

**UNITY AND CATHOLICITY
IN THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH:
AN ECUMENICAL REFORMED
ASSESSMENT**

BY

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THESIS

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DECLARATION

I, Jaegeon Ha, declare that the thesis, “Unity and Catholicity in the Korean Presbyterian Church: An ecumenical Reformed assessment”, which I hereby submit for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Dogmatics and Christian Ethics at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all members of my family, especially my dearest wife Soo Jung, who has devoted herself to my study and ministry with all her labours in love. My son, On Yoo, and my daughter, Yoo Kyung, encouraged and supported me in spite of my insufficient care for them when they needed me. My mother-in-law has been praying for me ceaselessly.

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ABSTRACT

UNITY AND CATHOLICITY IN THE KOREAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH: AN ECUMENICAL REFORMED ASSESSMENT

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The purpose of this study is to find a solution to a weak sense of unity and a weak ecclesiology in the Presbyterian Church in Korea (PCK) which is in serious disunity, divided into more than 200 denominations. This research has attempted to assess the unity and catholicity of the PCK using a Reformed criteria shaped through doctrinal affirmation on the basis of the exegesis of Ephesians, and the review of the two ecumenical creeds, the WCF and Calvin's ecumenicity in his *Institutes* and ecumenical efforts.

For the historical investigation of the disunity and ecumenical efforts in the PCK, the three main schisms were examined, and the three leading pastors' views on unity were analysed and assessed. Assessment of disunity in the PCK indicated three factors that obstruct the unity of the PCK: weak recognition of the Reformed view on unity, immaturity and secularisation of the PCK.

The ecclesiology in relation to the unity of the PCK was analysed and assessed in its

confessions of faith, two marks of the church, ecumenical efforts and engagement with ecumenical bodies. Based on the result of the assessment, some suggestions were made to strengthen the Reformed ecclesiology and the unity of the PCK. As a solution of the disunity of the PCK on account of its weak ecclesiology and weak sense of unity, a mature ecclesiology is proposed grounded on “one mature man” from Ephesians: well-balanced between theoretical (sevenfold oneness) and practical (seven graces), a progressive growth and Christlike maturity by serving one another in love with Christ-given gifts. In relation to the ecumenical bodies, nationally a new paradigm of federal union, “one PCK and multiple denominations” prepared by the Council of Presbyterian Churches in Korea was advocated as an effort for unity. And in relation with the World Council of Churches, an ambivalent attitude “critical participation” is suggested.

For reforming the PCK, it has to be catholic (ecumenical), confessional (apostolic) and passionate in world mission. As a basic ecumenical strategy, four family stages were presented: Presbyterian, Reformed, Christian, and universal family of God. Finally the unification between South Korea and North Korea was referred to as a hope and prayer.

Key Terms

1. Church
2. Unity and Catholicity
3. Ecumenical
4. Calvin
5. Westminster Confession of Faith
7. Presbyterian Church in Korea
8. Reformed
9. Weak Ecclesiology
10. Mature Ecclesiology
11. One mature man
12. Sevenfold oneness
13. Seven graces
14. Lord's Supper
15. God's family
16. Critical participation

Abbreviations

CCIK	Communion of Churches in Korea
CCK	Christian Council of Korea
CPCCK	Council of the Presbyterian Churches in Korea
GA	General Assembly
ICCC	International Council of Christian Churches
Institutes	Institutes of Christian Religion
KTS	Korea Theological Seminary
NAE	National Association of Evangelicals
NCCK	National Council of Churches in Korea
PCA	Presbyterian Church in Australia
PCC	Presbyterian Church in Canada
PCK	Presbyterian Church in Korea
PCUS	Presbyterian Church in the United States
PCUSA	Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
PTS	Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Pyeng Yang (Pyeng Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary)
UCC	United Church of Canada
WARC	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
WCC	World Council of Churches
WCRC	World Communion of Reformed Churches

Abbreviations of Books of the Bible

Old Testament	Est	Esther	Na	Nahum	Php	Philippians	
Ge	Genesis	Job	Job	Hab	Habakkuk	Col	Colossians
Ex	Exodus	Ps	Psalms	Zep	Zephaniah	1Th	1 Thessalonians
Lev	Leviticus	Pr	Proverbs	Hag	Haggai	2Th	2 Thessalonians
Nu	Numbers	Ecc	Ecclesiastes	Zec	Zechariah	1Ti	1 Timothy
Dt	Deuteronomy	Ss	Song of Songs	Mal	Malachi	2Ti	2 Timothy
Jos	Joshua	Isa	Isaiah	New Testament		Tit	Titus
Jdg	Judges	Jer	Jeremiah	Mt	Matthew	Phm	Philemon
Ru	Ruth	La	Lamentations	Mk	Mark	Heb	Hebrews
1Sa	1 Samuel	Eze	Ezekiel	Lk	Luke	Jas	James
2Sa	2 Samuel	Da	Daniel	Jn	John	1Pe	1 Peter
1Ki	1 Kings	Hos	Hosea	Ac	Acts	2Pe	2Peters
2Ki	2 Kings	Joel	Joel	Ro	Romans	1Jn	1 John
1Ch	1 Chronicles	Am	Amos	1Co	1 Corinthians	2Jn	2 John
2Ch	2 Chronicles	Ob	Obadiah	2Co	2 Corinthians	3Jn	3 John
Ezr	Ezra	Jnh	Jonah	Gal	Galatians	Jude	Jude
Ne	Nehemiah	Mic	Micah	Eph	Ephesians	Rev	Revelation

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction to the problem

The doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church has traditionally been incontrovertible in both the Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic Church, even though their viewpoints differ.

Nevertheless, the present situation in the Reformed family of Churches, which emphasises the importance of this doctrine, is in serious disunity, more serious than in other Protestant churches, let alone the Roman Catholic Church. It belies their confession of the unity and catholicity of the church.

It may be the most awkward situation in the world, that the Presbyterian Church in Korea (PCK), which started as one church, is divided into more than 200 denominations¹ that all share the same Westminster Confession of Faith (WCF) as their confessional standard. There are no doctrinal and theological differences or barriers between them. This doctrine of the church has been overlooked or seen as a relatively less important reason for schisms in the PCK as well as in the Reformed family of Churches.

The tendency to division may be inherent in them ever since the secession from the Roman Catholic Church during the sixteenth century Reformation. Vischer²(2010:25) wrote as third subtitle to his article “Communion responding to God’s gift”, “Why do we Reformed Churches so easily divide?” Kromminga (1992a:7) said the same, “they have divided frequently and easily”. Van der Borgh (2010:1) added, “The

¹ Rev. Jong Yun Lee (Christian Today. 2013. 9. 29), the President of Academia Christiana of Korea and the former President of the Council of Presbyterian Church of Korea, said, “it is too shameful that now the Presbyterian Church of Korea is divided into about 250 denominations”. Refer to “The Reformed family worldwide” published by WARC: A. “List of Presbyterian Church in Korea” reveals 96 denominations even at the time of publishing (Bauswein & Vischer 1999:297-300).

²Lukas Vischer (1926 – 2008) devoted his whole life to the ecumenical movement as director of the Faith and Order commission of the World Council of Churches (WCC) (1966 – 1979) and as moderator of the theological department of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) (1982 – 1989).

disunity within the Reformed tradition has become an ecclesial embarrassment. A schismatic tendency can no longer be denied”.

Sometimes the desire to reform or renew the church occasioned a new schism that again disrupted churches’ unity and catholicity. At the critical moment of division, the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church seems to play a powerless role in church leaders’ mind and resolutions. Even after secession, they feel comfortable with their new divided situation. They do not repent and are not eager to restore the unity and catholicity of the church. Instead, they focus on making their own churches strong, individualistic and indifferent to efforts at reconciliation and fellowship among one another.

As Van der Borght (2010:1ff) points out in the reports of the seventh conference of the International Reformed Theological Institute, the Reformed tradition has shown its “weak sense of unity” (*sensus unitatis*) of the church, which is given as God’s gift and task (Vischer 2010 : 73), as well as God’s promise (Heyns 1980 :113).

According to the Reformation’s slogan, “*ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*”, many ecumenical efforts have been made by Reformed denominations or ecumenical organisations at national and international level to put the doctrine of unity and catholicity into practice, to manifest it visibly, but it seems that the reunification of the divided churches is more difficult than their splitting up³.

³Vischer (2010:20) testifies that despite the active participation of the Reformed Churches in the ecumenical movement, the divisions we face today are even more numerous than 150 years ago, in spite of the merger of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) and the Reformed Ecumenical Council (REC) that created the World Communion of Reformed Churches (WCRC) in June 2010. (cf. WCRC homepage : wcrchistory.org.)

1.2. Statement of the problem

The main problem is that there is a big gap between the basic doctrine of church unity and the tragic reality of disunity in the Presbyterian Churches in Korea in particular, and the Reformed family of Churches in general. They do not take the division of the church seriously, neither do they make efforts to reunite churches that share the same confession of faith.

This gap raises four questions.

First, is it unavoidable or even inherent to the Reformed family of Churches to experience a division of the church as the result of the nature of Reformed theology, faith, thought and life?

What are the characteristics of the Reformed Churches that effect the division of the church as the one body of Christ? What causes the weak ecclesiology within the Reformed Church and its theology? Does the emphasis on *Sola Scriptura* (cf. Van Wyk 2010:302), by confessionals, ecumenicals, evangelicals, conservatives, holiness groups, spirituals and the like necessarily lead to the division of the church?

Second, are there legitimate doctrinal or theological reasons or justification in the Bible for schisms in the church? Can arguments about invisible spiritual unity, doctrinal purity, division for diversity, or schism as God's will be justifiable?

What is theologically the Reformed perspective on the gap between the emphasis of the Reformed family of Churches on doctrine and the practical failure of the doctrine? Is invisible spiritual unity more important? Is it because of sinful human nature? Is their ecclesiology underdeveloped? Is the confession of faith powerless? Is diversity a reason for division? Can schism be God's will?

Third, which efforts have been made and are being made to reform or restore the disunity of the Presbyterian (Reformed) Church in Korea according to the Reformation principle, "the Reformed church is always reforming?"

What are the results of the practical ecumenical efforts at the level of the denominational, national or universal church?

Lastly, what will be the right solutions and right attitudes to worldwide ecumenical bodies, for example, the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the World Communion of Reformed Churches (WCRC) to maintain the unity and catholicity of the PCK in particular and the Reformed family or all Christian churches in general?

1.3. The purpose of this research

Based on the questions raised above, this thesis will attempt to find answers that can be applied to the PCK in particular, and to the Reformed family of Churches and Christian churches all over the world in general.

First of all, it is necessary in the postmodern time of “plurality and ambiguity” to reaffirm the traditional doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church on the basis of the word of God, the early church’s creeds and the Westminster Confession of Faith adopted in the Presbyterian Church. In addition, the ecumenicity of John Calvin will be reviewed through his publication “*The Institutes of the Christian Religion*” Book IV.

Secondly, this thesis will investigate the reality of the PCK: how it has manifested or failed to manifest this doctrine historically. The ecclesiological problems latent in the Presbyterian Church in Korea that give rise to repeated schisms and its weak sense of unity and catholicity will be indicated and assessed on the basis of understanding of the doctrine.

The problems manifested in the empirical church’s life, its confession of faith, its education and its spirituality will be dealt with from a Reformed perspective.

Thirdly, the practical efforts to strengthen unity made and achievements attained by the divided Presbyterian Churches in Korea will be surveyed. This survey will help to recognise both the difficulties or obstacles and solutions to the problems of the church's unity and catholicity.

Lastly, this study will integrate its results and propose some practical suggestions to promote and strengthen the unity and catholicity of the PCK in particular and all Christian churches in general, according to the goal of Eph. 4:12,13 for the church, that "the body of Christ may be built up until we all reach unity in the faith in the knowledge of the Son of God and become mature, attaining to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ."

1.4. The hypothesis of this research

This thesis advocates the conservative Reformed perspective on the unity of the church.

This research takes Van der Borght's term the "*weak sense of unity*" in the Reformed tradition as a key concept and presupposes that the Presbyterian Churches in Korea's weak ecclesiology and weak sense of the unity and catholicity of the church are the main causes of serious disunity contrary to biblical teaching. This research coins a new term "*mature sense of unity*" (cf. Eph. 4:13) as the opposite of "weak sense of unity" as a solution.

An adequate solution to the serious disunity in the PCK can be found by full recognition and faithful practice of a "mature ecclesiology" and a "mature sense of the unity and catholicity of the church" exhorted by Paul in Ephesians 4:1-16. It can strengthen and promote the unity and catholicity of the PCK in particular and the Reformed family with all Christian churches in general.

1.5. The limitation of this research

Since the unity of the church has been widely discussed since the sixteenth century Reformation, and has become a particularly important theme in the worldwide church since the twentieth century, there are a huge number of books, articles and essays, especially documents of the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church on the theme of this research. It is impossible to read all the published writings on it, or to deal with all the churches in the world. Originally this research was intended to deal in broad outline with other Reformed Churches in South Africa and the United States and the international ecumenical bodies as well. However, it was decided to narrow it down to the context of the PCK. Thus this research will focus on the context of the PCK only.

The exegetical work on the ecclesiological doctrine of church unity will be limited to the exegesis of Ephesians, focusing on Eph. 2:11-22, 3:14-19 and 4:1-16.

The historical investigation of the disunity in the PCK will be confined to the three main schisms in 1952, 1959, 1979 and the aftermath of these major schisms. The role of the leading figures in the PCK played in each schism will be assessed.

1.6. Method of research

This research is a literature study.

The point of departure of this thesis will be what the word of God says about the unity and catholicity of the church. It will start with an exegesis of Ephesians focusing on 2:11-22, 3:14-19 and 4:1-16. Commentaries on the Bible will be studied. This exegetical work will affirm both theoretical and practical principles on the unity of the church.

On the foundation of God's word, this thesis will affirm the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church through a review of the traditional ecumenical creeds and the Westminster Confession of Faith in the Reformed tradition.

This doctrinal review will shape the criteria for the assessment of the unity and ecclesiology of the PCK.

A historical investigation will be undertaken for the analysis and assessment of the disunity and the ecumenical efforts of the PCK in the light of the real situation of the church life in the PCK.

The unity and ecclesiology in the PCK will be analysed and assessed by comparing the historical reality of the PCK and the doctrinal criteria, to discover and recognise the weak points in the PCK.

The first schism in 1952 was the result of tension between a pure church and one church. The second schism in 1959 was about membership of the World Council of Churches, between its advocates and its opponents. The third schism in 1979 came from ecclesiastical authority and power struggles. There were three major schisms in the 1950s⁴, but the second major schism in 1953 is omitted from this research. To distinguish among them the year of the schism will be indicated. In each of the schisms, the view of the leading figures on unity and catholicity will be analysed and assessed. The ecumenical efforts, achievements and failures of these efforts will be surveyed and assessed. As a result of the investigation, an analysis and assessment of weak points and their solutions will be indicated.

The thesis will attempt to integrate all its results, indicate the appropriate solutions and propose suggestions to be applied theoretically and practically for the unity and ecclesiology of the church. It is hoped that these suggestions will contribute to a journey toward the fullness of the unity and catholicity of the church in the PCK in particular and other Christian churches in general.

⁴ One schism, the so called second major schism, took place in 1953 because of the judgment of liberal theologians, denying the doctrine of biblical inerrancy. As a result, the Ki Jang Church came into being.

1.7. Chapter outline

Chapter 1, as an introduction to this thesis, introduces a general view and the goal of this research.

In chapter 2, the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church will be affirmed by the exegesis of Ephesians (2:11-22; 3:14-19; and 4:1-16), while the review of the two ecumenical creeds (the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed), the Westminster Confession of Faith and Calvin's *Institutes* will shape the Reformed ecumenical perspective on the unity and catholicity of the church.

In chapter 3, the historical disunity among the Presbyterian Churches in Korea will be investigated to acknowledge the empirical reality of the PCK as the object of an assessment, its view on unity and catholicity and the causes of its schisms: a brief overview of the history of the PCK from its birth until the foundation of the General Assembly (GA); three schisms in the PCK: the Ko Shin Church's establishment (1952), the split between the Tong Hap Church and the Hap Dong Church (1959), and between many Gae Hyuk (Reformed) Churches (since 1979). The leading figures who played a crucial role in each schism will be assessed, their views on the unity and catholicity of the church: Han Sang Dong of the Ko Shin Church, Park Hyung Ryong of the Hap Dong Church, and Jeong Gyu O of the Gae Hyuk Church.

Chapter 4 will discuss, analyse and assess the ecclesiology of the PCK in relation to the unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the church in order to find some factors that led to disunity in the PCK. The ecclesiology of the PCK will be analysed: its confessions of faith, its ministry of the word and the sacraments, and its ecumenical efforts and engagement with ecumenical bodies, national and international. Some suggestions will be offered to improve and strengthen the Reformed ecclesiology and the unity and catholicity of the PCK. The position of this thesis is "critical membership" in relation to the international ecumenical bodies, in the ambivalent

attitude of active participation and critique from within.

As the apex of this research, chapter 5 will propose the solution of a mature ecclesiology to overcome the weak sense of unity and weak Ecclesiology of the PCK. It will be based on the integration of the ideas derived from this study with the addition of a few ideas. Mature ecclesiology will be discussed on the basis of “**a mature man**” in Ephesians 4:13: well-balanced between theoretical and practical ways, an invisible one holy catholic church and a visible one holy catholic church; progressive growing and building up into Christlike maturity; and serving in love for one another with their Christ-given gifts for maturity, the building up of the church and the Kingdom of God.

For a reforming United PCK, four aspects will be suggested: a catholic (ecumenical) church, world mission, a confessional (apostolic) church and a holy church. For the basic ecumenical strategy, four family stages will be presented: the Presbyterian family, the Reformed family, the Christian family, and the one universal family.

In the politically divided situation of Korea into South and North, its peaceful unification will be presented as an earnest prayer and hope of the Korean people and the Korean Church.

Chapter 6, as a conclusion, will summarise all results of suggestions. It will recapitulate the overall orientation of this research, give answers to each of the four questions that were raised in the problem statement, and enumerate the list of contributory suggestions for the new era.

Chapter 2.

Affirmation of the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church

2.1. Review of biblical teaching on the unity and catholicity of the church

• Introduction

Theological doctrine⁵ is derived from the principles given in the Bible by studying their relative unity and coherence, and presenting them as an organic whole. Therefore this study starts with a study of the word of God to establish the biblical teaching on the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church.

There are so many texts in the New Testament related with the topic of the unity and catholicity of the church, but it is not possible to cover all the relevant texts in the NT. Among them, Ephesians, which deals with the Ecclesiology in both principle and practice, is selected as the basis of this study, with a special emphasis on chapters 2 (2:11-22), 3 (3:14-19), and 4 (4:1-16).

The aim of the exegetical work on Ephesians is to see whether the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church is based on a basic understanding of biblical teaching. For this aim, commentaries on Ephesians⁶ will be studied and referred to.

⁵ McGrath (1990:10) defines the term 'doctrine' as: "Christian doctrine is the response of the Christian church to God, as he has revealed himself, especially in Scripture and through Jesus Christ". See Bavinck (2011:4-6).

⁶ Among commentators on Ephesians, are Andrew Lincoln (1990), Rudolf Schnackenburg (1991), Ernest Best (1998), Peter O'Brien (1999), Harold Hoehner (2004, reprinted from 2002; 877 pages), Markus Barth (vol. 1. 2008; vol. 2. 2011, reprinted from 1974; 820 pages), Frank Thielman (2010) and Stephen Fowl (2012). Fowl (2012:1-2) commends Lincoln, Best and Hoehner's works as excellent resources, both well written and relatively recent.

The panoramic outline of Ephesians is as follows (Hoehner 2004: vii-viii)⁷.

- I . The calling of the church (1:1-3:21)
 - A. Prologue (1:1-2)
 - B. Praise for God's planned spiritual blessing (1:3-14)
 - C. Prayer for wisdom and revelation (1:15-23)
 - D. New position individually (individual salvation by God's grace) (2:1-10)**
 - E. New position corporately (2:11-22)**
 - F. Parenthetical expansion of the mystery (3:1-13)
 - G. Prayer for strengthened love (3:14-21)
- II . The conduct of the church (4:1-6:24)
 - A. Walk in unity⁸ (4:1-16)**
 - B. Walk in holiness (4:17-32)
 - C. Walk in love (5:1-6)
 - D. Walk in the light (5:7-14)
 - E. Walk in wisdom (5:15-6:9)
 - F. Stand in warfare (6:10-20)
 - G. Conclusion (6:21-24)

A glance at the overall structure of Ephesians shows that it is composed of two main parts. The first part (ch. 1-3) is the doctrinal (theological) basis of Christian unity. It expounds the calling of a Christian to both individual salvation and union in one corporate body, the church. The second part (ch. 4-6) expounds the conduct worthy of God's calling as practical ethics based on the doctrinal (theological) basis of Christian unity⁹ (cf. Hoehner 2004: 61-2; Barth 2011:426; Fowl 2012:125).

Chapter 1 starts with praise for the redemptive work of the **Triune God**: the **Father**, for God's eternal plan of election and predestination of the saints in Ephesus in particular, and of all believers who are predestined to be adopted as his children; the **Son**, for Christ's redemption, forgiveness of their sins and unification of all things in

⁷ All commentators who are referred to in this thesis, have the same paragraph structure from 1:1 to 4:16, only with different titles for each paragraph.

⁸ O'Brien's (1999: vii, 271) title of Eph. 4:1-16 is "Unity, diversity, and maturity within the body of Christ", which is relevant to the terms of this thesis.

⁹ Fowl says that the distinction between doctrinal and moral instruction is common but not absolute, for example there are doctrinal material in Eph. 4-6 (e.g. 4:4-6; 21-22), and imperative demands in Eph. 1-3 (e.g. 2:10-11; 3:13). Barth (2011:426) also notes that Paul's imperatives are dependent upon his indicatives, his *didache* (teaching) is determined by his *kerygma* (proclamation), and all things ethical are derived from dogmatic doctrine. However, the content of Eph. 1-3 is doxological rather than dogmatic. The direct connection of the ethical chapters 4-6 with the praise of God rather than with a doctrine of God is a specific feature of Ephesians.

him; the **Holy Spirit's** sealing of the promise of salvation to those who hear and believe the gospel of salvation. The ultimate goal is the praise of God's glory (cf. Eph.1:3-14, hereafter only chapters and verses are referred to).

Praise is followed by Paul's prayer that believers may know God better, to know the hope of God's calling and glorious inheritance and his incomparably great power, the power that raised and inducted Christ, whom God appointed to be head over everything for the church, his body, the fullness of him (cf. 1:15-23)

2.1.1. Calling to individual salvation by God's grace (2:1-10)

Chapter 2 begins with individual salvation (2:1-10), and then proceeds to the union of the Jews and the Gentiles into one body, the church (2:11-22). The condition of the Gentiles before conversion to Christ is described as them being formerly dead in their sins and so they were objects of God's wrath (2:1-3). However, their changed condition after conversion is described in gracious language, repeatedly emphasising that it is by **"God's great love, mercy, the incomparable riches of his grace (gift) and kindness"**, *Sola Gratia*, and not by their works that they are saved individually from sin and death: God raised them up with Christ and seated them with him in the heavenly realms in Christ Jesus (2:6). It refers to individual salvation, that is, the union of individual believers with Christ¹⁰.

It is noteworthy that ecclesiology in general and the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church in particular are totally rooted in God' plan, will, love, grace, mercy, and the works of the three persons of the Triune God.

¹⁰ George Hunsinger (2009:133) says that mystical union with Christ is the source of all spiritual blessings.

2.1.2. Union of Jews and Gentiles in the church (2:11-22)

Verses 2:11-22 show the process from “the calling of Gentiles to individual salvation” to “the union of Jews and Gentiles into one corporate body, the church”.

2.1.2.1. Disunion of Jews and Gentiles (2:11-13)

The Jewish point of view divided all people in the world into two groups: the circumcised and the uncircumcised, or the Jews and the Gentiles. The Ephesian believers were Gentiles by birth, and were called “the uncircumcised” by the Jews. The Jews regarded circumcision¹¹ in the flesh (2:11) as their unique distinction from the Gentiles. It was a privilege¹² for the Jews to bear the sign of God’s covenant with Abraham to be kept by him and his descendants (cf. Ge.17:9-14).

Verse 12 lists five disadvantages of the uncircumcised Gentiles:

- ① separate from Christ, ② excluded from citizenship in Israel and ③ foreigners to the covenants of the promise, ④ without hope, and ⑤ without God.

These five disadvantages of the Gentiles, conversely five privileges for the Jews, play a role as a strong barrier, distinguishing between Jews and Gentiles religiously and racially, a dividing wall of hostility (2:14). Because of this differentiation, the Jews despised and provoked into anger the uncircumcised Gentiles. As a result, there was disunion between the Jews and the Gentiles even in the church.

The advantages or privileges of a specific group above others may become the cause of self-pride, arrogance or a sense of superiority, and such an attitude may cause disunion.

● Blood of Christ

According to 2:13, the motive power that brought the Gentiles from “far away” to “near”, namely, from disunion to union, was “**in Christ**” and “**through the blood of**

¹¹ Paul distinguishes circumcision of the heart by the Spirit from outward physical circumcision (Ro. 2:28-9).

¹² Paul boasted about his circumcision on the eighth day before his conversion to Jesus (Php. 3:5).

Christ". The blood of Christ, which signifies his death of atonement¹³, was poured out on the cross as a sacrifice, a ransom, a penalty to be paid for the redemption from sins of mankind, which perfectly satisfied both the holiness (righteousness and justice) and love of God in terms of Christology and soteriology. In Eph. 1:7 Paul stated that "in him (Christ) we (all believers) had **redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins**"¹⁴. The blood of Christ for the forgiveness of sins constitutes the new covenant. Through this new covenant, Gentiles and Jews are brought near to God as people of the new covenant.

Through the blood of Christ the Ephesian Jews and Gentiles are made a holy people of God, and brought into the new covenant of God through their union with Jesus Christ. Through the blood of Christ, the above-mentioned five disadvantages of the Gentiles are removed in Christ and changed into advantages.

2.1.2.2. Union of Jews and Gentiles in the church (2:14-18)

In 2:14–18 Paul explains how the disunion between the Jews and the Gentiles is destroyed and changed into union in the church.

The important motif is indicated as "he (Christ) himself is our peace"¹⁵ (2:14). The main subject of union is Christ himself: where Jesus is, there is "union with peace". Since Christ himself is our peace (of both Jews and Gentiles), he broke down the dividing barrier of hostility¹⁶ and consequent disunion. The way he destroyed the disunion and then constructed the union is through the blood of Christ, that is, **redemption through his blood**. Paul uses the contrasting terms of destruction and

¹³ Grudem (1994:580) describes four aspects of atonement to be satisfied: sacrifice (Heb. 9:26), propitiation (cf. 1Jn. 2:2, 4:10), reconciliation (cf. Ro. 5:10-11; 2Co. 5:18-19; Eph. 2:16) and redemption (cf. Eph. 1:7).

¹⁴ The NT explicates the redemption through the blood of Christ, for example, redemption with the precious blood of Christ (1Pe. 1:18-9), the blood of the covenant for the forgiveness of sins (Mt. 26:28; Mk. 14:24; Heb. 13:12), and purchase of the church of God with his blood (Ac. 20:28).

¹⁵ Paul calls Christ the Lord of peace (2Th. 3:16).

¹⁶ The "dividing wall" may be seen as a literal physical wall of 1.5 m, a high "balustrade" at Jerusalem Temple, which separated the outer court of the Gentiles from the inner courts and sanctuary, where Jews could enter, but it was not destroyed by Jesus Christ but by the Romans in 70 AD and the Ephesians might be ignorant of the balustrade. The safest interpretation is to view it as a metaphor, to be "hostility" (2:14, NIV) or "enmity" (2:15, KJV) as indicated in the text (cf. Barth 2008:283-287; Best 1998:253-257; Fowl 2012:90-91).

construction in his description of Christ's peace-making from disunion to union in Eph. 2:14-16 (Barth, 2008:306; cf. Jer. 1:10). They are for destruction: "to destroy the barrier", "to abolish the law" and "to put to death the hostility", and for construction: "to make one", "to make peace", "to create", and "to reconcile"¹⁷. Jesus' death in his flesh abolished¹⁸ the Mosaic law with its commandments and regulations, which was the barrier. As Barth (2008:306-7) notes, "to abolish the law" does not relegate Moses and the 'Books of Moses' into an abyss, but terminates only its "formerly divisive effect", and "the law has lost its validity as a barrier between insiders and outsiders and as a sentence of death". Consequently, the destruction of the barrier of disunion brings about the construction of union between the Jews and the Gentiles who believe in Christ, making the two one and resulting in union and peace at the same time.

The **two purposes of the union** are mentioned as "**creation of one new man**" (2:15) and "**reconciliation to God**" (2:16).

(1) One new man

The first purpose was "to create in himself **one new man** out of the two, thus making **peace**" (2:15). The union of "one new man" does not refer to a mere assembly of differing believers, but to a "community with peace" united with one another. "To create one new man" does not mean the Gentiles' change to Jews, nor vice versa, but to create another "one" and "new" entity from the two in Christ completely different¹⁹ from the previous two. The implication of "newness" is found in the phrase "in himself (Christ)"²⁰ in accordance with other Pauline Epistles, which is new in the

¹⁷ Rich Lusk (2004:76) says, "Genuine love, peace, unity, and fellowship are central to biblical Christianity".

¹⁸ Hoehner (2004:314-315) sees the phrase "in his flesh" as being parallel with "by the blood of Christ" in 2:13 and "through the cross" in 2:16, and interprets the word "abolish" as "render inoperative or nullified for the believer", not as "put to death or destroy".

¹⁹ Barclay (1978:80) views the word "new" as "a different quality, a different kind, not as just another man but a different kind of man".

²⁰ Paul uses the term "new man" (cf. Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:10) or "new creation" (cf. 2Co. 5:17; Gal. 6:15).

qualitative and temporal senses (Hoehner 2004:378-9; Fowl 2012:95).

The “one new man” is retold as “in one body” (2:16), so “one new man” does not point to a single man, but to a corporate body²¹ composed of every single new person organically, “out of the two in himself (Christ)” (2:15) (Hoehner 2004:379-380). The “one new man” or “one body” refers to the “church”, in accordance with “a mature man” (Eph. 4:13, NAS), “the bride” (5:23-24), and “(Christ) head over everything for the church, which is his body” (1:22 & 23).

Therefore the one new man is the church, and the head of the one new man is Christ.

All believers, who are incorporated into the one new man, are united to Christ their head and simultaneously to one another as parts of the body, which is a profound mystery about the relationship of Christ and the church (cf. Eph. 5:32).

The idea of “one new man” clearly leads to the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church, which envisages that all believers are united to their head, Christ, and united to one another in one body through their head, that is, all are one in and through Christ, the “oneness and wholeness of all believers”.

Another noteworthy point of the “one new man” is “union with **peace**”, the antonym of hostility (2:14). The reason and the result of Christ’s atoning work were to establish “peace”. The creation of the one new man takes place simultaneously with the making of peace (Best 1998:263; Hoehner 2004:380). Therefore there is no peace without unity, and vice versa. The unity and catholicity of the church, which are rooted in the idea of “one new corporate man” go together with peace, while hostility was destroyed “in Christ”.

²¹ Schnakenburgh (1991:115), O’Brien (1999:100), and Barth (2008:296), like Hoehner, view it as a corporate church, but Best (1998:261-263) advocates individual believers who are a new humanity rather than a new corporate person.

(2) Reconciliation to God

Another purpose of the union through the atonement of Christ is said to be **reconciliation to God** (2:16). The objects of the reconciliation are “in this one body (the church) ... both of them (Jews and Gentiles)”. In this context the reconciliation and the hostility are not about the Jews and the Gentiles horizontally as already stated in 2:13-14, but between both of them and God vertically (Hoehner 2004:383). The reconciliation to God seems to refer not so much to that of individual believers, than to that of the one new body, which means that it is important to repent to achieve reconciliation and fellowship with God, not only individually, but also on the level of the collective church²². Through the atonement of Christ, the Jews and the Gentiles were united into “one new man” in himself (2:15) and reconciled collectively to God in one body (2:16). Fowl (2012:95) notes that this reconciliation does not happen simply by removing the dividing wall, but through the creation of a new person in, through and by Christ.

(3) Access to God

In addition to this two fold purpose of Christ’s atonement, Paul speaks about the result of Christ’s coming and preaching²³ the gospel of peace to the church that both the Gentiles and the Jews have equal “access to God the Father” (2:18) through Christ by the Holy Spirit in the names of the three persons of the Trinity (Hoehner 2004:389). As O’Brien (1999:208) comments, this statement of “access to God” is parallel with “reconciliation to God²⁴” (2:16). The phrase “access to God” denotes a great blessing and privilege, which is a new relationship and fellowship with one God the Father.

²² Barth (2008:298) notes that Eph. 2:16 can be understood as referring to the sacramental presence of Christ’s body – either in the Eucharist, or in baptism, or in both.

²³ Regarding the interpretation of Christ’s coming and preaching to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews, Hoehner (2004:385) assumes that it is done by means of the ministry of the Holy Spirit through his apostles.

²⁴ O’Brien (1998:209) connects the relation of the “reconciliation to God” and “access to God” with that of “peace with God” and “access to grace” in Romans 5:1-2.

Note the contrast of numeral words, “one” with “two” or “both”, in this passage (2:14-18) that elucidates the unity and catholicity of the church (Hoehner 2004:390):

- (1) “made the *two one*” (2:14);
- (2) “to create *one* new man out of the *two*” (2:15);
- (3) “in this *one* body to reconcile *both* of them to God” (2:16);
- (4) “*both* have access to the Father by *one* Spirit” (2:18).

Although the cooperative work of the Triune God is briefly described in verse 18, it emphasises that the source, basis, model and ruler of the unity and catholicity of the church flow from the doctrine of the Trinity, three persons in love unity or unity in three persons and the Triune God’s cooperation in believers.

To sum up, it is clarified that all the ideas discussed above: the blood of Christ, destruction of the dividing wall, union with peace, one new man, one body, reconciliation to God, access to God and two (both) versus one, clearly affirm the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church and motivate the ecumenicity of the church. The doctrine of the unity of the church flows from the doctrine of the Trinity of God.

On the other hand, certain differences, differentiation, and a sense of privileges in the church can work as factors of disunity.

2.1.2.3. Consequence of the unity of the church (2:19-22)

In Ephesians 2:19-22, the new state of the church is explained as the consequence of its unity with well-known images that portray the unity and catholicity of the church: God’s people, God’s household (family), a holy temple, God’s dwelling.

(1) God’s people (citizen)

They become “fellow citizens with God’s people” and “members of God’s household”

(2:19). The Greek word “fellow citizen” (συμπολίτης) is a junction of the prepositional prefix (συν-) meaning “with” or “together” with “citizen” (πολίτης). The Greek word for “God’s people” is “the holy ones” (τῶν ἁγίων) or “the saints (KJV)”. They are not just citizens but “fellow citizens with God’s people (or the saints)²⁵”. “Fellow citizens with God’s people” itself implies a nature of peace, unity and catholicity, and holiness (cf. Hoehner 2004:392).

(2) God’s family

The imagery changes from the political realm to that of an intimate family (O’Brien 1999:211). “Members of God’s household²⁶” indicates a more intimate fellowship with God than “God’s people (citizen)”, though both of them refer to God’s children.

These analogies of the church as *all* God’s people in God’s *one* kingdom (kingship) and *all* members of God’s *one* household (kinship) affirm the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church in that they are all (catholicity) one (unity) together with one another as different members (diversity) in Christ (unity, identity).

(3) The holy temple

The analogies²⁷ as God’s people and God’s family (2:19) are expanded by the image of a **holy temple** (2:20-22). Paul makes a transition from the metaphor of God’s household to that of God’s house (temple) where God dwells (Barth 2008:314). The foundation, the most important part of a building, of this holy temple is stated to be the apostles and prophets, and the chief cornerstone of the

²⁵ Hoehner (2004:393) views “God’s people” or “the saints” as “the redeemed people of the old covenant” and O’Brien (1999:211) as “the rest of believers in that heavenly commonwealth ruled by God”.

²⁶ Whereas Hoehner (2004:394) and O’Brien (1999:211-2) see the members as “family members of a household”, Best (1998:278) sees them as “members of a household”. Both phrases are identical, seeing that the phrase “members of God’s household” implies a more intimate fellowship than “citizen of God”.

²⁷ Three important images of the church in the NT are all depicted in the names of the three persons of the Trinity in this passage: One body of Christ (2:16), God’s people (2:19), and the temple of the Holy Spirit (2:21).

foundation is Christ²⁸ himself (2:20). As the chief cornerstone of the foundation, Christ holds the whole building together (Fowl 2012:99). “Being **joined together**” (2:21) and “being **built together**” (2:22), as building processes, emphasise the importance and necessity of the spirit of “togetherness”, in which no part or material can remain individually alone without any joint with others. The consequence of “being joined and built together” is becoming a holy temple in the Lord (2:21) and God’s dwelling where God lives by his Spirit (2:22), which is the corporate church. The image of “being joined and built together” explicates the unity and catholicity of the church (O’Brien 1999:219; Hoehner 2004:413).

The holy temple (ναὸν ἁγίων) refers to the most holy place (cf. Heb. 9:3) in the Old Testament (OT), where God dwells. The church as the communion of saints is God’s dwelling, his temple, therefore it should be holy, dedicated to God (cf. 1 Co. 3:17). The completed building is not a mere building but a holy place where all sins must be eliminated, purged, cleansed, and purified by the blood of Christ and by the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit, so that the most holy God may dwell²⁹ in it. God chose them “to be holy and blameless before him in love” (Eph. 1:3-4). Holiness is one of God’s blessings and God’s choice for believers (Fowl 2012:97). The unity and catholicity move toward the holiness of the church. God’s design and purpose are to maintain the unity and catholicity and at the same time the holiness of the church³⁰. Holiness means that the church is set apart for dedication and service to God (cf. Hoehner 2004:411), and sinful people are justified and sanctified by the Holy Spirit in Christ’s sacrificial love. Without Christ’s love in the believer (cf. Eph.3:17-18), there is no holiness.

²⁸ Paul refers to Jesus Christ as the foundation of the church (1Co. 3:11).

²⁹ God dwells by the Holy Spirit in the church (1 Co. 3:16) and in the bodies of the individual members (1 Co. 6:19).

³⁰ Schnakenburg (1991:126) also indicates the ecumenical concern to overcome the fragmentation into denominational churches and the article on the church of the Nicene Creed, “the *una sancta, catholica et apostolica Ecclesia*”, from the reflection on the one building of God, based on the foundation of the apostles and prophets and held together in Christ.

(4) The growth of the church

As the process of union to “being joined and built together” is going on step by step, its consequence brings forth the “**rise of the building**” in the Lord (2:21), that is, the **growth of the church**. The present passive participle “being joined together” explicates that it is the gracious action of God to join individual believers together and to bring inner unity (Hoehner 2004:409) and that God is working in us for the growth of the church into Christ (cf. 4:15). Note that it is not a believer by himself, but believers who join together and grow.

The **growth of the church** by the work of being “joined together” and “built together” in this context, which does not harmonize with egoism, individualism, self-satisfaction or competitive rivalry, focuses on the collective growth into Christ together with the individual believer’s growth in faith and love. The growth of the church is crucial as the driving force for the sake of the unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the church. The fact that the corporate church grows into Christ tells that the church is not a static, inanimate entity and a completed structure (Fowl 2012:99) but a living, continually growing and developing organism (Hoehner 2004:409), which is imperfect and thus in need of continuous growth in the direction of “a holy temple in the Lord”. Best (1998:321) says Paul’s idea of the church’s growth and reform toward the future can be considered as the spiritual ground for the Reformation slogan, *ecclesia semper reformanda*.

The joining and process of growth of every individual believer together with other believers looks extremely difficult, elaborate and complex, just as if a skilful mason should fit it together carefully (Hoehner 2004:409). It is only the Triune God who can fit every believer into God’s one holy temple according to his plan, will, purpose, manner, and wisdom. It is realised through the three persons of the Trinity who work together for the upbuilding and growth of the church into Christ: God the Father is its designer through his love, the Son, Jesus Christ, its founder and redeemer through his self-sacrifice in love, the Holy Spirit the builder through the word of God and his

indwelling in believers.

Therefore the unity, catholicity and holiness of the church are the work of the three persons of the Trinity in the believer and in the congregation.

2.1.3. Prayer for strengthening of love (3:14-19)

Paul prays as the climax of the unity in Christ to God the Father (3:14) who created all things (3:9) and gives names to his every (most commentators prefer “every” to “whole”, NIV) family in heaven and on earth (3:15, cf. 1:10). In creating and giving names to every family in heaven and on earth, God’s sovereignty and fatherhood are stressed (O’Brien 1999:255-6; Hoehner 2004:475-8). Paul here uses the terms “father” and “family” as a reference to the universal family of God’s creation.

The first request in Paul’s prayer is for their inner strengthening with God’s power through the Holy Spirit, God’s agent (3:16). The inner person (being) is the innermost part of the believer, heart or mind, where the Holy Spirit does strengthening and renewing work (O’Brien 1999:258; Hoehner 2004:479).

The second is for Christ’s dwelling in believers’ hearts through their faith (3:17). The heart is the centre of one’s personality, thoughts, will, emotions, enlightenment (1:18), integrity of worship (5:19), motivation for obedience (6:5), etc (O’Brien 1999:259; Hoehner 2004:481). When Paul prays, he uses the names of the three persons of the Trinity: the Father (3:14), Spirit (3:16) and Son (3:17), who co-work in the lives of believers through faith (Hoehner 2004:482).

Thirdly, Paul prays for their knowledge of God’s infinite love, bringing forth unity through mutual love in unity with Christ (3:17-19). God’s infinite immeasurable love in Christ provides the foundation and beginning of Christian life (Hoehner 2004:483; Fowl 2012:122), and provides the motivating power that enables, deepens, and

enhances believers to love God, to love one another³¹, and even to love their enemies (O'Brien 1999:260; Fowl 2012:122). Paul's prayer implies that it is impossible to know Christ's love fully, when he refers to its four dimensions, 'width, length, height, and depth' and the fact that it surpasses knowledge. This emphasises that the knowledge of Christ's love is more important than any other knowledge, whether it is some biblical doctrine or human scientific philosophy. O'Brien (1999:265) states that Paul wants believers to be empowered by the Holy Spirit's inward strengthening and Christ's indwelling through their faith so as to grasp that love, and to be filled to the measure of all the fullness of God. Unless believers are empowered and strengthened by God, no one can fathom the infinite love of Christ and become spiritually mature (O'Brien 1999:266). The basis of the unity among believers in Christ is God's infinite, unfathomable love that empowers believers to love one another³². Without God's love there is no unity, nor holiness.

2.1.4. The basis of unity (4:1-6)

Based on the biblical principle of the unity and catholicity of the church examined in chapter 2, Paul applies the principle in chapter 4. Chapter 4:1-16 is divided into two sections: verses 1-6 deal with the exhortation (4:1) focusing on unity in relation to seven graces (4:2-3) and a sevenfold oneness (4:4-6); verses 7-16 describe Christ's goal with the different gifts given to the individual believer.

2.1.4.1. Seven³³ graces to unity (4:1-3)

The conjunction "then" ("therefore" KJV) (4:1) plays an inferential role, from the

³¹ The imperative principle of Christian mutual love is well explained in Jesus' new command to his followers: "A new command I give you. Love one another as I have loved you, so you must love one another. By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another" (Jn. 13:34-35).

³² Bruce Kaye (2012:12) notes that the unity which makes the church community a Christian community is the unity of love.

³³ O'Brien (1999:273) gives a list of four graces: humility, gentleness, patience and loving forbearance.

preceding chapters (chaps. 1-3), for the following chapters (chaps. 4-6). The conjunction “then” or “therefore” and the verb “urge” or “exhort” link together so that they take an imperative form, giving not only a sense of urgency but also a note of authority (Hoehner 2004:503). The content of the imperative is “to live a life (or walk) worthy of the calling you have received” (4:1). “The calling you have received” is expounded in chapters 1 to 3, and is granted as God’s blessing, grace, love, and mercy to effect the believer’s individual salvation and his union with all believers in Christ into the church presented as one new man, one body of Christ, God’s people, God’s family, and a holy temple. “A life worthy of the calling” emphasises that the conduct should be in balance with or equal to one’s calling and refers to the life of both individual believers and the corporate body of believers (Hoehner 2004:504-5).

The infinitive verb “to live” or “to walk” demands an active response. God’s call implies on the one hand imparting to them the grace and love of God and lifting them up to a privileged position, and on the other hand calling for their responsibility in accordance with their position in Christ. They have to respond actively to God’s calling with gratitude, praise and confident obedience; if they react with reluctance and grumbling, their walk is unworthy of such a great and privileged grace and they cannot maintain unity.

The manner in which the called should walk to be worthy of their calling is answered in the next verses. Verses 2-3 have two “with (*meta*)” prepositional phrases followed by two participial clauses, in which Paul emphasises the **seven graces** (or qualities) (cf. Gal. 5:16-26), of the Christian character to promote the unity of the church - **lowliness, meekness, longsuffering, forbearing one another, love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit, the bond of peace** – all are essentially necessary for a Christian life worthy of God’s calling. Without the practice of these graces the aim of Paul’s exhortation, to maintain the unity of the body, would not be achieved (cf. O’Brien 1999:276).

As the first essential grace, Paul refers to “**lowliness or humility**”. The first *meta* phrase, “with all lowliness and meekness”, describes the highest degree of lowliness and meekness. According to Fowl (2012:130), humility entails rightly recognising one’s status before God and this will lead one to situate oneself rightly relative to others. Hoehner (2004:506) says that Paul emphasises the virtue of humility first in the light of unity³⁴: “pride provokes disunity whereas humility engenders unity”.

Humility is not regarded as a grace in the world full of conceit, self-display, rivalry, and selfish ambition, which can cause disunity. However, it is the first of the graces needed to maintain the unity of the church and mature Christian life. O’Brien (1999:277) notes that lowliness in the NT³⁵ signifies a grace that is necessary when one serves the Lord or is submissive to other Christians. Lowliness and meekness are referred to by Jesus as characteristics of himself in Mt. 11:29, “I am meek and lowly in heart”. This lowliness brings forth meekness or gentleness.

