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DIVISION AND REUNION IN THE PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH IN KOREA 1959-1968

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Historical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Theology

by

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May 1969

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ABBREVIATIONS

AKK	Material supplied by and in possession of Rev. Ahn Kwang-kuk
APM	Australian Presbyterian Mission in Korea
BWM	Board of World Missions, Presbyterian
CKO	Material supplied by and in possession of Rev. Chong Kyu-oh
COEMAR	Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
DCW	Department of Cooperative Work
ICCC	International Council of Christian Churches
KNCC	Korean National Council of Churches
Koryŏ PC	Koryŏ Presbyterian Church
KRC	Material supplied by and in possession of Dr. Keith R. Crim
NAE	National Association of Evangelicals
PCK	Presbyterian Church in Korea
PCK (E)	Presbyterian Church in Korea (Ecumenical)
PCK (NAE)	Presbyterian Church in Korea (NAE)
PCROK	Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea
PCUS	Presbyterian Church in the United States
SPM	Southern Presbyterian Mission in Korea
TEF	Theological Education Fund
TYC	Taehan Yesukyo Changnohoe (Presbyterian Church in Korea)
UML	United Mission Library, New York
UPCUSA	United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
UPM	United Presbyterian Mission in Korea
WCC	World Council of Churches

PRESBYTERIAN BODIES IN KOREA

American Missionaries
1884

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN KOREA, 1912

(19) Zion Pres. Ch. 1944

(11) PCK (Rehabilitation), 1945

(16) PCK (Reformed Restoration), 1949

(18) Gospel Tent Pres. Ch. 1950

(7) Pres. Ch. 1951
(Neutral)

(4) Koryŏ Pres. Ch. 1952
Orthodox Pres. Mission
Pro-ICCC

(3) Pres. Ch. in Republic
of Korea, 1954 (WCC)
United Ch. of Canada

(14) PCK (Reformed Faith) 1954

(9) Pure Pres. Ch. 1955

(1) PCK (Ecumenical) 1959
United Pres. Mission
Southern Pres. Mission
Australian Pres. Mission

(2) PCK (NAE) 1959
Orthodox Pres. Mission
World Pres. Mission
Christian Reformed Church

(8) PCK (No-Discussion) 1960

Haptong (Joint) PCK
PCK (NAE) and Koryŏ
Pres. Ch. 1960-1962

(6) Bible Pres. Ch. 1961
(ICCC)

(10) Constitutional Pres.
Ch. 1962 (ICCC)

(5) Christian Reformed
Ch. 1965

(17) PCK (Conservative) 1965

(13) Reconstruction Pres. Ch. 1964

(12) Bible Pres. Ch. 1968
(Anti-ICCC)

(15) PCK (Restoration) 1966
(ICCC)

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In English

1. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Ecumenical)
2. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (NAE)
3. The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea
4. The Koryŏ Presbyterian Church
5. The Christian Reformed Church in Korea
6. The Bible Presbyterian Church (ICCC)
7. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Neutral)
8. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (No-Discussion)
9. The Pure Presbyterian Church in Korea
10. The Constitutional Presbyterian Church
11. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Rehabilitation)
12. The Bible Presbyterian Church (Anti-ICCC)
13. The Reconstruction Presbyterian Church
14. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Reformed Faith)
15. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Restoration-ICCC)
16. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Reformed Restoration)
17. The Presbyterian Church in Korea (Conservative)
18. The Gospel Tent Presbyterian Church
19. The Zion Presbyterian Church

In Korean

1. 大韓예수교長老會 (統合派)
2. 大韓예수교長老會 (合同派)
3. 韓國基督教長老會 (WCC派)
4. 大韓예수교長老會 (高神派)
5. 韓國예수교改革派長老會
6. 大韓예수교聖經長老會 (ICCC派)
7. 大韓예수교長老會 (中立派)
8. 大韓예수교長老會 (無議派)
9. 大韓예수교純長老會
10. 大韓예수교長老會 (護憲派)
11. 大韓예수교長老會 (再建派)
12. 大韓예수교聖經長老會 (ICCC탈퇴派)
13. 韓國長老會再建教會
14. 大韓예수교長老會 (改革信仰派)
15. 大韓예수교長老會 (還元派-ICCC派)
16. 大韓예수교長老會 (革新復舊派)
17. 大韓예수교長老會 (保守派)
18. 韓國福音帳幕長老會
19. 시온산예수교長老會 (慶州)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Problem

After more than eighty years of Protestant missions, Korea has been one of the most successful mission fields in modern Christian history, with approximately ten percent of Christians in the total population of thirty million. Among the Protestant denominations, the PCK is the largest with over 1,300,000 members.

There are today at least ninety different Protestant bodies in Korea; the Presbyterian Church alone has nineteen. Founded in 1884, this denomination has experienced schism and reunion from World War II to the present time. The first two major divisions occurred in 1952 and 1953, and the most divisive schism of all was in 1959 between the ecumenical and NAE factions. After 1959 there have further arisen a multiplication of schisms and of attempted reunion in the Presbyterian Church.

Reasons for division and reunion in the Presbyterian Church since 1959 are very complicated; there is obviously no single simple answer. Therefore, the main objective of the thesis is to investigate critically the real causes for the division and reunion of these different Presbyterian bodies and the effects of the schism on the growth of the Christian Church, and on the non-Christian society in Korea.

A Validation of the Study

If it is imperative for the Church of Jesus Christ to give a united testimony to the world, it would be quite disastrous for the Church to be divided within herself by disputes and discord not only to the Christians but also to the outsiders, particularly in a non-Christian country such as Korea. Both receiving and sending Churches, therefore, must reevaluate their own past and present positions and policies in order to ameliorate the harmony and unity in the Korean Church. The effect of the ecumenical movement on the division and reunion of the PCK especially needs to be evaluated. This necessity in itself calls for an impartial investigation both in the national Church and the foreign missions as to how they relate to each other in the division and reunion in the PCK.

Limitation and the Scope of the Problem

The writer limits himself to the division and reunion in the PCK of the decade, 1959-1968, in order to concentrate on a depth study. A thorough study of the historical background of the Korean people and of the Christian Church of Korea would also be helpful, particularly since the liberation of Korea in 1945, but it is self-evident that the thesis is not able to cover these different avenues of Korean life in great detail.

Method of Investigation and Presentation

This study is basically a historical investigation based on sources from both Korea and America. Since the controversial matter in the thesis can be problematical, the writer attempted to select source materials which give a fair representation of both opposing factions. Most of the primary sources in Korean were brought either directly from Korea or made available from Presbyterian missionaries in America who worked in Korea. A brother of the writer, a Presbyterian minister and a seminary student were also instrumental in Korea collecting necessary materials such as the minutes of the General Assembly meetings, official statements of various church groups in the PCK, Christian periodicals, Christian newspapers and books.

Most of the English sources were obtained from the Missionary Research Library and the Inter-Church Center in New York City which contains the United Presbyterian Mission Library and the Methodist Mission Library.¹ The Home Office of the Board of World Missions (SPM) in Nashville, Tennessee, was another resource center. At these libraries there are substantial primary materials such as the minutes and reports of the two major Presbyterian Churches in America and their foreign missions, missionary letters, and numerous articles

¹Both the United Presbyterian Mission Library and the Methodist Mission Library merged in September of 1968 and became the United Mission Library.

and books. Other libraries such as Princeton Seminary, Yale University, Union Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, the Historical Foundation in Montreat, North Carolina, the East Asiatic Library at the University of California in Berkeley, and the Library of Congress were less helpful. There were also personal interviews by the writer and his representatives in Korea with prominent church leaders in the different groups who have been intimately involved with the affairs of the Presbyterian Church. Being a Korean, the writer's own adverse experiences of the divisions in the Korean Church also contributed to his analysis of the situation in the PCK.

In studying the causes for the division and reunion of the PCK, the writer divides them into two large areas: internal causes and external influences. The former deals with the non-theological, theological, power struggles, economic, social, and political, while the latter with the mission dollars and the ecumenical contentions.

The influence of Western missionaries and the policy of mission boards are closely examined because they play very significant roles. The writer also proposes to study whether there has been an effort by Korean ministers to control the power of the missionaries and the mission dollars which they bring.

Summary

Factionalism among the Korean people is a national frailty throughout Korean history. This disease also infected the Korean Church, particularly among the leaders for their power struggles and over the mission dollars and the ecumenical movement which consequently led to the divisions and the failure of reunion in the PCK. Therefore, they must bear the main responsibility for the consequences. However, the external forces through mission money and the ecumenical movement were also vigorously working to become one of the major contributors to schism and the complete failure of reunion in the PCK.

One last important point must be mentioned before the dissertation proceeds to the following chapters for the sake of preventing any misconstruction of the Korean Church on the part of the reader. By the nature of the dissertation one can realize that the writer is dealing mainly with the negative aspect of the Korean Church or the darker side of the picture. This means that the positive and optimistic view of the Korean Church which caused the rapid growth of Christianity in Korea is under-emphasized. Therefore, the writer admonishes the reader to read the dissertation with an understanding that the following chapters are only a part of the total picture of the Korean Church.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KOREAN CHURCH

This is the 4302nd year according to the Korean calendar, and the country had been divided into several kingdoms for several centuries. During the Three Kingdom Era (37 B.C. -668 A.D.), one of the kingdoms was the Silla dynasty (57 B.C.-935 A.D.) which controlled the southeastern part of Korea, while another rival dynasty, the Koguryō (37 B.C. -668 A.D.) ruled the northern part until it was destroyed by the Silla Dynasty in 668 A.D. In the southwestern part of Korea there was the third kingdom, the Paekche, (18 B.C. -660 A.D.) until it fell by the hands of the Kōryō dynasty in 935. The Silla dynasty unified the three kingdoms in 668. The existence of the three kingdoms in Korea for more than a millennium becomes very significant for the formation of differences of culture which consequently led to later provincialism and factionalism within the country. The Kōryō dynasty (936-1392 A.D.) replaced the Silla and subsequently was succeeded by the Yi dynasty (1392-1920).¹ The Yi dynasty lasted until the annexation of Korea under the Japanese. The Japanese dominated Korea for thirty-six

¹Korea: Its Land, People, and Culture of All Ages
(Seoul: Hakwonsa Ltd., 1960), pp. 715-718.

years until the end of World War II in 1945. Subsequently, the country had to be divided between north and south.²

Religious Background

The Korean people were religious like other nations even before adopting the faith of the imported religions from China and the West. There are a half dozen prominent religions today in the country: Shamanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Chōndokyō, and Christianity.

Buddhism entered Korea from China during the Kōguryō dynasty in 372 A.D. and became a dominant force in every phase of Korean life during the Three Kingdoms Period. It reached its peak during the "Golden Age of Buddhism" (935-1392) in the Kōryō dynasty (935-1392). Buddhism became not only a religious force but also a political power in the dynasty. Consequently, the political opponents to the controlling Buddhists in the Yi dynasty cooperated with Confucianism to drive out the Buddhist rulers. In 1456 the Yi dynasty even decreed to forbid monks from entering into the capital city Seoul.³

²There is an ambiguity as to when the division of Korea was actually decided by the big powers. President Truman states that the 38th parallel demarcation was drawn up by the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. according to General Order No. 1 without any debate and bargain in August 1946. Harry S. Truman, Memoirs by Harry S. Truman (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955), II, 444-445.

³Korea, pp. 715-716. See also Clarence N. Weems, editor, Hulbert's History of Korea (New York: Hillary House Publishers Ltd., 1962), I, 315.

The decline of Buddhism in the early years of the Yi dynasty not only brought an increase of Confucianism among the intellectual classes but left out ignorant peasants and women who turned to their superstitious Shamanism. Buddhism has lost contact with the people for many centuries; however, some signs of a resurgence of Buddhism in recent years in Korea is evident.⁴

Confucianism emphasized ethical conduct in individuals and government and maintained a high standard of education. The Yi dynasty adopted Confucianism as "the national religion." The brand of Confucianism which prevailed during the Yi dynasty was Neo-Confucianism which adopted the philosophical, metaphysical, and religious terms of Buddhism and Taoism in an attempt to answer the pressing problems of human existence and the universe.⁵ Confucianists erected many Confucian schools throughout Korea, for example, Sŏngkyunkwan in Seoul. Even though Confucianism met the intellectual needs of the elite (Yangban),⁶ it ignored the vast majority of the Korean people.

⁴Ryu Tong-shik, Hanuk Chongkyo wa Kidokkyo (The Christian Faith Encounters the Religions of Korea) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1965), p. 63.

⁵Kang Wi-jo, "The Japanese Government and Religions in Korea, 1910-1945" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U. of Chicago, Chicago, 1967), p. 56.

⁶Yangbans were the upper class nobles by inheritance who did not work but lived off the labor of their tenants. Sang-noms were the majority lower class commoners without many privileges who did most of the work for their masters.

Chon dokyō or "the Sect of the Heavenly Way" is another important religion which was founded by Choe Che-wu (1824-1864). He created a syncretistic religion which was known then as Tonghak or the "Eastern Learning" in opposition to Sohak or the "Western Learning" which meant Roman Catholicism. He believed that all religions from primitive shamanism to western Christianity were valid and embodied truth in themselves but men had to seek truth respectively according to their own ways. For Koreans his Tonghak was the best.⁷ The leaders of this religion played important roles in the independence movement as Christians did during the Japanese domination of Korea; yet its spiritual impact on the people is negligible.

During the spiritual vacuum in the Yi dynasty, Shamanism which is said to be the original religion of Korea, grew among the common people with a belief that a shaman could communicate with the spirit world in an attempt to better the fortunes of man. Taking over some of the supernatural characteristics from Buddhism and Confucianism, Shamanism to this day appeals to the common mass who are left out by rational Confucianism.⁸

⁷R. Pierce Beaver, "Chon dokyō and Korea," The Journal of Bible and Religion, XXX (April 1962), 116.

⁸Yun Song-bōm, Kidokkyō wa Hanguk Sasang (Christianity and Korean Thought) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1964), p. 169. See Ryu Tong-shik, pp. 30-31.

However, the majority of the people do not practice Buddhism and Confucianism in the form of cultic exercises. Many experienced a spiritual vacuum, and for a significant number Christianity seemed to fill the void.

Eighty-Five Years of Protestant Missions

The first entry of Christianity into Korea was the effort of the Roman Catholic missionaries in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century. Protestant missions were established in Korea as a result of the United States-Korea Treaty of 1882. In China the Manchu dynasty (1644-1912) was declining. Western powers had already established strong trade bases there as early as the first part of the sixteenth century. These bases interfered with the internal affairs of China and eventually led to the Boxer Revolution in 1900. Japan also reluctantly agreed to open her door to America by the Kanagawa Treaty in 1854. From the Meiji Period (1868-1912) the Japanese government practiced the policy of rapid Westernization.⁹ While these changes were taking place in neighboring countries, Korea, too, sensed a real need for modernization.

⁹Paul A. Cohen, China and Christianity (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1963), p. 263.

The UPCUSA put up its first mission station in Korea in 1884, and gained the good will of the royal family through the medical work of Dr. Horace H. Allen, M.D.¹⁰

The Southern Presbyterian Mission (1892), the Australian Presbyterian Mission (1889), and the Canadian Presbyterian Mission (1898) followed. These missions subdivided Korea among themselves so that there would be no competition for proselytes. The cooperation of these groups in their evangelistic work was beneficial in winning people to the Christian faith.

The history of missions can be largely divided into three periods: first, from the opening of the Presbyterian Mission in Korea to the time of the Japanese annexation of Korea (1884-1910); second, the period of Japanese rule (1910-1945); finally, the period after the liberation of Korea in 1945.

During the first period the missionaries took the main role in the Church because of a lack of efficient leadership. During the Japanese occupation in Korea the Church was closely related to the Korean independence movement in which many national leaders became Christians and suffered in prison for their faith and patriotism. For example, many of the patriots who died in the nationwide independent

¹⁰Dr. Allen successfully treated the prince, a victim of the bloody revolution by the progressive pro-Japanese faction against the old conservative pro-Chinese government.

uprising of March 1, 1919, were Christians. Moreover, fifteen of the thirty-three men who signed the Declaration of Independence were Christians.¹¹

From the beginning of their work to the time of their forced departure by the persecution of the Japanese in 1938 the missionaries were not only carriers of the Gospel but also the main transmitters of Western civilization. Western missionaries became a symbol of hope and freedom for the country.

Rapid Growth of Christianity

In comparison with other religions in the country, the Korean Christian Church has been most successful in winning converts. In a non-Christian country, Christianity has more believers than any of the traditional religions in the nation. The Ministry of Education in the Republic of Korea put out these statistics of Korean religions:¹²

	Churches		Ministers		Believers		Percent
	Temples		Male	Female	Male	Female	
Buddhism	2,473		5,225	4,766	325,074	637,551	3.4%
Confucianism	63		626	1	61,647	1,174	0.2%
Chon dokyō	43		921	112	360,278	263,119	2.2%
Protestants	6,851		9,493	6,904	317,800	494,454	5.6%
Roman Catholics	1,117		1,141	1,491	326,569	427,902	
Others	181		1,725	504	554,307	424,960	3.5%

¹²Chongkyo Tonggae Yōlam (Religious Statistics), Published by the Ministry of Education (Seoul: Ministry of Education, 1964), p. 1.

The rapid growth of the Christian population in Korea is astonishing to Western Christians. Ten percent of thirty million people claim Christianity in Korea in comparison with other Asian countries: Indonesia, 4 percent; Formosa, 1.6 percent; Japan, 0.5 percent; and India, 1 percent.¹³ The Rev. Roy E. Shearer, a United Presbyterian missionary to Korea, made a detailed study on the growth of the Korean Church according to different periods and provinces in his recent book and characterized the Korean Church as "wild fire."¹⁴

Since the traditional religions lost their grip on the people, most Koreans have become skeptical of their forefathers' religions. This is explicitly expressed in the statistics that the majority of people do not practice any religion at all. When President Park Chŏng-hee of South Korea was asked whether he was a Christian, his reply reflected a typical feeling, "My father and mother were Buddhist, but I am nothing."¹⁵ Dr. Samuel H. Moffett, a noted United Presbyterian missionary, reports that approximately eighty percent of the Korean population do not profess any religion.¹⁶

¹³ Samuel H. Moffett, The Christians of Korea (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), p. 17.

¹⁴ Roy E. Shearer, Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1966).

¹⁵ Moffett, p. 16.

¹⁶ Samuel H. Moffett, "Letter to the COEMAR," dated January 25, 1967, in UML.

Among the Christian constituency, 73 percent belong to the Protestant denominations, and of these 63 percent are Presbyterians.¹⁷ The work of the Presbyterian missionaries has been more fruitful in Korea than anywhere else in Asia. Various reasons have been given for the rapid growth of the Korean Church. Two main approaches are considered when explaining the "wildfire" growth: one is the secular or non-theological approach and the other is religious or theological. Professor Whang Sang-dŏk of Seoul National University studied the causes of rapid expansion of Christianity in Korea and came to the conclusion that the prime reason was nationalistic patriotism. In the independence movement against the Japanese the Korean Church took the leadership. According to Professor Whang, after 1945, the Church in South Korea lost this main objective of its mission and began to deteriorate through power struggles for leadership among the Church leaders.¹⁸

Christian interpretations of the growth of the Korean Church, also acknowledged the political implications. However, the tireless efforts of missionaries and national

¹⁷Theophilus Taylor, "Survey of Theological Education in Korea, 1961-1962" (unpublished manuscript by the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., n.d.), p. 2.

¹⁸Whang Sang-dŏk, "Bandō e Itsŏsŏ ui Cheshin ui Byŏnmŏ" (The Deformation of the Religion in the Peninsula) Sasangge, VII (August 1959), 72-83.

Christians for the evangelization of Korea ought not to be forgotten. Related to this was the application of the Nevius Method in which indigenous principles were consistently applied.¹⁹ The missionaries popularized the use of the Korean phonetic script, started education for the masses, and ministered to the people's physical needs through Western medicine, while the traditional religions failed to upgrade the daily life of the people.

Characteristics of the Korean Church

With this rapid development of Christianity in Korea, the Church has acquired certain characteristics which are most significant for understanding its divisions and reunions in recent years.

In order to understand the characteristics of the Korean Church, one has to remember how she suffered for many decades from external invasions and internal revolutions. Far Eastern political history, in which the Church has been intimately involved, throws some light on the problem. Surrounded by the larger and more powerful nations of China, Japan and Russia, Korea has been described as a "shrimp

¹⁹Moffett, The Christians of Korea, p. 61. There have been some criticisms attacking the Nevius Method. Dr. Chŏn Sŏng-chŏn labeled it as a "method for the evangelization of the middle class in a bourgeois society." See Chŏn Sŏng-chŏn, "Schism and Unity in the Presbyterian Church of Korea" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, New Haven, 1955), p. 70.

crushed in the fight of the whales."²⁰ The Chinese Han dynasty invaded Korea in the second century B.C., the Sui and Tang dynasties in the seventh century A.D., the Khitan in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Mongols in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Japanese in the late sixteenth century and the Manchus in the seventeenth century. It was understandable that the country practiced political isolation from 1864 to 1876. From 1876 to the time of the Japanese protectorate of Korea in 1905, there was a political struggle between the conservative bureaucracy which favored the Chinese and the progressive group which was pro-Japanese. This conflict resulted in a bloody and abortive coup in December, 1884, which consequently led to the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) for the domination of Korea. The pro-Chinese conservative bureaucracy which paid tribute to China from 1627 was defeated by the Japanese. Furthermore, the Russians' interest in Manchuria and the Korean peninsula led to a conflict with the Japanese which caused the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). From this time on the Japanese became the dominant ruler of Korea for the next thirty-six years.

During the Japanese occupation in Korea, the Church suffered painfully over the issue of the Shinto shrine. The

²⁰Presbyterian Church, U. S., The Annual Reports of the Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Nashville, Tenn.: Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., 1964), p. 61.

Japanese government tried to enforce shrine worship upon the Korean people; to some Christians it was idolatry to bow down to the Emperor of Japan. To others it was merely a political matter; they would participate in the Shinto shrine worship under the pressure of the Japanese.²¹ Those who refused to compromise were imprisoned and beaten. Many Christians were killed or later died in prison. At the day of Liberation of Korea, in 1945, more than three thousand Korean Christians were released from prison.²² After the Liberation, this Shinto shrine issue became a cause for the division in the PCK in 1952.²³

Instead of gaining its hoped-for freedom in 1945, Korea once again became a victim of the larger powers, the United States and the U. S. S. R. The ideological struggles between the Communists and the free people mushroomed and ultimately divided the country. By the thousands, North Koreans under the Communists began to escape from the North to find freedom in South Korea. The tragic Korean War impoverished the people and brought added sufferings to the nation.

²¹Byŏn Chong-ho, Hanguk Kidokkyo Sa (Kaeyo) (An Outline of the Korean Church History) (Seoul: SimHo Won, 1959), pp. 102-103.

²²Chŏn Sŏng-Chŏn, p. 118.

²³Infra, pp. 34-36.

After 1945 the Communist Party of North Korea under Kim Il-sŏng began to impose a tight control on the people, set the national election day on Sunday (November 3, 1946) to hamper Sunday worship service, and demanded loyalty from the Christian Church. The Joint Presbytery put out a statement:

The 2000 churches and 300,000 Christians, for the preservation of the faith and the progress of the Church, having approved the following five principles for the government of the Church and as rules for Christian living, wish to inform the People's Committee of these principles, hoping for their kind cooperation. . . .²⁴

The Christian Church in North Korea requested the government five items in which the fifth item was for the guarantee of religious freedom.²⁵

Christians in North Korea ultimately lost their freedom of worship and became an underground movement under Communist persecution. North Korea, where the Northern Presbyterian Mission was particularly successful, had the largest Christian population in the nation. In fact, three-fourths of all the Korean Presbyterian Church were in North Korea.²⁶ Before 1945 approximately ten percent of Pyŏngyang, the

²⁴Allen D. Clark, History of the Korean Church (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1962), p. 214. Cf. Chi Myŏng-kwan, Nagareni Hangkŏshide (Against the Flowing Trend) (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shipbansa, 1966), pp. 42-43.

²⁵Clark, p. 214.

²⁶Kim Tŏk-yŏl, "The Problems of Growing Disunity in the Presbyterian Church in Korea and a Suggested Approach for the Christian Education of Young Koreans" (unpublished R. E. D. thesis, Hartford Seminary, Conn., 1961), p. 59.

capital of North Korea, claimed to be Christians, and more than fifty percent of Sŏnchŏn were Christians.²⁷ But during the Korean War, when the United Nations forces arrived, more than 100,000 of these Christians, many of them pastors and elders, fled south.²⁸ Almost three hundred Presbyterian pastors were martyred.²⁹ These North Korean refugees later played an important role in the divisions of the PCK.

The Korean War also produced many Christian martyrs in South Korea. At the end of 1950 some five hundred Christian leaders in Seoul alone were either killed or kidnapped by the Communists.³⁰ During the War, 727 pastors and evangelists were arrested, 360 captured and in Seoul 39 prominent Christian pastors were martyred.³¹ Psychological tension during the War and the ensuing economic poverty indelibly marked the minds of the people. The Japanese persecution and the Korean War were the two decisive events which influenced every phase of life in the country.

²⁷ Paul S. Crane, Korean Pattern (Seoul: Hollym Corporation Publishers, 1967), p. 167.

²⁸ George Thompson Brown, Mission to Korea (Nashville, Penn.: Board of World Mission in the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1962), p. 201.

²⁹ Donald G. Barnhouse, Scandal in Korea (Philadelphia: Evangelical Foundation, 1960), p. 1.

³⁰ Han Kyŏng-chik, "Plight of the Korean Christians," Christianity Today, V (Sept. 25, 1961), 35.

³¹ Kim Chang-yŏp, "Protestant Theological Education in Korea" (unpublished S. T. M. thesis, The Biblical Seminary, New York, 1960), p. 105.

In the midst of sufferings and toils, the Korean Church was able to give hope to the hopeless, food to the hungry, and shelter to the homeless. Christians envisioned their heavenly home rather than the painful earthly conditions that surrounded them. They learned to trust God in time of troubles. Churches were filled with people who needed help and peace of mind.

The political and economic sufferings and religious fervor of the Christians reminded the Christians of the New Testament Church. Dr. Stephen Moon, a professor at Hanguk Seminary, cites the similarities between the Jews in the first century and the Koreans in the twentieth. Pointing out the physical sufferings of both peoples under foreign domination, he compared the ancient zealots to the modern Communists and the Pharisees and Saducees to the legalistic Christians in Korea.³²

One of the most salient features of the Korean Church was a strong apocalyptic hope. Christians longed to get away from this painful, sinful, suffering world to their heavenly paradise. This emphasis of a future life over the mundane is explicitly expressed in hymns, sermons, and

³² Moon Tong-whan, "Ilseki Koristorul Ishipseki Hanin Chongnyon Egae" (Introducing Jesus of the First Century to the Korean Youth in the 20th Century), Kidokkyo Sasang, V (October 1961), 11-13. See also Moon Tong-whan, "Introducing Jesus of the First Century to the Korean Youth in the 20th Century" (unpublished R. E. D. thesis, Hartford Seminary, Conn., 1961).

prayers. Hymns such as "Bright, Heavenly Way," "I'm Pressing on the Upward Way," "Travelling to a Better Land," "Out of My Bondage, Sorrow and Night," "I Must Tell Jesus," became very popular. The Pilgrim's Progress Story was well accepted.³³ The Memorial Sermons and Essays Celebrating the 70th Anniversary of Protestant Missions in Korea which contains thirty-six famous pastors' sermons shows that their chief emphasis was life beyond death with much less emphasis on the "social gospel."³⁴ The common motto for personal witnessing was "to believe in Jesus Christ and go to heaven."³⁵

A recent survey conducted among the ministers by the Sēge wa Sōnkyō, a monthly Christian newspaper of the PCROK, points out that the main purpose of the Church is the salvation of man's soul which was listed four times oftener than any social implication of the gospel. Denominationally, the PCROK has the largest number of ministers who emphasize the social gospel, while the PCK (E) has a greater number accenting the spiritual redemption. The Methodist Church is somewhere between these two extremes.³⁶

³³ Chang Byōng-il, Shinang ui Ōshik (Misplanted Faith) (Seoul: Kai Myōng Sa, 1964), p. 80.

³⁴ Kim Chūn-bae, editor, Memorial Sermons and Essays Celebrating the Seventieth Anniversary of Protestant Missions in Korea (Seoul: Seoul Newspaper Co., 1955), p. 1.

³⁵ Greenfield C. Kiel, The Church in Korea (Seoul: National Council of Christian Churches, 1961), p. 84.

³⁶ Sēge wa Sōnkyō, June 13, 1968, p. 7.

The prayer life of Korean Christians is another peculiarity in the eyes of the Western world. Prayer becomes an inseparable part of Christian experience to those suffering people. During the Korean War every church began to hold 5:00 A.M. prayer meetings in the dark. When Drs. Billy Graham and Bob Pierce visited Korea right after the Korean War, they were astonished to see 189 Christians praying on their knees in the cold winter without a roof in the early morning. Seminary students still attend early morning prayer meetings at five o'clock.³⁷ This early prayer meeting is still continuing in most churches even today. The prayer life of Christians is also visible in other ways. When a Christian visits a friend, the first thing he does before anything is to bow his head first in prayer for a moment. Most Christians pray shortly after they get into the church for service, and many ministers pray on their knees after they enter into the sanctuaries. Some Christians pray even after their handshake with their friends.

Many churches sometimes conduct all-night prayer meetings, especially during revival meetings in the church. There are other prayer meetings such as the fast and prayer, prayer meetings at mountains, special prayer meetings, and Wednesday-evening prayer meeting.³⁸

³⁷ Chang Byōng-il, p. 60.

³⁸ Sēge Wa Sōnkyō, February 25, 1968, p. 5.

This enthusiastic Christian faith is expressed in sacrificial offerings to the Church. One of the factors contributing to the successful growth of the Church is the practice of tithing. The Presbyterian missionaries were astonished by the staggering amount (\$4,100,000) which the Presbyterians gave to their Church in 1958.³⁹ In recent years some Christians in the Presbyterian Church have been laggard in tithing, probably due to the loss of confidence in the church leaders for their schismatic behavior. However, sacrificial offering is still practiced by a large percentage of Christians.

The chief emphasis of the Church has been the Bible-centered ministry which was advocated by the pioneer missionaries. At the jubilee anniversary of the Northern Presbyterian Mission in 1934, the Bible-centered ministry was highly praised for the success of the Mission,

We record the conviction that the unique and dominant place given to instruction in the Scriptures has been the outstanding factor through these fifty years in the evangelization for Korea. . . . The Mission believes that the Bible should have the preeminent place in all of our work.⁴⁰

³⁹Minutes and Reports of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1958), p. 80.

⁴⁰Charles A. Clark, The Korean Church and the Nevius Method (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1930), p. 351.

Christians carry their Bible and hymn books to church and attend various Bible study groups such as the group Bible study under local laymen, district Bible conferences, winter Bible conferences as well as their own personal Bible study. There are many Bible quiz contests and Bible memorization contests. The Koryŏ PC which broke away from the original Presbyterian Church in Korea in 1952 requires new converts to read the Scriptures at least once before their baptism.⁴¹

Nevertheless, there have been some severe criticisms from the Christian leaders that Bible-loving Christians so often are hostile to worldly knowledge and become unfit for meeting the real needs of society. Dr. John Coventry Smith, a long-time missionary to Japan and presently the General Secretary of the COEMAR of the UPCUSA commented,

The Church in Korea is a Church which studies the Bible. Its strength lies in the knowledge that the ordinary Christian has of the Bible, and in the training that has been received by its leadership through Bible institutes and Seminars. But too often this Bible study has not been set within the context of a broad cultural education. It has been demonstrated that "one who studies only the Bible does not know the Bible." Failure to study history, sociology, psychology and philosophy has led to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the Bible message.⁴²

⁴¹Chang Byŏng-il, p. 77.

⁴²John Coventry Smith, "Policy Lessons from Korea," International Review of Missions, L (July 1961), 323.

Besides three gatherings in the church a week and early prayer meetings each morning, there is a revival meeting for a week every year for some specific purpose: to raise money for construction fees, for Thanksgiving offerings, to hear famous preachers or to strengthen spiritual life.

The revival movement goes back to the time of the pioneer missionaries; the first Great Revival which occurred from 1903 to 1907 was led by the Rev. R. A. Hardie of the Southern Methodist Mission in Wŏn San and by the Revs. W. N. Blair, Graham Lee, and Kil Sŏn-chu in Pyŏngyang in 1907.⁴³ The Second Great Revival from 1909 to 1910 was known as the "Million Souls Movement," that began among the missionaries of the Southern Methodist Church. The result of these Revival Movements was astronomical. In the area where the Great Revivals occurred, the Northern Presbyterian Mission reports that the Mission gained a 57 percent increase in communicant members, and 66 percent in the total number of adherents between 1906 and 1908, while for the next two years between 1908 and 1910 the increase was 65 percent in communicant members and 63 percent in total number of adherents. Numerically, the increase from 1906 to 1910 was

⁴³Henry A. Rhodes and Archibald Campbell, History of the Korean Mission in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1884-1934 (Seoul: Chosen Mission Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., 1934), pp. 281-285.

from 12,500 to 32,500 in communicant members and from 44,000 to 110,000 in total number of adherents, or approximately 150 percent.⁴⁴

The Korean-type of Revival Movement continued.⁴⁵ The Rev. Kim Ik-du, known as the "Billy Sunday of Korea," became very significant in winning converts to the Christian faith. One evening during the revival meetings, he collected an offering which contained,

Seventeen hundred and fifty yen (that is about \$1,700). . . two hundred finger rings, twenty silver watches, two gold watches, two hundred silver hairpins, suits of clothes, bridal ornaments With this offering, four evangelists (two men and two women) were employed for one year.⁴⁶

In recent years the revival meeting has lost its effectiveness in the Church, for it has become too common and extremely emotional through rhetoric without building up theological understanding of the content of Christian faith and the Bible. The rapid cultural change and mass modern communication has weakened the effectiveness of revivalism in Korea.

This zealous faith and strong conservative theology created a legalistic form of Christian ethics. The earlier missionaries for the first quarter of this century practiced

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 288.

⁴⁵The Korean-type of Revival had emotional appeal and emphasized physical healing. Byon Chong-ho, pp. 61-64.

⁴⁶Rhodes and Campbell, p. 289.

their separatistic life like the New England Puritans, and kept the Sabbath very strictly. They looked upon dancing, smoking, card-playing, and drinking as sins and forbade Christians to practice them.⁴⁷ This extreme legalism later became one of the important factors of Church divisions and contention.⁴⁸

Summary

Korea has a long national and religious history, but the traditional religions have lost their influence upon the majority of the population. The Protestant missions with some eighty years of history in Korea have been most successful in gathering converts to the Church. Political, sociological, cultural and religious circumstances in the country were favorable to the expansion of the Christian religion in Korea. Persecuted by the Japanese and later the Communists, Korean Christians learned to cultivate their emotional faith in conservative theology often to the point of legalism.

Civilization is changing very rapidly in Korea. The fast modernization and Westernization of Korea has enormous effects upon the Korean Church. Deeply rooted in traditional conservative Christian faith, the Church is not ready to meet many challenges of scientific and technological

⁴⁷ Spencer J. Palmer, Korea and Christianity (Seoul: Hollym Publishers, 1967), p. 26.

⁴⁸ Infra, pp. 79-80.

knowledge. Young people are not willing to accept their parents' Christian faith at face value without a critical analysis of the Christian Gospel. Multiple social problems inherited from the Korean War and problems of rapid urbanization with the introduction of the contemporary Western Christian conception of the social application of the Gospel have caused the Church to divert its attention to social needs more than the exclusively spiritual aspect of the Christian message. Above all, people are still struggling for economic survival.

All these changes brought frustration, disturbance and loss of a sense of direction not only to the Church but also to the whole Korean society. Many Church leaders frankly confess that they do not know exactly what they must do to meet the changing situation. Therefore, it is very appropriate to look into the schismatic struggles in the PCK. In the light of this complex background, it helps us understand why the real causes of the divisions in the PCK are extremely complicated.

CHAPTER III

DIVISIONS IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KOREA BEFORE 1959

The majority of the Protestants in Korea are Presbyterians. The first Presbytery was formed in 1907 and the first General Assembly of the PCK met in 1912 with 1,438 churches, around 360 pastors and 127,000 believers in the 7 presbyteries.¹ From this time on the PCK became a completely autonomous body which governed and managed its own affairs.²

Before the actual formation of the PCK in 1912, the Presbyterian Missions in Korea organized the United Council of Presbyterian Mission in 1893 for the purpose of establishing one unified PCK with the Reformed Faith and the Presbyterian form of government.³ After 1912 the Council remained as an advisory body to the PCK, and the Korean

¹Lee Sang-yong, editor, Hanguk Kidokkyo Nyongam (The Yearbook of the Christian Church in Korea, 1968) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1968), p. 105. Hereafter it will be referred to as Kidokkyo Nyongam.

²Minutes and Reports of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1965), p. 82.

³Harry A. Rhodes and Archibald Campbell, History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1884-1934 (New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1934), I, 385.

Church continued to grow with freedom until the military party in Japan began to control the government around 1930. As World War II approached the Far East, the freedom of the Korean Church was diminishing. Japanese policemen increased their surveillance over the missionaries and the national Christian ministers.⁴

During the Japanese domination of Korea, denominational division was discouraged. In fact, Japanese authorities tried to unify the different denominations under one Protestant organization and called it "Nihon Kiristokyō Chōsen Chōro Kyōdan" (Korean Presbyterian Body in the United Church of Japan), a branch of the Japanese Christian Church in 1943.⁵ Consequently, there were approximately ten denominations until 1945,⁶ but in 1968 the number of denominations has multiplied to almost ninety which means an average increase of three-and-a-half denominations annually.⁷

Until 1945 there was only one PCK, but in 1968 there were nineteen Presbyterian bodies in which ten use the same name, the PCK, each claiming to be the legal representative

⁴Allen D. Clark, History of the Korean Church (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1962), pp. 193-203.

⁵Kidokkyō Nyōngam (1968), p. 114.

⁶Lee Kun-mu, "Hanguk ui Kidokkyō" (Christianity in Korea, Its Schisms and Noise of Undercurrent), Shin Dong A, XXIX (January 1967), 223.

