose of and endeavor after Christian marriage is manifested.

[6.139]

7. Divorced persons should give prayerful thought to discover if God's vocation for them is to remain unmarried, since one failure in this realm raises serious question as to the rightness and wisdom of undertaking another union.

CHAPTER XXVII (PCUS) CHAPTER XXV (UPCUSA)

Of the Church

[6.140]

1. The catholic or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ the head thereof; and is the spouse, the body, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all. [6.141]

2. The visible Church, which is also catholic or universal under the gospel (not confined to one nation as before under the law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ; the house and family of God, through which men are ordinarily saved and union with which is essential to their best growth and service.

[6.142]

3. Unto this catholic and visible Church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life, to the end of the world; and doth by his own presence and Spirit, according to his promise, make them effectual thereunto.

[6.143]

4. This catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less, visible. And particular churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the



doctrine of the gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in them.

[6.144]

5. The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error: and some have so degenerated as to become apparently no churches of Christ. Nevertheless, there shall be always a Church on earth, to worship God according to his will.

[6.145]

6. The Lord Jesus Christ is the only head of the Church, and the claim of any man to be the vicar of Christ and the head of the Church is [PCUS without warrant in fact or in Scripture, even anti-Christian,] [UPCUSA unscriptural, without warrant in fact, and is] a usurpation dishonoring to the Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER XXVIII (PCUS) CHAPTER XXVI (UPCUSA)

Of the Communion of the Saints

[6.146]

1. All saints [PCUS being] [UPCUSA that are] united to Jesus Christ their head, by his Spirit and by faith, have fellowship with him in his graces, sufferings, death, resurrection, and glory: and, being united to one another in love, they have communion in each other's gifts and graces, and are obliged to the performance of such duties, public and private, as to conduce to their mutual good, both in the inward and outward man.

[6.147]

2. Saints by [PCUS their] profession are bound to maintain an holy fellowship and communion in the worship of God, and in performing such other spiritual services as tend to their mutual edification; as also in relieving each other in outward things, according to their several abilities and necessities. Which communion, as God offereth opportunity, is to be extended unto all those who, in every place, call upno the name of the Lord Jesus.

[6.148]

3. This communion which the saints have with Christ, doth not make them in any wise partakers of the substance of the Godhead, or to be equal with Christ in any respect: either of which to affirm, is impious and blasphemous. Nor doth their communion one



with another as saints, take away or infringe the title or property which each man hath in his goods and possessions.

CHAPTER XXIX (PCUS) CHAPTER XXVII (UPCUSA)

Of the Sacraments

[6.149]

1. Sacraments are holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace, immediately instituted by God, to represent Christ and his benefits, and to confirm our interest in him: as also to put a visible difference between those that belong unto the church, and the rest of the world; and solemnly to engage them to the service of God in Christ, according to his Word.

[6.150]

2. There is in every sacrament a spiritual relation, or sacramental union, between the sign and the thing signified; whence it comes to pass that the names and effects of the one are attributed to the other.

[6.151]

3. The grace which is exhibited in or by the sacraments, rightly used, is not conferred by any power in them; neither doth the efficacy of a sacrament depend upon the piety or intention of him that doth administer it, but upon the work of the Spirit, and the word of institution, which contains, together with a precept authorizing the use thereof, a promise of benefit to worthy receivers. [6.152]

4. There be only two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the gospels, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord: neither or which may be dispensed by any but a minister of the Word, lawfully ordained.

[6.153]

5. The sacraments of the Old Testament, in regard of the spiritual things thereby signified and exhibited, were, for substance, the same with those of the New.

CHAPTER XXX (PCUS) CHAPTER XXVIII (UPCUSA)

Of Baptism

[6.154]

1. Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for



the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, but also to be unto him a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, or his ingrafting into Christ, of regeneration, of remission of sins, and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life: which sacrament is, by Christ's own appointment, to be continued in his churchy until the end of the world.

[6.155]

2. The outward element to be used in the sacrament is water, wherewith the party is to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by a minister of the gospel, lawfully called thereunto.

[6.156]

3. Dipping of the person into the water is not necessary; but baptism is rightly administered by pouring or sprinkling water upon the person.