Hoehner (2004:506-7) describes the word “**meekness**” (gentleness or mildness): “The word never connotes the idea of weakness. Rather it implies the conscious exercise of self-control, exhibiting a conscious choice of gentleness as opposed to the use of power for the purpose of retaliation”. Meekness is demonstrated by spiritual Christians even when fellow believers have sinned, in “consideration for others and a willingness to waive one’s right” (O’Brien 1999:277-8; cf. Gal. 6:1).

“**Longsuffering**” (**patience**), which is literally a long temper to endure prolonged suffering, is an aspect of the fruit of the Spirit (cf. Gal.5:22) that Christians should demonstrate by walking by the Spirit. This ability to make allowance for others’ shortcomings and tolerance of others’ exasperating behaviour is an essential quality for communal living (Lincoln 1990:236; O’Brien 1999:278). Hoehner (2004: 508-9) found its meanings in the classical writings and in the NT: one’s endurance of grief,

³⁴ Paul emphasises the **lowliness or humility** of Jesus in Php. 2:2-3; 5-8 as the example of humility that Christians should follow.

³⁵ Paul refers to humility in Ac.20:19 (“I served the Lord with great humility”), Php.2:3 (“in humility to consider others better than yourselves” and Col. 3:12 in a similar exhortation (Col. 3:12-15). Even Peter insists on humility “clothe yourselves with humility toward one another; Humble yourselves under God’s mighty hand” (1Pe. 5:5-6).

delay of God's wrath, not abandoning hope, waiting patiently without immediate results like a farmer waiting for his harvest, staying one's impatience or vengeance and exhibiting patience one toward another especially to sustain unity.

The first of the two participial clauses is "Forbearing one another in love". "**Forbearing one another**" is an amplification of "longsuffering"; to endure others' faults, offences, attitudes, differing abilities and knowledge. There are various differences between people in character, attitudes and actions, and differences in community life may cause conflict, dispute and tension, whether small or big, and lead to disunity and division. In such situations, active mutual forbearance and resignation to suffering are the practical solution (cf. Lincoln 1990:236; O'Brien 1999:278).

The more important grace, "**in love**", is added, because just forbearing one another without love can amount to storing an explosive resentment. Paul's exhortation in Col. 3:14, "over all these virtues put on love, which binds all together in perfect unity", makes it clear that love is the primary virtue in relationships in the church. Lincoln (1990:237) states, "the absence of love always leads to the loss of unity". Different points of view that always exist in the church should never be a legitimate reason to lead to disunity or division, but be handled with mutual forbearance in love, which is suitable for preserving the unity of the Spirit (Schnackenburg 1991:164).

The second participial clause is "**endeavouring³⁶ to keep the unity of the Spirit**". According to Eph. 2:18, the Holy Spirit creates and thus preserves the unity of the church, which is not believers' own achievement. That is why the unity of the church is described as the unity of the Spirit (O'Brien 1999:279). The already existing invisible unity of the church should be recognised, preserved and demonstrated visibly by walking by the Holy Spirit in Christ, which is a Christian practical life worthy

³⁶ σπουδάζω (25.74) – "to be eager to do something with the readiness to expend energy and effort; to be eager; to be devoted to" (Louw, 1988: 298).

of his calling. “Endeavouring” (“Make every effort”, NIV), a present participle, implies an active and vigorous effort. Every effort should be made to maintain or preserve unity presently, actively and constantly. Without such an endeavour to maintain unity, there would be no hope for it. All actions contrary to Paul’s urgent exhortation, whether splitting or staying in disunity, are disobedience to God’s word and “despite the gracious reconciling work of Christ” (O’Brien 1999:280).

The unity of the Spirit is seen “in (through; NIV) the bond³⁷ of **peace**”.

In Eph. 2, when the barrier of hostility between the Jews and the Gentiles was abolished by the blood of Christ, the unity and the peace of the church were achieved together. Unity is demonstrated through the bond of peace, binding all individual Christians and all corporate churches together to live in peace with love as the tying bond.

Believers who are called to salvation and to unity with the corporate church should live a life worthy of God’s calling, by the way in which they live with one another, putting up with their differences. For this, they should live with the highest degree of humility, meekness, longsuffering and forbearing one another in love. Believers should make every effort to sustain and strengthen the unity of the Spirit by living in peace with one another. These seven graces to unity do not come of their own accord, but should be lived through, presently and constantly asking and allowing the indwelling Spirit of God to guide and strengthen them in him, because the unity and catholicity of the church can ultimately be brought about by the work of the Holy Spirit through their obedient faith. Without the practice of these seven graces, unity is far from becoming a reality.

³⁷ σύνδεσμος – “that which binds together, bond of union, fastening”, (Liddell, 1978:1701).

2.1.4.2. The sevenfold oneness (4:4-6)

Paul lists the sevenfold oneness of spiritual realities, which provide the basis of and motivation for the unity of the church, focusing on the three persons of the Trinity in verses 4-6: **one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God the Father.**

Firstly, it is with respect to the **Spirit** who continuously establishes the church: symbolised as **one body**, through **one Spirit** and with **one hope**. **One body** is already mentioned in Eph. 2:16, which is composed of all believers Jews and Gentiles. It refers to the universal, catholic church. **One Spirit** is also discussed in Eph. 2:18, 22, by which all believers have access to God the Father and by which God dwells in his holy temple that is made up of all believers who are joined and built together. The Holy Spirit dwells in all individual believers and in the church as a whole³⁸.

One hope is promised by God. According to Eph. 1:3-6, God blesses all believers with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places, chooses them to be holy and blameless, adopts them as his children and calls them into one common hope to the praise of his glorious grace which he bestows on us. When God calls both Jews and Gentiles through the effective calling by the powerful work of the Holy Spirit, they are called into a common hope, which is closely connected with the riches of God's glorious inheritance (cf. Eph. 1:18), and which is explained in Eph. 2:18 as access to the Father of all who is over, through and in all (Eph. 4:6). This hope motivates unity.

The second person in the Trinity, **the Son, Christ Jesus**, is described as the one Lord and connected with two elements: **one Lord, one faith and one baptism.**

One Lord, Christ is the head of the church as his body (1:22-23), the chief

³⁸ Paul explains the relation between one body and one Spirit in 1 Co. 12:13 as follows: "We were all **baptised by one Spirit into one body** – whether Jews or Greeks, slave or free – and we were all given the one Spirit to drink".

cornerstone of the foundation of his church (2:20) as a holy temple. Christ Jesus, who sacrificed himself as ransom for sinners and bought them with his precious blood, owns them as their Lord. So all believers believe, accept and confess him as the Lord of their lives.

Therefore by **one faith** in the Lord Jesus Christ, all believers as servants of the one Lord are united with him, baptised into him, subjected to him and nourished by him; one Lord whom they thank, love, trust, praise and serve. One faith is the only means to unite a believer with the Triune God. Their faith (cf. Eph. 2:8) is a response not only with intellectual agreement and heartfelt emotion, but also with faithful obedience and trust, expressed in attitudes such as gratitude, confidence, reliance, humility and willingness. So the one faith in one Lord signifies that believers have the same faith in Christ.

One baptism is a symbolic, spiritual, empirical sacrament, administered in the name of three persons of the Trinity, through which God confirms that the believer is accepted as a member of God's family, a member of his church, in union with the one Lord Christ³⁹. Therefore the second triad of motivation is one Lord, one faith and one baptism that are all linked with one another. Hoehner (2004:518) comments: "There is unity in the one Lord in whom believers place their one faith expressed in one baptism signifying their identification in his death and resurrection".

Thirdly, there is **one God** and Father of all. As the first person of the Triune God and the creator of the universe, God is involved with all the work of the other two persons of the Trinity. It is emphasised that God is the Father of all believers, which is the basis and motivation for the unity of the church. It is one family of God where God is the one Father of his children, of all believers. Under one God, the Father, all

³⁹ When Paul speaks of baptism, he uses the terms "baptised into Christ or into one body" and "united with Christ" in the following passages, "all of us who were *baptised into Christ* were baptised into his death. If we have been *united with him* like this in his death, we will be certainly *united with him* in his resurrection" (Ro. 6:3, 5), and "we were all *baptised by one Spirit into one body* and we were all given the one Spirit to drink" (1 Co. 12:13).

believers are brothers and sisters in one family (Eph. 2:19) with love, righteousness, peace and joy, where division into two or more families should be inconceivable. Barth (2011:465-6) says that “God’s oneness is directly, i.e. causatively, dynamically, effectively, but also epistemologically, related to the unity of the church” and “the church cannot be one except when it attests to its God-given oneness by proving unity in diversity, and when it ventures to respect diversity in unity”.

As a result of the reflection on the sevenfold oneness associated with the three persons of the Trinity, the characteristics, origin and basis of and motivation for the unity and catholicity of the church are founded in God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, that is, the unity, catholicity and holiness of the three persons of God.

2.1.5. The building up of unity (4:7-16)

Paul moves from the basis of the unity of all Christians to the service of each individual believer to the one body of Christ. As O’Brien (1999:286) comments, Paul introduces the motif of diversity in Christ’s distribution of grace to each individual believer in 4:7-10, which contributes to the unity of the body of Christ, and then returns to unity in 4:11-16.

2.1.5.1. The donation of the gifts (4:7-10)

Verse 4:7 reveals two things; Jesus Christ is the giver of the gifts and he gives gifts to every single believer “as Christ apportioned it” (or “according to the measure of the gift of Christ”, KJV, ESV). When Paul says, “to each one of us” (4:7), “each one” signifies diversity and “us” signifies unity, viz. diversity in the unity of the church. The passage of verses 8-10, including the quotation from Psalm 68:18 (4:8), emphasises that it is Christ who descended and ascended on high in order to be able to give the various gifts of the Holy Spirit to each believer (Hoehner 2004:521-38).

2.1.5.2. The distribution of the gifts (4:11-16)

Paul connects the donation of the gifts of Christ to the upbuilding of the one church, which is the ultimate purpose of the gifts. It is said in verses 7-10 that the gifts are given to each believer, but in verse 11 the foundational gifts are given to some specified groups of persons indicated in the list of gifts⁴⁰: **apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers**. Hoehner (2004:546-7) notes that the specifically gifted persons may be called the office bearers in the church but these gifts are not offices to serve the church.

Verse 12 describes the **purpose with the specifically gifted persons**. The immediate purpose or function of the specifically gifted persons' ministry is for the preparation (perfecting: KJV ; equipping: ESV) of God's people, who have the goal "For the work of service (or ministry: KJV)" of all the saints, and who in turn have the final goal of **the building up of the body of Christ**⁴¹, the church, as stated in Eph. 2:21. This final goal is dependent on the common service of both specifically gifted ministers and all the saints. The distinction between clergy and laity is eliminated in that all the saints are equipped for their own ministries of building up the church, a distinction with little, if any, support in the NT (O'Brien 1999: 302; Hoehner 2004:549). As each believer functions with the gift given to each, the church will be built up (Hoehner 2004:551).

Hoehner (2004:552-9) shows that verse 13, having the structure of three

⁴⁰ Paul lists spiritual gifts in other contexts in the New Testament: Ro. 12:6 – 8; 1 Co. 7:7; 12:8 – 10, 28, where all the lists are not exactly the same and no list embraces all the gifts. Grudem (1994:1020) lists all the gifts in Paul's letters and sums up 22 different kinds of gifts. 1 Co. 12:28 has three gifts in common with Ephesians: apostle, prophet and teacher. Another similarity is that the list refers to the gifted persons who have such gifts or such gifts as offices. Other lists refer to specific gifts.

⁴¹ 1 Cor. 14:12 said the same to the members, "Since you are eager to have spiritual gifts, try to excel in *gifts that build up the church*".

prepositional phrases with the preposition “εἰς” (to or into)⁴² - “Until we all attain (or reach) to ... to ... to ...” signifies **three aspects of the one ultimate goal of the maturity of the church**. It reveals the final goal that all individual believers and the one corporate body are working to attain.

The three aspects of the one goal are as follows.

(1) Unity of faith in and knowledge of the Son of God

The first aspect of the goal is unity of faith in and of knowledge of the Son of God, Jesus Christ⁴³. Unity of faith is already given in one new man (2:11-22), and yet is still to be maintained visibly with every effort (4:3); it is a goal to be attained (4:13). The goal of one faith is applied to “all”, which implies corporate attainment (Fowl 2012:142). Unity of the knowledge of the Son of God, for which Paul has already prayed (1:17-19; 3:16-19), is now advocated as the goal to be attained (Lincoln 1990:256; O’Brien 1999:306). For this unity of faith and knowledge, the common confessions of faith have been made, learnt and professed. It is important for pastors and teachers in theological schools and churches to work for unity of faith in and knowledge of Christ.

(2) A mature man

Another aspect of the final goal is “a mature man” (NAS) in singular form. It is remarkable that the final point is a mature man where all believers will arrive in the end. This idea is already revealed as “one new man” (Eph. 2:15), referring to the church. All believers assemble and form into a mature man, namely, all believers in the one corporate body of Christ, the church. For this, the church has to grow up and be built up until it becomes one mature man in Christ. This context shows that

⁴² εἰς – (marker of goals : the result of an action or condition) into, to (Danker, 2000: 288-90).

⁴³ Ro 10:17 implies that faith in Christ is closely related with knowledge of Christ through hearing and believing the message of Christ.

spiritual maturity focuses on the importance of corporate growth resulting in unity rather than individual growth into Christ⁴⁴, so individual growth not shared with the corporate body is evidence of spiritual immaturity. “As the church matures unity results” (Hoehner 2004:556). The meaning of “a mature man” stands opposite to infants (or children) that are mentioned in verse 14, rather than a perfect man”⁴⁵ in the ethical sense. Children often fight and divide, which is evidence of immaturity, so the disunity of the church is evidence of immaturity. On the contrary, through growing into a mature church, the church is able to preserve the one body of Christ and keep from the immature consequences stated in verse 14.

(3) The measure of Christ’s full stature

The third aspect of the one final goal is to attain to the measure of Christ’s full stature (or **maturity**), which is based on the previous two aspects: “the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God”; and “a mature man”. “A mature man” is more fully explicated as “the maturity of Christ’s fullness” or “Christ’s full maturity”. According to Hoehner (2004:557), “as Christ fills the church, so is the stature of the church filled by him”, and “as the gifts from Christ are used then the church will measure up to Christ’s full stature”. When Paul prays in Eph. 1:23 and 3:19, he portrays that Christ fills the church with all the fullness of Christ. The truth that Jesus Christ has given gifts to the church refers to the filling of the church with his fullness until “we all” attain to the measure of his full maturity. Every believer has been given gifts by the Holy Spirit and the gifts should be used and fulfilled by praying and letting the Holy Spirit use the gifts in the church so that the church will grow up to the point of Christ’s full stature, that is, to his self-sacrificing love, in order that believers will love one another as Christ loves us (cf. 4:2; Jn. 13:34).

⁴⁴ Col. 1:28, “so that we may present everyone perfect in Christ”, focuses on individual maturity, but in Eph. 4:13 the focus has shifted to the whole church as a unified entity (Lincoln 1990:256).

⁴⁵ The Greek word for “mature” (τέλειον) can mean “perfect” (KJV), but more adequately means “fully grown” or “mature” in contrast with childish in this context (Hoehner 2004:554-5; O’Brien 1999:307).

Therefore the specifically gifted leaders in the church – apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers – have a great role in preparing God’s people for the ministry to serve the church, and for building up the church. The building up of the church is to attain to the one final goal with **three aspects**, namely, to the unity of the faith in Christ as the Son of God and the unity of personal knowledge of Christ, to a mature corporate man, the mature church of Christ, and to full maturity according to the measure of Christ’s love, in which **one final goal of three aspects** can be described as “the **maturity of Christ’s love**”. Hoehner (2004:558) says:

“Maturity involves sharing individual spiritual growth and using one’s spiritual gifts within the body. This not only is evidence of spiritual maturity for the individual but it also brings unity to the body and the possibility of measure up to Christ’s full stature”.

From this discussion, it is clear that the extent to which the church can preserve unity depends on the stature the church can attain to the measure of Christ’s full maturity.

After discussing the final goal in verse 13, Paul deals with the **ultimate purpose** of the goal of attaining maturity on two levels, one for individual believers (4:14-15) and the other for the corporate body (4:16). Individual believers have to do away with spiritual childishness and immaturity (4:14) from a negative angle, and to grow spiritually with Christlike maturity (4:15) from a positive angle.

Childishness and immaturities (4:14) such as foolishness, selfishness, lack of understanding and discernment, lead to easily falling into falsehood and instability, to confusion, deception, temptation, being persuaded or influenced by others’ evil deceitful plans. Metaphorically the purpose is that all believers may grow up and put away childish things (cf. 1Co 13:11). There might be many ambiguous and heretic false teachings in the church, but spiritually childish believers cannot discern what is right or wrong, and will act according to their foolish, selfish ways. That is why gifted persons are necessary to equip all believers to put away their spiritual immaturity.

In verse 15, the positive purpose of individual believers is stated to be “growth up into (or to) Christ in all things”. The phrase “in all things” is rendered “in all aspects” (KJV), “in every way” (ESV), or “in all areas of spiritual life” (Hoehner’s own interpretation, 2004:567)”. There are uncountable areas and things that all believers should know and grow up into. The headship of Christ has its origin in his being the giver of gifts and he is the goal of the donation of his gifts. Hoehner (2004:566-8) states that Christ as the head is both the source (4:7) and the goal (4:15) of the spiritual growth of the body.

“**Speaking the truth in love**” (4:15) is the way in which “we”, all believers, grow up. Regarding “speaking the truth”⁴⁶, Hoehner (2004:567) says, “being **truthful in both conduct and speech**”. The way of “speaking the truth” should be in love, because “truth” is joined to “love”, and the two should be expressed and demonstrated not only in words but also in real conduct. The combination of “speaking the truth” with “in (or with) love” is the most powerful, effective way to develop spiritual growth to unity among one another. Jesus Christ is the model and standard for all believers in that he lived perfectly in both aspects “speaking the **truth** of God in **love**” by speaking the words of the Father (cf. Jn. 14:10) and in love sacrificing himself on the cross for us. All believers should imitate Jesus by living according to his new command, “Love one another; as I have loved you, so you must love one another” (Jn. 13:34). “Truth without love” only hurts and offends fellow members of the one body, causing disunity. “Love without truth” only compromises, defiles the identity, purity and holiness of the community. Therefore “truth and love” must go together hand in hand (cf. 1 Co 13:6) for the unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the church. This practical way of “speaking the truth with love” will build and promote the unity and growth of the whole church.

The ultimate purpose of the corporate body is revealed in 4:16. “From him (Christ)” signifies Christ as the source of the growth of all believers individually and the

⁴⁶ ἀληθεύω – speak truth (Liddell, 1978:63-4); be truthful, tell the truth (Danker, 2000:43).

corporate body. The head, Christ, nourishes the body of all believers in which each believer is a member. “The whole body grows and builds up” indicates the ultimate purpose of the gifts given to the church. As verses 13 and 15 already said, the purpose is the growth of each believer individually and of the whole body made up of all believers, up to the measure of the stature of Christ’s fullness.

“Being joined and held together by every supporting ligament⁴⁷ (connection)” (cf. 2:21-22) depicts the organic union of a building or of a body, which represents the unity and catholicity and diversity of the body, the church. This work of joining and holding together is done by the Holy Spirit.

“As each part does its work” means that the whole body works on the growth of the body when each part uses his or her own gift and fulfils his or her function properly. This utilization of Christ’s gifts is every believer’s ministry, task and responsibility.

“**In love**” describes again the attitudes in which every member grows up or is built up. “Love”⁴⁸ is the greatest, most powerful means and sphere for the sake of the growth and unity of the church, just as Christ loved us (Jn. 13:14) and gave himself up for the church (Eph. 5:25) with the love that surpasses knowledge (Eph. 3:19).

The next section will deal with the relation between unity, catholicity and ecumenicity.

2.1.6. Interrelation between unity, catholicity and ecumenicity

Reflecting on the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church, the meaning of the phrase “unity of the church” is not difficult at all to understand, but since the word “catholicity” does not appear in connection with the church in the NT, it is necessary to note its meaning, which has been used in various ways in the history of

⁴⁷ Ligaments are believed to be channels to feed the body and to join the members of the body together. That is a metaphor for the specially gifted members who supply other members with the word of God and bind them together in love.

⁴⁸ Love is mentioned as the most excellent way and the greatest gift in the Christian life (1 Co. 13:13).

the church. It is known that Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, first used the word “catholic” in relation to the church: “where Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic church” (Küng 1968:297). The original Greek word for the adjective “catholic” has the meaning of “general” or “whole (total, entire, complete)” or “universal”. The “catholic church” means the “whole church” or “universal church” or “all-embracing church” (Küng 1968:297; 1993:137-8) including all the individual local churches. This all-embrace of catholicity denotes its quantitative aspect.

Quantitative catholicity connotes geographical (space), temporal (time) and cultural (culture, language, race, nation, class) universality (cf. Jonker, 1992:17-9).

The sense of geographical universality is found in the great commission of Christ given to his disciples, “Therefore **go** and make disciples of **all nations**” (Mt 28:19), “**Go into all the world** and preach the good news to all creation” (Mk. 16:15), “you will be my witnesses ... to **the ends of the earth**” (Ac. 1:8). Through the proclamation of the gospel to the whole world, the geographical expansion of the church brings about the spatial universality of the church.

The geographical expansion to the ends of the earth also results in the cultural universality of the church, transcending all differences, boundaries and borders of culture, nation, race, language and class. This cultural universality is realized in many texts in the NT. When Paul refers to the church, he mentions “together with all those everywhere who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ” (1 Co. 1:2), “There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are **all one** in Christ Jesus” (Gal. 3:28), and “Here there is no Greek or Jew, circumcised or uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave or free, but Christ is all, and is **in all**” (Col. 3:11). In Revelations it is explained eschatologically, “with your blood you purchased men for God from every tribe and language and people and nation” (5:9), and “a great multitude that no one could count, from every nation, tribe, people and language, standing before the throne and in front of the Lamb” (7:9). The catholic church embraces among its members all tribes, languages, peoples and nations, without discrimination of Jew and Greek, slave and free, circumcised and

uncircumcised whereby all distinctions disappear in Christ.

Regarding the temporal universality, Heyns (1980:139) sees it as the church's continuity in time: the church will always be there and Christ himself will be with it always and to the very end of time, on the biblical basis of Jesus' own words, "you are Peter, and on this rock I will build **my church**, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it" (Mt. 16:18) and "surely **I am with you always, to the very end of the age** (Mt. 28:20). The catholic church is the church of all ages in the presence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. So the quantitative universality is not limited to a special space, time or culture but an all-embracing totality.

However, this outward quantitative universality is meaningful only when the catholicity has been qualitatively faithful to the identity of the church of which the Bible speaks. Küng (1968:302) considers the identity of the church as the basis of catholicity. In the course of the doctrinal dispute and development, the word "catholic" or "catholicity" had to exclude the so-called heretical sects or groups. The catholic church meant the orthodox church in relation to the original identity or essence of the church of Christ. On the contrary, the heretic sects were called heterodox, separated from the orthodox or main-stream church. This does not mean that the statistical majority church *ipso facto* comprises true catholicity as the orthodox church.

When Vincent of Lerins (434) gave a definition of true catholicity as "that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all" (*quod ubique, semper, ab omnibus*)⁴⁹, it seemed to be a great definition with reference to catholicity and orthodoxy alike. However, the Reformers found that the mere general acceptance of doctrine "everywhere, always and by all" does not suffice as the criterion of both catholicity and orthodoxy. The true catholicity of the church cannot be defined correctly unless it is found in relation to the inner essence and identity of the true church, which is faithful to the word of God, the gospel of Christ and which consists in relationship to Christ, as Ignatius said, "where Jesus is there is the catholic church".

⁴⁹ In footnote 17 (Küng, 1968:298), quoted from Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitorium*.

So Kūng (1993:138-9) understands that ‘being a true evangelical church’, which is oriented and centred on the gospel of Christ, means ‘being a true catholic or ecumenical church’. Jonker (1992:20-1) views catholicity as the fullness of truth.

When Kūng (1968:302-3) says that “Catholicity is that which links together all the local churches into one entire church”, his statement makes it clear about the interrelation of the two attributes of the church, catholicity (all the local churches) and unity (one entire church) that the two are correlative, inseparable and closely bound together, always going together, mutually presupposing one another and often overlapping in meaning, so that the two terms can be used interchangeably. Therefore unity and catholicity are not two different qualities but rather two different aspects of one and the same church (cf. Jonker, 1992:18-19).

Note the interrelation of unity and catholicity and ecumenicity.

When Jesus said “this gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole **world** (**οἰκουμένη**)” (Mt. 24:14), he used the term **oikoumene**⁵⁰. The term “ecumenical” derives from the Greek term *oikoumene* and has the meaning of “promoting or tending toward worldwide Christian unity or cooperation”.⁵¹

Kūng (1968:303) says that the universality can be expressed in the word “ecumenical”, and the two words “ecumenical” and “catholic (universal)” are closely linked not only in their original meanings but also in their Christian usage. As the gospel of Christ has spread into all the world through world evangelism, the geographical expansion of the church has taken place and various churches and church denominations have been established. They felt it necessary to realise the unity and catholicity among the churches of Christ, to enhance their proclamation of the gospel into the whole world, and to promote their unity and catholicity. In

⁵⁰ **οἰκουμένη** (1) the earth as inhabited area, exclusive of the heavens above and nether regions, **the inhabited earth, the world**; (2) the world as administrative unit, the Roman Empire (Danker, 2000:699).

⁵¹ Quoted from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ecumenical>. 1: worldwide or general in extent, influence, or application ; 2 a : of, relating to, or representing the whole of a body of churches, b: promoting or tending toward worldwide Christian unity or cooperation.

connection to the geographical aspect of catholicity, it is possible to call the catholic church the ecumenical church or the universal church.

Therefore the three terms, “unity, catholicity, and ecumenicity” are interlinked with one another and interchangeable. Especially when the church emphasises that the church should strive for the ecumenicity of the church, it connotes that the church should strive for the unity or the catholicity of the church as well. On the basis of this reflection, the ecumenical movement is considered to be biblically appropriate for promoting the unity and catholicity of the church all over the world.

2.1.7. Summary

In section 2.1, the doctrine of unity and catholicity was affirmed through the exegesis of Ephesians 2:11-22, 3:14-19, and 4:1-16, from which the theological principles of the unity and catholicity of the church are derived.

There are many ideas to affirm the unity of the church. The blood of Christ is the motive power to destroy the barrier of disunion and to construct union in his body, the church. The union in Christ has the following purposes: creation of one new man, reconciliation to God and access to God. The consequences of the unity of the church are to be God’s people, God’s household (family), and his holy temple. The process of “being joined and built together”, implies the growth of the church into Christ, and leads to the holy temple in the Lord, where God lives by his Spirit.

Paul prays that all believers be empowered by the Holy Spirit’s inward strengthening and Christ’s indwelling through their faith as God’s gift, so as to grasp Christ’s immeasurable love and to be filled to the measure of all the fullness of God.

Paul calls believers to a life worthy of God’s calling in Christian unity. The Christian way of life is described with seven graces that lead to unity: humility, meekness, longsuffering, forbearing one another, love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the

Spirit, and the bond of peace. The characteristics of this unity are explained as a sevenfold oneness: one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God the Father, which are the basis and motivation of the unity and catholicity of the church in relation to the Triune God.

Christ gave gifts to every single believer and some specified groups of persons as gifts: apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers. Through their ministries they are given to the church for its unity in the faith and the knowledge of Christ and the building up of the church. The growth of the church has the ultimate goal of maturity into Christlike maturity and growth into Christ, its head, who is the source and goal of growth, by being truthful in both conduct and speech in love, which will work for the maintenance of the unity of the church.

All the above reflections induce and affirm the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church.

In addition, the meaning of the term “catholicity” and the interrelation among the three terms, “unity, catholicity, and ecumenicity” are explored.

In the next section the two ecumenical creeds and the Westminster Confession of Faith will be reviewed to see how they affirm the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church.

2.2. Review of the confessions of faith

The previous section 2.1 derived the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church through an exegesis of Ephesians. This section will review how the traditional confessions of faith⁵² profess and teach the unity and catholicity of the church, especially in the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed and among the many Reformed confessions of faith the Westminster Confession that the Presbyterian Church in Korea has been confessing and teaching. This study of the Creeds and the Westminster Confession of Faith will shape the criteria for assessment of the latent Ecclesiological problems in relation to the serious disunity in the PCK.

In his response to Jesus' question on who people said he was, Peter confessed his faith in Jesus: "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. 16:16). It is regarded as the first Christian creed (Schaff 1990a:6) and the foundation of the church, as Jesus said: "You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church" (Mt. 16:18). Christian faith has to be confessed, as Jesus says, "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven" (Mt. 10:32, KJV). Pelikan (2003a:37) describes two correlative words: "believe" and "confess", viz. "We believe and confess or we confess and believe", which are reiterated and permuted in the Christian confessions of faith. The Belgic Confession Article one (on the only God) opens, "We all believe in our hearts and confess with our mouths" (cf. Ro. 10:9-10). Creeds and confessions of faith are to be preached, heard, and taught to catechumens, in order to be accepted, believed, confessed and practised by believers in their faith. Significant roles⁵³ of creeds and

⁵² The term "creed" comes from "*credo*: I believe" and the term "confession of faith" from "to confess what one believes" (Pelikan 2003a:35).

⁵³ Smit (2009:302-3; 2010:147-8) addresses diverse roles of confessional documents: a) they provide the church with a language to proclaim God's praise, both in liturgy and in ordinary life; b) they become hermeneutical lenses by which to read the Scriptures; c) they express identity and thereby contribute to a sense of belongings; d) they help to instruct and form new believers; e) they help the church to distinguish truth from falsehood; and f) they serve as forms of public witness to Jesus Christ the Lord as the gospel.

confessions of faith will be reviewed to clarify their affirmation of the unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the church.

The Bible has the absolute final divine authority, as the only infallible rule of the Christian faith and practice. The confessions of faith are fallible, human, and revisable as answers to the Bible. The authority of all creeds and confessions of faith⁵⁴ cannot be identical with that of the Bible, but is derived, relative, secondary, and provisional, always subordinate to that of the Bible (Schaff 1990a:7; Ernst 2003:89; Smit 2010:139-140).

2.2.1. The early church's creeds

The early church's creeds, the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed have been widely confessed historically and traditionally in Sunday worship liturgical recitation, at baptism and in catechetical instruction. According to Schaff's (1990a:12) classification of creeds, the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed are in the category of ecumenical creeds. The ecumenical creeds⁵⁵ in themselves have the character of the unity and catholicity of the church, by forming a bond of union among all churches confessing the creeds. Leith (1977:4) agrees to this by saying, "In the Ancient church the creed-making process was itself notably catholic". The creeds were formulated during a time of theological controversy⁵⁶ and contain at least the basic doctrines for salvation and a life in faith. There are similarities between the Apostles Creed and the Nicene Creed in their Trinitarian structure and

⁵⁴ The Bible is the *norma normans* (the standardizing or norming norm); the Confession the *norma normata* (the standardised or normed norm) (Schaff 1990a: 7; Smit 2010:139-140).

⁵⁵ Schaff (1990a:9-10, 12) classifies the creeds as Ecumenical, Greek, Roman, and Protestant. The ecumenical creeds mainly contain the orthodox doctrine of God and of Christ, or the fundamental dogmas of the Holy Trinity and Incarnation, and are the common property of all churches, and the common stock from which the later symbols have grown: the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds.

⁵⁶ Schaff (1990a:4) said, "A confession of faith is always the result of dogmatic controversy, and more or less directly or indirectly polemical against opposing error."

contents, but whereas the Apostles' Creed is simpler, the Nicene Creed is more developed and interpreted due to the results of the great doctrinal controversies of the third and fourth centuries (Schaff 1990a:13; Willis 2005:7).

2.2.1.1. The Apostles' Creed

As Augustine, Luther and Calvin all admired the excellence of the Apostles' Creed more than any other Christian creed, Schaff (1990a:14) represented its character and value, "As the Lord's Prayer is the Prayer of prayers, the Decalogue the Law of laws, so the Apostles' Creed is the Creed of creeds."

It is said that the Apostles' Creed is not the direct production of twelve apostles of Jesus. Its authorship is not certain, viz. wholly anonymous (Leith 1977:4), but it contains a summary of their teachings with simplicity and brevity (Pelikan 2003b:667) and in beautiful order (believe in God the Father, in his only Son our Lord and Saviour and in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic church, etc).

It is well known that Calvin followed the arrangement of the Apostles' Creed in his *Institutes*, as the Creed consists of four parts, the first relating to God the Father, the second to Christ the Son, the third to the Holy Spirit, and the fourth to the church (Calvin 2002: 24).

Generally speaking, the Apostles' Creed has three usages: first in the worship service to be confessed as a 'rule of faith' to represent continuity to orthodox Christian doctrine, secondly at the rite of baptism as a baptismal confession of faith for those about to be baptized, and thirdly as a catechism of the rule of faith that is an instruction for new Christians in the essentials of the faith.

The Apostles' Creed is really acknowledged as an ecumenical, unifying creed in that it has been most widely accepted and used by almost all Christian denominations including the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church, the Anglican Church,

the Reformed Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, and the Congregation Church, etc. It has also “been translated into nearly every language” (Pelikan 2003b:667-8).

The present form of the Apostles’ Creed was the product of a long process of formulation, whereas the Nicene Creed was the product of two ecumenical Councils (325, 381). As Westra’s (2002:68-9) investigation indicates, noteworthy forms are the older and shorter form formulated in the second half of the third century, the Roman form of the fourth century, and the present one of the eighth century. According to Schaff (1990a:16-20), the Roman form gradually gained general acceptance in the West; the Latin text is found in Rufinus (AD 390) and the Greek text in Marcellus of Ancyra (AD 336-341).

The ninth article of the Apostles’ Creed on the church is,

[I believe in the Holy Spirit,] the holy catholic church, the communion of saints,
(Pelikan 2003b:669).

- Catholic

The Roman form of the fourth century professes in the article on the church, “(I believe) the holy church” without the terms “catholic” and “communion of saints”. In the comparative table of the gradual formation of the Apostles’ Creed (Schaff 1990b:52-55), “catholic” first appears in St. Nicetas’s form (450)⁵⁷ and “communion of saints” in Eusebius Gallus (550). Gallicanum (650) and Priminus (750) include both “catholic” and communion of saints”.

It is a possible inference that later, a time that is not exactly known, “catholic” was borrowed from the Nicene Creed (381) and “the communion of saints” from a Gallican source, professing “[I believe] the holy **catholic** church, the **communion of saints**”⁵⁸ (Leith 1977:23-25; Schaff, 1990a:19, 21-2; 1990b:45-55). Even though

⁵⁷ Kelly (1972:385, 412) says that it was in the late fourth century in Nicetas of Remesiana that “catholic” began to appear in Western creeds (cf. Wood 2004:225).

⁵⁸ The process of creedal development as to an article on the church can be found easily in Leith’s (1977:23-5) following extraction. Interrogatory Creed of Hippolytus (c.215): “Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, in the holy church?”; Rufinus (c.404): “[I believe] in the Holy Spirit, the holy church, the forgiveness of sins”; and Textus

unity is not explicitly mentioned in the Creed, as discussed in section 2.1.6, catholicity and unity are inseparable, always going together, mutually presupposing one another and often overlapping in meaning. Unity and catholicity are not two different qualities but rather two different aspects of one and the same church.

At any rate the fact that the catholicity of the church is contained in the Apostles' Creed and has been confessed makes it clear that since the time of the early church catholicity has been acknowledged as a basic Christian doctrine, unless it has been confessed in vain and meaningless repetition.

- The communion of saints

The Apostles' Creed gives a definition of the church as “the communion of saints”, to put it another way, it is understood as the “community of believers” (Küng 1993:141). The term “communion” is more often translated as “fellowship”, so “the fellowship of saints” refers to fellowship with God first and then with one another. According to Blei (2005:370), communion or community is a specific form of unity, and unity or communion qualifies catholicity as a comprehensiveness *with a basis, a centre*. The definition itself of the church as the communion of saints in the Creed addresses unity and catholicity. This phrase does not appear in the Old Roman form and in the Nicene Creed and was unknown to Augustine (Wood 2004:228). According to Wood (2004:227; cf. Blei 2005:372), the Latin phrase “*sanctorum*” can be interpreted either as neuter plural or as masculine plural, so the translation of “*sanctorum communionem*” in neuter plural will be “a sharing or partaking in holy things” which implies the traditional term for the Eucharist, or in masculine plural it will be “communion of saints”, referring to the martyrs and confessors, all who make up the body of Christ. But either translation is acceptable, and the two are not mutually exclusive. Calvin's *Institutes* (IV.1.3) and the WCF (chapter 25) refer to the term “communion of saints”. The two sacraments, baptism and the Holy Communion (the Lord's Supper, or Eucharist), are the ordained means by which all the partakers of

Receptus of Priminus (c. 700): “I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints”.

them share in the union through Christ. The fellowship of saints is the means of grace through which believers and the church maintain unity and catholicity.

2.2.1.2. The Nicene (or Nicene–Constantinopolitan) Creed

[We (or I) believe in] one holy catholic and apostolic church.

The Apostles' Creed is popular in the Western, the Nicene in the Eastern churches. The Creed of Nicaea was adopted at the first ecumenical Council of Nicaea (AD 325). Later, "The Creed of Nicaea–Constantinople" was revised with additions at the Council of Constantinople in AD 381. The Nicene Creed is a shorter term of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (or the "Creed of Nicaea–Constantinople") (McGrath 2011:9).

In the case of the Nicene Creed, the Council of Nicaea was summoned in order to settle the theological controversies at that time by the Roman Emperor, Constantine⁵⁹. The Nicene Creed is a statement of orthodox faith in opposition to heresies, especially Arianism. The heresy of Arius, who degraded Christ's divine nature, was condemned at the Council and its followers were excluded from the communion. "The Nicene Creed reflects more of the doctrinal development during the third and fourth century than the Apostles' Creed" (Willis 2005:7). The fact that the Nicene Creed was adopted at the first (325) and second (381) ecumenical councils of the early churches claims to give it ecclesiastical authority and to be the statement of orthodox, ecumenical, catholic faith.

The Creed of Nicaea (325) states indirectly on the church in the anathema after the main text: "they (heretics) are condemned by the holy **catholic** and apostolic church",

⁵⁹ The summon of the Council of Nicaea (325) by Constantine "can be seen as the first step in the attempted creation of an essentially uniform imperial church, whose doctrines would be publicly defined by creeds."

but the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (381) professes an article on the church: “(we believe in) **one** holy **catholic** and apostolic church”.

Compared with the Apostles’ Creed on the article of the church, the Nicene Creed incorporated four attributes of the church: unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity, whereas the Apostles’ Creed contained only two: holiness and catholicity. In this respect, the Nicene Creed made the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church clearer than the Apostles’ Creed. The four attributes of the church in the Nicene Creed have been accepted by the Reformed family of Churches as well, while the Roman Catholic Church appropriates the four as its own properties.

Viewed from the perspective of orthodox unity and catholicity, the Nicene Creed is the first formal confession of faith with universal authority admitted by the two ecumenical Councils (325, 381) and the doctrinal guidance completely professing the doctrine of unity and catholicity. At a basic level, it is one way to manifest the unity and catholicity of the church (the one catholic church) visibly for all churches of Christ which admit, believe, confess and embody the same ecumenical confessions of faith, the Nicene Creed, as told in Ephesians, “(you were called to) one faith” (4:5) and “we all reach in unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God” (4:13).

From the early church up to today, the unity and catholicity of the church is believed, confessed and recited as the orthodox doctrine based on the Bible. The two ecumenical confessions of faith - the Apostles’ Creed and the Nicene Creed – themselves have the nature of being literally *ecumenical* and *confessional*.

In this sense, the two ecumenical creeds can be used as a doctrinal reference like a touchstone to assess whether a church professes a faith that is acceptable to the unity of the Christian orthodox church, and as a bond of doctrinal and confessional unity. The doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church, despite its empirical divisions, is underlying and indisputable (cf. Hebblethwaite 1996:148, 152).

2.2.2. The Westminster Confession of Faith

It is a remarkable characteristic that the Protestant church leaders devoted themselves to the production of their own Reformed confessions of faith in their own regions or countries, for example in Switzerland (the second Helvetic Confession: 1566), Germany (Heidelberg Catechism: 1563), France (The Gallican Confession: 1559), the Netherlands (The Belgic Confession: 1561; The Canons of Dort: 1619), Scotland and England (the Scottish Confession: 1560; the Westminster Confession: 1647).

The Calvinistic Reformed Church has more confessions “than the Lutheran ... and departs further from the authority of ecclesiastical traditionalism than the Lutheran, and allows more freedom for the development of various types of doctrines and schools of theology within the limits of the word of God” (Schaff 1990a: 356; cf. Smith 2010:137).

From the beginning, the Reformed Churches were confessional so that the standard creed of the Reformed faith and practice may be founded on the word of God. The various confessions and standards of the Reformed Churches were recognised by one another in the Reformed family of Churches as biblical. They wanted to manifest the unity and catholicity of the church through the formulation of a confession of faith from the outset rather than through one visible ecclesiastical denomination or organisation (cf. Gereb 2007:117; Smit 2010:137-8).

Among the confessions of the Reformed Churches, the WCF was highly commended in many respects. Schaff (1990a:788) expresses its excellence as “the fullest and ripest symbolical statement of the Calvinistic system of doctrine. In theological ability and merit it is equal to the best works of the kind” and its doctrines are “stated with unusual care, logical precision, clearness, caution, and circumspection and with an eye to all their various aspects and mutual relations”. The production of the WCF started in 1643 and ended in 1647 (Hall, 1993;6-7),

almost one century after other Reformed confessions of the sixteenth century. So it was possible to incorporate all the results of previous theological controversies between the Reformed circle and the heretics, for example, the five Canons of Dort of the Continental Calvinism in which Arminianism was condemned (1619).

The Presbyterian Church of English Puritan Calvinism takes the Westminster Standards (WCF, the larger and the shorter Catechism) as its doctrinal standard, whereas the Reformed Church of continental Calvinism accepts three forms of unity: the Belgic Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort.

The WCF deals with the articles about the church from chapter 25 to 31 as follows:

- Chapter 25: Of the church
- Chapter 26: Of the communion of saints
- Chapter 27: Of the sacraments
- Chapter 28: Of baptism
- Chapter 29: Of the Lord's Supper
- Chapter 30: Of church censures
- Chapter 31: Of synods and councils

The focus of the review of the WCF in this section will be on chapters 25 – 29, with special reference to the unity and catholicity of the church to shape the criteria for assessment of the ecclesiology of the PCK.

2.2.2.1. The church (chapter 25)

The first term of the first section is “the catholic or universal church”, which indicates the meaning of the word “catholic” as “universal” and the importance of the catholicity of the church in line with the two ecumenical Creeds: the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed. The WCF furthermore introduces the terms “invisible” and “visible” as aspects of the catholic church. The invisible universal church is defined as “the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one,

under Christ the head thereof”.

The second section mentions “the visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the gospel”. The catholic or universal church is visible as well as invisible, not only in local churches but also in the presbyteries, synods or general assemblies; in the world alliance or federation many churches are joined together. The visible universal church “consists of all those, throughout the world, that profess the true religion, and of their children”. Here the universality of the visible church is described as both quantitatively, “all those, throughout the world” and qualitatively “those that profess the true religion”. The invisibility and visibility of the universal church do not refer to two different churches, but to two different inseparable and interdependent aspects of one and the same church, just as a man has both an invisible soul and a visible body and the two are inseparable and interdependent. The church is both invisible and visible. The invisible church manifests itself in and through the visible church on earth, so that its true obedience to the invisible God will become visible in concrete deeds before human eyes.

The WCF emphasises that believers must belong to the local church by saying, “the visible church ... out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation”. This expression originally comes from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in the third century: “out of the catholic church there is no truth, no sacrament, no salvation” (Schaff 1990b: 20). The Confession slightly changes the axiom by stating “there is no ordinary possibility of salvation”, implying exceptional possibility that even out of the visible church there is salvation. It is evident that if this axiom is understood as connecting with Christ, “without union with Christ, the head of the church, there is no salvation.”

Even though membership of the visible church does not guarantee membership of the invisible church, it is within and through the visible church that God calls and saves his people and one hears the gospel of salvation, believes in the Lord Jesus Christ and lives a Christian life united with Christ. To be a Christian never means to live alone, but to be united with Christ and then to be joined and built together with

one another in the visible church.

In the third section, the WCF refers to Paul's teaching in Ephesians (4:11-13) that Christ gave gifts and grace to the church, such as the ministry, oracles and ordinances of God for the purpose of the gathering and perfecting of the saints, and that Christ makes them effective by his own presence and that of the Holy Spirit. The WCF clarifies the truth that every church is incomplete and so there is never a complete church on earth, by explaining the realistic problems and difficulties that have happened in the history of the visible church with the following statements:

- ① The catholic church has sometimes been more, sometimes less visible (25.4).
- ② The churches are more or less pure (25.4).
- ③ The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error (25.5).

Since the church dealt with here and in the NT is the visible church, emphasis should be put on the visible church rather than the invisible church, thus sections 4 – 6 give the reality of the visible church.

(1) The WCF introduces the phrase “more or less” in expressing the purity of the visible catholic church, and addresses the three means to make the church ‘more or less’ visible and pure: “sometimes more, sometimes less visible ... 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” (section 4). “Public worship” is added to the two marks of the true church of Luther and Calvin: pure preaching of the word of God and the right administration of sacraments.

By explaining the true church with the phrase “more or less pure”, the WCF goes a step further than mere differentiation between the true church and the false church. The WCF asserts that the “more or less” visibility and purity of the true church depends on “more or less pure” teaching of the gospel, administration of ordinances

and performance of public worship.