⁷Kidokkyō Nyōngam (1968), pp. 128-366.

of the original PCK.⁸ Dr. John Coventry Smith appropriately commented, "It [the Korean Church] is the most divisive Christian situation in the world."⁹

The Presbyterian Church of Korea
(Rehabilitation)

Division before 1959 set the stage for the continuing splits thereafter. With the fall of Japan on August 15, 1945, some twenty survivors out of seventy Christian leaders who had been imprisoned because of their opposition to the Shinto shrine collaboration were released. Some of these leaders, known as the "released saints,"¹⁰ discussed among themselves the matter of the reconstruction of the PCK. In North Korea the PCK (Rehabilitation) (11) was organized, while in the South three other Presbyterian groups were formed within the existing PCK: the Rehabilitation Church of Korea, the Koryŏ faction (later the Koryŏ PC) (4), and the PCK (Reformed Restoration) (16).¹¹

⁸ Ibid., p. 94. See "Yechang Haptong Munche ūi Munchechŏm" (Problems of the Union of the Presbyterian Church of Korea), Kidokkyŏ Sasang, XII (April 1968), 108.

⁹ John Coventry Smith, "Policy Lessons from Korea," International Review of Missions, L (July 1961), 322.

¹⁰ Kim Yang-sŏn, Hanguk Kidokkyŏ Haebang Shipnyŏn (History of the Korean Church in the Ten Years Since Liberation) (Seoul: Religious Education Department of the PCK, 1956), pp. 45, 146.

¹¹ Kidokkyŏ Nyŏngam (1968), p. 247.

As the persecution of the Christians by the Communists in North Korea increased, many of the Reconstruction Church members fled to the South before and during the Korean War and erected four churches in Seoul under the leadership of the Rev. Chu Sang-mu.¹² These migrated Christians later joined with the Rehabilitation Church of Korea in the South which had approximately twenty churches most of which are located in the Kyōngnam Province.¹³ During the Korean War some leaders of the Rehabilitation Church were kidnapped by the Communists, and consequently, this loss of leadership created confusion in the Church. In 1954 ten churches broke off from the Church and organized a new body, the Pure Presbyterian Church of Korea (9).¹⁴ In 1964 there was a further split in the Rehabilitation Church, in which six churches organized the Presbyterian Reconstruction Church of Korea (13).¹⁵

These Christians of the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Churches consider all other churches besides their own as "devil's assemblies," and members of these "assemblies" as "devil's children." They are even forbidden to eat with other Christians at the same table because it is considered

¹²Ibid., p. 208.

¹³Ibid., (1965), pp. 488-489.

¹⁴Ibid., (1968), pp. 208, 244.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 208, 235.

as sin.¹⁶ Even though their outrageous faith during the time of persecution was admired, their spiritual pride nullified their Christian testimony and hampered the progress of the Christian Church.

Another denomination which falls into this Rehabilitation category is the PCK (Reformed Restoration) (18) which formed an independent presbytery with some seventy churches in the Pyŏngan and Whanghae Provinces in North Korea. During the Korean War the leader, the Rev. Lee Ki-sŏn, fled to the South with his followers and continued this church movement in South Korea with about thirty churches. They rejected the existing PCK for its collaboration in the Shinto shrine worship and emphasized the restoration of the original Presbyterian Church through fasting, prayer and a special period of purification.¹⁷ Therefore, church divisions after a certain period of persecution of Christians are not strange to the history of the Church.¹⁸

¹⁶Ibid., p. 208.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 214.

¹⁸Professor S. L. Greensdale discusses the schisms in the Early Christian Church. The result of Decius' persecution in 250 A. D. produced Novatianism on the issue of whether those Christians were forced to offer sacrifices to pagan deities should be admitted to the Church or not. Donatism and the Antiochene or Melitian schism are other examples in the early years of the fourth century after Diocletian's severe persecution. See S. L. Greensdale, Schism in the Early Church (London: SCM, 1964), pp. 223-224. 275-278.

The Koryŏ Presbyterian Church (4)¹⁹

The first major division in the PCK was the establishment of the Koryŏ PC in 1952. The leader of this Church was the Rev. Han Sang-dong, a pastor released from a Pyŏngyang prison in North Korea. He went down to Pusan in South Korea in March of 1946, and started Koryŏ Seminary in September of 1946. He and his followers withdrew from the Kyŏngnam Presbytery, organized the Kyŏngnam Bŏpt'ong Presbytery in May 1951, and had the first General Assembly in September of 1952.²⁰ The Koryŏ PC of which most of the constituents are in the Pusan area siphoned off 15 percent of the churches from the PCK.²¹

There are several reasons given for the division of this Church. First of all, the leaders held an ultra-conservative theology and were not willing to go along with growing "liberal theology" which, they thought, was brought into the PCK through the WCC movement. They were also dissatisfied

¹⁹The divisions of the Koryŏ PC in 1952 and of the PCROK in 1954 are rather extensively discussed in various writings. See Kim Yang-sŏn, pp. 149-164. Chŏn Sŏng-chŏn, "Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, New Haven, 1955).

²⁰Kidokkyo Nyŏngam (1968), pp. 82-84.

²¹Annual Report: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (New York: United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., 1956), p. 15.

with the lack of punishment and discipline of some church leaders who had participated in the Shinto shrine worship.²²

However, Professor Kim Yang-sŏn, a noted church historian, blamed the 1952 division on a struggle for leadership in the PCK rather than the reasons given above, because by 1952 there was neither the problem of the Shinto shrine nor any doctrinal departure from the traditional conservative theology which the PCK from its beginning had subscribed.²³ Contrary to Professor Kim's observation, the Koryŏ PC explained the reason for the formation of its new Church in the Minutes of the First General Assembly, "The present PCK is in the process of leaving the original spirit of the General Assembly; therefore, we organize this General Assembly [of the Koryŏ PC] in order to correct and succeed the PCK."²⁴

²²Park Yŏng-hee, "The Present Situation of the Presbyterian Church of Korea." This is an unpublished material of the PCK (NAE) for the information of the division of the PCK in English (1964), p. 3. Presbyterian Seminary (PCK-NAE), Seoul. Cf. Samuel H. Moffett, The Christians of Korea (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), p. 114.

²³Kim Yang-sŏn, p. 164.

²⁴TYC Ch'onghoe Chŏnghoerok (Minutes of the Presbyterian Church of Korea [Koryŏ], 1952-1960) (Pusan: Calvin Publishing Co., 1961), p. 3. See Park Yune-sŏn, TYC nŭn Ōdiro Gana? (Where is the Presbyterian Church of Korea Going?) (Pusan: Koryŏ Seminary Student Association Press, 1950). In this booklet Dr. Park, president of the Koryŏ Seminary in Pusan, warned the PCK against the liberal theology coming out of Western Christianity.

Another important factor in the division is the involvement of the foreign missionaries, particularly the conservative Presbyterian Missions in the United States. Most denominational divisions in the Korean Church have some backing by foreign missionaries. The Independent Presbyterian Mission²⁵ and the Orthodox Presbyterian Mission supported the work of the Koryŏ PC, and later the World Presbyterian Mission and the Christian Reformed Board of Foreign Mission joined these two Missions to sustain the Koryo PC.²⁶

After the major division in the PCK in 1959, the Koryŏ PC united with the PCK (NAE) in December of 1960, but this union lasted less than two years.²⁷

The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (3)

The second major division in the PCK is the birth of the PCROK. The origin of this Presbyterian Church also goes back to the time of the Shinto shrine issue in 1938. With the threatening Japanese policemen present, the Twenty-eighth General Assembly of the PCK in 1938 was held

²⁵Clark, p. 246.

²⁶TYC Chŏnghoe Chŏnghoerok [Koryŏ], pp. 29, 69. The General Assembly of the PCK resolved with regard to the struggling Kyŏngnam Presbytery that the Koryŏ Presbyterian group must cease its relation with the Rev. Bruce Hunt of the Orthodox Presbyterian Mission and his fellow missionaries. Infra., pp. 156, 297.

²⁷Infra., p. 77.

in Pyŏngyang under anxiety and fear. Forced to sanction public participation in shrine worship, the moderator called only for a vote of approval. Dissensions were not even acknowledged.²⁸

Although Shinto shrine participation was permitted by the General Assembly, there was vigorous opposition by the missionaries and national pastors. In 1938 Pyŏngyang Seminary which was the only General Assembly seminary of the PCK was ordered to close for its opposition to shrine worship and two of the leading professors fled to another country. The following year Chōsen Seminary, a new school run by the Koreans alone, opened in Seoul with the full blessing of the Japanese. In opposition to this new seminary in Seoul, the Pyongyang Seminary was reopened in Pyŏngyang, and both seminaries promised the Japanese authorities their willingness to cooperate in shrine collaboration,²⁹ and continued to exist almost until the downfall of Japan at the end of World War II.

After the Liberation in 1945, the Southern division of the General Assembly decided to support Chōsen Seminary, but faced doctrinal problems with some of the professors at the Seminary, particularly Professor Kim Chae-chun. Professor Kim and other colleagues, accused of "liberal theology,"

²⁸Kidokkyō Nyōngam (1968), p. 111.

²⁹Clark, p. 247.

stirred a tremendous reaction from the conservative seminary students and Christian leaders. Fifty-one students protested these teachings at Chōsen Seminary and left to join the conservative seminary in Pusan.³⁰ As the migration of North Korean Christians who were considered more conservative in theology³¹ to the South increased, they added their opposition to the fifty-one students against Chosen Seminary. As a consequence, the conservative Christian leaders planned to establish a new General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary in opposition to the existing Chōsen Seminary and to control the General Assembly; contentions and disputes between these two groups lasted for several years. The Thirty-sixth General Assembly in Taegu in April of 1950 was a stormy one, and two months after this the Korean War broke out in June 25, 1950.³²

The conservative faction in the PCK which had the majority received support from the UPCUSA, the PCUS, and the APC. They started a new seminary in Taegu on September 18, 1951, with Dr. Archibald Campbell, a missionary from the UPCUSA, as president. The General Assembly demanded both previous seminaries in Pyōngyang and Seoul to close; however, the "liberal" group refused to close Chōsen Seminary, and

³⁰Kim Yang-son, pp. 216-217.

³¹Harvie M. Conn, "The Bible and Regionalism," Reformed Bulletin of Missions, IV (January 1968), 2.

³²Lee Kun-mu, p. 226.

this opposition led to the final division of the PCK in 1954 and the formation of the PCROK.³³

In this second major division in the PCK, the foreign missionaries were also involved. The Canadian Presbyterian Mission which used to work closely with three other Presbyterian Missions in the past broke off its cooperation and singly supported the PCROK. Professor Kim Chae-chun, the key figure in the PCROK, accused missionaries of the Presbyterian Missions returning after 1945 of a desire to control the PCK. He saw in this alleged greed for power one of the major factors causing the division.³⁴

Theological differences between these groups was probably the decisive factor in the 1945 division. Professor Kim, known as the "pioneer leader of Barthian theology in Korea,"³⁵ received his theological training under the Barthian influence in Japan. Noted for his progressive theology and liberal thinking, he labels himself "liberal-conservative."³⁶ According to Western theological standards

³³Kidokkyo Nyongam (1968), pp. 177-178.

³⁴Lee Kun-mu, p. 226.

³⁵Kidok Shinbo, October 7, 1967, p. 1.

³⁶Kim Chae-chun, "The Present Situation and Future Prospect of the Korean Church," Korea Struggles for Christ, edited by Harold S. Hong, Ji Won-yong and Kim Chong-chun (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1966), p. 29.

he is still regarded as conservative.³⁷ Nevertheless, his admission that there are scientific and historical errors in the Bible³⁸ disturbed many Christians whose faith was deeply rooted in the trustworthiness of the Scriptures and in the conservative theology which they had been taught for many years. Theological controversy in the Church division will be further discussed in Chapter V.³⁹

At the time of the division in 1954, the PCROK took away 568 churches, 291 ministers, and 20,938 baptized members which represented about fifteen percent of the PCK.⁴⁰ In 1968 this denomination became the third largest Presbyterian Church and ranked sixth among the Protestant Churches in Korea.⁴¹

The PCROK is very active in the ecumenical movement today in Korea and the Thirty-ninth General Assembly in June of 1954 decided officially to join the WCC and the KNCC.⁴² Since the PCK withdrawal from the WCC for the

³⁷ Chŏng Yong-chŏl, "Kŭristo nŭn Nanuichi Anatta" (Christ is not Divided), Kidokkyŏ Sasang, V (November 1961), 50.

³⁸ Kim In-sŏh, Hanguk Kyŏhoe nŭn Wae Saunŭnga? (Why is the Korean Church Fighting?) (Pusan: Faith and Life Press, 1961), pp. 4-5. Cf. Kim Yang-sŏn, pp. 222-227.

³⁹ Infra, pp. 118-135.

⁴⁰ Kim Yang-sŏn, p. 287. See Edward Adams, "Personal Report, 1959-1960 to the COEMAR," 1960, p. 2, in UML.

⁴¹ Infra, Appendix A.

⁴² Taehan Kidokkyŏ Changnohoe Che Saship-sa-hoe Chŏnghoe (Minutes of the 44th General Assembly of the Presbyterian

purpose of harmony within the Church in the 1959 division,⁴³ the PCROK continues to play a leading role in propagating the ecumenical movement in Korea. The relationship between the PCROK and the PCK (E) becomes increasingly evident and significant in the Korean Church.⁴⁴

Other Presbyterian Churches

There are other small Presbyterian bodies some of which have only a few churches. When the PCK went down to Pusan during the Korean War, internal division began to appear within the Church. Some local churches refused to join any group and stood neutral in the schismatic conflicts. As a result, these neutral churches organized a body, known as the Presbyterian Church (Neutral) (7) in 1951.⁴⁵

One of the important developments in the Korean Church during the Japanese and Communist persecutions was the rise

Church in the Republic of Korea) (Seoul: PCROK General Assembly, 1960), p. 200.

⁴³George Thompson Brown and Paul S. Crane, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement) (unpublished material on the Southern Presbyterian Mission's position in the 1959 division, October 2, 1959).

⁴⁴Infra, pp. 288-289.

⁴⁵Kidokkyŏ Nyŏngam (1968), p. 366.

of mystical sects. The most prominent mystical and apocalyptic sect is Elder Park Tae-sŏn's Olive Tree Church.⁴⁶

The Zion Presbyterian Church of Christ (19) is another mystical sect in the Presbyterian Church. It originated from the asserted physical appearance of the resurrected Christ on a small mountain (Maesan) in the Kyŏngbuk Province on November 29, 1940; and there came a further revelation on April 24 and 25, 1944, to the leader, Park Tong-sŏn, called the "bride of Christ," in which he was encouraged to fight Japanese imperialism.

Quite contrary to this revelation, he was later directed by the Triune God that he should call the "Holy Japanese Imperial State" the "Mount Zion Imperial State." He appointed the twelve provinces of Korea to represent the twelve tribes of Israel according to Num. 2:1-13 and Rev. 14:2-5, and 13:6-17.⁴⁷ According to their beliefs, the prophets of the

⁴⁶Elder Park used to be a Presbyterian elder in Seoul until he was expelled from the PCK for his cult heresy in 1955. He believes that he is one of the olive trees mentioned in Rev. 11:4, claims to have received a special spiritual revelation and power from God to heal the sick, and declares that those who have faith and drink water from his bath would be healed from their sicknesses. With pentecostal zeal in revival meetings, he drew a large number of converts to his Olive Tree Church and built a "Zion City" or "Christian Town" near Seoul including six modern apartments, schools for children from kindergarten to high school and some fifty large factories which manufacture about fifty items from candies to pianos and machines. See Felix Moos, "Leadership and Organization in the Olive Tree Movement," The New Religions of Korea, Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and edited by Spencer J. Palmer (Seoul: n.p., 1967), XLII, 8, 11

⁴⁷Kidokkyŏ Nyŏngam (1968), p. 309.

return of Christ, the Messianic Kingdom, and Mt. Zion Imperial State had already been fulfilled. Later in January 1950, the leaders of the Church compromised their doctrines; they promised their allegiance to the Republic of Korea, mollified their extreme interpretations of the prophecies in Ezekiel and Daniel, and denied Park Tong-song's claim of being the only Bride of Christ. The Church which has only one local congregation with one minister, one evangelist, and 120 adherents in 1968 adopted a Calvinistic church polity.⁴⁸

Another denomination connected with the Zion Presbyterian Church is the Gospel Tent Presbyterian Church of Korea (18). A minister who was active in the Zion Presbyterian Church of Christ until 1945 organized a Tent Church in Seoul, and this Church merged with some former Zion Presbyterian Churches in Kyōngbuk Province and became known as the Gospel Tent Presbyterian Church. The adherents of this Church applied the prophecies of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah to the situation of Korea. The Church contains only four local congregations with ten elders without a single minister. The ordination of elders and baptism are performed by the Rev. Dwight R. Malsbury, a missionary of the ICCC.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 311.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 278-282.

Although the small Presbyterian sects are not significant in their influence to the Presbyterian Church, the mystical movement as a whole which includes Elder Park's Olive Tree Church has left much greater consequences to the entire Korean Church.⁵⁰

Summary

Schisms experienced by the PCK were due to the Shinto shrine issue which was enforced during the Japanese persecution of the Korean Church after 1945. The PCK (Rehabilitation) and the Koryŏ PC represent the main ones in this category; the formation in 1952 of the Koryŏ PC represents the first major division in the PCK.

The second major split was the PCROK in 1954. Chōsen Seminary with its somewhat more liberal and progressive approach in theology was not satisfied with many conservative Christians in the PCK, particularly the Christians from North Korea.

Besides theological differences, leadership struggles, and other internal causes in the divisions of the PCK until 1959, the foreign mission organizations were also involved in these divisions. The anti-ecumenical missions such as the Orthodox Presbyterian Mission and the ICCA supported the Koryŏ PC against the traditional four Presbyterian

⁵⁰Greenfield C. Kiel, The Church in Korea (Seoul: National Christian Council of Korea, 1961), p. 15.

Missions and the PCK. In the 1954 split, the United Church of Canada withdrew its support from other cooperative missions and assisted the PCROK. The Koryŏ PC and the PCROK represent the right and left wings of the PCK respectively.

CHAPTER IV

DIVISIONS IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KOREA AFTER 1959

Major Division in the Presbyterian Church of Korea in 1959

The major division in the PCK in 1959 was not a sudden occurrence but the result of a long treadmill of friction, distrust, and personal conflicts. In this chapter the immediate, historical background of the 1959 division will be discussed. The subsequent two chapters will deal separately with the deep underlying reasons for the division.¹

The conflict exploded at the Forty-fourth General Assembly, September 24-29, 1959, in Taejon. Before the Forty-fourth General Assembly two important controversial events occurred, "the \$20,000 scandal"² at the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul and local conflicts in the Kyōngnam Presbytery and the Kyōnggi Presbytery.

The main character in the controversy at the seminary was Dr. Park Hyōng-nong, President of the Seminary. The seminary received 30,162,172 whan (\$30,000)³ from the foreign

¹Infra, pp. 100-143, 144-208.

²Minutes and Reports of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1958), p. 120. See Donald G. Barnhouse, Scandal in Korea (Philadelphia: Evangelical Foundation, 1960).

³PCK, Investigation Committee, "Ch'onghoe Shinhakkyō

Presbyterian missions to secure title from the government to property in the historic Nam San, South Mountain, in Seoul where the main Shinto shrines were located and which drew millions of people during the Japanese occupation. The Board of Directors of the seminary decided to erect seminary buildings with a large budget of 7,042,900 whan (\$7,000) on this ground.⁴ The person who was in charge of actual negotiations with the government was Mr. Park Ho-keun. He put most of the money into his own pocket and disappeared.

Later the Investigation Committee of the 1958 General Assembly discovered that \$20,000 had been embezzled. The Committee reported that Dr. Park Hyōng-nong was not directly involved in this financial fraud,⁵ but since he was the chief administrator of the seminary, he bore the brunt of the responsibility and resigned.⁶

The Board of Directors, which consisted of more than thirty members, one from each presbytery and six missionaries of the Three Presbyterian Missions, met and accepted Dr. Park's resignation; however, the Board requested that

Jaechōng Josa Bogosō" (Report of the Financial Investigation of the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary) [1959], p. 1 in AKK.

⁴Minutes of Korea Mission (1954), p. 201, and (1957), p. 139.

⁵PCK, Investigation Committee, pp. 1-7.

⁶Barnhouse, pp. 5-6. This financial embezzlement has to be understood in light of the existing moral decay in Korean society. Infra, pp. 116-117.

he continue his duties until a proper successor would be appointed. In this incident, the basic problem was deeper than just the disappearance of \$20,000. It was mainly entrenched in controversies concerning the ecumenical movement, power struggle for hegemony, the control of mission dollars and other reasons which caused the final division of the PCK.

When the Board decided to permit Dr. Park to continue his regular duties at the seminary, there was strong opposition from the anti-Park group in the Board. The Executive Committee of the Seminary Board decided to strip Dr. Park of his presidential functions and appointed a three-man administrative committee from the Board members to direct the seminary until the next General Assembly would meet in September of 1959. However, the Executive Committee provided a compromise to satisfy the supporters of Dr. Park. He became Honorary President and maintained his professorship at the seminary.⁷

This division brought temporary relief to the problem, but the General Assembly rejected the recommendation of the Executive Committee of the Board and demanded the dissolution of the present Board and the election of a new one.⁸

⁷Minutes of Korea Mission (1958), p. 120.

⁸Ibid. (1959), p. 91.

The Board of Directors, the Executive Committee, the faculty, the student body, and the church itself were all divided on this problem between anti- and pro-Dr. Park, because in this issue were embodied all the main conflicts in the PCK.

The supporters of Dr. Park who were pro-NAE and anti-WCC claimed that he was ousted from the seminary, not because of his financial mismanagement but rather his conservative theology and anti-ecumenical attitude. The Bulletin of the Presbyterian Seminary (NAE) in Seoul explained the long-time desire of the missionaries to get rid of Dr. Park from the seminary:

To get rid of Dr. Park from theological education work had been a desire of the missionaries for many years in the past. They did not like his leadership in theological education because his theological position had not advanced from that of the Old Princeton and Old Pyung Yang seminaries and were planning for a new unified seminary [from Pyŏngyang Seminary and Chōsen Seminary]. The head missionary of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Mission advised Dr. Park a few times not to join the new seminary and to stay outside for a literary work. . . . Several years later, when the unfortunate accident [\$20,000 embezzlement] took place in President Park's seminary administration, the missionary desire was fulfilled by getting rid of him from the seminary presidency and elect as his successor the man for whom the missionary directors had voted . . . ¹⁰

⁹Infra, pp. 196-198

¹⁰PCK (NAE) Presbyterian General Assembly Theological Seminary, Bulletin (Seoul: Spring 1962), p. 2. Cf. Harvie Conn, "Conservative Trends in the Korean Presbyterian Church," Torch and Trumpet, XV (October 1965), 12.

Upon his return home in 1930, he became a professor of theology at Pyongyang Seminary and a chief spokesman for conservative theology. In his life he also faced and suffered persecutions by the Japanese during the Shinto shrine enforcement in 1938 and lived in exile in Manchuria until the end of World War II. When he returned to Korea, he became the president of the Koryŏ Seminary in Pusan. But when he found that the Koryo Seminary was departing from the main PCK, he resigned and in 1954 took the seat of the presidency at the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul.¹⁶ The core of his supporters were the fifty-one students who had left Chosen Seminary because of its liberal teachings to follow Dr. Park to the Koryŏ Seminary.¹⁷

The main objective of both the Ecumenical and NAE groups was to control the General Assembly. In the Forty-third General Assembly of 1958 NAE men were elected to all the important offices except the treasurer,¹⁸ and they were determined to control the Forty-fourth Assembly. NAE leaders

¹⁶Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, March 9, 1966, p. 2.

¹⁷George Thompson Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1892-1962" (unpublished Th.D. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va., 1963), p. 715. Dr. Brown deals with the 1959 division of the PCK in the Appendix, "Schisms within the Presbyterian Church of Korea," pp. 694-743.

¹⁸Keith R. Crim, "Letter to Christians in America," December 39, 1960, p. 1, in BWM.

met at Mt. Sankak and pre-arranged the roster of officers for the next General Assembly.¹⁹

The leaders of both groups realized the seriousness of conflicts in the forthcoming confrontation, so fifteen men from both sides including the Moderator of the Assembly, the General Secretary, five former moderators, and eight ministers met on March 9 and April 10, 1958, to sooth rising tensions and published jointly a four-point statement:

1. We hold to the Church's traditional faith and polity according to our Calvinistic theology, observe evangelistic faith and a sanctified life, and aim to achieve peace in the Church.
2. As the Forty-Second General Assembly of the PCK resolved, the ecumenical movement is only for Christian fellowship and work between denominations, not for unification of all denominations under one super Church. . . .
3. According to 1 Cor. 6:14-16 which says, "What fellowship has light with darkness? . . . what has a believer in common with an unbeliever?" we firmly reject any pro-Communist policy and secularism.
4. We believe in the Biblical ecumenical movement; however, when the WCC or other ecumenical organizations hinder genuine faith and work of our General Assembly, we strongly recommend²⁰ severing our relation to that organization.

The second major controversy involved the local presbyteries. The stronghold of the UPM, the Kyōnggi (Seoul)

¹⁹PCK (E), Kyōnggi Presbytery Commissioners to the General Assembly, "Sōng Myōng Sō" (Statement), September 7, 1959, in CKO.

²⁰PCK, "Hae Myōng Sō" (Statement), by the former moderators and leading ministers of both Ecumenical and NAE sides, April 11, 1959, in CKO.

Presbytery, became another focal point of conflict between the two groups. On May 12, 1959, the Kyonggi Presbytery, which was controlled by NAE men, elected commissioners for the forthcoming Forty-fourth General Assembly in September. After the balloting, one of the prominent NAE leaders, Whang Kum-chūn, inquired as to why he was not chosen and called for a recount. The recount resulted in dropping a delegate from the Ecumenical side for an NAE one. Vociferous protests stormed from the Ecumenical group which called for a new Presbytery meeting in which 109 out of 240 regular representatives attended.²¹ On the June 11th meeting, they demanded the resignation of the Presbytery officers for their dishonesty. Refusing to resign, the NAE officers explained that the vote counters had made a mistake.

Both Moderator Lee Whan-su (NAE) and Vice-Moderator Kang Shin-myōng (Ecumenical) had an Emergency Committee meeting to resolve the conflict but failed. The Rev. Kang then called a temporary Presbytery meeting in his name in which eighty-seven representatives²² attended and elected another set of commissioners included twenty-seven Ecumenical men and one NAE man.²³ Therefore, there were two sets of

²¹SPM, "Nam Changnokyo Sōnkyōhoe Shinang Kobaek" (Doctrinal Confession of the Southern Presbyterian Mission), December 12, 1959, in CKO.

²²Kidok Kongbo, August 31, 1959, p. 1.

²³Kidok Shinbo, August 19, 1961, p. 1. Cf. Barnhouse, p. 15.

commissioners each of whom claimed to be the legal representatives of the Kyōnggi Presbytery to the Forty-fourth General Assembly.²⁴ Those who foresaw an ominous threat of a split in the General Assembly suggested that the ballots of the regular Kyōnggi Presbytery meeting be sent to the Regulation Committee in the Assembly to be reevaluated. Neither side was interested in suggestions for reconciliation.²⁵

Another explosion occurred in the Kyongbuk Presbytery, largest in the PCK, where strong NAE sentiment prevailed. The external reason for the outbreak of the struggle involved Kyemyong Christian College in Taegu. Dr. Edward Adams, a second-generation missionary from the UPCUSA, inherited the vision from his father to found a Christian college in the third largest city in South Korea. The college was founded in 1954 and Dr. Archibald Campbell became the first president.

In the establishment of this college there was another man whose effort was no less than Dr. Adams'; this was the Rev. Park Byong-hun, an outspoken leader of the NAE group in Taegu, as Dr. Campbell explains:

²⁴Kang Shin-myōng, "Kyōnggi Nohoe Chē Ch'ilship-i hoe Imshinohoe Kyōnguisō" (A letter of explanation of the Seventy-second [temporary] Kyōnggi Presbytery Meeting), August 24, 1959, in KRC. Cf. Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," pp. 721-723.

²⁵Hanguk Kidok Shibo, September 14, 1959, p. 2.

Mr. Park was also very much interested in the establishment of the college and took the leadership among the Korean leaders toward that end. I feel that the actual establishment, at least at that time, would not have been accomplished except for his activity. He made the suggestion of a 100% Korean responsibility with only initial establishment aid, to Dr. Smith [Executive Secretary of the Northern Presbyterian Mission], which made its founding possible. Both [Dr. Adams and the Rev. Park], therefore, felt themselves as somewhat in the role of "father" of the institution, although neither made any such claim. . . .²⁶

The actual conflict started with the change of administration from Dr. Campbell to Dr. Adams. When Dr. Adams ascended to the presidency, he made some drastic changes in the college. Being the Field Representative of COEMAR, he chose an Ecumenical man, Mr. Shin Tae-shik, for the vice-presidency against the strong NAE majority of the Kyōngbuk Presbytery. The NAE faction vigorously protested.²⁷ According to Dr. Campbell, there were some rumors that Rev. Park, an influential person at the college and a strong supporter of Dr. Park Hyōng-nong, was also interested in becoming vice-president. More likely, the Rev. Park was eager to appoint one of the elders of his church, a professor at the college, to that second high-ranking position.²⁸

Fully realizing the inevitable conflict between his Ecumenical group and the opposing NAE group, Dr. Adams

²⁶Archibald Campbell, "A letter to the writer," November 7, 1968, p. 1.

²⁷Kidok Kongbo, August 31, 1959.

²⁸Campbell, p. 1.

changed the charter of Kyemyōng College without consultation with the Presbytery which was dominated by the NAE faction and dismissed some NAE men from the college staff who tried to control the school. Reacting with scorn, the NAE faction waged a clamorous campaign against its opposition.²⁹ Dr. Adams reported the situation to COEMAR:

Our Presbytery was the largest and the local politicians sought to control nationally, but two set-backs occurred a little over a year ago. Forces organized to deprive them of control over a night seminary and Kyemyōng Christian College. A fight to the finish followed. It was inevitable that local forces would join hands with the national.³⁰

From this time on every Presbytery meeting was filled with everything but tranquillity and harmony. The temporary Presbytery meeting on July 16, 1959, already hinted of the fierce heat of the coming regular meeting in September. On the first day of the Sixty-fifth Kyōngbuk Presbytery meeting, some eighty Ecumenical delegates out of 280 walked out

²⁹The NAE group sent out two letters concerning the anti-ecumenical group on August 19, 1959: (1) "Wae Sōnkyosa Anduwha nūn Chōbōl Danghaetnūnga?" (Why was Missionary Edward Adams Punished?); (2) "Sanha Kak Kyōhoe e Allinūn Malsūm" (Statement to Christians). The former contains sixteen charges against Dr. Adams, and the latter was the appeal of the Moderator and other NAE leaders in the Presbytery to Christians. See Son In-shik and other, "Anduwha Sōnkyōsa e Kwanhan Sōnchōnmun e taehan Byōnlonchi" (Discussion Concerning the Propaganda on Missionary Edward Adams), August 25, 1959, in CKO. The ecumenical side of the Presbytery attacked the Moderator of the Presbytery (NAE). See Cha Tae-wha and others, "Kyōngbuk Nohoechang Kim Se-yōng Moksa ege Dūrinūn Malsūm ul Kongkaeham" (An open letter to Rev. Kim Se-yōng, Moderator of the Kyōngbuk Presbytery), August 25, 1959, in CKO.

³⁰Edward Adams, "Personal Report, 1959-1960" (1960), p. 5, in UML.

and formed another Presbytery called "Ch'a T'ae-wha Presbytery" after their leader.³¹ The Presbytery condemned Dr. Adams for his single-handed actions concerning the college and dismissed him from the Presbytery.³²

On September 10th, the Presbytery meeting became such a medley of chaos that the moderator announced an emergency recess. When the moderator refused to call a meeting, the Ecumenical side continued their caucus, reinstating Dr. Adams and electing nine men of their choice to the Board of the Presbyterian night seminary in Taegu. The continuing Presbytery (Ecumenical) dropped three key NAE leaders from the names of the commissioners for the coming Forty-fourth General Assembly in Taejon. The tactic of the NAE was to let the Assembly deal with Dr. Adams, since they thought the Assembly would be dominated by the NAE men. They also wanted the Kyōngbuk Presbytery (NAE) to elect the nine men to the seminary Board, because of the NAE majority in the Presbytery.³³

The place for the Forty-fourth General Assembly was also in dispute. One of the reasons for meeting was to

³¹PCK (NAE), Kyōngbuk Presbytery, "Kyōngbuk Nohoe Sosok Sōmun Kyōhoe Bunkyu e taehan Sōng Myōng sō" (Statement on the Division of the West Gate Church [Taegu] in the Kyōngbuk Presbytery), June 2, 1960, in CKO.

³²Ch'a T'ae-wha and others.

³³Nam Sang-ho, "Kyōngbuk Nohoe Chē Yukship-oh-hoe ui Chinsang ūl Balkim" (Description of Real Facts on the Sixty-fifth Kyōngbuk Presbytery), September 19, 1959, in CKO.

celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Mission and to implement a mission policy which would replace the traditional Korea Mission of the UPM with the "Department of Cooperative Work."³⁴ The Ecumenical side favored Seoul for its meeting place. The NAE leaders knew that Seoul was strongly ecumenical and decided twenty days before the Assembly to meet at the Central Church in Taejon, where the host pastor was one of the NAE leaders. Every detail was carefully prearranged for the General Assembly by the NAE side.³⁵

Before the General Assembly, the Korean Church was well aware of a possible split in the PCK. The editor of Kidok Kongbo, weekly newspaper, talked to many leaders of both sides and predicted that some drastic action would take place at the meeting.³⁶ The editor of Hanguk Kidok Shibo also predicted a possible schism and gave the following report:

There is a strong possibility that the General Assembly will just open and then close because of the serious problem in the Kyonggi Presbytery. . . . It seems to appear that the path of the General Assembly will be fundamentally determined by which of some thirty commissioners between the regular₃₇ and temporary Presbytery meetings will be seated.

³⁴Annual Report: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York: COEMAR, 1961), p. 20.

³⁵PCK (E) Kyonggi Presbytery Commissioners to the General Assembly.

³⁶Kidok Kongbo, August 31, 1959, p. 1.

³⁷Hanguk Kidok Shibo, September 14, 1959, p. 4.

The commissioners of the Kyōnggi Presbytery (temporary) warned the local presbyteries about the impending crisis.³⁸

Dr. Richard H. Baird, Commission Representative of the COEMAR, delineated the Mission's helplessness in the situation, "These are not matters within the control of the Commission Representative or of the Mission."³⁹

Realizing the urgency of a solution before the actual confrontation at the General Assembly, some ministers appealed for the moderators of the presbyteries to meet and iron out their differences. Some twenty moderators did gather for a two-day conference and published a six-point statement:

1. We propose to the officers of the General Assembly that the Forty-fourth General Assembly should be held in Seoul [rather than Taejōn] for the 75th Anniversary of the Mission.
2. We propose to the General Assembly that the professors of the seminary pledge to uphold the creed in our Constitution.
3. The Investigation Committee for the Ecumenical and NAE movements should take another year of investigation and then report to the following General Assembly (1960).⁴⁰
4. Problems within a presbytery should be solved within that presbytery. If any problems come to

³⁸PCK (E), Kyōnggi Presbytery Commissioners to the General Assembly.

³⁹Minutes of Korea Mission (1958), p. 49.

⁴⁰Since the ecumenical issue became serious to the point of split in the PCK, another year of investigation by the Committee would postpone the possible schism for one more year.

the floor of the General Assembly, they should be turned over to the Judicial Committee.

5. We propose that the Board of Trustees show its deep appreciation to the former president, Rev. Park Hyŏng-nong, and elect shortly the president or acting president, construct seminary buildings and restore its public image.
6. We propose to recognize the bodies of the General Assembly and simplify the administration.⁴¹

This final effort to soothe the critical tensions provided no effective help. The only thing left was just to wait until the opening of the Forty-fourth General Assembly.

Forty-Fourth General Assembly of the
Presbyterian Church in Korea,
September 24-29, 1959

"D-Day" arrived in the PCK. Some 250 official commissioners descended upon Taejon for the Assembly from the four corners of Korea, including two sets of commissioners from the Kyŏnggi Presbytery.

During the roll call repeated interruptions occurred because of the conflicting set of representatives from both the Kyŏnggi and the Kyŏngbuk Presbyteries. The thirty-one votes from the Kyŏnggi Presbytery were significant enough to determine the course of the next General Assembly administration. In dealing with the Kyŏngbuk Presbytery, the State Clerk, Kim Sang-Kŏwn (NAE), seated the regular commissioners,

⁴¹Lee Ki-hyŏk, Kay Ch'ang-chu, Yu Chae-han, "Allinŭn Malsŭm" (Announcement), September 19, 1959, in CKO.

including the three NAE leaders whose seats were challenged by the Ecumenical group in the Presbytery. But when he came to the Kyōnggi delegation, he simply omitted them with an explanation that the problem would be solved later. Heated disputes continued throughout the meeting over the two sets of Kyōnggi delegates. The actual number of commissioners in dispute was sixteen, because three out of thirty-one were missionaries, and twelve were listed on both sides. The first night meeting was adjourned in disorder and confusion.⁴²

Fearing the outcome of this Assembly, some ministers tried to resolve the differences by suggesting to the moderator that three men from each side explain their cases to the Assembly and put the problem to a vote. The moderator and the Assembly allowed two from each side and a third person from another Presbytery to present their cases. After hearing the presentations, the entire Assembly voted, with the following result:

124	for the temporary Kyōnggi Presbytery (Ecumenical)
119	for the regular Kyōnggi Presbytery (NAE)
<u>5</u>	blank
248	Total

In this voting about twenty missionaries were involved. Since most of them voted for the Ecumenical side, their voice became a decisive factor.⁴³

⁴²George Thompson Brown and John W. Folta, "The Forty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, Taejon, September 24-28, 1959" [1959], p. 1, in KRC. Cf. E. Otto DeCamp, "Presbyterian Council Notes, the Taejon Assembly, September 24-28, 1959" (1959), p. 1, in KRC.

⁴³Ibid. Cf. Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 728.