[6.157]

4. Not only those that do actually profess faith in and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents are to be baptized.

[6.158]

5. Although it be a great sin to contemn or neglect this ordinance, yet grace and salvation are not so inseparably annexed unto it as that no person can be regenerated or saved without it, or that all that are baptized are undoubtedly regenerated.

[6.159]

6. The efficacy of Baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered; yet, notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinancy the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost, to such (whether of age or infants) as that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsel of God's own will, in his appointed time.

[6.160]

7. The sacrament of Baptism is but once to be administered to any person.

CHAPTER XXXI (PCUS) CHAPTER XXIX (UPCUSA)

Of the Lord's Supper

[6.161]

1. Our Lord Jesus, in the night wherein he was betrayed, instituted the sacrament of his



body and blood, called the Lord's Supper, to be observed in his Church unto the end of the world; for the perpetual remembrance of the sacrifice of himself in his death, the sealing all benefits thereof unto true believers, their spiritual nourishment and growth in him, their further engagement in and to all duties which they owe unto him; and to be a bond and pledge of their communion with him, and with each other, as members of his mystical body. [6.162]

2. In this sacrament Christ is not offered up to his Father, nor any real sacrifice made at all for remission of sins of the quick or dead, but a commemoration of that [PCUS one] [UPCUSA once] offering up of himself, by himself, upon the cross, once and for all, and a spiritual oblation of all possible praise unto God for the same; so that the so-called sacrifice of the mass is most contradictory to Christ's [PCUSA one] [UPCUSA own] sacrifice, the only propitiation for all the sins of the elect.

[6.163]

3. The Lord Jesus hath, in this ordinance, appointed his ministers to declare his word of institution to the people, to pray, and bless the elements of bread and wine, and thereby to set them apart from a common to any holy use; and to take and break the bread, to take the cup, and (they communicating also themselves) to give both to the communicants; [UPCUSA but to none who are not then present in the congregation].

[6.164]

4. Private masses, or receiving this sacrament by a priest, or any other, alone; as likewise the denial of the cup to the people; worshipping the elements, the lifting them up, or carrying them about for adoration, and the reserving of them for any pretended religious use, are all contrary to the nature of this sacrament, and to the institution of Christ.

[6.165]

5. The outward elements in this sacrament, duly set apart to the uses ordained by Christ, have such relation to him crucified, as that truly, yet sacramentally only, they are sometimes called by the name of the things they represent, to wit, the body and blood of Christ; albeit, in substance and nature, they still remain truly, and only, bread and wine, as they were before.

[6.166]

6. That doctrine which maintains a change of the substance of bread and wine, into the



substance of Christ's body and blood (commonly called transubstantiation) by consecration of a priest, or by any other way, is repugnant, not to Scripture alone, but even to common sense and reason; overthroweth the nature of the sacrament; and hath been, and is, the cause of manifold superstitions, yea, of gross idolatries.

[6.167]

7. Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking of the visible elements in this sacrament, do then also inwardly by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified, and all benefits of his death: the body and blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally in, with, or under the bread and wine; yet as really, but spiritually, present to the faith of believers in that ordinance, as the elements themselves are to their outward senses.

[6.168]

8. Although ignorant and wicked men receive the outward elements in this sacrament, yet they receive not the thing signified thereby; but by their unworthy coming thereunto are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and bring judgment on themselves. [UPCUSA Wherefore all ignorant and ungodly persons, as they are unfit to enjoy communion with him, so are they unworthy of the Lord's Table, and cannot, without great sin against Christ, while they remain such, partake of these holy mysteries, or be admitted thereunto.]

CHAPTER XXXII (PCUS) CHAPTER XXX (UPCUSA)

Of Church Censures

[6.169]

1. The Lord Jesus, as king and head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate.

[6.170]

2. To these officers the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent, both by the word and censures; and to open it unto penitent sinners, by the ministry of the gospel, and by absolution from censures, as occasion shall require.