(2) Even “the purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error” (section 5). This means that in the historical visible church on earth, unbelievers may be contained who do not have the true saving faith in God’s view although they confessed their faith, were baptised in the human eye and were appointed as deacons, elders or pastors in local churches. About the false church the WCF says: “some have so degenerated, as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan”. From this it is realised that it is necessary to discern between the “less pure church” and the “false church”.

Historically there have been false or heretic translations, interpretations and teachings of the Bible, some human-centred worship services, devotions full of selfish ambition, worldly desire for church authority, power and money, hatred between church members, etc., which were manifestations of less visibility and less purity, and the mixture and error of the visible church. As a result the church might face conflicts or disputes leading to disunity and division between true churches.

In this sense, the WCF connotes that it is in such complex, never easy and simple, empirical circumstances that the catholic church must be manifested visibly.

2.2.2.2. The communion of saints (chapter 26)

The WCF explains the doctrine of the communion of saints, which is professed as a definition of the church in the Apostles’ Creed. According to an internet dictionary, Augustine believed that the word “communion” was derived from the Latin “*com*” (with, together) and “*unus*” (oneness, union)⁶⁰ incorporating the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church.

⁶⁰ Refer to Dictionary.com. *Online Etymology Dictionary*. <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/communion>.

The first section distinguishes “the communion of saints” on two levels: they are united to Christ “by faith” and to one another “in love”.

Firstly with reference to Christ, “All saints, that are united to Jesus Christ their Head, by His Spirit, and **by faith**, have fellowship with Him in His grace, sufferings, death, resurrection, and glory” as told by Paul (Ro 6:6 and 8, 8:37; Gal 2:20; Eph 2:6).

Secondly with one another, “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 do conduce to their mutual good, both in the inward and outward man”. The saints’ fellowship with one another is to share in each other’s gifts and graces, whatever gifts and graces they received from God, so to speak, spiritual and natural gifts, and physical blessings. The love of saints must be expressed by sharing with one another both spiritually and materially with love in Christ not only for their own benefit but rather for their mutual good.

2.2.2.3. The sacraments (chapter 27, 28, 29)

The WCF defines sacraments as “holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace immediately instituted by God”, and clearly sets forth that only two sacraments were ordained by Christ in the gospel: “baptism” and “the Supper of the Lord”.

The effects of the sacraments are “to represent Christ and His benefits; and to confirm our interest in Him”.

The WCF regards the sacraments of the OT as the same as those of the NT, quoting 1 Co. 10:1-4 as the scriptural basis: the event of all Israelites’ passing through the Red Sea signifies the baptism unto Moses, and the meal and drink that all ate and drank in the wilderness were the spiritual meal and drink as the Lord’s Supper. Generally it is said that circumcision in the OT is superseded by baptism in the NT and the Passover by the Lord’s Supper.

The WCF in chapter 28 teaches in detail about baptism as a sign and sealing of the covenant of grace.

- ① Baptism as a seal of the covenant is for the solemn admission into the visible church, that is, an official certification of the confirmation of saving faith.
- ② As a sign and seal of the covenant, baptism signifies engraftment into Christ, spiritual regeneration, forgiveness of sins, and beginning of new life.

The WCF says that “dipping of the person into the water is not necessary”. However, the mode of immersion into water, which was the mode known in the NT, is a more vivid symbolic demonstration of the union with Christ in his death and resurrection than any other mode of baptism in that the baptism candidate *goes down into the water* as a sign of death with Christ and *comes up out of the water* as a sign of resurrection with Christ (cf. Act 8:38-39; Grudem, 1994:967-970). Since baptism as a sign and seal of union with Christ and its saving benefits and covenantal blessings and as a visible word can find its symbolism in the mode of immersion more clearly, it is considered that baptism by the immersion mode is preferable rather than “not necessary”.

Regarding the Lord’s Supper, the sacrament of his body and blood instituted by the Lord has two spiritual meanings to believers to affirm and experience the one catholic church: ① their spiritual nourishment and growth in him through eating and drinking the spiritual meal and drink, and ② a bond and pledge of their communion with Christ, and with each other, as members of his mystical body, therefore called Holy Communion.

As the Lord’s Supper is a means of grace to recognise the spiritual reality of the one catholic church, it must continue to be observed in his church unto the end of the world for the perpetual remembrance of the death of Christ’s sacrifice. The WCF teaches that worthy receivers, outwardly and inwardly by faith partaking in the Lord’s

Supper, receive and feed really upon Christ crucified and all benefits of his death, not carnally and corporally, but spiritually, and that the body and blood of Christ are “present to the faith of believers in the ordinance, not corporally or carnally, in, with, or under the bread and wine, yet **as really but spiritually**” in accordance with Calvin’s thought.

Up to the present, the ecclesiology in the WCF with reference to the unity and catholicity of the church has been reviewed. In the next section, Calvin’s view on unity and catholicity in his *Institutes* and his ecumenical efforts will be studied and investigated.

2.3. Calvin on the unity and catholicity of the Church

As an extension of the biblical and confessional affirmation of the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church, it is necessary and important to observe the Reformed thought of Calvin in order to know his view on the church and his ecumenicity through which the present Reformed family of Churches follow his theology and life. His ecclesiology is represented in book IV of his “*Institutes of Christian Religion*”⁶¹ (hereafter *Institutes*), so his view on the unity and catholicity of the church will be explored through reviewing his *Institutes*.

During recent worldwide celebrations of his 500th anniversary (2009) among Calvinists and the Reformed family of Churches, various writings were produced on Calvin’s theology and life, including the theme of this thesis, the unity and catholicity of the church⁶². As interest in Calvin’s ecumenicity increases among his heirs, many Reformed theologians come to acknowledge that Calvin was an ecumenist with passion more than other Reformers of the Reformation. This fact should have a great influence on the PCK, which is in ongoing divisions while they insist on their being faithful Calvinists or being faithful to Calvinism and the orthodox Reformed theology.

Section 2.3.1 will study Calvin’s view on the unity and catholicity of the church in his *Institutes* and section 2.3.2 will investigate his ecumenical efforts.

⁶¹ The thesis uses the Library of Christian Classics (LCC) edition Vol. 20 & 21, ed. John T. McNeill. (1960).

⁶² The South African Reformed Journal *In die Skriflig* 2010 volume 44 (supplement 3) and the *Dutch Reformed Theological Journal (NGTT)* 2010 Deel 51 Supplementum (Teologie 150 + en CALVYN 500) are special editions on John Calvin’s theology and life in the South African perspective. “*The unity of the church: a theological state of the art and beyond*” edited by Eduardus Van der Borght (2010), “*John Calvin’s Ecclesiology: ecumenical perspective*” edited by Gerard Mannion and Eduardus Van der Borght (2011) and “*The Cambridge companion to John Calvin*” edited by Donald K. McKim (2008: 3rd print of 2004) are relatively recent and helpful in this study.

2.3.1. Calvin's view in his *Institutes*

It is noteworthy to glance at the titles of Book 4 and every chapter and subtitle thereof. Book 4 is titled, "The external means or aims by which God invites us into the society of Christ and holds us therein", and chapter 1 is headed, "The true church with which as mother of all the godly we must keep unity", and the subtitle of sections one to four, "the holy catholic church, our mother" (IV.1.1-4). From the outset of Calvin's ecclesiology in his *Institutes*, the unity and catholicity of the church are first and foremost.

(1) The church as the mother of believers

The statement, "For those to whom he (God) is Father the church may also be Mother" (IV.1.1), is a quotation from Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in the third century and repeated by Augustine.⁶³ With this statement Calvin expressed the necessity and function of the church:

the church into whose bosom God is pleased to gather his sons, not only that they may be **nourished** by her help and ministry as long as they are infants and children, but also that they may be **guided** by her motherly care until they mature and at last reach the goal of faith (IV.1.1).⁶⁴

Calvin says that as the mother of believers the church cares for the whole of the believer's spiritual life from conception, birth, nourishment, guidance and maturity to death, through the preaching ministry of "pastors and teachers"⁶⁵ (Eph.4:11) and the administration of sacraments "to foster and strengthen faith"; as Paul said, "Christ feeds and cares for the church" (cf. Eph. 5:29). Jesus' word adds to this necessity

⁶³ Refer to footnote 3 (IV.1.1). Cyprian noted, "You cannot have God for your Father unless you have the church for your Mother", in his "On the unity of the catholic church" in *Early Latin theology* and Augustine repeated it.

⁶⁴ Calvin repeats it figuratively; we should know her (the church as Mother). "For there is no other way to enter into life unless this mother *conceives* us in her womb, *gives us birth*, *nourishes* us at her breast, and lastly, unless she *keeps* us under her care and guidance until putting off mortal flesh."

⁶⁵ "Preaching is divine pedagogy. The preacher teaches true doctrine, correcting errors" (Ralston 2011:134).

for the church, “For what God has joined together, it is not lawful to put asunder - let man not separate” (Mk. 10:9), which was proclaimed as a core rule in the society of God, given as God’s gift and a human task to respond to God’s grace: in marriage and in the church. Just as Paul took the marriage relationship as a metaphor of Christ and his church, “a man will ... be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh. This is a profound mystery - but I am talking about Christ and the church” (Eph. 5:31-2); so did Calvin. The church is absolutely necessary for the maturity of believers and the building up of the church to keep the unity of the Spirit, as expounded in Ephesians 4:3. Therefore Calvin’s view on “the church as the mother of believers” is directly related to the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church for the purpose of the maintenance of the one holy catholic church, and thereby the prevention of disunity.

(2) The unity and catholicity of the church

Calvin explains that the church is “catholic” or “universal”, in that “we have been united with all other members under Christ, our head”, and “because there could not be two or three churches unless Christ be torn asunder (cf. 1 Co. 1:13) – which cannot happen” (IV.1.2), and that “the church universal is a multitude gathered from all nations” (IV.1.9). This view is in accordance with Paul’s basis for the unity and catholicity of the church in Ephesians. The members of the catholic church “are so united in Christ that as they are dependent on one head, they also grow together into one body, being joined and knit together (cf. Eph. 4:16). They are made truly one since they live together in one faith, hope, and love, and in the same Spirit of God (cf. Eph. 4:4-5)” (IV.1.2).

(3) The visible and the invisible church

Calvin mentions the visible and the invisible church in several sections, for example, in the relation of church to creed (IV.1.2), the communion of saints (IV.1.3), the

visible church as mother of believers (IV.1.4), and invisible and visible church (IV.1.7).

Firstly, when Calvin distinguishes between the visible church and the invisible church and adds a modifying phrase, “our present topic”, to the visible church, it seems that his concern is with the visible church more than with the invisible church.

Secondly, the function of the visible church as mother is like the spiritual conception, birth and nourishment of believers.

Thirdly, Calvin sees that “the communion of saints” is “applied to some extent to the outward church”, namely the visible church, and a definition of “what the church is” (IV.1.3). The community of believers in Jerusalem, in which “all the believers were one in heart and mind and they shared everything they had” (cf. Ac.4:32), is a good example of the visible church as the communion of saints (IV.1.3). The communion of saints is applied to both the invisible and the visible church.

Calvin seems to define the invisible church in two ways: “those who are children of God by grace of adoption and true members of Christ by sanctification of the Holy Spirit”; and using the concept of catholicity “the whole multitude of men spread over the earth who profess to worship one God and Christ” (IV.1.7).

Any definition of the invisible church is applied directly to the visible church. Although in the visible church the rites of baptism as membership into the church and the Lord’s Supper as attestation of the unity in true doctrine and love are publicly administered, membership of the invisible church and participation in the Lord’s Supper in the invisible church are “visible to the eyes of God alone”.

Calvin insists that it does not belong to believers, but to God, to distinguish between the elect and the reprobate (IV.1.3), to judge who are God’s elect (IV.1.8) and that believers should “revere and keep communion with the visible church in respect to

men” (IV.1.7). Calvin sees the visible church not only as the assembly of pure believers, but also as that which “mingled many hypocrites who have nothing of Christ but the name and outward appearance”.

(4) The marks of the church

About the two marks of the true church, Calvin says, “wherever we see the word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ’s institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists” (IV.1.9). This statement is given as the answer to the question, “where is the true church?”, which designates the requirements for being the true church, and the touchstone or standard to test for a true church and its authenticity (cf. IV.1.11).

The two marks, the word and the sacraments, are converged on one mark, which is the word, because the word institutes and makes the sacraments effective. Therefore the sacraments are called the visible word⁶⁶ (IV.14.6; Heyns 1980:107-9). Ralston (2011:130-5) puts it this way: “The word takes functional priority over the sacraments. The sacraments alone do not guarantee the presence of a church.”

When Calvin’s statement, “the word of God purely preached and heard”, is compared with the Augsburg Confession’s saying, “the gospel is rightly taught” (Art. 7), he adds the word “heard”, seemingly to stress that the word should not only be “preached or taught” correctly by pastors and teachers, but also “heard” by believers and the churches, which implies that the word should also be “put into practice”. Jesus Christ insisted on the wisdom and importance of both “hearing his words” and “putting them into practice” (Mt. 7:24). James said the same: “Do not merely listen to the word, and so deceive yourselves. Do what it says” (Jas. 1:22). In Calvin’s mind the true church of God must preach and hear the word of God purely with emphasis

⁶⁶ Calvin quoted from Augustine on *John’s Gospel*, *loc. cit.* (refer to footnote 8, IV.14.6)

on obedience to the word⁶⁷.

Calvin warns against “anyone who arrogantly leaves any Christian society provided it cherishes the true ministry of word and sacraments”, whom “the Lord counts as a traitor and apostate”. Calvin hates “separation from the church”, because it is “the denial of God and Christ” and “violation of the marriage between Christ and the church (bride) by sacrilegious disloyalty”, which is no less than an “atrocious crime” to be avoided (IV.1.10).

(5) The boundaries of the true church

After referring to the two marks of the church as the criteria for the true church, Calvin sets up a number of boundaries of the true church (IV.2.1) for its unity and catholicity.

① “Wherever the ministry of the word and sacraments remains whole and uncorrupted, no moral faults or diseases prevent it from bearing the name ‘church’”. Calvin does not allow the rejection of a church, so long as it retains the two marks, even if it otherwise swarms with many faults (IV.1.12). He has a very short and simple list of fundamentally important doctrines that “are so necessary to know that they should be certain and unquestioned by all men as the proper principles of religion”: **“God is one; Christ is God and the Son of God; our salvation rests in God’s mercy; and the like”** (IV.1.12). Even though it is not clear which doctrines the phrase “and the like” would embrace, Hesselink (2010:88) points out that “we have nothing novel or peculiarly Calvinian.” Calvin repeatedly stresses that “a difference of opinion over these nonessential matters should in no wise be the basis of schism among Christians”, and “we must not thoughtlessly forsake the church

⁶⁷ Jane Dempsey Douglass (2009:138) notes that Calvin’s key text has functioned in two opposite ways: encouraging the development of ecumenism in the mainstream of Reformed Churches and rejecting ties with churches that differ from their own by those concerned with the purity of teaching and sacramental administration.

because of any petty dissensions” (IV.1.12).

② “It is not so weakened by trivial errors as not to be esteemed lawful”.

Calvin mentions “trivial errors” that “ought to be pardoned”, errors that “do not harm the chief doctrines” nor “destroy the articles of religion on which all believers ought to agree”, and errors with regard to sacraments that “do not abolish or throw down the lawful institution of the author” (IV.1.12).

Calvin’s stand on imperfections of life is that “we ought to be far more considerate”, which is his appeal to some schismatic perfectionists who “give themselves over completely to immoderate severity”. It is not right to “depart from the lawful church while they fancy themselves turning aside from the faction of the wicked” (IV.1.12). Since in the church good men and bad are mingled, as Jesus taught in the parables of the kingdom of heaven (cf. Mt 13:47-58; 24-30; 3:12), Calvin asserts that it would be in vain to seek “a church altogether free from blemish” (IV.1.13, Henry’s translation).

(6) The sacraments

Calvin gives a brief definition of a sacrament as “a testimony of divine grace (promise, covenant, or word) toward us, confirmed by an outward sign, with mutual attestation of our piety toward him” – “in the presence of the Lord and of his angels and before men” (IV.14.1). From this, it is realised that a sacrament consists of two factors: *the sign* (outward, visible, physical) and *the signified* (matter, substance, God’s promise, word and grace, spiritual truth). The purpose of the sacrament is said to be **confirming** and **sealing** the promise itself, and **establishing** believers in faith in the word of promise (IV.14.3). Just a glance at the titles of each section enriches understanding about the characteristics of a sacrament: “The word must explain the sign”; “**the sacraments as seals and signs of a covenant**”; “matter and

sign are to be distinguished”; “the sacraments have **the same office as the word of God** to offer and set forth Christ to us”; “the only function divinely imparted to sacraments is to attest and ratify for us God’s good will toward us”; and “the Holy Spirit opens our minds and hearts and makes us receptive to this testimony” (IV.14.4-17).

(7) Baptism

Calvin starts explaining the meaning of baptism with a statement, “Baptism is the **sign** of the **initiation** by which we are **received into the society of the church**, in order that, **engrafted in Christ**, we may be reckoned among God’s children”. He tries to define baptism from several angles.⁶⁸ No matter how baptism is defined, the promise contained in it is “**purification** through the sprinkling of Christ’s blood” (IV.15.2). Calvin insists that baptism is given for the purpose of “**arousing, nourishing, and confirming of our faith**”, so it is to be received from the hand of its author, Christ, “who speaks to us through the sign, purifies and washes away sins, wipes out the remembrance of sins, makes us share in his death, deprives satan of his rule, weakens the power of our lust, and **comes into a unity with us** so that having put on Christ we may be acknowledged God’s children” (IV.15.14). Therefore it is important to understand that baptism has a place at the beginning of believers’ unity with Christ and with one another as members of the church of Christ. Mutual recognition of the validity of baptism regardless of denomination (one baptism: Eph. 4:5) is considered to be important from an ecumenical perspective (Ralston 2011:127).

⁶⁸ Calvin describes baptism in ways: “a sign of forgiveness of sins”, viz. cleansing for the whole of life; “a sign of participation in (engrafted into) Christ’s death and resurrection”, viz. mortification and renewal in Christ; “sharing in all his blessings”, viz. union and fellowship with Christ; “a token of confession of faith before men”, viz. public profession of the wish to be reckoned God’s people, and testimony of agreement in worshiping the same God, in one religion with all Christians, by final and open affirmation of faith (IV.15).

(8) The Lord's Supper

Calvin says, "The Lord's Supper, with the signs of bread and wine, provides **spiritual food**": the signs are bread and wine, and they signify the flesh and blood of Christ which represent the **invisible, spiritual, life-giving food**, the very Christ (IV.17.1). Just as bread and wine feed physical life, so souls are fed by Christ. After baptism once for all, God fulfils his task as the Father to nourish his children throughout the course of their lives by supplying them with the heavenly food to sustain and preserve them until they attain to heavenly immortality. Calvin adds to the spiritual food another meaning of the Lord's Supper as "a **spiritual banquet** wherein Christ attests himself to be the life-giving bread, upon which our souls feed unto true and blessed immortality" (IV.17.1).

It is noteworthy to grasp various meanings, functions, and operations of the Lord's Supper through the subtitles of each section in chapter 17.

① "**Union with Christ** as the special fruit of the Lord's Supper" (IV.17.2): it gives the godly partakers great assurance and delight, and a witness of their growth into one body with Christ such that whatever is his may be called theirs. This view seems to give deeper understanding than Zwingli's memorialism that the Supper is not a mere symbolic memorial, but rather their **real, mystical, spiritual**⁶⁹ **union with Christ**.

② "The **spiritual presence of Christ**" (IV.17.3), "The presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper" (IV.17.10), and "**Spiritual** and, hence, **actual partaking of Christ**" (IV.17.33): all the partakers certainly need to consider Christ to be present, himself set before their eyes and touched by their hands.

Calvin's theory of the Lord's Supper is more persuasive and biblical than that of any other Reformer (representatively Luther and Zwingli) in describing the mode of

⁶⁹ According to Calvin, (a) "mystical" is from Eph. 5:32, "This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church", and (b) "spiritual, since it is effected by the Holy Spirit" and from 1 Co. 6:17, "But he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit" (Reid, 1954:171).

presence of Christ in the place and elements of the Supper. While denying that the elements themselves are changed in any way, as in Luther's consubstantiation or the Roman Catholic Church's transubstantiation, Calvin understands that Christ is truly, spiritually present in the Supper not by his flesh but **by his Spirit** (the Holy Spirit), in such a manner that the partakers can and should believe and **by their faith** eat and drink the spiritual food, the body and blood of Christ in heaven, as he said "I am the bread of life ... whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life ... for my flesh is real food and my blood is real drink" (Jn. 6:48, 54, 55). Calvin explains the Supper by comparing the spiritual and the physical food in such a way that Christ's body is the only food to invigorate and enliven the soul, and his blood imparts spiritual benefits to nourish, refresh, strengthen and gladden, just as bread and wine nourish, sustain and preserve the life of the body.

③ How we are partakers by faith (IV.17.5): Calvin explicates the way of partaking in the Sacred Supper as Christ offering himself with all his benefits to the partakers, while they receive him **by faith**. This view of Calvin gives a kind of solution to Luther's vulnerable theory that gives rise to a question about how Christ's body in heaven is really present "in, with, under" the bread.

④ Signification, matter, and effect of the sacrament (IV.17.11): Calvin points to three factors of the spiritual truth of "the mystery of the Supper in which **Christ (matter)** is truly shown to us through the **symbols of bread and wine**, his very **body and blood (signification)**, in which he has fulfilled all obedience to obtain righteousness for us". From this, Calvin indicates the effect of the Lord's Supper: "First, that we may **grow into one body with him**; second, having been **made partakers of his substance**, that we may also **feel his power in partaking of all his benefits**".

⑤ "The Lord's Supper implies **mutual love**" (IV.17.38): Calvin mentions one more important point of the Supper with regard to mutual love.

The Lord also intended the Supper to be a kind of exhortation for us, which can more forcefully than any other means quicken and inspire us both to purity and

holiness of life, and **to love, peace, and concord**. For the Lord so communicates his body to us there that he is made completely **one with us** and we **with him**. Now, since he has only one body, of which he makes us all partakers, it is necessary that **all of us also be made one body by such participation**. The bread shown in the sacrament represents this **unity**.

Calvin quotes Paul's words in 1 Co. 10:16-17 to support this, "The cup of blessing which we bless is a communicating of the blood of Christ; and the bread of blessing which we break is a participation in the body of Christ ... Therefore ... we (who are many) are all one body, for we partake of one bread".

Calvin argues that "it was ordained to be frequently used among all Christians in order ... to **nourish mutual love** and among themselves give **witness to this love** and discern **its bond** in the unity of Christ's body" (IV.14.44).

It is made clear that through participation in the Lord's Supper, mutual love and unity of all partakers with Christ and with one another can be aroused, assured and quickened.

⑥ "On the proper celebration of the Lord's Supper" (IV.17.43), "The Lord's Supper should be celebrated frequently" (IV.17.44), and "communicating only once a year condemned" (IV.17.46): It is noteworthy to see how many times would be considered as the proper celebration in Calvin's mind. He states that "the Supper could have been administered most becomingly if it were set before the church **very often, and at least once a week**" (IV.17.43). He points out that "it was **not** ordained to be received **only once a year** – and that, too, **perfunctorily**, as now is the usual custom" (IV.17.44). He again criticises that "plainly this custom which enjoins us to take communion **once a year is a veritable invention of the devil**", and argues that "there is not the least doubt that the Sacred Supper was in that era [the early church] set before the believers every time they met together ... It should have been done far differently: the Lord's Table should have been spread **at least once a week** for the assembly of Christians, and the promises declared in it should feed us

spiritually” (IV.17.46). Calvin surely believed that frequent celebration of the Lord’s Supper would promote Christian unity in the church (Nyomi 2010:394). From the NT, as in Ac. 2:42 and 1 Co. 11:20, Calvin found that “it became the unvarying rule that no meeting of the church should take place without the word, prayers, partaking of the Supper, and almsgiving” (IV.17.44).

Calvin’s thought on the frequency of the Supper, “very often, or at least once a week”, implies that “whenever the word of God is preached, at least every Sunday” (Horton, 2000:148), the Lord’s Supper is also to be administered, and that both the word and the sacraments as the two marks of the true church are important. He states, “let it be regarded as a settled principle that the sacraments have the same office as the word of God: to offer and set forth Christ to us, and in him the treasures of heavenly grace” (IV.14.17). Even though Calvin favoured weekly celebration of the Supper, according to Ganoczy (2008:11), when “in 1536 Calvin composed a ‘confession of faith’ and a series of ‘articles’, the article provided for the community the frequent – **at least monthly** – celebration of the Lord’s Supper”.⁷⁰

According to McNeill (1954:160, 164-5), Calvin could not make it monthly during his second ministry at Geneva in 1541 in drawing up the “Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances of the Church of Geneva”, which “rank as one of the most important of ecclesiastical constitutions, but he had to agree to celebrate it only four times a year:

Calvin’s plan that the Lord’s Supper be celebrated in one of the three parishes each month and in all thrice a year was altered to provide for a communion in all churches four times a year, at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and on the first Sunday in September.

Although Calvin’s thought in his *Institutes* was a weekly celebration of the Supper, and as Horton (2000:147) states, “rather than thinking of the Supper as an occasional add-on to the regular service, Calvin’s liturgy was a service of word and

⁷⁰ In ‘Articles concerning the organization of the church and of worship at Geneva proposed by the ministers at the Council on 16 January 1537’ in “*Calvin: theological treatises*” (ed) Reid (1954:50), it is written, “this sacred Supper once a month in one of three places where now preaching takes place, viz., St. Pierre, Rieu or St. Gervais, in such a way that once a month it takes place at St. Pierre, once at Rieu, and once at St. Gervais.”

sacrament”, his real reformatory ministry could not be practised according to his thought.

2.3.2. Investigation of his ecumenical efforts

Calvin’s real commitment to the unity and catholicity of the church in his time is expressed by Smit (2009:165) as “Calvin’s ecumenical passion for the visible unity of the church”. Kromminga (1992b:37) calls Calvin “an apostle of ecumenicity”.

As a second-generation Reformer, Calvin was struggling with the unity between the Roman Catholic Church and the Reformed Churches, and between the divided Reformed Churches. It is necessary to approach it on two levels: one is the relationship with the Roman Catholic Church and the other that of the Reformed Churches among one another.

(1) The departure from the Roman Catholic Church

Calvin, as well as Luther, from the start, never planned to break away from the Roman Catholic Church nor intended to start a new church, but wanted to reform it from within (Van Wyk, 2010:216). It is said that “Calvin wanted the reformation of the (Roman) Church, her renewal, and not a deep division. He wanted a purified church, not a new church”.⁷¹ When Calvin defended himself for his departure from the Roman Church, he said (*Institutes* IV.2.6): “I forbear to mention that they have expelled us with anathemas and curses ... It is clear that we have been cast out, and we are ready to show that this happened for Christ’s sake.”

Hesselink (2010:74) thinks: “Had he continued his attempts to reform the church from within, he would have been burned at the stake.” As Calvin (IV.1.10) designated the schismatic person or action as “a traitor and apostate”, “the denial of

⁷¹ Hesselink (2010:74) in note 18 quoted from Jean Cadier’s essay “*John Calvin*”, ed. G.E. Duffield (1966:118).

God and Christ” and “atrocious crime”, he had an aversion to the schism and eagerly wanted to reform and maintain unity, and thus did not leave the Roman Church thoughtlessly: it cast him out.

Another important reason of his departure lies in theological considerations.

For Calvin the criteria of the true church are the pure preaching and hearing of the word and the administration of the sacraments according to Christ’s institution, and his mind is very generous in allowing “faults in doctrine or sacraments, nonessential matters, petty dissensions” (IV.1.12), and “moral faults and diseases, trivial errors” (IV.2.1) in the true church. The concern is whether or not the Roman Church in Calvin’s time was within the boundaries of the true church. Calvin believed that in the Roman Church, the ministry of God’s word had been replaced with “a perverse government compounded of lies”, the Lord’s Supper with “the foulest sacrilege”, and the worship of God with “a diverse and unbearable mass of superstitions”. In addition, he said, “doctrines have been entirely buried and driven out and public assemblies have become schools of idolatry and ungodliness” (IV.2.2). He moreover called the Roman pontiff ‘Antichrist’ (IV.2.12, IV.7.25). Nevertheless, he never rejected the Roman Church as a whole, and he admitted that there were “vestiges of the church under the papacy” (IV.2.11) and wonderfully a remnant of God’s people and some marks of the church were preserved (IV.2.12). From these considerations, he decided to withdraw from the Church “in order not to be snatched away from the church of Christ, but instead, to come to Christ” (IV.2.2). Calvin’s departure from the Roman Catholic Church occurred both by being cast out and withdrawal (cf. Van Wyk, 2010:309); his desire for the reformation of the Roman Church from within could not be achieved.

(2) Efforts to restore the relationship with the Roman Church

Calvin had opportunities to attend the great conferences organised by the German

emperor, Charles V, whose primary goal was a united and peaceful Germany, in the hope of closing the schism between the Roman Church and the Reformed Church. There were four conferences: at Frankfurt in 1539, at Hagenau in 1540, at Worms during the winter of 1540-1, and at Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541. Melancthon and Bucer were the defenders of the Protestant side, while two leading Reformers, Luther and Bullinger did not participate. At Bucer's request for Calvin's attendance and advice, Calvin joined, but he seemed to have played a minor role (cf. Wendel, 1980:62-5; Hesselink, 2010:80-2; Van Wyk, 2010:217).

Especially in Regensburg, due to both side's concession, "the hope of reunion of Lutherans with the papacy was seriously entertained by some on both sides" (McNeill, 1954:155). However, "Unfortunately, Luther and the pope rejected" it, consequently "a great ecumenical opportunity was missed" (Ganoczy, 2008:15).

"The whole experience may have been a disillusioning for young Calvin - he was barely 30 - for all three conferences ended in failure", as Hesselink (2010:81) writes. Considering Calvin's poor health and heavy work that demanded so much of his time, his eagerness for the unity of the church is shown in his continuous participation in the conferences and engagement in restoration for reunion with the Roman Church.

In relation with the Roman Church, "although Calvin defended the break with Rome, he expressed his sadness about this division" (Burger, 2010:313) in a letter of "Reply to Sadolet"⁷², who sent a letter to the Senate and people of Geneva appealing to them to return to the Roman Church. Calvin confessed before God in the form of a prayer (Reid, 1954:249-50):

Who was to blame it is for thee, O Lord, to decide. Always, ***both by word and deed, have I protested how eager I was for unity***. Mine, however, was a unity of the church which should begin with thee and end in thee ... My conscience told me ***how strong the zeal was with which I burned for the unity of the church***, provided thy truth were made the bond of concord.

⁷² There was an ecclesiological ecumenical debate by letters between John Calvin, Protestant reformer, and James Sadolet, Roman Catholic reformer (Reid, 1954:221-56; Mannion 2011:1ff).

From this, his strong passion for the unity of the church is clear. Van Wyk (2010: 217) observes, “it was Calvin who tirelessly worked for unity with Rome. He showed his commitment to church unity by attending the religious colloquies for the purpose of the unity of the church”.

(3) Effort to manifest unity among the Protestant Reformed Churches

Another well-known letter is one that replied in 1552 to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who proposed to assemble a kind of ecumenical general synod of learned and godly men to seek for the union of the scattered Reformed Churches.

Calvin (1980:132-3), who depicted the serious division of the church as **one of “the chief evils”** of their times and said that the **body of Christ “lies bleeding”**, answered:

So much does this concern me, that could I be of any service, I would not grudge to **cross ten seas**, if need were, on account of it (the unity).

It is evident from letters⁷³ that Calvin was an enthusiastic ecumenist with a mind in pain about the disunity on the one hand, and with a strong ecumenical commitment to the unity of the church on the other hand.

Douglass (2008:306)⁷⁴ notes six elements of Calvin’s life and thought relevant to his ecumenical passion. One of the six elements is “his engagement with churches of other traditions”, that is, Calvin’s ecumenical engagement with the Eucharist controversy.

⁷³ Van Wyk (2010:225) says that Calvin wrote no fewer than 8,500 letters to people in a great number of countries ... as an opportunity to promote the reformed Protestantism and to enhance unity among the Reformational groups, that is, as a way of making ecumenical efforts.

⁷⁴ Douglass (2008:306) lists six elements of Calvin’s thought and life relevant to his ecumenical passion: (1) catholic view of the church, (2) struggle against “idols”, (3) his reaching out to and engagement with some churches of other traditions, (4) the multinational and multicultural community, (5) his ministry to the diaspora of Calvinists and to religious refugees, and (6) emphasis on the Christian life as stewardship.

In the sixteenth century Reformation, the Lord's Supper, which has important significations about Christian mutual love and union with and in Christ, the holy communion, became a major factor of deep division among the important Protestant Reformers' different views, represented by Lutheran corporeal real presence, Zwinglian symbolism (not strictly as a means of grace), and Calvinian spiritual and real presence, which was midway between Zwingli and Luther.

It was at the Marburg Colloquy in 1529 - Calvin was not involved then - that a meeting was organised to discuss the nature of the Lord's Supper between the Swiss Reformed⁷⁵ and the German Lutherans. Even though the two groups found a consensus on 14 points, they could never agree on only one, the Lord's Supper, and unfortunately failed to reach unity between Lutherans and Zwinglians.

Schaff (1990a:362) records, "Zwingli proposed with tears, peace and union, notwithstanding this difference, but Luther refused the hand of Christian fellowship." This is marked as "one of the saddest segments of sixteenth century history" (Gamble, 2008:193) and not until the second half of the twentieth century has some antagonism and suspicion been overcome (Hesselink, 2010:83).

Calvin was very concerned about the split between Luther and Zwingli on the Lord's Supper (Burger, 2010:315). It is notable that Calvin attempted to reconcile the Protestant Reformers, even though he could not fully agree with either the Lutheran or the Zwinglian view. He "felt closer to Luther than Zwingli in regard to the Lord's Supper", but he could not accept Luther's belief in the real presence of Christ's physical body. Although he "felt more kinship overall with his Swiss German Reformers than many of the Lutherans" (Hesselink, 2010:83), Bullinger (Zwingli's successor) suspected Calvin's similarity with Luther's position that Christ was truly present in the Supper. However, Calvin's view on the Lord's Supper was really "a third option – neither Luther's nor Zwingli's – that Calvin tirelessly commended as

⁷⁵ The Swiss Reformed leaders were Martin Bucer of Strasbourg, Johannes Oecolampadius of Basle, and Ulrich Zwingli of Zurich. They all agreed that Luther's understanding was not biblically proved (cf. Gamble, 2008:193).

the only way to reconcile the parties in the dispute” (Gerrish, 2008:298). Berger (2010:315) calls it a “visionary and inspired effort towards consensus”.

Except keeping peace with the Swiss for only a short period around 1536 (Schaff, 1990a:389), Luther called Zwingli (d. 1531) “a non-Christian and ten times worse than a papist” in his “*Great Confession on the Lord’s Supper*” (1528), and lost control in attacking the Swiss Reformers, calling them “heretics, liars, and murderers of souls” in a “*Short Confession of the Lord’s Supper*” (1544) (Schaff, 1990a:260). Without doubt, Bullinger got furious at this.

Calvin, even though he respected Luther, found a danger of blowing the unity of the church away in Luther’s attitude to his fellow Reformers, “his unwillingness to compromise and his insistence that only his view should triumph” (Van Wyk, 2010:218) and his vicious remarks without love. As Van Wyk (2010:222) points out, Luther’s “main concern was the **true** church and not the **one** church”, which means that Luther failed to understand the church as one catholic church. Luther (Schaff, 1990c:930) changed the term “catholic church” in the Apostles’ Creed to “*Christian church*”. He also lacked knowledge of Paul’s teaching: “speaking the truth in love” (Eph. 4:15), in seeking the one catholic church.

Although it seemed to be impossible to reconcile Lutherans and Zwinglians, Calvin made every effort possible as a mediator to prevent the schism of the Reformed Churches. Calvin wanted to visit Wittenberg to meet Luther, but “was advised that Luther was in no mood to meet anyone from Switzerland, not even Calvin” (Hesselink, 2010:83). Furthermore, Calvin continuously did his utmost to persuade Bullinger that he had a different view from Luther’s and that Luther’s contribution and endowments had to be recognised despite his vicious attack against the Zwinglians.

During the ongoing controversy on the Lord’s Supper between Lutherans and Zwinglians, Calvin began a journey through a number of Swiss cities in 1547 by order of the Council of Geneva to encourage those who felt threatened by Charles

V (De Greef, 2008:51). In 1549 he went with Farel to Zurich in order to negotiate the “Consensus of Zurich” on the Lord’s Supper (Douglass, 2008:308).

Finally, the “**Concensus Tigurinus**” or “**Consensus of Zurich**” on the Lord’s Supper was subscribed to in 1549 (when both Luther and Zwingli no longer existed) by all of the Swiss Reformed Churches, the French-speaking and German-speaking Swiss Reformed Churches, in other words, the ‘non-Lutheran’ Reformed Churches, leading to the unity of the Swiss Reformed Church. In the process of mutual agreement, it is known that although the extreme, bare symbolism of Zwingli was rejected and so the agreement became very close to Calvin’s view, Calvin conceded more than Bullinger (Douglass, 2008:308; Hesselink, 2010:82-84).

It must be said that although Calvin’s efforts were not always successful, one fruition of his practical ecumenical efforts was the “**Consensus Tigurinus**” in 1549. Calvin hoped that this consensus could also play a role in bringing about unity with the Lutherans, but after Luther’s death (1552) the situation unfortunately worsened.

In this chapter, the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church was affirmed through an exegesis of Ephesians with special emphasis on chapter 2 (2:11-22), chapter 3 (3:14-19), and chapter 4 (4:1-16). It was affirmed that the two ecumenical creeds: the Apostles’ Creed and the Nicene Creed, clearly profess the unity and catholicity of the church. The review of the ecclesiology of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Calvin’s *Institutes* made it possible to shape the Reformed perspective on the unity and catholicity of the church. Calvin’s real ecumenical effort at his time was investigated. All these studies were for the sake of doctrinal affirmation and for the establishment of criteria for the assessment of the ecclesiology, unity and catholicity of the PCK in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 will investigate the brief history of the PCK from its birth until the foundation of the General Assembly and the historical disunity among the PCK, with special reference to three schisms in the PCK. In addition, the leading figures who

played a crucial role in each schism will be assessed on their views on the unity and catholicity of the church.

Chapter 3.

An investigation of the historical disunity among the Presbyterian Churches in Korea

3.1. A brief overview of the history of the Presbyterian Church in Korea⁷⁶

In the previous chapter, the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church was seen to be affirmed by Ephesians, while the two ecumenical creeds, the WCF, and Calvin's *Institutes* shaped the Reformed ecumenical perspective on the unity and catholicity of the church. Doctrinal affirmation establishes the criteria for the assessment of unity and catholicity in the PCK.

Therefore, this chapter investigates and acknowledges the historical empirical reality of the PCK as the object of an assessment of its view of unity and catholicity, the causes of its schisms and an analysis of the weak ecclesiology in the PCK.

The latest books in the Korean language dealing with the major schisms in the PCK during the 1950s are the works of Park Yong Gyu (2004), Yang Nak Heung (2008)⁷⁷, and Hur Soon Gil (2008: from the 2002 version). Since Yang and Park investigated the history of the three major schisms of the PCK using all historical information available, this chapter is indebted to them to understand the reality of the PCK.

The history of the non-mainline Gae Hyuk Church from the 1979 schism until the

⁷⁶ While the King Gojong officially changed the name of the country from "Chosun" to "Korea" in 1897, "Korea" was prevalently used from the middle of the 20th century. Before then, following the name of the Chosun Dynasty (1392-1910), "Chosun" had been used as the national name.

⁷⁷ Park and Yang have much in common on the history of the PCK. Yang focuses on the history of the PCK and approaches it from Calvin's view on unity and ecumenicity in his *Institutes*. He discloses without prejudice not only the positive but also the negative aspects of the schism in his own denomination. Park investigates the history not only of the PCK but also of other churches.

2005 reunion by Kang Min Su and others (2015) helps one to understand the aftermath of the main three schisms.

The “Annual minutes of the Korean Christian Presbyterian Church: Vol. 1 (edited in 1928) and Vol. 2 (edited in 1968), and the English writings: “The Reformed family worldwide: a survey of Reformed Churches, theological schools, and international organizations” edited by Jean-Jacques Bauswein (1999), and Kenneth Scott Latourette’s “A history of the expansion of Christianity, Vol. 6: the great century in Northern Africa and Asia 1800-1914 AD” (1971) are quoted.

Although there is a difference in the transliteration of specific Korean names to English among authors, it will not be a problem.

The first section is divided into three subsections: preparation for the PCK before 1884, foreign Presbyterian missionaries’ entrance into Korea after 1884 and foundation of the PCK. This historical investigation is specifically focused on the birth process of the PCK: from the first Korean believers’ conversion, the foundation of the first Presbyterian Church and the first independent Presbytery until the foundation of the General Assembly of the PCK (1912).

3.1.1. The preparation for the Presbyterian Church in Korea before 1884

According to the myth about the beginning of Korea, it dates back to 2333 BC (cf. Bauswein, 1999:295). This myth is related with animism and totemism: Hwan Ung who, as a son of god (Hwan In) was sent from heaven to save the human world, married a woman who was transformed from a bear by eating only wormwood and garlic for 100 days and had a baby, Tan Gun. King Tan Gun established the Kingdom of Chosun.

At the fourth century Buddhism was introduced to Korea and prevailed among the

Korean people with government support. In 935 the Koryo⁷⁸ Dynasty (until 1392) was established and adopted Buddhism as national religion. However, when the Chosun Dynasty was established in 1392 (until 1910), it advocated Confucianism and oppressed Buddhism. Confucianism is a philosophy of life that stresses respect for ancestors. It has a religious element concerning ancestor worship, with dead ancestors that become gods and help their descendants to prosper on earth, those who honour them wholeheartedly with annual rites by spreading many luxurious and delicious dishes on table, bowing down before their ancestors' pictures. Their ancestors come down to eat pleasantly with them. Otherwise their ancestors get annoyed.

Buddhism and Confucianism are traditionally the dominant Korean religions and are mixed with shamanism, animism and totemism. During the nineteenth century Korea (Chosun) was facing new phases in its political, economic, social and religious environment. The king's powerless reign and government officials' factionalism and corruption brought people to poverty and disappointment in their government. King Gojong was too young, only 14 years old in 1864. His father, Yi Ha-Ung, took authority on his behalf and practically ruled Korea for ten years. He did not open doors to foreign powerful countries, but maintained a so-called "policy of strict isolationism from the outside world" because he saw China (Qing Dynasty) suffering from opening its doors to Western empires, which resulted, for example, in the Opium Wars between Britain and China (1839-42 and 1856-60).

(1) The Roman Catholic Church's introduction to Korea

Members of the embassies of Korea periodically sent to Peking had the opportunity to meet with Roman Catholic missionaries, as their guestroom was near the Catholic Church built around the 17th century by the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci. They might have obtained at least one of Ricci's treatises on Christianity (Latourette, 1944:414).

⁷⁸ The present name of "Korea" came from "Koryo", the name of the "Koryo Dynasty".

In 1783 Lee Seung Hun kept fellowship with German Jesuit missionaries, learned the new European religion from them, and became the first Korean Roman Catholic Christian by being baptised. He returned to Korea in 1784. Afterwards Roman Catholicism broke through to the Korean people little by little (Park, 2004a:158-9). Korean Catholics refused to take part in the traditional ancestor worship cult⁷⁹, which was a very important part of Korean life and traditional culture under Confucianism during the 500-year history of the Chosun Dynasty. This resulted in over ten thousand Korean Catholic Christian martyrs in 100 years (Park, 2004a:162-167).

In spite of the persecution, the number of Korean Catholics increased gradually. French missionaries arrived in Korea from 1836 to look after the infant Korean Catholic Church. It is said that since 1836, 12 of 26 French missionaries⁸⁰ have died as martyrs (Park, 2004a:190-220).

The Catholic Church entered Korea around 100 years before the Protestants, but its history was one of severe persecution. In the meantime, Protestantism was prepared outside Korea through the translation of the word of God in the Korean language by missionaries and Korean laymen. The political mood to open doors to foreign countries with the gospel of Christ was ripening gradually.

(2) The Korean government's opening to the outside world

After Yi stepped down in 1873, King Gojong could no longer resist the strong powers' request to open the doors of Korea internally and externally for diplomatic relations and trade treaties. He gave up the policy of isolationism. The supporters of openness were those who had been to Japan and saw Japan become a developed, powerful country, keeping up with the Western empires as a result of the success of the Meiji Restoration (or Meiji Ishin), which had learned and adopted very actively

⁷⁹ See footnote 7 (Hur, 2008:25). In November 2002 the Roman Catholic Church in Korea officially apologized for the protest against ancestor worship, which means that the Roman Church has now proved to be a religion that worships ancestors, contrary to biblical faith.

⁸⁰ Two bishops, and seven other missionaries and two thousand Catholics were executed (Latourette, 1971:418).

the developed European civilization since 1868. The appeal of the group for civilization and opening doors to Japan persuaded King Gojong. Korea concluded a diplomatic treaty with Japan in 1876 (Park, 2004a:268-9, 275-85), with the USA in 1882, with England and Germany in 1883, with Russia in 1884, with Italy in 1885, and with France in 1886 (Park, 2004a:335-41).

(3) The Scottish Presbyterian missionaries⁸¹ approach to Korea via China

When the Korean government opened its doors to foreign countries, missionaries who were working in China and Japan also used the opportunity to enter Korea.