The next day, September 26th, after the Ecumenical delegates of the Kyōnggi Presbytery were officially seated, disputes were getting hotter. The NAE group realized that any further progress of the meeting would favor their opponents. Using a tactic to filibuster the meeting, the NAE group appealed to the Judicial Committee which was dominated by NAE men, to investigate the "illegal action" in the Kyōnggi Presbytery.⁴⁴ According to the Constitution, the General Assembly had the right to suspend the membership of any presbytery until the Judicial Committee investigated the question of legality. The "illegal" matter of the Kyonggi commissioners, therefore, had already been submitted to the Judicial Committee before the General Assembly meeting. The group therefore argued that the Ecumenical Kyōnggi delegates could not practice their membership right until this Committee offered a solution.⁴⁵ The Ecumenical side, on the other hand, insisted on the legitimacy of their delegates because of the prior balloting.

It soon became impossible to proceed with the meeting because of the commotion in the Assembly. Twice the

⁴⁴ PCK (NAE), General Assembly Officers, "TYC Chē Saship-sa hoe Chōnghoe Chōnghoe hu Shintoke Bonenūn Mesechi" (Forty-fourth General Assembly of the PCK: A Message of the Christian People after the Recess), September 30, 1959, in KRC.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Cf. PCK (NAE), "TYC Chōnghoe Chē Saship-sa hoe Hoerok Chwalyo" (Minutes of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of the PCK), September 29, 1959, in CKO. Chōng Kyu-oh.

Judicial Committee and the former moderators of the General Assembly suggested to the Kyōnggi commissioners to give a certain percentage of commissioners to the other side. But they refused to do so, because the yielding of any seats to the other side meant the loss of control of the General Assembly. The Judicial Committee finally announced that it was not able to find a solution and recommended to the moderator to adjourn until December.⁴⁶

Saturday night's session was electric with hostility and ended with two motions on the floor; the main motion was to proceed with the meeting and the election of officers and the substitute motion was to adjourn the meeting until November for the reelection of the Kyōnggi commissioners.⁴⁷

After a quiet Sunday, the Assembly returned to the normal condition of discord on Monday (September 28th). The moderator opened the meeting with a declaration that the previous motions were all invalid for the sake of peace, but the NAE side insisted that their substitute motion was still valid. The meeting was in so much confusion that the moderator retracted his statement of invalidation of previous motions and put them to the Assembly for balloting. The NAE side again stirred up the Assembly with "shouts and substitute

⁴⁶DeCamp, p. 1. Cf. Brown and Folta, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 2. Cf. DeCamp, p. 1.

motions of all kinds."⁴⁸ Realizing that he could not preside over such anarchic conditions, he pronounced a recess. Dr. Han Kyōng-chik, a noted Ecumenical leader, then proposed to the moderator to call on the former moderators of the General Assembly for an emergency meeting to find a solution. The former moderators (six NAE men and three Ecumenical) made a three-point recommendation:

1. The General Assembly will recess until November.
2. A new election of commissioners will be held in the Kyōnggi Presbytery.
3. A committee consisting of all the former moderators of the General Assembly and the current moderators of the thirty-four presbyteries will deal with any urgent problem.⁴⁹

There was a substitute motion which proposed to form a Peace Committee consisting of five from each side, two from each of the three Missions, and the moderator of the Assembly. A second substitute motion requested that the present officers of the General Assembly to the Peace Committee be increased to seventeen. As these motions were about to be put to vote, growing shouts and unruly conduct prevailed.

Realizing the impossibility of proceeding with the meeting in the midst of this uncontrollable situation, the moderator decided to adjourn and reconvene the General

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁹Ibid. Cf. Brown and Folta, p. 3.

Assembly in November in Seoul. Immediately after the moderator's announcements, a leader of the Ecumenical side, the Rev. Ahn Kwang-kuk, the former state clerk, stepped into the pulpit and read the following statement:

1. We declare a vote of non-confidence in the moderator and the officers of this Assembly.
2. Therefore, the former moderator, Rev. Chun Pil-soon [Ecumenical] should take the chair.⁵⁰

There were clamors of "yea" when the Rev. Ahn put this motion before the floor and he declared his motion passed. Then the "confusion-worse-confounded" followed.⁵¹

As soon as the adjournment of the Assembly was pronounced, the host pastor, Yang Wha-sŏk (NAE), who was vice-moderator of the Assembly, requested the delegates to move from his church due to disorder.⁵²

A missionary from the SPM later described his feelings about the dispute to his Christian friends in America and requested for prayer for the Korean Christians.

We reached Taejon to face a whirl of activity. The Korean General Assembly was also preparing to meet in Taejon and missionaries from other areas were coming in with us. . . . We found tension running very high in the Assembly; it was never able to sit down to the business at hand. We are fearful of a split in the church and covet your prayers that it may not materialize and that our Korean brethren may be able to resolve their differences.⁵³

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ John E. Talmage, "Letter to Christians in America," dated October 9, 1959, in BWM.

After the break up of the General Assembly in Taejon, the Ecumenical group continued their meeting at the Yondong Church in Seoul. There were 145 commissioners out of 283 regular commissioners⁵⁴ at this meeting including some twenty missionaries.⁵⁵ This Yondong Assembly claimed to be the legal Forty-fourth General Assembly, while the NAE group denounced this Assembly as an "illegal" faction from the PCK, because the moderator was not involved in calling the Assembly.⁵⁶ To this charge from the NAE group, the Yondong Pa⁵⁷ replied that they still had the majority of the commissioners regardless of the moderator's illegal action;⁵⁸ they called him a "dictatorial moderator."⁵⁹

Thus, the Forty-fourth General Assembly was divided into the Ecumenical and NAE factions. The NAE side had

⁵⁴Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 731. Some of 145 delegates were alternatives, and in a strict sense these alternatives did not represent their presbyteries; in other words, the Yondong Assembly did not have the majority of the Taejon commissioners in September 24-28.

⁵⁵Lee Chang-kyu and Kim Kwang-hyŏn, "Chē Saship-sa hoe Chonghoe nūn Irŏtke Machŏtta" (How the Forty-fourth General Assembly Ended), October 1959, in KRC.

⁵⁶Noh Chin-hyŏn, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement) on the NAE Assembly in Seoul on November 24, 1959, September 30, 1959, in CKO. Cf. PCK (NAE), General Assembly Officers.

⁵⁷Since the Ecumenical group met at the Yondong Church after the division of the General Assembly in Taejon, this group was called as the "Yondong Pa." "Pa" in Korean means faction or group.

⁵⁸Minutes of Korea Mission (1962), p. 44.

⁵⁹Kidok Kongbo, October 5, 1959, p. 2.

pre-determined long before this Assembly not to hand the Assembly over to the other side, because Ecumenical control of the 1956 General Assembly under Dr. Han Kyōng-chik and Rev. Chōn Pil-sun had brought swift infiltration of the ecumenical movement into the PCK.⁶⁰ Since there was already a complete internal division in the PCK, all they needed was the external spark to ignite the flames and finalize the break.

Because leaders of both groups realized the inevitable division of the Church, their main concern was how to gain local congregations to their respective sides through controlling the General Assembly. This was why both groups wanted to retain control of the Assembly. Adamant opposition to any compromise on the part of the NAE and Ecumenical groups in the efforts for reconciliation and reunion showed the intensity of division already present.⁶¹

The NAE side met at Sungdong Church in Seoul on November 24, 1959, for their General Assembly in which 193 out of 279 commissioners attended.⁶² The Assembly sent a statement concerning the policy of the NAE group to each

⁶⁰ Chōng Kyu-oh.

⁶¹ Infra, pp. 228, 233-234.

⁶² Chong Kyō Kongnon (Religious Public Opinion), November 30, 1959, p. 2. The Ecumenical group claimed that only 97 out of 287 commissioners attended the General Assembly and did not represent the majority of the Taejon Assembly; therefore, the General Assembly was invalid. Cf. PCK (E), Honam Area Christian Mission Conference Committee, "Sōng Myōng Sō" (A Statement), June 29, 1960, in CKO.

local church. Besides condemnatory statements against the Yondong Pa,⁶³ and a word of appreciation to the missionaries, this statement affirmed that the PCK must cease its relation with the WCC movement. They would, in turn, withdraw from the NAE movement for the sake of harmony in the church.⁶⁴

J. A. Croft, a missionary from the APM, who attended the NAE Assembly in the Sungdong Church as an observer, gave a critical analysis of the meetings,

The tone of this Assembly was set by the Moderator's remarks in his sermons reviewing recent splits in the church, saying that the latest one was the Yōngdong Pa and it was hoped that they would return to the rightful Assembly and give up their illegalities.⁶⁵

He also criticized the leadership of this group. "The leadership of the Assembly was in the hands of a few extremists who seemed to control it all, namely . . . [names of six NAE leaders]."⁶⁶

The burgeoning divisive factors in the PCK which occurred at the General Assembly level affected the church

⁶³The Yōndong Pa represents the Ecumenical, while the Sungdong Pa the NAE group.

⁶⁴PCK (NAE), "TYC Chōnghoe Wōnchuk Kwa Chōngan (Chē Saship-sa hoe)" (Principles and Policies of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea), November 27, 1959, in CKO. See J. A. Croft, "Impressions of Portion of 44th 'General Assembly' Sungdong Presbyterian Church, November 24, 1959" (1959), in KRC.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 1.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 7.

down to its grass roots--the seminaries, Bible institutes, the local congregations, and many of the main Presbyterian organizations. The hardest blow was felt by the Seminary in Seoul which was the largest one not only in Korea but in all of Asia. It supplied most of the ministers in the PCK. During the first semester of the school year of 1957, the seminary had 630 students, including 45 women. There were 250 enrolled in the Preparatory Department, 230 in the Regular Department, and 150 in the Speical Department.⁶⁷

Both Ecumenical and NAE groups tried to control the seminary in Seoul by steering the Seminary Board. The seminary was under the surveillance of the General Assembly and operated through the Board of Directors which consisted of more than thirty members from different presbyteries and the foreign missions.⁶⁸

Since the resignation of President Park Hy^ung-nong due to the \$20,000 incident in 1958, the question of the presidency was paramount. The Ecumenical group tried to put in Dr. Kay Il-s^ung, who had received his Th.D. from Union

⁶⁷Minutes of Korea Mission (1957), p. 138. There are three Departments: the Main Department is a three-year program for those with a B. A. or the Preparatory Department training; the Special Department is a three-year training for those without a bachelor's degree but with at least three years experience as a full-time Christian worker; the Preparatory Department is a two-year program for high school graduates. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1956), p. 99.

⁶⁸Ibid. (1955), p. 100.

Seminary in Richmond, Virginia, and was one of the pro-Ecumenical professors at the seminary, while the NAE group advocated Dr. Myōng Shin-hong, one of their own professors. The NAE group also wanted to restore Dr. Park to his teaching position. Prior to the stormy Taejon General Assembly, there had been an election for the President at the general meeting of the Seminary Board in which Dr. Kay failed to get a two-thirds majority. As a result, a committee of seven men from both sides was chosen for administration, and Noh Chin-hyōn, as the Moderator of the Forty-third General Assembly, became the acting president, even though he lived in Pusan.⁶⁹

After the split in Taejon, the Yondong Assembly (Ecumenical) decided to confirm Dr. Kay as the acting president of the seminary and made an immediate request to the Missions for \$100,000 for a special building fund.⁷⁰ The Three Missions openly supported the decision of the Yondong Assembly concerning Dr. Kay. Dr. Edward Adams, the chairman of the Board and the temporary president of the Seminary for the Ecumenical group after the division of the Forty-fourth General Assembly announced that Dr. Kay was the acting president and installed him in office. Dr. Adams also took all

⁶⁹PCK (NAE), "TYC Sam Sōnkyōhoe e taehan Kyōngkomun" (A Warning to the Three Missions from the Presbyterian Church in Korea), November 24, 1959, in KRC. See Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 732. Brown and Folta, p. 1.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 7.

the documents out of the seminary and deposited money in the bank in Dr. Kay's name.⁷¹ Railroading acting president Noh out of office became the decisive factor in creating vociferous opposition by the NAE group against the missionaries and the Ecumenical group.⁷²

At 4:30 A.M.,⁷³ November 17, one week before the NAE Assembly in Taejŏn "the incident of November 17th"⁷⁴ occurred. Dr. Kay Il-sŭng and three other Korean professors (Ecumenical) brought six trucks and several workmen to the seminary to remove the furniture. The watchman, a pro-NAE man, prevented them from removing the furniture by lying down in front of the truck and mobilized the NAE leaders and students in the dormitory. As more students and missionaries arrived at the seminary, confusion prevailed. After the failure of his attempt became evident, Dr. Kay announced, "The winter recess will begin as of today, November 17th."⁷⁵ In direct contradiction, the Rev. Mr. Noh maintained that classes would continue as usual.⁷⁶

⁷¹ PCK (NAE), "TYC Sam Sŏnkyŏhoe e taehan Kyŏngkomun," p. 1.

⁷² Hanguk Kidok Shibo, November 30, 1959, p. 1.

⁷³ Rev. Homer T. Rickabaugh mentions that it was between 6:15 and 6:30 A.M. See Homer T. Rickabaugh, "A Report with Regard to the General Assembly Theological Seminary in Seoul, and the Attempted Move of November 17th," November 30, 1959, p. 2, in KRC.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 1.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

The next morning there was another attempt of salvaging the furniture by eight missionaries and some Korean professors at 5:00 A.M. They received support from an Army General in the ROK Army and brought several army men and policemen to the seminary; however, the NAE side was ready to withstand them. The missionaries who realized the seriousness of this confrontation gave up hope of confiscating the furniture. After this failure, they announced that the seminary would continue at the Old Tae Kwang High School. Open conflicts among the professors in front of their students produced a combination of pity and bitterness, and many students went to chapel weeping and praying for the church. The seminary finally became divided into two.⁷⁷

A few years after the division, the Yondong Pa built a modern building for the seminary at Kwangnaru with the assistance of mission dollars from the COEMAR and the SPM. The seminary used \$32,000 from the Commission for the lot and requested \$32,000 more for further construction expenses.⁷⁸ The First Presbyterian Church in Oklahoma City

⁷⁷Croft, p. 3. This incident was widely publicized in America and Korea. The NAE's version of the story is found in the Christian Beacon of the ICCM (November 26, 1959), p. 5; the Rev. Kim Yun-chan's report at the NAE Assembly on November 24 (Croft, p. 3), and the Hanguk Kidok Shibo, November 30, 1959, p. 1. The missionaries' version of the incident is in the Rev. Homer T. Rickabaugh's six-page report and Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," pp. 737-738.

⁷⁸Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 31.

offered a gift for the library and books were supplied by Princeton Seminary.⁷⁹ The SPM donated \$40,000 for a dormitory.⁸⁰ Financial assistance from the three cooperating missions has been the constant major source of income for the seminary expenses.

Since the break with the three missions, the Sungdong Pa lost support and ran into financial difficulties. This was why they were determined to hold on to the seminary buildings, equipment, and library records.⁸¹ In this financial predicament, Dr. Carl McIntire of the ICCC stepped into the picture with his "Christmas offerings."⁸² The influence of mission money will be dealt with later in this thesis.⁸³ Eventually, the Sungdong Pa also erected a new four-story building for their seminary at a site in Yungdungpo, across from the Han River in 1966.⁸⁴

Although the General Assembly and seminary were divided, many Christians hoped and prayed for reconciliation. Ministers, leaders of the young people's organizations, Sunday School councils, and the National Association of Presbyterian

⁷⁹Samuel H. Moffett, "Letter to the COEMAR," August 1, 1966, p. 2, in UML. Minutes of Korea Mission (1966), p. 59.

⁸⁰Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 115.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 114.

⁸²Ibid., p. 69.

⁸³Infra, p. 160.

⁸⁴Kidok Shinbo, April 29, 1967, p. 1.

Women refused to take part in the crossfire of recriminations and stood neutral with expectations that the differences would be solved in the near future.⁸⁵ Even some presbyteries declared their neutrality.⁸⁶ The leaders of Presbyterian laymen published a joint statement for the unity of the church,

Laymen are wandering right and left like lost sheep. Women are bowed down with weeping. Seminary students are stirring up controversies. Ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ face each other--trembling with anger. Who wants division in our church? Let us ask again, who wants this division?⁸⁷

In the midst of struggles, splits and declaration of neutrality, there were two major reconciliation efforts with specific propositions initiated by the Missions: "Three Missions Peace Plan"⁸⁸ and the "Southern Presbyterian Missions Peace Plan."⁸⁹ But both were rejected by the Sungdong Pa on the basis that these plans did not guarantee the complete cessation of relationship between the WCC movement and the PCK.

⁸⁵ Keith R. Crim, "United Assembly of the Korean Church (February 17, 1960)" (1960), p. 4, in KRC. See Chou Sŏn-ae, "A Letter of Appeal to American Christians," October 26, 1959, in KRC. Mrs. Chou was the new president of the National Women's Organization of the PCK. See Allen D. Clark, "Letter to the COEMAR," dated February 1, 1960, pp. 2-3, in UML.

⁸⁶ Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 68.

⁸⁷ "A Statement of Concern," by Christian laymen in the PCK [October 1959], in KRC.

⁸⁸ APM, SPM, and UPM, "Chē An Sŏ" (Three Missions Peace Plan), November 6, 1959, in KRC.

⁸⁹ W. A. Linton and Others, "Nam Changnokyō Sŏnkyōhoe Chēansŏ" (A Reconciliation Plan of the SPM), January 13, 1960, in KRC.

The failure of this last-ditch attempt to save the PCK led to the final official break up. The Yŏndong Pa called the Reunited Assembly on February 17, 1960, inviting all the commissioners of the Forty-fourth General Assembly. This was the last effort of the Yŏndong Pa to get the uncommitted neutrals and some wavering Sungdong men into their camp.⁹⁰ The Forty-fourth General Assembly of both the Yŏndong Pa and the Sŭngdong Pa were held in two separate churches in Seoul in September of 1960⁹¹ and marked the beginning of the third major division in the PCK.

One of the interesting sidelights in this division was the contradicting claims that each side made. While the Yŏndong Pa cited that they had the majority representation of commissioners at the Yŏndong Assembly and the Reunited Assembly as well as the majority of churches,⁹² the Sŭngdong Pa also boasted of their majority.⁹³ At the time of the 1959 division and early in 1960 some Ecumenical missionaries

⁹⁰The Annual Reports of the Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. (Nashville: Board of World Missions, 1960), p. 101.

⁹¹Kŭrisch'an Shinmun (September 1960), p. 1.

⁹²Minutes of Korea Mission (1962), p. 44.

⁹³Theodore Hard, "Another Church Split in Korea," Torch and Trumpet, X (March 1960), 16.

admitted that the split appeared to be almost fifty-fifty.⁹⁴ After the Reunited Assembly which drew many neutrals and some NAE men, the Yondong Pa claimed that they had the majority of the PCK by 70 percent to 30 percent⁹⁵ or 75 percent to 25 percent.⁹⁶

Generally, the Yondong Pa was stronger in the cities where missionaries were influential, while the NAE group had majorities in the country.⁹⁷ One Sungdong Pa leader said that the Yondong Pa was stronger in churches in Seoul and Andong where the influence of the UPM was dominant as well as in many small rural churches which were not able to support themselves and received mission money. But among the self-supporting churches the Sungdong Pa was stronger.⁹⁸

It is very difficult to have an accurate calculation of statistics, particularly in the Korean Church where there

⁹⁴Samuel H. Moffett, "Letter to COEMAR," dated April 26, 1960, in UML. See Keith R. Crim, "Letter to Christians in America," dated December 30, 1959, in BWM. Joseph B. Hopper, "Letter to Christians in America," dated July 22, 1960, in BWM.

⁹⁵Samuel H. Moffett, "Annual Report, 1959-1960," April 26, 1960, p. 2, in UML.

⁹⁶L. Nelson Bell, "Hope for Reunion in Korea," Presbyterian Journal, XVIII (January 6, 1960), 19. See E. Otto DeCamp, "Annual Report, 1959-1960" [1960], p. 2, in UML. The writer believes that these figures were overestimated. See Infra, Appendix B.

⁹⁷Lee Jong-sŏng, "Yechang ũn Wae Kŭmi Kago Kallachŏt nŭnga?" (Why Are the Presbyterians Divided?), Kidokkyo Sasang, IV (November 1960), 43.

⁹⁸Chŏng Kyu-oh.

possibility of reunion with the Koryŏ PC. Missionaries and the Ecumenical leaders already envisioned this possibility and a reunion movement after the Forty-fourth General Assembly in Taejon resulted in the leaders of both sides inviting Dr. Carl McIntire to Korea.¹⁰⁰

There were some major problems within the Koryŏ PC, one of which was the dissension between the Kyŏnggi Presbytery and the General Assembly. Most of the ministers in this particular presbytery were North Korean refugees who had joined the Koryŏ PC during the Korean War while they took refuge in the Pusan area. After the War, these ministers returned to Seoul and formed the Kyŏnggi Presbytery of the Koryŏ PC.¹⁰¹

The Kyŏnggi Presbytery and the General Assembly had disagreed about a uniform policy in dealing with former Shinto collaborators. The former encouraged their church leaders to adopt a more modified viewpoint on their fellow Christians who had erred during the Japanese occupation, but the General Assembly refused to discuss the issue. Incensed by the refusal, the Kyŏnggi Presbytery decided to sever their administrative relations with the General Assembly until the problem was brought to the floor. Instead of attempting a

¹⁰⁰Richard H. Baird, "A Report on the Presbyterian Church in Korea," November 11, 1959, in KRC.

¹⁰¹Koryŏ PC, TYC Chonghoe Hoerok (Minutes of the Presbyterian Church of Korea [Koryŏ], 1952-1960) (Pusan: Calvin Publishing Co., 1961), p. 29.

reconciliation, the General Assembly officers ignored the balky presbytery and created another Kyōnggi Presbytery with a few ministers who supported the Assembly's policy. The original rival presbytery was labeled "Boryu Presbytery" (Reserved Presbytery).¹⁰² So the outcasts officially withdrew from the Koryo PC and formed a separate Kyōnggi Presbytery with nineteen ministers in September 5-7, 1960, in Seoul.¹⁰³

The merger between the Koryo PC and the Sūngdong Pa in 1960 was preceded by a flare-up in the Church between the President of Koryo Seminary, Dr. Park Yun-sŏn, and the Board of the Seminary. One Sunday morning, Dr. Park heard that the Rev. and Mrs. A. Boyce Spooner, missionaries from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, were leaving for home at the Pusan port. He took a taxi to the port to bid farewell to his missionary friends and by so doing he missed attending the Sunday morning church service. Although he held a private service with them, this incident of missing morning service

¹⁰²Personal interview with the Rev. Kim Byōng-do, who was in the "Boryu Presbytery" and is presently a student at Covenant Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., January 11, 1969. See Koryo PC, pp. 158 and 172.

¹⁰³Hanguk Kidok Shibo, September 19, 1960, p. 1. In September of 1963, the "Boryu Presbytery" joined the PCK (NAE), except some churches which changed the name of their presbytery to the Kyōngin Presbytery. In 1966 six churches (in the Kyōngin Presbytery) including the Chūng Hyōn Church that has a membership of 5,000 people officially joined the PCK (NAE). See Kūrischan Shinmun, October 7, 1963, p. 3, and May 16, 1966, p. 1.

and riding a taxi on Sunday became an issue to the legalistically oriented Koryŏ PC which practiced the strict Puritanic observance of the Sabbath. Dr. Park's case was brought before the Pusan Presbytery. He defended his action as one of those "out of necessity," and pleaded his innocence. After haggling over this case all night, the Presbytery finally decided not to make any more out of the incident. However, it requested the coming General Assembly to define the phrase "out of necessity" in connection with observing the Sabbath without directly relating the question to Dr. Park's case.¹⁰⁴

After the General Assembly adjourned, Dr. Park was called in by the members of the Seminary Board and asked to bear "moral responsibility"¹⁰⁵ for this incident. Not having any compunctions about his actions, he refused to take this moral responsibility. When he left the meeting, the Board of Directors made a two-point resolution against him:

1. The seminary will abolish the presidential system and adopt a system of moderator-in-rotation among the professors, annually, and the elected moderator has to be approved by the Board of Directors.
2. President Park will lose his position in rotation according to the new system, and his teaching position will be suspended until the time he admits his mistake and bears his responsibility in observing the Lord's Day, as the General

¹⁰⁴Park Yun-sŏn, "Chuil Chikinŭn Bŏp e taehayo" (Concerning the Observance of the Lord's Day), Pasukun (The Watchman), CIV (November 1960), 8-9.

¹⁰⁵Infra, p. 81.

Assembly resolved, "Concerning the observance of the Lord's Day, although one does not have any guilty conscience in himself but offends his brothers, he should bear a moral responsibility."¹⁰⁶

Stung by the unnecessary adverse publicity, Dr. Park complained that while the presbytery had dismissed his case, the Board of Directors chose to take public action against him. Dr. Park acknowledged the power struggle among the leaders who wanted to take advantage of this incident to cause a downfall of his own group.¹⁰⁷ "I resigned [presidency], not because I violated the Sabbath but because I wanted to avoid the power struggle within the Board of Directors."¹⁰⁸ In an essay he expounded on the Scriptural passages about the Sabbath from the Old and New Testaments in order to defend his case and concluded, "What I did on that Sunday is Scriptural."¹⁰⁹ In response to Dr. Park's essay, the Board also put out an article.¹¹⁰

This dispute over the Sabbath observance left an indelible stain in the Koryŏ PC. The Alumni Association of

¹⁰⁶ Park Yun-sŏn, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ Dr. Park Yun-sŏn was born in Pyŏngyang Province and supported the idea of Kyŏnggi Presbytery (Koryŏ) that the Koryŏ PC must apply a modified approach to the Shinto shrine collaborators. See Supra, p. 78.

¹⁰⁸ Park Yun-sŏn, p. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

¹¹⁰ Koryŏ Seminary, Board of Directors, "Chuil Chikinŭn Bŏp e Taehayo' ran: Pak Yun-sŏn Moksa ui Nonmun e Dapbyŏnham" (Concerning the Matter of Observing the Sabbath: Answer to Dr. Park's Essay), Pásukun, CVII (February 1961), 23-26.

Koryo Seminary admitted the serious reverberations of this conflict, "Dr. Park Yun-sŏn's dismissal from his professorship at the seminary has exerted a decisive influence upon our seminary for the past years."¹¹¹

In order to avert this internal difficulty in the Koryŏ PC, there arose a quick reunion movement with the Sŭngdong Pa. Started by the Munch'ang Church in Masan which had been divided by the 1951 schism,¹¹² this reunion movement spread rapidly to the presbyteries of both sides and resulted in the meeting of nineteen representatives from the two Churches at the Central Church in Taejŏn on October 25, 1960.¹¹³

From the Reunion Committees of both groups the following "Principles of Reunion" were adopted:

I. Principles for Reunion

- A. Doctrine: We accept the twelve-point doctrine which is explicitly listed in the Constitution of the PCK according to the Westminster Confession of Faith.
- B. Theology: We accept the Calvinistic Theology for our reunion.

¹¹¹ Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, November 19, 1962, p. 1.

¹¹² Song Sang-sŏk, "Kyŏhoe Haptong ūn Kanŭnghanga?" (Is the Reunion of Churches Possible?), Pasukun, CX (July 1960), 57, and CII (September 1960), 34.

¹¹³ Koryŏ PC and PCK (NAE), Reunion Committees, "Yechang Chŭk, Koryŏ Chŭk Haptong Wiwŏnhoe Hoerok" (Minutes of the Reunion Committee Meeting between the PCK (NAE) and the Koryŏ PC), October 25, 1960, p. 1, in CKO. See Oh Byŏng-se, "Uri Kyŏdan ui Yŏksa" (History of Our [Koryŏ] Denomination), October 1966, p. 3, in CKO. Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, October 29, 1960, p. 3.

II. Reunion Programs

- A. The Committee for Amending the Constitution would be established with five representatives from both sides
- B. In the area of church polity and Christian life, we observe regulations as a good example of worship and according to the Consitution.
- C. The newly united seminary will be under the control of the General Assembly through the Board of Directors which has equal representation from both sides.
- D. The work of both presbyteries will continue to proceed independently as it has been.
- E. Foreign missions will proceed as they have been.¹¹⁴

The Joint Assembly was held on December 13, 1960, with 364 commissioners (Koryŏ: 131, and Sŭngdong Pa: 233). Declaring that "reunion is God's will,"¹¹⁵ they elected Han Sang-dong, who had been most influential in the Koryŏ PC as a "released saint," as the moderator and Kim Yune-ch'an of the Sŭngdong Pa as the vice-moderator. Emotional ecstasy was felt throughout the Assembly when the former moderators of both Churches embraced each other on the platform. One writer described the scene, "The joy of their reunion after ten years of separation brought many tears in the eyes of many commissioners."¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴Koryŏ PC and PCK (NAE), "TYC Chē Saship-oh hoe Ch'onghoe Kyesok Ch'walyo" (Minutes of the Continuing Forty-fifth General Assembly of the PCK), December 13-15, 1960. See Koryŏ PC and PCK (NAE), Reunion Committees, pp. 4-5, in CKO. Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, November 15, 1960, p. 1.

¹¹⁵Minutes of Korea Mission (1964), p. 528.

¹¹⁶Koryŏ PC, "Hoptong Ch'onghoe" (Joint General Assembly), Pasukun, CVI (January 1961), 40.

For the united seminary, twenty-four members were elected to the Board of Directors, half from each side. At the Forty-sixth joint General Assembly in September, 1961, there was a proposal to strengthen the seminary in Seoul. In December, the Seminary Board decided to close the Koryŏ Seminary in Pusan in a year by accepting no new students, transferring the third-year men to Seoul for their final year and bringing some noted theologians to Seoul from Pusan.¹¹⁷ The combination of the Koryŏ Seminary in Pusan which had about seventy students and three full-time professors with the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul not only made the seminary the largest in the country with 350 students¹¹⁸ but also provided the best qualified faculty among the seminaries in Korea. There were at least six Korean professors with Ph.D.'s and Th.D.'s from the United States.¹¹⁹

However, the joyous days of reunion did not last long. Some leaders of the old Koryŏ PC wanted to return to their former church. In fact, there was already a small minority in the Koryŏ PC which did not join the reunion in 1960 and

¹¹⁷ Oh Byŏng-se, p. 4. See Kŭrischán Shinmun, December 25, 1961, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Kidok Kongbo, September 26, 1961, p. 1, and November 11, 1960, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Kŭrischán Shinmun, January 21, 1963, p. 4.

which continued to maintain their old Koryŏ PC. In the Sungdong group, a faction of some fifty pro-ICCC churches splintered off to form a Bible Presbyterian Church.¹²⁰

After the Forty-sixth General Assembly in September, 1961, the old Koryŏ Kyŏngnam (Bŏptong) Presbytery was called on October 19, 1961, by the leaders of the old Koryŏ PC to discuss effects of the Forty-sixth General Assembly upon their former Church. The meeting resulted in publishing an anti-Sungdong Pa statement which accused them of being corrupt, dishonest with money, unfair to elections, and greedy for power.¹²¹

The restoration group in the Koryŏ PC further pointed out some major violations of the other side.

I. Concerning the seminary

- A. That the two seminaries were to be working toward gradual simplification and not to be unified into one was violated.¹²²
- B. An equal number in the Board of Trustees was not maintained.¹²³

¹²⁰ Minutes of Korea Mission (1961), p. 46.

¹²¹ Koryŏ PC, Kyŏngnam Presbytery, "Kyŏngnam Nohoe (Bŏptong) Kyŏlŭimŭn Kwa Hae Myŏng Sŏ" (Resolution and Elucidation of the Kyŏngnam [Bŏptong] Presbytery), October 19, 1961, p. 2, in CKO.

¹²² The Koryŏ Pa refused a complete unification of these seminaries because it wanted the Koryŏ Seminary in Pusan to remain open. There was not a complete unification of the two boards of the seminaries at the denominational reunion, because the Koryŏ Seminary had its own separate and private Board of Trustees. Kŭrischan Shinmun, November 19, 1962, p. 1.

¹²³ Later the Revs. Han Sang-dong and Han Myŏng-dong (brothers) were excluded from the Board.

- C. Quantity of students rather than quality was emphasized in theological education.

II. Concerning the polity

- A. The Majority (Sŭngdong) carried out illegal actions against the minority (Koryŏ). . . .
- B. They (Sŭngdong) persecuted the pastors and churches which encouraged the restoration of the Koryŏ PC.
- C. Concerning the Christian faith
They left the pure Calvinistic faith for secularism, conformity, and convenience and tried to cooperate with adulterated denominations.¹²⁴

The Rev. Chŏng Kyu-oh, one of the leaders in the Sŭngdong Pa, mentions two main reasons for the breakdown of the reunion. First, since the size of the Koryŏ PC was about one-third of the Sŭngdong Pa with a concentration largely in the Kyŏngnam Province, especially around the Pusan area, it was practically and realistically impossible to have an equal voice in decisions of the reunited Church. Second, the harsh manner of the Rev. Han Sang-dong and other leaders and the more hierarchically-oriented Koryŏ PC which had been in existence for more than ten years caused growing friction in their relations with the leaders of the Sŭngdong Pa. The

¹²⁴Lee Sang-yong, editor, Hanguk Kidokkyŏ Nyŏngam (The Yearbook of Christian Churches in Korea) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1964), pp. 522-523 and 527. Rev. Han Sang-dong was against the reconciliation between the PCK (E) and the PCK (NAE). See Koryŏ PC and PCK (NAE), "Nohoe Whanwŏn Chichimun" (Letter of Restoration of the [Pusan] Presbytery [Koryo]), August 1963, in CKO. Koryŏ PC and PCK (NAE), "'Nohoe Whanwŏn Chichimun' e taehan Haemyŏng" (Statement on the "Letter of Restoration of the [Pusan] Presbytery [Koryŏ]") published by twenty-nine ministers of the former Koryŏ PC in the Pusan Presbytery, August 5, 1963, pp. 1-2, in CKO.

substantial majority of the latter was not willing to accept dictates from the minority.¹²⁵

Subsequently, Han Sang-dong, former moderator of the Joint Assembly and the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Koryŏ Seminary, met with several other ministers on October 13, 1962, and suddenly announced the full restoration of Koryŏ Seminary. Four days later he posted the seminary sign on the front gate, encouraged students to register under the Koryŏ Seminary, and called some twenty students back to Pusan from Seoul.¹²⁶

This restoration announcement created severe repercussions within the old Koryŏ PC and the Sŭngdong Pa. In the Koryŏ PC some fifty ministers from six different presbyteries who opposed the restoration of their Church called this reparation not a "restoration but a division,"¹²⁷ and made a resolution:

We oppose the division of the Church.

1. We desire that the Koryŏ Seminary continue as a branch seminary according to the agreed "Principles of Reunion," and oppose the restoration of the seminary to the status before the reunion, because it destroys the reunion.

¹²⁵ Chŏng Kyu-oh.

¹²⁶ Kŭrischán Shinmun, November 5, 1962, p. 1.

¹²⁷ Koryŏ PC and PCK (NAE), "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (A Statement of Opposition to the Restoration) by some fifty ministers of the old Koryŏ PC, August 29, 1963, in CKO.

2. The division of the Church cannot be allowed.
 - a. It is not Scriptural for the Church to be divided on the issue of differences in church polity
 - b. We cannot accept the illegal break of the Presbyterian Church because it is sin.¹²⁸

In fact, even before Han Sang-dong's actual announcement of the restoration of Koryŏ Seminary, the old Board of Trustees had discouraged his plan by a vote of 21 to 7 and later by 7 to 2.¹²⁹

The Board of Trustees of the Joint General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul called an emergency session on November 7, 1962, to discuss the differences, but none from the Koryo Presbyterian group showed up. The Sŭngdong members then proposed a compromise in which the Koryŏ Seminary could continue to operate as a branch seminary but hold graduation ceremonies with the main seminary in Seoul. The three former professors from Koryŏ Seminary were to be allowed to return to Pusan.¹³⁰

The Kyŏngnam Presbytery also held an emergency session and made a unanimous decision to oppose the restoration (44 to 0), after the supporters of restoration walked out from the meeting.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Kidokkyŏ Nyŏngam (1964), p. 530. See Kŭrischān Shinmun, January 5, 1962, p. 1.

¹²⁹ Kŭrischān Shinmun, November 5 and 19, 1962, p. 1.

¹³⁰ Ibid., November 19, 1962, p. 1.

¹³¹ Ibid., December 24, 1962, p. 1.

Rev. Han's movement rapidly spread from the Pusan area¹³² to other neighboring presbyteries. On the 8th of August, 1963, the Pusan Restoration Presbytery was organized with twenty-three pastors and twenty-one elders. Other presbyteries subsequently followed the same pattern: the Cholla Presbytery (August 12), the Kyōngbuk (September 3), the Kyōnggi (September 4), the Kyōngdong (September 4), the Chinju (September 5), and the Kyōngnam (September 10).¹³³

On September 13, 1963, the Thirteenth General Assembly of the Koryō PC (Restoration) was held in Pusan with 7 presbyteries which represented 445 churches and 116 ministers.¹³⁴ They published a seven-point statement:

1. We return to our former General Assembly (of the Koryō PC).
2. We uphold Calvinistic theology.
3. We maintain the Westminster Confession of Faith.
4. We follow the previous Constitution and Regulations of the Koryō PC before the Joint General Assembly took place [in December 1960].
5. We exert ourselves to live a sanctified life according to the Christian standard in Calvinistic theology.

¹³²Oh Byōng-se, p. 4.

¹³³Ibid. See Koryō PC and PCK (NAE), "Sōng Myōng Sō" Koryō PC and PCK (NAE), Restoration Committee in Kyōngbuk Nohoe (Koshin) Whanwōn Chwicheimun (Statement of Restoration of the Kyōngbuk Presbytery-Koryō), October 1963, in CKO.

¹³⁴Oh Byōng-se, p. 3.

6. We put forth efforts for the work of evangelism.
7. We reorganize our former General Assembly in cooperation with other Christians in the nation.¹³⁵

Thus, the abortive attempt at union ended in less than two years. It is a common consensus that the reunion of these bodies took place in haste without adequate understanding of mutual positions. As one leader in the Koryŏ PC properly commented, "It was painful to see that the quick reunion of two Church bodies without a real investigation resulted in reseparation."¹³⁶

In this reseparation, many churches in the old Koryŏ PC refused to join the former Church and remained in the PCK (NAE). The Koryŏ PC (Restoration) took 445 churches in August 1963 and lost 150 congregations. Thirty-eight churches which had refrained for years from the Koryŏ PC also joined the PCK (NAE) which had a total of 1,450 churches.¹³⁷

The Forty-seventh General Assembly of the PCK (NAE) in September of 1963 encouraged the Koryŏ PC (Restoration) to remain in the Joint General Assembly but to no avail.¹³⁸

¹³⁵Koryŏ PC and PCK (NAE), "Nohoe Whanwŏn Ch'wichimun (Pusan)."