[6.171]



3. Church censures are necessary for the reclaiming and gaining of offending brethren; for deterring of others from like offenses; for purging out of that leaven which might infect the whole lump; for vindicating the honor of Christ, and the holy profession of the gospel; and for preventing the wrath of God, which might justly fall upon the Church, if they should suffer his covenant, and the seals thereof, to be profaned by notorious and obstinate offenders. [6.172]

4. For the better attaining of these ends, the officers of the church are to proceed by admonition, suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper for a season, and by excommunication from the Church, according to the nature of the crime, and demerit of the person.

CHAPTER XXXIII (PCUS) CHAPTER XXXI (UPCUSA)

Of Synods and Councils

[6.173]

1. For the better government and further edification of the Church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called synods or councils and it belongeth to the overseers and other rulers of the particular churches, by virtue of their office, and the power which Christ hath given them for edification, and not for destruction, to appoint such assemblies, and to convene together in them, as often as they shall judge it expedient for the good of the Church. [6.174]

2. It belongeth to synods and councils, ministerially, to determine controversies of faith, and cases of conscience, to set down rules and directions for the better ordering of the public worship of God, and government of his Church; to receive complaints in cases of mal-administration, and authoritatively to determine the same: which decrees and determinations, if consonant to the Word of God, are to be received with reverence and submission, not only for their agreement with the Word, but also for the power whereby they are made, as being an ordinance of God, appointed thereunto in his Word. [6.175]

3. All synods or councils since the apostles' times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as a help in both.

[6.176]



4. Synods and councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical: and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs which concern the commonwealth unless by way of humble petition in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate.

CHAPTER XXXIV (PCUS) CHAPTER XXXII (UPCUSA)

Of the State of Man After Death and of the Resurrection of the Dead

[6.177]

1. The bodies of men, after death, return to dust, and see corruption; but their souls (which neither die nor sleep), having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none.

[6.178]

2. At the last day, such as are found alive shall not die, but be changed: and all the dead shall be raised up with the self-same bodies, and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be united again to their souls forever.

[6.179]

3. The bodies of the unjust shall, by the power of Christ, be raised to dishonor; the bodies of the just, by his Spirit, unto honor, and be made conformable to his own glorious body.

CHAPTER XXXV (PCUS) CHAPTER XXXIII (UPCUSA)

Of the Last Judgment

[6.180]

1. God hath appointed a day, wherein he will judge the world in righteousness by Jesus Christ, to whom all power and judgment is given of the Father. In which day, not only the apostate angels shall be judged; but likewise all persons, that have lived upon earth,



shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, to give an account of their thoughts, words, and deeds; and to receive according to what they have done in the body, whether good or evil.

[6.181]

2. The end of God's appointing this day, is for the manifestation of the glory of his mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect; and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient. For then shall the righteous go into everlasting life, and receive that fullness of joy and refreshing which shall come from the presence of the Lord: but the wicked, who know not God, and obey not the gospel of Jesus Christ, shall be cast into eternal torments, and punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.

[6.182]

3. As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded that there shall be a day of judgment, both to deter all men from sin, and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity: so will he have that day unknown to men, that they may shake off all carnal security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come; and may be ever prepared to say, Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen.

[Chapters XXXIV and XXXV of the UPCUSA version, (paragraphs 6.183 to 6.190) are above, as chapters IX and X of the PCUS version (paragraphs 6.051 to 6.058).]

Declaratory Statement (UPCUSA)

[6.191]

While the ordination vow of ministers, ruling elders, and deacons, as set forth in the Form of Government, requires the reception and adoption of the Confession of Faith only as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures, nevertheless, seeing that the desire has been formally expressed for a disavowal by the Church of certain inferences drawn from statements in the Confession of Faith, and also for a declaration of certain aspects of revealed truth which appear at the present time to call for more explicit statement, therefore The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America does authoritatively declare as follows:

[6.192]

First, with reference to Chapter III of the Confession of Faith: that concerning those



who are saved in Christ, the doctrine of God's eternal decree is held in harmony with the doctrine of his love to all mankind, his gift of his Son to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and his readiness to bestow his saving grace on all who seek it; that concerning those who perish, the doctrine of God's eternal decree is held in harmony with the doctrine that God desires not the death of any sinner, but has provided in Christ a salvation sufficient for all, adapted to all, and freely offered in the gospel to all; that men are fully responsible for their treatment of God's gracious offer; that his decree hinders no man from accepting that offer; and that no man is condemned except on the ground of his sin. [6.193]

Second, with reference to Chapter X, Section 3, of the Confession of Faith, that it is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost. We believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how he pleases.