The Scottish Presbyterian Missionary John Ross, working in Manchuria, China, was deeply concerned about missionary work in Korea and wanted to learn the Korean language in order to translate the Bible into Korean. In order to find the right Korean language teacher, Ross visited the Korean Gate from 1873 onwards. It was a small village near by the border between Manchuria, China and Korea, where a public free trading market was open four times per year and Korean businessmen could cross the border and buy duty-free foreign goods. In April 1874 Ross met Lee Ung Chan, who was willing to teach him Korean. Lee UC brought three friends from his home town, Ui-Ju (a border city in the northwest of Korea) to Ross. Baik Hong Jun also joined them and all of them agreed to help Ross to translate and publish the Bible in the Korean language. With the help of these four Korean businessmen in Manchuria, Ross could start the translation of John's and Luke's Gospels in the Korean language. While they were together reading the Chinese Bible, the Holy Spirit worked in them and led them to faith in Jesus Christ. They were all baptised in 1879 by the Scottish Missionary, John MacIntyre, who was Ross's brother-in-law and co-worker in Manchuria. They became the first Korean Presbyterians outside Korea. In the same year Ross met with another young Korean businessman, Suh Sang Yun

⁸¹ John Ross and his brother-in-law, John McIntyre, came to Manchuria under the auspices of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (Park, 2004 a:291).

and his brother, Suh Gyeong Jo⁸², in Manchuria. Suh SY was converted and baptised by Ross in 1879. These Korean Christians formed a small Korean Christian community in Manchuria and called it the “Bong Cheon (now Shenyang) Church”. Ross met a Korean typesetter, Kim Cheong Song, who stayed in a Korean town. Kim CS was also baptised in 1883.

They finished the first draft of Luke’s Gospel in 1878. Ross established a printing house and published Gospels of Luke and John in 1882. For their translation, Ross and MacIntyre basically used the Chinese version with the King James Version, the English Revised Version, and Greek version and revised it repeatedly. In 1887 the whole Korean NT was published. The remarkable thing was that those who helped Ross and MacIntyre became Korean colporteurs, visited their home villages to spread the gospel, and played an important role in building up of the PCK (Latourette, 1971:420; Park, 2004a:291-301).

Ross and MacIntyre laid the foundation of the PCK with their translation, publication and distribution of the Korean Bible and their ministry in the Korean community in Bong Cheon, Manchuria. In a way Ross’s first Korean translation of the NT was the birth of the PCK.

(4) The USA’s Presbyterian missionaries’ approach to Korea via Japan

Another route God opened for the gospel was through missionaries in Japan. Lee Su Jung went to Japan to study the Japanese developed civilization, agriculture, law etc., by the favour of King Gojong. Lee SJ met a Christian agriculturist there and received a Bible in the Chinese version from him. While keeping fellowship with him and studying the Bible, Lee SJ was converted to Christ and baptised by Pastor Knox, a missionary in Japan from the Presbyterian Church in the USA (PCUSA) in April 1883. Lee SJ met an American missionary, Henry Loomis, from the American Bible Society, working in Japan. Lee SJ and Loomis translated the Chinese Bible into a

⁸² Suh GJ became one of the first seven Korean ordained pastors in 1907.

mixed version with Chinese and Korean by adding Korean suffixes to the Chinese texts as a preliminary stage for translation into Korean. They completed the translation and publication of the four Gospels and the Book of Acts in August 1884. Lee then began to translate Mark's Gospel in pure Korean. He finished it in 1884 and it was published in February 1885 by the American Bible Society. Lee SJ was a passionate evangelist to Korean students in Japan. Some of them were baptised. They founded a Korean Christian community, which became the first Korean church in Tokyo in 1883.

Lee SJ realised that the best way to develop Korea was through the gospel of Christ and changed his study of agriculture to a secondary priority. Lee SJ requested Knox and Loomis to send missionaries to Korea. Loomis sent a letter about Lee's eager appeal to the headquarters of the Bible Society. This letter was published in "The Missionary Review of the World (March 1884)". This request, which could be compared to Paul's Macedonian call, moved some passionate candidates for missions in the USA, among whom were the Presbyterian Horace Underwood and the Methodist Gerhart Appenzeller (Park, 2004a:307-324).

When the "Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation", was concluded between Korea and the USA in 1882, it did not include a prohibition on religious propagation. Therefore the American Methodist missionary, Maclay, working in Japan, visited Korea in June 1884 to check on the possibility of mission work. He met with an officer of the foreign department, with whom he had fellowship in Japan, Kim Ok Gyun. Kim OG was close to King Gojong. Through Kim OG, Maclay made a plea to the king for permission to do mission work in Korea. After three days King Gojong approved a mission for education and medical services only (Park, 2004a:337, 344-7).

It was confirmed that the door of mission work in Korea had been opened in July 1884. A medical doctor missionary, **Horace Allen** from the PCUSA, working in Shanghai, China, entered Korea as an official doctor for the consulate of the USA by

permission of both the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA and the Korean government in September 1884. Allen was the first foreign Protestant missionary who started mission work in Korea (Park, 2004a:370-3).

The year **1884** is recorded as the beginning of the Protestant (or Presbyterian) Church history in Korea, but before foreign missionaries brought the gospel to Korea, the work of the gospel in Korea had started from outside the country.

3.1.2. Foreign Presbyterian missionaries' penetration into Korea after 1884

(1) The (Northern) PCUSA's⁸³ missionaries' launch of the PCK (1884)

As Korea opened its doors to foreign education and medical service, **Allen** of the PCUSA had the opportunity to treat Min Yeong Ik, a cousin of the king's wife, who was seriously wounded. The Korean court was impressed with his medical skill and appointed him as the royal doctor of King Gojong. As his fame as a doctor increased, the Korean government gave him permission to establish a hospital in February 1885 with the name of "Gwang Hye Won", meaning the "widely grace-giving hospital". This hospital practically became a royal hospital, which was run by the Korean government with the changed name of "Je Jung Won", meaning "hospital for curing people" (Hur, 2008:55-6).

The Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA appointed Rev. **Horace J. Underwood** as a missionary to Korea in July 1884. The Presbyterian missionary Underwood arrived at Yokohama, Japan in January 1885. On his way to Korea he met Lee SJ and learned the Korean language from him for two months. He took the Korean Gospel of Mark Lee SJ had translated. Underwood from the PCUSA arrived

⁸³ Refer to Bauswein (1999:532-3), No 30. Presbyterian Church (USA) (3205). The PU(USA) is the successor of the PCUSA.

at Incheon, Korea on Easter day (5 April) in 1885 with the missionary couple Appenzeller of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America (Hur, 2008:56-7).

The PCUSA continued to send missionaries to follow Underwood: The medical couple John W. Heron and his wife (1885), the woman doctor Annie Ellers (1887) Horton (1888). Following them were pastors **Samuel A. Moffet** (1890), W.M. Baird (1891), **Graham Lee**, W.L. Swallon and F.S. Miller (1892), as well as J.E. Adams (1895) (Park, 2004a:390-407; Hur, 2008:57-8).

(2) The Presbyterian Church in Australia's⁸⁴ missionaries' launch of the PCK (1889)

The missionaries **Joseph H. Davis** and his younger sister, Mary T. Davis, of the Presbyterian Church in Australia (PCA) came to Korea in October 1889. After Joseph Davis had been ordained as a pastor of the PCA in August 1889, he departed for the Korean mission and arrived at Pusan, the second largest city in Korea, in October 1889. He and his sister came up to Seoul and stayed with missionary Underwood for five months. Davis, in discussion with Underwood, realised that the north-western area had already started to be evangelised and decided to work in the south-eastern area around Pusan. In March 1890, his journey to Pusan without sufficient preparation for the cold weather was not easy. By the time he arrived at Pusan, he had contracted smallpox and pneumonia and was unable to eat anything for five days. He did not recover and died on 5 April 1890, six months after his arrival in Korea, without beginning any official missionary work. His sister, Mary Davis, returned home. The news of Joseph Davis's death, although his work seemed to be a failure, kindled the PCA's desire for the Korean mission. In October 1891 the **James H. Mackay** couple and three women missionaries, Bell Menzies, Jean Parry and M. Fawcett, came to the Korean mission field in the south-eastern area of Pusan where Joseph Davis wanted to work (Park, 2004a:423-30).

⁸⁴ Refer to Bauswein (1999:55), No 2. Presbyterian Church of Australia (5009).

(3) The (Southern) Presbyterian Church in the United States⁸⁵ (1892)

During his Sabbath year, Underwood had a chance to introduce the state of the Korean mission at the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago in September 1891 and at the Inter-Seminary Alliance for Foreign Missions in October 1891. Those who were moved by Underwood's appeal for the Korean mission applied to become missionaries in Korea. At first the PCUS gave a negative answer. However, after efforts inspired by Underwood, a US \$30,000 fund was raised and the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS) could send seven missionaries to Korea: W.M. Junkin, L.B. Tate, W.B. Reynolds, M.S. Tate, Linnie Davis, Patsy Bolling and Mary Leyburn, in October and November 1892. They organised the Mission of the PCUS in Korea and began to learn Korean. After a year each one was sent to a specific mission area (Park, 2004a:430-3).

(4) The Presbyterian Church in Canada⁸⁶ (1893)

While a Canadian Presbyterian missionary William J. McKenzie was serving on the Arctic island, he read a book about Korea and decided to go to Korea for mission work. He requested the Board of Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC) to be assigned to the Korean mission, but he received a negative answer. He visited some local churches and appealed to them for support for the Korean mission so that he could collect an amount enough for one year's living. He set out for to do missionary work in Korea without belonging to the Mission Board of the PCC. He arrived at Seoul in December 1893 and went to Sol-Rae in February 1894. He dedicated his life to the building up of the Sol-Rae church⁸⁷, but died because of sudden ill health in June 1895. His body was buried in his mission field, as he had hoped. His death motivated the PCC to launch a Korean mission. Suh GJ

⁸⁵ The PCUS merged with the United Presbyterian Church in the USA to become the PCUSA in 1983 (Bauswein, 1999:533).

⁸⁶ Refer to (Bauswein, 1999:110), No 17. United Church of Canada (3011). The Presbyterian Church in Canada merged with the Methodist Church, the Congregational Union and the General Council of Union Churches into the United Church of Canada in 1925.

⁸⁷ The Sol-Rae Church was planted by Suh Sang Yun and his brother Suh Gyeong Jo in 1884 (Refer to 3.1.3.1).

of the Sol-Rae Church sent a letter to the PCC about the great fruit of W.J. McKenzie's mission work, their respect and love for him, and an appeal to send another missionary to the Korean mission. In September 1898 the Mission of the PCC sent Mckenzie's friend, Duncan M. Macrae, the Robert G. Grierson couple and the William R. Foote couple as missionaries to Korea. They organised the Mission of the PCC in Korea (Park, 2004a:433-42).

The PCUSA played an important role in furthering the Korean mission from the beginning. As the pioneer of the Korean mission, **Underwood** had a huge impact not only on the PCUSA, but also on the PCUS and the PCC, to send missionaries to Korea. Underwood came from the background of the Reformed Church in America⁸⁸ (RCA). After graduating from the New Brunswick Theological Seminary in New Jersey, he requested the RCA to send him as a missionary to Korea, but his request was denied twice. Instead he visited the PCUSA and was sent to Korea. Therefore he transferred from the RCA to the PCUSA. From his background of church life and theological education, he was a Reformed, Presbyterian, pious Puritan, evangelical, interdenominational, ecumenical and conservative missionary. He was open to other denominations, theologically flexible, familiar with other missionaries with an eager passion for spiritual revival and interdenominational union (Park, 2004a:393). Therefore as a missionary, scholar, educator, Bible translator and writer, he had a great influence on shaping the conservative evangelical Reformed theology and life of the earliest PCK (Latourette, 1971:421; Park, 2004a:404).

(5) Constitution of the Council of Missions holding the Presbyterian Form of Government (1893)

As Presbyterian missionaries entered Korea from the PCUSA (1884) and PCA (1889), they formed "The United Council of Presbyterian Missions" in 1889 when J.H. Davis came to Korea from Australia. This was replaced by "The Council of Missions

⁸⁸ Refer to Bauswein (1999:536), No. 36. Reformed Church in America (RCA) (3206)

Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government” (“Presbyterian Mission Council”) in 1893 when the missionaries of the PCUS arrived. The PCC also joined it. They aimed at establishing one United PCK. They allocated the mission fields in which each mission would work.

In September 1905 they also constituted “The General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea” with the two Missions of the (Northern and Southern) Methodist Church in the USA. They intended to co-operate with each other in missionary enterprises, and eventually to organise one evangelical church in Korea (Park, 2004a:977-80; Hur, 2008:96-8).

In 1901 four Missions reorganised the “Presbyterian Council of the Chosun Jesus Church” (“Presbyterian Council”). It included Korean delegates: three elders and six helpers. This Presbyterian Council functioned as a co-operative organisation and also as the precursor of an independent Presbytery. The purpose of the Presbyterian Council was to establish one united Presbyterian Church adopting the form of Presbyterian government in Korea. Its authority was defined as almost the same as that of a Presbytery and a GA until the PCK could be established with the complete form and constitution of an independent Presbyterian Church (Park, 2004b:51-4).

3.1.3. The foundation of the Presbyterian Church in Korea

(1) Korean Presbyterians’ self-foundation of the PCK

Among those who helped Ross and MacIntyre with the translation of the Bible into Korean in Manchuria were Baik Hong Jun, Suh Sang Yun and Kim Cheong Song, who had an eager passion for evangelism. They became colporteurs and came back to each one’s home village with Korean translation of the Gospels of Luke and John and leaflets for evangelism. They sold the Gospels at a reduced price and distributed the leaflets.

- **Baik Hong Jun and the Ui-ju Church**

Baik HJ started evangelism with the Gospels in **Ui-Ju** from the fall of 1884. In 1885 18 members gathered at his house for worship services. Baik was appointed as the helper (pre-ordained minister) of the Ui-Ju community. Underwood baptised 33 converts in 1889.

- **Suh Sang Yun and the Sol-Rae Church**

Suh SY played an important role in the translation and printing of Ross' books, (sometimes they are called the Suh SY translation). In 1883 Suh was sent by the Bong Cheon Church as an evangelist with many the Gospel books and leaflets. He was arrested at the Korean Gate because he had the Gospel books, which were illegal at that time. With the help of two his relatives, who were working there at the prison, Suh escaped from prison and arrived safely at his home village. He and his brother, Suh GJ, moved to their uncle's home village **Sol-Rae** (in the southwest of the present North Korea), and spread the gospel diligently. As a result, 18 members gathered and held worship services at a house every Sunday after May 1883. At Suh's request, Ross sent 6000 Gospel books, but all the books were confiscated by a customs officer. God used the German, Mullendorf, who was working at the customs, to return all the books to Suh. In 1884, thirteen members believed and wanted to be baptized. Suh requested Ross to come and baptize them but he could not come (Park, 2004a:354-66). In the spring of 1887 three members and in autumn seven members were baptised by Underwood (Hur, 2008:72-3).

(2) The first baptism and the first Presbyterian Church of Korea

Underwood secretly baptised Rho Gyeong-Chun in the first baptism in Korea at Doctor Heron's house in July 1886. Rho taught the missionary, Allen, Korean. He found the Gospels of Matthew and Luke lying on Allen's table, took them secretly and read through them overnight. He was filled with joy and accepted the books as God's word. He decided to give his life to Jesus Christ. Underwood heard about this

and after more personal education, baptised him. As the first fruit of his year's mission work, Underwood baptised this first Korean Presbyterian in Korea (Park, 2004a:505-7).

Underwood founded the **Se Moon Ahn Presbyterian Church** at his house in Seoul with 14 baptised members and celebrated the establishment of the church on 27 September 1887. All these members, except Rho GC, had already been evangelised by Suh SY and Suh GJ of the Sol-Rae Church, who were the fruits of Ross's mission work in Manchuria. Underwood invited the Scottish Presbyterian missionary Ross in Manchuria to Seoul and Ross and Underwood, two pioneers of the PCK, had a historical encounter. The Se Moon Ahn Church is marked as the first PCK with the Presbyterian form of government where the word of God was preached and the sacraments were administered (Park, 2004a:509-14; Hur, 2008:100-2). Hur (2008:105) points out that Korean saints never had a chance to participate in the Lord's Supper until Underwood administered it on Christmas day 1887, so that the importance of the Lord's Supper is downgraded in the life of the PCK.

(3) The Pyeng Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary (1901)

The Presbyterian Council of the Chosun Jesus Church decided to start the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Pyeng Yang (PTS) in 1901. Its programme offered a five-year course for pastor candidates. The first two students were Kim Jong Sub and Bang Gi Chang. The first lecturers were the missionary Samuel Moffett and Graham Lee. From 1904 lecturers were appointed from among the four Presbyterian Missions, in order to maintain the unity and co-operation of theological education. Samuel Moffett as the first principal played a central role in this theological education. The first professors were mainly graduates of the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago under the PCUSA. In 1906 there were 50 students. In 1907 the first seven students graduated (Park, 2004b:30-9).

The first Korean professors of the PTS were Namgung Hyuk (1927), Lee Sung Hui

and **Park Hyung Ryong**⁸⁹ from 1930 (Park, 2004b:48).

The PTS gradually stabilised and developed as the best theological seminary in Korea and became the centre of the conservative, evangelical and Presbyterian theological education until its closure in 1938, due to Japanese Shintoism.

(4) Establishment of the first independent Presbytery of the PCK (1907)

On 17 September 1907 the Presbyterian Council established the independent Korean Presbytery of the PCK with delegates comprising 36 (40) Korean elders and 33 (38)⁹⁰ missionary delegates. Samuel A. Moffett was elected as the moderator of the Presbytery. Seven Presbyterial committees were organised regionally to prepare the General Assembly. On the evening of the first day, the first seven Korean pastors were ordained. They were the first graduates of the PTS. The statistics of the PCK at that time was: number of churches 785, elders 47, helpers 160, baptised Christians 18 061, and total number who attended 75 968. Although these statistics differed from other reports, they showed a remarkably rapid increase in the PCK after 23 years' mission work starting from 1884 (Park, 2004b:57-63).

The Presbytery of the PCK adopted as its standard creed, not the WCF, but the Twelve Articles of Faith, which originated in the Presbyterian Church in India⁹¹, and the Shorter Catechism of the WCF as the catechism of the PCK (Park, 2004b:64). Therefore the Presbytery of the PCK left arguments behind about why the WCF was not adopted.

The Presbytery decided to inform the World Presbyterian Alliance (predecessor of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches)⁹² of the establishment of the PCK, to

⁸⁹ Refer to "Park, Hyung-Nong (1897-1978)" in *Historical Dictionary of Reformed Churches* (Benedetto, Guder, and McKim 1999:239).

⁹⁰ The number of delegates is different in various reports and books. The numbers in brackets are from the "Annual minutes of the Korean Christian Presbyterian Church" (Cha, 1928:182).

⁹¹ Missionaries in India from the Presbyterian Church of England compiled the twelve articles' creed in 1904 (Park, 2004b:64).

⁹² Refer to Sell (1991:2). The World Presbyterian Alliance was formed in 1875, and it united with the

apply for membership of the Alliance and to send a delegate to the Alliance's General Assembly (Cha, 1928:183). The PCK started fellowship with the World Presbyterian Churches in the spirit of the unity and catholicity of the church.

(5) The first General Assembly of the PCK (1912)

The fifth Presbytery (1911) decided to upgrade the Presbyterial committee to the Presbytery until March 1912 and to convene the General Assembly of the PCK (GA or GAPCK) with its seven Presbyteries in September 1912.

On 1 September 1912 the first GAPCK was assembled with 44 foreign missionary pastors, 52 Korean pastors and 125 Korean elders (Park, 2004b:68-9). The first ordinance of the GA was the Lord's Supper. On the second day of the GA, missionary Underwood was elected as the first moderator and Korean pastor Gil Sun-Ju as vice-moderator. Missionary Horace Underwood deserved the position because he came to Korea at 26 years old (1885) as the first pastor missionary and worked for 27 years to bring the PCK into being. In the fourth GA (1915), Korean pastor Kim Pil-Su was elected as the first Korean moderator, with the PCK gradually becoming independent from Missions (Park, 2004 b:69-71; Hur, 2008:149).

While the PCK grew up, expanded and maintained unity, Korea was annexed by Japan in 1910. The GAPCK was forced to participate in Shinto shrine worship in 1938 and the Pyeng Yang Seminary closed in 1938.

From the 1930s, a theological controversy began to sprout between most of the traditional conservative pastors and a few of the progressive, so-called liberal, pastors who accepted biblical criticism and the fallibility of the Bible, just like the Fundamentalist-Modernist Controversy in the 1920s and 1930s in the PCUSA .

The PCK passed through a dark period until Korea's liberation in 1945. Under

International Congregational Council into the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in 1910. According to Jung Byung Joon in the weekly paper of the PCK (Tong Hap) Kidokongbo (<http://www.pckworld.com>) dated on 17 January 2012, the PCK was a member of the "World Presbyterian Alliance" from 1907. The 1922 GA minutes recorded that delegates of the PCK attended the World Presbyterian Alliance (Baik, 1968:34).

Japanese occupation, some pastors supported the Japanese reign and enjoyed privileges for it, as well as ecclesiastical authority in the PCK. Pastors protesting against Shintoism were persecuted and put in jail or killed. In the 1950s the PCK experienced three tragic schisms that divided the one PCK into four denominations, which have remained divided until the present. Since 1979 the non-mainline PCKs have been struggling with repeated splits and reunions.

3.2. History of disunity of the Presbyterian Church in Korea:

The establishment of the Ko Shin Church⁹³(1952)

● Introduction

The PCK started and grew up as one church with one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God the Father through Presbyterian missionaries of four Missions who organised the Presbyterian Council.

Early in its existence the PCK was faced with Shintoism worship and challenged with the modern liberal theology, which became causes of schisms. Confronted with physical hardship and theological conflicts, theological differences of viewpoint arose in the PCK and these changed to ecclesiastical political power struggles, which eventually led to the disunity of the PCK.

All the schisms and all stories related to schisms will not be dealt with, as it is not the purpose of this study. In this chapter an assessment will be made of the first schism resulting from conflict in the one and holy church (sec. 3.2), of the third schism as a result of the membership of the World Council of Churches (sec. 3.3), and of the non-mainline Church's split on account of ecclesiasticism (sec. 3.4).

Regarding the main schisms in the PCK, Yang NH's analysis is preferable in that he approaches it in view of Calvin's unity and ecumenicity in his *Institutes* and remains impartial to his own Ko Shin Church.

The history of the non-mainline PCK will follow the "History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church 1979-2005" (2015), which deals with the history from the withdrawal of the Gae Hyuk Church from the mainline Hap Dong Church until the reunion of the two Churches.

⁹³ Refer to Bauswein (1999:301-2), No. 1. Presbyterian Church in Korea (KoShin) (4604).

The following table shows a brief history of the disunity of the PCK.

Year	Important Events
1910 (~ 1945)	Japanese annexation
1912	The first GA of the PCK (GAPCK)
1938	GAPCK's acceptance of Shintoism worship
	Closure of the Pyeng Yang Theological Seminary
1940	Establishment of the Chosun Theological Seminary
1945	Liberation and independence from Japan
1946	Establishment of the Korea Theological Seminary
1948 (~ 1951)	Establishment of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary
1950 (~ 1953)	Korean Civil War
1951	Establishment of the Chonghoi Theological Seminary
1952	First schism: Establishment of the Ko Shin Church
1953	Second schism: Establishment of the Ki Jang Church
1959	Third schism: Split of the PCK into the Hap Dong Church and the Tong Hap Church
1960	Union of the Hap Dong Church and the Ko Shin Church
1963	Breakaway of the Ko Shin Church from the Hap Dong Church
1979	Fourth schism: the Hap Dong Bo Su and the Hap Dong Church
1981	Breakaway of the Gae Hyuk Church from the Hap Dong Church
	Union of the Gae Huyk Church and part of the Hap Dong Bo Su Church
1985	Return of the Gae Hyuk Church to the Gae Hyuk (Hap Shin) Church and the Gae Hyuk (Chungdam) Church
1999	Union of the nine non-mainline churches into the Gae Hyuk.
2005	Reunion of the Gae Hyuk (Kwangju) Church with the Hap Dong Church

3.2.1. The process of schism

(1) Shintoism⁹⁴

The first schism is traced back to Japanese imperialism and Japanese emperor worship, the so-called Shintoism. Japan declared that Shintoism was not a religion but a national rite. However, the Korean people under Chinese cultural influence, especially the ancestral worship of Confucianism, knew that the Shinto shrine enshrined gods and dead souls. If such a rite were practised in front of a national flag, it could have been accepted as a national rite.

Compulsory Shintoism worship started with the Japanese annexation (1910) and progressed step by step with a scrupulous plan. Schools and churches such as the Roman Catholic⁹⁵ and Methodist⁹⁶ Churches were subjected to Shintoism earlier than the PCK, which strongly resisted it. At the time of the Japanese invasive expansion to Manchuria China in the 1930s, Japan went on a war-path⁹⁷. Anyone who protested against Japanese government policy, including its shrine worship, was persecuted (Park, 2004b:688).

Japan first threatened the PCK to accept the shrine worship before its Presbytery meeting, and arrested protesting pastors before the meeting. Most Presbyteries submitted to the Japanese suppression. Subsequently, in the 1938 GA, under the

⁹⁴ "Shintoism" was originally the Japanese indigenous religion. "Shin-" means "god" and "-to" means "the way", so to put it together, "Shinto" means "the way of god". Shintoism was revived after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 by mixing Japanese emperor worship and nationalism and it became a kind of national religion. In the structure of Japanese imperialism, the Japanese heavenly emperors were believed not only to be descendants of the sun goddess, "Amaterasu Omikami" but also living defied gods. It became the core of all political authorities (Pak, 2004:233-4). See "Shinto" <http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Shinto.aspx>.

⁹⁵ The Vatican issued a decree "Pluries Instantanterque" (1936) that allowed participation in the shrine worship, which is seen not as a religious rite but as a patriotic rite (Park, 2004b:704).

⁹⁶ The Methodist Church decided to participate in the shrine worship on account of the Japanese governor's letter stating that Japan did not have a national religion and the shrine worship was only a national rite (Park, 2004b:706).

⁹⁷ Japan expanded the Manchurian Incident from 1931, Second Sino-Japanese War from 1937 and continued to the Second World War until 1945.

watch of hundreds of armed military policemen, the PCK decided to participate in the Shinto shrine worship, as it was described as not a religion, but a national rite (Park, 2004b:714-5).

After the 1938 GA, the majority of the PCK could not act otherwise than obey, whether actively or passively, the GAPCK's decision taken under Japanese oppression, but they went astray faster than imagined. The 1939 GAPCK could not be seen as a Christian church, but was rather a Japanese government-patronised organisation. They bowed toward the Japanese king's palace, read the oath of the Japanese imperial people and declared that they would help the Japanising policy. In the 1942 GAPCK⁹⁸, all delegations from all Presbyteries across the country went to the Pyeng Yang shrine and worshipped. The PCK was no longer a community of faith, but had become an organisation supporting Japanese imperialism that used the offerings to buy military arms (Park, 2004b:744-5).

(2) The protest against Shintoism

Regardless of the GA decision and the lapsed leading pastors, there were some exceptions, pastors who believed that Shintoism was an absolute idolatry before God. They decided to resist the shrine worship at the risk of their lives, and were tortured and put into jail: Pastor Ju Ki Cheol (martyr), **Han Sang Dong**⁹⁹, missionary, **Bruce F. Hunter** at Manchuria, professors and students of the Pyeng Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary, etc. (Park, 2004b:718-9).

(3) Released pastors' reconstruction principle of the PCK

When the country was liberated from Japanese occupation, there was no longer any

⁹⁸ The PCK was dissolved from 1943 until 1945, because administratively the PCK became the Chosun Presbyterian denomination of the Japan Christian Church according to Japan's policy of May 1943 (cf. Park, 2004b:787).

⁹⁹ Refer to "Hahn, Sang-Dong (1901-1976)" in *Historical Dictionary of Reformed Churches* (Benedetto, Guder, and McKim 1999:126).

need to worship in the Shinto shrine. The “released pastors” from prison, who had resisted the shrine worship from the beginning until the end by keeping faith like martyrs, thought about the reconstruction of the PCK (Park, 2004b:210-2).

Pastor Han Sang Dong was at the centre of this party (Ko Shin party). The released pastors suggested the basic reconstruction guideline of the PCK¹⁰⁰ and campaigned for repentance and self-disciplinary suspension of the pastorate for a period of two months. There was an obedient response to it by some Presbyteries and individual churches, but there was also strong opposition to it among the active participants in Shintoism. For example, Hong Taek Gi, who was the moderator of the 1938 GA that decided for Shinto worship, said, “Whether in prison or in the church, the suffering was the same. Repentance and punishment can be made through a personal relationship with God not by someone’s force” (Park, 2004b:804-5; Yang, 2008:211-7).

Except for the two extreme groups, the released pastors and the anti-Ko Shin group, there were moderate in-between pastors who would stand with the majority or be shaken by persuasive words on each occasion. They sometimes advocated this and sometimes that.

(4) The Gyeongnam Presbytery and the Korea Theological Seminary¹⁰¹ (Ko Shin)

The released pastors (Ko Shin party) were mostly from the Gyeongnam province around Pusan, where they were born, or serving churches in the Gyeongnam Presbytery. Han Sang Dong of the Ko Shin party tried to establish a theological

¹⁰⁰ Five articles: ① church leaders (pastor and elder) will do ministry after repentance and purification, ② pastors will undertake self-reproach and suspension for at least two months from office, ③ during pastor and elder’s absence deacons will lead worship service, ④ this principle will be spread to all Presbyteries and churches in the country to practise it, and ⑤ theological seminary for education of pastor candidates will be restored (Park, 2004b:804).

¹⁰¹ Refer to Bauswein (1999:625-6), Pusan – Korea Theological Seminary (s4605). “Ko Shin” means Korea Theological Seminary. “Ko-” stands for “Korea”, and “-Shin” is an abbreviated form of “Theological Seminary”.

seminary, the Korea Theological Seminary (KTS, or Ko Shin) with a conservative evangelical theology and the pure faith of the martyrs. His plan or vision placed the seminary under the management and support of the Gyeongnam Presbytery only, as the “seminary of Gyeongnam Presbytery” independent of, and without relation with the GA, even though the Presbytery could not exist outside the GA of the Presbyterian Church. He wanted the location of the KTS to be in Pusan, not in the capital city, Seoul.

In July 1946 Han SD’s plan for the KTS was approved in the Gyeongnam Presbytery. The KTS started in June 1946 with a special summer course of two months. The main professor was Park Yun Sun; 63 students were registered. Later most of them became leaders of the Ko Shin party (Park 2004b: 918; Yang, 2008:253, 270). The professors of the KTS were Park Yun Sun, who introduced “Reformed” theology to Korea, Han Sang Dong and missionaries of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in the USA (OPC), who were called the Machen’s group: Bruce Hunt¹⁰², William Chisholm, and Dwight Malsbary (Yang, 2008:279). They boasted of the KTS as the Westminster Seminary in Korea or the Korean branch of the Westminster Seminary.

Han SD invited **Park Hyung Ryong** to be the principal of the KTS. He was one of the most influential conservative professors in the PCK and had been teaching in the Pyeng Yang Theological Seminary (1930-8), and thereafter in the Bongchon Theological Seminary in Manchuria for the Korean diaspora, until he returned to Korea (Yang, 2008:362-3). When Park HR came to Seoul from Manchuria at the invitation of Han SD in September 1947, he was suggested to establish a conservative theological seminary for the GA in Seoul by previous board members of the Pyeng Yang Seminary but they were not ready. When Han SD came to Seoul to

¹⁰² Hunt was born in Pyeng Yang in 1903, a son of missionary William Hunt from PCUSA, but he moved to the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Mission, the Presbyterian Church of America/Orthodox Presbyterian Church established in 1936 after withdrawal from the PCUSA. He was imprisoned for his opposition of Shintoism. He met Park Yun Sun in the Westminster Theological Seminary in 1935 and the two were Machen men. He accepted the offer to work for the KTS, so the two met again as professors in the KTS in 1946 (Yang, 2008:349-58).

meet Park HR, Park spoke to Han about the possibility of a schism from the PCK because of the establishment of the Korea Theological Seminary (Yang, 2008:363-4). It has been said, “Where the seminary goes, the church goes”, which implies that the establishment of seminaries causes schisms in the church.

According to Yang’s (2008:367-9) presumption, Park suggested to Han to make the KTS the representative conservative theological seminary of the GA and to move it to Seoul in due time. Han basically agreed to Park’s suggestion, but it was on condition that the GA should confess and repent their sin of shrine worship, and that liberal theologians should be removed from the ruling positions of the GA. Han’s condition was an ideal that could not be achieved practically at that time.

From 1938 some missionaries of the PCUSA were transferred to the Orthodox Presbyterian Church (OPC) and were accepted as missionary members in the GAPCK, for instance Bruce F. Hunt. Han SD and missionary Hunt had a sense of comradeship¹⁰³ and Han wanted partnership only with the OPC. Regarding the relationship with the OPC (Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions) and the other Boards of Foreign Missions, Park HR advised Han SD that the Korea Seminary should have its relation with the four Missions just as the old Pyeng Yang Seminary had in order to restore the position of the old PTS (Park, 2004b:953-4; Yang, 2008:390-1).

Without a concrete agreement about when to move the KTS to Seoul, Park agreed to be the principal of the KTS. Park’s position in the PCK did not suit his service in a small seminary in the countryside managed by one Presbytery. In October 1947, Park HR started his office as principal in the KTS with professors, Park Yun Sun and Bruce F. Hunt. The effect of the two Parks’ collaboration was immediately evident. Thirty-four of 51 students who had refused the liberal teaching of the Chosun

¹⁰³ Yang (2008:377) points out similarities between Han SD and Bruce Hunt: in their experience of imprisonment because of protest against Shintoism, their theological conservatism and opposition to the liberalisation of the theology of the mainline PCK and PCUSA respectively, and in that the minority (Ko Shin in Korea, OPC in USA) was alienated by the majority.

Theological Seminary¹⁰⁴ moved to the KTS.

The KTS had a total 120 students; it was becoming like the previous Pyeng Yang Seminary. In the Gyeongnam Presbytery in December 1947, two months after Park's inauguration, he presented his plan for the KTS in relation with the GAPCK. Firstly, the KTS would request support from all churches of the PCK. Secondly, the KTS would submit an application for the approval of the GAPCK. Park's plan was to upgrade the KTS to be the representative seminary of the GAPCK. Encouraged by Park's plan, the Presbytery endorsed the KTS again, as it had been decided in July 1946, but in December 1946 this endorsement was cancelled (Yang, 2008:370-3).

(5) Park Hyung Ryong's resignation from the Korea Theological Seminary

From the beginning of 1948 the differences between Park HR and Han SD became a crisis of visions and the way of management of the KTS. Han SD rejected the basic agreement with Park HR. They failed to develop a common vision and mind. Eventually Park HR resigned from the KTS in April 1848 after half a year's principalship (Yang, 2008:381).

(6) The influence of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church

The possible reason why Han SD changed his mind is the influence of the missionaries of the OPC, especially Bruce Hunt, because Han SD was close to Hunt as stated above, and was persuaded by Hunt more strongly than by Park HR. Bruce Hunt and Park Yun Sun saw Machen of the OPC struggle with the new wave of modern theology and eventually withdraw from the Princeton Theological Seminary during the theological controversies of the 1920s and 1930s. Machen established the Westminster Seminary, which was independent from the GA of the PCUSA.

¹⁰⁴ Refer to Bauswein (1999:622), Kyungki do - Han Shin University, Faculty of Theology (s4612). The Cho Sun Seminary started in April 1940 after the closure of the Pyeng Yang Seminary (1938). Professors were open to modern liberal theology and did not take the Shinto worship seriously, but actively helped Japanese policy. One of the foundational aims of the Seminary was declared to be the education of Christian pastors for the Japanese Empire. After liberation (1945), it was the only theological seminary, and became the Seminary of the GAPCK in 1946. In 1947, 51 students opposed its liberal teaching and appealed to the GA (Yang, 2008:508-14).

When the PCUSA cancelled his pastorate he established the OPC. Hunt and Park YS chose to follow Machen's Westminster Seminary and OPC. They were Machen's men (Yang, 2008:384-6).

There were similarities between Machen and Han Sang Dong. Just as Machen withdrew from the Princeton Seminary's inclusion of modern liberal theology and established a new seminary, the Westminster Seminary, to maintain conservative Reformed theology independently from the GA, Han was against the Chosun Seminary's inclusion of modern liberal theology and established a new seminary, the Korea Seminary, independently from the GA. As Machen established the OPC after he was expelled by the PCUSA, so Han SD established the Ko Shin Church after he was severed by the PCK.

(7) The relation of Ko Shin with the Gyeongnam Presbytery and the General Assembly

Park's resignation made big waves of the negative attitudes of the GA toward the Ko Shin party. It was powerful enough to regard the Ko Shin party as schismatic as it could not even accept a Korean representative conservative professor, Park HR. The relationship between the Ko Shin party and the anti-Ko Shin party in the Gyeongnam Presbytery and the GAPCK led to long boring disputes and got steadily worse (Yang, 2008:397-8).

In the GA in April 1948, when a Presbytery asked a question about whether it was right to give recommendation letters to student candidates for the KTS, a pastor of the politics department, Kim Gwan Sik answered, "Since the KTS has nothing to do with our GA, it is not necessary for a Presbytery to recommend students." As the majority accepted the answer, the GA decided not to give a recommendation letter for the KTS. This decision meant that it was illegal for the Gyeongnam Presbytery to have any relationship with the KTS (Yang, 2008:434-8).

In the provisional (September) and general (December) Gyeongnam Presbytery in

1948, the anti-Ko Shin party assailed the Ko Shin party, and the Gyeongnam Presbytery decided to cancel the approval of support for the KTS following the decision of the GA. From then on, Gyeongnam Presbytery was divided into three parties: the Ko Shin party, the anti-Ko Shin party, and a moderate party (Yang, 2008:438-40).

Han SD seemed to regard the church and pastors of the PCK as false; the pastors had surrendered to shrine worship and refused to repent the sin. He could not be one with them without their genuine repentance. Although he and the Ko Shin party did not want to depart from the PCK and never professed it publicly, Han had in mind starting a new church, not on account of his own withdrawal, but only if he was expelled by the Presbytery or the GAPCK. Han expressed it personally. Many a pastor forecast that eventually the Ko Shin party of Han would withdraw from the PCK (Yang, 2008:364-6, 372).

(8) The Ko Shin party's expulsion by and withdrawal from the PCK

In the 1949 GA, two delegation lists of the Gyeongnam Presbytery were submitted: one was from the existing legitimate Presbytery, the other the newly organised illegal Presbytery. The GA admitted the list from the legitimate Presbytery but suspended the delegates' right to speak in the meeting. The GA decided that the Gyeongnam Presbytery should terminate its relationship with the Mission of the OPC and the Korea Seminary. The GA also appointed five pastors to constitute a committee with full power to solve the dispute with the Gyeongnam Presbytery, but the activity of the committee aggravated the situation. In the 1950 GA, five delegation lists from the Gyeongnam Presbytery were submitted. Throughout the period of the Assembly there was no solution about the Gyeongnam Presbytery. The GA decided to adjourn its meeting until September but in June 1950 the Korean Civil War took place, and the meeting only resumed in May 1951. However, the delegates from the Gyeongnam Presbytery of the Ko Shin party (the so-called legitimate Gyeongnam

Presbytery) were rejected because they kept up relations with the OPC and the Korea Seminary, which was regarded as illegal in the eyes of the GA. The GA started to occupy by force the churches in possession of Gyeongnam Presbytery, as a sign and evidence of its expulsion by the GA. In the 1952 GA, the legitimate Gyeongnam Presbytery sent delegates but they were rejected. As long as Ko Shin pastors maintained a relationship with the OPC and the Korea Seminary, they would be rejected. The Ko Shin party had no choice but to withdraw from the GAPCK. The legitimate Gyeongnam Presbytery gathered and organised the General Presbytery with delegations of 50 pastors and 37 elders in September 1952. In September 1956, six Presbyteries, 95 delegates (52 pastors and 43 elders) gathered to organise the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (Ko Shin): Ko Shin Church (Hur, 2008:401-2; Yang, 2008:443-78).

3.2.2. Assessment of Han Sang Dong's view on unity and catholicity

From the history of the first schism of the PCK, it is seen that Pastor Han Sang Dong fought against the idolatry of Shintoism ever since the beginning of his ministry in 1938, the year when the GA of the PCK decided to participate in Shinto worship. Han SD resisted Shintoism and encouraged others to join his resistance. Even after Korea's liberation from Japan and his release from imprisonment, he asked the PCK as a whole to repent the sin of taking part in the Japanese emperor worship. However, the practice of the PCK was enough for him to regard the PCK and pastors as false. Active participants in Shintoism were still leaders in the Presbyteries and the GA of the PCK and would not repent, but rather justified themselves. Han SD did not act like the Novatians and Donatists in the early church, who did not readmit the lapsed into the church, but he ceaselessly required genuine repentance from the Shinto worshipers.

(1) Han SD's wish for a true, pure and holy church

From the Reformed view of Calvin, the idolatry of the Japanese emperor worship is a sin: "God is one" (*Institutes* IV.1.12). No doubt in Han SD's eyes, most of the PCK pastors were seen as false and hypocrites, so that he could not be one with them. It is evident from the fact that he ceaselessly requested the whole PCK to repent of the sin of Shintoism as idolatry and established the Korea Seminary to educate pure and holy pastors independently of the GA, which he could not trust and control. Han's eager wish for the PCK was a true, holy and pure church before God, which was more important than anything else at that time.

Han SD's view on the unity and catholicity of the church was based on the holiness and purity of the church. It is in accordance with Paul's teaching of the "holy temple" in Ephesians (2:22-23), and with the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed professing, "I believe in the one holy catholic and apostolic church". One of Calvin's criteria of the true church is that the word of God is purely preached and heard.

Therefore, Han's request for repentance was considered to be right, which was in a sense the voice of the Holy Spirit to the PCK that all the PCK should humbly obey.

(2) A more or less pure church

One question is raised: was it right for Han SD to separate from the mainline church if the holiness of the church was not evident?

In answer to this question, Calvin's answer would be "no", because the PCK at large kept the two marks of the true church: pure preaching and hearing the word of God and administration of the sacraments. Of course, the right judgment is God's judgment.

According to the Westminster Confession of Faith (25.4-5) about the catholic church: "particular churches 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” and “The purest Churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error”; the PCK is recognised as a less pure church with its mixture and error, and is not regarded as a false church, but still as catholic. Reformed perspectives seem to be quite generous in recognising a “less pure church” and a church with “mixture and error” as the catholic church. It would have been preferable for the Ko Shin party to remain within the PCK regardless of the PCK’s being less pure.

(3) Church discipline

How can the PCK administer church discipline when the object is the majority?

In the composition of a less pure majority and a more pure minority, it is natural that when the less pure hold the hegemony of the PCK, the annoying request for repentance of the minority might be despised, and rather provoke the majority into resentment. How could it be possible to deal with church discipline of those who surrendered to Shintoism in such an unbalanced power structure where the more pure Ko Shin party, who deserved to be the subject of discipline, was the minority? It would be practically impossible to decide on discipline in the way that the Ko Shin party requested. Systemically the less pure leadership of GA could rule over the more pure minority by the power of their majority. The more the Han SD party requested repentance, distrusted the leadership of the GA and established a new seminary on their own, the more the anti-Ko Shin party got angry and turned their back on the Ko Shin party.

The GA was composed by the majority of the anti-Ko Shin party and they decided that those who related with the Korea Seminary and the missionaries from the OPC were opposing the GA’s decision that they did not accept the delegates of the Presbytery to the GA; ironically the more pure pastors became the object of discipline by the less pure pastors with their power of majority.

Looking only at this result, it is clear that crafty politicians of the PCK misused

church authority. In this way Han SD's party was expelled by ecclesiastical authoritarians, just as the Reformers in the sixteenth century were expelled by the formidable power of the Roman Catholic Church.

(4) Han SD's tension between holy church and one church

It needs to reflect on Han's view of the unity and catholicity of the church: Could Han's emphasis on the holiness and purity ever be compatible with the maintenance of unity and catholicity? Is there not a better way to prevent the disunity of the PCK without compromising its holiness? It is hard for the more pure to consider in humility the less pure better than themselves (cf. Php. 2:3). It is easy for purer people to assume an arrogant attitude, which will cause a break in relations. In this context one needs to remember Paul's exhortation to speak the truth in (or with) love (Eph. 4:15) in a manner worthy of the call to unity, which is explained as the seven graces: lowliness, meekness, longsuffering, forbearing one another, love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace (cf. Eph. 4:1-3). The request for holiness and purity without love could arouse hostility in the opponents. God does not save sinners because of their own holiness and purity, but because of God's holiness and Jesus' sacrificial love, which surpasses knowledge (cf. Eph.3:19). Jesus' unconditional sacrificial love leads people to both holiness and oneness.

From this reflection, Han's inner tension between holiness and unity could be solved by getting hold of both. Unity and catholicity are also God's word to be obeyed and sought for with the highest maturity in the above seven graces' love to become a mature man; the church (cf. Eph. 4:13), just as the word of God "You shall have no other gods before me" (Ex. 20:3), deserved to be kept at the risk of life.

Han SD was influenced by Machen's men in the Korea Seminary: missionaries from the OPC and Professor Park Yun Sun who studied Machen's theology and saw and advocated Machen's withdrawal from the mainline PCUSA for the sake of purity, at the risk of unity. Machen's men followed Calvin's theology and Presbyterianism, but

Paul, Calvin's *Institutes* and the WCF of the Presbyterian Church do not exhort one to do it in such a way. This does not mean conceding purity, holiness and truth for the sake of unity. The way is not to select only one alternative, but to take both of them as God's word by making efforts to keep holiness among themselves even if others remain sinful, and at the same time to maintain unity through humble attitudes toward others in so far as they maintain the two marks of the true church. Calvin's ecumenicity shows his effort to reunite even with the Roman Catholic Church that expelled him, if possible. It would have been better to hold firmly to both holiness and oneness.

(5) Han SD's schismatic factors

An objection can be raised: the Ko Shin party did not separate first, but was expelled by the majority of opponents, so there was no other way than to withdraw from the PCK. It is true that the church politicians in the GA expelled the Ko Shin with a crafty plan. However, it was not entirely so, for relationships are generally bilateral. As discussed above, Paul's exhortation in Ephesians 4:1-16 reveals the best way to keep both holiness and unity in the process of growth into maturity. The childish or youngish PCK was still in development. Han SD, even if he lived the faith of a martyr, was also incomplete and developing in maturity. It would have been best to remain humble and to make efforts to reconstruct the PCK from within with the knowledge of Paul's exhortation, but it was practically hard to expect it in a state of immaturity.