¹³⁶Oh Byŏng-se, p. 3.

¹³⁷Theodore Hard, "The Korean Church and the Reformed Faith Today," Torch and Trumpet, XIII (December 1963), p. 8.

¹³⁸Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, October 7, 1963, p. 3.

Minor Divisions in the Presbyterian
Church of Korea

The Bible Presbyterian Church of Korea and Its Divisions

A schism begets schisms. The division in the PCK in 1959 further extended to two other minor divisions in the PCK (NAE): the Bible Presbyterian Church and the Constitutional Presbyterian Church. Each of these two bodies had two additional divisions, making a total of six different Presbyterian bodies from the two original splits of the Bible and Constitutional Churches.

Dr. Kim Chi-sŏn, who received his Th.D. from Dallas Theological Seminary, became president of the Tae Han Evening Seminary, one of the night seminaries in the PCK.¹³⁹ During the 1959 division in the PCK, he joined the NAE faction and taught at the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary (NAE) in Seoul until he broke with the Church and founded a separate Kyŏnggi Presbytery in September, 1960.¹⁴⁰

In order to solve the financial difficulty of the Tae-Han Seminary, Dr. Kim approached Dwight Malsbury, a missionary of the Bible Presbyterian Church in the United States

¹³⁹Bible Presbyterian Church (Pro-ICCC), General Assembly Seminary Controlling Committee, "Chŏnkuk Kyŏhoe e Bonenŭn Mal" (A Message to the Korean Church), Bible Presbyterian Church (Pro-ICCC), General Assembly Seminary, Seoul, 1968.

¹⁴⁰Kidokkyŏ Nyŏngam (1965), p. 527.

and asked for help. In cooperation with the ICCC, Dr. Kim founded a new Presbyterian body, the Bible Presbyterian Church, with seventy-four churches on June 22, 1961.¹⁴¹ The ICCC sent \$700 a month: \$300 for the General Assembly and \$400 for the seminary.¹⁴² The General Assembly of the Bible Presbyterian Church elected Dr. Kim as the moderator in 1961 and again when it met in 1965; therefore, he became the most influential leader of this denomination.¹⁴³

Only four years after the establishment of the Bible Presbyterian Church, the first division disrupted the Church. A group of fourteen pastors including the General Secretary and the State Clerk of the Bible Presbyterian Church organized a separate body, the Christian Reformed Church in Korea (5) in June 15, 1965.¹⁴⁴

Two years later a more serious division took place in the Bible Presbyterian Church. When Dr. Kim suffered a stroke during his tour of the United States and was confined to his bed,¹⁴⁵ a struggle for leadership among his followers arose between the pro-ICCC and anti-ICCC groups.

¹⁴¹ Lee Sang-yong, editor, Hanguk Kidokkyo Sario Mochiphoe (Korean Christian Digest) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1962), p. 352.

¹⁴² Kürischán Shinmun, December 23, 1967, p. 7.

¹⁴³ Bokum Shinbo, June 27, 1965, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Kidokko Nyōngam (1968), p. 287.

¹⁴⁵ Dr. Kim Chí-sŏn visited his son in St. Louis in November, 1965, while his son was studying at Covenant Seminary. At this time the writer was closely acquainted with both of them.

The opponents of Dr. Kim tried to control the ICCC force in Korea and to remove Dr. Kim's son, Kim se-chang who had succeeded to the presidency of the Tae Han Seminary. The pro-ICCC faction called an emergency General Assembly meeting without any permission from the ailing moderator, Dr. Kim, or from the officers of the General Assembly on November 16, 1967. This pro-ICCC General Assembly (6) condemned Dr. Kim for making the seminary a "family-controlled institution"¹⁴⁶ by letting his son take over the presidency. They changed the name of the seminary from Tae Han Seminary to the General Assembly Seminary and elected five men to the Controlling Committee of the Seminary.¹⁴⁷ This pro-ICCC group charged that Dr. Kim's group no longer represented the Bible Presbyterian Church. The charge was fully recognized by the Korean Council of Christian Churches, a national branch of the ICCC.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Bible Presbyterian Church (Pro-ICCC), General Assembly Seminary Controlling Committee, "Shinhakyō Chōnkwōn Chito Wiwōn Hoe" (A Statement of the Controlling Committee of the Seminary), Bible Presbyterian Church (Pro-ICCC), General Assembly Seminary, Seoul, 1968.

¹⁴⁷ Bible Presbyterian Church (Anti-ICCC), "Nohoechang Hoeui Kyōlūimun" (Resolutions of the Moderators of the Presbyteries) by the five moderators of the presbyteries, General Assembly Office, Seoul, March 1, 1967.

¹⁴⁸ Bible Presbyterian Church (Anti-ICCC), "Taehan Yesukyō Sōngkyōng Changnohoe Chōnghoe nūn Irōtke Chōngbi Doeyōtta" (The General Assembly of the Bible Presbyterian Church in Korea Followed this Course), General Assembly Office, Seoul, August 1968. See Kidok Shinbo, August 31, 1968, p. 4, and April 27, 1968.

Because of the schismatic uprising in the Bible Presbyterian Church, Dr. Kim Ch'i-sŏn called an emergency General Assembly meeting (12) in Seoul among his followers, condemning the pro-ICCC group as illegal.¹⁴⁹ The supporters of Kim Se-ch'ang announced their withdrawal from the ICCC and condemned it not only for its schismatic characteristics but also for its denial of conservative theology.¹⁵⁰ They put out a four-point statement for their withdrawal from the ICCC:

1. The Scripture teaches harmony among Christians (Matthew 5:9), but the ICCC has become a splinter in the denominations.
2. The Scripture teaches prohibition of lawsuits (I Cor. 6:1-3), but the ICCC appealed to the civil court (concerning the property of Tae Han Seminary).
3. The Scripture teaches love for neighbors and respect for personality (Gal. 5:13) but the ICCC treats other denominations outside its organization as heretical in which there is no salvation.
4. The Scripture teaches impartiality (Num. 6:8), but the ICCC's mission policy is so dogmatic and eccentric that it gives dissatisfaction to the Churches and tries to control our Church with its mission dollars.¹⁵¹

At the time of the division in the Church, only three out of nine presbyteries went to the pro-ICCC faction,¹⁵² and

¹⁴⁹Bible Presbyterian Church (Anti-ICCC), "Taehan." See Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, September 7, 1968, p. 3.

¹⁵⁰Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, April 13, 1968, p. 3.

¹⁵¹Kidok Nyŏngam (1968), pp. 364-365. See Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, April 20, 1968, p. 4.

¹⁵²Ibid., February 23, 1967, p. 7.

Dr. Malsbury claimed that the Bible Presbyterian Church (pro-ICCC) (6) had the substantial majority: 79 churches, 46 ministers, 33 evangelists and 15,000 members.¹⁵³

The Constitutional Presbyterian Church (10) and Its Divisions

The second major division within the PCK (NAE) was the Constitutional Presbyterian Church. The Rev. Park Byōng-hun,¹⁵⁴ the most influential leader at the Kyōngbuk Presbytery before and after the 1959 division and a strong admirer of Dr. Carl McIntire, also became interested in bringing the PCK (NAE) closer to the ICCC. However, the Forty-fifth General Assembly of the PCK (NAE) decided to maintain just a friendly relation with the ICCC without becoming an official member of the organization. The Rev. Park, who also needed money to support the orphanage which he was running, requested financial help from Dr. McIntire. Consequently, he declared a withdrawal from the PCK (NAE) to form a new Constitutional Presbyterian Church. He attacked the PCK (NAE) for its corruptions and called it a "betrayal"¹⁵⁵ because it received ICCC money but turned its back on its

¹⁵³ Dwight R. Malsbury, Tu Kil (Two Ways: Man's or God's) (Seoul: Song Chong Sa, 1966), pp. 55-56.

¹⁵⁴ Supra, p. 54.

¹⁵⁵ Kürischān Shinmun, November 4, 1963, p. 3.

benefactor.¹⁵⁶ Thus, the Constitutional Presbyterian Church was founded on November 20, 1962, with thirty-four ministers and about forty churches.¹⁵⁷

Within the Constitutional Presbyterian Church there were two factions, one in the Taegu area where the Rev. Park, the moderator, was the chief spokesman and another in the Kyōnggi (Seoul) area where Choi Sun-keun, the vice-moderator was the leader. Soon there developed a power struggle for hegemony between Park and Choi. At the Third General Assembly (November 19, 1964), Choi was replaced by Song Jae-muk for the position of vice-moderator. Stung by the set-back, the Rev. Mr. Choi and his followers withdrew from the Constitutional Presbyterian Church and formed a new organization, the Korean Presbyterian Church (Conservative) (17) on January 26, 1965. This new group tried to wrest away the leadership of the ICCC from the Rev. Mr. Park.¹⁵⁸

The struggle for leadership in the Constitutional Presbyterian Church picked up where it left off, but this time between the Rev. Park's faction in Taegu and the Rev. Song's

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., October 29, 1962, p. 2. See Choi Song-ch'on, "A Study of Contemporary Theological Conflict in the Presbyterian Church in Korea" (unpublished Th.M. thesis, Biblical Seminary, New York, 1963), p. 66.

¹⁵⁷ Kūrischān Shinmun, November 26, 1962, p. 1, and December 3, 1962, p. 2. Hanguk Kidokkyō Sario Mochiphoe, p. 360.

¹⁵⁸ Kūrischān Shinmun, February 6, 1965, p. 1, and February 27, 1965, p. 4. See Kidok Nyongam (1968), p. 333.

in Kyōnggi (Seoul). At the Fourth General Assembly (November, 1965), the Rev. Mr. Park was reelected as moderator for the fourth time, but declined in favor of the Rev. Mr. Song with the understanding that the Rev. Mr. Park would be the "chief head of the Church."¹⁵⁹ Taking over as moderator, the Rev. Mr. Song refused to recognize Park as the "chief head of the Church" which led to the final division in the Constitutional Presbyterian Church. The Rev. Mr. Song received full support from the Rev. Malsbury of the Independent Board of Mission, through the influence of his son and son-in-law who were working at the ICCC office in Seoul.¹⁶⁰ Moderator Song opened the General Assembly on April 29, 1966, with a declaration that his group represented the official Constitutional Presbyterian Church.¹⁶¹ "Since they (Rev. Mr. Park and his followers) left the Constitutional Presbyterian Church, there is no connection between our Constitutional Presbyterian Church and theirs."¹⁶² However, Song's faction adopted a new name for their church, the PCK (Restoration) (15).¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹Kidok Shinbo, January 31, 1966, p. 1.

¹⁶⁰Bokūm Shinmun, May 1, 1966, p. 4. See Kidok Shinbo, February 14, 1966, p. 1, and March 14, 1966, p. 2. Kidok Nyōngam (1967), pp. 532-533.

¹⁶¹Kūrischān Shinmun, May 7, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁶²Kidok Shinbo, February 28, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁶³Kidok Nyōngam (1968), p. 292.

On the other hand, the Rev. Mr. Park gathered his supporters, called an emergency meeting and decided to have continuing relations with the ICCC.¹⁶⁴ At the Fifth and Sixth General Assemblies, he was reelected to be the moderator. Therefore, there are three different Churches which came out of the original Constitutional Presbyterian Church.¹⁶⁵ Dr. McIntire tried to unite the ICCC forces within the different Presbyterian Churches such as the Bible Presbyterian Church (pro-ICCC) (6), Constitutional Presbyterian Church (Rev. Park's) (10) and the PCK (Restoration) (15) (Rev. Song's), but he was unsuccessful.¹⁶⁶

Summary

The most serious split that occurred in the history of the Korean Church took place in the PCK in 1959. A long accumulation of distrust, disputes and conflicts between the Ecumenical and the NAE leaders over the power in the church, theology and the ecumenical issue exploded at the Forty-fourth General Assembly in Taejŏn. In spite of the desire of most Christians and ministers for the reconciliation of these two factions, the final division between the PCK (E) and the PCK (NAE) took place in February, 1960.

¹⁶⁴ Kürischän Shinmun, May 28, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., October 1, 1966, p. 3, and September 30, 1968, p. 1.

¹⁶⁶ Kidok Shinbo, November 28, 1965, p. 3.

After the 1959 split, the PCK (NAE) and the Koryŏ PC were reunited for two years and separated again. In the PCK (NAE) further multiple schisms occurred through the influence of the ICCC. The Bible Presbyterian Church and the Constitutional Presbyterian Church which originally received support from the ICCC at the time of their split from the PCK (NAE) lost this support and experienced further divisions.

The Rev. Chŏng Kyu-oh, the former Recording Secretary of the PCK from 1956 to 1958 and the Moderator of the General Assembly of the PCK (NAE) in 1965, said,

Dr. Park did not even take a dime for himself, and the main reason for his ouster from the seminary was that the missionaries were not able to further the ecumenical movement in the PCK with Dr. Park as the president of the seminary.¹¹

The supporters of Dr. Park tried to restore his position the following year, 1959.¹²

Since Dr. Park Hyŏng-nong's name will appear frequently in this thesis, his biographical data follows. He has been known as the "Machen of Korea,"¹³ of the "champion of orthodoxy,"¹⁴ and became the best known theologian in the nation. Born in 1897, he received his education from Pyŏngyang Christian College, went to Princeton and Westminster Seminaries and received his Ph.D. from Southern Baptist Seminary in Louisville. At the Princeton and Westminster seminaries his theology was profoundly influenced by B. B. Warfield, A. A. Hodge, and J. Gresham Machen.¹⁵

¹¹ Chŏng Kyu-oh, a personal taped report on the division of the PCK (Kwangju, November 13, 1968).

¹² Kidok Kongbo, August 21, 1961, p. 2.

¹³ Conn, p. 9.

¹⁴ George Thompson Brown, Mission to Korea (Nashville, Tenn.: Board of World Missions in the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1962), p. 218.

¹⁵ Conn, p. 9. Cf. Kŭrischan Shinmun, March 19, 1966, p. 2.

CHAPTER V

INTERNAL CAUSES FOR THE DIVISION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KOREA

The various causes for the division of the PCK in 1959 are so complex that to attempt to classify any of them as primary or secondary would be a difficult task.¹ It seems that an examiner's theological and ecumenical tendencies and his denominational affiliation would tend to influence him in evaluating the causes. Therefore, a controversial issue such as this requires an impartial, critical and objective analysis of the PCK which this thesis will attempt to do.

This writer divides various causes for the divisions in the PCK largely into two main areas: internal and external. Internal conflicts and divisions occurred among the leaders of the Church. External forces such as mission dollars and the ecumenical movement will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹Kürischán Shinmun made occasional surveys among the leaders of various denominations for the causes of the division in the PCK. The answers showed differences of opinions. See Kürischán Shinmun, September 15, 1961, p. 1; October 16, 1961, p. 1; October 8, 1962, p. 2; September 23, 1963, p. 2. Cf. Samuel H. Moffett, The Christians of Korea (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), pp. 117-118. In a survey among 74 ministers of both Ecumenical and NAE groups for the causes of the division, about fifty percent for theological difference, and 30 percent for the external influences, economic poverty, and other causes. See Kidok Kongbo, January 14, 1963, p. 1.

Non-Theological Causes

Conservative Emphasis in Confucianism

The most significant system of thought during the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) was Confucianism. Filial piety in Confucianism affects every area of life. Children are to obey their parents, servants their masters, and subjects to their rulers. This piety is vividly expressed in ancestor worship. This type of authoritarianism is consistently practiced in the family, institutions, and the government. As the king was the sole ruler of the nation and expected unreserved submission from his people, so the leader of an institution ought to be upheld and respected. This type of traditional idealism has permeated the minds of the peoples including Christians in the Church. As a consequence, the government and other institutions including the Church have been run by a small learned bureaucratic minority.² Minority rule, often against the will of the majority, is not strange to the Korean people and becomes an important factor in understanding the division and the failure of reunion within the PCK.

A veteran missionary in Korea commented,

Today the idea of democracy seems to be defined in this land something like this: Democracy is the right of a minority group to fight by any means

²Shannon McCune, Korea's Heritage: A Regional & Social Geography (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1956), p. 42.

at their disposal whether it is for the good of the majority or not. . . . This interpretation of democracy dominates the church as well as the civil government.³

The emphasis of strong family ties in Confucianism and individualistic outlook on life snuffed out the development of a cooperative spirit in the nation. It is common knowledge that many Koreans have been individually successful in different fields of learning but have been failures when tested in the arena of group cooperation.⁴

Confucianism also fostered conservatism which hampered progressive ideas and procrastinated the modernization of Korea. Confucianism has many prohibitive tenets, but few constructive directives. The people, therefore, become satisfied with their status quo rather than striving for higher goals.⁵ This conservative element shielded the Church from accepting new ideas in theology and ecumenical dialogue with open minds. The Churches are filled with Christians smug about their Bible knowledge but woefully lacking in general secular fields.

³Edward Adams, "Personal Report, 1959-1960" [1960], pp. 4-5 in UML. Dr. Keith R. Crim pointed out the lack of parliamentary procedure and democratic process of the PCK (NAE) leaders at the Forty-fourth General Assembly in Taejon on September 24-28, 1959. See Keith R. Crim, "Letter to Christians in America," February 20, 1959, in BWM.

⁴This is exemplified in the discord among the Koreans in St. Louis who are successful in the academic world.

⁵Marius B. Jansen, Changing Japanese Attitude Toward Modernization (Princeton; N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 216.

Factionalism in Confucianism

One stigma attached to Confucianism is factionalism. Professor Hyŏn Sang-yun, an eminent Confucian scholar, made an extensive study of Confucianism in the Han, Tang, Song, and Myŏng dynasties in China and the Yi dynasty in Korea and stated, "Whenever and wherever Confucian thought prevailed, factionalism always occurred according to its ethical necessity."⁶

Today factionalism is seen in every walk of life in Korea as a "national tradition."⁷ Factionalism in national political parties,⁸ universities, religions and many other institutions have weakened the nation and hindered her progress. Buddhist monks battled against each other between the celibate and married. Confucianists split over robes in the temples,⁹ and Christians over differences in opinion.

⁶Ryu Tong-shik, Hanguk Kyŏhoe wa Kidokkyŏ (The Christian Faith Encounters the Religions of Korea) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1965), p. 82. Professor Lee Sang-un defends Confucianism. He blames, instead, the political and social milieu of the time which made factionalism inevitable, and states, "Confucianism itself cannot be held responsible for the rise of factionalism." Lee Sang-un, "On the Criticism of Confucianism in Korea," Korea Journal, VII (September 1967), 8.

⁷Moffett, p. 27.

⁸Ko Yŏng-bok, "Political Parties and Factionalism," Korea Journal, VII (June 1967), 10-21.

⁹Moffett, p. 27.

The classic case of factionalism in Korean history occurred in the Yi dynasty. The Confucianists at the end of the fifteenth century divided into the conservative royal school and the progressive Southerners' school. There soon emerged a conflict between the "Dong-In" (East Men) and the "Sŏh-In" (West Men) in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The "Dong-In" was sub-divided into the radical "Buk-In" (North Men) and the moderate "Nam-In" (South Men). The "Buk-In" further split into the "Tae-Buk" (Big North) and the "So-Buk" (Small North) and the "Nam-In" into the "Chong-Nam" and the "Dok-Nam." The "Sŏh-In," on the other hand, were divided into the "No-Ron" (Old Age Group) and the "So-Ron" (Young Age Group).¹⁰ Factionalism lasted as a general state of affairs in the Yi dynasty for 360 years and became the major cause for the fall of the Yi dynasty and of the institutional breakdown of schools and government.¹¹

Provincialism

Provincialism in Korea is a result of different dynasties entrenching themselves in different sections of the country for many centuries: The Three Kingdom Era (37 B.C.-668 A.D.),

¹⁰Choi Sok, "The Factional Struggles in the Yi Dynasty of Korea, 1575-1725," Koreana Quarterly, VII (Spring 1965), 68-85, and VII (Summer 1965), 77-86.

¹¹Ryu Tong-shik, p. 82.

the Silla Dynasty (57 B.C.-936 A.D.), and the Koryŏ Dynasty (936-1392 A.D.), and the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910). There are eight major provinces in Korea; due to the lack of modern communication coupled with heterogeneous regional environments distinctive characteristics and provincial traits evolved.¹²

The most ostensible cleavage is between northerners and southerners in Korea. The Yi dynasty practices favoritism by selecting only southern men for governmental offices to prevent possible military revolutions by the strong-minded North Koreans. After being overlooked for many centuries by the government, North Koreans welcomed the attention given them by the pioneer Protestant missionaries. The northwestern part of the country became the center of rapid Christian expansion and produced more Christian national leaders than the South.¹³

Cultural clashes between northerners and southerners rose to a climax with the massive migration of North Koreans into the South after World War II and during the Korean War. In 1956 there were about four million North Korean refugees among a total population of twenty-two million in South.

¹²Lee Chin-suk, "Paltoin Sŏnkyok ūi Sŏnip Kwannyŏm" (Preconceived Character Description on Men of Eight Provinces), Sasangge, VII (December 1959), 74.

¹³L. George Paik, The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910 (Pyongyang: Union Christian College Press, 1929), p. 304.

Korea.¹⁴ Power struggles ensued out of the conglomeration of these groups in nearly every institution of South Korea, including the Korean Church.

North Korean Christians¹⁵ established their own refugee churches and presbyteries in the South and took the leadership in the PCK.¹⁶ Theologically conservative North Korean Christians from the Pyŏngyang and Whanghae Provinces were often in conflict with the strong element of theological liberalism existing in Chōsen Seminary.¹⁷ This Seminary was supported by the United Church of Canada and assumed dominant leadership in the Southern Church after 1945.¹⁸ This conflict was intensified by the joining of Kyŏngsang Province with the conservative North Korean Christians against the dominating Chōsen Seminary group. The conservative

¹⁴Annual Report; Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (New York: United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., 1957), p. 16.

¹⁵Two-thirds of pastors in North Korea fled to the South, of whom the majority came down during the Korean War. John C. Smith, "The Church Prospect in Korea," The Christian Century, LXVII (September 20, 1950), 1105.

¹⁶Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, December 3, 1962, p. 1.

¹⁷Harvie M. Conn, "The Bible and Regionalism," Reformed Bulletin of Missions, IV (January 1968), 2.

¹⁸Ibid. Cf. Kim Yang-sŏn, Hanguk Kidokkyō Haebang Ship Nyŏnsa (History of the Korean Church in the Ten Years Since Liberation, 1945-1955) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1956), p. 194.

Christians in Kyōngsang Province wanted to transfer power from the liberal United Church of Canada missionaries to the conservative United Presbyterian missionaries who had been working in their areas for many years.¹⁹

In the division of 1959 in the PCK, the most influential Church leaders in the PCK (E) came from the Pyōngyang and Kyōnggi Provinces where the UPM concentrated their efforts. In the PCK (NAE) the leadership relied on the Christians from the Whanghae Province in the Kyōnggi area with strong support from the Kyōngsang Province and the Cholla Province. There were only 3 commissioners from the Whanghae Province out of 199 at the ecumenical Yōndong Assembly (September 29-30), while 16 out of 95 commissioners attended the Sūngdong Assembly in Seoul on November 24, 1959.²⁰

The strong feeling of provincialism is vividly demonstrated in the experience of a Korean pastor from Kyōngsang Province. After his graduation from the Presbyterian Seminary (NAE) in Seoul, he became a candidate with his fellow seminary graduate from the Whanghae Province for a church in Seoul. After the interview with the church officials, he

¹⁹Kim Tōk-yōl, "The Problem of Growing Disunity in the Presbyterian Church in Korea and a Suggested Approach for the Christian Education of Young Koreans" (unpublished R. E. D. thesis, Hartford Seminary, Conn., 1961), pp. 103-104.

²⁰Ibid., p. 9. Cf. Kim In-sōh, Hanguk Kyōhoe ūi Saumūn Kūtnanta (The Struggle is Over) (Pusan: Faith and Life Press, 1962), p. 13. Rev. Lee Whan-su, and Rev. Park Chan-mok, leaders in the Kyōnggi Presbytery in the PCK (NAE), are from the Whanghae Province.

was told that the first qualification to be their pastor was to be from the Whanghae Province.²¹ Churches in each province keep their own men in their pulpits and do not import those from other provinces. Provincialism and factionalism among Christians became important factors in the division of the PCK.

Political Instability

The opening of "the hermit nation" of Korea to Western nations in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the liberation of Korea from Japan in 1945 marked two important revolutionary changes in the political history of the nation. A people which had been under constant foreign threats and dominations suddenly was given democratic freedom. However, the nation was not ready to implement that freedom properly. The country was torn by factionalism in the political parties.

The immediate political background during the 1959 division of the PCK was one of chaos and turmoil. In 1959, a preelection year, President Syung-man Rhee, who had been the president for three terms on the Liberal ticket, decided

²¹Rev. Kim Byōng-wōn was a student at Covenant Seminary in St. Louis, and the writer had an interview with him, September, 1968.

to run again for the office at the age of 84. Many people voiced strong opposition to his running.²²

On the opposing Democratic Party, there was a political faction between two candidates, John Chang, the vice-president, and Cho By^ong-ok. Mr. Cho defeated Mr. Chang at the party primary by a narrow margin of 484 to 481. Mr. Chang's group refused to support the majority in his own party.²³ To complicate matters, Mr. Cho died in Walter Reed Hospital in Washington, D. C., on February 15, 1960, while on tour, one month before the election.²⁴

The national election in 1960 resulted in a victory for Dr. Rhee and Lee Ki-pong over the Democratic opponent, John Chang. However, the election turned out to be a fraud. Accumulated opposition to Rhee's regime over the previous twelve years could not take another four. The "4.19 Student Revolution" ultimately brought down the Rhee regime.²⁵ The political instability in the nation, especially from 1959 to 1961, introduced a spirit of insecurity, divisiveness, and rebellion into Korean society and the church. This national chaotic condition was paralleled by the conditions in the Korean Church. It was a pity that the Church had nothing to say to the nation in time of disturbance and moral corruption.

²²Annual Report (1960), p. 21.

²³Dong A Ilbo, November 16, 1959, p. 1.

²⁴Ibid., February 16, 1960, p. 1.

²⁵Ibid., March 16, 1960, p. 1, and April 20, 1960, p. 1.

The fall of the Rhee regime and the Student Revolution was one modern instance of such political factionalism in Korean history.

Economic Insecurity

The division of Korea into two diametrically opposing governments has hampered the economic growth of the nation. South Korea's economy which has an agricultural base would complement the sufficient industrial resources in North Korea. In addition to this lack of industrial resources in South Korea, the Korean War put the national economy to rock-bottom. It destroyed factories, homes, possessions, and lives. The government estimated that there were more than 7,200,000 refugees (more than one-third of the total population in South Korea) in 1952, making this three-year war the "History of Refugees."²⁶ People suffered, starved, froze in winter, and experienced all types of human tragedy. The Korean War upon the nation left its mark on every level of Korean society. D. Moon Dong-whan (Stephen) studied eighty short stories in the Sasangge monthly magazine during 1958 and 1959; seventy-five out of eighty stories dealt with life affected by the War. He summarizes the effects of the Korean War on the people,

²⁶Haptong Nyŏngam (Korean Yearbook) (Seoul: Haptong T'ongshinsa, 1959), p. 59.

These are cries of the suffering people toward the unknown power which they feel over them; some in the form of protest, some in the form of disturbing questions.²⁷

During the reconstruction period from 1945 to 1960, the United States economic aid reached to \$2.4 billion, but almost \$859 million was spent directly for emergency relief from 1945 to 1953.²⁸ Many Christian agencies in America and Europe brought their relief goods to help the poverty-stricken people.

The loss of industry during the War brought a higher percentage of unemployment in the country; some two million potential workers were unemployed and another four million were inadequately employed.²⁹ In 1959, 80 percent of the university graduates were unable to find jobs.³⁰ For those who found work, the rewards were meager, for the average annual per capita income for 1956 was eighty dollars.³¹ In 1962 average factory workers received less than thirty dollars a month, while a white-collar job paid around fifty

²⁷ Moon Tong-whan, "Introducing Jesus of the First Century to the Korean Youth in the 20th Century" (unpublished R. E. D. thesis, Hartford Seminary, Conn., 1961), p. 7.

²⁸ Clarence N. Weems, Korea: Dilemma of Underdeveloped Country (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1960), p. 9.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 30.

³⁰ Minutes and Reports of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1959), p. 66. Cf. Moffett, p. 152.

³¹ Annual Report (1957), p. 16.

dollars a month for men and twenty dollars for women.³² Upon this limited income the government imposed exorbitant taxes. A businessman with a small knitting factory with thirty employees testified that it was absolutely necessary to forge production and sales records and to bribe income tax men; otherwise, his factory would last less than three months.³³

Except for a small minority (about one percent), the majority (83 percent) belonged to the lower, lower middle classes and the slum categories.³⁴ There were in 1960 a half million (2 percent) "hard core" needy people such as orphans, widows, lepers, old people, physically handicapped, disabled veterans and others in general need.³⁵ Time magazine described the poor economic condition in these words:

It (South Korea) is overpopulated, under-industrialized, short of natural resources, but has an over-abundance of sapping responsibilities, such as the need to keep a standing army of 600,000 for a population of 25 million.³⁶

The economic poverty in the Korean Church was depressing and became intimately related to the division of the PCK. The

³²Moffett, p. 133.

³³Kim Se-chin, "Military Revolution in Korea, 1961-1963" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, U. of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1966), pp. 61-62.

³⁴Minutes of Korea Mission (1967), p. 116.

³⁵Ibid. (1960), p. 111.

³⁶"South Korea," Time, LXXVIII (November 3, 1961), 25.

Korean Church which had been proud of practicing self-support according to the Nevius Method had to rely heavily on mission dollars. Some four hundred churches were either damaged or destroyed during the War and were rebuilt with the help of mission money.³⁷

Poverty-stricken Christians had very little to offer to their churches. Rural churches inherited the heaviest financial pressure; consequently, ministers migrated to cities which had only 30 percent of the total population.³⁸ A lady Presbyterian missionary described the condition of a poor rural church near Taejŏn which she visited with her fellow missionary a week before Christmas:

It was with some hesitation that I parted company with my shoes at the church door and took a seat on the bench at the back of the church. There was a little stove in the center trying hard to get rid of the chill of the subfreezing temperature. The missionary beside me moved over to make room between us for the splatter of water leaking from the melting snow on the roof and then I noticed the wide cracks between the boards on the floor where the people were sitting. As we sang, the vapor froze from our mouths and I smiled at the rows of nails for the rice bags which is the way many Koreans give their offering to the church. . . . Isn't it wonderful to realize a new that God is the same at all times and in all places.³⁹

The wide range of salaries between city and rural churches and even among city churches themselves causes ministers to

³⁷ Annual Report (1958), p. 20.

³⁸ Moffett, p. 131.

³⁹ Sylvia E. Haley, "Letter to Christians in America," January 6, 1960, p. 1, in BWM.

keep their eyes open for better positions. Among the seminary graduates in 1962, one received a monthly salary of ten dollars (10,000 won) in the city, while another got only fifty cents to a dollar (500 to 1000 won).⁴⁰ To compound the problem, these salaries were often several months in arrears. A secretary of one Christian organization which was supported by mission dollars received thirty dollars (30,000 won), while his fellow rural minister received less than four to five dollars (4000 to 5000 won).⁴¹ According to the statistics of a denomination which had 760 churches in 1960, 146 churches paid a ministerial salary of over thirty dollars a month (30,000 won), 309 churches under 10,000 won and 252 churches between the two categories.⁴² There is neither a retirement plan nor a pension for older ministers, and those who receive better salaries try to stay on at their churches until their death.⁴³

The result of all these discrepancies was the concentration of ministers into the cities which were already

⁴⁰ Although the rural pastor received a small salary, he would obtain compensation in the form of food and clothing.

⁴¹ Kürischán Shinmun, September 10, 1962, p. 2.

⁴² Chang Ha-ku, "Hanguk Kyōhoe Ch'ilship Nyōn ũi Kyōlsan" (An Account of Seventy Years of Korean Mission), Sasangge, X (February 1962), 274.

⁴³ The Koryō fixed the age of a minister's retirement at 70. Kürischán Shinmun, October 8, 1966, p. 1.

overcrowded rather than into the rural areas where the majority lived.⁴⁴ The Yearbook of the Christian Churches in Korea of 1968 shows that only Seoul and Pusan had more ministers than churches while all the provinces had substantially more churches than ministers.⁴⁵ It is common for these poorer rural churches to appeal for help to the churches in the cities and to foreign missions.

The extreme economic poverty of the Korean Christians became one of the main underlying reasons for the division in the Church and led the Korean Church to rely on mission support.

⁴⁴Theophilus Taylor, "Survey of Theological Education in Korea, 1961-1962" (New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1962), p. 5.

⁴⁵Minutes of Korea Mission (1968), p. 574. The writer chose six areas for comparison:

	<u>Churches</u>	<u>Ministers</u>
Seoul	1,072	1,350
Pusan	361	362
Chungnam Province	1,243	402
Chollanam Province	1,182	401
Kyongbuk Province	1,797	704
6 other Provinces	4,491	1,888
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	10,146	5,107

Those churches without regular ordained ministers have elders and evangelists as their pastors. In the PCK (E) Dr. Theophilus Taylor, who was a representative of the COEMAR to Korea for the investigation of theological education reported in 1962 that about three-fourths of two thousand churches were considered to be rural and about two-thirds of them (some one thousand churches) did not have regular ordained ministers. See Taylor, pp. 5, 31.

Social Changes

A social revolution progressed rapidly in Korea after 1945. Western civilization has washed over Korean culture like a flood. Secularism and materialism are dominating young minds and growing industrialization challenges the traditional family system.⁴⁶

The younger generation is increasingly interested in Western civilization. One of the effective means of understanding the Western way of life is through films and literature. In 1958, out of a total of 245 films shown in Korean theaters, only 91 were Korean. There were 154 from foreign countries. The United States contributed 124. Unwholesome movies and literature from the Western nations very often lead the people to see the weaker side of Western civilization.⁴⁷

With rapid modernization of Korea through mass communication, the morals of the people began to decline. Traditional Confucian tenets such as loyalty, filial piety and chastity have been weakened. Due to the economic difficulty, there has been a sharp increase of bribery, cheating, theft and robbery.

⁴⁶Kim Kyōng-dong, "The Role of the Christian Church in the Modernization of Korean Society," Korea Struggles for Christ, edited by Harold S. Hong, Ji Wōn-yong and Kim Chōng-chun (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1966), p. 208.

⁴⁷Korea (Republic), UNESCO Hanguk Ch'onglam (UNESCO Korean Survey) (Seoul: Dong A Publishing Co., 1960), p. 824.

It is very common for missionaries to experience thefts in their homes, and every edition of the Minutes of Korea Mission (UPCUSA) contains several cases of thefts, reported to the Commission for reimbursement of the losses.⁴⁸ Ethics becomes relative instead of absolute for economic survival. Even among Christians the decline of morals could be observed as a missionary describes,

Koreans live in a moral climate that is so different from that in Western countries that it appears amoral to some foreigners. The ethics practiced are a modification of Confucianism. . . . Even among Christian groups, there is a gap between Christian dogma and Christian ethics. Many Korean Christians are in reality more Confucian than Christian in their attitude and action.⁴⁹

Bribes (saba saba) often become a common practice in Korea. Instead of going through the channels of bureaucratic red tape, one uses bribery to expedite any transaction. Because of this extensive practice of bribing, salaries for some positions are purposely much lower than the actual living cost because of the expectation that bribes would compensate for the needed money.⁵⁰ Westerners in Korea are usually shocked by the low ethical standard in business and government, while Koreans in turn are horrified by the low moral standard of

⁴⁸Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), pp. 29, 32.

⁴⁹Paul S. Crane, Korean Pattern (Seoul: Hollym Corporation Publishers, 1967), p. 184.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 118.

the West in sex and drinking, especially among young people.⁵¹

Social changes taking place in Korea are somewhat comparable to those of the Southern states in the U. S. A. which Samuel S. Hill, Jr. describes in his book, Southern Churches in Crisis. As the theologically conservative Churches in the Southern states in America are not ready to meet serious challenges coming out of the evolving social order,⁵² so the Korean Church with its conservative theology is not prepared to deal with the onset of the challenges of modern civilization sweeping throughout Korea. The consequences of a lack of preparation in the Church to confront progressive changes were fear, frustration, struggles, and division among Christians.

Theological Differences

The conservative theology of the PCK was implanted by the pioneer missionaries and has been cherished by the Korean Christians and most of the missionaries. Whether theological differences were basically at issue in the divisions of the PCK in 1959 is debatable by those involved. Those who stand in the ecumenical circle try to minimize

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 173-174.

⁵² Samuel S. Hill, Jr., Southern Churches in Crisis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. iv, 6, 28.

this matter, while the NAE group try to make it as the dominant factor. In order to understand the issue presented here, one has to go back to the theological history of the denomination.

The pioneer Presbyterian missionaries at the turn of the century established the Pyŏngyang Theological Seminary in 1901 and advocated this "inflexible fundamentalism."⁵³ This seminary, the only one in the PCK until Chōsen Seminary was founded in Seoul in 1940, trained most of the older ministers in the 50 to 70 age bracket who are holding the leadership of the Church at the present time. These early missionaries adopted five articles of faith which the ultra-conservative wing in the U. S. A. adopted in 1895 at the Bible Conference: The virgin birth of Christ, the physical resurrection of Christ, the substitutionary atonement, the imminent physical return of Christ and the inerrancy of the Scriptures.⁵⁴ In 1907 the PCK adopted a new Confession which contained twelve articles of faith:

the sovereignty of God, the deity, the virgin birth and substitutionary atonement of Christ, the double procession of the Holy Spirit, the predestination of

⁵³Harvie M. Conn, "Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church," The Westminster Theological Journal, XXX (May 1967), 173. The Rev. Mr. Conn published a series of articles on the same subject: XXIX (November 1966); XXIX (May 1967); XXX (November 1967); and XXX (May 1968).