Appendix. 2. The Christian Private Schools established by missionaries from 1885 to 1909 (Min 1993:247-248)

Year	School Name	Denomination	Location
1885	Ganghyewon	Presbyterian, Methodist	Seoul
1885	Baejae Hakdang	Methodist	Seoul
1886	Ewha Hakdang	Methodist	Seoul
1886	Kyungsin School	Presbyterian	Seoul
1887	Jeungsin Girl School	Presbyterian	Seoul
1894	Gwangsung School	Methodist	Pyongyang
1894	Sungduk School	Methodist	Pyongyang
1894	Jungeui Girl School	Methodist	Pyongyang
1895	Jungjin School	Presbyterian	Dongrae
1895	Ilsin Girl School	Methodist	Pyongyang
1896	Gongok School	Methodist	Seoul
1897	Sungsil School	Presbyterian	Pyongyang
1897	Singun School	Methodist	Seoul
1897	Younghwa Girl School	Methodist	Incheon
1898	Baehwa Girl School	Methodist	Seoul



1898	Maenga School	Methodist	Pyongyang
1898	Myungsin School	Presbyterian	Jaeryung
1901	Pyongyang Theological Seminary	Presbyterian	Pyongyang
1903	Sungeui Girl School	Presbyterian	Pyongyang
1903	Russi Girl School (Wonsan)	Methodist	Wonsan
1903	Jungmyung Girl School	Presbyterian	Mokpo
1904	Deokmyung School	Methodist	Wonsan
1904	Hosudon Girl School	Methodist	Gaesung
1904	Jinsung Girl School	Presbyterian	Wonsan
1904	Euichang School	Methodist	Haeju
1905	Youngmyung School	Methodist	Gongju
1906	Gyesung School	Presbyterian	Daegu
1906	Sinsung School	Presbyterian	Senchun
1906	Bosung Girl School	Presbyterian	Senchun
1906	Euimyung School	The Seventh-Day Adventist Church	Sunan
1906	Hanyoung Sewon	Methodist	Gaesung
1906	Mirihuem School	Methodist	Gaesung
1907	Akhuen School	Roman Catholic	Seoul
1907	Suphia Girl School	Presbyterian	Gwangju
1907	Sinmyung Girl School	Presbyterian	Daegu
1907	Gijun Girl School	Presbyterian	Jeonju
1908	Sinheung School	Presbyterian	Jeonju
1908	Changsin School	Presbyterian	Masan
1909	Euijung School	Methodist	Haeju

Appendix 3. The Creed of the National Presbyterian Church of Korea (Clark 1930:245-247)

Preamble- The Presbyterian Church of Korea, in adopting the following as its Confession of Faith, to be subscribed by ministers, elders, and deacons, does not thereby reject the Doctrinal Standards of the parent churches which established the



Church of Korea, but, on the contrary, it commends them, especially the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as worthy exponents of the Words of God, and as systems of doctrine to be taught in our churches and seminaries, and adopts, as the Catechism, the Westminster Shorter Catechism.

Art. I. The Scripture of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God, yet the only infallible rule of faith and duty.

Art. There is but one God, and He alone is to be worshiped. He is a Spirit, self-existent, omni-present, yet distinct from all other spirits and from material things; infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His beings, wisdom, holiness, justice, goodness, truth and love.

Art III. In the Godhead, there are three Persons, the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, and these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory.

Art IV. All things visible and invisible were created by God by the word of His power, and are preserved and governed by Him so that, while He is in no way the Author of sin, He worketh all things according to the counsel of His will, and they serve the fulfillment of His wise and good and holy purpose.

Art V. God created men, male and female, after His own image, in knowledge, righteousness and holiness, with dominion over the creatures. All men have the same origin and are brethren.

Art VI. Our first parents, being free to choose between good and evil, and being tempted, sinned against God; and all mankind descending by ordinary generation from Adam, the head of the race, sinned in him, and fell with him. To their original and corruption, those capable of so doing have added actual transgression. All justly deserve His wrath and punishment in this present life and in that which is to come.