A factor contributing to the schism is discovered in Han's ambivalent plan for the Korea Seminary: the management of the Korea Seminary was to be under the approval and support only of the Gyeongnam Presbytery, free from any interference by the GA, and to be a representative conservative seminary in the PCK succeeding the previous Pyeng Yang Seminary. His vision for a seminary independent from the GA denotes his deep distrust in the leadership of the GA. However, his invitation to Park Hyung Ryong to be the principal connotes his desire for the reformation of and

influence on the whole PCK with its base in the Presbytery, because Park HR's wide position and vision suited a position in the GA and not only in a Presbytery. Nevertheless his ambivalence of being in the Presbytery but not in the GA is not possible in a Presbyterian church government with Presbyteries joined in the GA comprising elders of equal rank. Because Han SD stuck to his vision, it was a factor in the schism in the PCK. The Han SD party also knew and wanted it (Yang, 2008:380). As Park HR advised, Han SD should have made efforts to have a good relationship with the ruling leaders of the GA, and the Missions from the PCUSA, PCUS, PCA, the United Church of Canada and the OPC, if he really did not want to depart from the PCK.

Secondly, Han SD and his party selected a convenient, comfortable and easy way rather than the narrow and difficult way, by refusing Park's advice (unity with all) and sticking to Machen's way (holy group only). For them it was more difficult to be part of one catholic church with people with differences in faith and theology, and they chose a holy and pure church with people with the same faith and minds. For perfectionists to live in "togetherness" with different groups is very difficult and every moment they are together is stressful. Even though Han's party are not as perfectionist as the Novatians and the Donatists, they have similar traits with reluctance to unity with the so called unclean. Han SD's party followed in Machen's footsteps by downgrading the unity and catholicity of the church, placing more emphasis on holiness and purity. It is an ecclesiological weakness according to the Reformed perspective of Paul, Calvin and the WCF. The best way is to maintain one holy church.

Thirdly, Han SD's distrust in the GA's leadership was made known to them, who were still lacking in the maturity of Ephesians 4:1-16. Han SD's distrust of the leaders of the GA alienated those leaders from him. Therefore the expulsion of the Ko Shin party was their reaction to the Ko Shin party's exclusive and arrogant attitudes and their sense of superiority because they had been martyrs for their faith.

It was too difficult for the Ko Shin party to accept the participants in the Shinto idolatry in one body united with one another. Paul's teaching on love is, "If I give all I possess to the poor and surrender my body to the flames, but have not love, I gain nothing" (1 Co. 13:3), even though it is not easy to practise it. Han's hope for the reconstruction of the PCK did not work through his highhanded way without love. The more mature way of love is described in Ephesians chapter 4 and 1 Corinthians chapter 13. It does not mean Han and his party were worse than the leaders in the GA, but they were more respectable. However, ecclesiological doctrine refers to both the holiness and the catholicity of the church, and not to a holy church alone nor to a catholic church alone. To keep the unity of the catholic church needs maturity and the fullness of Christ's love. That is the lesson that the next generation should recognise and learn: the necessity to grow up in maturity to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ in order to maintain the unity of the church.

To sum up, Han SD and his party's distrust in the leadership of the GA made them want to exclude the Korea Seminary from the GA, and therefore they were excluded from the GA and later from their Presbytery as well. The Ko Shin party's expulsion by the GA is in a sense their own making because of their leaders' lack of maturity to prevent the disunity of the PCK.

Calvin's exhortation to perfectionists is that it would be in vain to seek "a church besmirched with no blemish" (*Institutes*, IV.1.12). It applies to Han SD as well. If the movement of repentance had been carried out in a way of love, humility, meekness, longsuffering and peace, the practioners of Shinto would never have responded with a hostile rejection but at least with the recognition of painful, long suffering. It would have been better to speak the truth with love, as Jesus said, "A new command I give you: Love one another. As I have loved you, so you must love one another. By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another" (Jn. 13:34-35). From this point of view, Han SD's immaturity was invisible but worked as a factor to cause the disunity of the PCK.

3.2.3. Summary

In this section, an attempt was made to assess the ecclesiology of Han SD from a Reformed perspective, in particular his view on the unity and catholicity of the church shown in the first schism.

The PCK experienced a major schism that was very difficult for an immature young church to overcome, in which the more pure pastors' group of the Ko Shin party was expelled from the GA. They subsequently withdrew from the mainline PCK without more mature consideration.

Even though Han Sang Dong did not die as a martyr in prison, he had the same faith as the martyrs. His suffering for his living faith is to be highly respected and should be followed by the next generation. On the foundation of the blood of martyrs suffering with Christ, the PCK has been built up, which is its beautiful historical legacy.

Han SD's view on the unity and catholicity of the church can be summarised as follows: First, Han's view on the unity and catholicity presupposes its holiness and purity. Han SD and his party were thoroughly faithful and obedient to the word of God at the risk of their lives and persecution. After liberation, Han and his party called for repentance as a prerequisite for reconstruction of the PCK, which means that Han's view on the one catholic church presupposed a true, holy and pure church.

Secondly, Han's overemphasis on the holiness of the church downplayed its unity. The view of the Reformed ecclesiology is quite generous in defining the true church. It is true that the PCK at that time was a less pure church, but it still kept the two marks of the true church, which could not be judged as a false church. Could Han SD but recognise the PCK as a true church and know the importance of the unity and catholicity of the church according to the word of God as much as its holiness and purity, he might have acted differently.

Thirdly, for the moment, it would have been best to endeavour, with more love and faith, to keep the unity according to the word of God, regardless of the worldly leadership of the GA, just as his party were faithfully obedient to the first and second commandments of the Decalogue. Not only the majority of the PCK but also Han SD and his Ko Shin party were immature at that time. The PCK needed to grow in maturity with their whole heart to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ to keep the unity of the church.

3.3. The history of disunity of the Presbyterian Church of Korea: The split into the Tong Hap Church and the Hap Dong Church (1959)

3.3.1. The process of schism

● Introduction

After the first schism (1952) brought about the very conservative Ko Shin Church, and the second schism (1953) did the very progressive Ki Jang Church (Chosun Theological Seminary), the moderation of the PCK seemed to maintain peace for a while.

The Ko Shin and the Ki Jang Churches were relatively small groups compared with the PCK, but the third schism tore the PCK into two halves of almost the same size, so the impact of the division was quite devastating. The central figures in each party of the third schism were Park Hyung Ryong and Han Gyong Jik. For convenience, Park HR's party is called the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) party¹⁰⁵ and Han GJ's party the WCC party. The two studied in a master's programme at the Princeton Theological Seminary (Park: 1923-6; Han: 1926-9) during the time of the "Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy" in the 1920s and 1930s in the PCUSA. Park HR favoured Machen's old Princeton side and Han GJ took the new Princeton side. In other words, Park HR was more conservative than Han GJ, who was open to change. Han GJ advocated the ecumenical movement of the WCC while keeping a conservative position. Han GJ was a professor of the Chosun Seminary that actively

¹⁰⁵ The 51 students who had appealed to the GAPCK against the Chosun Seminary's liberal theology (1947) formed an association and resolved to keep the conservative orthodox theology of the PCK. They affirmed the identity of their faith with the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), organised the NAE of Korea (1952), appointed Park HR as their adviser, and Jeong Gyu O as the president. They were against the ecumenical movement of the National Council of Churches (NCC) in Korea and of the WCC. Instead they entered the membership of the World Evangelical Fellowship (1955) (Park, 2004b:971-4).

advocated modern theology, which is designated as liberal theology in the PCK, but did not walk with them when the Ki Jang Church left the PCK.

There was a theological conflict between Park and Han in the matter of participation in the cooperative translation of Arbingdon's Bible commentary,¹⁰⁶ a project of the Methodist Church of Korea, with four Presbyterian pastors. This issue was raised in the GA because its content was far from what pastors of the PCK had learned in the Pyeng Yang Seminary. In the 1935 GAPCK, Han GJ was disciplined because he had been a member of the translation project. Park HR, who was a professor at the Pyeng Yang Seminary, reviewed the commentary and concluded that it integrated all the liberal theological thoughts that adopted biblical criticism and denied fundamental orthodox doctrines. The GA incorporated Park's report and requested all the participants to present their own theological views publicly and all pastors of the PCK not to buy and read the translation. Han GJ, with two other pastors, defended their assigned parts as containing nothing wrong but they said they were sorry for making a noise (Park, 2004b:536-46). This event upset Han GJ. Yang (2008:573-4) says that this became the first conflict between the two representative pastors in the PCK, which brought about a sad schism in the PCK. Their small theological difference played a role in the division into two moderate churches.

(1) Park H R's illegal conduct and the NAE party

After Park HR had resigned from the Korea Theological Seminary (1948), he joined the new seminary of the GA, the "Presbyterian Theological Seminary" (1948) in Seoul. The GA decided to merge two seminaries: the Chosun and the Presbyterian Seminary, but the Chosun side refused it. In the meantime, the Presbyterian Seminary was closed and started again with the new name of "Chonghoi (which

¹⁰⁶ The Methodist Church of Korea translated and published the Abingdon Bible Commentary in 1934 as the project of its 50th anniversary celebration. Four Presbyterian pastors participated in it: Han Gyeong Jik, Kim Jae Jun, Song Chang Gun and Chae Pil Gun (Park, 2004b:536-7). The four all became professors of the Chosun Theological Seminary.

means “General Assembly”) Theological Seminary”¹⁰⁷ (1951) in Dae Gu. When the Korean Civil War ended, the Chonghoi Seminary moved to Seoul (1953), and Park Hyung Ryong was appointed as its principal (Park, 2004b:943-4).

Park HR was looking for a plot for the building of the Chonghoi Seminary and came to know an elder who said that he knew some people in high positions in the government, such as the Minister of Finance, and guaranteed the allocation of the plot, the permission for its construction and the accreditation of the Seminary by the government through contacts by bribery. Park HR gave him 30 million Korean Hwan (about US \$36 000) for the purpose of so-called lobbying without following the proper procedure of expenditure through a resolution of the board of directors. This random expenditure turned out to be a complete failure and the man to be a swindler. It was Park’s undeniable mistake and responsibility that did great harm and brought dishonour of the Chonghoi Seminary. The GA decided to dismiss Park HR as principal (1958) (Yang, 2008:575-8).

The NAE party thought of Park’s collapse as their political collapse in the power struggles of the PCK. They then devised to restore Park HR to principal because the Chonghoi Seminary could not maintain the conservative orthodox theology of the PCK unless Park kept the principalship. They began to criticise the WCC by raising questions about dangerous factors in the WCC, saying that its theology was liberal and that it supported communists. They also attacked the WCC party because they said they were liberalists who would lead the whole PCK in theological liberalism. Gradually the NAE party increased the level of attack.

The WCC party saw the attack of the NAE party as a strategy to escape from its crisis and to maintain the political hegemony in the PCK by restoring Park HR to the principalship. On occasion the NAE party worked as a political group, forgetting their first intention as an organisation (Yang, 2008:575-83).

¹⁰⁷ Refer to Bauswein (1999:626), Seoul – Chong Shin University (s4618).

(2) The relationship of the PCK with the WCC

The PCK had an early relationship and fellowship with the worldwide church from its establishment (1907), joining the World Presbyterian Alliance with a view to the catholicity and ecumenicity of the church.

At the first GA of the WCC (Amsterdam, 1948), a delegate, Kim Kwan Sik attended as an observer. When Kim KS reported the result of his attendance, he recommended that the PCK should join the WCC, and the GAPCK decided to be a member of the WCC. However, some pastors raised a different view of the WCC. The PCK then wanted to know more precisely what the theological position of the WCC was and sent two delegates (Kim Hyun Jung: WCC party, Myung Sin Hong: NAE party), to the second Assembly of the WCC (Evanston, 1954). Yu Ho Jun (WCC party) also attended as a delegate of the Korea National Christian Council (KNCC). The two delegates reported differently. Kim HJ's report was positive about being a member of the WCC, but Myung SH believed that the WCC was theologically problematic. On the question about the WCC's aim to seek the union of all churches in the world beyond denominations, Kim HJ answered that the WCC sought the unity of all churches through fellowship and co-operation between member churches. In the 1956 GAPCK, a committee was appointed to research the ecumenical movement of the WCC. It consisted of eight members, among whom were Park HR and Han GJ. Park HR was a most influential theologian in the PCK and Han was the head pastor of the largest church in terms of number of members in the PCK at that time. In the 1957 GAPCK, the research committee presented the result of its work. First, the WCC has two groups: one was for the union of the world churches and the other for fellowship and co-operation between member churches. Secondly, the PCK was advised to continue to participate in the fellowship and co-operation of churches but to oppose the union movement of all churches into one world church. The GA decided as recommended. Park HR of the NAE party stood for selective participation and not blind opposition to the WCC. However, even after the decision of the GA, in

the 1958 GA, the NAE party submitted a proposal¹⁰⁸ of withdrawal from WCC membership. Yu Ho Jun of the WCC party aggressively criticised the NAE party and their proposal. He defended the right of the WCC's ecumenical movement. As the controversy on the WCC became fiery, the leaders of the GA, the moderator, general secretary, former moderators and others, mostly of the WCC party, gathered to find a way to restore the peace and unity of the PCK. They agreed to present a statement that was almost identical with previous decisions of the 1957 GA. The PCK seemed to return to peace and unity (Yang, 2008:583-6).

(3) Delegates of the Gyeonggi Presbytery

The NAE party wanted to take control of the GA and to restore Park HR, using their majority, so they needed to elect more delegates of the NAE party in every Presbytery.

In the regular session (May 1959), 28 delegates of the Gyeonggi Presbytery, which was the largest in the PCK, were elected: 18 of the NAE and 10 of the WCC. The result was declared officially. It was to the advantage of the NAE party, but one pastor (Hwang) of the WCC party, who expected without doubt to be elected but was eliminated, requested a recheck of the ballots after the Presbytery was closed. The executive committee decided to recount all the ballots and found some errors. Hwang's votes were enough to be elected. The state of affairs became very complex. After many twists and turns, eventually the provisional Presbytery was again convened to elect delegates. According to the rule of the Presbytery, the delegates had to be selected only in a regular session. Therefore most of the NAE party did not attend. New delegates were appointed: 26 of the WCC party and 2 of the NAE party. The situation was completely reversed. When the GAPCK (1959) opened, two lists

¹⁰⁸ The contents can be summarised as follows: ① Among members of the WCC are the Oriental Greek Church and the Unitarian Church that denies the Trinity of God; ② The WCC aims at one church through the union of all denominations; ③ Most of the WCC's leading members and theologians did not accept the authority of the Bible nor did they believe the fundamental doctrines; ④ The WCC sponsored communists. Among delegates from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other communist countries were political leaders who persecuted Christians (see Park, 2004b:990-1).

of delegates of Gyeonggi Presbytery were submitted: one from the regular session and the other from the provisional session. From the beginning, the GA faced the difficulty of deciding which list of the Gyeonggi Presbytery was lawful: the NAE party insisted on the former and the WCC party on the latter. The GA decided to vote on it and the result was that 119 voted for the former (regular), 124 for the latter (provisional), and five for abandonment. It was the WCC party's victory. The next day the former chairperson (NAE party) of the Gyeonggi Presbytery mentioned again the choice of his Presbytery delegates and some elders (NAE party) loudly criticised the WCC, citing communists, a liberal theology and the union movement for one church. The moderator did not stop them to normalise the meeting but decided to discuss the issue again. The NAE party seemed to fear that they would lose power in the GAPCK and in the Chonghoi Theological Seminary. In this way, the GA repeated the arguments without reaching a conclusion and the meeting could not deal with other items on the agenda. The two parties were engaged in slander against their opponent's faults and their desire for ecclesial authority and power, so that they could not concede anything or take decisions. In the end, the moderator, after consultation with former moderators, suggested that the GA should be adjourned until 24 November 1959, since it was very difficult to proceed. It would resume at the Sae Mun An Church in Seoul, and in the meantime the Gyeonggi Presbytery had to decide on a new list of delegates. The suggestion was accepted and the moderator adjourned the GA with a prayer. While delegates were leaving the GA, one pastor (An GG) of the WCC party came to the front, to the seat of the moderator, and read a statement of no confidence in the executive committee members. As if he was the moderator of the GA, he asked the delegates who were still present to say "yes" if they agreed to it and then declared, "It is resolved". Subsequently the seat of the GA became a battle-field.

(4) Split into Yeon Dong Group (WCC party) and Seung Dong group (NAE party)

On the last day of the GA, the delegates of the WCC party composed a preparation

committee for the resumption of the GA, ignoring the decision of the GA, and they went up to Seoul. That night the WCC party resumed the GA at the Yeon Dong Church in Seoul in the absence of any member of the executive committee and elected their own moderator. They presented a self-contradictory statement, “we do not want division and will make every effort to be the one GA.”

The NAE party resumed the GA at the Seung Dong Church on 24 November according to the GA’s decision, elected a new moderator and decided to terminate the relationship with the WCC and the NAE (Yang, 2008:586-603).

The two groups were called the Yeon Dong group (WCC) and the Seung Dong Group (NAE) respectively. Later the Yeon Dong Group renamed itself the Tong Hap Church of the PCK¹⁰⁹: Tong Hap means total unification, and the Seung Dong Group renamed itself the Hap Dong Church of the PCK¹¹⁰: Hap Dong means unification.

3.3.2. Assessment of Park Hyung Ryong’s view on unity and catholicity

Park HR played a role in the first schism (Section 3.2.1) and the third schism (Section 3.3.1). It is therefore indicated in each title of subsections whether it refers to his involvement in the first or the third schism or both.

(1) Park HR’s ecumenicity in the third schism (1959)

It is generally regarded that Park HR as a conservative Calvinistic theologian of the PCK played a great role in shaping the conservative theology of the PCK, sometimes called fundamental theology. He kept it from the new wave of modern liberal theology in the same way in which Machen of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church did it in the 1920s and 1930s in his relationship with the Presbyterian Church in the USA.

¹⁰⁹ Refer to Bauswein (1999:308-9), No.14. Presbyterian Church of Korea (Tong Hap, PCK) (4600)

¹¹⁰ Refer to Bauswein (1999:309-10), No.15. Presbyterian Church of Korea (Hap Dong) (4618).

Park's ecumenism was expressed in the report of the research committee on the ecumenical movement of the WCC to the 1957 GA. The report adopted a common-sense and reasonable approach in taking ambivalent attitudes; positively: participate in the fellowship and co-operation of world churches and negatively: oppose the union movement to bring all churches into one world church by ignoring theological problems.

Yang (2008:584) described Park's position toward the WCC as "selective participation". It is impossible to grasp all the theological characteristics of such a large organisation with wide diversity and ambiguity and judge it impartially. Therefore, in order to hold to both unity and holiness, an ecumenism of selective participation or critical participation would be the most rational way, keeping active fellowship with the worldwide churches in Christ on the one hand, and at the same time criticising various non-Christian, non-biblical factors in the WCC, whether from within or outside.

(2) Park HR's unity and catholicity of the church in the first schism (refer to 3.2)

Park HR was also in favour of Machen of the OPC, like Park Yun Sun and Bruce Hunt, who influenced Han Sang Dong of the Ko Shin. However, in their relationship with foreign Missions in Korea, Park HR advised Han SD to maintain their relationship, not only with Machen's OPC, but also with the other four Missions: PCUSA, PCUS, PCA, and United Church of Canada. Even in their relationship with the GA, Park HR insisted that the KTS should maintain its relationship not only with the Gyeongnam Presbytery, but also with the GA.

According to a historian of Ko Shin, Hur Soon Gil (2008:359), Park HR's ecclesiology was weak from a thoroughly Reformed perspective, in that he did not take the purity of the church seriously, as seen in his farewell sermon: "The Ko Shin party should concentrate on the education of evangelists more than on church discipline that

cannot be implemented”. Hur (2008:361) thinks that Park HR overlooked the public confession of sin and church discipline, which should be performed for the reconstruction of the true and holy PCK.

In fact, repentance of sin is invisible. The Ko Shin’s repeated request for repentance of sin implies that an invisible element had to be manifested visibly. The Ko Shin’s request for self-discipline is right, natural and important, and can be seen as the voice of the Holy Spirit. Even though the final judgment only belongs to God, it can be said that there were traitors and hypocrites among the active participants in the Shinto worship to retain leaders’ positions under Japanese protection. Even after liberation from Japan they were still clinging to power without sincere repentance. If they were not born from the Holy Spirit, they would not hear the voice of the Holy Spirit. The majority was also not free from sin, and would not want to hear the repeated request for repentance. Considering this real situation, there was no other way but to trust the Holy Spirit to manage all things: repentance of pastors’ sin, purification of the church and church discipline, which are the work of the Holy Spirit. Only pastors fulfilled with the Holy Spirit can say, “let us repent our sin” in the truth and love of Christ, which surpasses knowledge (Eph. 3:19) by the power and movement of the Holy Spirit.

Even Park HR, a leading figure of the PCK, suggested the reconstruction guideline of the Ko Shin party to the PCK in a retreat conference for pastors, but he was strongly resisted by the active participants in Shintoism. He realised the degree of holiness of the PCK and decided to entrust them to God. There was nothing even Park Hyung Ryong could do for the purification of the PCK.

Regarding church discipline, Han Sang Dong was not trusted to implement discipline. In their power struggles, the Ko Shin party was the minority group, therefore church discipline could only be possible through the requested self-discipline. The Ko Shin party could not usurp God’s authority by repeatedly requesting repentance.

Therefore, Park Hyung Ryong entrusted repentance and the purification of the church to the Holy Spirit, when he realised that the empirical church was a mixture full of error. He wanted to hold to both the purity and the unity of the church, according to Reformed ecclesiology. The Reformed perspective recognises that the unity and catholicity of the church are also demanded by the word of God just as the purity and holiness of the church. Therefore, at the moment of his realisation of the complicated reality, it was necessary to emphasise both purity and unity without forsaking either of the two.

Park's view and ecclesiology, in which he emphasised the unity of togetherness with the less pure church and at the same time encouraged reform from within regardless of the less pure reality of the PCK, is seen to be more faithful to Reformed ecclesiology and more practical in the application of the ecclesiology to the earthly church, based on the right realisation of the reality of the PCK.

Park HR's emphasis on both unity and purity was made known once more when he preached¹¹¹ in a conference of church ministers during the Korean Civil war (August 1950). He pleaded with the Ko Shin party not to depart, but to reform the PCK from within. He also pleaded with the mainline leading pastors to understand and embrace the Ko Shin party, never to make them think of separation from the PCK (Yang, 2008:402-4). Park HR seemed to sense the symptoms of withdrawal of the Ko Shin from the PCK. Park's effort to maintain unity is in accordance with Calvin's Reformed ecclesiology.

¹¹¹ A brief part of his sermon: "Some of the released saints remain in the church, but they are showing a sense of resentment and such an attitude that only the same minded people should come together because lots of people are defiled and protest the request for repentance of sin and purification of faith. They want to forsake the empirical church and to live a pure life only with the same minded saints... If they really feel sad at the corruption and secularisation of the church, they should remain in the church and be loyal to its protest by sharing a common destiny, which would be pleasing to God... If they depart from the church, the strength to keep the traditional orthodox theology will be weakened and the corruption and secularisation of the church will be accelerated, which will be their responsibility. Therefore they must not act thoughtlessly" (Yang, 2008:402-3).

The seven graces in Paul's exhortation: lowliness, meekness, longsuffering, forbearing one another, love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace (cf. Eph. 4:1-3), are given primarily not for the purity of the church but for its unity. These graces require the highest standard, which is almost impossible to attain. So the more mature should see themselves in the light of Paul's exhortation, instead of starting a new, purer church as a way of reformation. At the moment of departure from their mother church for the sake of their purity and holiness, they are disobeying another word of God in Ephesians 4:1-16.

(3) Park's experiences of ecumenical life

Park HR was educated at Pyeng Yang Sung Sil college, which was a mission school established through the co-operation of the Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries. He served as professor at the Pyeng Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary from 1930 till its closure in 1938. During this period, he worked with missionaries from four Presbyterian Missions: PCUSA, PCUS, PCA, and PCC (United Church of Canada). It was a special ecumenical experience for Park that the Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries co-operated for a mission school and that all four foreign Presbyterian Churches became one to co-operate in the education of Presbyterian pastors and to promote the one PCK. Park had a good feeling about the four Foreign Mission's missionaries (Yang, 2008:390-1).

He was also professor in the Bong Cheon Theological Seminary in Manchuria from 1942 until he returned to Korea in 1947. The Bong Cheon Seminary was an ecumenical seminary established by the Chosun Christian Church in Manchuria which united five Korean churches: Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Holiness and Chosun (Park, 2004b:778-9).

Even though Park was in favour of Machen's conservative theology, he was more inclusive in terms of ecumenicity than Machen's men in Korea, Park Yun

Sun, Han Sang Dong and missionary Bruce Hunt, specifically in his co-operation with missionaries from the PCUSA that disciplined Machen. He showed a more flexible attitude to the WCC than the pastors of the NAE of Korea, with his “selective participation”, rather than condemning the WCC as a whole, because he acknowledged the importance of co-operation with others from his own experience of ecumenical partnership and fellowship.

Therefore it is understood that an experience of interdenominational and denominational ecumenical co-operation and fellowship can play an important role in shaping ecumenicity practically as well as theoretically.

(4) Park HR’s schismatic factors in the first and third schisms

At the time of the first schism, although he had a balanced view of the unity and holiness of the church from a Reformed perspective, his opponents (Ko Shin group) had doubts about his selfish ambition. It was raised when Park left the Korea Theological Seminary. If Park HR had remained and worked longer with Park Yun Sun and the purer pastors in the Korea Seminary, the Seminary could have developed to a representative seminary of the PCK as the Ko Shin hoped, and the first schism would not have taken place. Park HR bears part of the responsibility for the first schism. His vision for the seminary in the GA was not self-ambitious but natural. When he joined the Korea Seminary, the position of the Korea Seminary was proved.

His resignation was a deep disappointment and sad to the Ko Shin party on the one hand, and played a great role in the decision on how pastors of the PCK related to the Ko Shin party in the GA and in the Gyeongnam Presbytery on the other hand.

Yang (2008:397-8) also pointed out the wave caused by Park’s separation after only six months’ work. It was enough to doubt the Ko Shin party. They were seen as a seriously problematic, self-righteous and spiritually proud group that could not even appreciate Park HR as an appreciated pastor and a precious person and theologian.

The 1948 GA convened during the time of Park's resignation. They decided that the GA had nothing to do with the Korea Seminary and severed relations with it. Subsequently the Gyeongnam Presbytery severed its relations with the Korea Seminary. Then the anti-Ko Shin pastors were empowered to be bold and became lax about the Ko Shin party's request for repentance of sin and purification of the PCK. The rest of the moderate pastors, who felt sympathy for the Ko Shin party, changed their sympathy. Park HR's decision first to join the Korea Seminary and then to resign after six months played a great role in the first schism. It weakened the purity of the PCK as a whole and strengthened the laxity of the less pure pastors to repent of their sin, even though he never intended such a result.

His illegal expenditure of God's precious funds also affected the third schism. Even though his aim to buy a plot for the Seminary was good, and he did not use the funds for his own personal purposes, his morality contradicted Christian ethics. A bribe and lobbyism are unacceptable, and to expend God's funds by himself without following the lawful procedure of fund expenditure was unacceptable. Regardless of his critical mistake, he did not stop his followers from attempting to restore his principalship of the Chonghoi Seminary by any means, fair or foul. Moral responsibility is one thing. The preservation of conservative theology is another. The third schism showed political power struggles and factionalism in the PCK, and Park HR stood in the centre. He did not guide his followers in the right way. The PCK entered on secular political ecclesiasticism. It is clear that Park HR's moral weakness was connected with the third schism.

3.3.3. Summary

After two (first and second) schisms the PCK was expected to maintain its unity and grow gradually in quantity and spiritually, but the increase in quantity led to ecclesiastical authority, power struggles and factionalism within the PCK.

Whether the root of this schism lies in Park HR's illegal conduct in the Chonghoi Seminary or theological argument on the ecumenical movement of the WCC, it is seen as a struggle for hegemony in the PCK, which exploded in the third schism on the issue of delegates from the Gyeonggi Presbytery. Such a GA could not be called God's holy church, but became a secular assembly where people were fighting, shouting and insulting one another for their own advantage, as can be seen in places like national parliaments in underdeveloped countries. The PCK shamefully entered into hegemony struggles, factionalism, ecclesiastical authoritarianism, moral corruption and secularization.

In the centre of the third major schism was Park Hyung Ryong who was regarded as a conservative traditional Calvinistic theologian in the PCK. He had the Reformed ecumenical view of "selective participation" in relation to the WCC with an ambivalent attitude: positive participation in the pure fellowship and co-operation with the world churches, and negative opposition to the union of all the world churches beyond denominations.

Park HR was not morally perfect as an administrator, even though he was an excellent theologian. The NAE party supported Park HR regardless of his moral defect and endeavoured to protect him, believing that if he collapsed, the conservative orthodox theology of the PCK would collapse. They changed into secular politicians to fight for hegemony in the PCK. They counter-attacked their opponents in unreasonable ways to hide their weakness and to take control of the church.

The WCC party was the same as the NAE party in its desire for ecclesiastical authority and power. Neither party won; both parties lost their power struggles and left in disgrace.

In the first schism, Park HR's view on unity was appropriate from a Reformed perspective. He exhorted the Ko Shin party not to separate from but to remain in the

PCK, and asked the mainline ruling leaders not to make the Ko Shin think of separation, but to embrace them. However, looking back on Park HR's joining of the Korea Seminary and his resignation shortly thereafter, his influence was so powerful in weakening the more pure Ko Shin party and in empowering the less pure anti-Ko Shin party that it led to the first schism, that the GA and the Gyeongnam Presbytery made the Ko Shin party separate from the PCK.

Ecclesiastical authoritarianism started to appear in the PCK through active participation in Shintoism worship where people tasted the pleasure of ecclesiastical authority and power under Japanese colonisation. Even after liberation they continued to exert control over the PCK as it had been during colonisation.

3.4. The history of disunity of the Presbyterian Church in Korea: Too many Reformed (Gae Hyuk) Churches (since 1979)

3.4.1. The process of schism

● Introduction

The denomination of discussion in this section is the Gae Hyuk (which means “reformation”) Church, which split from the Hap Dong Church in 1979.

After the three main schisms in the 1950s, the Ki Jang Church and the Tong Hap Church have retained their unity up to the present. However, the Hap Dong Church experienced another major schism in 1979, which tore one body apart into the mainline Hap Dong Church and non-mainline churches.

It is difficult to know exactly how many non-mainline churches exist at present. They are still splitting and joining like a nuclear chain reaction over and over again. One of them, the Gae Hyuk Church, successfully reunited with its mother, the Hap Dong Church, in 2005 after going through a long tunnel of disunity, which was a marked historical reunion in the history of disunity in the PCK.

After the third schism in 1959, the Hap Dong Church (NAE party) maintained the Chonghoi Seminary, and Park HR was reappointed as the principal of the Seminary. The Chonghoi Seminary developed into the Chonghoi Theological College¹¹², accredited by government in 1969.

As the church and the college grew up gradually, the GA fell into confusion caused by illegality and the arbitrary rules of some pastors who had ecclesiastical authority. The college was also in disorder because of conflicts between professors and the board of directors, and theological arguments between professors. The purification movement of the GA developed in nationwide churches. Even students complained

¹¹² Chonghoi Theological College changed its name to Chongshin College in 1975 and developed to become Chongshin University in 1995.

of the illegality of their college to the nationwide churches.

(1) Secularisation of the General Assembly and the Chongshin College

The Korean political situation entered into the long-term dictatorship of President Park Chung Hee, who ruled for over 18 years (1961-79) by amending the constitution in 1972 to allow limitless possibility of re-election as president and to suspend people's freedom to criticise the government.

According to Jung Jun Ki (2015:135-6), the GA showed a tendency to be secularised in its relationship with the government and in the church polity of the GA and the college.

The 1972 GA presented a statement that advocated the new constitution of Park's government, without taking note of the opposition of some Presbyteries, because the GA leaders hoped to make it easier to get a loan from the government for the expansion of the Chongshin College, which is contrary to Presbyterianism. However, in the end the loan was not approved.

An example of secularisation in the GA is the following: It was customary for the vice-moderator of the previous GA to be the moderator of the subsequent GA, unless something happened. One influential pastor of a big church hinted in a kind of pre-election promise before the 1970 GA meeting that if he should be elected as moderator, his church would donate a big amount to the GA's centre. His election as moderator was exceptional, against the traditional custom. Later he denied that he had promised it. It was the beginning of illegal precedents and secularisation in the election of the moderator (Jung, 2015:136-8).

There was illegality even in the Chongshin College. In March 1972, Kim Hee Bo was appointed principal of the college in an illegal way in violation of the rules of the board of directors. The board of directors consisted of members of the foundation

and delegates from every Presbytery. The principal was elected during the absence of 13 out of 15 board members of the foundation. The Ministry of Education of the government pointed out the illegality and requested its correction, but it was not changed (Jung, 2015:139-47).

(2) An attempt to restore the college

As the hope of improvement for the GA and the college was small, one non-mainline group established the Chonghoi (Restoration) Theological Seminary¹¹³ to restore the theological education of the Chonghoi College from March 1979. Park Aaron, son of Park Hyung Ryong who retired from the college in 1972, was appointed as the principal and Jeong Gyu O as the chairperson of the board of directors. They declared that they did not intend to divide the church and were willing to unite with the college at any time if the college would restore the conservative Calvinistic orthodox theology of Park HR (Kang, 2015:294-9). A main figure in this movement was Jeong Gyu O, who was the president of the NAE Korea and was one of 51 students who resisted the Chosun Seminary's liberal theology.

(3) The schism in 1979: establishment of the Hap Dong Bo Su Church

Non-mainline party pastors organized a committee for a purification campaign of the General Assembly in October 1978. There was tension between the mainline (ruling) party and the non-mainline (opposition) party. The 1979 GA was supposed to open at 18:00 pm. The mainline party delegates already attended at 16:00 pm and afterwards the entrance gate was closed under the guard of unidentified people and around 200 policemen to deny entry to the non-mainline party delegates. According to the minutes of the 1979 GA, it was decided that the Chonghoi Restoration Seminary was illegal.

The expelled non-mainline party delegates gathered at another church, elected an

¹¹³ This Chonghoi (Restoration) Theological Seminary is not the previous Chongshin College.

executive committee and adjourned until 6 November 1979. The non-mainline party that had joined the establishment of the Chonghoi Restoration Seminary was called the Hap Dong Bo Su Church (Bo Su Church); “Bo Su” means “conservation”. “Hap Dong Bo Su” means “conservation of Hap Dong”, with the intention to maintain the Hap Dong Church legitimately (Jung, 2015:150-5).

(4) Establishment of the Gae Hyuk Church

Five professors of the Chongshin College, including Park Yun Sun, resigned because of the illegality of the board of directors. In November 1980 they started another seminary, named the Hap Dong Theological Seminary, because they were irritated at the ecclesiastical authoritarians of the Hap Dong Church.

A neutral mediating party appealed for about two years to the Hap Dong Church and the Bo Su Church to reunite. As their effort was not successful, they joined the Hap Dong Seminary party. These two groups established the Gae Hyuk Church in 1981, which was the second schism involving a non-mainline church (Jeon, 2014:161-2; Bauswein, 1999:314-5).

(5) The schism of the Bo Su Church into Chungdam and Hongun

It is difficult to describe the history of disunity in the Bo Su Church since 1980 because of frequent and complex divisions and reunions.

Jeong Gyu O's party started the Chonghoi Theological Seminary at Chungdam in February 1982 and opened the 1982 GA of the separated Bo Su Church (Chungdam or Kwangju party). The rest of the Bo Su Church was called the Hongun party. It was really an unjustifiable schism about the government of the Theological Seminary (Jeon, 2014:163-4). In this way, the non-mainline party split into three groups: Gae Hyuk, Bo Su (Chungdam) and Bo Su (Hongun).

(6) Union between the Gae Hyuk Church and the Bo Su (Chungdam) Church

In March 1985, the Gae Hyuk Church and the Bo Su Church (Chungdam), through

mediation by in-between pastors who did not belong to any church, united and called it the Gae Hyuk Church. This unity did not last long (Kang, 2015:232-6).

The next year the Gae Hyuk Church returned to the state before union.

From then on the Bo Su Church (Chungdam) also called itself the Gae Hyuk Church.

For the sake of convenience, the two Gae Hyuk Churches are distinguished by the name of their theological seminary: the Gae Hyuk (Chonghoi Seminary) and the Gae Hyuk (Hapdong Seminary). The Chonghoi Seminary changed its name to the Reformed Theological Seminary in 1987, and there was another Reformed Seminary in Kwangju¹¹⁴. The Gae Hyuk Church (Hapdong Seminary), in order to prevent confusion with the Gae Hyuk (Chungdam) Church, changed its name to the Hap Shin Church (Hapdong Seminary) in 1998.

(7) Union of nine non-mainline churches

Gae Hyuk Church (Chungdam) grew to around 2000 churches and experienced another schism with the establishment of the Gae Hyuk Church (Seoul) in 1996. The Bo Su Church (Hongun) continuously split into small Bo Su Churches whenever some members found something that made them unhappy. To them the schism of the church was not a serious matter.

In 1997 Jeong Gyu O exhorted the divided non-mainline churches that had the same theology and Presbyterian government to unite with one another. In the 1997 GA, a committee for church reconciliation between separated non-mainline churches was constituted to seek unification of nine churches. The negotiation was successful and all nine churches decided on unification in their 1998 GA.

On 15 December 1998 the nine churches¹¹⁵ came together and declared their unification¹¹⁶ in the Gae Hyuk Church, which became the third largest denomination

¹¹⁴ The two main figures of the Gae Hyuk (Chungdam) are Jo Gyeong Dae of the Reformed Theological Seminary (Seoul, Chungdam) and Jeong Gyu O of the Kwangju Reformed Theological Seminary.

¹¹⁵ The nine churches: Gae Hyuk (Chungdam), Gae Hyuk (Seoul), Bo Su (Hongun), Bo Su (Bongchun), Bo Su (Naengchun), Bo Su (Bangbae), Bo Su (Sinlim), Bo Su (Ungbong) and Ho Hun (Kang, 2015:245).

¹¹⁶ At the united GA, Jeong Gyu O confessed and appealed with tears, "I was a sectarian. I feel the responsibility of division of the PCK deeply. I beg the PCK for forgiveness of my sin. I will go to God soon. I have

in the PCK. They praised God's grace and glory and thanked God, claiming that there had never been such a glorious unification of divided churches in church history. From the spring of 1999, all their theological seminaries united in the Reformed Chonghoi Theological Seminary (Kang, 2015:237-47, 307-9).

However, this glorious unity did not last for two years. They failed to stabilise the theological seminary (it moved from Chungdam to Noryangjin). The previous seminary leaders distrusted one another and feared losing their existing authority and privileges.

Even before the 2000 GA, there was some tension due to the leadership of the theological seminary. From the start of the 2000 GA, the moderator of the previous GA, Go Byung Hak, cancelled the membership of two delegates through an urgent motion by an inappropriate procedure. This brought the GA into turmoil before the election of the new executive committee. Go Byung Hak was physically dragged from the chair and declared the adjournment of the GA. Go Byung Hak and his party left the building and his opponents let the elder vice-chairperson pass on motion of no trust in the chairperson and restored the two delegates' cancelled membership. Then they elected a new executive committee. They were all members of the Gae Hyuk Church (Noryangjin) of Jo Gyeong Dae.

Jeong Gyu O was angry at this news, saying, "it is illegal to drag the chairperson violently", and he helped the party of Go Byung Hak and his followers to resume the GA. This party was called the Gae Hyuk Church (Sungrae or Kwangju)¹¹⁷ (Kang, 2015:309, 247-52; Jeon, 2014:222-3).

There was solidarity among moderate pastors who pleaded with the two parties to unite. Before the end of year 2000, the Gae Hyuk Church (Kwangju) split again into two churches: the Gae Hyuk Church (Kwangju) and the Gae Hyuk Church (Hongun). Thereafter the Gae Hyuk (Hongun) split into the Gae Hyuk Church (Hongun) and the

one thing to ask from you separated churches, to keep unity hand in hand" (Kang, 2015:246).

¹¹⁷ Jo Gyeong Dae's Reformed Seminary (Chungdam: moved to Noryangjin) and Jeong Gyu O's Kwangju Reformed Seminary and Sungrae Reformed Seminary.

Gae Hyuk Church (Kukje).

The Gae Hyuk Church (Noryangjin) and the Gae Hyuk Church (Kwangju) attempted to unite and representatives of both parties signed an agreement of union, but Jo Gyeong Dae of the Noryangjin party rejected it. Part of the Noryangjin party united with the Kwangju party on the basis of an agreement. By the time of the 2002 GA, there were four Gae Hyuk Churches¹¹⁸.

3.4.2. Reunion of the Gae Hyuk Church (Kwangju) after 26 years

The Gae Hyuk Church (Kwangju) did not stop the movement to reunion. As a result, they could unite with a part of the Noryangjin group and with two moderate groups in December 2003. Jeong Gyu O of the Gae Hyuk Church (Kwangju), who was at the centre of the fourth major schism of the PCK in 1979, wanted to reunite with the Hap Dong Church before he died. When Suh Gi Haeng, the vice-moderator of the Hap Dong Church, visited Jeong Gyu O in his sickbed to console him, Jeong Gyu O expressed his heartbreak about the schism of 1979 and his eager desire for reunion with the Hap Dong Church. Suh Gi Haeng was deeply impressed by Jeong's sincerity. Afterwards both parties constituted a task force team and started to discuss reunion from May 2004 onwards.

In the 2004 GA of both churches, the agenda of reunion was submitted and accepted. The task force team drew up an agreement of reunion which held to the constitution of the Hap Dong Church with some conditions of additional theological education for the Gae Hyuk party pastors. In September 2005 delegates of both churches gathered at the same church. Each church opened their 90th GA separately and then delegates of the Gae Hyuk Church entered the GA hall of the Hap Dong Church. The Hap Dong Church welcomed their divided brothers from the Gae Hyuk Church with standing applause. At last they achieved a historical

¹¹⁸ "Gae Hyuk Church in nuclear fission", <http://www.igoodnews.net>.

unification in the 2005 GA, after 26 years since they separated in 1979 (Kang, 2015:260-7).

On the other hand, the Gae Hyuk Church (Noryangjin) entrusted Jo Gyeong Dae and his church (Jongam Church) with the accreditation of the Reformed Theological Seminary. As a result of Jo Gyeong Dae's effort, the Reformed Theological Seminary was accredited by the government in April 2003. It was not a seminary under the GA, independent of the GA, but recognized by the GA. While it expanded its strength as the accredited seminary, it admitted one church of Park Yun Sik that was judged to be heretical by the Tong Hap Church and the Hap Dong Church. The decision to admit this church was made by Jo Gyeong Dae and a research committee of professors of the Reformed Seminary, the so-called Seminary party. Without following the proper procedure according to the rules of the GA, they judged Park Yun Sik not to be heretic. The GA party was opposed to the decision of the Seminary party and organised the GA separately in 2010. The Seminary party also admitted the Ryu Gwang Su denomination that was judged to be heretical as well. It seems that the Seminary party believed it had the power to do this by virtue of being a government-accredited theological seminary. Subsequently, the church split again in the 2011 GA.

Other Gae Hyuk Churches are still repeatedly splitting and too easily unifying without theological justification. Selfish ambitions do not stop the process of meeting and parting for the expansion of their own strength, but the result is miserable. Even in the unions it is difficult to find the unity and ecumenicity based on Reformed ecclesiology. It is usually unity for the sake of ecclesiastical authority and power in the GA and the theological seminary. The Reformed Churches need to remember the slogan of the sixteenth century Reformation, "*Ecclesia Reformata semper reformanda*" (Reformed Church is always reforming), by returning to their roots – reform according to the word of God – *Sola Scriptura*.

3.4.3. Assessment of Jeong Gyu O's view on unity and catholicity

Jeong Gyu O advocated Park Hyung Ryong, loved his conservative Calvinistic theology and wanted to keep and teach it. Nevertheless, he was one of the central figures in the major and minor schisms of 1959, 1979, 1981 and 1986, and even indirectly in 2000. He confessed, "I was a sectarian. I feel deeply the responsibility for the division of the PCK". He displayed his schismatic conduct as one of the top leaders of the Gae Hyuk Church in the GA, and as founder of the Chonghoi Restoration Theological Seminary, the Reformed Theological Seminary (Chungdam) and the Kwangju Reformed Theological Seminary. He chose the way of division for the sake of reformation when he had to deal with difficult and complex situations with theological conflicts or polity issues, rather than seeking unity.

After his retirement, he felt deeply responsible for the repeated schisms. He earnestly wanted to reunite with the Hap Dong Church and finally made it happen before he died (d. 2006).

His view of the unity and catholicity of the church was weak even though he was theologically a Calvinist with a Reformed perspective. However, in the last part of his life his eager desire for unity was passionate and came true, which was possible when he became humble and dropped any conditions and secular desires. The achievement of reunion became a great example in the PCK and should be imitated by other Gae Hyuk Churches.

3.5. Assessment of disunity in the Presbyterian Church in Korea

In the history of disunity in the PCK, some factors that played a decisive role in each schism can be seen. The scene of dispute at the moment of a disunity crisis represents a spiritual warfare, whether the church maintains unity or fails to maintain it. Because of the sinful and imperfect human nature, it is impossible to maintain the unity and catholicity of the church forever and perfectly, and the church history of disunity proves it.

The history of disunity in the PCK shows that usually a schism happens not because of its laymen or unimportant pastors of small churches, but because of the main figures who are influential and powerful leaders that attract many followers. When they feel themselves powerless, unimportant, unnoticed and humble, they emphasise the unity and catholicity of the church. However, when their leadership and ecclesiastical power are challenged, they choose to separate, either by being expelled or by withdrawing, usually in an easy and comfortable way in order to retain their existing privileges.