⁵⁴Ibid., XXX, 173-174. Many missionaries, particularly of the Northern Presbyterian Mission, were affected by dispensationalism. They believed in premillennialism and held an exact literal interpretation of the Scripture. See ibid., XXX (November 1967), 50-52.

men, irresistibility of grace, a belief in sacraments, bodily resurrection, and the final judgment.⁵⁵

These early missionaries labored diligently to preserve their conservative theology at the seminary. Dr. Park Hyŏng-nong, former president of the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul, testified in one of his recent sermons that the missionaries at the Pyŏngyang Seminary used to reserve liberal theological books in the missionary librarians' room for faculty use only, so that the students would not be affected by liberal teaching.⁵⁶

In recent years the traditional conservative theology came under heavy attacks by the progressive minded churchmen in the Korean Church. Many critical adjectives and nouns were attached to the conservative theology: "extreme," "ultra-conservative," "inflexible," "strictly fundamental," "purist," "mysticism," "anti-intellectualism," "dispensationalism," "pietism," and "legalism."⁵⁷

The beginning of liberal thinking in the PCK was instigated by the missionaries from the United Church of Canada,⁵⁸

⁵⁵Paik, p. 374.

⁵⁶Park Hyŏng-nong, "Chohŭn Siŭi Charanam" (Growth of a Good Seed), Kidok Shinbo, October 11, 1965, p. 1.

⁵⁷Conn, The Westminster Theological Journal, XXX (November 1967), 26. See Harvie M. Conn, "Presbyterian Theological Education in Korea Today," Reformed Bulletin of Missions, I (March 1965), 7.

⁵⁸Kim Yang-sŏn, p. 7.

and advocated by those Korean theological students who went to Japan for their theological training. In Japan they found theological freedom and accepted Barthian neo-orthodoxy which at the time had the dominant influence in Japanese seminaries.⁵⁹ Dr. Kim Chae-chun of the PCROK became the pioneer of Barthianism in Korea,⁶⁰ and his liberal thinking became a growing force in the Korean Church from 1938 to 1945.⁶¹ The final outcome of his liberal thinking resulted in the birth of a new Presbyterian denomination, the PCROK in 1954.⁶²

The main body of the Presbyterian Church in both the Ecumenical and NAE factions has maintained a conservative theology. However, a concern for a potential change or modification of theology is felt in the PCK (E). To understand the theological development in the PCK, one has to study the doctrinal controversies in the Presbyterian bodies in America which have strongly influenced the PCK through their Missions.

⁵⁹Yasuo Furuya, "The Influence of Barth on Present-day Theological Thought in Japan," The Japan Christian Quarterly, XXX (1964), 262.

⁶⁰Supra, p. 39.

⁶¹Harvie M. Conn, "Theological Trends in the Korean Presbyterian Church," Torch and Trumpet, XV (May-June 1965), 8.

⁶²Supra, p. 36.

In the UPCUSA, the theological conflict between Dr. J. Gresham Machen and his neo-orthodox opponents at Princeton Seminary in 1928 which ultimately led to the formation of Westminster Seminary in 1929 and further to the founding of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church marked the beginning of a gradual change of theological position at the seminaries.⁶³ Today, the dominant theological emphasis of the UPCUSA is much different from that of the time of conservatives Charles Hodge, Benjamin B. Warfield, A. A. Hodge, and Robert Dick Wilson. Theological conflicts at Princeton in the 1920's and 1930's greatly resemble those at the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul in the recent divisions.⁶⁴

With theological freedom and more progressive thinking at the UPCUSA and the PCUS, prominent churchmen with ecumenical emphases spoke their views at the strictly conservative Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul. Older Christian leaders who had received their training at the Pyŏngyang Seminary became concerned.

In 1949 when there was a theological dispute between Dr. Kim Chae-Chun's liberal and Dr. Park Hyŏng-nong's conservative seminaries, two Western churchmen visited the Korean Church: Dr. John Mackay, chairman of the Board of Foreign

⁶³ Ned Bernard Stonehouse, J. Gresham Machen (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1954), p. 502.

⁶⁴ Conn, Torch and Trumpet, XV, 31.

Missions of the UPCUSA and president of Princeton Seminary, and Professor Emil Brunner of Zurich.

Realizing the serious dispute existing in the PCK, Dr. Mackay was very cautious in his lectures at both seminaries; nevertheless, the conservative General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary leaders interpreted him as a Barthian, while the liberal Chōsen Seminary group rejoiced that one of the most prominent church leaders in America represented their own Barthian theology.⁶⁵

Professor Brunner's visit to the Korean Church a few weeks after the visit of Dr. Mackay threw more fire into the theological dispute. Although the liberal wing in the PCK and the university students enthusiastically accepted Dr. Brunner, the conservative General Assembly Seminary which was the largest in the country did not give him an opportunity to speak. He relayed his feelings to Dr. Mackay about his visit to Korea:

It also revealed--as it was to be expected that the students at large, particularly those trained in science and medicine, find the fundamentalist theory of verbal inspiration of the Bible an insurmountable obstacle to becoming Christians. They were most surprised and appreciative when I told them that this theory was neither biblical nor held by any theological school of Europe or the U. S. A.

⁶⁵ Kim Yang-sŏn, pp. 200-213.

of any standing, fundamentalism being a theology not accepted by any major church in Europe and only by a few in the States.⁶⁶

Dr. Brunner disdained the attitude of the fundamentalist seminaries because of "their incredible intolerance and narrowness by not even allowing me to speak to their student bodies."⁶⁷ He criticized the policy of the Presbyterian Board which sent out mainly missionaries who had this fundamentalist leaning.

fundamentalism prevents Korea from becoming Christian! And all this because of a man-made, judaistic theory which had nothing to do whatever with the New Testament message of Jesus, the Son of God, the Saviour God-man and the living Head of the Church. Please, do send missionaries who know this difference and who are capable of presenting the Gospel to the Korean people in a way which is not impossible to accept for any who love Truth!⁶⁸

However, in the next decade, as the ecumenical movement began to swing into Korea after the Korean War, there were an increasing number of foreign visitors who brought along progressive ideas. Since the PCK and its seminary in Seoul with more than five hundred students were prime examples of the successful Presbyterian missions, numerous other theologians and churchmen of the West visited Korea and lectured

⁶⁶ Emil Brunner, "Letter to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.," November 24, 1949, quoted by Chŏn Sŏng-chŏn, "Schism and Unity in the Protestant Churches of Korea" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, New Haven, 1955), p. 194.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

at the seminary, some of them noted liberals in America.⁶⁹

One significant development in the theological education in Korea before the 1959 division was the establishment of the College of Theology within Yŏnsei University in Seoul. This College is supported by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia which includes the UPCUSA, PCUS, the Methodist Church, and the United Church of Canada. This four-year college which was ecumenically-oriented and permitted theological freedom became a constant threat to the conservative NAE wing of the PCK before the 1959 division. The NAE men felt that the two large Presbyterian Missions from America which had worked closely with the PCK were in full cooperation with other Missions to advance the ecumenical movement and liberal theology. They also could not fully accept the graduates of this institution who were ordained into the ministry of the PCK after two years of study at the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary.⁷⁰

Furthermore, the Theological Education Fund (TEF) Committee in the International Missionary Council was planning to strengthen some twenty ecumenical seminaries in the Far East including Korea in 1958 with a four million dollar budget of which half would come from the Rockefeller

⁶⁹Minutes of Korea Mission (1958), p. 107.

⁷⁰Taylor, pp. 10-11.

Foundation and the other half from the International Missionary Council.⁷¹ In March 1959 the KNCC formed the KNCC-TEF Committee which consisted of seven members from different denominational institutions: the PCK, the PCROK, the Methodists, and Yŏnsei University. They planned to establish an "Ecumenical School of Theology."⁷² To the NAE leaders, it was anathema to cooperate with this movement, because the PCK which once fought to the point of division with the PCROK in 1954 to preserve conservative theology was gradually sliding under the domination of these liberal, ecumenical leaders. However, the TEF program in Korea was not able to unify the various denominations under the requirements set by the TEF Committee in the International Missionary Conference.⁷³

While the TEF Committee was planning to establish a united seminary in connection with the College of Theology, Yŏnsei University, strong opposition was voiced by the missionaries and some noted leaders in the PCK (E) for two main reasons: first, the most urgent need in the PCK was not for higher theological training of seminary students

⁷¹Minutes of Korea Mission (1958), p. 120. Cf. Kim Chŏng-chun, editor, Hyŏntae wa Shinhak (Theology and Modern Times) (Seoul: United Graduate School of Theology, Yŏnsei University, December 1964), I, 205.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid., I, 205-206.

but rather for theological training of rural pastors; second, there was a fear of confusing theologies without a specific denominational theology and a concern for encroaching liberal theology.⁷⁴ Consequently, the actual implementation of TEF money was delayed until 1964 when the United Graduate School of Theology was established at Yonsei University.⁷⁵

The missionaries of the UPCUSA and the PCUS played the most important roles in the theological conflict in the PCK, particularly those who taught at the seminaries. Since the power of the missionaries with their mission money often became the decisive factor in the affairs of the PCK, the influence of their theological position needs to be evaluated.

With few exceptions, previous as well as current missionaries hold a conservative theology.⁷⁶ A number of influential missionaries both in the UPCUSA and PCUS had their

⁷⁴There was a difference of opinion among the missionaries. Drs. E. Otto DeCamp and Francis Kingsler expressed their oppositions to the establishment of the united theological seminary. See Kürischán Shinmun, December 9, 1963, pp. 1-2. Dr. George Thompson Brown of the SPM also joined his opposition to the plan. When Professor To Yang-sul of the PCK (E) Seminary in Seoul supported the missionaries' oppositions for a possible theological confusion, Dr. Peter Van Lierop, a United Presbyterian missionary professor at the College of Theology, Yonsei University, did not agree with Professor To's interpretation. See Kürischán Shinmun, December 16, 1963, p. 2, and December 23, 1963, p. 6.

⁷⁵Hyöntae wa Shinhak, p. 209.

⁷⁶Conn, The Westminster Theological Journal, XXX (May 1967), 141.

college training at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, the leading conservative Christian college in America.⁷⁷ Although most Korean ministers in the PCK wanted to preserve their conservative theology, it was the missionaries who actually took the responsible role in leading the Church into the traditional pattern in spite of pressure and opposition from their Mission Board.⁷⁸ One of the real difficulties which the missionaries faced in their relation to the home Board and the PCK was how to apply the ecumenical spirit to the PCK without being tainted by liberal theology which seemed to come with the ecumenical package.

In regard to the question whether theological difference was actually involved in the 1959 division, there is no uniform agreement. The ecumenical group regarded the theological differences as nonexistent, as the Executive Committee of the Korea Mission of the UPCUSA stated, "We see no theological differences in the Korean Presbyterian Church which warrant the present agitation and conflict. . . ."⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Dr. E. Otto DeCamp and his children; Dr. Samuel H. Moffett, Ph.D., and Dr. and Mrs. Howard Moffett, M. D. (brothers) and their children; Dr. Francis Kinsler's two sons; Dr. Harold Voelkel's three children and daughter-in-law; Rev. Robert Urquart; Mrs. Virginia Bell Somerville; Robert Lee Smith. See Wheaton College Alumni Directory (Wheaton, Ill.: Wheaton Alumni Association, 1968), p. 421.

⁷⁸ Supra, p. 127.

⁷⁹ Minutes of Korea Mission (1959), p. 38.

Dr. Edward Adams said that the division in the PCK had "very little theological involvement."⁸⁰ Dr. L. Nelson Bell, a member of the Mission Board of the PCUS and the associate editor of Christianity Today, declared after his visit to the PCK at the time of the division,

The cause of this split has been widely published in some circles in America as a struggle between conservative and liberal theological forces and a basic departure from the faith on the part of some of the present day missionaries in Korea. The writer would like to state categorically that the basic problem is not doctrinal; but there is no church in the world more conservative in theology than the Korean Presbyterian Church⁸¹

The Rev. Harvie M. Conn, a missionary from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and a professor at the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary (NAE) in Seoul, points out that Dr. Samuel Moffett who lists all the reasons for the division in the PCK except the theological battle is a good example of ignoring this important factor.⁸²

On the other hand, the NAE side stresses the theological difference so adamantly that it stands as a rather decisive point in their minds. The Rev. Chŏng Kyu-oh considers the infiltration of theological liberalism in the PCK through

⁸⁰Edward Adams, "Personal Report, 1959-1960" [1960], pp. 1-2.

⁸¹L. Nelson Bell, "Hopes Rise for Korean Reconciliation," Christianity Today, IV (January 18, 1960), 328.

⁸²Conn, Torch and Trumpet, XV, 8.

the ecumenical movement as a primary reason for the split.⁸³ The Rev. Conn also considers theology as a determining factor, "The theological picture in the Presbyterian Church today is, we feel, far from the simple one drawn by men like Bell and Barnhouse. It is in a tremendous stage of upheaval and activity."⁸⁴ Baik Chún-whak of Kürischán Shinmun commented that the theological difference had not been emphasized in the conflict, but the undercurrent of change was beginning to surface.⁸⁵

On the other side of the spectrum, the attitude of the COEMAR to the theology in the PCK was also one of concern, but for an entirely different reason. The extreme type of conservative theology under the leadership of Park Hyŏng-nong according to the COEMAR was unacceptable in this advanced scientific, technological, and ecumenical age. To the COEMAR theology must be liberalized in order to appeal to the younger generation. In 1962 the COEMAR made a theological survey of the PCK (E) institutions through Dr. Theophilus Taylor. In his report, he criticized the theological training in the seminaries and Bible institutes as outdated. Evaluating the Bible institutes he said,

⁸³ Chŏng Kyu-oh, a personal taped report on the division of the PCK (Kwangju, November 13, 1968).

⁸⁴ Conn, Torch and Trumpet, XV, 8. Harvie Conn, "Conservative Trends in the KPC," Torch and Trumpet, XV (October 1965), 12.

⁸⁵ Kürischán Shinmun, October 8, 1962, p. 2.

The Bible courses being offered in practically all of the Korean Presbyterian Bible institutes are fundamentally Bible-content courses presented homiletically and uncritically. There is little or no attempt to deal with the critical and hermeneutical problems in interpretation. . . . The leadership of the Korean Church is still being trained in institutes and by methods that were reasonably successful in the 18th century, but which are almost totally outmoded and inadequate for today's needs.⁸⁶

The missionaries who taught at these institutions had flagrant deficiencies in their training because they had not been exposed to the modern hermeneutical and critical methodology. One of twenty-seven recommendations which Taylor made to the COEMAR for the theological education of the Korean Church was to require their missionary teachers on furlough to take theological courses at one of their denominational seminaries or at Stony Point, New York, the training center for United Presbyterian missionary candidates.⁸⁷ He also strongly urged the COEMAR to withhold mission money from the theological institutions until they would meet necessary changes required by the COEMAR.⁸⁸

⁸⁶Taylor, p. 24.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 34-35.

⁸⁸Dr. Taylor recommended "that everything possible be done to provide the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Seoul, with dynamic and imaginative administrative leadership. That the further investment of large amounts of money in the . . . Seminary, Seoul, be deferred until the provision of such leadership has been effected." Ibid., p. 34.

Constant attempts of the COEMAR to liberalize theological education at the seminary in Seoul have not only encountered accusations from the NAE side but have also met strong opposition within the PCK (E). In 1966-1967 two theological disputes occurred in the PCK (E). First, Dr. Keith R. Crim,⁸⁹ a professor of Old Testament at the seminary in Seoul taught that although Jonah might be a historical person, the narrative was a parable. His denial of the historicity of the narrative created a furor among church leaders. However, the 1966 General Assembly discussed the issue and decided that Crim should remain at his post.⁹⁰

Secondly, the 1967 Confession of the UPCUSA became a stormy controversy in the Presbyterian Churches. Some fifty NAE leaders published a ten-point statement condemning the 1967 Confession for its treatment of Christianity as a "natural religion."⁹¹ The 1967 Confession and the Dr. Crim's

⁸⁹Dr. Keith R. Crim was a Southern Presbyterian missionary from 1953 and taught at the Taejŏn Christian College until he took the position at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary (E) in Seoul in March, 1966. He was also the chief correspondent of the Christian Century in Korea from 1960 to 1966. See Shinhak Segye (The Theological Press), November 14, 1966, p. 3.

⁹⁰Keith R. Crim, "A Statement," clarifying his interpretation of Jonah, September 21, 1966, in KRC. Minutes of Korea Mission (1967), p. 22. Bokŭm Shinmun, October 2, 1966, p. 3. Keith R. Crim, "Letter to the writer," dated March 28, 1969, p. 2.

⁹¹PCK (NAE), "Ilchŏn-kubaek-ryukship-chil Nyŏn Shinang Kobaeksŏ e taehan Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement on the 1967 Confession), August 1, 1967, in CKO. Minutes of Korea Mission (1968), pp. 550-555. Kidok Shinbo, August 5, 1967, p. 1; August 26, 1967, p. 1.

incident gave the NAE opportunities to point out to the Ecumenical side that the Presbyterian Church was indeed contaminated by the changing theology of the UPCUSA. There was also violent opposition within the PCK (E) itself; the General Assembly appointed a committee of fifteen to investigate the 1967 Confession and to report to the 1967 General Assembly in September 1967.⁹² The Rev. Kang Shin-myŏng reported that many ministers in the PCK (E) threatened to leave the Church at the General Assembly in September of 1967, unless united action was taken against the Confession.⁹³ The Chŏnnam Presbytery proposed to the General Assembly that the PCK (E) should accept only those missionaries who accept the twelve articles of the PCK and the Apostles' Creed and not the 1967 Confession.⁹⁴ There were major debates in several cities between the pro and con 1967 Confession groups.⁹⁵ The General Assembly finally passed a proposal of a fifteen-man committee disagreeing on some points and reemphasizing doctrines not mentioned by the Confession such

⁹² Minutes of Korea Mission (1967), p. 22.

⁹³ Bokŭm Shinmun, September 10, 1967, p. 2.

⁹⁴ Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, September 27, 1967, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Ibid., April 15, 1967, p. 3, and September 16, 1967, p. 4. See Kidok Shinbo, September 16, 1967, p. 2.

as the deity of Christ. But, since it was a Confession of another denomination, the PCK (E) should not be much disturbed.⁹⁶

There were other signs of theological manipulation at the PCK (E) Seminary in Seoul. Some new faculty members whom the NAE group considered liberal in theology were added to the seminary.⁹⁷ The relationship of the PCK (E) Seminary with other major seminaries in Korea has been increasingly closer through the United Graduate School of Theology of Yōnsei University. This Graduate School is an ecumenical institution which had the cooperation of four different professors from other denominational seminaries at the time

⁹⁶ Kürischán Shinmun, September 30, 1967, p. 1. Cf. Allen D. Clark, "Letter to COEMAR," September 27, 1967, p. 1, in UML. It was reported that Dr. Lee Sang-kūn, a young leader of the con-1967 Confession in Taegu, translated the Confession and intended to sell it to the commissioners of the 1967 General Assembly, but a missionary from the UPM bought all the copies through his personal secretary, so that the commissioners were not able to get them. See Kürischán Shinmun, September 9, 1967, p. 1.

⁹⁷ Professor Harvie M. Conn points out three professors. Dr. Ch'ae Pil-kūn is the founder of Hanguk Seminary (former Chōsen Seminary) in the PCROK and is accused by the conservatives, being one of the "great liberal theologians." See Conn, Torch and Trumpet, XV (May-June 1965), 10. Dr. Lee Jong-sōng, a former professor at the College of Theology, Yōnsei University who usually defended Barthian theology became the Dean of Students. Dr. Park Ch'ang-whan, a New Testament professor, was once deprived of his professorship at the Presbyterian Seminary (E) in Seoul for three years, because he wrote a controversial article in which he said, "Until Jesus came to the final victory . . . he had not revealed his Messiahship." Now he has resumed his teaching. See Ibid., XV, 9-10. Cf. Kürischán Shinmun, October 16, 1961, p. 1, and November 20, 1961, p. 2.

of its dedication in December 1964.⁹⁸ It built several modern buildings, including a dormitory, library, and dining hall with \$110,000 grant from the TEF,⁹⁹ and offers graduate theological degrees.¹⁰⁰

Certainly, at the present time, there is no difference of theology among the majority of ministers in both the PCK (E) and PCK (NAE). However, the theological stand of both groups in some twenty years will probably be substantially different from that of today, probably much similar to the extent of differences in the Presbyterian bodies in the United States between the UPCUSA and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church.¹⁰¹ Therefore, what the NAE leaders feared the most in the struggle was this gradual undercurrent change of theological position. They believed that theological freedom at the seminary level was the first step toward the final submission to the liberals.

⁹⁸Peter Van Lierop, "A Dormitory of Distinction," Korea Calling, IV (January 1965), 1, in UML. The Methodist Seminary, Hanguk Seminary (PCROK), St. Michael Seminary (Anglican), and the College of Theology in Yonsei University participated in the United Graduate School of Theology, Yonsei University. See Kürischän Shinmun, November 6, 1961, p. 1. The Korea Lutheran Mission joined this institution with an annual donation of \$1,500 in November 11, 1965. The faculty of the Presbyterian Seminary (E) in Seoul began to participate in the theological lectures on May 16-20, 1966. See Hyöntae wa Shinhak, II (February 1966), 240-241, and III (December 1966), 208.

⁹⁹Ibid., III, 208, 211.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., I (December 1964), 212.

¹⁰¹Kidok Shinbo, September 16, 1967, p. 2. Cf. Kürischän Shinmun, December 2, 1963, p. 2.

Struggle for Leadership

In a Confucian culture which teaches respect for age, leadership falls to the older generation. The present leadership in the Korean Church is mostly controlled by a small percentage of older ministers between 50 and 70 who had their theological training during the Japanese occupation.¹⁰² Among the Presbyterian ministers, the leaders of the main Presbyterian bodies can be divided into four categories according to their education training. First, during the Japanese occupation, there are those who went to Japan for theological education; some of these had further training in the West. Second, there are also those who received their education in Korea under the American missionaries prior to World War II and went to America for more training after 1945. Third, there are leaders who were totally trained in Korea, and lastly, an increasing number of younger ministers obtained college and seminary education in Korea and further education from the West, particularly in America.¹⁰³

Just as many American students went to Europe for their education during the 1920's and 1930's, so Korean students

¹⁰²Crane, p. 174.

¹⁰³Lee Jong-sŏng, "Types of Church Leaders Today," Korea Struggles for Christ, pp. 135-139.

went to Japan. During the 1920's thousands of Koreans were taken to Japan for forced labor, and by 1930 the Korean population in Japan rapidly increased to a half million people. There were more Korean students attending colleges and universities in Japan than in Korea. Since the quality of Japanese education was more highly regarded than that in Korea, many young men desired to go there.¹⁰⁴

Returning home from Japan, these ministers took the leadership of the PCK. Some of these went to America for further training.¹⁰⁵ These leaders who have generally a more liberal and ecumenical attitude became a dominant force in the PCROK and the PCK (E). The Japanese-American-educated leaders (more liberal) were often in conflict with the Korean-American-educated conservative ministers for the leadership in the PCK.

Since 1945 there has been an increase of ministers who left the parish ministry to take positions in Christian organizations which have been mainly supported by mission dollars. With better salaries, these ministers seemed to live in a different world from the parish ministers. Power struggles among ministers desiring to maintain their higher standard of living resulted in much conflict. Many local

¹⁰⁴Chŏn Sŏn-chŏn, pp. 136-137.

¹⁰⁵Lee Jong-sŏng, p. 137.

ministers, weary of these contentions, tended to remove themselves away from the power struggle and concentrated their energies on their local churches. This is one of the reasons why the ecumenical movement is slow in spreading through Korea.¹⁰⁶ Professional ecclesiastical politicians are in both the Ecumenical and NAE groups, trying to augment their power in the Church in the name of either the ecumenical movement or theological conservatism.¹⁰⁷

The power structure of the PCK was so arranged that a few bureaucratic leaders controlled the entire affairs of the Church. Whenever there was a split in the higher level, it ultimately produced a division in the Church, whether the majority of Christians agreed or not. This centralized power structure has much resemblance to that of the Roman Catholic Church in that directives come from a select few to the majority.

In a society like Korea where success in life is so dependent upon another person's favor, power groups are easily formed.¹⁰⁸ Common parish ministers have to keep

¹⁰⁶ Han CHŏl-ha, "Hanguk Kyōhoe ūi Yōngwang kwa Suchi" (Glory and Shame of the Korean Church), Kidokkyō Sasang, XII (August 1968), 31. Cf. Chang Byōng-il, p. 131.

¹⁰⁷ Lee Jong-sōng, "Yechang ūn Wae Kūmikago Kalla Chōtnunka?" (Why Are the Presbyterians Divided?), Kidokkyō Sasang, IV (November 1960), 46. Cf. Cho Hyang-nok, "Hyōk-shin kwa Tonghapul Chōhae hanūn Yowōn" (Elements that Make Renewal and Unity Fail), Kidokkyō Sasang, VIII (May 1964), 56.

¹⁰⁸ Supra, pp. 111-112.

harmonious the relationships with their superior ministers in power for benefits and better opportunities, not only for themselves, but for their families. The vertical power structure of the Church became more solidified with the coming of immense amounts of mission dollars, relief goods, and opportunities for foreign travel and study after the Korean War.

For example, a rural pastor with five children cannot support his family with the limited income he receives from his church. If he wants to move to a church in Seoul for a better salary and better education for his children, he has to approach one of those powerful ministers in the Kyōnggi Presbytery through the recommendation of the moderator of his own presbytery. This minister is bound to support his moderator and the leader of the Kyōnggi Presbytery, regardless of whether he agrees with their activities or not. If a minister in Seoul wants to send his son to America for education, the best way to achieve this is to approach a missionary and a Korean church leader whose recommendation is highly regarded by the missionary; this minister, then, is obligated to support the activities of the missionary and the Korean leader. Countless other examples such as these can be cited, particularly in the hot competition for mission dollars.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹Cho Sōn-chūl, "Sōnkyosa e taehan Chase" (The Korean Church's Attitude Toward Missionaries), Kidokkyō Sasang, VII, (April 1963), 39.

In return, the professional power-seekers try to satisfy the ministers' requests as much as possible, thus building up support for their own policies. In the vicissitudes of these power struggles, misunderstandings, favoritism, nepotism, provincialism and other irregularities arose which consequently led to conflicts and divisions in the Church.

This leadership struggle among church politicians does not exist only in the PCK but in all other denominations. For instance, the election of the tenth bishop in the Korean Methodist Church made history because none of the three candidates received a two-thirds majority after 114 ballots during a six-month period from September 1966 to March 1967.¹¹⁰

The annual election of the officers of the KNCC also revealed notorious power struggles. The Twenty-first General Assembly of the KNCC on March 4, 1968, failed to elect a General Secretary because there was no concession made by the PCK (E), the PCROK or the Korean Methodist Church in supporting candidates other than their own. In its third meeting on April 15, the election committee adopted a single candidate method instead of multiple candidates. In previous balloting none of the three candidates could acquire a majority of the vote when pitted against each other. But when each candidate was voted on separately, the Rev. Kim

¹¹⁰ Kürischán Shinmun, October 1, 1966, p. 3; December 25, 1966, p. 3, and March 11, 1967, p. 1.

Kwan-sŏk of the PCROK received more approval votes (23 to 19) than the other two.¹¹¹

When the leadership struggle between the Yŏndong Pa and the Sŭngdong Pa reached its peak in 1959 for the control of the General Assembly, the moderator of the Cheju Presbytery even proposed electing the officers of the General Assembly, not by ballot but by lot.¹¹² The Ecumenical leaders wanted to keep their comfortable leadership in the Church through the influence of missionaries and mission money, while the NAE leaders sought their hegemony through the pretense of the true Gospel.

Corruption of those professional power seekers in the Church has become increasingly manifest in recent years. As Korean society was contaminated by deep deterioration, so the leadership in the Korean Church could not escape infection. As one veteran missionary wrote:

While the Church in the past withstood all kinds of persecution, it is yielding currently on ethical and moral issues to the pressures of an increasingly corrupt society. Personal integrity, honesty, thrift, family morality, complete separation from heathen customs, etc., are compromised even in high church level.¹¹³

¹¹¹Kidok Shinbo, March 16, 1968, p. 2. Cf. Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, March 30, 1968, p. 1.

¹¹²Kidok Kongbo, November 30, 1959, p. 2.

¹¹³Annual Reports of the Board of Missions (1957), p. 112.

Some Korean Christian leaders admitted the questionable dealings of the leadership in the Korean Church. One minister said,

The policy of the Korean Church is not determined by those capable leaders but rather by those who do not receive respect from the Christians but who have the fighting spirit.¹¹⁴

Another churchman described the situation, "The Church sought benefits for her own factional groups in the name of the truth."¹¹⁵ Therefore, the power conflict for hegemony among the church leaders became one of the most decisive factors in the division of the PCK.

Summary

One of the weak characteristics among Korean people is the lack of cooperation and factionalism. The existence of different dynasties in Korea for several centuries and the lack of modern communication created provincialism. However, these are inherent infirmities of the people and cannot be considered as major causes for the divisions in the PCK.

Political instability, economic insecurity, and rapid social changes of the nation created a background of turbulence and frustration in Korean society. As the nation

¹¹⁴Chang Ha-ku, p. 274.

¹¹⁵Chi Myōng-kwan, Nagareni Hangko Side (Against the Flowing Trend) (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shipbansa, 1966), p. 114.

fell into disorder and frenzy, so the Korean Church lapsed into trouble and schism.

Theological differences among the church leaders in recent years also created a reason for the division of the PCK. It is difficult to deny the fear and concern with which many conservative ministers both in the Ecumenical and NAE groups viewed certain American theological trends. They saw a possible danger of adulterating the Gospel in what they regarded as the syncretistic approach to Christianity of some noted American theologians. And this approach might enter Korea through the ecumenical movement. But the internal power struggles for leadership among the leaders of both groups and the external forces controlling the internal affairs with their mission money became the two decisive factors in the division of the PCK in 1959.

CHAPTER VI

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES OF THE FOREIGN PRESBYTERIAN MISSIONS UPON THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KOREA

The responsibility for the strife and divisions in the PCK cannot be placed solely on the Korean Church leaders. Various missionary letters and the writings of American churchmen often presented only a one-sided picture of causes for the divisions. Besides all the frailties of the Korean Christians, including their tendencies toward factionalism, one must also reckon the vigorous external forces operating in the PCK through the missionary organizations. These forces are often suppressed when the nationals and foreigners directly confront each other, but nevertheless these muffled feelings, tensions, and problems became deeply involved in the internal breaches in the Church.

At the beginning of foreign missionary work in Korea, there were only six Protestant missions from three different countries: the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Missions, the Northern and Southern Methodist Missions, the Australian Presbyterian Mission and the Canadian Presbyterian Mission. Until 1945 there were only ten mission organizations, but after 1945 the number increases. In 1962 there were 30

missions¹ and in 1967 the number increased to 60 different bodies with 621 missionaries.² Kim Yun-shik, moderator of the Fifty-second General Assembly in the PCK (E), commented that many mission organizations have become stronger than the respective Korean churches, weakened the work of the KNCC, and become one of the major causes for the divisions in the Church. He described the situation with a Korean proverb, "A tiger becomes bigger than a mountain."³

Ecumenical Presbyterian Missions

The four original Presbyterian Missions had worked closely with the PCK under the Presbyterian Council, organized in 1903, until the second major division in the PCK in 1954 in which the United Church of Canada withdrew from her partners in order to support the PCROK.⁴ Among the three remaining missions, the United Presbyterian Mission which has been working in the Kyōnggi and Kyōngsang Provinces is most influential in the PCK because the capital city Seoul belonged to its mission territory. The SPM works with ten

¹Lee Sang-yong, editor, Hanguk Kidokkyō Saryo Mochiphoe (Korean Christian Digest) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1962), pp. 433-436.

²Bruce Hunt, "Missionary and Korean Church," Kidok Shinbo, July 22, 1967, p. 2. The 621 missionaries are distributed as follows: 337 in Seoul, 77 in Taejōn, 54 in Pusan, 41 in Taegu, and 20 in other areas.

³Kūrischan Shinmun, January 13, 1968, p. 1.

⁴Allen D. Clark, History of the Korean Church (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1962), p. 83.

presbyteries in the southwestern part of Korea, the Honam area, while the APM is in the Kyōngnam Province.⁵

The influence of these missionaries numbering less than two hundred in the PCK is much greater than the average Korean Christian realizes because of the eighty-year history of missions in Korea and the power of the mission dollar. If a question, "Who is a missionary?" is put to the Korean man-in-the-street, the common answer would be similar to this description by a prominent national church leader:

The missionary is a man who lives in a mansion with a large and impressive garden. He receives a large salary, quite out of line with national standards generally and in comparison with his local counterparts. He is invested with almost absolute authority. He frequently appears unapproachable and proud. He may be friendly, but he is strict and inflexible when operating on his own system of values. He is a preacher of a special kind, an ecclesiastical foreign agent representing a great nation with invincible power and abundant wealth.⁶

The writer reveals that this caricature of a missionary may be exaggerated in parts, but remains essentially true as portrayed in the minds of many Koreans.

In recent years the missionaries have been under heightened attacks from the nationals for their isolated life. Koreans have also resented their dominating power over the Korean Church and their frequent neglect of the

⁵ Ibid., pp. 83-84.

⁶ Ji Wōn-yong, "The Role of Missionary Today," Korea Journal, VII (January 1967), 21.

actual ministry of evangelism for which they came. Due to the changes in society in recent years, the position of the missionary in relation to the nationals has been substantially changed. In general, many nationals today do not regard the missionary with the same quality of respect which their parents accorded him for his better educational background and his many sacrifices.

Due to the tremendous economic and social gap between the missionary and national, there is a lack of communication between the two. The missionary, with a very high income⁷ according to the Korean standard, a Western house, a servant vehicles and all other conveniences in a separated compound has often found it difficult to identify with the common poverty-stricken people. Because he is isolated physically, he cannot communicate effectively with the national. The following examples of criticisms voiced against the

⁷Minutes and Reports of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Seoul; Christian Literature Society, 1962), p. 29. See ibid. (1966), p. 114. The salaries of missionaries in 1962 follow:

Married couple	\$3,336 (\$278 mo.)
Single	1,668
Single, separate maintenance	1,836
Children allowance to age 12	504
Children allowance (age 12-17)	600

The rental policy of the UPM in 1958 was \$200 a month for an unfurnished house with seven or more rooms and \$275 for a furnished house, \$150 for a smaller unfurnished house, and \$200 for a smaller furnished house. See ibid. (1958), p. 29. Supra, p. 111.

missionaries would explain some of the deep feelings of the Korean Christian leaders in the ecumenical circle after their close contacts with the missionaries.

Dr. Hong Hyŏn-sŏl, President of the Methodist Seminary, maintains that the missionaries still have the "missionary compound psychology."⁸ Dr. Kim Chŏng-chun, President of the United Graduate School of Theology in Yonsei University, also objected to the missionaries' lack of participation in Korean life,

Some missionaries with their ten to twenty years of missionary experience in Korea are not able to read newspapers and magazines adequately and to participate in an intellectual discussion. . . . Some do not care much about it.

Dr. Ji Wŏn-yong divides missionaries into three classes: first, a very small minority of missionaries who try to identify themselves with the Koreans; second, the vast majority who live and think at the same level as they do at home; third, those who try to compromise by adopting some Korean standards and maintaining other American ones.¹⁰ He further comments,

⁸Hong Hyŏn-sŏl, "Sŏnkyo Chŏngch'aek kwa Kyopa Chuŏi" (Mission Policy and Denominationalism), Kiddokkyŏ Sasang, IX (April 1965), 25.

⁹Kim Chŏng-chun, "Kyohoe Chidocha ŏi Hyŏnshil kwa Changnae" (Reality and Prospect of Church Leaders), Kidokkyŏ Sasang, VIII (July 1964), 42.

¹⁰Ji Wŏn-yong, "Hanguk Sŏnkyo ŏi Kwache" (Subject of Korean Mission), Kidokkyŏ Sasang, VII (April 1963), 33.

If there is an ideal place where a lion and a lamb can dwell friendly together, the place where the missionary, native people, and Christian leaders can live together is also the ideal place for missions.¹¹

Dr. Ko Hyŏn-bong, an associate pastor of Sae Mun An Church, the oldest Presbyterian Church in Korea, compares differences between the earlier and present-day missionaries

"The early missionaries were the incarnation of love. Whoever had contacts with them was deeply influenced by their love!" . . .¹² Today, the situation of missionaries in Korea is not the same. There are some professional missionaries among the second and third generations holding superior positions to the native church, and they are lacking in the spirit of sacrifice, service and cooperation.¹³

Some missionaries have sensed these judgments of the Korean Christian leaders. A veteran missionary wrote,

This has perhaps hit extra hard as I have coincidentally heard, from people I trust, severe criticism of the smugness, the arrogance and the self-righteousness of missionaries as a group. May God help us to recognize that others may perhaps have some understanding of our situation after all.¹⁴

Between the missionary and the national Christians, a mutual understanding of each other's position should exist.

¹¹ Ibid., VII, 134.

¹² S. Kate Cooper, Evangelism in Korea (Nashville: Board of Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1930), p. 93.

¹³ Ko Hyŏn-bong, "A Historical Study of the Characteristics of the Christian Church in Korea" (unpublished Th.D. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, Texas, 1965), p. 498.

¹⁴ Horace H. Underwood, "Personal Annual Report to the COEMAR, 1959-1960" [1960], pp. 2-3, in UML.

Nationals are prone to condemn missionaries out of jealousy and without adequate knowledge of the problems which these foreigners face in a strange country. For Westerners accustomed to a certain diet and the normal comforts of life to live in the same environment and conditions as that of the Koreans is a health hazard. In order not to jeopardize their families' health and welfare, it is wise for missionaries to take all the necessary precautions.

Although there are differences in possessions and positions between these two peoples, the more important issue for the missionary and the nationals lies not in the mundane, material things but rather in the proper attitude of mind and willingness to cooperate even in difficult circumstances for the common goal of propagating the Gospel message.

The nationals, on one hand, must try to understand so some of the problems and sacrifices which the missionaries experience in Korea. For example, a missionary doctor is sacrificing about a million dollars which he could make in his lifetime if he stayed in the United States. Missionaries in small cities have to send their children away from home to attend the foreign school in Seoul or Taejon.¹⁵ Every

¹⁵ Joe Cameron, a missionary professor at the Taejŏn Christian College, resigned his position to come home and explained the reason for his action as, "In my case, however, I have come to the point where I am no longer willing to ask my family to make the sacrifice of separating loved one from

missionary is making some sort of sacrifice which the national often does not recognize.