Art VII. To save men from the guilt, corrupting and penalty of sin, and to give them eternal life, God, in His infinite love, sent into the world His eternal and only begotten Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, in whom alone God has become incarnate, and through whom alone men can be saved. The eternal Son became true man, and was continueth to be true God and true man, in two distinct natures, and one person forever. He was



conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit, and born of the Virgin Mary, yet without sin. For sinful men, He perfectly obeyed the law of God, and offered Himself a true and perfect sacrifice to satisfy Divine justice and reconcile men to God. He died on the Cross, was buried, and rose again from the dead on the third day. He ascended to the right hand of God, where He maketh intercession for His people, and whence He shall come again to raise the dead, and to judge the world.

Art VIII. The Holy Spirit ,who proceedeth from the Father and the Son, maketh men partakers of salvation, convincing them of their sin and misery and enlightening their minds in the knowledge of Christ, renewing their wills, persuading and enabling them to embrace Jesus Christ freely offered them in the Gospel, and working in them all the fruits of righteousness.

Art IX. While God chose the people in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without blemish before Him in love, having foreordained them unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ, unto Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, which He freely bestowed on them in the beloved; He maketh a full and free offer of salvation to all men, and commandeth them to repent of their sins, to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ as their Saviour, and to live a humble, holy life after His example, and in obedience to God's revealed will.

Those who believe in Christ and obey Him are saved, the chief benefits that they receive justification, adoption into the numbers of the sons of God, sanctification through the indwelling of the Spirit and eternal glory. Believers may also in this life enjoy assurance of their salvation. In His gracious work, the Holy Spirit uses the means of grace, especially the Word, the Sacraments and Prayer.

Art X. The Sacraments instituted by Christ are Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism is the washing water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and is the sign and seal of our union to Christ, of regeneration, and of renewing of the Holy Spirit, and our engagement to be the Lord's. It is administered to those who profess their faith in Christ and to their children.

The Lord's Supper is the partaking of the bread and of the cup as a memorial of Christ's death, and is a sign and seal of the benefits thereof to believers. It is to be observed by



His people till He comes in token of their faith in Him and His sacrifice, of their appropriation of its benefits, and of their future engagement to serve Him, of their communion with Him and with one another.

The benefits of the Sacraments are not from any virtue in them or in him who doth administer them, but only from the blessing of Christ and the working of His Spirit in them that by faith receive them.

Art XI. It is the duty of all believers to unite in Church fellowship, to observe the Sacraments and other ordinances of Christ, to obey His laws, to continue in prayer, to keep holy the Lord's Day, to meet together for His worship, to wait upon the preaching of His word, to give as God may prosper them, to manifest a Christ-like spirit among themselves and toward all men, to labour for the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout the world, and to wait for His glorious appearing.

Art XII. At the last day, the dead shall be raised, and all shall appear before judgment seat of Christ, and shall receive according to the deeds done in the present life, whether good or bad. Those who have believed in Christ and have obeyed Him, shall be openly acquitted and received into glory; but the unbelieving and wicked, being condemned, shall suffer the punishment due to their sins.

Form of Acceptance.

I believe and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church as based upon and in accord with God of Word; and I declare it to be the Confession of my faith.

Appendix 4. The Declaration of Independence (Song 1976:306-310)

We herewith proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We tell it to the world in witness of the equality of all nations and we pass it on to our posterity as their inherent right. We make this proclamation, having back of us 5,000 years of history, and 20,000,000 of a united loyal people. We take this step to insure to our children for all time to come, personal liberty in accord with the awakening consciousness of this new era. This is the clear leading of God, the moving principle of the present age, the whole human race's just claim. It is something that cannot be stamped out, or stifled, or gagged, or suppressed by any means.



Victims of an older age, when brute force and the spirit of plunder ruled, we have come after these long thousands of years to experience the agony of ten years of foreign oppression, with every loss to the right to live, every restriction of the freedom of thought, every damage done to the dignity of life, every opportunity lost for a share in the intelligent advance of the age in which we live.