Whenever schism happened, factions were formed around a main figure, and the decision on schism depended on the main figures, the top responsible leading pastors and theologians in the PCK: Han Sang Dong of Ko Shin, Park Hyung Ryong of Hap Dong, Han Gyeong Jik of Tong Hap, Jeong Gyu O of Bo Su (Gae Hyuk), etc. With the word of God, the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and Calvin's Reformed thoughts as criteria, this section assesses the factors that obstructed the unity of the PCK and effected schisms: weak ecclesiology and weak sense of unity.

3.5.1. A weak recognition of the Reformed view on unity, catholicity and ecumenicity

In chapter two the unity and catholicity of the church were affirmed by Ephesians, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the WCF.

The main cause of disunity was weak recognition of the importance of unity and catholicity by the main figures in each factional party. All of the main figures mentioned above loved the traditional conservative Calvinistic Reformed theology and adhered to the Westminster Standards. They wanted to be loyal to the ministry of the word of God and the sacraments, and they cannot be judged to have been the false church. However, when they were confronted by the crisis of a schism that related to their ecclesiastical position, they boldly chose to divide the body of Christ, provided that their own faction was large enough to run a unit with a GA.

Considering their faithfulness to the word of God and Calvin's teaching, if they had known the truth of God's word on the unity of the church, they should have prevented the schism, or they would have repented their sin even after the schism. It is inferred that the leading pastors of the PCK at the time of schism did not realise that to break the unity of the church, the body of Christ, was to disobey God's word and also to be in discord with Calvin's teaching. The PCK as a whole, except during the dark time of Japanese occupation, has been the true church according to Calvin's boundaries, that is, wherever the ministry of the word of God and sacraments remains whole and uncorrupted.

Such a schismatic decision is contrary to the word of God except in very special situations. When the doctrine of unity and catholicity is not a deep concern of all church members, but only of the delegates to the GA, it shows that it was not emphasised from the pulpit. It also remained an unimportant topic in systematic theology over the years. The tragedy of schism was not felt seriously until the third major schism in 1959 that tore the PCK into two halves. Before that time the effect of

the schism was comparatively small, and the mainline PCK with its considerable size and strength seemed to keep unity with the minority unnoticed.

The fact that Calvin was a passionate ecumenist would be shocking to the main figures. In the light of a review of Calvin's *Institutes*, it would have been better if the main figures had known Calvin better and endured the less pure pastors with humility, love, longsuffering and meekness, though this is easier said than done.

So ecclesiology in general and the doctrine of unity and purity in particular should be known by the main figures as well as all church members in the new era. Since the late twentieth century, the doctrine of unity has been raised as a big issue in the PCK and dealt with by church historians, but not by systematic theologians. The traditional four attributes of the church are not an important concern, but occupy a small part of ecclesiology. Consequently, in a moment of conflict between unity and purity, the conservative circle of the PCK regarded the ecclesiological doctrine of unity and catholicity as less important than the other doctrines.

In the past, the main leaders in the young PCK hardly taught, heard and insisted on the word of God about unity and catholicity, so there was no or little knowledge about ecclesiology and faith, which consequently led to disunity. Now everybody feels ashamed about the disunity resulting in over 200 denominations¹¹⁹ in the PCK.

The main figures in the list above have all died. The 21st century of the PCK should be the time of ecclesiology and of the unity of the church.

It is time for Calvinists to know how Calvin insisted on unity, and of his ecumenical efforts. Calvin saw departure from the true church as apostasy, denial of God and Christ, and an atrocious crime (cf. 2.3.1.4, The marks of church) and serious division of the church as one of the chief evils of his time as the body of Christ that lay

¹¹⁹ Yang Nak Heung introduced data in the presentation of his paper, "The 10th Assembly of Busan WCC, how should we respond?" at a seminar prepared by Academia Christiana of Korea on 28 June 2010, "At present the Presbyterian Church in Korea is divided into 242 denominations according to 'Korea religions statistics 2008' published by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology."

bleeding (cf. 2.3.2.3, Effort to manifest unity among the Protestant Reformed Churches). Calvin defended his ecumenicity in a letter to Sadolet: “both by word and deed, have I protested how eager I was for unity. Mine, however, was a unity of the church which should begin with thee and end in thee” (cf. 2.3.2.2, Efforts to restore the relationship with the Roman Church).

3.5.2. Immaturity of the young Presbyterian Church in Korea

Ephesians 4:13 refers to “attaining the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God” and “becoming a mature man” as aspects of the final goal that Christ gives gifted persons to the church. Even though there is no perfect church in the world, the church grows up to be a mature man that can maintain unity in truth and love and peace. Fighting and division are evidence of childishness and immaturity. The PCK in the 1950s was 70 to 80 years old, still a growing child. No doubt influential top leaders of the PCK were not mature enough to be humble, gentle and patient to bear with one another in love (Eph. 4:2) and to speak the truth in love (Eph.4:15). The growth of the PCK is to be manifested by becoming “a mature man” and thus maintain the visible unity in truth and love, not only by constructing big church buildings and increasing the number of church members.

Calvin’s followers should heed his insistence that a difference of opinion over nonessential matters should in no wise be the basis of schism among Christians (*Institutes* 4.1.12). The two parties in a schism have some differences from each other. Regardless of the differences, they should focus on what they have in common: probably they would find many more common aspects than differences in the light of the sevenfold oneness mentioned in Ephesians 4:4-6. Then it would be possible for them to maintain unity under one Lord Christ and one forefather of the PCK, John Calvin.

3.5.3. Secularisation of the PCK

When the PCK grew at denominational level, it became an ecclesiastical political world with hierarchies, hegemony, authority and power, factions, honour, money and ambition, just like the medieval Roman Catholic Church. The decisive turning point that caused the PCK to secularise was the Shintoism of the Japanese occupation. If pastors worshipped Shintoism voluntarily, they could enjoy privileges and high positions as Japanese agents with power and wealth. Protesting pastors were jailed or put to death for their faith, partly with the help of these Japanese agents.

As pastors tasted and enjoyed the sweetness and pleasures of sin through their connection with worldly power, their sins generally diminished the purity and holiness of the PCK. Their pastorate could not work as servants of God to serve God and his people, but as servants of worldly power and of sin. After liberation from Japan, the active agents of the Japanese should have been ashamed of their sins and retreated from leadership in the GA and Presbyteries, but the ecclesiastical situation allowed them to maintain their privileges. They refused to repent of their sin and expelled the minority of faithful believers. The PCK lost the chance of purification and a proper function of ecclesiastical discipline was not possible, which diminished the purity of the church. This led to the endangering of the unity of the church.

Just as in the political world, factionalism crept into the polity of the PCK, specifically in the leader-centred faction: in 1959 theologically the NAE party versus the WCC party, in 1979 regionally the South-East (Young Nam) party versus the South-West (Ho Nam) party, Seoul versus Kwangju, etc. Factionalism and power struggles were traditionally prevalent in Korean political history, so each party attacked the other in a negative way in order not to collapse. The idea was that if the top leader collapsed, all members of his party would collapse, in a way that “we must defeat you, otherwise we will die”. They did not know the strategy of win-win and the blessing of togetherness. Even church leaders showed the same tendency as the world’s politicians. Factionalising was the easiest way to get and maintain a leader’s position

if they had enough churches to form a GA.

Even though the cause of division seemed to be a theological difference and they wanted to uphold the conservative Reformed theology, in fact all divisions occurred in response to mixed causes with power struggles for hegemony.

Even at present many pastors indulge in their secular sinful desires and pleasures in the name of God and the church. They should reflect on their calling by God to be a pastor and renew their first mind to be servants of God. When they first entered into the pastoral ministry, they might have been caught by the amazing grace of God and the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Human sinful nature drives pastors to desire to be kings in place of God rather than servants of God and to be served rather than to serve in the Kingdom of God, which has caused disunity and immaturity rather than unity and maturity in the PCK.

In the case of the non-mainline churches, the secularisation of pastors is becoming worse because many pastors are unqualified, with uncontrolled education from numerous denominations that want to expand their size and their weakness in numbers. Somebody (unknown) said, “Where the seminary goes, the church goes”. The establishment of a theological seminary can become the cause of a schism, as in the case of Ko Shin, Bo Su, many Gae Hyuks, etc. As soon as a church leader has enough support to start a seminary with professors, he tastes and enjoys some pleasures of pure theological education mixed with secular authority and power.

Many theological seminaries of the non-mainline churches are at present out of control in the absence of qualification evaluating institutes. Therefore, serious consideration should be given to providing qualified theological education by the government or the church council.

In this chapter, after a brief overview of the history of the PCK, the historical disunity in the PCK was investigated. Each section on each schism assessed the main

leading figures' views on unity and catholicity: Han Sang Dong of the Ko Shin Church, Park Hyung Ryong of the Hap Dong Church and Jeong Gyu O of the Gae Hyuk Church.

The disunity in the PCK as a whole was assessed with criteria shaped in chapter 2 with reference to three crucial factors involved in schisms: weak recognition of the Reformed view on unity, catholicity and ecumenicity, immaturity of the young PCK and secularisation of the PCK. These factors reflect the weak sense of unity in the PCK.

The next chapter will analyse and assess the ecclesiology of the PCK focused on ecclesiological factors leading to disunity, with special reference to its confession of faith, its ministry of the word and sacraments and its ecumenicity. Based on this assessment, some suggestions will be proposed.

Chapter 4.

An analysis of the ecclesiology of the PCK in relation to the unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the church

In this chapter an analysis and assessment of the ecclesiology of the PCK will be made in order to understand some of the factors that led to the disunity of the PCK.

It will deal with its confession of faith, its ministry of the word and the sacraments, and the ecumenicity of the PCK. Some suggestions will be offered to improve and strengthen the Reformed ecclesiology and the unity and catholicity of the PCK.

4.1. Analysis of the confession of faith

Firstly it can be said that the confession of faith can function¹²⁰ as the boundary of the one catholic church to confirm its unity and maintain the union between those who confess them publicly.

Secondly, the confession of a church identifies its theological identity and shape the tradition of the church. The confession of faith is the object of doctrinal education not only in theological schools but also in local churches and homes.

In view of this importance of the confession of faith, it is necessary to investigate and analyse the situation in the PCK.

¹²⁰ See Smit (2010:147). Confessional documents fulfil a plurality of purposes: ① *doxological*, a language to proclaim God's praise, both in liturgy and in ordinary life; ② *hermeneutical* lenses through which to read the scripture; ③ expression of *identity*, contributing to a sense of belonging; ④ *catechetical*, instruction of new believers; ⑤ *discerning*, instruction of the church to distinguish truth from falsehood; and ⑥ *witnessing*, forms of public witness to Jesus Christ the Lord.

4.1.1. The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed

Traditionally the PCK confesses the Apostles' Creed in its Sunday worship services. It implies that the PCK is a confessional church. Basically all churches and church members who believe and confess the Apostles' Creed are in communion with one another and thus they are one and catholic. Therefore the confession of the Apostles' Creed is considered to be the best and most fundamental and ecumenical way to confirm the identity of the one, catholic church and to manifest the unity of all believers.

Baptismal catechumens confirm their faith by confessing the Apostles' Creed, usually reciting it as one of the baptismal catechisms. All baptised members of the PCK confess the Apostles' Creed at every Sunday worship service: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, the holy catholic church, the communion of saints".

One problem of the PCK about the Apostles' Creed is the translation of the "catholic church" into Korean. In fact, the meaning of the term "catholic" is not easily understood, and the Korean translation of "catholic church" is more difficult. The term "church" in Korean is "*Gyo Hoi*", which is a specific term used only in Christianity, but in the Apostles' Creed "church" is translated simplistically to "Hoi", meaning "meeting together", which can apply to any kind of meeting in society and does not fully represent the specific meaning of the Christian church.

The term "catholic church" is translated to "Gong Hoi" in Korean and "*Gong Gyo Hoi*" in the new translation, where "catholic" is translated with "Gong", which has the meaning of "public" or "official", an antonym of "private". "*Gong Gyo Hoi*" sounds like a "well organised public church with a good structure and officially legal registration", not a "private church", and does not represent the meaning of "catholic" as whole, universal, all-embracing or ecumenical.

Even the Roman Catholic Church in Korea does not clarify the meaning of "catholic"

by naming itself “Katolik (catholic) Gyo Hoi” or “Cheonju (heavenly Lord) Gyo Hoi” that does not explain the original meaning of “catholic” in the Korean language.

Therefore, every time and every Sunday church members confess the Apostles’ Creed, “I believe the holy catholic church”, they recite it without fully understanding its meaning and do not envisage the catholicity of the church in their mind.

The Korean translation of “the communion of saints” can also not clarify whether the phrase stands for the church or not, because the term “communion” is translated to an unused, unusual word “Gyo Tong”, which sounds like “transportation” in Korean, and people wonder what the word “Gyo Tong” means.

Secondly, nowadays a contemporary style of worship in Pentecostal Churches attracts the young generation. They start with about 30 minutes of singing gospel songs and contemporary Christian music songs. As a consequence, some of the PCK congregations imitate their style by excluding the confession of the Apostles’ Creed and Psalm reading in worship services. It causes a weak sense of the creed.

Because the PCK traditionally emphasised the confession of the Apostles’ Creed, which integrates the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, the PCK was an ecumenical and confessional factor that manifested the unity among those that confess the Apostles’ Creed. Therefore, all the neighbouring churches and the worldwide churches that confess the Apostles’ Creed are seen as one in faith and confession, and not as rivals or factional opponents of one another.

• **Suggestions**

Firstly, it is suggested that the translation of “the catholic church” and “the communion of saints” should be changed to represent its original meaning clearly. The doctrinal education about the catholicity of the church should also be emphasised in the theological seminary and in the local churches.

Secondly, the Nicene Creed professes the Holy Spirit and the one catholic church clearer than the Apostles' Creed, but the PCK has not used it in either the worship service or in its baptismal catechism. It is suggested that the church should teach and profess the Nicene Creed as well once in a while.

Thirdly, the Apostles' Creed should again be confessed and taught as it has been done traditionally.

4.1.2. The Twelve Articles of Faith

In 1907 when the first Independent Presbytery was organised and held, the PCK decided regarding the standard creed as follows (Clark, 1918:74-81; 1936:1-10):

Preamble

“The PCK adopting the following as its Confession of Faith, to be subscribed by ministers, licentiates, elders and deacons, does not reject any of the doctrinal standards of the parent churches, but, on the contrary, commends them especially the Westminster Confession of Faith (WCF) and its Larger and Shorter Catechisms as worthy exponents of the word of God, and as systems of doctrine to be taught in Our Churches and seminaries. And among them, the Shorter Catechism of the WCF is adopted as the catechism of the PCK”.

Creed

Twelve Articles of Faith¹²¹

Form of acceptance

I receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church as based on and in accord with the Word of God; and I declare it to be the confession of my faith.

¹²¹ Summary of Twelve Articles: ① Bible, ② God, ③ Trinity, ④ Creation, ⑤ Creation of man, ⑥ Fall of man, ⑦ Redemption by Christ, ⑧ Holy Spirit, ⑨ Salvation, ⑩ Sacraments, ⑪ Believer's duties, and ⑫ Last judgement. It is noteworthy that the article of the church is not included separately, and the articles of inspiration of the Bible and double predestination are not clearly mentioned.

The Twelve Articles of Faith were borrowed from the Presbyterian Church of India¹²² as the standard creed of the PCK. The Twelve Articles of Faith were formulated in India in 1904 by missionaries from the Presbyterian Church of England. There might be similarity between Korea and India in that the two Presbyterian Churches were at the early youngish stage of foundation in mission fields.

The Presbyterian Council (Clark, 1918:82) in 1905 explained the reason why the Twelve Articles of Faith were better than the WCF as its doctrinal standard at that time. The members of the committee for the preparation of the constitution researched and compared the creeds of all Presbyterian Churches in the world. The Twelve Articles are simpler than the WCF but contain all the basic doctrines of the WCF. Consequently, they found that the Twelve Articles of Faith from India were especially suitable for the Korean situation and the spiritual state of the PCK, while the WCF would be hard to use in the PCK at that early time.

The decision was made by missionaries from the four Presbyterian Churches and was incorporated into the constitution of the PCK at the first Presbytery in 1907.

The Twelve Articles of Faith have been the standard creed of the PCK ever since, and have been contained in the constitution of the PCK. At present the Twelve Articles of Faith are still the traditional standard creed in most of the Presbyterian Churches in Korea without any change in the original state, which implies that the Twelve Articles of Faith are part of the identity of the PCK.

The question is whether the Twelve Articles of Faith work as the standard creed of the PCK in keeping the unity and identifying the identity of the PCK fully.

Even though the confession of this creed is traditionally required in the ordination of a pastor, licentiate, elder and deacon, it has not generally been used in the PCK, except for these ordinations. Most church members do not even know that this creed exists until they themselves are ordained. Even after ordination, it does not function

¹²² Kim (1989:191) holds the view that the Twelve Articles of Faith were based on the Twenty-four Articles' Creed (1890) of the Presbyterian Church of England.

as the standard of their faith and life. This creed is only a symbolic document in the PCK. A historian of the PCK, Kim (1989:193), says that if the Twelve Articles of Faith do not serve as the reference for the actual life of faith and the representation of believers' faith in the PCK, they are only an old historical document.

If the Twelve Articles of the Faith are examined, some points of note are found. The Twelve Articles of Faith do not include a separate article on the church, which indicates that the ecclesiology of the PCK was not then developed as a locus of systematic theology. Berkhof (1958:553) supports this in the "Introduction" of the doctrine of the church, pointing out that all the outstanding Presbyterian dogmaticians of America, such as the two Hodges, H. B. Smith, Shedd, and Dabney, have no separate locus on the Church in their dogmatical works.

The articles on the Bible and on God's predestination in the Twelve Articles of Faith do not fully agree with the Korean traditional conservative Reformed theology in view of the identity of the PCK.

Article I. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice.

It is in accordance with the Reformed tradition to put the article on the Bible, the authority and infallibility of God's word in the first article. However, the content does not explicitly refer to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In conservative Calvinistic circles, the inspiration and inerrancy of the Bible is a critical doctrine. It is a question whether the PCK has been indifferent to the amendment of the Twelve Articles of Faith. Since the contemporary liberal circle tends to deny the inspiration and inerrancy of the Scriptures, it is necessary to emphasise such a fundamental doctrine.

The article about God's predestination reads:

Article IX. While God chose a 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,....

This part of Article Nine comes from Ephesians 1:4-6 and thus nobody can raise a different opinion, but Calvinists insist on a double predestination of eternal salvation (election) and eternal damnation (reprobation) as a result of the controversy with Arminianism, which is one of the five articles in the Canons of Dordt. So it is arguable from a conservative Calvinistic perspective.

From this reflection, it is clear that the Twelve Articles of Faith are weak in some aspects as a standard creed that represents the identity of the PCK, which boasts of its **conservative, orthodox Calvinistic, evangelical, Reformed** theology.

The eternal reprobation of a double predestination is a theological hot issue to be argued. To stick strictly to a doctrine such as eternal reprobation will inevitably cause division. From an ecumenical point of view, such a theologically arguable article should be left to the theological school for more study and discussion.

Therefore, whether an article is professed in the creed and confession or not depends on the nature of the creed and confession. If the Twelve Articles of Faith are the standard creed of the conservative Calvinistic PCK, the article on eternal reprobation can or should be professed, but if the Twelve Articles of Faith have the nature of an the ecumenical creed, it is understandable not to include the content of reprobation.

The Twelve Articles of Faith have value as an ecumenical document that can share the same faith between Presbyterianism and Methodism and others when an attempt at union is made. Missionaries of the four Presbyterian

Missions in Korea had an ecumenical spirit and tried to unite the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church in Korea. In September 1905, they were willing to organise “The General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea” with the two Missions of the (Northern and Southern) Methodist Church to co-operate with one another in missionary enterprises, and eventually to organise one evangelical church in Korea, to be the Korean Christian Church (Park, 2004a:977-80; Hur, 2008:96-8).

4.1.3. The Westminster Confession of Faith

Missionaries of Presbyterian Missions brought conservative evangelical Calvinism to Korea and taught the WCF at the Pyeng Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Korean Reformed theologians Park Hyung Ryong (Apologetics and Systematic theology) and Park Yun Sun (Biblical theology) learnt Calvinism and Reformed theology at the old Princeton Seminary and the Westminster Seminary in the USA. They devoted their lives to educate ministers and to guard conservative Calvinistic theology against new theological waves, like Barthian neo-orthodox theology, which was regarded as modern liberal theology by the circle of Korean conservatives. Park Hyung Ryong devoted himself to teaching, and wrote his masterpiece, “*Dogmatic Theology*”, in Korean for the ministers’ education at the Presbyterian Chonghoi Theological Seminary. It was mainly based on Louis Berkhof’s “*Systematic Theology*” (1941). He added an interpretation of the WCF to it.

The PCK adopted the Westminster Standards as the doctrinal standard of the PCK. The WCF was drawn up by following European Reformed theology, British Puritanism and Scottish Presbyterianism. The PCK received the same Calvinistic Reformed theology and Presbyterianism mainly through the PCUSA and the PCUS.

The first Independent Presbytery in Korea did not adopt the WCF as its confessional

standard in 1907, because the Presbyterian Council suggested that the PCK should study more and adopt a more suitable doctrinal standard in the course of time. Compared with the WCF the Twelve Articles of Faith do not sufficiently represent the identity of the PCK as Calvinistic Reformed. Instead, the PCK adopted the Shorter Catechism of the WCF as part of its confessional standard together with the Twelve Articles of Faith. More than 50 years after the suggestion of the Presbyterian Council in 1907, the Hap Dong Church adopted the Westminster Standards in its 1963 GA. It was followed by the Tong Hap Church in its 1968 GA, the Ko Shin Church in its 1972 GA, and the Hap Shin Church in its 1981 GA.

The Ki Jang Church, whose main figure was Kim Jae Jun, did not adopt the WCF as its confessional standard even though it has the form of government of the Presbyterian Church. It made its own statement of faith confession in 1972, which was based on the Confession of 1967 of the UPCUSA. In 1983 it adopted another statement of faith. The Ki Jang Church has designated its theological identity as ecclesiastical ecumenicity and Barthian neo-orthodoxy.

The Tong Hap Church also made its own confession of faith twice, first “The Confession of Faith of the PCK”, in 1986, and then “the 21st century Confession of the PCK” in 1997, which embraces the Apostles’ Creed, the Twelve Articles of Faith, the Westminster Shorter Catechism, the WCF, and the Confession of 1986. The Tong Hap Church (WCC party in the schism in 1959) is more conservative than the Ki Jang Church, but has advocated the ecumenical movement of the WCC. The Myung Sung Church and its head pastor, Kim Sam Hwan of the Tong Hap denomination, played an important role in organising the 10th GA of the WCC in Pusan, Korea in 2013.

The two churches, Tong Hap and Ki Jang, are members of the WCC and of the World Communion of Reformed Churches. They see the unity and ecumenicity of the church as an important part of their identity and have participated actively in the

ecumenical movement with worldwide churches, but seem to have no interest in unity with the PCK.

The other three churches, Hap Dong, Ko Shin and Hap Shin, stick to the conservative Calvinistic Reformed identity of the traditional PCK. They are careful about adopting new confessional documents in the new era and are satisfied with the WCF standards and the Twelve Articles of Faith.

The Hap Dong, Ko Shin, and Hap Shin Churches have factors in common.

Firstly, the Korean Reformed theologian, Park Yun Sun, taught Reformed theology in each theological seminary of the three churches: Ko Shin (1946-1960), Hap Dong (1963-1974, 1979-1980) and Hap Shin (1980-1988). They are all under the influence of Park Yun Sun, who was the first to use the term “Reformed theology” in Korea, whereas Park Hyung Ryong used the term “orthodox Calvinism”.

Secondly, all three churches adopted the WCF as their confessional standard and have endeavoured to keep their identity of Reformed theology from non-Biblical, non-fundamental, non-Evangelical theologies, religious pluralism and heretic theories that challenge it. Theologically they are the same but remain divided. These conservative churches are involved in more schisms, even after the major schisms: Hap Dong and Ko Shin reunited in 1960 and split in 1963, Hap Dong and Hap Shin split in 1980, while the two ecumenical churches, Tong Hap and Ki Jang, maintained their unity without more schisms since the major schisms in the 1950s.

The state of education and application of the Westminster Standards in the PCK is described by Dr. N.H. Gootjes¹²³ (2001:368-9, 381), missionary from the Netherlands. He says the PCK has hardly taught the Westminster Shorter Catechism in the local churches, has not used the WCF well, and even tends to

¹²³ Dr. Gootjes, missionary from the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, served as professor of Systematic Theology at the Korea Theological Seminary (Ko Shin) from 1980 until 1989.

neglect it. He guesses at some of the reasons. Firstly, the early missionaries insisted on the Bible, but not on the WCF, its importance and application. Secondly, the PCK could therefore not learn and know how to apply it to the real ecclesial life and faith, which resulted in ignorance and disuse, leading to indifference and neglect. Thirdly, the WCF did not develop in the Korean situation and does not embrace Korean experiences. Therefore it was not taken up in Korea.

Goojtes points out the weakness of the PCK's general attitude toward the Confession of Faith. In the ordination of ministers, ruling elders and deacons, they are required to answer the question, "Do you know that the Twelve Articles of Faith of the PCK and the WCF and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms summarise the lessons of the Old and New Testaments, and will you sincerely believe and obey them?" The candidates for ordination should learn these from the pastors, study them on their own, and understand the contents of the Creed and the Confession before they confess them as their own faith. It is possible to teach the Twelve Articles and the Shorter Catechism of the WCF before ordination through special intensive courses for a proper period. But it is the big task of the PCK to teach the 33 articles of the WCF in church properly. Doctrinal and confessional education is the responsibility of the pastors in charge. The pastor, with full understanding of the doctrinal truth, can and should educate his church members to understand what they believe and what the identity of Presbyterianism is, so that they do not confess their faith perfunctorily and dishonestly before God and his people, at their ordination. As most church members today are highly educated, pastors should equip themselves through spiritual, intellectual and emotional growth and development so as to lead and educate them.

● Suggestion

Firstly, the PCK is more than 120 years old and it is necessary for it to review its confessional standards, to amend inadequate articles of the Twelve Articles of Faith and the WCF for the new era and identity of the PCK. It needs to consider and

decide on the character of the creed and its Confession of Faith, what it should be like as an ecumenical and confessional statement to represent the identity of the church.

For example, if the Twelve Articles of Faith are the creed of the PCK as identity, the article about the inspiration of the Scriptures by God should be clearly professed. As an ecumenical statement, its present state is acceptable.

Another example is that the latter part of the article about the pope (WCF, 25.6.) needs to be reviewed:

“There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof, *but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalts himself, in the Church, against Christ and all that is called God*” (ed. 1647). The OPC in the USA also deleted¹²⁴ this part in its 1936 GA. Since the conservative circle of the PCK has a close and long relationship with the OPC and has been influenced by Machen’s group, the PCK will feel free to follow the OPC.

Secondly, since this is the era of the church, the education of ecclesiology should be consolidated, including doctrinal and confessional education for church layman leaders and members of local churches, as well as ministers at theological schools. At present, it is hard to find a distinction in identity between members of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Pentecostal Churches. Church members and pastors of the PCK should know what the PCK is, as well as what its confessional standards and their identity are.

¹²⁴ The WCF Chapter 25, section 6. (ed. 1647): “There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the Pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof. but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalts himself, in the Church, against Christ and all that is called God”.

The OPC’s document (1936): section 6. “There is no other head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor can the pope of Rome, in any sense, be head thereof”. <http://www.opc.org/confessions>.

Thirdly, it is suggested that the PCK should look at other Reformed confessions of faith of the Reformed Churches on the European continent, for example, the Three Forms of Unity: the Belgic Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Canons of Dordrecht, to be incorporated in the PCK constitution to understand the Reformed family of Churches and to broaden their Reformed insight.

Fourthly, the three churches: Hap Dong, Ko Shin and Hap Shin, advocating the conservative Reformed theology as their theological identity and adopting the WCF standards as their confessional standard, have more than enough reasons except for their ecclesiastical polity to unite with one another. It is strongly suggested that these three Reformed Churches return to the time before their first schism in 1952 and reunite in one PCK, by making every possible effort as sincere Calvinists in accordance with Calvin's passionate ecumenical efforts.

4.2. Analysis of the two marks of the true church

This section will analyse the ministry of the word and the sacraments of the PCK based on Calvin's *Institutes* (IV.1.9), "wherever we see the word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists".

4.2.1. Pure preaching and hearing of the word of God

As pure preaching and hearing of the word of God is the first mark of the true church, and the fundamental base of the one, catholic church, its position in the PCK needs to be analysed. Traditionally the PCK has emphasised the ministry of the word of God relatively more than the sacraments, as seen in the worship service every Sunday. God's message is regarded as the core of the service and takes more than 30 minutes of a one-hour service. In all church meetings, prayer meetings, house cell group meetings and fellowship meetings, the preaching of the word of God is never missed, whether it is a short or a full sermon, which implies that church members of the PCK have many opportunities to preach and to hear the word of God. It is not possible to evaluate how purely the word of God is preached in every single church, but it is widely known that pastors of the PCK are loyal to the ministry of the Word compared to other churches.

The missionary Samuel Moffet, first principal of the Pyeng Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary (1901-1924), which was the first Presbyterian theological school in Korea, gave his testimony at the 50th anniversary celebration of the Korean Mission of the PCUSA:

I can testify confidently that an attitude which regards the Bible, the word of God

as the only and the most excellent thing has been a very important factor in the past fifty years' work of the Korea Mission (Conn, 1997:15).

The early missionaries from the four Presbyterian Churches (PCUSA, PCUS, Australia, and Canada) brought a Bible-centred, conservative, evangelical and Calvinistic theology to Korea (Conn, 1997:17, 20).

They had a very emphatic view about the inspiration and inerrancy and the authority of the Bible as the word of God and the only rule of faith and practice. The PCK received and taught this view of the Bible and it became the prevalent tradition in the PCK, except for the Ki Jang Church¹²⁵, which had a different view, that the Bible may have errors in respect of history, geography, science and the like, but that it speaks correctly on matters related to salvation and faith.

It is generally accepted that the main causes of the rapid growth of the PCK are the emphasis on worship, the word of God, dawn prayers, passionate evangelism and faithful offering of tithes. What is more important is not merely to emphasise the word of God, but in to put the word of God that is preached and heard into practice in real life. There are many Presbyterian mega churches in Korea with weekly numbers of over 3 000 people attending in their Sunday worship services, which may be evidence of growth.

Nevertheless, the Presbyterian Church is in serious disunity and pastors' sins often become a big social scandal, for example their misuse of church money, sexual harassment, hereditary succession of mega church leadership, plagiarism of doctoral theses, etc., let alone laymen's sins. This situation indicates a serious distortion of faith that intellectual knowledge from preaching and hearing is not accompanied by concrete deeds, even by pastors who should preach through their own practice of the very word of God they preach in words.

¹²⁵ When Kim Jae Jun of Ki Jang denied the infallibility of the Bible and Moses' authorship of Genesis, he was judged to violate the first article of the Twelve Articles of Faith, and his pastorate was cancelled in the 1953 GA (Yang, 2008:531).

This gap between preaching and hearing the word of God and putting it into practice by pastors can be traced to the Shintoism worship and subsequent refusal to confess and repent of sins, which has continually infected the PCK. The importance of and dedication to sanctification by pastors became obscured. Consequently, pastors' preaching of the gospel focused on salvation determined by predestination and justification, with eternal life in heaven. The doctrine of salvation has been misunderstood, as if once they believed and were baptised, they presumed that their salvation was guaranteed for ever, because God would never forsake them. Salvation by justification through faith should be emphasised, but sanctification after justification as a whole lifetime process should be emphasised even more.

God's word is distorted in the prosperity theology and church growth movement. Many members of the PCK are influenced by a pastor, David Yong Gi Cho, of the Yoido Full Gospel Church, the biggest church in the world. He advocates the principle of three fold blessing of salvation: spiritual salvation for the soul, physical salvation for healing and good health, and material salvation for wealth and prosperity. He bases his views on 3 John 1:2 and Matthew 6:33. Cho's principle has worked well with Korean people in the devastating times of poverty and disease after the Japanese colonisation and the Korean Civil War.

Since the late 1960s, under the leadership of Korean President Park Chung Hee, economic development and growth have been the first and foremost tasks of the Korean government, so the slogan of the time has been "let's live wealthily ourselves as well". With such a spirit of the times, many a Christian was equipped with the power of positive thinking and an attitude of spiritual, physical and material prosperity: "Believe in Jesus, and you will be blessed". The blessing is connected with growth.

The idea "growth" was the common task, not only for the government, but also for

Christian churches and pastors. The principle of prosperity, based on such an understanding of the gospel, drove Christians to devote themselves to church centred lives: faithful attendance of Sunday worship services, serving in various lay ministries, faithful attendance of dawn prayer meetings, thorough offering of tithes, passionate evangelism and world mission, and participation in cell group meetings.

They believed the result was really successful, as if they understood the gospel rightly and had the right faith. Korea achieved outstandingly rapid growth economically and Korean Christians formed around 25% of the total population. Economic growth brought wealth and convenience, but also laxity in faith. In the 1990s the percentage of Christians decreased to 22%¹²⁶.

During the apparent growth and success, illegal and immoral actions by Christians, hidden behind outward success, were disclosed and social reliability was downgraded¹²⁷. Ultimately many left the church. The Bible was read and the gospel was understood in such a way that if the church achieved the wanted outward growth, sins could be overlooked because of God's overflowing grace. Believers whose pastors' soteriology was weak were ignorant and indifferent to sanctification, which misled them into a deformed Christian life. Not having a continuous spiritual struggle with apparent and hidden sins for sanctification worthy of holy, saved people through the power of the word of God and the Holy Spirit, led to moral and ethical corruption and a dull sense of guilt among pastors and believers, instead of being the salt and the light of the world. The corruption and secularisation of pastors and the church will lead to crises in all facets of the country, as happened to Israel in the OT, for example: Jeroboam (1 King 14:16; 2 King 17:21-3) and David (2 Sam.24:15).

¹²⁶ Korean religion research (20150128), see <http://www.gallup.co.kr/gallupdb>.

¹²⁷ Research of social reliability for religions 2013 indicates: Catholics 29.2%, Buddhists 28%, and Protestants 21.3%, whereas social service reflects: Protestants 41.3%, Catholics 32.1%, and Buddhist 6.8%. See <http://trusti.tistory.com/938>.

A factor that influenced the moral and ethical corruption of church leaders has been the massive production of unqualified pastors by ill-equipped theological seminaries. When the church split into many non-mainline denominations, the number of denominations increased, but the size of each denomination became smaller and smaller. Each denomination ran its own theological seminary and admitted as many students as possible, whether they had the required qualifications or not. This was done for the sake of the expansion of each denomination's strength; pastors and churches were expected to increase in number. A system of certification, whether by government law or by an authorised theological organisation, should be implemented.

4.2.2. Pure administration of the sacraments

The second mark of the true church is the pure administration of the sacraments, namely baptism and the Lord's Supper.

In Korea the first Presbyterian missionary, Underwood, baptised Rho Gyeong Chun in July 1886 as the first convert, and established the Se Mun Ahn Church in September 1887, as the first PCK. He administered the Lord's Supper for the first time on Christmas day, 1887. Traditionally the PCK administered the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper regularly twice a year: on or around Palm Sunday and Thanksgiving Sunday. Then the sermon and explanation of the Lord's Supper were usually about the crucifixion of Christ for participants to remember and meditate on it and to thank God for salvation, in a solemn and sad mood. Therefore, the Lord's Supper was not seen as important, being the second mark of the true church, but only as a semi-annual rite.

It is unconceivable to the PCK why the sixteenth century Reformers could not agree with one another on the sacraments; it is such a trivial issue that it should never have caused disunity. Their controversy is seen as meaningless theological speculation, because the sacraments have never been a controversial issue causing

schisms in the PCK. The question is whether the PCK has a correct understanding and a correct, unified view of the sacraments.

It is not necessary to mention baptism, which is one factor among the sevenfold oneness of Eph. 4:5 and seen as the entrance into membership of the church, the body of Christ, because the WCF does not mention arguable factors like the mode of baptism or infant baptism. However, the education of catechumens is notable. The Confessional Standards of the PCK, viz. the Twelve Articles of Faith, the WCF and its Larger and Shorter Catechism, are not requested to believe of catechumens for admission at baptism but only of leaders at their ordination. It seems as if the PCK is a church of ordained leaders only and not of ordinary baptised members. Confessional education of ordinary members should take place before or after baptism. Members of the PCK should know the confessional standards of the PCK for the sake of unity and their identity.

Compared with Calvin's view on the sacraments, the traditional practices of the PCK concerning the Lord's Supper, which mostly proclaims the death of Christ and is administered only twice a year, are reflected in insufficient understanding of the sacraments.

According to Calvin (*Institutes*, IV.17), the Supper provides spiritual food for eternal life and is a spiritual banquet where Christ is present through his Spirit. Participation in the Lord's Supper brings about a real, spiritual and mystical union with Christ, has an effect on the growth in the one body of Christ by becoming partakers of all the benefits Christ gives, and participants thereof share, nourish and witness mutual love and unity with one another.

The WCF (WCF, 29.1) portrays the meaning of the Supper similarly to Calvin's thinking as "the perpetual remembrance of the sacrifice of Christ in His death; the sealing of all benefits thereof unto true believers, for 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”. In the PCK it has been very rare to hear concisely this important Reformed view on the Lord’s Supper at the table of the spiritual banquet. The PCK has tended to confine its meaning to the remembrance of Christ’s death, which is rather Zwingli’s memorialism than Calvin’s spiritual presence of Christ.

The PCK should renew its understanding of the Lord’s Supper and recognise the important truth according to Calvin’s *Institutes* and the WCF in order to manifest visible unity among partaking members in the spiritual presence of Christ. Through the Lord’s Supper, the PCK should restore mutual love and grow into one body with its head, Christ. It is no exaggeration to emphasise its importance in terms of the unity and ecumenicity of the church. Calvin asserts: “let it be regarded as a settled principle that the sacraments have the same office as the word of God” (*Institutes*, IV.14.17).

The importance of the Lord’s Supper is linked with its frequency. To recollect Calvin’s thought on the frequency of the Supper from his *Institutes*, “On the proper celebration of the Lord’s Supper: the Supper could have been administered most becomingly if it were set before the church very often, and at least once a week” (IV.17.43), “the Lord’s Supper should be celebrated frequently: It was not ordained to be received only once a year – and that, too, perfunctorily, as now is the usual custom” (IV.17.44), and “Communicating only once a year is condemned: plainly this custom which enjoins us to take communion once a year is a veritable invention of the devil” (IV.17.46).

Calvin’s mind was to celebrate the Supper at least once a week whenever believers met together, but practically the meeting in Geneva agreed to celebrate it four times a year. If Calvin could have seen the frequency of its celebration in the PCK, he

would not be satisfied with it.

Therefore the PCK should increase the number of celebrations of the Lord's Supper according to Calvin's idea of more than twice a year, for example, at least four times or more. Generally the PCK needs to develop the so-called Calvinistic Eucharistic theology.

4.3. Analysis of the ecumenicity of the PCK

This section investigates the ecumenical efforts made historically by the PCK in spite of repeated schisms in the PCK. This history can be divided into two parts: one is the effort of the foreign missionaries in the early history of the PCK and the other of the PCK itself.

4.3.1. Ecumenical efforts of the four foreign Presbyterian Missions

When the PCK was established by the four foreign Presbyterian Missions: PCUSA, PCUS, PCA, and PCC (now United Church of Canada), the PCK was the result of the ecumenical cooperation of the four Missions. It is historically important that the PCK started as one catholic Presbyterian Church.

In this subsection 4.3.1, the history of the cooperative works of the foreign Presbyterian missionaries for the establishment of the PCK will be dealt with. The Presbyterian missionaries first of all organised the Presbyterian Council.

(1) Organisation of the Presbyterian Council (refer to 3.1.2.5)

Missionaries from the PCUSA came to Korea for the first time in 1884 and the missionary Davis and his sister came from the PCA in 1889. The two Presbyterian Missions organised “The United Council of Missions of the American and Victorian (a province of Australia) Churches” in 1889¹²⁸. However, in 1890 missionary Davis died and his sister returned to her country so that the United Council could not function for the time being (Clark, 1918:14-5; Hur, 2008:138).

In 1892 six missionaries from the PCUS arrived. The two Presbyterian Missions from

¹²⁸ Five missionaries from the PCUSA (J. W. Heron, Allen, Underwood, Gifford), and the PC of Australia (J. H. Davis) formed the Council and elected Heron as the chairperson (Park, 2004a:977).

America then reorganised it as “The Council of Missions Holding the Presbyterian Form of Government” (“The Council of Missions”) in January 1893.

In 1891 missionary Mackay with his wife and other women missionaries came from Australia and worked where Davis had planned to work. Missionary McKenzie from the PCC arrived in December 1893 and the two Missions also joined the Council of Missions. All male missionaries belonging to the four Missions became members of the Council of Missions automatically (Clark, 1918:15; Hur, 2008:138).

In 1901 the Council of Missions was reorganised as the “Presbyterian Council of the Chosun Jesus Church” (“the Presbyterian Council”), including Korean elder delegates. The aim of the Presbyterian Council was to establish a united Independent PCK that believed and admitted to the Reformed Creed and used the Presbyterian form of government (Clark, 1918:33; Hur, 2008:138). The authority of the Council was to advise each Mission and to function as a Presbytery and a GA until the PCK could be completely established (Clark, 1918:15-6; Hur, 2008:138-9).

The four Presbyterian Missions united into one Korean Church according to the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church.

This ecumenicity was preserved in the PCK until the schisms of the 1950s. The unity and ecumenicity that arose in the Korean mission field made missionary work more effective, without unnecessary competitive rivalry and waste of energy and finances.

(2) Foundation of Pyeng Yang Presbyterian Theological Seminary (refer to 3.1.3.3)

In 1901, missionary Samuel Moffet working in Pyeng Yang with Graham Lee, started a theological class with two selected students. This was the inception of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary. The Presbyterian Council decided that the theological class would be a preliminary course for training pastors and requested the regional Presbyterial committee to recommend suitable students. In 1902 four

students were added (Clark, 1918:20, 24). Missionary Samuel Moffet and Graham Lee were the first lecturers (Yang, 2008:83).

In 1904, the Council decided that theological students would gather at Pyeng Yang from the whole country, and appointed three additional lecturers¹²⁹ from among the missionaries so that missionaries of the four Missions could unite and co-operate to offer theological education. In 1907 the first Independent Presbytery decided that this theological school should be upgraded to “the PTS at Pyeng Yang” (Yang, 2008:82, 90).

This Presbyterian Seminary was the only institute that produced pastors for the PCK until its closure in 1938, which was due to protest against Shinto worship. The Seminary played a decisive role in shaping the identity and characteristics of the PCK. The ecumenicity of Presbyterian missionaries of the four churches’ Missions reached a great achievement in co-operative unity in establishing, teaching and running the Pyeng Yang Seminary, which is remembered as the cradle of the conservative, evangelical, Calvinistic Presbyterian theological education for pastors of the PCK.

(3) Foundation of the PCK (refer to 3.1.3.4 & 5)

The Presbyterian Council prepared for the foundation of one United Presbyterian Church in Korea, including the constitution, the creed and confession of faith, the structure and regional Presbyterial committees, the ordination of Korean pastors, etc., to start with the establishment of an independent Presbytery of the PCK. The time of the foundation of the first Presbytery was adjusted to the ordination of the first Korean pastors. The first Independent Presbytery ordained the first seven graduates of the PTS as pastors, and one of them, Lee Gi Pung, was sent as

¹²⁹ Three lecturers were Underwood from Seoul Presbyterial Committee (PCUSA), William Junkin (PCUS), and William Foote (Canada) (Hur, 2008:142, Clark, 1918:35).

missionary to the Jeju Island of Korea. Twenty three years after the arrival of the first foreign missionaries, the first and only Independent Presbytery was founded in 1907, meaning independent of the foreign Missions. The PCK grew continually, and the seven Presbyterial committees changed to the seven Presbyteries.

On 1 September 1912 the first GA of the PCK assembled with 44 foreign missionaries, 52 Korean pastors, and 125 Korean elders as delegates.

In this way, the ecumenical effort of the four Presbyterian Missions attained the important goal of one United Presbyterian Church they pursued.

(4) Relations with worldwide ecumenical bodies (refer to 3.1.3.4)

The minutes of the Independent Presbytery and the General Assembly show that the PCK initiated relations with the World Presbyterian Alliance (predecessor of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches) at the time of the establishment of the PCK, and sent a delegation to the Alliance's General Assembly (Cha, 1928:183). The General Assembly of the PCK also received a congratulatory letter from the World Presbyterian Alliance and returned a letter of thanks (Hur, 2008:150).

According to the "Proceedings of the eleventh General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System held at Pittsburgh 1921" (Fleming, 1922:17), one delegate from the PCK, CS Lim, attended. The PCK made a good start with its communion with the World Presbyterian Churches to manifest the unity and catholicity of the church.

(5) Ecumenical co-operation with Methodist missionaries

Park YG (2004a:976) describes the great awakening of the Holy Spirit in the early twentieth century that enabled an evangelical ecumenical movement of Presbyterianism and Methodism in Korea. Presbyterian missionaries sought co-operation with Methodist missionaries for the enormous vision of evangelisation in

Korea. The Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries had a common concern for the revival of the Korean Church beyond their own denomination. The Presbyterian Council approved the plan of the Council to cooperate with the two Methodist Missions in 1905. The four Presbyterian Missions and two Methodist Missions admitted that it was time to establish the “Church of Jesus in Korea” as one native church, and 150 missionaries gathered to organise “The General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea” in September 1905. They decided unanimously to pursue the establishment of one evangelical Union Church in Korea with the name, the “Church of Jesus in Korea”. This plan was cancelled because of their mother churches’ opposition and strong denominationalism, differences in theology and different church polities. On the other hand, their mission work expanded so that they were too busy with their own work to concentrate on the union movement (Park, 2004a:977-86; Hur, 2008:96-8).

Even though they failed to establish the one Union Church, they attempted many joint mission works: Bible translation, hymn book publication, Sunday School lesson materials, Christian education, literature evangelism, a hospital service, one million souls’ salvation movement, joint management of mission schools and the like.