On the other hand, the missionary must realize that his position requires humility, sacrifice, love and compassion for the people, in order to fulfill his supreme objective of being a servant of God. The relationship with the national should not be on a master-servant level but one of mutual brotherly concern. He must develop empathy, making the nationals' problems his own. Professor Kim Yang-son hopes that this is "the age when a missionary works as a national minister,"¹⁶ not as an outsider. Here the words of Dr. Richard Baird would be appropriate:

The Church of Jesus Christ, His Body, must show how a group of Christians of one culture, race, and language known as the Korean Presbyterian Church can cooperate freely on equal terms with a group of Christians of another culture, race and language known as the United Presbyterian Church to carry out the will of God, to the glory of Christ, in the oicumene, the whole inhabited world.¹⁷

loved ones. I think that it should be said, and not piously so, that missionary work does involve sacrifice. The sacrifice seems to take different forms for different people." See Joe Cameron, "Letter to Christians in America," March 25, 1963, p. 1, in BWM.

¹⁶Kim Yang-sŏn, "Hanguk Sŏnkyo ūi Hoeko wa Chŏnmang" (Recollection and Prospect of Korean Mission), Hanguk Kyohoe wa Sŏnkyo (Church and Mission in Korea), Vol. III of Kidokkyo Sasang Kangchwa (Studies in Christian Thought) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1963), p. 118.

¹⁷Minutes of Korea Mission (1959), p. 46.

The declining number of missionary personnel and the increasing number of educated national leaders in recent years who could take over many of the missionaries' former activities pushed the missionaries into the administrative and advisory positions in the PCK. Some of these missionaries tried to maintain their superior authority through the power of mission money. Their authoritativeness created severe reactions from the national leaders from both the anti-WCC group, and in the Ecumenical group. To some church leaders the controlling influence of the missionaries and their home board became one of the significant reasons for the division in the PCK in 1959.¹⁸

In the midst of recriminations and contentions in the PCK, in which the missionaries and their home boards were intimately involved, many Christian leaders raised the question of the effectiveness of missionaries in Korea. Today with a 10 percent Christian population, the Korean Church has produced people able to take over much of the evangelistic work. It does not have to depend on foreign missionaries as it once did. Of course, this does not mean that the Korean Church does not need missionaries, for she will always have the need for missionaries who are specially trained to fill in the gaps where the nationals are lacking.¹⁹

¹⁸Infra, p. 190.

¹⁹Bruce Hunt, a veteran missionary of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, said, "The Korean Church does not need, in

A common question among the missionaries themselves is, "What shall we missionaries do in order to help the Korean Church?"²⁰ Another question often posed is, "Are missionaries needed in Korea today?"²¹ Some feel that they are not able to preach as effectively as Koreans. They also do not directly control the mission money as they used to since the establishment of the Department of Cooperative Work in 1962.²²

Moreover, the missionaries themselves often feel that the bulk of their time and effort is spent not for necessary evangelism but in administrative duties and the foreign school in Seoul. An acute diagnosis of the situation was reported by Dr. J. Courtland Robinson, M. D., a missionary from the UPCUSA. He stated that in 1967, out of 27 missionaries in Seoul, 60 percent were female, 26 percent ordained, 23 percent engaged in full or part-time teaching at Seoul

one sense of the word, the missionary or his money; and yet I believe missionaries will be needed in Korea to the end." See Bruce Hunt, "Relation of Missionary to the Korean Church" (unpublished study paper of the Orthodox Presbyterian Mission, January 1, 1964), p. 1. Theodore Hard, another missionary from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, further added, "With or without the call of the Korean Church there is room for and need for the right kind of missionary activity in Korea today. . . ." See Theodore Hard, "Are Missionaries Needed in Korea Today?" (unpublished study paper presented at a joint study conference of the Orthodox Presbyterian and Evangelical Presbyterian Missions, March 28, 1964), p. 6.

²⁰ Cho Sŏn-ch'ol, "Sŏnkyosa e taehan Chase" (The Koreans' Attitude Toward Missionary), Kidokkyŏ Sasang, VII (April 1963), 38-53.

²¹ Hard, p. 1.

²² Infra, p. 181.

Foreign School, and 15 percent studying language. He pointed out how these missionaries spent much of their time and effort for duties other than that of evangelism,

A good portion of our effort is directed toward the foreign community, but assignments to the Korean institution are still frequent. Fifty percent of the station spends part or full time in teaching. This ranges from full time work as principal of SFS (Seoul Foreign School) to part-time teachers and consultants at the Seminary. The effort directed toward the Korean community is almost exclusively at the college or university level which is a small proportion of the population. Only one member of the station is concerned with Korean children's education where such a significant proportion of the population is to be found. We have no one at all in full time student evangelism.²³

A Baptist missionary testified to the same fact that the deep administrative involvement of the missionaries sacrificed the real work of evangelism,

The missionaries who in any degree were working at evangelism tasks found that it was being increasingly necessary to give all of the time available to the administration of funds, so that no time was left for real evangelism, strengthening the churches and teaching the Word of God.²⁴

How the missionary forces intervened in the internal affairs of the Church and the schismatic conflicts in the PCK through the manipulation of the Korean ecumenical leaders will be discussed in detail in the following sections of this

²³ Minutes of Korea Mission (1967), pp. 117-118.

²⁴ Max Willocks, "Christian Missions in Korea" (unpublished Th.M. thesis, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, Strawberry Point, Mill Valley, Calif, 1962), p. 162.

chapter and in the reconciliation and reunion efforts in Chapters VIII and IX.²⁵

New Anti-Ecumenical (or Anti-WCC) Missions

Besides the three major Presbyterian Missions which had supported the PCK until the 1959 division, there are other new Presbyterian missions operating in Korea. The origin of these new missions goes back to the time of controversy in the Northern Presbyterian Church in the 1930's. During the controversy at Princeton Seminary under Dr. Machen, the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions was formed in 1934 in which a few Northern Presbyterian missionaries in Korea joined the new Board.²⁶

After 1945 when the APM which had worked in the Kyōngnam Province lost its effectiveness due to the cutting down of its mission force, Dr. Carl McIntire's Independent Presbyterian Mission, the Orthodox Presbyterian Mission, the Southern Baptist Mission, and other missionary groups came in and developed a foothold. During the 1952 division in the PCK, both McIntire and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church helped

²⁵ Infra, pp. 223-256, 257-293.

²⁶ Harry A. Rhodes and Archibald Campbell, History of the Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1935-1959 (New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, the United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., 1965), II, 313.

the Koryŏ Pa to establish the Koryŏ PC.²⁷ However, the Orthodox Presbyterian Church became more successful in working with the Koryŏ PC.

The Evangelical Presbyterian Church which broke off from the Bible Presbyterian Church in America in 1958 sent three couples to Korea under its World Presbyterian Mission.²⁸ The missionaries of the World Presbyterian Mission and the three couples of the Orthodox Presbyterian Mission have worked closely for the PCK (NAE) and the Koryŏ PC since the division of the PCK in 1959.²⁹ A large number of Korean ministers and seminary students were brought over to Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia and Covenant Seminary in St. Louis by these missions.³⁰

It is quite significant to note that the anti-ecumenical Presbyterian Churches in America such as the Orthodox Presbyterian, the Reformed Evangelical Presbyterian, the Bible Presbyterian, and the Christian Reformed Church of America³¹

²⁷ Minutes of Korea Mission (1956), p. 123.

²⁸ "Korea," Newsletter, XI (March 1968). This is a monthly publication of the World Presbyterian Missions, Inc.

²⁹ "Korea Reporting," Newsletter, XI (March 1968), 3.

³⁰ Westminster Theological Seminary has had a number of Korean students: 1961-1962, 7 students; 1962-1963, 10; 1963-1964, 12; 1967-1968, 12. Covenant Seminary: 1963-1964, 6; 1965-1966, 5; 1967-1968, 9.

³¹ Dr. John H. Kromminga, President of Calvin Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan, lectured at the PCK (NAE) Seminary in Seoul for one semester in 1965 and wrote an article, "Why Support Theological Education in Korea?," Banner, November 12, 1965, pp. 4-5.

are assisting the PCK (NAE) and the Koryŏ PC. The ecumenical denominations, the UPCUSA, PCUS, and the Australian Presbyterian Church, on the other hand, have supported the PCK (E).

During the 1959 division, McIntire's ICCC which had been long interested in the conservative PCK became the most active anti-ecumenical mission organization. When the PCK (NAE) went into financial straits after it lost assistance from the three missions, Dr. McIntire immediately stepped into the scene and sided with the NAE group. He and three other associates³² visited Korea on November 12, 1959, and made an extensive lecturing tour of nine major cities in South Korea. For eight days, he lambasted the WCC for being both liberal in theology and pro-Communist.³³ The SPM, on the other hand, warned the Christians in a published statement not to attend the meetings of McIntire because he is known as a divisive element in America. The SPM quoted from 2 John 11: "For he that giveth him greeting partaketh in his evil works."³⁴

³²Dr. J. Gordon Holdcraft, President of the ICCC's The Associated Mission, who spent forty years in Korea as a missionary; Dr. Arthur G. Slaughter, Chairman of the ICCC's Radio and TV Commission; Dr. Clyde J. Kennedy, President of the ACCC.

³³"WCC Splits Big Korean Church; Ecumenical Movement Thoroughly Discredited Because of 'Peaceful Coexistence' with Communists," Christian Beacon, XXIII (November 26, 1959), 5.

³⁴W. A. Linton, John E. Talmage and Keith R. Crim, "A Letter to Christians," dated November 11, 1959, in KRC (handwritten). When Dr. McIntire came to Taegu on November 16,

The NAE leaders immediately requested financial assistance from McIntire for their newly divided Church. In a letter to McIntire and the American Christians, Kim Yun-chan, a NAE leader, appealed,

The theological Seminary was maintained by the help of Presbyterian Missions. We now confront real financial danger. We need financial help. We are like a man who is rescued from a fire. We need clothes, medicine, and so on. The effort to rescue us will come to naught if you stand idly by. Without financial help from without, the Seminary and its 400 students will gradually be lost. We do need your help.³⁵

McIntire raised approximately \$120,000, as a "Christmas Offering" for the Korean Church.³⁶ In appealing to Americans, McIntire said that the financial support for the orphans from the ecumenical mission organizations was cut off since the division of the PCK in 1959,

In the case of the orphans . . . little Korean children since October have been cut off from their support. It seems incredible that any missionary would recommend such a course of action against these tiny orphans. This has done incredible harm to the cause of the ecumenical movement when orphans like this were

Robert Rice, a United Presbyterian missionary in Taegu, urgently requested Dr. Crim in Taejŏn for the copies of the SPM statement against the Dr. McIntire's visit to Korea. See Robert Rice, "Letter to Keith R. Crim," dated November 17, 1959, in KRC.

³⁵Kim Yun-ch'an, "Our message to the ICCC," Christian Beacon, XXIV (December 3, 1959), 1.

³⁶Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 69. Cf. Kŭri-sch'an Shinmun, August 7, 1961, p. 4. Infra, p. 224.

cut off because the pastor who was shepherding them had become a leading opponent of the ecumenical movement.³⁷

The ecumenical missionaries vehemently denied that McIntire's statement about the orphans was true.³⁸ Dr. Donald G. Barnhouse, pastor of the Tenth United Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia and the editor of Eternity magazine also indicted McIntire for his false statement after Barnhouse checked with Dr. Bob Pierce of World Vision and Dr. J. Calvitt Clarke of the Christian Children's Fund.³⁹

It is debatable whether McIntire's influence came into the PCK before or after the actual division of the Church. The ecumenical side largely blames the ICC for its divisive factor which caused the final division of the Church.⁴⁰

³⁷ "Christians for Korea," Christian Beacon, XXIV (November 26, 1959), 1. See also XXIV (December 3, 1959), 8, and XXIV (December 10, 1959), 1. Besides the case of the Ae Yang Orphanage in Taegu, there are other similar cases reported by the NAE men. James Y. Park, superintendent of the Holy People's Orphanage in Seoul, also declared that the \$315 monthly support for the 75 orphans in his orphanage was cut off. Ibid. XXIV (December 24, 1959), 1. Kim Yun-ch'an pointed out that two widows' homes of seventy women which his church partially supported lost their support from the ecumenical missions. See "Orphanage and Widows' Home Support Cut Off by Ecumenical Side," Christian Beacon, XXIV (January 7, 1960), 1.

³⁸ Keith R. Crim, "Letter to Christians in America," dated September 6, 1960, in BWM.

³⁹ Donald G. Barnhouse, Scandal in Korea (Philadelphia: Evangelical Foundation, 1960), pp. 24, 27.

⁴⁰ Dr. McIntire was severely attacked by the ecumenical missionaries and churchmen as the "apostle of discord," and as "no man or men ever acted from a lower or more unholy motive, than that of engendering hate and division among brethren." Samuel H. Moffett, The Christians of Korea

Rev. Harvie M. Conn declares that McIntire's influence affected the PCK after the actual division of the General Assembly, when he fanned the flames for division.⁴¹ Cho Dong-chin (NAE) claims that the ICCC money came into Korea after the split of the PCK, and therefore, it did not actually separate the Church. But Yoo Ho-jun (E) denies that Cho's statement and charges that the ICCC money entered into the NAE side even before the split. Yoo cites an example of \$250 from the ICCC that was spent among the NAE leaders when they discussed how to prevent the division in the Church prior to the 1959 General Assembly.⁴² It appears that the division of the PCK in 1959 would have occurred, even if the NAE group had not received help from the ICCC, because the intensity of the split in the PCK already was ostensible.⁴³

Benefit and Harm of Mission Dollars

The once self-supporting PCK had to appeal for help to the Christians in America and Europe when the Korean War

(New York: Friendship Press, 1962), p. 115. Cf. L. Nelson Bell, "Hope for Reunion in Korea," Presbyterian Journal, XVIII (January 6, 1960), 19. Barnhouse, pp. 22-30.

⁴¹Harvie M. Conn, "Conservative Trends in the Korean Presbyterian Church," Torch and Trumpet, XV (October 1965), 14.

⁴²Kim Kwan-sök, "Yechang Ilchi ũi Kisangdo" (How Can We Achieve the Reunion of the Presbyterian Churches in Korea?), Kidokkyo Sasang, VIII (December 1964), 66. (Panel discussion)

⁴³Supra, p. 67.

broke out. In order to keep operating, there was no alternative. Churches and houses were destroyed, possessions lost, and many people injured or killed. Various missionary agencies stepped up their aid to the millions of suffering people in Korea. Consequently, the aid became a crutch which the Koreans depended upon to such an extent that indigenous principles were in jeopardy.

Although the Korean Christians are supporting their churches and still trying to maintain the rural churches and other agencies, their efforts are not sufficient to sustain the Christian and ecumenical institutions such as schools, hospitals, orphanages and the KNCC. Here the mission money has been effective for the purpose of evangelism. One missionary calls the Korean Church as the "Arirang Church," because one of the phrases in this most famous national folk song, "Arirang," goes like this: "You (Korean Church), who leave me alone (missionary), may be foot-sore after less than a mile of your trail."⁴⁴

The two major Presbyterian missions in Korea which bring most of the mission dollars are the COEMAR of the UPCUSA and the SPM. During the five-year period from April 1,

⁴⁴Chang Byōng-il, Shinang ui Oshik (Misplanted Faith) (Seoul: Kai Myōng Sa, 1964), p. 110.

1953 to March 31, 1958, the UPCUSA sent more than three million dollars to the PCK.⁴⁵

The missionary budget is divided into twelve different classes, of which the first three are for the expenses of the missionary personnel and their families, and the next nine are for the work of the mission field. The treasurer of the Korea Mission reported that the annual budget of Korea Mission was so great and complicated that it took a well-qualified person to manage the large amount of mission money:

During this past year our office has processed over 10,000 vouchers requiring some 44,000 entries on our books. We issued 2,300 whan checks and 700 dollar checks, as well as sold over \$27,000 in American Express Travelers Checks. The dollar checks issued amounted to over \$894,000. We also exchanged \$2,486,000 into whan and the total whan handled was W2,173,347,000.⁴⁶

The budgets of other ecumenical Presbyterian missions are much smaller than the UPM and the SPM. The total budget of the United Church of Canada in 1960 which supports the PCROK was \$170,122.⁴⁷ The APM had only \$8,200 for the support of

⁴⁵Minutes of the Korea Mission (1958), p. 50. The relief dollars from the UPCUSA from June 1950 to June 1954 reached \$1,808,475.48 divided into three categories: \$632,323.08 for relief, \$760,971.55 for rehabilitation, and \$415,180.85 for grants. See ibid. (1954), pp. 166-167.

⁴⁶Kenneth N. Wenrich, "Annual Personal Report to COEMAR," dated May 21, 1959, p. 1, in UML.

⁴⁷Kürischän Shinmun, June 5, 1961, p. 1. In 1959 the Board of Oversea Missions and the Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada and the Division of World Missions of the Methodist Church, U. S. A. contributed \$75,000 each for the establishment of a new fifty-bed hospital in Wönju. See The United Church of Canada Yearbook (Toronto, Ontario: General Council Office, 1959), p. 191.

the PCK (E) in comparison with \$208,369 from the UPCUSA and \$133,915 from the SPM.⁴⁸

With the vast amount of mission dollars and relief supplies flowing to the PCK from the Mission Boards, the Presbyterian missionaries were intimately involved in the relief programs of the Church World Service (CWS). The Korean Church World Service was organized in 1951 by the representatives of various denominations and engaged in the distribution of aid and supplies from the foreign countries.⁴⁹

In 1959 CWS distributed 22,949,154 pounds of food supplies and 827,504 pounds of clothing, soap, and medical supplies through 776 social welfare institutions such as orphanages, widows' homes, tuberculosis sanitoriums, leper colonies and other agencies and 89 educational welfare institutions such as the Bible Clubs,⁵⁰ Christian schools and colleges.⁵¹ It had 133 distribution committees in different kuns (counties) in 1954. In 1961 the CWS brought some \$4,000,000 worth of relief supplies and \$27,000 in cash to Korea.⁵²

⁴⁸Kürisch'an Shinmun, October 8, 1962, p. 1.

⁴⁹Clark, p. 242.

⁵⁰The Bible Club is an elementary Christian education for the children of poorer classes in Seoul and other cities who cannot pay tuition for the public school education.

⁵¹Clark, p. 243.

⁵²United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., Annual Report: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United

There were other relief agencies such as World Vision, Compassion, and the World Relief Service.⁵³ The amount of supplies and dollars coming through these organizations was very large, indeed. Since the missionaries have been actively engaged in the reception and distribution of these goods, Christians and non-Christians alike looked up to the missionaries as their deliverers from hunger and cold. The word "missionary" soon became synonymous with "superiority." In connection with the relief goods, there have been complaints, conflicts, and corruptions among those in charge.⁵⁴ However, these material assistances became one of the essential means of survival for countless thousands.

Another aspect of the superior position of missionaries in the PCK is their power of helping Korean students gain

Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York: COEMAR, 1961), p. 23.

⁵³ Ibid. (1954), p. 19. See Kürischán Shinmun, April 30, 1962, p. 2; October 15, 1962, p. 2; August 22, 1964, p. 2; and June 17, 1963, p. 1.

⁵⁴ One of the notorious cases of corruption reported in early 1968 was the embezzlement in the Compassion (the former Everett Swanson Evangelistic Association). The South Korean government inspection team discovered that some \$300,000 disappeared under Edward A. Kimball who was the chief representative of the Compassion in Korea. Before the Korean court could carry out the plan to arrest him, he left for the United States. Mr. Kimball denied the financial embezzlement. However, the main office of the Compassion in Chicago decided to close the office in Seoul. See Kidok Shinbo, January 13, 1968, p. 3, and February 3, 1968, p. 2. Cf. Kürischán Shinmun, January 27, 1968, p. 3.

scholarships for study in America. If there were a common aspiration among the young people particularly in the cities after the Korean War, it was their keen desire to go to America to study. After the Korean War there was a sharp increase of Korean students left the country to study abroad, and during the next four years (1954-1957) 3,044 more left to study.⁵⁵

One of the best ways to obtain this opportunity for study abroad was through the mission organizations, and many young people nurtured friendships with American missionaries in order to win their approval for study in America. Seminary graduates did not want to take small churches in rural areas but rather preferred to come to America.⁵⁶ English Bible classes conducted by the missionary became very popular. Many pastors looked for opportunities to send their children to America through the influence of the missionaries.

Since the Missions decided to choose qualified students to send to America, constant requests from the Korean people became burdensome and created disputes and misunderstandings. Before the Korean War the Scholarship Committee composed of one Korean and one missionary from each of the different mission stations sent the applicants to the Mission Executive

⁵⁵ Haptong Nyŏngam (Korean Yearbook) (Seoul: Haptong Tŏngshin Sa, 1959), p. 81.

⁵⁶ Chang Byŏng-il, p. 202.

Committee for financial approval.⁵⁷ In 1955 the Church-Mission Conference made these scholarship rules:

1. The presbytery must request the Mission for all ordained personnel who desire a scholarship.
2. All scholarship applicants must be approved by the Station Church Conference or the Mission-Church Conference before presentation to the Executive Committee.
3. Anyone who is a staff member of institutions must present papers indicating that the institution has chosen him as their priority choice for training abroad.⁵⁸

Because of serious misunderstandings arising out of this system, the DCW passed further rules in 1960:

1. All recipients of Korean scholarship funds shall be selected by the DCW. . . . All such requests for additional funds and extension of study must be in the hands of the DCW by April 1.
2. No expenditures shall be made from Korean Scholarship Funds without specific authorization of the DCW.⁵⁹

The position of the missionaries was highly elevated by the Korean Christians because of this scholarship power.

In the anti-ecumenical Presbyterian missions financial assistance to the PCK (NAE) and the Koryŏ PC is negligible. The Christian Reformed Church in America helped the Koryŏ PC with \$6,741 in 1959,⁶⁰ and raised \$30,000 for the new

⁵⁷ Minutes of Korea Mission (1947), p. 35.

⁵⁸ Ibid. (1955), pp. 37, 74.

⁵⁹ Ibid. (1960), p. 59.

⁶⁰ "Korea Theological Seminary," Presbyterian Guardian, XXIX (January 25, 1960), 22.

seminary building for the PCK (NAE) in 1965. At the present time the PCK (NAE) does not have any financial assistance from her sister missions except the missionaries' salaries.⁶¹ Therefore, the PCK (NAE) and the Koryo PC are self-supporting Churches. This financial limitation is the main reason why these churches do not have institutions such as Christian colleges and hospitals.

The relationship between the missionaries and their mission money, relief supplies, and scholarship grants ought to be evaluated very carefully, because this growth of missionary power in the PCK became very significant and played a leading role in the division of the Church in 1959 and the later reconciliation-reunion movement after 1959.

The term "missionary" is often misconstrued by the national Christians as "money man,"⁶² and the missionary himself says that often the rural church does not want him to visit the church without bringing mission money.⁶³ Missionaries often get the feeling that they are not welcomed but their money is.⁶⁴ There needs to be a better understanding

⁶¹Chong Kyu-oh, a personal taped report on the division of the PCK, Kwangju, November 13, 1968.

⁶²Presbyterian Church, U. S., The Annual Reports of the Board of World Missions, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Nashville, Tenn.: Board of World Missions, 1967), p. 36.

⁶³Cho Son-chul, p. 124.

⁶⁴Cho Dok-hyon, "The Missionary Principle of Christianity and Its Relation to the Church in Korea" (unpublished Th.M. thesis, Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, 1964), p. 216.

of each other; the national Christian must know that the missionary is not in Korea to sprinkle mission dollars and to demonstrate his power but rather to witness for the Gospel of Christ, and the missionary must realize his position of Christ-like servanthood in his dealing with the national. Dr. Kim Chŏng-chun commented:

The servile spirit of Koreans who depend only on the mission dollar and the arrogance of foreign missionaries who try to dominate the Korean Church must be equally denounced.⁶⁵

The harm of mission money is clearly seen in the fightings of the Korean Church. Behind almost every schism in the Korean Church was the American missionary and his money.⁶⁶

A few sayings on the power of the mission dollar were widely publicized by the Christians: "Money (mission money) is the foundation of power." "The recipient becomes the servant of the giver." "The capitalist becomes the employer of the recipient."⁶⁷

A Methodist minister declared, "The mission dollar brought into the Korean Church lack of independence, lack of faith, and secularism."⁶⁸ Another minister cites three faults of mission money:

⁶⁵ Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, June 4, 1962, p. 1.

⁶⁶ Ibid., December 23, 1967, p. 7.

⁶⁷ Ibid., August 28, 1961, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Ibid., June 25, 1962, p. 2.

1. It becomes the cause of fighting in the Church.
2. It promotes a begging spirit and makes ministers base persons.
3. It creates opportunities for the minister to become conscienceless.⁶⁹

Criticizing the Korean Church for its neglect of missionary work and for its consuming interest in mission money, a missionary declared, "The Korean Church fights over the mission dollar as the swine fight over gruel."⁷⁰ As two hungry cats are friends until they see food, so the mission money became food for the church leaders to fight over. The Korea Mission and the Advisory Study of the COEMAR in 1962 agreed on the seriousness of this problem.

Dependence upon funds from abroad may even become a major hindrance to the missionary growth of a church. Few things are more urgent in the mission of the church today than an honest confrontation of these problems.⁷¹

On the NAE side, the effect of mission money was the same as that of the Ecumenical. McIntire's Christmas gift of \$120,000 in 1959 and other Christmas offerings to the Korean Church played a very important role in the finalization

⁶⁹Chang Ha-ku, "Kyohoe Kaehyŏk Undong ūi Chech'ang" (A Proposal of Church Reform Movement), Sasangge, VIII (November 1960), 268.

⁷⁰Cho sŏn-ch'ul, p. 122.

⁷¹Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church, An Evaluation of "Advisory Study" 1962, p. 13. Moffett, pp. 117-118.

of the division in the PCK in 1959. The next \$100,000 Christmas gift promised from the ICCC in 1960 was "with a condition attached."⁷² The PCK (NAE) was asked to join the ICCC.

Although the ICCC's \$120,000 helped the PCK (NAE) take care of its immediate expenses for the General Assembly Seminary in Seoul and was instrumental in winning churches to its side from different presbyteries,⁷³ the money caused serious disturbances in the Church. These repercussions led to further schismatic divisions within the PCK (NAE) between the pro-ICCC group and the anti-ICCC group.⁷⁴ After much conflict, the Forty-fifth General Assembly of the PCK (NAE) officially declared that "this General Assembly does not become a member of the ICCC and maintains just a friendly relation."⁷⁵

⁷²Kürischan Shinmun, August 7, 1961, p. 1.

⁷³In 1960 the NAE leaders used \$13,000 for seminary expenses and \$35,000 for the seminary building and land in Yong San. See Park Byöng-hun, "Yongsan Shinhak Kyosa wa Daechirül Myöngdo Hara" (Evacuate from the Seminary Building and Land in Yongsan), Hanguk Kidokkyö Nyöngam (The Yearbook of the Christian Church in Korea) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1967), pp. 477-479.

⁷⁴The pro-ICCC group was represented by Kim Yun-chän in Seoul and Park Byöng-hun in Taegu, while the Anti-ICCC by Lee Tæ-yong of Seoul and Kim Sang-kwön of Taegu. See, Kidok Shinbo, October 11, 1960, p. 1. Kim Yun-chän distributed \$1,000 to the moderator of each presbytery (HW1,300,000) in order to win them to the ICCC side. Kürischan Shinmun, August 28, 1969, p. 1.

⁷⁵Kidok Shinbo, October 11, 1960, p. 1.

After the declaration of the 1960 General Assembly, the conflict between these factions continued. In the Kyōngbuk Presbytery meeting three days before the Forty-sixth General Assembly, Park Byōng-hun (pro-ICCC leader), the moderator of the presbytery, was ousted by a vote of 173 to 27 and the vice-moderator continued with the meeting.⁷⁶ There was increasing danger of the formation of a new group by the supporters of the ICCC from the Honam (Chōlla Province) and the Yōngnam (Kyōngsang Province) areas.⁷⁷ The Forty-sixth General Assembly finally decided to cut off even the remaining friendship with the ICCC.⁷⁸ This decision finally caused the formation of the Constitutional Presbyterian Church by Park Byōng-hun with his ICCC supporters.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Kūrischān Shinmun, September 18, 1961, p. 1. After the Forty-sixth General Assembly of the PCK (NAE) the Kyōngbuk Presbytery was divided into four factions: (1) The PCK (NAE) group (anti-ICCC); (2) Rev. Park Byōng-hun's pro-ICCC group; (3) The neutral group; (4) The General Assembly attempted to unite the pro and anti-ICCC factions in the Presbytery. The General Assembly refused to recognize both the loss of confidence in the pro-ICCC moderator which was pronounced by the anti-Park's group and Park's declaration of emergency recess of the Presbytery against the anti-ICCC group. Some independently-minded ministers who were dissatisfied with the policy of the General Assembly formed their own presbytery on November 17, 1961. See Kūrischān Shinmun, December 4, 1961, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Ibid., August 21, 1961, p. 1.

⁷⁸ Ibid., October 2, 1961, p. 1. The Young People's Association of Christian Education issued a four-point statement on discontinuing their relationship with the ICCC on the same day when the Forty-sixth General Assembly met. "A Statement of Withdrawal from the ICCC," published by the Young People's Organization in the PCK (NAE), September 1961.

⁷⁹ Supra, pp. 95-96.

One can conclude that mission money had a very significant part in the division of the PCK. If all the mission money were withdrawn from both the PCK (E) and the PCK (NAE), it is the writer's conviction that there is no reason why both Churches would not be reunited. The elimination of mission money will mean the eradication of the ecumenical conflict and to a large extent the end of the leadership struggle among the church leaders in local, presbytery, and General Assembly levels.⁸⁰

However, regardless of what kinds of ill effects the mission dollar brings to the Korean Church, it is not the money itself which should be blamed because it represents the sacrifices of many Christians in America for the purpose of foreign mission. Rather the blame should be on the mismanagement, the method of distribution, and the greed it created. Certainly, the mission dollar must be carefully handled to produce its full positive effect for the mission of the Church.

Relationships Between the Missions and the Presbyterian Church of Korea

The relationship between the national church and the foreign missions is changing from decade to decade. As the Korean Church became more independent, the missionaries

⁸⁰ Chong Kyu-oh.

shifted from taking the lead roles to working as partners with the nationals. That time will come when the foreign mission will work under the leadership of the national church. Professor Kim Yang-sŏn points out that there is a four-step progress in the history of Korean missions:

1. Period of Missionary Domination (1884-1911)
2. Period of Common Work between Missionary and National Church (1912-1945)
3. Period of Missionary Assistance to the Korean Church (1945-1959)
4. Period of Missionary Service as a Korean Minister (1960 on).⁸¹

Recently, the COEMAR stated that the history of mission reached the new "Era of Partnership," in which the relationship between the national Church and the foreign mission would be

based on mutual respect, recognition of the demands of each other's stewardship, consultation in areas of mission in which partnership in terms of material resources is called for, and mutual understanding under the leadership of Jesus Christ.⁸²

Since the Nevius Method⁸³ was consistently implemented in the Korean Church, the Presbyterian missionaries encouraged national leaders to take the administrative leadership in the General Assembly. After 1915 no missionary has ever taken

⁸¹Kim Yang-sŏn, pp. 117-118.

⁸²Minutes of Korea Mission (1965), p. 83. The COEMAR divided the history of missions into four different periods; (1) The Mission Era; (2) The Church-Mission Cooperation Era; (3) The Integration Period; (4) The Era of Partnership.

⁸³Supra, p. 15.

the seat of moderator in the General Assembly in the PCK except 1919 when it was very dangerous for a national pastor to take the leadership in the Church.⁸⁴ Since 1920 no missionary has ever held any office in the General Assembly.⁸⁵ However, during the early years of missionary work, the PCK was under the domination of the foreign missionary influence.

After 1945 when many new nations threw off the shackles of colonialism, the national church leaders charted a course of gradual independence from foreign missionary dominations. In Korea the mutual agreement between the Presbyterian Missions and the PCK to form the Department of Cooperative Work was passed by the General Assembly of the PCK in 1948, but this DCW was not active for several years due to the heavy dependence of the Korean Church on missions during the Korean War.⁸⁶ After the Korean War the Central Conference of the PCK and sister missions met on December 1, 1954. Out of the discussion, the Church-Mission Conference was born which would make cooperative decisions for the PCK.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Cho Dŏk-hyŏn, p. 214.

⁸⁵ George Thompson Brown, "Missions and Unity, A Study of the Relationship between the Missionary Enterprise and the Ecumenical Movement" (unpublished manuscript, Union Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 1958), p. 44.

⁸⁶ George Thompson Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S., from 1892-1962" (unpublished Th.D. thesis, Union Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, 1963), p. 667.

⁸⁷ Minutes of Korea Mission (1955), p. 74.

Realizing the necessity of adopting a new mission policy not only in Korea but also in other mission fields, the UPCUSA initiated the Lake Mohonk World Consultation, a mission conference in New York from April 22 to May 1, 1956. Bringing together 129 nationals, missionaries and field representatives from 16 countries,⁸⁸ the conference held a frank discussion on how the missions could meet the challenge of this "new day" and how they could promote the "ecumenical mission."⁸⁹ Dr. Adams and two national leaders, Han Kyōng-chik and Ahn Kwang-kuk,⁹⁰ close friends of the missionaries, represented the PCK.⁹¹

At the end of the Consultation, the Foreign Board of the UPCUSA officially announced the new policy of integration in the mission fields,

⁸⁸The final preparatory discussion of the Consultation took place with some eighty representatives: twenty-five nationals, twenty-four missionaries and field representatives, and others from the home board. All the leaders from the Asian Churches except the PCK came from united churches such as the United Church of Northern India for India and Pakistan, United Church of Japan, the Hong Kong District of the Church of Christ in China, the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, the Church of Christ in Thailand. See William R. Hogg, New Day Dawning (New York: World Horizons, 1957), p. 52.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 6, 32.

⁹⁰These two national leaders were not chosen by the General Assembly but by the missionaries; in other words, they were not the official representatives of the PCK to the meeting in New York. See Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 745.

⁹¹Minutes of Korea Mission (1956), pp. 45, 70.

Every church represented in the Consultation⁹² wants the complete integration within the work of the national Church of missionary endeavors provided from overseas. . . . "The time has come to demonstrate in a visible way our essential oneness by planning full integration." Such requires a time limit, "preferably," said the Consultation, "within five years."⁹³

It is certain that the Foreign Board of the UPCUSA tried to promote the ecumenical movement into the mission fields in spite of apparent opposition of many of its missionaries. Conservative missionaries were often a stumbling block to the ecumenical cause for two main reasons: first, the ecumenical emphasis challenged their present controlling power in the national church; second, their conservative theology prevented liberalization of theological education.

The new mission policy which would integrate the Mission with the PCK created stormy opposition on the part of many missionaries in both the UPM and the SPM. The eradication of the Korea Mission as a separate entity and full integration as part of the national Church could not be completely accepted by the missionaries. The reaction of Dr. Adams after the Lake Mohonk Consultation was one of astonishment and dissatisfaction with the new proposals. He expressed

⁹²Dr. Brown, in his opposition to the resolution of the Lake Mohonk Consultation, points out that the statement, "every Church represented in the Consultation," is not true, for the Korean delegates were reluctant to support the integration. See Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 745.

⁹³Hogg, p. 66. See Brown, "Missions and Unity," p. 67.

his feelings to Dr. Billheimer in the Division of Studies in Geneva,

I am puzzled. I am more than puzzled, I have developed a tremendous concern. . . . The ecumenical emphasis, that the whole church must carry the Gospel to all the inhabited world, that churches have been established in all lands, and that the parent relationship must be supplanted by a fraternal relationship, has a potential for tremendous good to the cause of Christ in its world aspect. But I also received an impression that these basically sound ideas had developed such emotional content that hard headed economic and psychological principles were being overlooked.⁹⁴

However, Dr. Adams and his two fellow national leaders who attended the Consultation agreed that the new mission policy of integration could be presented to the General Assembly and the Korea Mission for discussion but not for independent actions, for the Church-Mission Conference would act together.⁹⁵

Dr. Adams reported to the missionaries at their annual Mission Conference on June 22, 1956, and after discussing the effect of this new policy, they voted that the chairman would appoint a committee of five to do further study.⁹⁶

The Korean members discussed the matter by themselves and presented three possible alternatives for further discussion,

1. that the present system of conferences be continued.
2. that they be continued but that the order of meetings as between the Executive

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 75.

⁹⁵Minutes of Korea Mission (1956), p. 46.

⁹⁶Ibid. (1956), p. 15.

Committee of the Mission and the Conference be reversed so that the Conference would have the final say on decisions.

3. that the Mission be done away with and missionaries all come under the church as it has been done in Japan.⁹⁷

Since the Church-Mission Conference had been put into practice only for a year, they decided to avoid any drastic change from the present system but provided room for the future progress of mutual relationships.

Later, because of pressures from the PCK leaders who wanted to apply the integration policy of the Consultation, the Church-Mission Conference tried to modify the decision of the "five-year program." In fact, this desire of change in mission policy had been expressed by the representatives of the PCK to the three delegates from Korea in March of 1956, even before they left for New York.⁹⁸ The following General Assembly in September 1956, officially passed a resolution to adopt the integration policy rather than the policy of cooperation which was practiced in the Church-Mission Conference. The General Assembly chose the policy of integration rather than of cooperation and decided to enforce it through the central Church-Mission Conference.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Ibid. (1956), p. 116.

⁹⁸ Ahn Kwang-kuk, "TYC ūi Sae Sōnkyo Chōngch'aek" (The New Aspect of the Mission Policy of the Presbyterian Church in Korea), Kidokkyo Sasang, VIII (July 1964), 71.

⁹⁹ Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 749. The Whitby Conference of the International Missionary Council in 1947 discussed the "three phases" of mission policy:

The interpretation of the "third phase" (integration) by the Korean leaders was quite different from that of the missionaries and their home boards. By this term, the PCK leaders understood that the control of mission money was to be under their hand as expressed in the Kidok Kongbo,

Plan three means that since the Mission is trying to help the Korean Church financially, the latter should be given the freedom of management and distribution of the fund rather than authority being exercised by the local missionaries. In Japan, for instance, the amount of financial help which the Japanese Church receives from the Mission is ten times as much as that received by the Korean Church, yet the management of the fund is carried by the Japanese themselves. . . . it is argued that, there is no necessity to have an intermediate body of missionaries which could only be misunderstood to exercise unnecessary authority in managing the fund. . . .¹⁰⁰

These Korean leaders' interpretation of "integration," according to Dr. George Thompson Brown of the SPM, was already accepted by the UPM Board before the general discussions among the representatives of the Missions and Boards were held in the spring of 1956. But due to the opposition by the SPM and its Board, the home Board of the UPCUSA compromised the policy by establishing the cooperative program in the DCW in the General Assembly of the PCK.¹⁰¹

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1. The church works under the direction of the mission.
 2. The church and mission work side by side.
 3. The mission works under the direction of the church.