Assuredly, if the defects of the past are to be rectified, if the agony of the present is to be unloosed, if the future oppression is to be avoided, if thought is to be set free, if right of action is to be given a place, if we are to attain to any way of progress, if we are to leave blessing and happiness intact for those who succeed us, the first of all necessary things is the clear-cut independence of our people. What cannot our twenty millions do, every man with sword in heart, in this day when human nature and consciousness are making a stand for truth and right? What barrier can we not break, what purpose can we not accomplish?

We have no desire to accuse Japan of breaking many solemn treaties since 1636, nor to single out specially the teachers in the schools or government officials who treat the heritage of our ancestors as a colony of their own, and our people and their civilization as a nation of savages, finding delight only in beating us down and bringing us under their heel. We have no wish to find special fault with Japan's lack of fairness or her contempt of our civilization and the principles on which her state rest; we, who have greater cause to reprimand ourselves, need not spend precious time in finding fault with others;

Neither need we, who require so urgently to build for the future, spend useless hours over what is past and gone. Our urgent need today is the setting up of this house of ours and not a discussion of who has broken it down, or what has caused its ruin. Our work is to clear the future of defects in accord with the earnest dictates of conscience. Let us not be filled with bitterness or resentment over past agonies or past occasions for anger.

Our part is to influence the Japanese government, dominated as it is by the old idea of brute force which thinks to run counter to reason and universal law, so that it will change, act honestly and in accord with the principles of right and truth. The result of annexation, brought about without any conference with the Korean people, is that the Japanese indifferent to us, use every kind of partiality for their own, and by a false, set of figures show a profit and loss account between us two peoples most untrue, digging a



trench of everlasting resentment deeper and deeper the farther they go. Ought not the way of enlightened courage to be correct the evils of the past by ways that are sincere and by true sympathy and friendly feeling to make a new world in which the two people will be equally blessed?

To bind by force twenty millions of resentful Koreans will mean not only loss of peace forever for this part of the Far East, but also will increase the evergrowing suspicion of four hundred millions of Chinese who are crucial to the fate of Asia. The result is obvious: a tragedy for all of the Far East. Today Korean independence will mean not only daily life and happiness for us, but also it would mean Japan's departure from evil way and exaltation to the place of true protector of the East, so that China, too, even in her dream, would put all fear of Japan aside. This thought comes from no minor resentment, but from a large hope for the future welfare and blessing of mankind.

A new era wakes before our eyes, the old world of force is gone, and the new world of righteousness and truth is here. Out of the experience and travail of the old world arises this light on life's affairs. The insects stifled by the ice and snow of winter awake at this same time with the breeze of spring and the soft light of the sun upon them. It is the day of the restoration of all things on the full tide of which we set forth, without delay or fear. We desire a full measure of satisfaction in the way of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and an opportunity to develop what is in us for the glory of our people.

We awake now from the old world with its darkened conditions in full determination and one heart and one mind, with right on our side, along with the force of nature, to a new life. May all the ancestors to the thousands and ten thousand generation aid us from within and all the force of the world aid us from without, and let the day we take hold by the day of our attainment. In this hope we go forward.

Three Items of Agreement

1. This work of ours is in behalf of truth, religion and life, undertaken at the request of our people, in order to make known their desire for liberty. Let no violence be done to any one.
2. Let everyone in the movement at all times joyfully demonstrates the proper spirit of the Korean people.



3. Let all things be done decently and in order, so that our demands and attitude will always be forthright and honorable.

The 4252nd year of the Kingdom of Korea 3rd Month Representative of the people.

The signatures attached to the document are:

Son Pyung Hi, Kil Sun Chu, Yi Pil Chu, Paek Yong Sung, Kim Won Kyu, Kim Pyung Cho, Kim Chang Choon, Kwon Dong Chin, Kwon Byung Duk, Na Yong Whan, Na In Hup, Yang Chun Paek, Yang Han Mook, Lew Yo Dae, Yi Gap Sung, Yi Mung Yong, Yi Seung Hoon, Yi Chong Hoon, Yi Chong Il, Lim Yi Whan, Pak Choon Seung, Pak Hi Do, Pak Dong Wan, Sin Hong Sik, Sin Sook Ku, Oh Se Chang, Oh Wha Yong, Chung Choon Su, Choe Sung Mo, Choe In, Han Yong Woon, Hong Byung Ki, Hong Ki Cho.

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