Among these activities only the achievement of the joint work of Bible translation and newsletter publication will be examined.

● **Bible translation**

Among the mission works, the translation of the Bible is the first and foremost of importance. Presbyterian missionary Underwood and Methodist missionary Henry Appenzeller, who arrived together in Korea in 1885, recognised the necessity of an exact and suitable translation of the Bible and the use of standard terms in the Korean context, because the Ross Version and Lee Su Jung translation contained many errors and regional dialects.

They organised “The Permanent Executive Bible Committee of Korea” in February

1887 with the co-operation of the Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries, and changed the name in April 1887 to “The Permanent Bible Committee in Korea” with “The Translating Committee” and “The General Revising Committee”. They reorganised “The Permanent Executive Bible Committee” in May 1893 and accelerated the translation. As a consequence, they could finish the New Testament in 1900 and the Old Testament in 1910. The board of revisers was constituted in 1911, revised the whole Bible in 1937, and published the authorised translated version in 1938 (Park, 2004a:554-75).

Their great achievement served to further the gospel in Korea after a long period of sacrificial labour, which was possible through the close cooperation of many missionaries from the four Presbyterian Missions and two (Northern and Southern) Methodist Missions of the USA, Korean helpers and the three Bible Societies of America, England and Scotland.

Inter-denominational ecumenical co-operation and achievement on the Korean mission field prospered.

- **Newsletter publication**

Appenzeller printed “The Christian Advocate” in February 1897 and Underwood, challenged by Appenzeller, printed “The Christian News” in April 1897. When the General Council started, the two newsletters united into “The Christian News” in 1905 and changed the name to “The Church Herald” from 1907 until 1910. The Mission letters of the Presbyterians and Methodists united into “The Korea Mission Field” from 1905 (Park, 2004a:599, 986-7).

Presbyterian missionaries made every ecumenical effort to manifest the unity of the PCK and further the Korean Church beyond their denomination with the Methodist Church within the evangelical circle, which should be remembered as a great model of the unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the PCK.

Their ecumenical efforts and achievements give some insight into the unity and catholicity of the PCK and these great experiences could be good guidance.

4.3.2. Ecumenical efforts in the PCK

The PCK saw and learnt from the ecumenical efforts and achievements of the missionaries from the four Presbyterian Missions. As a result of their efforts, the one PCK came into being. The PCK as one and the same family should reconcile to reunite with one another according to the word of God. The PCK often attempted to reunite with separated brother churches after schisms, but most reunifications soon failed after initial success.

This subsection, 4.3.2, will deal with the efforts the PCK made to restore the original unity, after the many splits since the 1950s.

(1) Reunion and re-schism: Hap Dong and Ko Shin

The Hap Dong Church (NAE party) and the Ko Shin Church reunited in 1960 but three years later they separated again. During that time, the Hap Dong Church and the Ko Shin Church were confronted with their own problems.

Because of the incident in which Park Hyung Ryong's lost 30 million hwan, the NAE party fell into moral disgrace (Refer to 3.3.1.1). Foreign Presbyterian Missions, which had been a great support financially and theologically, took the side of the WCC party (Tong Hap), and the NAE party immediately faced financial difficulties.

As for the Ko Shin Church, the influential principal of the Korea Theological Seminary, Park Yun Sun, was deprived of his professorship¹³⁰ at the Seminary by the board of directors in 1960. The Seminary was filled with emptiness due to his absence and could not run academic affairs properly. Most of the pastors of the Ko Shin Church could not understand the treatment Park Yun Sun had received.

¹³⁰ The incident shows the Ko Shin's legalism at that time. Park Yun Sun had to see off a missionary family going for their Sabbath year on a Sunday morning after a sudden delay in their transport schedule from a Friday departure. Park, with the missionary Hunt, had to take a taxi after their car broke down and were too late for the Sunday worship service. Park was disciplined for violation of the Lord's Day and requested to apologise for it, but he defended himself, saying that it was not wrong under unavoidable circumstances. After Park was informed of his severance, he resigned (Yang, 2008:554-61).

In August 1960 Park Hyung Ryong and the NAE party eagerly appealed to the Ko Shin Church for a big union of the conservative circle. Han Sang Dong and the Ko Shin party easily and willingly accepted the offer, but did not carefully consider possible problems. The two churches' GA decided to unite in September 1960 and adjourned for the final step of union. The union committee of both sides agreed to union, justified by their identical theology and faith.

In December 1960 the union General Assembly was held and elected Han Sang Dong as moderator. The united Church was called the Hap Dong Church.

As time passed, Han Sang Dong regretted the union and at a sudden private meeting in October 1962 declared to return to the Ko Shin Church and to restore the Korea Seminary, which had become a branch of the Chonghoi Seminary. Most pastors were perplexed and opposed him, for it was not justifiable and reasonable. Nevertheless, Han forcibly proceeded to withdraw from the Hap Dong Church. In November 1962 Han restored the Korea Seminary. In September 1963, the Ko Shin Church held its General Assembly separately from the Hap Dong Church and left a schismatic history which was completely different from the schism in 1952 (Yang, 2008:622-93).

Nobody could understand the very reason why Han Sang Dong decided to split, but Yang (2008:661-3) suggested the possibility that since Han's recommendation of his adopted son, who had obtained a doctorate in the Netherlands in 1962, for a professorship in the Chonghoi Seminary was rejected by Park Hyung Ryong because there were too many professors of systematic theology, he might have felt offended and experienced an intolerable sense of disdain. At that time three doctors among the alumni of the Korea Seminary were ready to restart the Korea Seminary independently by themselves.

Han Sang Dong and his Ko Shin party lost their previous fame and respect as the more pure church with the tradition of martyrs' faith. When they united, they believed

that the union was the will of God, but when they withdrew they retracted their words. The WCF (WCF, 25.5) rightly says that “the purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error”.

(2) Attempts at reunion after schism: Hap Dong and Tong Hap

After the 1959 schism, three Presbyterian Missions immediately appealed for reunion. There was a committee for reunion of the Hap Dong Church and the Tong Hap Church. Some pastors of the executive committee of the PCUSA (UPCUSA since 1958) visited the PCK in November 1959 and met with three groups successively: the committee for reunion, the NAE party and the WCC party, and lastly held a joint meeting including the three Missions: PCUSA, PCUS and PCA. After a number of meetings, in January 1960 the three groups and three Missions made a declaration of reunion but only a few pastors from the NAE party joined. The WCC party held its General Assembly for the reunion in February 1960 and called itself the Tong Hap Church (“Tong Hap” means “total unification”), for they were joined by a few pastors from the NAE party. The Tong Hap Church withdrew its membership from the WCC, a key cause of the schism, for the sake of reunion with the NAE party in future (Lim, 2011:151-3).

There was another attempt at reunion between the two churches in the late 1960s. The Hap Dong (NAE party) Church reunited with the Ko Shin Church in 1960 and in the 1962 GA decided to try to reunite with the Tong Hap Church, but three meetings between them were futile.

The 1967 GA of the Hap Dong Church again decided to try to unify. After three meetings they agreed to reunite, made a statement of reunion and on 1 March 1968 asked each church to hold its GA meeting for a reunited GA on 30 April 1968. The Hap Dong Church followed the decision, but at the last minute the Tong Hap Church declined and the reunion failed. Han Gyeon Jik, the main figure of the Tong Hap Church, finally decided not to unite for the sake of peace among themselves, but to

remain as they were (Jeon, 2014:211-5; Kang, 2015:119-124). Han Gyeong Jik thought that it would be too difficult for the progressives to stay with the conservatives, so he wanted his Tong Hap to be comfortable. It was ironical that the ecumenicals, who wanted to maintain unity with the world churches, did not to choose to maintain unity with their brothers in the same country.

(3) Reunion after repeated splits and reunions: Gae Hyuk Church (refer to 3.4)

Jeong Gyu O was a main figure in the Gae Hyuk Church. Jeong and his followers adhered to his conservative theology and their regional background was centred on Kwangju, which was strongly influenced by the missionaries from the PCUS, who were relatively conservative in theology.

After the 1979 schism, Jeong's group was called the Hap Dong Bo Su Church, and split into the Bo Su (Chungdam) of Jeong and Bo Su (Hongun) in 1981 (refer to 3.4.1.5), and then united with another non-mainline group (Gae Hyuk) to form the Gae Hyuk Church in 1985, but the union ended one year later. Jeong's group call themselves the Gae Hyuk Church (Chungdam) (refer to 3.4.1.6). The Gae Hyuk Church (Chungdam) with other eight non-mainline churches, united in the Gae Hyuk Church in 1999 (refer to 3.4.1.7).

Afterwards, the one Gae Hyuk Church split into over 20 Gae Hyuk Churches. It seemed that the split of the Gae Hyuk Church would never stop, contrary to its name "Reformed" and the slogan of the Reformation, "Reformed Church is always reforming". They were and are deforming.

Jeong Gyu O of the Gae Hyuk Church (Kwangju) decided to reunite with the "Hap Dong Church" before he died. As Jeong decided, the process of reunion could be kept going even though there were some barriers to overcome. At last in 2005, the Gae Hyuk Church (Kwangju) returned to its original home, the Hap Dong Church.

This reunion was significant in the ecumenical history of the PCK.

Firstly, it was a sign of the beginning of the ecumenical era of the Reformed Church in the PCK. All PCK churches adopting the same confession of faith, namely the Westminster Confession of Faith and Presbyterianism, should and can unite. All of them should realise the ecumenical Reformed ecclesiology and repent their schismatic actions, whether they split long ago or still remain in division within the PCK, whether Tong Hap or Hap Dong or Gae Hyuk or Ko Shin.

When all the PCK factions confess, “I believe the holy catholic church, the communions of saints”, they should be challenged to reunion so that all the Presbyterian Churches in Korea will be one.

Secondly, the reunion of the Gae Hyuk Church teaches that there is a possibility of reunion with other Presbyterian Churches, even though there are some barriers, but only if the barriers are removed. This possibility of reunion should challenge and exhort all Presbyterian Churches in division to pursue reunion based on the ecumenical Reformed ecclesiology. Many attempts at reunification have not been grounded in the ecumenical Reformed theology and identity, but in a secular lust for ecclesiastical power, which resulted in reunion when each party needed the other, but resulted again in a split when a party felt like separating from another. A secular desire for ecclesiastical power, mixed with a weak sense of unity, is a barrier against reunion, usually evidenced in the sinful nature of the main figure of each denomination. The reunion of the PCK is not a doctrinal problem but a practical problem of obedient faith. The possibility of reunion depends upon the main figure’s decision. Korean society especially has a strong bond with a certain group with personal connections, school ties, and regionalism, etc., centred on a main figure. If the main figure adheres firmly to something, in many cases his colleagues and followers support him regardless of whether he is right or wrong. Thus only when the leader lays down every hidden desire of his sinful nature before God, and only when he has a passionate and sincere desire to serve the Lord and the kingdom of God as a servant leader, only if the main figure of each denomination decides humbly to

obey the word and will of God regarding the doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church, the process of reunion in the PCK can ultimately reach its goal. This might even be achieved more easily than expected.

Thirdly, the state and situation of the church is dynamic, never static. Though the PCK experienced schisms 60 and 30 years ago, as time flows, churches change and grow up, and many factors contributing to past schisms may disappear. A serious problem of long ago may no longer be significant at present. A certain authoritarian person of the past might be no more. Disunity is not a matter of “once a division always a division”. The reunion of the Gae Hyuk and the Hap Dong was a good example in the very PCK.

It is time for every main figure of each denomination to listen to Paul’s exhortation in God’s word, “I plead with Euodia and I plead with Syntyche to agree with each other in the Lord” (Phil. 4:2). The main figure of each denomination can replace Euodia and Syntyche, to hear God’s command, “I plead with Jeong Gyu O, Han Gyeong Jik, Han Sang Dong, Park Hyung Ryong, or Jo Kyung Dae to agree with each other”.

It is time to be challenged and encouraged by Jeong Gyu O and his Gae Hyuk’s decision and subsequent reunion with Hap Dong. If the leading pastors of the PCK become humble and mature like Jeong Gyu O and follow the Holy Spirit, a possible second or third reunion can occur very soon, because reunion is definitely the work of the Holy Spirit.

In this way, the ecumenical Reformed theology and identity of the PCK will be affirmed and consolidated.

4.3.3. Ecumenical efforts of the Council of Presbyterian Churches in Korea

(1) Introduction

In 1981 the five Presbyterian Churches - Tong Hap, Hap Dong, Ko Shin, Ki Jang, and Dae Shin¹³¹ - organised the “Council of Presbyterian Churches in Korea” (CPCK¹³²), whose slogan is “the association and union of the PCK”. It can be a big step toward one PCK. For years there was no remarkable progress until 10 July 2009, the 500th birthday of John Calvin, when 26 member churches of the CPCK gathered and celebrated the day according to the CPCK’s proposal to celebrate Calvin’s birthday as “the day of the Presbyterian Church” in Korea annually.

The day of the Presbyterian Church was celebrated in various programmes as described below.

The first part, the opening ceremony, was followed by the 26 denominations’ entry into the hall, each with its own church flag, after which the celebration was declared open.

The second part was worship of God according to Calvin’s liturgy, and with the administration of the Lord’s Supper.

The third part consisted of various declarations about the future of the CPCK, the unification of Korea, and guidelines for practice.

The last part was a concert that closed with all the GA leaders of the 26 denominations hand in hand and singing a song of blessing, with a closing statement by the President of the CPCK, Lee Jong Yun.

Even though all Presbyterian denominations did not join in, it was an impressive moment to affirm the oneness of the PCK. Since then, it has become an annual

¹³¹ Refer to Bauswein (1999:310), No.16. Presbyterian Church of Korea (Dae Shin I) (4602). In 1961 Kim Chi Sun withdrew from the Hap Dong Church and started the Bible Presbyterian Church with the help of Cal McIntire and his International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC), and in 1971 changed its name to Dae Shin Church.

¹³² The CPCK’s homepage website(www.cpck.kr) is not available, only available at Wikipedia in Korean language, <https://ko.wikipedia.org/wiki/한국장로교총연합회>.

celebration of the CPCK around 10 July, which is Calvin's birthday.

The CPCK made continuous efforts for the unity of the PCK based on Calvin's ecumenicity and his ecumenical efforts. In July 2010, the CPCK made an overture, "One PCK, multiple denominations", as a practical way of federal union of all the PCK denominations. According to this idea, while every denomination of the PCK maintains their own theology and structure, they all unite under the United GA of the PCK. The originator of this proposal was Lee Jong Yun¹³³, who is the president of the special committee for "one PCK multiple denominations" under the CPCK, that held seminars continually to research and present the concrete plan, strategy and method of union in every respect, with its confession of faith, form of government, directory for the worship of God, theological seminary, church discipline, and the like.

The CPCK suggested the road map for five stages: joint prayer meetings, confirmation of the Westminster Confession of Faith, confirmation of Westminster directory for the worship of God and form of government, organisation of a committee to draw up the constitution and participation in the Lord's Supper. They presented it to all churches to discuss on the opening day of their GAs in the third week of September 2012, with a declaration of oneness of the PCK on the 100th anniversary of the GA of the PCK, on 1 September 2012.

Fifteen thousand members of 27 Presbyterian Churches participated and celebrated the 100th anniversary of the GA of the PCK on 1 September 2012. In December 2012, the draft constitution of the United PCK was proposed to the GA of the CPCK. This is still in circulation in the member denominations.

Among members of the CPCK, the most conservative, the Ko Shin Church, and the most progressive, the Ki Jang Church, are together with the major churches, which gave the green light for the attainability of unification of the whole PCK in the near

¹³³ Lee Jong Yun is director of Academia Christiana of Korea, the previous president of the Council of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (2009), and retired pastor of Seoul Church.

future.

(2) Assessment of ecumenicity of the CPCK

The new paradigm of unity, “one PCK and multi denominations”, is considered to be practically the best way in the situation of the PCK that has been divided into over 200 denominations. One reliable factor is that the faithful Calvinist, Lee Jong Yun, as the central figure of this movement, emphasised repeatedly Calvin’s ecumenicity and passionate ecumenical efforts and thus the PCK should follow him as a role model, which accords with the intent, method, and goal of this thesis.

In fact, it is inconceivable for the more than 200 denominations of the PCK to unite into one denomination, as many practical aspects in the history of disunity have proven. However, in the first stage, as an organisational association, each denomination under the CPCK can maintain its existing system and structure, but follow the same theology and identity of the PCK based on the Westminster Standards.

The PCK manifests its unity through an annual assembly of all member churches of the CPCK on the day of the Presbyterian Church with common participation in worship of God and the Lord’s Supper and fellowship among all member churches.

The second stage is that all denominations should adopt the constitution the CPCK formulated. Then unity will be more visibly achieved and the United GA of the PCK will take a broader position than the GA of each denomination, so that the United PCK can manage disputes between denominations. If this stage attains the final agreement, it may be possible to work together in common fields, e.g. a strategy for foreign mission, charity and social activities for regional communities, certification and exchange of theological education and ordained pastors, etc. Regarding this stage, the past history did not always give confident hope, because some authoritarian pastors stuck to their desire for ecclesiastical authority, power and fame.

Presbyterianism originally refused both Roman Catholic hierarchism and Congregational individualism with an in-between form of government, but it could always descend into either the former or the latter unless the main figures of the united PCK display spiritual and ecclesiological maturity. If the main figures of the United PCK should engage in power struggles, the intended United PCK will cause another schism into more sects of the PCK.

The attainment of the final goal is what Ephesians calls for: spiritual growth into one new man, the one holy catholic and apostolic church, the visible body of Christ.

4.3.4. Engagement with ecumenical bodies in Korea

There are a number of Protestant ecumenical bodies that seek co-operation with Protestant Churches. These organisations are interdenominational and do not have the aim of unification of denominations, but of their co-operation, fellowship and common social service, even though the unity of the church is one of their key phrases. This subsection will be confined to a brief introduction of these organisations, because the involvement of the ecumenical bodies differs depending on the choice of each church.

(1) The National Council of Churches in Korea

The origin of the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCCK) goes back to the organisation of “The General Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea” in 1905 (refer to 4.3.1.6). This General Council aimed to establish one evangelical church in Korea, but found it impossible and then changed its name to “The Federal Council of Protestant Evangelical Missions in Korea” in 1911, aiming to be a fellowship and co-operation instead of a church union. In 1918 the Association of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches in Korea was founded and in 1924 the two

organisations of foreign Missions and Korean churches merged to be the Federal Council of the Christian Churches, or so-called the Korea National Christian Council (KNCC) (Hur, 2008:234-6). This Council was disassembled under Japanese control in 1937. After liberation from Japan, the KNCC restarted in 1946. The KNCC changed its name in 1961 to the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCK) as an organisation that co-operated with the WCC. The NCCK has nine member churches and five member Christian organisations. Its aims are mission, fellowship, service, research and training based on the Scriptures¹³⁴. Four member churches¹³⁵ of the NCCK have membership of the WCC. The NCCK stands in line with the WCC and played a major role in the 10th Assembly of the WCC in Pusan, Korea in 2013.

(2) The Christian Council of Korea

The Christian Council of Korea (CCK¹³⁶), which is a relatively conservative and evangelical organisation in comparison with the NCCK, was founded in 1989, and has considerably more church members than the NCCK.

The CCK emphasises evangelism of the gospel, whereas the NCCK is concerned with the socio-political life. Nevertheless, the CCK experienced secular power struggles among presidential candidates paired with corruption and illegal actions, as well as acceptance of heretic churches without consensus of member churches since the late 2000s. Many major member churches appealed for correction, but seeing nothing change, withdrew from the CCK: Tong Hap, Ko Shin, Hap Shin, Hap Dong and Gae Hyuk. The CCK lost the social reliability and fame it had in the past. In the past the CCK had over 60 member churches, but now only

¹³⁴ Regarding the introduction of the NCCK, see <https://ko.wikipedia.org/wiki/한국기독교교회협의회>. Among member churches of the NCCK are the Presbyterian Tong Hap Church and Ki Jang Church.

¹³⁵ WCC member churches: <https://www.oikoumene.org/en/member-churches>. Among member churches of the WCC among the Korean Protestant Churches are the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (Ki Jang), and the Presbyterian Church of Korea (Tong Hap), the Anglican Church of Korea, and the Korean Methodist Church.

¹³⁶ CCK's homepage in Korean language, <http://www.cck.or.kr>.

around half of them remain, because churches withdrew from it. Most members of the withdrawn churches founded another organisation, the Communion of Churches in Korea..

(3) The Communion of Churches in Korea

The Communion of Churches in Korea (CCIK¹³⁷) was established in August 2012, as a result of a split from the CCK on account of corruption and illegal actions by the CCK's leaders. The CCIK has almost the same purpose as the CCK, but has more member churches, including the major Presbyterian denominations, Tong Hap and Hap Shin.

4.3.5. Engagement with the World Council of Churches

(1) Introduction

The biggest and broadest worldwide ecumenical body, the WCC ironically did not encourage the union of the PCK but rather its division. In 1959 the Tong Hap Church (WCC party) and the Hap Dong Church (NAE party) were divided about membership of the WCC. The Tong Hap Church withdrew from membership of the WCC in 1960 in view of its reunion with the Hap Dong Church, but renewed membership in 1969. On the contrary, the Hap Dong Church decided to cancel its membership of the WCC permanently in the 1959 General Assembly. The Ko Shin Church and the non-mainline churches that split from the Hap Dong are also against membership of the WCC.

On the other hand, the Ki Jang Church has been a member of the WCC since 1961 and attended the 1961 Assembly held in New Delhi, India. Kang Won Yong of Ki Jang became a Central Committee member in the 1968 Assembly at Uppsala,

¹³⁷ Refer to CCIK's homepage, <http://eng.ccik.kr>.

Sweden and an executive committee member in the 1975 Assembly in Nairobi, Kenya.

The controversy about the WCC arose again within the PCK when the WCC decided to host the 10th General Assembly at Pusan, Korea in November 2013.

The WCC member churches, Tong Hap and Ki Jang, regarded the Assembly as the worldwide Christian Olympic Feast¹³⁸, but the anti-WCC churches aggressively opposed it. Therefore the WCC deepened the division in the PCK between the WCC member churches and the anti-WCC churches.

It is necessary to understand why the anti-WCC group abhors the WCC.

(2) Anti-WCC churches' assertion

Professors of the Chong Shin University and Theological Seminary under the Hap Dong Church, which are proud, faithful Calvinists, presented a common statement.

To put it briefly (Moon, 2012:25-8):

- ① The WCC denies the fact that the Bible is the word of God.
- ② The WCC denies the orthodox doctrines of the Trinity, Christology, soteriology and ecclesiology; regardless of the wrongness and differences of doctrines, it seeks only the visible unity of churches.
- ③ The WCC goes astray from the monotheism revealed in the Bible, pursuing religious plurality and claiming that other religions also offer salvation.
- ④ The WCC does not admit Jesus Christ as the only mediator of redemption.
- ⑤ The WCC confuses the Holy Spirit and spiritual appearances of other religions.
- ⑥ The WCC distorts the essence of the church and insists on visible fellowship.
- ⑦ The WCC impairs the balance between gospel evangelism and social responsibility.
- ⑧ The WCC member churches of Korea are a minority in Korea, but act as if they are representatives of the Korean Church.

¹³⁸ Ji-il Tark (2011:306-7) of the Tong Hap Church expresses his hope that the 10th WCC Assembly in Pusan can become a festival of foreign Christians gathered under the name of the WCC.

Probably the WCC and its advocates would deny most of the articles above, claiming that they are wrong or absurd. However, for the very conservative, fundamental, evangelical, Reformed circle in Korea, the WCC is filled with religious pluralism, syncretism and homosexuality, contrary to biblical teaching, even though the Presbyterian and Reformed family of Churches are part of it and the original intent and aim of the WCC were good and right. For this circle it will never be possible to join the WCC.

The Hap Dong Church is the biggest denomination among of the Presbyterian Churches in Korea. The views and influence of professors of the Chong Shin Seminary on the WCC are therefore crucial in deciding the relationship of the whole PCK to the WCC. The Ko Shin, Hap Shin, Gae Hyuk and non-mainline conservative churches are in accord with the Hap Dong Churches' position. Unless the official position of the WCC is Bible-centred, it will be impossible to accept the WCC as a reliable Christian ecumenical body to co-operate with. The anti-WCC group regards the WCC's inclusiveness of all nominal Christian churches as non-biblical and non-Christian. Against this opposing assertion, Jung Byung Joon, the WCC advocating theologian of the Tong Hap Church that is a relatively conservative among member churches in Korea, explains that the position of the anti-WCC Churches was influenced by the International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) of Carl McIntire¹³⁹ 50 years ago. In his research paper he gives a noteworthy answer that critics of the anti-WCC do not use the official documents and position of the WCC but view personal assertions discussed in the theological committee as the official position of the WCC¹⁴⁰. He adds that the WCC has not adopted religious pluralism officially, although the WCC takes an inclusive position in relation to other religions. His answer confuses the understanding of the WCC's position.

¹³⁹ Carl McIntire was a founder the Bible Presbyterian Church, the ICCC and the American Council of Christian Churches. Refer to Carl McIntire in Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carl_McIntire.

¹⁴⁰ Jung Byung Joon's paper: see blog <http://jbjoon63.blog.me>.

The Baar Statement¹⁴¹, for example, states in part III “Christology and Religious Plurality” that the salvation of God is available in many and various ways outside the fold of Christ¹⁴². A question arises whether this statement is an official document representing the official theology of the WCC or not. No matter how important interreligious dialogues are, the uniqueness and exclusiveness of Christ’s gospel and the salvation only through faith in Jesus should never be downgraded or conceded.

It should be clearly stated whether the WCC accepts, for example, religious pluralism, whether there are other ways to be saved than through Jesus Christ or not, and whether the WCC believes that the work of the Holy Spirit is the same as spiritual appearances in other religions, including Shamanism and Totemism.

The PCK decided to continue to participate in the fellowship and co-operation of churches, but to oppose the union movement of all churches into one worldwide church in the 1957 General Assembly (refer to 3.3.1.2). It is necessary to examine how the WCC can contribute to the fellowship and co-operation of the worldwide churches.

All organisations in the world have a positive and a negative side. The WCC can be very helpful to manifest the unity of all Christian churches visibly and to further the world mission only if it remains biblical, and yet to be criticised when it practises non-biblical, non-evangelical or non-Christian theology and faith in which the word of God is not purely preached and heard, but is seriously distorted and replaced with human thoughts and words.

¹⁴¹ Baar Statement of WCC 1990: see <https://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-programmes/interreligious-dialogue-and-cooperation/christian-identity-in-pluralistic-societies/baar-statement-theological-perspectives-on-plurality>.

¹⁴² Quoted from part III, Baar Statement of the WCC: “This saving mystery is mediated and expressed in many and various ways as God’s plan unfolds toward its fulfillment. It may be available to those outside the fold of Christ (Jn. 10.16) in ways we cannot understand, as they live faithful and truthful lives in their concrete circumstances and in the framework of the religious traditions which guide and inspire them. The Christ event is for us the clearest expression of the salvific will of God in all human history (I Ti. 2.4)”.

Therefore this thesis considers as appropriate the relationship with the WCC to be “selective participation”, as accepted by the 1957 GA, or “critical participation”. The WCC’s homepage¹⁴³ explains what the WCC is. The introduction of the WCC describes its right intent, membership, task, aim and vision as a fellowship of churches that is in accordance with the aim of this thesis.

If the WCC keeps developing as stated above, the PCK is strongly recommended to engage in active participation in fellowship and the common task of the worldwide churches with full membership. However, in the light of the Baar Statement above, it is necessary to examine carefully and criticise elements that do not confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures. Interreligious dialogue may be of importance in the WCC, but should never go too far beyond the criteria of the identity and self-statement of the WCC.

Is it necessary for the PCK to join the WCC in order to manifest its unity of all world churches visibly through fellowship and cooperation with them?

In postmodern times that respect diversity, there is also ambiguity that needs careful examination and discernment. The WCC includes diversity and ambiguity. It is the choice of the PCK whether to participate in the WCC or not, as it has been an important factor in a major schism in the PCK. Therefore, nobody should force it. Even if the PCK becomes a member church, it can cancel its membership at any time if it finds a serious wrongness in the WCC and it never needs to lose its identity as conservative and ecumenical, with a Reformed theology and faith. The PCK may participate in the WCC either as a full member or as an observer instead of opting

¹⁴³ Introduction of the World Councils of Churches: See <https://www.oikoumene.org/en/about-us>. “The WCC is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the scriptures, and therefore seek to fulfil together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It is a community of churches on the way to visible unity in one faith and one eucharistic fellowship, expressed in worship and in common life in Christ. It seeks to advance towards this unity, as Jesus prayed for his followers, “so that the world may believe” (John 17:21).

for blind opposition for the sake of opposition itself from outside the WCC.

To sum up, the PCK would be better off participating in fellowship and co-operation with diverse world churches within rather than outside the WCC to have a fresh impact on other churches with its specific characteristics, but at the same time it should never to forget ardently to criticize non-biblical factors that nullify Christianity itself.

4.3.6. Summary

The ecumenicity of the PCK was analysed in view of its ecumenical efforts to establish one church and reunite with separated brother churches, and its effort to engage with ecumenical bodies in Korea and the WCC for fellowship and cooperation.

The PCK started as the one church through the ecumenical endeavour of four Presbyterian Missions and their Presbyterian Council, which accords with the unity and catholicity of the church.

There were many attempts at reunion between separated churches which are all brothers and sisters in the same family of the PCK, but most attempts failed to attain complete union except for the reunion of Hap Dong and Gae Hyuk.

The PCK as a young church has shown a weak ecclesiology and a weak sense of ecumenicity, but it is hoped that the PCK is changing, growing, and recognising its serious disunity as shameful and making efforts to unite with each other. As a result, the Gae Hyuk Church returned to its mother church, and the Council of the Presbyterian Churches in Korea has been working for a United PCK in the near future.

In this thesis, the proposed relationship of the PCK with the WCC is to follow the way of “critical participation”.

In the next chapter, the prospects of the PCK will be suggested based on the foregoing discussion and additional new ideas.

Chapter 5.

The future of the Presbyterian Church in Korea

The research journey of this thesis up to this point has focused on the weak ecclesiology and weak sense of unity and catholicity of the PCK, which have been the main causes of repeated schisms. Especially the main figures in the PCK, who played a core role in each schism, were assessed in terms of their unity and ecumenicity.

On the other hand, the PCK, ashamed by its serious disunity, contrary to the biblical teaching and Calvin's thought, started to make ecumenical efforts to form a United PCK on the initiative of the Council of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (CPCK). In addition, new hope was inspired by the dramatic reunification of the non-mainline Gae Hyuk (Reformed) Church with its mother church, the Hap Dong Church, in 2005 after 26 years' separation.

This chapter attempts to suggest some proposals for the future of the PCK by integrating the ideas derived from the foregoing chapters with a few additional ideas. The 21st century of the PCK will be called an era of the church in "plurality and ambiguity", to overcome the disunity, weak ecclesiology and weak sense of unity by reforming the PCK to the one and catholic, United PCK.

The PCK, on the hopeful road to a United PCK under the leadership of Lee Jong Yun of the CPCK, needs a "*mature ecclesiology*" ¹⁴⁴. The term "**mature**

¹⁴⁴ The term "mature Ecclesiology" was used when scholars distinguish the developed Ecclesiology of some well-known theologians from their earlier Ecclesiology, for instance, Theodore Beza's mature Ecclesiology in "*The Ecclesiology of Theodore Beza*" (Maruyama 1978:138, 142) and Karl Barth's mature Ecclesiology (Bender 2013:93). Bender puts "Barth's mature ecclesiology" as the title of part two of his work "*Karl Barth's Christological Ecclesiology*" which is studied in *Church Dogmatics*, to the contrary the title of part one is "Karl Barth's early Ecclesiology". J.N.D. Kelly (1972:384) refers to "mature theology" when he deals with the Apostles' Creed.

ecclesiology” as a solution for a weak Ecclesiology and a weak sense of unity is derived from Ephesians 4:13-14, of “**a mature man**” (NAS) (see Eph. 2:15, “one new man”) for the church. In this chapter, the future and task of the United PCK will be proposed from an ecumenical Reformed perspective as contributory suggestions to the PCK in particular and to the Reformed family of Churches all over the world in general.

In the first section the task of the United PCK will be suggested theoretically and practically as a reforming church and the second section will deal with the political unification of Korea between South and North, which is a hope of national dimensions in which the United PCK should play an important role.

5.1. United Presbyterian Church of Korea

5.1.1. Reforming for a mature Ecclesiology

Ecclesiology is the integration of every part of theology: Biblical theology, systematic theology, Church history, Christian ethics, pastoral theology, and so on. Ecclesiology is not only a theoretical, invisible and divine theology, but also human, visible and practical. Theoretical principle need to be put into practice. Invisible elements need to be manifested visibly. Divine characters call to be followed and imitated by human endeavour to walk by the Holy Spirit. Ecclesiology needs to be developed and balanced between theory and practice.

Most writings on the unity and catholicity of the church refer to images of the church, such as God’s people, the body of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit, and to Jesus’ prayer in John 17:20-23 and Paul’s exhortation in Ephesians 4:3-6. **Mature ecclesiology**, which is a new creative term in this thesis, needs to follow Ephesians.

Whereas chapters 1 to 3 of Ephesians deal with the theoretical principle of the unity of the church and of the universe, chapters 4 to 6 deal with the practical principle of the unity as explicated in Ephesians 4:1-16, that lead to a well-balanced, mature ecclesiology that should be insisted on and developed in a United PCK.

From the perspective of the ecclesiology revealed in Ephesians, the purpose of Christ's redemption is not only individual salvation and being joined together into the corporate church, the body of Christ (refer to 2.1.1 & 2; cf. Eph. 2:11-22), but also unity in the faith and knowledge of Christ, with **spiritual growth unto Christlike maturity individually for the corporately building up of the church** through gifted persons given to the church by Christ (refer to 2.1.5; cf. Eph. 4:11-16). Paul insists not only on the theoretical base of a **sevenfold oneness**: body, Spirit, hope, Lord, faith, baptism, God the Father (cf. Eph. 4:4-6), but also on **the practical principle of the sevenfold graces for the maintenance of oneness: lowliness, meekness, longsuffering, forbearing one another, love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit, the bond of peace** (cf. Eph. 4:2-3).

A life worthy of God's calling points to individual salvation, and corporate union with Christ, the head, and with one another through Christ, namely, being one corporate body (one new man, a mature man). It has the **ultimate goal of growth into Christ with unity and Christlike maturity, by serving each other with Christ-given gifts**. If the PCK and its pastors are ignorant of this practical truth, or ignore it even though knowing it well, the task of unity will be too much, and far from a reality (cf. Moynagh, 2012:330).

Firstly, a mature ecclesiology is well balanced in both theoretical and practical ways. Truth and love in Christ should be balanced. The invisible one holy catholic church should be manifested visibly as the one holy catholic church. Through individual and corporate ecclesial faith and knowledge of the divine will, activities of the Triune God should be represented outwardly on earth. Inevitably a balanced, mature ecclesiology has to emphasise the visible church, and should not hide behind the

invisible church. A balanced mature ecclesiology demands principle and praxis.

Secondly a mature ecclesiology insists on progressive growth and upbuilding into Christlike maturity, in a sense always reforming. The church is growing, changing, transforming, upbuilding by the Holy Spirit and so never static; does not remain infant or young child. Especially the leading figures of the PCK, who play core roles in ecclesial theology and faith, should be spiritually, morally, personally, intellectually, emotionally mature as whole person with humbleness, gentleness, patience and love of Eph. 4:2.

Thirdly, a mature ecclesiology demands of pastors and laymen to serve one another with their Christ-given gifts for maturity, building up the church, the kingdom of God, so to speak, to be leaders in serving others. Christ-given gifts or ecclesiastical offices are not given for the exercise of authority and power over others or self-ambitions, but for service of others, the church, the Kingdom of God. Jesus' leadership is described in his declaration to his disciples striving for positions, "For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (Mk. 10:45). Especially the leading figures in the PCK should be aware of this servanthship and leadership found in Christ. The gifts and offices in the church have the authority and power of love (cf. Eph. 3:14-19). They must serve in love for the maturity and building up of love in the church. The history of disunity in the church shows that leaders who do not serve but desire for ecclesiastical authority and power are the main causes of each schism.

The United PCK, which should always be reforming, should understand this balanced, growing, serving mature ecclesiology and practise it visibly more than before. Individual and ecclesial growth into Christlike maturity is ultimately the work of the Holy Spirit, which can only be accomplished through a lifetime process. Mature ecclesiology is linked with sanctification by the Holy Spirit with a view to spiritual maturity, where every member grows and builds itself up in love as each

part does its work (cf. Eph. 4:16). The Reformed Church, theology and faith should always be reforming, growing into maturity.

5.1.2. Reforming the United Presbyterian Church in Korea

(1) Catholic, ecumenical Church

An article of the faith in the ecumenical Apostles' Creed, "I believe the holy catholic church", professes that the church is catholic or universal, which is linked with ecumenical (Küng, 1968:303). It is therefore imperative to be catholic and ecumenical.

Since the sixteenth century Reformation, the Protestant Church's division into plural denominations has obscured the doctrine of unity and catholicity. In so far as they were churches of Christ, even though they were divided, they could remain catholic invisibly, as Luther (Schaff, 1990c:930) would have changed the holy catholic church to the holy *Christian* church.

However, in the postmodern situation of today, the state of affairs has become more complex than at the Reformation. Even in Protestantism, innumerable denominations and theological differences reflect plurality and even ambiguity¹⁴⁵. Plurality or diversity is to be respected in so far as sharing in the invisible unity in Christ, but ambiguity literally means to be able to include non-biblical or heretical elements and to function as an obstacle to unity.

The majority of the PCK, as conservative Reformed Churches, may often face the dilemma of how to associate with other churches. The Reformed PCK should not lose focus on the catholic and ecumenical aspect of the church. To be catholic and ecumenical in diverse and ambiguous times, on the one hand they need to be active

¹⁴⁵ The terms are from the title of David Tracy's book "Plurality and Ambiguity" (1987). Dirk J. Smit (2009:295) also uses them in a title of his essay, "Confessing as gathering the fragments? On the Reformed way of dealing with plurality and ambiguity".

in ecumenical association with diverse churches, and on the other hand they need to be very careful in discerning heretic or false thoughts. Therefore, as discussed in 4.3.5.2., this thesis basically suggests taking ambivalent attitudes, viz., “**critical participation (membership)**”, to participate in and co-operate with ecumenical bodies actively on the one hand, and on the other hand criticise sternly from within when crucial non-biblical points are found. Conservative evangelical circles such as the conservative PCK tend to be careful about participating in ecumenical bodies if some points different from their positions are found. Such a perspective is in part right but could miss much valuable diverse graces in Christ and could lend itself to sectarianism or isolationism, which could be a schismatic factor. Truth and love, where love is also another truth, go together. Likewise ecumenical and Reformed, where both of them are truth, should go together. The conservative PCK and its leading figures in particular are encouraged to open their minds to other differing perspectives in the present time of diversity.

This thesis suggests that as a general ecumenical method, the manifestation of unity and catholicity¹⁴⁶ could be categorised into four differing levels as its road map.

Firstly, the **Presbyterian family** of churches with the same confession of faith and the same form of government, should reunite to be the United Presbyterian Church as one denomination. The ecumenical effort to reach this goal is being undertaken by the Council of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (CPCK). They are all of one family sharing the Westminster Standards.

Secondly, the **Reformed family** of Churches, including the Presbyterian and the Congregational Churches sharing Calvin’s traditions, could unite into a United Reformed Church as one denomination. The World Communion of Reformed

¹⁴⁶ Refer to the article 8 (WARC, 1997:162) of “Who are we called to be? The identity of the Alliance”: “We retain, nonetheless, the historic WARC emphasis on ① the unity of the Reformed family, ② the unity of the broader Christian church, and ③ the solidarity of the human family in the context of the whole creation”. Also refer to Erickson (2013:1011-2): ① spiritual unity, ② mutual recognition and fellowship, ③ conciliar unity, and ④ organic unity.

Churches (WCRC) as an ecumenical movement, in which five Presbyterian Churches of Korea have membership, has been making an effort in this direction. They are all one family sharing and recognising the Westminster Confession of Faith and the three Forms of Unity under the influence of John Calvin. In 1925 the United Church of Canada was formed as the union of Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists. In the twentieth century the Church of South India was formed from the union of Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists and Anglicans (cf. Erickson, 1985: 1136-7; 2013:1012).

Thirdly, the **Christian family** of churches confessing Jesus Christ as the Lord and Saviour, with the Apostles' Creed as their creed, could attain various kinds of visible unity: union into one denomination (organic unity), ecumenical council or communion or association (conciliar unity), or mutual co-operation and fellowship for the work of the gospel and social responsibility. They are all one family confessing the Apostles' Creed in common under the Saviour, Jesus Christ. The World Council of Churches' activity and structure show that it is almost doing in this direction¹⁴⁷. Ultimately it is hoped that all churches of Christ, including the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, will grow up and be spiritually mature enough to attain visible unity and catholicity through the guidance and work of the Holy Spirit.

Fourthly, **one universal family** of God's creation in the universe should be acknowledged. This category reaches beyond Christianity. But the command of God is to minister toward the world: Christians should love their neighbours, serve and co-operate with other religions and humanitarian organisations seeking human peace and justice in the world, and should make efforts to let all human races know and believe in the Triune God, to care for his creation and its salvation. The word

¹⁴⁷ One example is a historic joint document on ethics of Christian Mission, "Christian witness in a multi-religious world: recommendations for conduct" released in January 2011, which is the result of a five-year collaboration of the World Council of Churches (WCC), the World Evangelical Alliance (WEA) and the Vatican's Pontifical Council on Inter-religious Dialogue (PCID) (Refer to the WCC homepage <https://www.oikoumene.org>; and the WEA homepage <http://www.worldea.org>).

“universe” in Chinese means “house”. As it were, all human races live in one house, the universe. They have all been created by God and should be the object of the Christian love of their neighbours. The WCC seems to try to engage even in this category of work. The unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the church are related to human peace and justice in the world, and to the unity of the universe as revealed in Ephesians 1:10, “to bring all things in heaven and on earth together under one head, even Christ”.

It is not suggested that a new church denomination and a new ecumenical body or council be organised alongside the existing ones, because this will be another schismatic action.

Local churches can make various efforts to co-operate with other local churches. For example, on special occasions, joint worship services, administration of the Lord’s Supper, spiritual revival conferences and seminars can help in common spiritual growth unto unity in the same region so that they can say to God, “We come together before you”. Christian fellowship with brotherly love can extend to common sports days, Christian music concerts and cooperation in various diaconal works and activities, etc.

A church has many things to plan, decide and implement within its own denomination and in relation with national and international ecumenical bodies, in very complex situations. The ecumenical efforts of the WCRC¹⁴⁸ and the WCC have

¹⁴⁸ The history of the World Alliance of the Reformed Churches is evidence of ecumenical achievements: ‘The Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the world holding the Presbyterian System’ was founded in 1875. In 1970 it merged with the ‘International Congregational Council’, which was founded in 1891, into the ‘World Alliance of Reformed Churches’ (Reamonn, 1999:28-31). The WARC and the ‘Reformed Ecumenical Council’ (REC), which was formed in 1946, united into the ‘World Communion of Reformed Churches’ (WCRC) in 2010 (WARC 2009:7-17). Regarding the history of the World Communion of Reformed Churches, see its homepage,

led to many striking achievements. Joint dialogue and conversation by a special task force, with regular meetings, are considered good methods to attain agreement and unity. In any circumstances, it is absolutely necessary to meet with each other for mutual recognition and fellowship in Christ, without any rivalry or enmity. It is regarded as the beginning of the manifestation of the church's unity and catholicity.

Therefore, the PCK needs to have the foregoing and following ecumenical convictions:

In the process of dialogue they have to maintain their own identity as long as they consider it the most appropriate. Simultaneously they should not adopt an arrogant attitude to their counterpart churches as if they are the best. All are imperfect. Thus, to be catholic needs to be humble and sincere to achieve mutual recognition and fellowship, and to open their hearts and listen humbly with long patience to the truth in the counterpart's perspective. Hasty conclusions or prejudice should be avoided. When each party understands the strong and weak points of their respective perspectives, they might reach agreement or agree on the necessity for continuing talk to attain unity. This attitude is well expressed in Calvin's letter to Bucer, "genuine agreement had to lead beyond the positions in the dispute; both partners had to be able to recognize themselves in the consensus, but neither should emerge as winner. Only a new formulation could bring about a lasting agreement" (Vischer, 2007:38).

For the conservative PCK, if it has confidence in its theology and identity, it does not

<http://warc.ch/history>. The WARC has been involved in bilateral dialogues: Reformed – Roman Catholic, Reformed – Orthodox, Reformed – Oriental Orthodox, Reformed – Pentecostal, and Reformed – Anglican Dialogues (WARC,1997:40-4). A more striking result is a joint meeting between Reformeds - Lutherans: "Communion: On Being the Church: Report of the Lutheran—Reformed Commission between the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the World Communion of Reformed Churches (WCRC), 2006—2012", see LWF's homepage <https://www.lutheranworld.org>.

have to worry about the possible influence of other churches that seem to be suspicious. God will lead the PCK and in all things work for the good of those who love God (cf. Ro. 8:28) and who sincerely and humbly desire the unity and growth of the universal church. The PCK should have an ecumenical conviction in the word of God that He will work for the good in all things, including the ecumenical dialogue. The PCK should firmly keep its own conservative, Reformed theology and identity coupled with a humble attitude to counterparts.