The Korean leaders wanted the third phase of the policy.
Ibid., p. 748.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 751.

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 749, 752.

In November 1956, the Central DCW met in Onyang with seven nationals and seven missionaries of the UPM and SPM.¹⁰² At this meeting Dr. Adams announced that he did not oppose the idea of the abolition of the Mission but suggested that each area Church-Mission Conference of the three respective Missions would deal separately with the matter,¹⁰³ because there was strong opposition from the SPM against the dissolution of their Mission. In fact, the two Presbyterian home mission boards in America had a serious difference of mission policy.¹⁰⁴ Dr. Adams' proposal of independent solution by the three respective Presbyterian Missions was adopted.¹⁰⁵

The next big step was to formulate in detail a new mission policy in line with the decision of the Lake Mohonk Consultation by the missions, home boards, and the PCK. The forty-seven representatives¹⁰⁶ from these three groups met on June 4, 5, 18, and 19, 1957, and passed the following resolution:

¹⁰²Minutes of Korea Mission (1956), p. 109.

¹⁰³Ahn Kwang-kuk, p. 71.

¹⁰⁴The two mission boards met in New York on December 20, 1956, and in Nashville on January 25, 1957, for the PCK. See Joseph B. Hopper, "Report on January 29-30 Seoul Conference with John Coventry Smith" (mimeographed).

¹⁰⁵Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 749.

¹⁰⁶Among forty-seven representatives at the meeting, there were twenty Koreans, twenty missionaries from the three missions, and seven members from the mission boards. See The Annual Report of the Board of World Missions (1957), pp. 103-104.

1. The present plan of Church-Mission relations is inadequate and does not fully meet the demands of a changing situation.
2. A close cooperation of Church, missions and missionaries is necessary.
3. To accomplish the above purpose there shall be established a Department of Cooperative Work within the General Assembly.¹⁰⁷

At this meeting they discussed the six-point rules which would detail the functions of the DCW. The first two points are quoted here:

1. The members of this DCW shall be Koreans and USA Presbyterian, US Presbyterian, and Australian Presbyterian Church missionaries.
2. The work of all missions and missionaries shall be coordinated and reviewed through the DCW within the General Assembly. This DCW shall carry out this responsibility, consult concerning all the work of the missions and missionaries and have authority over work delegated to it by the General Assembly or related missionary bodies.¹⁰⁸

However, the COEMAR's effort to push these rules through the three Missions and the PCK failed because of the refusal of the SPM to accept the agreement.¹⁰⁹ Quite contrary to

¹⁰⁷ Minutes of Korea Mission (1957), pp. 112-113. See "Kyŏl Ŭi Mun" (Resolution), June 19, 1957 (mimeographed). This is the proposition of the Church-Mission Conference for the organization of the DCW.

¹⁰⁸ Minutes of Korea Mission (1957), pp. 112-113.

¹⁰⁹ The SPM published a statement at the annual Mission Conference during the summer of 1957 that the Mission would reaffirm the separate and autonomous bodies of both the PCK and the Mission according to the past exercise of the Nevius Method. The Mission would not interfere with the "ecclesiastical functions" of the Church in order to maintain the sovereignty of the PCK, but it should keep its separate organization and deal with non-ecclesiastical projects such

the COEMAR's controlling power over its Korea Mission, the SPM in Korea had enough power to persuade its Board of World Missions.¹¹⁰ Consequently, the "Mutual Agreement (1957)" was signed only between the UPCUSA and the PCK,

The PCK, the United Presbyterian Church in the USA and the Korea Mission of the UPCUSA mutually agree to dissolve the Mission as an administrative body and to integrate the work of the Mission in the PCK.¹¹¹

Dissolving the Korea Mission, the "Mutual Agreement" established the DCW which would have the final voice in their relationship.

This DCW shall decide what aid of personnel and funds is needed from sister denominations and how long such aid is necessary.¹¹²

This "Mutual Agreement" was to be ratified officially at the Forty-fourth General Assembly in Taejŏn in 1959, but due to the chaotic conditions at the Assembly, the Agreement was not put through the General Assembly level until the Forty-ninth Assembly in 1964.¹¹³

as hospitals and educational institutions in cooperation with the PCK until the time when the Church is able to take over the work. See "Statement of Position," Korea Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S. (May 1957), quoted by Brown, "Missions and Unity," p. 76. In his opposition to the merger between the PCK and the Mission, Dr. Brown pointed out the weakness of the United Church of South India and its lack of self-government and self-support. He expressed the feeling that the PCK was not ready to take the full responsibility. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

¹¹⁰Ahn Kwang-kuk, p. 71.

¹¹¹Minutes of Korea Mission (1958), p. 83.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 85. See "The Official Text of the Cooperative Work Department Constitution," ibid., pp. 90-98.

¹¹³Kidok Kongbo, October 3, 1964, p. 1.

How much actual difference existed between the old Church-Mission Conference and the new DCW? First of all, the membership of this Department included an equal number of nationals and missionaries, 10-10.¹¹⁴ Although the missionaries had an equal voice in balloting, in actuality their power overshadowed the nationals, for these Korean members were called the missionaries' rubber stamps.

The manipulation of the mission budget is another area in which the missionaries are in actual control, even though it appears to be in the hands of the DCW. Any desired change in the budget required a two-thirds majority¹¹⁵ which the missionaries could easily muster when they voted as a block and counted on only four of their Korean colleagues to vote along with them.

¹¹⁴ Minutes of Korea Mission (1958), pp. 90-91. These twenty national and missionary members of the DCW represent the four Area Departments of Cooperative Work in different provinces, the State Clerk of the General Assembly, the Commission Representative, and the special areas of ministry such as medicine, education, and relief. See *ibid.*, p. 91.

In the case of the "Council of Cooperation" (like the DCW in Korea) in Japan which is a cooperate organization between the United Church of Christ (Kyondan) and the Interboard Committee for Christian Work, the ratio of membership between the nationals and the missionaries is 26-10. This Council is composed of twelve members from the Kyodan, eight from the Education Association of Christian Schools, six from the Association of Christian Social Service Agencies, and ten missionaries elected from the various missions in the Interboard Committee. See John S. Cobb, "Cooperation between the Interboard Committee for Christian Work and the United Church of Christ," Japan Christian Quarterly, XXIII (January 1957), 20.

¹¹⁵ Minutes of Korea Mission (1958), pp. 96-97.

A veteran Southern Presbyterian missionary observed that there was no basic difference in power structure between the Church-Mission Conference and the DCW:

So, in actual fact, the work of the mission (UPM) has not been "integrated" into the national church but has been transferred to a joint committee with equal missionary and national membership.

In actual fact, there is not as great a difference between the missionary operation of the United Presbyterians and our own mission as might be supposed.¹¹⁶

This new mission policy of the UPCUSA is known as the "umbrella plan" which was finally acceptable to all three Missions in 1964.¹¹⁷

In response to the "umbrella plan" of the UPM, the SPM adopted a similar policy of "integration" (cooperation in reality) by forming the Honam Church Mission Consultative Committee which consisted of twenty nationals from the ten presbyterian and ten missionaries from five mission stations. This committee became the official liason through which all the transactions took place.¹¹⁸

During and after the division in 1959, the DCW and the Honam Church Mission Consultative Committee became of paramount importance to the Church. The anti-ecumenical NAE

¹¹⁶Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 671.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 669.

¹¹⁸"The Rules and By-Laws for the Honam Consultative Committee," Korea Mission Presbyterian Church, U. S. (1955), pp. 34-35, quoted in Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 669.

leaders and those in the ecumenical circle who had accumulated their dissatisfactions against the powerful forces of the missionaries tried to minimize the influence of the missionaries in the Korean Church. This anti-missionary sentiment had built up in the minds of many Korean Christians for a number of years, especially after the Korean War. The first major explosion of anti-missionary feeling was the hostility of many Presbyterian leaders to the missionaries during the division of the PCK in 1959. Some American missionaries felt this vitriolic spirit of the nationals against their dominant influences on the PCK. Dr. John Coventry Smith, General Secretary of the COEMAR, stated that the schismatic condition of the PCK was an expression of "a deep-seated, anti-missionary resentment."¹¹⁹ Some Korean church leaders, particularly those from the NAE side, saw the missionaries as the actual cause of the division in the PCK. If the PCK had not split, it was argued, the possible presence of NAE leaders in the DCW would have challenged the missionaries' power.¹²⁰ This possible threat to their power caused the missionaries to be wary of the NAE, they contended.

¹¹⁹John Coventry Smith, "Policy Lessons from Korea," International Review of Missions, L (July 1961), 324.

¹²⁰Since the NAE leaders were against the ecumenical movement which was transmitted by the missionaries, the NAE men would like to win control of the DCW from the ecumenical leaders and the missionaries.

In the midst of heated disputes between the Ecumenical and NAE groups in June 1960, the students of the Bible institutes in the Chŏnju Area (Chŏnnam Province) inflicted minor injuries and property damage against the missionaries.¹²¹ Provocations against the missionaries climaxed with student riots at the Christian Yŏnsei University in Seoul on November 16, 1960. The students attacked the two leading missionaries' homes, Dr. Horace Underwood (Presbyterian), acting president, and Dr. Charles Sauer (Methodist), acting chairman of the Board of Trustees of the University. Some two hundred students were arrested for the extensive property damages.¹²² One surprising phenomenon after the 4.19 Student Revolution in 1960 was that there were more conflicts and divisions at the Christian schools than at the secular institutions.¹²³

The compromise plan of the DCW became important for the tranquillity of the PCK. Dr. Richard Baird, Commission Representative of the UPM stated, "My personal evaluation is that the anti-mission money sentiment exploded; therefore, the DCW soothed the situation."¹²⁴

Even after the 1959 division, the contention continued between the Missions and the PCK (E) because the church

¹²¹ Infra, p. 211.

¹²² Annual Report (1961), p. 19.

¹²³ Chang Byŏng-il, p. 17.

¹²⁴ Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 70.

leaders were not satisfied with the DCW. The actual influence of the PCK (E) over the mission money and other cooperative work was in reality meager and insignificant. Ahn Kwang-kuk, one of two nationals who attended the Lake Mohonk Consultation and who had participated intimately in the DCW criticized the DCW as nothing but a rubber stamp for what the missionaries desired.¹²⁵ Moreover, these Korean leaders were fully aware of what was happening in other mission fields. For example, the Presbyterian Church in Thailand which had only 30,000 members already had integrated with the missions in 1959; the mission money came directly under the Treasurer of the General Assembly and was spent according to the decisions of the Assembly.¹²⁶

Another attempt to promote the ecumenical movement after the Lake Mohonk Consultation was launched by the COEMAR through the "Advisory Study" by a committee of fifteen from sixteen countries to study the mission situation in twenty-five nations where the COEMAR was operating.¹²⁷ With the continual emphasis of the COEMAR and the Board of World

¹²⁵ Ahn Kwang-kuk, p. 73.

¹²⁶ Kürischán Shinmun, May 30, 1964, p. 1. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1965), p. 84.

¹²⁷ Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Philadelphia: Office of General Assembly, 1962), p. 55.

Mission on the conception of "partnership in mission,"¹²⁸ for the sake of rapid ecumenical progress in Korea, the PCK (E) continued to seek an expanded role in the matters of mission dollars and other areas of cooperative work.

On May 20-25, 1964, a significant event in the history of missions took place in Onyang, Korea. All three Presbyterian Missions agreed to unify their mission policy and passed the "New Mutual Agreement (1964)" with the PCK (E) for the coming five years. After much debate, this New Mutual Agreement dissolved the Missions, abolished the mission districts and adopted the "integration policy," not the "cooperation" one.¹²⁹

Nevertheless, even in this New Agreement, the PCK (E) did not achieve the complete integration she desired, because

¹²⁸ Ibid. (1965), p. 35. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1965), p. 84.

¹²⁹ Ahn Kwang-kuk, pp. 72-74. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1965), pp. 19, 84-85. The Korean leaders persisted in trying to adopt full integration which meant that the Missions would be dissolved and the missionaries come under the hand of the General Assembly. Rev. Kim Su-il, a proponent of full integration, who was able to get into the mission policy committee in spite of the missionaries' opposition, testified later that the missionaries just wanted to pass an already prepared draft with a few amendments. After a lengthy dispute in choosing and defining the work between "integration" and "cooperation," the meeting broke down for awhile. The representatives of the Boards and of the PCK (E) decided to use "integration," but the missionaries vigorously opposed integration; consequently, the Korean leaders who supported full integration conceded for the sake of harmony in the Church and accepted a compromised "New Mutual Agreement." See Kim Su-il, "Sŏnkyo Chŏngch'æk Achikdo Bulwanchŏn" (The Mission Policy is Still Incomplete), Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, June 16, 1964, p. 2.

the Korean members of the DCW were not nominated by the General Assembly but by the missionaries and their close Korean leaders. There was still the equal number of representation from both sides. This meant that the missionaries maintained their upper-hand influence in the Church.¹³⁰

Although there is harmony among the members of the DCW and a few other top level Korean leaders who control the affairs of the PCK (E), some church leaders and missionaries aired concern about the autocratic minority control of the Church. The Rev. Benjamin Sheldon of the UPM and English Secretary to the DCW, warned the missionaries and the Korean Church;

As it is now, a certain few bear most of the responsibility for decisions in many areas. We are frank to see that this can be unwise both on the missionary side as well as the Korean side, but it is often true that it is the Korean side where this danger is felt the greatest. . . . To cope with this problem, a wider representation would be a helpful first step.¹³¹

In order to see the division and reunion of the PCK in perspective, two most important factors must be considered in the relationship among the mission boards, the Korea Missions and the PCK. First, is the determination of the COEMAR to control the Korea Mission¹³² for ecumenical

¹³⁰ Minutes of Korea Mission (1965), p. 74.

¹³¹ Ibid. (1960), p. 104.

¹³² Dr. Kim Chae-chun, one of the leading churchmen in the PCROK, points out that the Foreign Board of the UPCUSA used to follow the recommendations of the Korea Mission but

advancement; COEMAR's power threatened the missionaries' hold over the Korean Church. Second, the imposing power of the COEMAR over the Mission caused the missionaries to respond defensively by determining to control the DCW.

Since the ecumenical movement swung with its full force in 1956, the missionaries were under constant pressure from both the NAE side and the COEMAR. The NAE attacked the missionaries for being a channel for the ecumenical movement and liberal theology from the West. The COEMAR challenged the authority of the missionaries in order to advance the ecumenical cause and the liberalization of theology. Therefore, the best possible course which the Missions took to advance their interests was to work with the ecumenical leaders in the PCK.

The Ecumenical Dilemma

If there was an issue in the controversy of the PCK which took more space in writing, more verbiage, and more time in dialogue than any other, this was the ecumenical movement.¹³³ The conflict on modern ecumenicism in the

in recent years, the Board with its new men on the executive adopted an approach "to dictate the policy regardless of opposition from the missionaries in the fields." See Harold S. Hong and others, "Ilch'on-Kubaek-Osip-Ku Nyŏn ūi Kyogyerŭl Malhanda" (Korean Church in 1959), Kidokkyo Sasang, III (December 1959), 38, a panel discussion among six Christian leaders.

¹³³The ecumenical movement in this thesis refers to the movement of the WCC unless it is otherwise stated.

Korean Church has been described by some churchmen as the "most serious problem"¹³⁴ or as one of the "gravest problems."¹³⁵ Intertwined with the ecumenical snarl are many other issues such as theological differences, leadership struggles, mission money, mission policy, and the reconciliation-reunion movement.

In the early pioneer years of missionary work, there was a spontaneous spiritual harmony among the missionaries and Christians of different denominations in Korea. Particularly, during the Japanese domination of Korea, the Korean Christians and the missionaries were united in the common cause against the Japanese.

The first ecumenical union in the Korean Church was the establishment of the General Council of Evangelical Missions in Korea in 1905.¹³⁶ In 1907 the Presbyterian Church and the Methodists were loosely united; this was the beginning of the National Council of Churches (NCC) movement.¹³⁷

¹³⁴PCK (NAE), General Assembly, "Chōnguk Kyohoe e Goham" (A Statement to the Church), October 1959.

¹³⁵Greenfield C. Kiel, The Church in Korea (Seoul: National Christian Council of Korea, 1961), p. 16.

¹³⁶Harry A. Rhodes and Archibald Campbell, History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1884-1934 (New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1934), I, 593.

¹³⁷PCK (E), Kyōnggi Presbytery, "NAE Undong Kwa Ecumenical Undong ūi Bikyo Gōmt'o" (Comparison between the NAE Movement and the Ecumenical Movement), September 10, 1959, p. 1, in KRC.

On February 26, 1919, the Council of Presbyterian and Methodist Churches was formed among the churches of both denominations and their sister missions; the name of the Council was changed to the National Christian Council in 1924. Due to the growing independence movement against the Japanese especially after March 1, 1919, the NCC was suspended in 1934 by the Japanese.¹³⁸

Tight control of all institutions and individuals including the Christian Church was part of the Japanization plan. The first attempt of the Japanese to unify all the Protestant Churches under their control was through adopting "Kyowōn," the name of the Japanese United Church in 1942. But it never became successful.¹³⁹

On July 19-20, 1945, less than a month before the liberation of Korea, the Japanese tried a second time to unify the Korean Church bodies under the United Church of Japan (Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan) which was established on March 26, 1941;¹⁴⁰ however, at the end of World War II, the United Church was dissolved.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸Kiel, p. 20. Clark, p. 183.

¹³⁹Clark, p. 203.

¹⁴⁰Akira Ebisawa, Nihon Kiristokyō Hyaku Nenshi (One Hundred Year--History of Christianity in Japan) (Tokyo: Nihon Kiristokyō Shuppanbu, 1959), p. 237.

¹⁴¹Kim Tōk-yōl, "The Problem of Growing Disunity in the Presbyterian Church in Korea and a Suggested Approach for the Christian Education of Young Koreans" (unpublished R. E. D. thesis, Hartford Seminary, Conn., 1961), p. 11.

Early in 1946, with encouragement from the missionaries, several major Protestant denominations including the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the Holiness Church, the Salvation Army and other mission organizations formed the Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC).¹⁴² As the ecumenical movement began to spread widely in the world through the formation of the WCC in 1948, the foreign missionaries took the initiative in introducing the ecumenical movement into the Korean Church. Various national ecumenical agencies were established and reorganized such as the Korean Council of Christian Education (KCCE) in 1948, the Korean Christian Literature Society (KCLS) in 1954,¹⁴³ and the Korean Church World Service (KCWS) in 1951.¹⁴⁴

With massive material assistance from the international ecumenical agencies and the missions to the Korean Church during the Korean War in 1950, the ecumenical movement began to swing upward rapidly. The PCK officially joined the WCC in 1948 and in subsequent years sent delegates with mission money appropriated for the expenses.¹⁴⁵ The Rev. Kim

¹⁴²Kiel, p. 56.

¹⁴³Clark, p. 233.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 242.

¹⁴⁵Han Wan-sŏk, editor, TYC Chŏnghoe Hoerok (Minutes of the General Assembly in the PCK: 1947-1955) (Seoul: Department of Education of the General Assembly PCK, 1968), p. 9. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1954), p. 143.

Hyung-chung, who attended the second WCC meeting at Evanston in 1954 as the representative of the PCK reported his favorable impressions to the Fortieth General Assembly meeting in 1955. Taking advantage of the auspicious opportunity, the KNCC organized a nine-man Ecumenical Movement Committee on February 1, 1955, composed of representatives from the major denominations to further the ecumenical movement in Korea.¹⁴⁶

The speed of the ecumenical movement in the PCK was radically accelerated with the election of the ecumenical leaders for the positions of the moderator, vice-moderator, and the General Secretary, State Clerk of the Fortieth General Assembly in 1955.¹⁴⁷ Realizing that the ecumenical movement was slower and weaker in the Korean Church in comparison with other Asian Churches, the leaders of the PCK spared no efforts to push forward the movement and prepare for the coming Lake Mohonk World Consultation in New York in 1956. They set up the Five Year Program for the purpose of increasing the

¹⁴⁶Kim Chang-yŏp, "Seventy-eight Years of the Protestant Church in Korea" (unpublished Th.D. thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, 1963), p. 295.

¹⁴⁷TYC Chŏnghoe Hoerok, p. 371. The Fortieth General Assembly officers are listed here. For the ecumenical side: Han Kyŏng-chik (Moderator),; Chon Pil-sun (Vice-moderator); Ahn Kwang-kuk (General Secretary and Stated Clerk); Han Wan-sŏk (Vice-recording Secretary). For the NAE side: Park Byŏng-hun (Vice-stated Clerk); Park Chan-mok (Recording Secretary); Kim Yune-chan (Vice-Treasurer).

ecumenical movement's effectiveness in relation to the Far East,¹⁴⁸ the WCC and the World Evangelical Fellowship.¹⁴⁹

The year 1956 was the year when the Foreign Board of the UPCUSA decided through the Lake Mohonk World Consultation to advance the ecumenical movement in the mission fields. Dr. Adams reported the mood of the Consultation, "Again and again the delegates reiterated the renewed impression that they had received of the oneness with all Christians throughout the world."¹⁵⁰

Growing numbers of ecumenical visitors had come to the Korean Church,¹⁵¹ the Church-Mission Conference in 1957,

¹⁴⁸The PCK became a charter member of the Far East Committee of Ecumenical Mission in 1955. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1956), p. 110.

¹⁴⁹Ibid. (1955), p. 108.

¹⁵⁰Ibid. (1956), p. 46.

¹⁵¹An American ecumenical leader who influenced the missionaries and the PCK for the last two decades more than anyone else is Dr. John Coventry Smith of the COEMAR. An experienced missionary from Japan, he has assumed various important positions in the Foreign Board of the UPCUSA, including the area secretary of the Far East, Associate General Secretary, and General Secretary of the COEMAR in 1959. In 1968 Dr. Smith was elected moderator of the 108th General Assembly of the UPCUSA and later one of the six presidents of the WCC at the WCC Conference at Uppsala. He has been a frequent visitor to the Korean Church as the chief representative of the COEMAR. Presbyterian Journal, May 29, 1968, p. 5. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1949), p. 67, and (1957), p. 13. Rhodes, II, 373-374. There were other ecumenical visitors: in 1955, Dr. Jesse M. Baird, President of San Francisco Seminary, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the UPCUSA, Dr. Van Bayer of the WCC headquarters. In 1956 Dr. Paul S. Wright, Moderator of the UPCUSA, Dr. Stanley

therefore, decided to welcome any ecumenical team coming to Korea and provided for the visitors a trained national guide at the expense of the Mission.¹⁵²

While the ecumenical movement was speedily progressing in the Korean Church, another type of ecumenical movement was also developing in reaction to the WCC. The anti-WCC church leaders and missionaries were alarmed by the way the WCC movement was spreading, because they believed that the modern ecumenical movement represented theological liberalism and pro-Communism. The result of their opposition to the WCC was the formation of the National Association of Evangelicals.

The beginning of the NAE in Korea goes back to the spiritual movement of Professor Kim Chai-choon's fifty-one former students who left Chōsen Seminary for its liberal teaching and organized the "Christian Brothers Association."¹⁵³ These ministers and Rev. W. Garfield, chief representative of the TEAM met in Nampyōng (Chōlla Nam Province) to organize the NAE in July 1953.¹⁵⁴ This NAE movement grew so rapidly that the first national General Assembly of the NAE was held

Jones in 1957. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1955), pp. 66, 81; (1956), p. 44; (1957), pp. 62-63, 123.

¹⁵² Ibid. (1957), pp. 46, 55.

¹⁵³ Rev. Chōng Kyu-oh, who was the chief leader of the "Christian Brothers Association," became chairman of the NAE for the first two years.

¹⁵⁴ Kūrischan Shinmun, September 26, 1964, p. 2. There is no official connection with the NAE in America.

in April 1955, with 133 representatives from various denominations. In October 1955, the NAE joined the World Evangelical Fellowship.¹⁵⁵

Since the membership of the NAE was based on individuals rather than denominational participation, the NAE drew support not only from the anti-WCC group but also from the ecumenical leaders.¹⁵⁶ Dr. Edward Adams and other ecumenical missionaries encouraged the leaders of the PCK to join the NAE movement individually, and some of the ecumenical leaders were even elected to the offices of the organization.¹⁵⁷ This is a clear indication that the ecumenical Presbyterian missionaries in Korea generally endorsed the ecumenical movement for Christian unity and yet tried to preserve conservative theology through the NAE movement. To the Foreign Board of the UPCUSA, this type of ambivalence was unacceptable.¹⁵⁸ As a consequence, the missionaries and ecumenical leaders withdrew from

¹⁵⁵ Kim Yang-sŏn, Hanguk Kidokkyŏ Haebang Shipnyonsa (History of the Korean Church in the Ten Years Since Liberation) (Seoul: Department of Christian Education of the PCK, 1956), p. 95.

¹⁵⁶ The Holiness Church is the only denomination which joined the NAE as a denomination but later withdrew.

¹⁵⁷ Some ecumenical leaders were elected to the NAE offices including those of vice-chairman, stated clerk, treasurer and assistant general secretary. The Central Committee of the NAE also included ecumenical leaders such as Ahn Kwang-kuk, Chŏn P'il-sun, and Edward Adams. See Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, September 26, 1964, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ The lack of cooperation between the ecumenical denominations and the NAE in America affected the PCK.

the NAE. There soon developed open conflicts between the ecumenical leaders and the NAE men.

The first open clash between the two groups occurred in the summer of 1956,¹⁵⁹ when the leaders of both sides met at the Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul. It was soon evident that the incompatibility of the two sides would result in fruitless discussion, so the Ecumenical Investigation Committee of eight men, half from each side, was organized to further study the ecumenical movement. On December 13, 1956, the Committee convened and Chairman Han Kyōng-chik proposed that Dr. Samuel H. Moffett be given an opportunity to explain the ecumenical movement to the Committee. Without any major agreements, the meeting was adjourned with a decision to meet again in the middle of April, 1957.¹⁶⁰

After the Fortieth General Assembly in 1955 when the ecumenical leaders took the majority seats in the General Assembly offices, the focal point of the conflict was which side would control the succeeding Assemblies. In the next

¹⁵⁹ Kim Ch'ang-yōp, p. 295.

¹⁶⁰ Chōng Kyu-oh, "Ecumenical Yōnku Uiwōnhoe" (Ecumenical Investigation Committee), December 13, 1956, in CKO. Rev. Chōng as the clerk of the Committee recorded the minutes of the meeting (December 13, 1956). Dr. Samuel H. Moffett wrote "What is the Ecumenical Movement?" at the request of the Ecumenical Investigation Committee in 1959. The KNCC printed 5,000 copies and distributed them widely. Samuel H. Moffett, "Letter to the COEMAR," dated May 21, 1959, p. 2, in UML. After the division of 1959 Dr. Moffett was asked to write a second booklet on the ecumenical movement. See Samuel H. Moffett, "Annual Report to the COEMAR, 1959-1960," June 2, 1960, p. 2, in UML.

Assembly, the ecumenical side expected their man, Vice-moderator Chŏn Pil-sun, to succeed Dr. Han Kyŏng-chik, as the incumbent Vice-moderator usually took over the moderatorship; but the Rev. Lee Tae-yŏng, a NAE leader in Seoul became the Moderator.¹⁶¹ Hereafter, the disputes over the ecumenical movement were intensified.¹⁶²

The NAE faction attacked the ecumenical Presbyterian Missions for channeling the ecumenical movement to Korea. The NAE group submitted a six-page anti-ecumenical pamphlet to the Forty-third General Assembly in 1958, titled "The Resolution of the Anti-Ecumenical Movement and of Withdrawal from the WCC." In this pamphlet the NAE leaders gave six reasons for their anti-ecumenism:

1. The WCC includes the Eastern Orthodox Church, accepts Unitarians who deny the Trinity and discusses with them matters concerning faith and order which go beyond fellowship and cooperative work.
2. Even though the WCC denies the objective of unifying all the Churches into one Super Church, it is certainly moving in that direction.
3. The WCC propagates and practices ecumenically inspired general theology (not Reformed tradition and faith) and inter-denominational church polity,

¹⁶¹Vice-moderator Chŏn Pil-sun was reelected to his position at the Forty-first General Assembly. In the Forty-second General Assembly (1957) Rev. Chon became the Moderator while Rev. Noh Chin-hyŏn (NAE) the Vice-moderator. In the Forty-third General Assembly (1958) all the officers except the treasurer were NAE men. See TYC Chŏnghoe Hoerok, p. 371.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 371.

and trains leaders of this ideology through the Department of Ecumenical Investigation.

4. The WCC utilizes humanistic and sociological methodology to make it a powerful organization like the time of the Middle Ages and takes this objective as its supreme task. . . .
5. Most of the leading staffs and theologians in the WCC¹⁶³ do not believe in the authority of the Scriptures. . . .
6. The WCC¹⁶⁴ greatly benefits the cause of Communism. . . .

The Retreat Meeting of 105 ministers of 10 presbyteries in the Honam area, where the SPM works discussed the ecumenical movement and the WCC, and published a 3-point joint statement of anti-ecumenism, emphasizing points 2, 5, and 6 above.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Dr. Kim Ŭi-whan, professor at the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary (NAE) in Seoul and a young NAE leader, recently attacked the ecumenical movement for its theological liberalism. He pointed out that among some two hundred delegates at the NCC meeting in Miami, Florida, 33 percent denied that "God is living today," 36 percent denied that "Jesus Christ is the Son of God," and 31 percent doubted the "existence of future life." See Christianity Today, XI (July 21, 1967), 47. Kim Ŭi-whan, "Bipanchök Ipchang esö Bon WCC" (A Critical View on the Ecumenical Lines of the WCC), Kidokkyö Sasang, XII (June 1968), 57-59.

¹⁶⁴ PCK (NAE), "Ecumenical Undong Bandae [wa] WCC Talt'ae Söngmyöngsö" (Statement on the anti-Ecumenical Movement and Withdrawal from the WCC), published by Ministers' Retreat Meeting in the Honam Area (NAE), August 7, 1959, in CKO. After the publication of this statement, there were so many inquiries from the churches to find out more about the ecumenical movement that the NAE group published, "Ecumenical Undong Bandae [wa] WCC Talt'oe Kyöloi e taehan Dapbyönsö" (Reply to the Question concerning the "Statement on the Anti-Ecumenical Movement and Withdrawal from the WCC"), 1958, in CKO.

¹⁶⁵ PCK (NAE), "Ecumenical Undong Bandae Söngmyöngsö," p. 1. See Hanguk Kidokkyö Shibo (Korean Christian Press), September 14, 1959, p. 2. In 1963 the NAE leaders reiterated

Thus, anti-ecumenical propaganda reached its peak prior to the division in 1959 with its slogan,

Down with the ecumenical movement! Down with the WCC! Down with these people who are trying to form a superchurch! The ecumenical movement is in favor of Communism.¹⁶⁶

In the midst of fervent disputes over the ecumenical movement, the Christian organization in America which supplied anti-ecumenical material to the NAE group was Dr. McIntire's ICCC. The visit of four ICCC leaders to Korea in November 1959 inflamed the already existing ecumenical conflict and destroyed the possibility of reconciliation.

Labeling the WCC pro-Communist was some of the most effective propaganda against the ecumenical movement. The other two major accusations against the WCC for being liberal in theology and for promoting the super church were not quite as real to the common people as that of being pro-Communist. Experiencing the tragic life by the Communists' invasion during the Korean War and living under the constant threats of the Communists in North Korea and Red China, the Korean people had a strong anti-Communist sentiment. The recognition of Red China into the United Nations advocated by the Cleveland Study Conference in Ohio in 1958, the reception of

their oppositions to the WCC for four main reasons: liberalism in theology, one united church without denominational characteristics, pro-Communist, and secularistic. See Kürischan Shinmun, April 4, 1963, p. 4.

¹⁶⁶Barnhouse, p. 11.

the Eastern Orthodox Churches of the Communist Eastern European countries into the WCC, and other sympathetic statements which some ecumenical leaders made for Communism,¹⁶⁷ became a real disturbance to the anti-Communist Christians in South Korea.

Park Byōng-hun, the foremost NAE leader in the Kyōngbuk Presbytery, concluded in an article, "Is the WCC Pro-Communist?" that indeed it was.¹⁶⁸ Rev. Chōng Kyu-oh, the chief church leader in the Chōlla Province, expressed his anti-Communist feelings in the Kidok Shinbo,

Why do the WCC and the NCC emphasize pro-Communism?
 . . . There must be a change in their ideology
 Did Communism change its ideology? No,
 indeed, the change occurred rather among the leaders
 of the WCC in their faith and theology towards
 materialism.¹⁶⁹

Dr. Brown properly pointed out that the pro-Communist charge against the ecumenical movement became the most effective tool against it. "This statement perhaps more than any other

¹⁶⁷The NAE side used as a proof text Prof. Emil Brunner's accusation that the WCC was "an organization of propaganda for Communism." Kūrischān Shinmun, September 11, 1961, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸Kidok Kongbo, August 30, 1959, p. 2.

¹⁶⁹Kidok Shinbo, April 18, 1966, p. 2. The NAE leaders of various denominations organized "The Anti-Communist Christian League in Korea" on May 16, 1966, and held the "Asia Christian Anti-Communist Conference" in Seoul with some eighty foreign delegates from the Asian Churches on September 27 to October 1, 1967. See Kūrischān Shinmun, September 30, 1967, p. 3. The Anti-Communist Christian League in Korea published an anti-Communist statement which includes accusations against the ecumenical movement. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1968), pp. 559-560.

single thing, was responsible for discrediting the WCC and the ecumenical movement in the eyes of many Korean Christians."¹⁷⁰

The ecumenical leaders and missionaries, on the other hand, put forth strenuous efforts to prove that the WCC is not pro-Communist. The editor of the Kidokkyo Sasang magazine compared the WCC with the United Nations in his defense for the ecumenical movement. He acknowledged that the WCC includes churches from Eastern Europe and argued that the United Nations which also has many Communist nations cannot be called a pro-Communist organization.¹⁷¹

The missionaries also published a statement to defend the WCC against the charge made by the NAE leaders. It is certainly true that some of the sympathetic statements made by the ecumenical leaders in the West on Communism are debatable but it is not justifiable to call the ecumenical movement pro-Communistic.

False accusations thrown about in the debates explicitly indicate that the Korean Christians and ministers were not fully informed about the ecumenical movement. They misconstrued the movement. While this vigorous campaign was being waged by the NAE leaders and the ICCC against the ecumenical

¹⁷⁰ Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," pp. 715-716.

¹⁷¹ "WCC nŭn Kwayŏn Yongkong Inga?" (Is the WCC Pro-Communistic?), Kidokkyo Sasang, IV (February 1962), 5-7.

movement, many uninformed Christians were confused about the issues and had to choose between the NAE group which seemed to represent the traditional conservative PCK and the Ecumenical group which had tainted connections with the ecumenical movement. There was no middle ground for the common people who thought that the choice was either conservatism or liberalism.¹⁷²

Mr. Kay Byōng-ho, an elder of the Yōngnak Church, the largest in Korea, honestly confessed that he did not know the difference between the NCC, WCC, and NAE. Christians especially in the rural areas were not aware of the differences of these organizations and even had a difficult time to pronounce "ecumenical."¹⁷³

Kidok Kongbo, an ecumenical newspaper, reported that the ministers in the Taegu area blamed the missionaries for the lack of information on the ecumenical movement during the heated disputes over the issue just before the Forty-fourth General Assembly in Taejon.

¹⁷² Lee Jong-sōng, "Types of Christian Leaders Today: A Brief Sketch of the Church Leaders after the Korean War," Korea Struggles for Christ, pp. 144-145.

¹⁷³ Harold S. Hong and others, "Ilchōn-Kubaek-Oship-Ku Nyōn ūi Kyōgye rūl Malhanda," p. 34. Koreans call "ecumenical," "kal," which means knife or sword in Korean, and many Christians are cautious of the "kal," because it signifies divisiveness and danger. The missionaries were warned that they must be careful in using the word, because the Korean Christians have a different conception of the ecumenical movement from that of the missionaries. See Minutes of Korea Mission (1959), p. 12.

The Mission was only one-sided not only in Dr. Adam's attitude toward the Kyemyōng College but also in the ecumenical issue. How often did the missionaries listen to the opinions of their opponents' view on the ecumenical movement as to why they opposed it? How effectively did the missionaries inform the Church on the ecumenical movement? All they did recently was to distribute four or five printed materials to the Church to explain the Mission's position on ecumenism. How many times did they explain clearly the structure, the process of meeting, resolutions and its ideology and policy?¹⁷⁴

The missionaries themselves share the same view that the UPM pushed the ecumenical movement too rapidly without adequate preparation on the part of the Korean Church.

Dr. Keith R. Crim, Southern Presbyterian missionary, compared the contrasting emphases of the ecumenical movement between the UPM and his own mission in Korea, and commented after the division of the General Assembly in Taejōn,

The Missions have their share of responsibility for the present plight of the Church. As an illustration, the UPCUSA Mission pushed their concept of "Ecumenical Mission" so strongly in recent years as to alienate a large segment of the church, while our own Mission by its failure to exercise positive leadership and make clear the Church's active role in the ecumenical movement led many to believe that our Mission would go along with the belligerent anti-ecumenical leaders.¹⁷⁵

Dr. Brown also commented that the Foreign Board of the UPCUSA "had overplayed its hand in urging the Korean Church to go ecumenical. A reaction had set in."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Kidok Kongbo, August 31, 1959, p. 1.

¹⁷⁵ Keith R. Crim, "Letter to American Christians," dated December 30, 1959, pp. 1-2, in BWM.

¹⁷⁶ Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 716.