It is important to rely on and follow the guidance of the Holy Spirit. While the church is led by the Holy Spirit, the church is never static as if it is dead. Even the Roman Catholic Church can reform its heretic doctrines according to Reformed theology¹⁴⁹. As is well known, the Second Vatican Council (1962 - 1965) adopted small reforms in its mass and in relation to the Protestant churches, though not fundamentally and satisfactorily in the Reformed view. Likewise, the WCC is not as dangerous to the PCK as the PCK believes it is¹⁵⁰. In the enormous organisation of the WCC in which 345 churches¹⁵¹ (as of July 2015) are members, there might be 345 voices on an issue. Therefore the WCC Assembly cannot easily come an agreement. It can take years to reach agreement. Most documents that the conservative circle in the PCK is attacking as non-biblical might be products of committees under the WCC that have not yet been adopted as official documents in the GA of the WCC, or might still be in circulation among the member churches. For a conservative group, there are uncomfortable theological thoughts within the WCC, but in its system, which is not

¹⁴⁹ A Catholic theologian, Hans Küng shows nothing less than Reformed theology, ecclesiology, in his "The Church" and "Infallible? An inquiry". He criticised his own church on papal infallibility and was therefore dismissed from the Roman Catholic Theological Faculty at the University of Tübingen in 1979 (Carey 1980:791-796).

¹⁵⁰ Refer to Report (Kinnamon, 1997:482) of "Consultation on Orthodox Involvement in the WCC, Sofia, 1981". As the representatives of the Orthodox Church rejected any idea of compromise in the faith, the Central Committee of the WCC, meeting in Toronto (1950), declared: "No Church need fear that by entering into the World Council it is in danger of denying its heritage".

¹⁵¹ For the WCC member churches, see <https://www.oikoumene.org/en/member-churches>.

compelling¹⁵², any church can deny any document that is unacceptable and contradictory to biblical teaching. Conservative and Reformed churches can freely and honestly represent their perspectives, relying on the Holy Spirit. At the Ecumenical Convocation at Princeton Seminary in 1996, Jane D. Douglass said (Abdul-Mohan, 2010:12).

“We are not at liberty to select only those partners with whom we are comfortable and with whom we find the greatest agreement. Rather, we are called to ecumenical engagement with all those companions in our pilgrimage whom God has called to accompany us. We cannot know precisely what form and shape our life together may take, since we believe the Holy Spirit is continually at work among us, making all things new. We undertake this engagement in search for unity, in penitence for our wounding the body of Christ, and in obedience to the call of the Spirit”.

In time the PCK and other churches will grow into maturity to the measure of Christ's fullness. The Holy Spirit will lead the PCK and other churches to the unchangeable truth in love forever, building up the catholic or universal church.

The traditional conservative theological group's role should not be neglected in any dialogue, but rather be recognised in the church. Although tradition is not always correct, the traditional orthodox faith about the fundamental truth and the uniqueness of the profound mystery of the gospel of the risen Christ should be preserved. To keep each church's own tradition with its long history, aside from other theological problematic matters, seems to be honourable, dignified and beautiful as shown in the long historical heritages of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Orthodox Church. How much more glorious it will be to conserve whatever is true, noble, right, pure, lovely, admirable, quoting from Paul's saying,

“Finally, brothers, whatever is true, whatever is noble, whatever is right, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is admirable, if anything is excellent or praiseworthy, think about such things” (Php. 4:8).

¹⁵² William C. Ingle-Gillis (2007:33) states, “membership [of the WCC] does not imply the Council [WCC] may make decisions or proclaim doctrines on behalf of the Churches, nor that the Churches must abide by the Council statements”, in his *The Trinity and Ecumenical church thought: the church-event*.

On the other hand, some new, modern, progressive perspectives have their own value in opening new horizons. This thesis wants to stand in the conservative line, and to help the conservative group to rethink new, unfamiliar truths and methods. While conservative groups in Korea insist on the proclamation of the gospel with its focus on individual salvation, progressive groups are more concerned about social justice, human rights and the like, as Christian ethical responsibility. The conservative and the progressive positions can help each other to mitigate their weaknesses. That is the richness of diversity.

The PCK should explicitly declare its position to be catholic and ecumenical, understand the others' different perspective and recognise that both are companions in the same pilgrimage based on mutual love, growth and maturity, which is really important in the era of diversity and plurality.

(2) World mission

The catholic or ecumenical church is closely related to world mission, the great commission Christ gave his disciples "Go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation" (Mk. 16:15). Through world mission the church can promote its catholicity and ecumenicity.

The Korean Church, which was originally planted by foreign missionaries who had been sent, is now sending missionaries to countries all over the world. In the world, the Korean Church is ranked second after the United States in the number of missionaries sent to other countries. Even on the African continent, Korean missionaries are working in almost all countries, and the Korean churches for Korean immigrants in diaspora have been established in almost every country. It is said that wherever a Korean goes there is a Korean church. Since 2002 the "Korean Missionary Fellowship in Central and Southern Africa" (KOMICSA) has been formed with about 200 Korean missionary families working in 11 countries: South Africa, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Madagascar,

Angola, Malawi and Zambia. The “Association of Korean Churches in Southern Africa” was also formed in 2010. Currently (2015) there are six Korean community churches and one Korean Roman Catholic Church in the Gauteng Province. Among those churches there are also schisms. Korean missionaries have built and co-operated with many local churches for indigenous Africans in among others Mamelodi, Nellmapius, Soshanguve and Hamnaskraal.

Remarkable mission work is done by the PCK and Korean missionaries. One example is the missionary Kim Chong Yang of the African Continent Mission (ACM). He started the Immanuel International Bible College for African ministers’ education in Badplaas, Mpumalanga, South Africa in 1999, the Saim Christian High School¹⁵³ in Mbabane, Swaziland in 2003, and the Swaziland Christian [Medical and IT] University¹⁵⁴ in 2013. According to his mission report sent to Korea, he aims at the establishment of 500 church buildings on the African continent and has already completed around 400 church buildings. He has also been operating a variety of projects: medical clinics, an orphanage for AIDS patients’ children, a prayer mountain, mission farming and similar projects in South Africa, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia, Malawi and Congo.

Another mission is the Myung Sung Presbyterian Church¹⁵⁵. The Myung Sung Church¹⁵⁶, which was established by Kim Sam Hwan on the eastern outskirts of Seoul in 1980 and became famous for its dawn prayer meetings as the key cause of

¹⁵³ A student of Saim Christian High School, Ndwandwe, received the Cambridge Outstanding Learner Award in Food and Nutrition, the best Food and Nutrition pupil in the world under the Cambridge International General Certificate (IGCSE) class of 2012. See “Times of Swaziland” <http://www.times.co.sz/news/95217-saim-high-head-teacher%E2%80%99s-company-supplies-school.html>, dated 28 January 2014.

¹⁵⁴ The Swaziland Christian University opened its Health Sciences Department (Nursing, Pharmacy, Medical Laboratory Science, Radiography, Psychology) since August 2013 (information obtained from direct visitation on July 2014).

¹⁵⁵ Myung Sung Presbyterian Church; its head pastor, Kim Sam Hwan, who played a major role in holding the 10th Pusan Assembly of the WCC, is very passionate about church union and world mission, supporting over 200 missionaries.

¹⁵⁶ See Myung Sung Presbyterian Church homepage <http://www.msch.or.kr> (but only in the Korean language).

its church growth, established a general hospital, Myung Sung Christian Medical Centre¹⁵⁷ (MCM) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in November 2004, and started the Myung Sung Medical College¹⁵⁸ in 2012. The Myung Sung Church also has huge projects in Pakistan, Cambodia and Philippines, and supports 359 missionaries and helps 102 poor local churches financially.

As the Presbyterian missionaries of the four Missions from the PCUSA, PCUS, PCA and PCC began 130 years ago to establish churches, schools and hospitals to bring the gospel of Christ to Korea, so the PCK has started to send missionaries since the start of the first Presbytery in 1907, and the Korean missionaries are doing the same work. The PCK gives back to others what it was taught and given in their apostolic mission.

However, in spite of these great achievements, there are many problems, not only in the mission strategy of the whole Korean Church, but also in the mission work in the mission fields. One problem that was already recognised even in the WARC during the late twentieth century, is that agreement among missionary societies is insufficient. Different Reformed (Presbyterian) Churches were founded without fellowship among themselves, even in countries and regions where Reformed Churches had already been founded. The WARC posed the following question (1997:157):

“4,000 Korean missionaries are active today in well over 100 countries. How will these new missionary movements affect the common witness and fellowship of Reformed churches?”

This problem should be solved urgently by the management of the United PCK, because the more actively the mission work is undertaken, the greater the disunity among the Reformed churches in the mission fields. The early history of the Korean

¹⁵⁷ See Myung Sung Christian Medical Centre homepage <http://www.mcmet.org>.

¹⁵⁸ See Myung Sung Medical College homepage <http://mmc-edu.net>.

Church was that of union between four Presbyterian Missions, and between Presbyterians and Methodists. The United PCK as the comprehensive control tower needs to take it seriously to find a proper solution so that the world missionary work will not foster disunity on the mission fields.

In the 21st century it is hoped that the United PCK, as the reforming catholic ecumenical church, will take the initiative in world mission as the great commission of Christ until Christ comes again. At the same time, the mission work should be done in co-operation with other mission societies, Reformed Churches, other denominations and missionaries to promote the unity of the church.

(3) Confessional, Apostolic Church

The PCK is Presbyterian in the Reformed tradition. As Smit (2010:137) states: “the Reformed tradition has always been a confessional tradition”. The Reformed Churches had a distinctive “confessional” character from the outset, with each church’s own confessional document¹⁵⁹, in comparison to the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox and the Lutheran Churches. This situation indicates “a plurality of confessional documents” and therefore “a plurality of views on the nature of such documents” (Smit, 2010:139; 2011b:317, cf. Naude, 2014:35).

Most Reformed theologians consider the confessions of the Reformed tradition as having “relative, temporal, derived” authority of a “revisable” nature (Smit, 2010:140; cf. Barth, 2002:38; Strauss, 2005:153).

Smit (2010:149-159) attempts to answer the hypothetical question of “whether it would not have been better for the unity of the church if the Reformed tradition only had one confession, or at least one corpus of generally accepted, authoritative confessions?” He assumes that the plurality of Reformed confessions can be as the

¹⁵⁹ Refer to 2.2.2., Switzerland (the second Helvetic Confession: 1566), Germany (Heidelberg Catechism: 1563), France (The Gallican Confession: 1559), the Netherlands (The Belgic Confession: 1561; The Canons of Dort: 1619), Scotland and England (the Scotch Confession: 1560; the Westminster Confession: 1647).

reason for their lack of unity. His investigation of historical attempts to formulate one universal Reformed confession like the corpus of *Book of Concord* (1580) in the Lutheran tradition yielded a negative answer, especially in view of the failure of the WARC's efforts from the late 19th century until the early 20th century and Barth's radical denial (1925): "one common confession is neither necessary nor possible". To put Smit's (2009:303-6; 2010:153) conclusion briefly, while the confessions of the Reformed tradition often contributed to visible unity in many ways, sometimes in particular contexts they were seen and used in ways that did contribute to disunity.

Regardless of the negative result concerning one universal Reformed confession, according to Smit (2010:153), the reason why the Reformed tradition is confessional is that "it does not found the visible unity of the church on anything else but the truth of the gospel, the message of the sola Scriptura, the Lordship of Jesus Christ" and "the confessions are historical and contextual expressions of the many ways in which particular communities heard this word in their own struggles for unity and obedience in faith and in life". Barth (2002:20) also states similarly, "[Reformed confessions] bear the marks of the occasional, of relatedness to a specific time and situation, of the unique".

It is worth noting that when the WARC considered the possibility of consensus among churches of the Reformed tradition, Philip Schaff suggested three ways to formulate it: ① "by a mere list of doctrines, or an index of the chief heads of doctrine on which agreement is desired"; ② "by a historical statement, a brief summary of the common doctrines of the old confessions, without additions or changes"; and ③ "by a new ecumenical Reformed Confession". Although his suggestion did not bear any fruit, Schaff favoured the third one (Sell, 1991:72; Mateus, 2005:61).

Historically the PCK has been confessing the Apostles' Creed and adopting the

Twelve Articles of Faith and the Westminster Standards as its official confessional documents. Therefore the PCK can be said to be confessional¹⁶⁰ to some degree. This creed and these confessions were adopted without any special amendment of their contents, without accommodating the specific Korean context in its formulation. Only the Tong Hap and the Ki Jang Churches formulated their own statements of faith. Since the PCK has not experienced a so-called state of confession, *status confessionis*, except about Shintoism under Japanese occupation, it seems that the conservative circles of the PCK have not keenly felt the necessity of a new Reformed confession of faith for the specific Korean time and situation. The use of the creed and confession looks ambiguous in a situation where some theological disputes can be resolved by appealing directly to the Bible, while the creed and confession will be used in creedal education in theological schools and local churches.

Now that the PCK family is adopting the same doctrinal standards, it has consensus to unite all of the PCK family under the United PCK as a federation. Only a difference in using the WCF among them is on whether to adopt the original 1647 version or the 1903 version revised by the PCUSA.

Strauss¹⁶¹ (2005:156) suggests that “a balanced relationship between confession, context and ecumenics will give rise to a healthy Reformed theology”. In the context of serious disunity in the PCK, the time is ripe to consider the confessional documents as an instrument of visible unity, whether to revise them or to formulate a new one.

The confessional character of the church is related to the apostolicity of the church that can be found in Ephesians 2:20, [the church is] "built upon the foundation of the

¹⁶⁰ Refer to Heyns (1980:148), “The fact that the church has a confession and that in all its activities it is determined by this confession results in the church’s confessional character”.

¹⁶¹ Strauss (2005) contributed an article to the journal *Acta Theologica* with the title, “*Reformed theology for the 21st century: confessional, contextual and ecumenical*”, as a review of two volumes of Reformed Theology: ‘*Toward the future of Reformed Theology, task, topics, traditions*’ (Willis & Welker, 1999); ‘*Reformed Theology, Identity and Ecumenicity*’ (Alston & Welker, 2003).

apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the chief cornerstone." The foundation of the apostles and prophets points to the truth of the Holy Scriptures, which witness to the crucified and risen Jesus Christ. The church is apostolic because it is founded on, preached and taught by the Apostles, who were direct witnesses of the gospel of the crucified and risen Christ. In this sense the apostolicity generally implies a direct link between the witness message of the apostles of Christ and the church, that is, historical continuity with the witness of the apostles, their origin, message, mission and ministry (Küng, 1968:345; Heyns, 1980:144; Spykman, 1992:450). If the apostles' message is still here and now preached and heard in a congregation or denomination, that church is apostolic. As ambassadors or missionaries sent and authorised by Christ, the apostles had the task to preach the gospel, to found and to lead the church, to baptise and celebrate the Lord's Supper, and to exercise church discipline (Küng, 1968:352). Even though there is today no apostle in the sense of a direct witness of the crucified and risen Lord Christ, and such an apostleship cannot be repeated, Jesus continues his mission given to the original apostles through every believer (cf. 1 Pe. 2:9). Today pastors and missionaries are doing apostolic work in a narrow sense through their ministries, but all those who obey and follow the apostles are apostles through whom Christ works (cf. 2 Co. 5:17-20). Küng (1968:355) says that the whole church is the follower of the apostles and the successor of the apostles in obedience, and that is why the church is apostolic.

At any rate, the United PCK would do well to take Schaff's ideas into consideration so that the new ecumenical Reformed Confession may represent its Reformed, ecumenical (catholic), and confessional (apostolic) ecclesiology.

(4) Holy church

The holiness of the church is related to its unity and catholicity, but is a different theme to be dealt with separately.

The church of God, as God's people, is a holy temple where God dwells and acts

through the Holy Spirit (refer to 2.1.2.3; Eph. 2:19, 21-22; see 1 Co. 3:16). The holiness of the church is grounded in God himself (Berkouwer, 1976:319; Heyns, 1980:128). The church is possessed by and dedicated to God, and that is why the church is holy according to the original meaning of holiness. In the OT and NT, it is heard that “You shall be holy because I the Lord your God am holy” (Lev. 19:2; 1 Pe. 1:16), where the indicative, “I your God am holy” becomes the imperative, “you shall be holy”. The holiness of the church is a divine grace and a human task given to be a process of sanctification to the corporate congregation and should go together with unity on the ground of maturity.

Nowadays, many say that the Korean Church is corrupt like the sixteenth century Roman Catholic Church and that it is time to reform the Korean Church. It is true that the PCK as well as other denominations urgently need to restore the social credibility of its pastors, church and members. The growth tendency of the church began to decline in the late twentieth century and does not show any signs of recovery. The Korean Church on the whole is blamed from inside and outside the church, not without reason.

Without holiness, unity and catholicity cannot stand alone. They should go together, because Christ Jesus is our righteousness, holiness and redemption (1 Co. 1:30). The first important reason for social discredit of the church, pastors and members is blamed on the pastors, the church leaders, because of the pastors’ corruption and secularization in many respects. Predecessors emphatically warned junior pastors to be very careful during their pastoral ministry of three kinds of temptation: money, women and authority, so that they might not fall or fail. As the size of churches increases, such temptations definitely follow leading pastors of the bigger churches. It is a side effect of church growth. It is feared that the Korean Church is in so serious and complicated disorders and troubles that it might find difficult to be resolve by itself.

Pastors should emphasise a life of sanctification as well as of justification by faith, do

introspection and first apply the message of sanctification to themselves before teaching it to other believers. Pastors should be aware that the reason for the discredit of the Korean Church and disgrace to God is first of all their conduct. As the reforming holy church, the United PCK and its pastors should repent of their sins and accept joint responsibility for being purified and sanctified. The United PCK and its pastors should change themselves to continue to grow in maturity and love by asking God how to live with and before God, led by the Holy Spirit to reflect the body of Christ in their daily lives. When that happens, the new reforming era of the United PCK may have come.

5.2. Unification of South Korea and North Korea

It is well-known that Korea is a nation divided into South and North. Korea is a very small, weak country located in Far Eastern Asia, surrounded by powerful nations such as Japan, China and Russia. Historically, Korea has often been invaded and has suffered under neighbouring powers. Koreans are a people of sorrow.

China had been long involved in the government of Korea until just before the introduction of the gospel to Korea in the late nineteenth century. Japan, with strengthened military power after the Meiji Restoration (1868), annexed Korea from 1910 until the end of World War II in 1945.

The joy of liberation (1945) from Japan was short and another tragic division by Russia and the United States resulted in the formation of South and North Korea. In 1950, when the Korean Civil War started after North Korea's invasion, the same people, brothers and sisters, killed one another until the 1953 Armistice Agreement, which was not the end of the war. Even now it is a tragedy that Korea is still in division, with many separated and sad families.

South Korea achieved remarkably rapid development in industry, technology and economic growth with Samsung and LG electronics, Hyundai and KIA motors, etc. In contrast, North Korea has remained much poorer than South Korea economically¹⁶² since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of support from the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. It has been controlled by the dictatorship of a clan of three Kims: Kim Jong Un, successor of Kim Jung Il, his father, and Kim Il Sung, his grandfather, through three generations.

There are many Christian churches in South Korea, with the largest numbers of attending church members in the world. Moreover, the Korean Church ranks second in the world in the number of missionaries sent to foreign countries. The Korean Church that received the gospel 130 years ago has now changed to a sending church, sending missionaries across the world.

On the contrary, North Korea is known as one of the countries in the world that persecutes Christians as political criminals. Oral testimonies¹⁶³ indicate that there are secret underground Christians in North Korea, but publicly there are only churches like Bong Su Church and the Christian organization for the sake of propaganda to impress foreign visitors. They have to pretend to have freedom of religion and to offer worship service with rent-a-crowd under thorough watch of the government, only when visitors come.

Although the National Council of Churches in Korea (NCCCK) and the WCC keep contact with government-controlled churches in North Korea, it is uncertain how effective their effort and support are for the rebuilding of the church in North Korea in the absence of religious freedom and severe persecution of Christians.

¹⁶² Refer to “Economy in North Korea”, Wikipedia, available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_North_Korea: “North Korea had a higher per capita income than South Korea in the 1970s, by 2006 its per capita income was estimated to be only \$1108, one seventeenth that of South Korea”.

¹⁶³ Refer to website of Open Doors UK, http://www.opendoorsuk.org/persecution/worldwatch/north_korea.php.

The unification of Korea is an important prayer of the Korean Church. Korea really should, and wants to be unified into one nation. In the 21st century unity or unification is great theme and hope of both the government and the church of Korea. Just as the German church prayed for the destruction of the Berlin Wall through continual common prayers on Mondays at Leipzig, so the Korean Church should be praying for peaceful unification. South Korea should take the initiative and responsibility of supplying in financial need to restore North Korea, just as West Germany did in the past. However, it is seen as impossible for the PCK to play such a role unless it can restore unity within itself. In a sense the unification of Korea depends upon the PCK, which has about 75% of members of all Korean Churches, because the Lord of history will not allow the unification of the Korean people if they cannot reconcile but fight each other all the time. In the PCK, the hope of the unification of Korea will be achievable only when the PCK reunites.

Some Christians and churches have long been praying for the unification of Korea to rebuild the destroyed church of North Korea. There are ordained pastors and theologians with doctorates more than needs in South Korea. Ironically, since the late twentieth century the number of Christians has decreased, but the number of pastors has increased. Unification can solve the overflowing spiritual resources in South Korea. Since God wants all men to be saved (cf. 1 Ti. 2:4), it is believed that God will let the people of North Korea hear the gospel of salvation. It is prayed that God will lead the PCK and the Korean people to unification. The common prayer of the PCK is that the next generation will live in unity, peace, reconciliation, and love in a United Presbyterian Church and a unified Korea. The unification of Korea as a national mission should be the mission of a United PCK as well. Therefore, the United PCK should have a vision for the evangelisation of North Korea to restore the past glory of Pyeng Yang, the Jerusalem of Korea where the Presbyterian Theological Seminary was at the centre of the Korean Presbyterian Church and the 1907 great spiritual awakening occurred.

Just as the 20th century was called the age of the church for the Western churches,

so the 21st century should be for the PCK. Therefore the PCK needs to have the vision and task to play an influential role in opening the era of the union of the PCK and the era of the unification of Korea.

5.3. Summary

This chapter suggested some measures to maintain and promote the unity and catholicity of the PCK for the future.

In section 5.1.1 a new term, “mature ecclesiology”, is introduced as a solution for the “weak ecclesiology” and “weak sense of unity” of the youngish PCK. Mature ecclesiology has three aspects: a well-balanced unity between theoretical principles and practical principles, progressive individual and corporate growing unto Christlike maturity, and mature servanthip and leadership in serving one another with Christ-given gifts for the building up of the church.

In section 5.1.2, four aspects are suggested for a reforming United PCK: a catholic (ecumenical) church, world mission, a confessional (apostolic) church, and a holy church. The catholic church should have the proposed critical participation (membership) and the four family stages of the ecumenical method: the Presbyterian family, the Reformed family, the Christian family, and the one universal family.

The PCK needs to have ecumenical convictions when considering the ecumenical achievements of the WARC and the WCC through joint dialogue and regular meetings. One is that its conservative Reformed theology and identity should be kept to firmly in a humble attitude. Then the Holy Spirit will lead them to unity in truth and love. The other is that the PCK does not need to worry so much about the negative influence of ecumenical bodies, since the Holy Spirit will lead the PCK and other churches in their growth to maturity. With a view to world mission, it is hoped that the United PCK will play an important role in the great commission of Christ, and will co-operate with other mission societies to promote unity, not disunity. As for the

confessional aspect, the Westminster Confession of Faith is a common denominator, but the reforming United PCK should consider revising it or to formulating a new confession suitable for the Korean context to represent its Reformed, catholic (ecumenical), confessional (apostolic) and contextual aspects, as the PCK is becoming mature.

Concerning holiness, the PCK urgently needs to restore its social credibility. Especially pastors, the main reason for the discrediting of the Korean Church, should repent of their sins of corruption and secularisation. They should concentrate on their own sanctification and continue to grow in maturity.

In section 5.2, in the politically divided situation of Korea into South and North, its peaceful unification is presented as an earnest prayer and hope of the Korean people and the Korean Church. It is hoped that the PCK may play an important role in the unification of Korea and the rebuilding of the destroyed church of North Korea with spiritual and material resources. However, to do so the PCK should first of all stop its schisms and accomplish union within the PCK into a United PCK. Without the union of the PCK family, the unification of Korea is far from becoming a reality.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

6.1. An overview of the research

This research addressed the main problem of the current state of the church, the big gap between the basic doctrine of the unity of the church and the tragic reality of disunity in the Presbyterian Churches in Korea in particular and the Reformed family of Churches in general.

This problem raised four questions:

1. Is it unavoidable or even inherent to the Reformed family of Churches to experience division in the church on account of the nature of the Reformed theology, faith, thought and life?
2. Are there legitimate doctrinal or theological reasons or justification in the Bible for schisms in the church? Can arguments about invisible spiritual unity, doctrinal purity, division for diversity, or schism as God's will be justifiable?
3. Which efforts have been made and are being made to reform or restore the disunity of the Reformed Churches according to the Reformation principle, "the Reformed church is always reforming?"
4. What will be the right solutions and right attitudes to worldwide ecumenical bodies, for example, to the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the World Communion of Reformed Churches (WCRC), to maintain the unity and catholicity of the PCK in particular and the Reformed family or all Christian churches in general?

The purpose of this research was to affirm and understand the Reformed ecclesiology in relation to the unity and catholicity of the church, to assess the

ecclesiology and the unity and catholicity of the PCK from an ecumenical Reformed perspective, to find an adequate solution to the serious disunity in the PCK, and to propose a solution to strengthen and promote the unity and catholicity of the PCK in particular and of the Reformed family of Churches in general.

The hypothesis of this research is that the Presbyterian Churches in Korea have a weak ecclesiology and a weak sense of the unity and catholicity of the church. It sees these as the main reasons for their serious disunity, which is contrary to biblical teaching. The solution for this problem is adequate recognition and practice of a mature ecclesiology and a mature sense of the unity and catholicity of the church as exhorted by Paul in Ephesians 4:1-16 to strengthen and promote the unity and catholicity of the PCK in particular and of the Reformed family of Churches in general.

The scope of this research was narrowed down to the context of the PCK. The exegesis of Ephesians was focused on Eph. 2:11-22, 3:14-19 and 4:1-16. The historical investigation of the PCK was dealt with in a brief overview of the establishment of the first GA, the schisms in 1952, 1959, and 1979 and the aftermath of these major schisms. All the leading figures in each schism of the PCK were assessed.

The literature study of this thesis dealt with the exegesis of Ephesians, a review of the confessions of faith and Calvin's ecumenicity, to shape the criteria for the assessment. The historical investigation of the disunity and ecumenical efforts in the PCK was analysed and assessed by comparing the criteria and the historical reality. As a result, weak points were indicated and a solution for the weaknesses was proposed to be applied practically.

Chapter 2 dealt with the exegesis of Ephesians 2:11-22, 3:14-19, and 4:1-16 on the unity and catholicity of the church. While the shaping of the Reformed ecumenical

perspective on the unity and catholicity of the church in the two ecumenical creeds (the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed), the WCF and Calvin's *Institutes*. In this way the criteria for the assessment of the unity and catholicity in the PCK were established.

In chapter 3, the historical disunity among the Presbyterian Churches in Korea was investigated to understand the empirical reality of the PCK, its view on the unity and catholicity of the church and the causes of its schisms. It gave a brief overview of the history of the PCK from its birth to the foundation of its GA. The three schisms in the PCK were described: the Ko Shin Church's establishment (1952), the split between the Tong Hap Church and the Hap Dong Church (1959), and the many Gae Hyuk (Reformed) Churches (1979). The unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the leading figures who played a crucial role in each schism were assessed: Han Sang Dong of the Ko Shin Church, Park Hyung Ryong of the Hap Dong Church, and Jeong Gyu O of the Gae Hyuk Church.

Chapter 4 presented an analysis and assessment of the ecclesiology of the PCK and its attitude to the unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the church. In this way some of the factors that led to the disunity of the PCK were revealed. It analysed the ecclesiology of the PCK, its confessions of faith, ministry of the word and the sacraments, its ecumenical efforts and engagement with ecumenical bodies national and international. Some suggestions were made to improve and strengthen the Reformed ecclesiology, especially the unity and catholicity of the PCK.

In chapter 5, a few proposals for the future of the PCK were suggested by integrating the ideas derived from the study with a few more ideas. As a solution for the disunity of the PCK on account of its weak ecclesiology and weak sense of unity, a mature ecclesiology was proposed: well-balanced between theoretical and practical ways, the invisible one holy catholic church and the visible one holy catholic church. It entails progressive growing and upbuilding of the church into Christlike

maturity by serving one another in love with Christ-given gifts for maturity and the upbuilding the church. In this way, the PCK can reform to become the one, catholic, United PCK.

For a reforming United PCK, four aspects were suggested: it has to be catholic (ecumenical), confessional (apostolic), and holy, doing world mission. As the basic ecumenical strategy, four family stages were presented: the Presbyterian family, the Reformed family, the Christian family, and the one universal family of the Father (cf. Eph. 3:15).

In the politically divided situation of Korea into South and North, its peaceful unification was presented as an earnest prayer and hope of the Korean people and the Korean Church. It is hoped that the PCK may play an important role in the unification of Korea and the rebuilding of the destroyed church of North Korea with spiritual and material resources.

6.2. Answers to questions raised

This research does not give final solutions to the four questions raised in the problem statement, but it has attempted to give an answer to each question as follows:

Question 1. “Is it unavoidable or even inherent to the Reformed family of Churches to experience a division of the church as the result of the nature of Reformed theology, faith, thought and life?”

Answer 1. The Reformed family of Churches and the Presbyterian Churches in Korea in particular, strongly hope to be faithful to the word of God, *Sola Scriptura*. This hope shapes their emphatic characteristics, viz. Reformed theology, doctrines,

identity, tradition and faith to be confessional and holy (pure). This is a strong point and a praiseworthy tradition of the Reformed Churches and should be adhered to firmly until Jesus comes again. The problem, however, emerges when they emphasise the importance of a certain doctrine and consequently downgrade another, viz. the doctrine of unity. The doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church is based on the truth of God's love that enables and demands love among believers: Christ died for me, saves me through his sacrificial atoning death, calls me to his body, upbuilds me together with other Christians into a holy dwelling place of God, and calls for a life worthy of his calling to unity, service and maturity. The seven graces given in Ephesians 4:2-3 describe the way for Christians to attain to God's calling to unity, service and maturity among believers. It is explained in 1 Co. 13, and in Gal. 5:22-23 as the fruit of the Holy Spirit. Jesus' new command to his followers (Jn. 13:34-35), "Love one another as I have loved you", demands the seven graces. The church is a community of love that is founded on Christ's love through his blood on the cross and should be shared, filled and demonstrated by Christians to the measure of all the fullness of God. When Paul prays (Eph. 3:16-17), it is said that "the love of Christ surpasses knowledge". This means that the knowledge of Christ's love is more important than any other knowledge, whether it is some biblical doctrine or human scientific philosophy. When he exhorts the Ephesians to maturity, he insists (Eph. 4:15) on "speaking the truth in (or with) love". *Sola Scriptura* should emphasise the basic truth of love. Any emphasis on a truth without the practice of love is not biblical but schismatic if it is one-sidedly emphasised with blame, arrogance, or spiritual superiority against the other party. When the conservative Reformed groups insist that a doctrine should be kept in their view even at the risk of their lives because it is essentially important and when they judge that another's doctrine is completely wrong, the seven graces full of "love for one another" should be the guideline as long as the counterpart believes in Christ. If the leading figures or persons involved in the dispute are not mature enough to practise Jesus' command of love by practising the seven graces, they divide the body of Christ on account of their overemphasis on a doctrine (1 Co.13:2). By one-sided emphasis or

overemphasis of pure doctrine without the practice of mutual love in Christ, people become sectarians, separatists, the Pharisees (separatists) of today (cf. Mt. 23:1-28). Without true love and the practice of the seven graces in Ephesians 4:1-3, the emphasis on their specific doctrines by the Reformed groups, whether confessionals, ecumenicals, evangelicals, conservatives, holiness groups, whatever, can bring disunity in the church of Christ. The more they try to reform a less pure church without love and maturity, while insisting on pure doctrine, the more they will divide the church.

Question 2. “Are there any legitimate doctrinal or theological reasons or justification in the Bible for schisms in the church? Can arguments about invisible spiritual unity, doctrinal purity, division for diversity, or schism as God’s will be justifiable?”

Answer 2. The answer to these questions is negative. It is not possible to justify schisms in the church, which is the body of Christ. The Bible insists on the unity of the church in each place.

“Make every effort to the unity of the Spirit through the bond of peace” (Eph. 4:3);

“I plead with Euodia and I plead with Syntyche to agree with each other in the Lord” (Php. 4:2);

“I appeal to you, brothers, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree with one another so that there may be no divisions among you and that you may be perfectly united in mind and thought; Is Christ divided?” (1Co. 1:10; 13).

The separation between Abram and his nephew Lot (Gen. 13:1-12) when quarrelling arose between their herdsmen never implied disunity. Abram said, “Let’s not have any quarrelling between you and me, ... for we are brothers. If you go to the left, I’ll go to the right.”

There might probably be a reason for a Reformed Church to withdraw from its mother church. If the mother church expels it violently, there is no other way than to withdraw from it, as when Pope Leo X excommunicated Luther in January 1521. Even when a church is expelled, efforts must be made to reunite with the mother

church as it matures.

An invisible one church is no theological justification for disunity. When Jesus gave his new command of mutual love as he loved us and prayed for the unity of all believers, the reason for mutual love and unity was explicitly indicated when he said, “by this all men will know” (Jn. 13:35), “so that the world may believe” and “to let the world know” (Jn. 17:20-23). In the unity of believers, the world can see the visible loving unity among all believers. The idea of an invisible unity or a spiritual unity cannot be a legitimate reason for disunity. The invisible unity or spiritual unity of the church in Christ should be manifested visibly.

Diversity cannot justify a schismatic division. It is biblical that every member of Christ receives a different gift to serve the Lord and people (Eph. 4:7), and all members should do their work by growing in faith and love to build up the one body of Christ (Eph. 4:12). The grace Christ apportioned to each member is given to him or her to serve the whole body of Christ (Eph. 4:7). Biblical diversity presupposes the already achieved unity. The effort to achieve visible unity is never to make a new unity in diversity with no unity, but to maintain, manifest or demonstrate the existing unity in diverse ways.

Therefore, schism, division, split, or disunity in the church cannot find any theological justification, but is seen as evidence of a childish immaturity, a lack of brotherly love, a weak ecclesiology and a weak sense of unity, or of sinful human natures leading to secularisation or secular desires for ecclesiastical authority and power.

Question 3. “Which efforts have been made and are being made to reform or restore the disunity of the Reformed Churches according to the Reformation principle, ‘the church is always reforming?’”

Answer 3. A historical survey of the PCK showed that separated brother churches after schisms often attempted to reunite. Unfortunately, most of them failed soon after initial success. After repeated schisms and failures of reunion, the Gae Hyuk

Church's reunion with its mother church, the Hap Dong Church, succeeded. A Reformed pastor, Jeong Gyu O of the Gae Hyuk (Reformed) Church, who was one of the leading figures in the PCK and played a role in many schisms in 1959, 1979, 1981, 1986 and indirectly even in 2000, repented of his schismatic sins of the past and eagerly and humbly desired reunion. In 2005 his eager wish became dramatically true before his death. It was the result of an ecumenical effort that was made according to the principle "the reformed church is always reforming". It became a ray of hope to other Presbyterian Churches in Korea.

Many Presbyterian Churches in Korea are on the way to a United Presbyterian Church with a preliminary federation government where every denomination keeps its own existing structures, polity, government and constitution, but share a common constitution, which is in circulation at present. They aim ultimately to lead to the establishment of a United PCK. It is the result of reflections on the serious and shameful schisms into many denominations in the PCK and on the reforming perspective of Calvin's passionate ecumenical efforts and ecumenicity of which faithful Calvin followers boast.

Question 4. "What will be the right solutions and right attitudes to worldwide ecumenical bodies, for example, the World Council of Churches and the World Communion of Reformed Churches, to maintain the unity and catholicity of the PCK in particular and the Reformed family or all Christian churches in general?"

Answer 4. In the postmodern situation of diversity and ambiguity, "critical membership" is proposed as the right solution from a conservative ecumenical Reformed perspective. It is an ambivalent attitude: to participate actively in and to cooperate with ecumenical bodies on the one hand, and on the other hand to criticise sternly from within when crucially non-biblical points are found. This research proposed a guideline of four family categories as a general ecumenical method of the PCK:

1) The **Presbyterian family** of churches with the same confession of faith and the same form of government, should reunite to be one denomination, the United Presbyterian Church.

2) The **Reformed family** of Churches, including the Presbyterian and the Congregational Churches sharing Calvin's traditions, could unite into one denomination, called the United Reformed Church. The World Communion of Reformed Churches (WCRC) is one of the international ecumenical bodies in this category.

3) The **Christian family** of churches confessing Jesus Christ as the Lord and Saviour with the Apostles' Creed as their creed, could attain to various kinds of unity: union into one denomination (organic unity), ecumenical council or communion or association (conciliar unity), or mutual cooperation and fellowship for the work of the gospel and social responsibility. The WCC is moving in this direction.

4) The **one universal family of God's creation**. Even though this category reaches beyond Christianity, the command of God is to minister toward the world: Christians should love their neighbours, serve and cooperate with other religions and humanitarian organisations for human peace and justice in the world, and should make efforts to let all human races know and believe in the Triune God, to care for his creation and its salvation.

6.3. Contributory suggestions

This research offers some contributory suggestions to church leaders, especially (prospective) leading figures in the PCK in particular and the Reformed family of Churches in general as a result of an integrative reflection on the unity, catholicity and ecumenicity of the church. The leading figures should be highly appreciated in their tireless labour and great achievements for the churches and theological seminaries in the PCK. Their weaknesses shown at young, immature times should be assessed and pointed out as a flaw in a gem in view of the unity and catholicity of the church in this research.

A mature ecclesiology proposes the following suggestions to the PCK in particular to strengthen and promote its unity, catholicity and ecumenicity:

1. With reference to the Apostles' Creed, "the holy *catholic* church, the *communion* of saints" is to be translated into Korean to explicate the meanings of the terms "catholic" and "communion". [An example translated in Korean is that *세계의 모든 교회가 하나이며 거룩함을 믿으며, 성도의 공동체 안에서 함께 교제하는 것을 믿습니다.*]
2. As an ecumenical creed, the Nicene Creed professes more clearly than the Apostles' Creed, "the one holy catholic apostolic church". It is suggested that the PCK should teach and profess the Nicene Creed from time to time in the church and schools in addition to the Apostles' Creed.
3. The confession and education of the Apostles' Creed should never be neglected under the influence of a contemporary style in the Pentecostal Churches, but should continuously be emphasised and cherished.

4. It is suggested that the Twelve Articles of Faith as the traditional creed of the PCK should in some respects be revised for the new era in view of its specific necessity and values. This should include amendment of weak and inadequate articles in view of a Reformed identity for the PCK, especially on the one catholic church because at present it is in reality in serious disunity. Calvin's view on the regularity and meaning of the Lord's Supper should be followed to strengthen the unity and ecclesiology of the PCK. It must be practised in education and in the common confession in the worship service. It can be posted on boards so that all members may know what they believe.

5. It is necessary to review the WCF to amend some of its articles, including the article on the Pope (WCF, 25.6), and to consolidate continuous doctrinal and confessional education for church laymen at local churches as well as ministers at theological schools.

6. The traditional emphasis on the ministry of the word of God through the pure preaching and hearing of the word of God should be applied in real life. The pure gospel should not be distorted under the influence of modern liberal theologies or by the abuse of God's grace, by justifying wrong and crime. Pastors should repent of their ignorance, their neglect or disobedience of God's word, which is indicated in the serious disunity in the PCK and in pastors' moral corruption, secularisation and decrease in social reliability. They should dedicate themselves to sanctification as a whole lifetime process and preach the gospel of justification with sanctification through their own practice of it. The mature sense of the unity of the church is directly related to sanctification.

7. The baptismal, catechetical education to catechumens should be faithfully practised before and even after baptism. It must never be perfunctory or superficial.

8. The traditional practice of the Lord's Supper in the PCK lacks sufficient understanding of it as the visual word of God, compared to Calvin's view on it. The PCK should follow Calvin's thoughts and the WCF's teaching, not Zwingli's memorialism, on the spiritual presence of Christ as a real, spiritual, and mystical union with Christ with all the benefits and effects of participation in the Lord's Supper, especially visible mutual love and unity. The frequency of the Lord's Supper should be more than twice a year, at least four times or more.

9. All the Presbyterian Churches in Korea, having "Gae Hyuk" (Reformed or reforming) as the name of their denomination, should be ashamed of their ceaseless schisms, and should stop schisms. Their ecclesiastical leading figures should lay down all secular desires or ambitions, turn to God to serve God, the church, and the Kingdom of God. They should recognise and repent of the sin of their serious disunity and continuously endeavour to reunite with their separated brother churches with a mature ecclesiology and a mature sense of the unity and catholicity of the church.

10. All the Presbyterian Churches in Korea should actively join the current federal union effort into one United PCK that was initiated by the Council of the Presbyterian Churches in Korea.

11. All Christian churches in Korea should associate themselves with one organisation in conciliar fellowship and co-operation in view of one Council of Christian Churches in Korea.

12. It is hoped that a prospective United PCK will emphasise a mature ecclesiology and a mature sense of the unity and catholicity of the church, to grow into unity and maturity in the twenty first century with a new era for the ecclesiology of the PCK.

The following suggestions are integrated from proposals in each section.

Leading figure	Weak sense of unity	Suggestion to leading figures
Han SD of the Ko Shin Church	He wanted to isolate his Ko Shin party from the GA, Presbytery, and foreign Missions on account of his distrust, which indicates his weak sense of unity and catholicity.	Togetherness with people differing in thought and life, as the unity and catholicity of the church, demands to be practised in the way of the seven graces in Eph. 4:2-3, ultimately one grace of love. All are the objects of mutual love.
	Overemphasis on the holiness of the church downplayed its unity.	When there is tension between unity and holiness, it is best to keep to both holiness and unity by staying in the PCK and growing into maturity of the seven graces.
Park HR of the Hap Dong Church	His departure after six months' work at the Korea Theological Seminary unintentionally played a role in weakening the holiness of the PCK and the strength of the Ko Shin party in the PCK.	A leading figure's clarification of his personal position may affect most of his followers' decisions. Because of this, he should be aware of the impact of his hasty decisions and be very careful and considerate.
	His illegal expenditure of God's funds without following the lawful procedure caused his followers to factionalise and struggle for authority and power in the GA and the theological seminary.	A leading figure should take responsibility for his illegal conduct and confess it honestly and humbly. His achievements and illegal acts must be distinguished but not confused. Leading figures should avoid every kind of factionalism, ecclesiastical authoritarianism or power struggles.
Jeong GO of the Gae Hyuk Church	He chose the way of division to reform the church in theological and politically conflicting situations.	Leading figures should recognise that to maintain the church unity with mutual love is the best way to reform the church of Christ.

6.4. Recommendations for further research

The theme of the unity and catholicity of the church can be approached from various perspectives. Since this study was narrowed down to the context of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, there are other areas to be researched in more detail in relation to the unity of the church.

One of these is the union of different denominations.

The experiences of the United Church of Canada and the Church of South India are good examples to be studied. Real experience enables passionate ecumenists to learn practically significant lessons to reach the great goal of union of different churches. It is a wonder that it was possible to make this apparently impossible work happen.

Secondly, one area of interest is the church polity with reference to the form of church government, constitution, and ordination of pastors and elders. This issue, in a sense, is related to the previous one.

Thirdly, the issue of disciplining the leading pastors in a church is seen as a crucial factor in maintaining not only the pure church but also the one catholic church. Considering the significance of leading pastors' influence and the practical difficulty of their discipline, their theological falsehood and morally sinful conducts should be dealt with very seriously. Therefore disciplining them is highly necessary and an important issue to be examined further.

Fourthly, the World Council of Churches is definitely a core object of further research not to be overlooked. There are riches of diverse churches, theologies, thoughts, and documents in the WCC to be evaluated.

Much research needs to be done according to Paul's exhortation, "make every effort

to keep the unity of the Spirit”, with special emphasis on practically applicable principles.

6.5. Concluding remarks

According to the title of this research, “Unity and catholicity in the Korean Presbyterian Church: an ecumenical Reformed assessment”, this research affirmed the traditional doctrine of the unity and catholicity of the church, investigated the history of disunity among the Presbyterian Churches in Korea, assessed the leading figures who had played a role in the schisms in the PCK and the ecumenical efforts and achievements in the PCK, integrated all findings from the analysis and assessment, and enumerated contributory suggestions to the PCK in particular and the Reformed family of Churches in general.

The exegesis of Ephesians (2:11-22; 3:14-19; and 4:1-16) made it clear that a mature ecclesiology is a solution for the weak ecclesiology and weak sense of unity and catholicity in the young PCK, and the ecclesiology of Calvin and of the WCF supports this hypothesis. If the PCK, especially the leading figures, should practise the seven graces based on the theoretical sevenfold oneness of the church, the unity and catholicity of the PCK will be demonstrated visibly. It will not be easy to attain, but it is important to make every effort manifest unity and constantly grow towards maturity into Christ by serving one another with each members’ Christ-given gifts.

It is hoped that the conservative Reformed Presbyterian Church pastors and teachers who favour Calvin will, as his followers, know, teach and follow his ecclesiology, unity and catholicity, as well as his tireless ecumenical efforts so that they may reach unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God, to become a mature man and attain to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ.

The seven graces of Eph. 4:1-3 (KJV):

I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all ① **lowliness** and ② **meekness**, with ③ **longsuffering**, ④ **forbearing one another** in ⑤ **love**; ⑥ **Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit** in the ⑦ **bond of peace**.

The sevenfold oneness in Eph. 4:4-6 (NIV):

There is ① **one body** and ② **one Spirit** - just as you were called to ③ **one hope** when you were called-- ④ **one Lord**, ⑤ **one faith**, ⑥ **one baptism**; ⑦ **one God and Father** of all, who is over all and through all and in all.

The three final goals of the Christ given gifts in Eph. 4:11-13 (NIV):

It was he who gave some to be apostles, some to be prophets, some to be evangelists, and **some to be pastors and teachers**, to **prepare God's people for works of service**, so that **the body of Christ may be built up** until we ① **all reach unity in the faith and in the knowledge of the Son of God** and ② **become mature (a mature man, NAS)**, ③ **attaining to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ**.

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