In spite of the UPM Board's forceful push of the ecumenical movement into the Korean Church, one of the reasons for the slow progress of ecumenism was due to many missionaries' lack of full confidence in the movement. While some missionaries believed in the movement out of their personal conviction,¹⁷⁷ others felt that it tended to emphasize the social aspect of the Gospel and the organizational structure more than the spiritual message and evangelism. In this regard, Dr. G. Brown expresses a typical feeling of many of his fellow missionaries. In his commendable writing on the relationship between mission and ecumenism, he emphatically stresses the danger of promoting church unity at the expense of mission in the ecumenical movement. He indicates, "mission must be primary, and unity secondary. Or, in other words, unity is not an end in itself but a means of accomplishing the mission."¹⁷⁸

The ecumenical movement in Korea has been a product of direct importation from Western countries, and not an indigenized factor which comes out of the self-realization that unity among churches is needed. This is the reason why the ecumenical movement in Korea has been significant to the

¹⁷⁷Keith R. Crim, "Letter to the Writer," dated March 28, 1969, p. 2, in BWM.

¹⁷⁸Brown, "Mission and Unity," pp. 3, 50-51.

missionaries, the mission organizations and a few ecumenical church leaders with mission money, but has not reached down to the level of the local churches.¹⁷⁹

The success of the ecumenical movement in one civilization does not guarantee the same success in another culture with different, political, economic, social and religious settings. The Protestant Churches in America and Europe have some fifty years of gradual ecumenical progress from the time of the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 to the time of the division in the PCK in 1959, while the PCK had less than ten years of abrupt ecumenical impositions from the Korean War to 1959.¹⁸⁰

It seems that the Western type of ecumenism in the affluent and complacent society generally does not fit into the poor and suffering condition of the Korean Church. Christianity with an emphasis on the social gospel does not appeal to those who look to a glorious future world. The development of the ecumenical movement, therefore, takes time, patience, and effort on the part of its propagator, with a realization that its ultimate success depends on the recognition of Korean Christians themselves of the need for church unity. The ecumenical thrust of the UPCUSA before

¹⁷⁹Kim Yang-sŏn, p. 119. See Han Chŏl-ha, "Hanguk Kyoheo ũi Yŏng Kwang Kwa Shuchi" (Glory and Shame of the Korean Church), Kidokkyŏ Sasang, XII (August 1968), p. 31.

¹⁸⁰John E. Skoglund and J. Robert Nelson, Fifty Years of Faith and Order (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1963), pp. 7, 13.

the division in 1959 actually created a tremendous setback of the movement rather than an advancement in the Korean Church and consequently became one of the decisive factors in the division of the PCK.

Summary

The external influences upon the division of the PCK in 1959 came chiefly from the different mission organizations with their mission money. Their conflict on the ecumenical issue led the church and her leaders into power struggles and confusion.

Therefore, power politics in both ecumenical and NAE leaders ought to bear the main responsibility for the actual division and failure of reunion in the PCK, although the external forces vigorously contributed to the division.¹⁸¹ The words of Dr. John Coventry Smith would appropriately conclude this chapter, "One of the major contributions to division in Korea has been the divisions (of the Presbyterian Churches) in the West."¹⁸²

¹⁸¹Cho Hyang-nok, "Hanguk Kyohoe Sönkyosa Non" (Thought on Missionaries in Korea), Kürischän Shinmun, August 12, 1963, p. 2.

¹⁸²Smith, p. 323.

CHAPTER VII

EFFECTS OF THE DIVISION IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KOREA

Every schism in the Christian Church produces painful consequences. The continual splits in the PCK eroded Christians' relations with each other and scarred their testimony to the world. Mired in dissension, the Christian should have been examples of love became objects of mockery, disgust and even hatred on the part of secular society. Divisions among Christians in the West where the Christian influence has become dominant for many centuries may be better understood and accepted by the Christians and society in general, but conflicts, fightings, and splits among Christians in a non-Christian culture such as Korea are extremely detrimental to the cause of Christianity.

Christians in Korea used to give a more united testimony of their faith to the nation. For example, for the Easter Sunrise Service in Seoul, thousands of Christians from all denominations including foreigners gathered for a united service on one hill top, Namsan, where the historic Japanese shrines were located. But after the multiple divisions in the Korean Church, at least three large groups at three different locations held the same Easter Sunrise Service in competition with each other.¹

¹Kürischán Shinmun, March 21, 1964, p. 1.

Physical Violence

Physical violence and fist fights probably caused the most irretrievable slurs on the name of Christianity in Korea. In the previous schism of the PCK between the Chosen Seminary faction and the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary (PCK) group, the Thirty-sixth General Assembly (April 1950) became so controversial and disconcertant on the question of which seminary represented the legitimate Presbyterian Seminary that the supporter of Chōsen Seminary rushed to the platform during the meeting to drag down the presiding moderator.²

Spreading like an epidemic of violence, the conflict infected local presbyteries and churches. An elder of the Tongbu Church in Kunsan beat his pastor; the pastor of the Yongsan Church was dragged down by his opponents while preaching; and the pastors and members of both sides at the Sōhmunbak Church began fist fights during the service.³

Mr. Lee Yun-son, deacon of the Kangkyōng Church in Chūngnam Province, died of the injury received from the fighting in 1954.⁴ During the 1959 division of the PCK the same kinds

²George Thompson Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1892-1962" (unpublished Th.D. thesis, Union Seminary, Richmond, Va., 1963), p. 704.

³Lee Kun-mu, "Hanguk ūi Kidokkyō, Gūbunp'a wa Chapūm ūi Chōryu" (Christianity in Korea, Its Schisms and Noises of Undercurrent), Shin Dong A, XXIX (January 1967), 227.

⁴Kim Yang-sōn, Hanguk Kidokkyō Haebang Shipnyōnsa

of physical violence mushroomed. One of the notorious outbreaks in this schism was the "students' attack on the missionaries in Chŏnju" during the interim period after the overthrow of Syngman Rhee when internal security was very weak.⁵ Some one hundred fifty students from four Bible institutes (NAE) around the Chŏnju area protested against the ecumenical movement and wanted to appeal to Dr. S. Hugh Bradley, who was visiting the Korean Church and attending the SPM's annual conference in Chŏnju in June 1960. When the students tried to get into the conference meeting to see Dr. Bradley, they were stopped by the missionaries; in their persistence to get into the house of the missionary where the meeting was held, the students damaged the fence and inflicted slight injuries on some missionaries. One missionary's account held that the students were "attacking missionaries with clubs and bricks."⁶ The students countered that "the missionaries struck the students with clubs."⁷ Finally

(History of the Korean Church in the Ten Years Since Liberation, 1945-1955) (Seoul: Department of Religious Education of the General Assembly in the PCK, 1956), p. 367.

⁵Hanguk Kidokshibo, September 19, 1960, p. 2.

⁶Brown, p. 662. The incident which occurred at a lady missionary's home (Miss Margaret Pritchard) is known as the "Battle of Pritchard's Porch."

⁷Hanguk Kidokshibo, September 19, 1960, p. 2. Cf. Kim In-sŏh, Hanguk Kyohoe nun Wae Saununga? (Why is the Korean Church Fighting?) (Pusan: Faith and Life Press, 1961), pp. 11-12. The missionaries and the PCK (E) leaders published a statement denying the students' charge that the missionaries struck the students. PCK (E), Honam Area Church-Mission Conference, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (statement), June 29, 1960.

some eighty policemen were further added to the existing security force at the scene. Six students were arrested for their impetuous and outrageous behavior.⁸

The effects of the 1959 division upon local churches produced widely different responses according to the diverse situations of the churches. Some divided churches solved their differences peacefully by themselves or in civil courts; others fought tooth and nail in order to control the congregations. The two most explosive incidents which were reported in major daily newspapers in Taegu and Seoul occurred in the two large Presbyterian churches.

The first dispute which lasted more than six years involved the Sŏhmun Church (West Gate Church) in Taegu which had some three thousand members including six hundred families and nine hundred baptized members.⁹ The Rev. Lee Songhun, who had been pastor for ten years, was studying in the

⁸ Minutes and Reports of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1960), p. 69. Cf. The Annual Reports of the Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Nashville, Tenn.: Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1960), p. 101. Some blamed the ICCC for the student violence. See "Korean Violence," Christianity Today, IV (July 4, 1960), 837. Cf. Annual Report: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York: COEMAR, 1961), p. 19.

⁹ PCK (NAE), Kyŏngbuk Presbytery, "Kyŏngbuk Nohoe Sosŏk Sŏhmun Kyohoe Bunkyu e taehan Hae Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement on the Division of the West Gate Church [Taegu] in the Kyŏngbuk Presbytery), June 2, 1960, in CKO.

United States at the time of the division in 1959. When he heard of the conflicts in his church, he immediately returned home to reconcile the two factions. He found the congregation divided 90 percent NAE and 10 percent Ecumenical supporters. On May 1, 1960, the Rev. Lee expelled the ecumenical leaders from the church. From then on, the church resembled a boiling cauldron. One elder (ecumenical) and his supporters went to the pulpit during the worship service, dragged the pastor down from his stand and "kicked, struck, and pinched him and pulled his hair."¹⁰ Pastor Lee was hospitalized for one week because of the injuries. Both groups tried to hold "worship" services at the same time in the same sanctuary. While one group prayed, the other sang hymns to distract them. Some tempers flared and fists flew. The police had to be called to restore order.¹¹

Subsequent conflicts caused the military police to enforce martial law in the church on May 25th and to declare:

1. Only prayer and meditation are allowed in the sanctuary.
2. There will be no fighting in the sanctuary.
3. No other people except the members of the church will be allowed in.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid. Cf. Lee Jong-sŏng, "Yechang ũn Wae Kŭmigago Kallachyŏtnŭnga?" (Why are the Presbyterians Divided"), Kidokkyŏ Sasang, IV (November 1960), 43. Cf. Lee Sang-hyŏk, p. 223.

¹¹ Kŭrischŏn Shinmun, September 26, 1960, p. 1.

¹² PCK (NAE), Kyŏngbuk Presbytery.

After seven years of litigation, a solution was reached in which the ecumenical group built a new church while the NAE group promised to contribute money for their building fund.¹³

The Sŭng Dong Church, one of the largest in Seoul, became another battleground. The Rev. Lee Tae-yŏng, a long-time missionary to China and one of the NAE leaders in Seoul, met stiff opposition from the ecumenical supporters in his church.¹⁴ A missionary described the impossible condition of the church in his letter to American Christians,

One group with its minister meets on the left side, the other with its minister on the right. While one side is trying to pray, the other has announcements. When one minister preaches, the other directs a song service. Can you imagine trying to worship God under such circumstances?¹⁵

Rural churches were no less exempt from violence. A missionary described how difficult it was to reconcile two opposing factions in a church:

One radical example: just the first night from 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. we sat in one church sometimes arguing, sometimes praying, or napping or singing. Picking up the pieces is a sorry, saddening tragedy, but necessary.¹⁶

¹³ Kŭrischān Shinmun, February 26, 1966, p. 1. Cf. September 17, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁴ Five of nine elders of the Sŭng Dong Church walked out of the meeting and the remaining four and Pastor Lee decided to permit the Sŭngdong Pa to have their General Assembly (November 24, 1959) at his church. See PCK (E), General Assembly Office, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement), November 12, 1959.

¹⁵ Hugh M. Linton, "Letter to Christians in America," December 2, 1960, p. 1, in BWM. Cf. Lee Kun-mu, p. 232. Kŭrischān Shinmun, November 26, 1960, p. 1.

¹⁶ Kelmore W. Spencer, "Annual Report to COEMAR," 1960, p. 2, in UML.

Appeal to Civil Court over Church Property

One of the main difficulties in church schism is the matter of handling the institutional church properties. Since the church property of the PCK belongs to the congregation, the division in the congregation usually originates over property control. Sometimes, one faction quietly leaves the church in order to avoid a lawsuit and builds a new church from scratch as in the case of the Rev. Han Sang-dong, who left the Choryang Church in Pusan in the first major division of the PCK in 1951 and built a new church, Sam-il Church.¹⁷ When the Kimho Church became divided in the 1959 scuffle, the remaining group offered the departing opponents money (W1,750,000 or \$1,750) to build a new church.¹⁸ In other cases, the problems have to be resolved in the civil court.

In 1956 the Supreme Court passed a specific resolution in dealing with the severe conflict at a Presbyterian church in Chinju. "The property of the church belongs to the total membership of the congregation or to the majority of its membership."¹⁹ Although the law code determines the right of ownership of property in a schism, it is not able to solve

¹⁷Kim Yang-sŏn, p. 159.

¹⁸Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, October 28, 1963, p. 1.

¹⁹Ibid., September 4, 1961, p. 2.

all the ramifications of problems resulting from the conflict.²⁰

The more complicated and difficult task for the civil court to handle is over institutional properties and the right to use the legal title of the denomination. After the division in 1959, a lawsuit was presented to the court over the ownership of the Presbyterian Seminary property in Seoul including the dormitories and faculty residences which had a total value of \$80,000. The courts also had to decide whether the newly-organized Seminary Board by Dr. Adams was legal and which group had the right of using the title, "Yesukyo Changnohoe" (PCK).²¹ The lawsuit continued for eight years until 1967, when both sides agreed to divide the property; the NAE side took the large dormitory leaving five small buildings to the ecumenical side.²² Both groups ended up using the name, the PCK.

In the Honam area, the property controversy between the SPM and the NAE side was over the NAE's control of the Sungil Middle and High School. The Rev. Dwight Linton made a three-point complaint to the moderator of the Chonnam Presbytery, the Rev. Kwŏn Oh-kyun, over the school board's illegal control of the school because five board members out of twelve

²⁰Supra, pp. 71, 210.

²¹Minutes of Korea Mission (1962), p. 44, and (1961), p. 91.

²²Ibid. (1967), p. 71.

did not receive any notice for the meeting as they should have had at least one week prior to the meeting. According to the constitution, two-thirds of the board members must be present in order to convene.²³ The Rev. Kwŏn replied that the Board of Trustees belonged to one Presbytery (Chŏnnam Presbytery) and not two and that those five members were expelled from the board because of their "disobedience to the Presbytery" by attending the Reunited Assembly in Seoul on February 17, 1960.²⁴

In the Kyŏngsŏn Presbytery (Kyŏngbuk Province) the NAE men took all the equipment of a Bible institute from the church where it held classes including a missionary's personal belongings such as a piano and tape recorder.²⁵

²³Dwight Linton, "Kwŏn Oh-kyun Moksa Kwiha" (Letter to Rev. Kwŏn Oh-kyun), July 15, 1960.

²⁴Kwŏn Oh-kyun, "Thomsas Dwight Linton Kwiha" (Letter to Rev. Thomas Dwight Linton), July 20, 1960, p. 2. On February 15, 1960, twenty-three of seventy-eight presbytery members met and passed a resolution that any member who attends the Reunited Assembly (Ecumenical) on February 17 in Seoul would be punished. The Chonnam Presbytery was divided between the NAE and the Ecumenical groups:

	Churches	Ministers	Evangelists
NAE	97	27	77
Ecumenical	74	13	48
Neutral	2	1	2

Ibid., p. 6.

²⁵Richard H. Baird, "The Division in the Korean Presbyterian Church as It Appears About April 15, 1960," a report by three missions on the situation of the PCK, April 15, 1960, p. 2, in KRC.

After bitter experiences in court with the NAE group, both the UPM and SPM adopted a policy of dividing the authority between the Board of Directors which henceforth handled the internal affairs of the seminary, and the Board of Trustees, which took care of the property. The Board of Directors is constituted of nationals and missionaries, while the Trustees are only missionaries. Thus the seminary property no longer belongs to the nationals but comes under the sole jurisdiction of the Mission Board. The SPM has transferred about one million dollars' worth of property into the trusteeship and continues to put all mission property in its own name to prevent potential problems that might arise out of future division.²⁶

Christian Response: Despair and Challenge

The response of Christians to the continual divisions in the PCK was obviously one of discouragement and loss of faith in the ministers, particularly the leaders of the denominations. Christian laymen largely blamed ministers for the schismatic confusion in the Korean Church. In recent years there have been growing attacks on the ministers for their low quality of character, lack of knowledge,

²⁶Keith R. Crim, "Onyang Hoeui wa Sŏnkyo Chŏnch'aek" (The Onyang Conference and Mission Policy), Kidokkyo Sasang, VIII (October 1964), 73. Dr. Crim later said to the writer, "This trusteeship is actually a foundation for secondary schools in the Honam area and is under the control of the

and deficiency in common sense.²⁷ Even the ministers themselves agree that the charges are valid. The Rev. Cho Hyang-nok declares that the ministers ought to bear 90 percent responsibility for the present ill condition.²⁸

Many go beyond further in blaming the basic seminary education which caused the present ministers to have a lack of concern for implementation of the Gospel in the daily lives of the people and of being satisfied in their narrow-minded biblical fundamentalism which caused divisiveness in the Church.

The Christians' loss of confidence in their church was explicitly expressed in the sharp decline of their offerings to the churches. In 1960 the total receipts for the home missions and General Assembly were only \$20 and \$400 respectively, while the annual budget request for these organizations was \$50,000.²⁹ The offerings from the presbyteries to the General Assembly, according to the Forty-fifth General Assembly report, was only W20,000.³⁰

Korean majority of members of its Board." See Keith R. Crim, "Letter to the Writer," dated March 28, 1969, p. 2.

²⁸ Cho Hyang-nok, "Hanguk Kyohoe ūi Dilema" (The Dilemma of the Korean Church), Kidokkyo Sasang, VI (March 1962), 11.

²⁹ "Around the World: Korea," Presbyterian Journal, XIX (November 9, 1960), 3.

³⁰ Lee Jong-sōng, p. 44.

With 7 percent of the population Christian, evangelism for new converts has been the priority in the Korean Church, but it is evident that the Church must gear its emphasis more to the ministry of training Christians in a better understanding of the Christian life. Mr. Yun Po-sŏn, President of the Republic of Korea (1960-1961) and a Presbyterian elder, at the Christian Education Conference stated his concern for the better quality of Christians needed today in Korea:

I used to think that Korea needs many more Christians in number, and there have been many churches erected since 1945. Nevertheless, I feel that the primary concern of the Church must be on improving the quality of Christians than proliferating the quantity.³¹

Loss of Christian Testimony to Outsiders

The worst consequence of turbulent divisions in the church in a country where more than ninety percent of the population are non-Christians is neither the formations of new denominations nor the physical injuries inflicted upon some Christians, but the loss of Christian testimony to those outside the Church. Non-Christians severely criticized the Korean Church as the house of division and fighting rather than of peace and harmony.³² Street meetings held at bus

³¹Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, August 28, 1961, p. 1.

³²Chang Byŏng-il, Shinang ũi Oshik (Misplanted Faith) (Seoul: Kai Myŏng Sa, 1964), p. 118.

and train stations were often ridiculed by non-Christians.³³ Christians could not offer any peaceful alternatives to the nation when Korea was in such a chaotic condition during the political upheavals and moral corruptions.

Park Chŏng-hee, president of the Republic of Korea, who is not a Christian,³⁴ criticized the Church for its divisiveness,

Christianity has established several different seminaries within one denomination as the consequence of divisions in the Church by theologians and preachers. These divisions finally brought violence. Fights over the church property among Christians are so unpleasant that they will never disappear from the memory of the citizens.³⁵

The following story of a lady missionary in Taegu adequately summarizes the tragic effects of church divisions and their shameful consequences. An upper class student who entered Kyemyong Christian College as a non-Christian experienced the true meaning of the Gospel at the college. The missionary and the student used to pray together for his non-Christian older brother. At one Easter Sunrise Service, when the missionary saw the student she asked him whether he brought his older brother to the service.

A cloud came over Tai Yul's face as he replied, "My brother attended church with me several times and I felt sure he was ready to become a follower of Christ. Then one day he read in a newspaper

³³ Ibid., p. 128.

³⁴ Supra, p. 13.

about the fighting among our Christian leaders and he said, 'I want nothing to do with such a religion.'"³⁶

Summary

The major division in 1959 and the further multiple divisions in the PCK have left deep scars upon the Korean Church and secular society. The physical violence and unpleasant arguments over church property in civil court caused the Korean Church to lose much of the prestige which it had developed because of its strong stand during the Japanese and Communist persecutions. Besides the loss of confidence in the leadership of the Church, the loss of testimony to non-Christians may be irretrievable.

³⁶Sue Comstock Adams, "Personal Report for 1958-1959" [1959], p. 2, in UML.

CHAPTER VIII

RECONCILIATION EFFORTS FOR THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN KOREA

Inflicting a fracture is a much swifter process than mending the wound and nurturing it back to wholeness. So it is with the PCK which discovered that it is much simpler to divide than to reunite. The effort for the reunification of the PCK started immediately after the split in 1959 and continues until today. This movement of reunifying the Ecumenical and NAE groups will be considered under two different headings: first, the reconciliation efforts of the PCK before its final and official break at the Reunited Assembly on February 17, 1960, and at the two separate Forty-fifth General Assembly meetings in Seoul; second, the reunion movement for the completely divided Churches which continued from 1961, was intensified between 1967 and 1968 and is continuing even at the present time. This latter topic will be discussed in the next chapter.

Missions' Reconciliation Efforts

After the General Assembly split in Taejŏn on September 24-29, 1959, both groups vigorously launched their campaigns to win as many churches and Christians to their respective sides, particularly on the local presbytery

level. However, behind the proselytizing, thoughts of merging were present because of the popular demands of many Christians.

Encouraged by the eight-day visit of Dr. Carl McIntire and his associates in November and their promise of a large amount of financial assistance from the ICCC, the Sŭngdong Pa continued their high-spirited Forty-fourth General Assembly (November 24, 1959).¹ With a four-point statement, the Assembly denounced the Yŏndong Assembly as illegal, and as Dr. Samuel Moffett pointed out this statement became the main platform of the Sŭngdong Pa whenever dealing with the Yŏndong group.

1. The Taejŏn Assembly was legally adjourned to meet on November 24 and therefore the continuing meeting in the Yŏndong Church was illegal.
2. The Yŏndong Assembly met without the Moderator.
3. It met without a majority of delegates.
4. It met without possession of the gavel and official seal of the Assembly and is therefore illegal.²

¹The seven former moderators of the General Assembly out of nine recognized the Forty-fourth General Assembly (November 24) as the legal one and sent an invitation to the Yondong Pa and the missionaries. See Lee Sŭng-kil and six others, "Hae Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement) by the former moderators (NAE), October 20, 1959.

²Minutes and Reports of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1962), p. 42.

The General Assembly (NAE) in November also appointed a Reconciliation Committee which consisted of seven former moderators (out of nine) and four other leaders³ appointed by the Moderator whom the missionaries considered to be "extremists."⁴ Besides the formation of the Reconciliation Committee, the General Assembly declared three other condemnatory statements against the ecumenical movement and the three missions: (1) their opposition to the pro-Communist movement in ecumenism and to the entry of Red China into the United Nations, (2) the withdrawal from the WCC and opposition to the ecumenical movement,⁵ and (3) self-support of the Seminary by the Korean churches.⁶

³Revs. Park Byōng-hun, Kim Yun-chān, Ko Sōng-mo, and Yang Sōng-pō. Later the vice-moderator of the General Assembly was added to the Committee. See J. A. Croft, "Impressions of Portion of 44th 'General Assembly' Sungdong Presbyterian Church," November 24, 1959, p. 2, in KRC.

⁴Ibid.

⁵The subject of withdrawal from the WCC and the NAE first came up during the turbulence of the Forty-fourth General Assembly (September 28, 1959) in Tājōn. See George Thompson Brown and Paul S. Crane, "Sōng Myōng Sō" (Statement), October 2, 1959, in KRC. The Sungdong Pa's General Assembly (November 24) adopted a statement for the withdrawal of the PCK from the WCC: "We affirm that the WCC and the ecumenical movement hinders the sanctification of our Church and our unity with Christ; therefore, we declare that the PCK permanently withdraw from the WCC and does not participate in its ecumenical movement." PCK (NAE), "TYC Chōnghoe Wonchūk Kwa Chōngan" (Principles and Policies of the Forty-fourth General Assembly of the PCK [NAE]), November 27, 1959, p. 1, in CKO.

⁶Park Yōng-hee, "The Present Situation of the Presbyterian Church of Korea," 1964, p. 11, supplied by and in possession of Park Yōng-hee, St. Louis, Mo.

As the distance increased between the Yŏndong Pa and Sungdong Pa the three missions tried to prevent any cleavage among themselves as in the case of the 1954 division in which the United Church of Canada Mission withdrew from the Presbyterian Council. When the Forty-fourth General Assembly (September) came to a deadlock in the final session Friday morning (the 29th), the three missions immediately caucused in the afternoon and declared their unity in action. This unity was reaffirmed later on October 28th in Taejŏn by adopting a "Statement of Mission Determination," which declared,

Though we have followed different methods in striving for the unity and purity of the Church, we declare our determination not to be separated from each other as a result of the present situation.

The first attempt to coalesce the two factions was initiated by the missions because of the recent emotional collision among the Korean leaders of both sides. The missionaries put out the "Three Mission Peace Plan" which maintained that there were no legitimate grounds on which the PCK had divided and that the basic reason for the dissent was man's sinfulness. The statement outlined a course of action to bring the two groups together.

A. Principles to be upheld:

1. There is no reason for the PCK to be divided, for the present division is due to human

⁷APC, SPM, UP, "Meeting of Representatives of the Three Cooperative Mission" (Taejon, October 28, 1969) p. 2, in KRC.

transgression and failure and is not acceptable before God.

2. Both sides must reconcile on the foundation of the Westminster Confession of Faith which has already been subscribed to in the Constitution of the PCK. Anything more or less than this standard is unacceptable

B. Propositions to both Reconciliation Committees:

1. Both sides will meet on the agreement that the offenders (of the \$30,000 scandal) according to the report of the Financial Investigation Committee of the Seminary which the 1958 General Assembly appointed will be made known publicly to the whole Church. . . .
3. Since both the PCK and the three missions have had a 75-year missions' history and have engaged in the ecumenical movement as members of the WCC, the PCK cannot blame its past ecumenical activities.

However, due to the attacks on the WCC in recent years, we propose that our church (PCK) withdraw from the WCC for three years after which the matter will be turned over to the decision of the General Assembly.

C. Reconciliation of Church organizations

1. When the reunited Assembly will be achieved, the decisions of the previous separate assemblies (Yöndong and Süngdong) will be invalidated.
2. In the already divided presbyteries, the last moderator of the presbytery will preside. (For example, the Rev. Kang Shin-myöng in the Kyönggi Presbytery and the Rev. Kim Se-yöng in Kyöngbuk Presbytery.)
3. Each reunited presbytery would go into the election of officers immediately after the roll call and before any motion or discussion. The newly elected officers will take charge of the presbytery for a full term. . . .
5. (Until the time of the reunited General Assembly which will meet in September 1960), neither side can send delegates to any ecumenical conferences.
6. The moderators and stated clerks of both General Assemblies would take their seats at the reunited Assembly. If there is a dispute over seating arrangement, these officers of

both groups and the representatives from the three missions will discuss the matter before the reunited General Assembly.⁸

The Sŭngdong Pa immediately rejected the Peace Plan for several reasons. First of all, the withdrawal from the WCC for three years and turning over the issue to the General Assembly after that period of time did not guarantee the permanent cessation of the ecumenical movement in the PCK. In regard to the seminary, the NAE side interpreted the statement (B, 1) as an attempt to oust Dr. Park Hyŏng-nong and his associates from the seminary and allow the ecumenical side to gradually gain control of the seminary.⁹

According to the plan (C, 3, 4, 5) each reunited presbytery would elect commissioners at the usual time (May) for the reunited General Assembly in September. Both General Assemblies would therefore not act except through the Reconciliation Committees for almost ten months. There was a practical question as to whether it would be possible to cut off the activities of both General Assemblies for almost a year while both General Assemblies were still existing at the same time. The three missions planned to accomplish reconciliation¹⁰ on a presbytery level through the spring and

⁸APC, SPM, UPM, "Che An Sŏ" (A Proposal of the Three Missions Peace Plan) (Taejon, November 11, 1959), pp. 1-2, in KRC.

⁹PCK (NAE), "TYC Sam Sŏnkyohoe e taehan Gyŏnggomun" (A Warning to the Three Missions from the Presbyterian Church of Korea), November 24, 1959, p. 2, in KRC.

¹⁰At the continuing Forty-fourth General Assembly (NAE)

summer of 1960 in order to have a reunited Assembly in September 1960.¹¹ There were some other minor objections to the Plan such as the invalidation of the PCK (NAE) General Assembly (November 24) and the Rev. Kang Shin-myōng as the Moderator of the Kyōnggi Presbytery.

Teams of three missions, one from each mission, toured all the presbyteries and encouraged local churches to accept the "Three Mission Plan."¹² But the effort produced no success for reconciliation because the tour of McIntire and his team about this time lambasted the WCC, promised financial aid to the Sūngdong Pa, and greatly hampered the progress of reconciliation.¹³ However, many uncommitted local churches were swayed to the Yondong Pa through the missions' contacts.

Southern Presbyterian Mission's Proposals for Reconciliation

The relationship between the Sungdong Pa and the UPM was fraught with friction. It seemed that any proposal from

on November 24, John E. Talmage of the SPM requested the moderator for permission to speak to the commissioners but was refused. His second request was later granted, and he appealed to them to work in cooperation with the Missions in every possible way to achieve reconciliation but received a cool response from the floor. Croft, pp. 1-2.

¹¹Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 69.

¹²George Thompson Brown, "Letter to Christians in America," dated January 30, 1960, in BWM.

¹³Supra, p. 73.

the UPM would be automatically opposed by the anti-ecumenical group.¹⁴ The SPM was in a much better position than the two other missions to approach the Sungdong group, because it showed the least partiality among the missions¹⁵ in this conflict. Some NAE leaders even believed that the SPM might side with them in the ecumenical issue. When Dr. Taylor, Moderator of the UPCUSA lectured on the "Ecumenical Mission" in Korea before the division in 1959, the SPM put out a statement to show its difference with the UPCUSA.¹⁶ Dr. George Thompson Brown of the SPM reports that the NAE group even tried to widen the distance between his own mission and the UPM by emphasizing their differences of mission policy after the Lake Mohonk Consultation in 1956. The ad interim committee of the SPM then felt it necessary to publish a five-point statement in February 1959, clarifying the mission's stance toward the ecumenical movement.¹⁷

With the coming of two special representatives from the Board of World Missions to Korea, Drs. S. Hugh Bradley and

¹⁴Croft, p. 4.

¹⁵Supra, p. 74.

¹⁶Hanguk Kidok Shibo, September 14, 1959, p. 4.

¹⁷Minutes of Korea Mission, February 4, 1959, p. 13, quoted in George Thompson Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1892-1962" (unpublished Th.D. thesis, Union Seminary, Richmond, Va., 1963), p. 718. Cf. George Thompson Brown and Paul S. Crane, "Song Myong So" (Statement of the SPM), September 17, 1959, in KRC.

L. Nelson Bell, the SPM proposed a new three-point plan: withdrawal from the WCC, rejection of the recognition of Red China into the United Nations which was adopted at the Cleveland Conference, and the reorganization of the Seminary through the reunited General Assembly.¹⁸ Even though the Sŭngdong Pa agreed to discuss the subjects, the Yŏndong Pa refused to even talk on those conditions mainly because of the proposal to withdraw completely from the ecumenical movement. However, by the cordial appeal of the SPM both sides agreed to meet the next day. After discussing their differences of opinion, they all felt the need to negotiate at a further meeting and put out a joint statement, "We want to reunite the General Assembly and we will meet again on December 29." The wide publicity of this statement in the newspapers promoted much false hope for reconciliation among the Christians.¹⁹

Meanwhile, the Reconciliation Committee of the Yŏndong Pa requested the SPM to elucidate the PCUS' stand on the ecumenical movement today in order to clarify some misunderstanding among Christians and to solidify their position with ecumenism. In addition to the previous statement of the SPM concerning their home church's membership in the NCC and WCC

¹⁸PCK (NAE), "Chŏnguk Kyohoe e Allinŭn Malsŭm" (Message to the Entire Church), January 1960, in CKO.

¹⁹Ibid.

on April 1959,²⁰ Drs. Bradley and Bell reaffirmed the ecumenical position of their PCUS:

Our Church at home is a member of the WCC. We believe that it intends to continue in that organization. We do not believe that the WCC is pro-Communist. Whereas some members of the Churches which are associated with the WCC may be liberal in their theology, we do not believe the WCC has been propagated to promote liberal theology. The stated goal of the WCC is not a Super-Church organization. . . .²¹

The second meeting between the representatives of both Reconciliation Committees was held on December 29-31. The Sŭngdong Pa wanted to proceed according to the principles of reconciliation which the Forty-fourth General Assembly (November 24) put out and presented the following demands:

1. Concerning the reorganization of the Seminary
 - a. Withdraw the illegal registration of the Board of Trustees (which Dr. Adams did).
 - b. Withdraw the election of Dr. Kay as the president-elect and remove Dr. Adams from the chairman of the Board and Professors Kim Yune-kuk and Park Ch'ang-whan from their teaching positions.
 - c. Stop illegal spending of the seminary compensation fund (W24,000,000 or \$24,000) and the operating fund (W4,000,000 or \$4,000) and deposit the money under the names of both representatives.

²⁰SPM, "Uridŭl Miguk Nam Changnokyo Hanguk Sŏnkyohoe nŭn I Arae Sahangŭl Nŏlli Allyŏdŭrinŭn Baipnida" (Following Items are from the SPM), April 1959, in AKK.

²¹S. Hugh Bradley and L. Nelson Bell, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement of the SPM), December 17, 1959, in AKK.

2. Withdraw from the WCC and cease the ecumenical movement.²²

On the other hand, the Yōndong Pa presented the contrasting points to the meeting:

1. The WCC is not liberal in theology and pro-Communist, but we withdraw from the WCC for the sake of harmony, due to misunderstanding of some Christians.
2. The reunited General Assembly cannot have any relation with the ICCC.
3. The reunited General Assembly will be called on February 1960, with the same commissioners at the Forty-fourth General Assembly (in Taejōn).
4. The officers of the 43rd General Assembly cannot be reelected to the offices of the reunited Assembly.
5. The Reconciliation Committees of both sides in cooperation with the three missions will call the reunited General Assembly and handle the affairs.
6. The reunited General Assembly will investigate the seminary and all other organizations.
7. Reunited plan for the seminary:
 - a. The president of the seminary will be nominated by the Reconciliation Committees of both sides and the representatives from the three missions. The president's term would be three years.
 - b. The professors who taught before the division will continue to teach.
 - c. The members of the Board of Directors will be the same as before the Taejon General Assembly.²³

If one compares the two propositions, one can easily ascertain the diametrical positions from which both sides

²²PCK (E), "Pyōngwha Hoeūi" (Peaceful Plan for Reunion), December 31, 1959, p. 1, in KRC.

²³Ibid. Cf. PCK (E), "Sūngdong chūk Chōnghoe Tonghap Gōbu" (Rejection of the Reunited Assembly by the Sūngdong Pa), January 15, 1960, p. 1, in AKK.

were negotiating in regard to their position in the ecumenical movement and control of the seminary in Seoul. Therefore, the meetings were adjourned without any success in agreement.²⁴

Subsequently, the Reconciliation Committee of the Sŭngdong Pa put out the "last proposal of the General Assembly" before the final break up:

1. Withdraw from the WCC and abolish the ecumenical movement (in Korea). Then those ministers in our church who joined the NAE individually will withdraw from that organization.
2. Retract the election of the new Board of Trustees and of the acting president of the seminary (Dr. Kay) who were chosen only by one side and restore the Rev. Noh Chin-hyŏn, who was the acting president before the division, to his former position.
3. Call the 45th General Assembly as the reunited General Assembly in September 1960. . . .²⁵

In reply, the Yŏndong Pa declared:

1. Although there are differences of opinion on the WCC, for the sake of reunion we withdraw from the WCC.
2. The Reunited General Assembly will be called during the month of February (1960) (with the same commissioners who attended the 44th General Assembly in Taejŏn), and the moderator of the 43rd General Assembly will call the meeting. The procedure will be decided by two representatives from each side and one from each of the three missions.

²⁴PCK (E), "Pyŏngwha Hoeŭi," p. 1.

²⁵PCK (NAE), Controlling Committee, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement), January 5, 1960, in CKO. Cf. Lee Tae-yŏng, "Sŭngdong Chŭk ŭi Chean" (Proposal from the Sungdong Pa), January 14, 1960, quoted by PCK (E), "Sŭngdong Chŭk Chŏnghoe Tonghap Gŏbu."

3. All the transactions before and after the division caused by the division in the General Assembly will be invalid.²⁶

Immediately the Sungdong Pa published a point-by-point objection:

1. The sentence, "Although there are differences of opinion on the WCC, for the sake of harmony we withdraw from the WCC," means that we cannot break off our relationship with the WCC and the ecumenical movement.
2. "If the Reunited General Assembly is called, differences will be solved" means that there is no need for discussing the Seminary Board of Trustees, money problem, the acting president of the seminary, etc.
3. The third proposition, "the 44th General Assembly (February 1960) must go back to the previous condition before the 44th General Assembly (September 24, 1959), then the procedure will be decided by the committee," does not recognize the validity of our General Assembly (November 24, 1959).²⁷

At the reconciliation meeting between both sides at the Yŏngnak Church on January 4, 1960, the only statement agreed upon was "there is no need for further meeting."²⁸

Nine days after the complete failure of negotiation among the leaders of the Church, Rev. John E. Talmage of the SPM once more submitted a new eight-point reconciliation plan. Drs. Bradley and Bell held conferences in Chunju

²⁶PCK (NAE), "Chŏnguk Kyohoe e Allinŭn Malsŭm," p. 1.

²⁷George Thompson Brown and W. A. Linton, "Urinŭn Wae 44hoe (Tŏnghap) Chŏnghoe rŭl Chichi Hanŭnga?" (Why Do We Support the 44th General Assembly [PCK-E]?), February 24, 1960, in CKO.

²⁸PCK (NAE), "Chŏnguk Kyohoe e Allinŭn Malsŭm," p. 1.

and Seoul with the SPM Reconciliation Committee and the Sungdong Pa leaders to hear the opposing views.²⁹ This new plan strongly affirmed the conservative theology of the PCK in carefully carved language, added more compromises and yet was basically the same as that of the Yŏndong on December 17, 1959, as far as the three basic differences were concerned.³⁰ The new plan proposed to consummate the reconciliation at the Reunited Assembly on February 17, 1960. The content of the new reconciliation propositions follows:

1. The PCK reaffirms the Westminster Confession of Faith and the doctrinal creed of 1920 which was signed by the professors of Pyongyang Seminary.

²⁹The Annual Reports of the Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Nashville, Tenn.: Board of World Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1959), p. 102. Dr. Bell's article on the similar division in the Brazilian Presbyterian Church which appeared in the Presbyterian Journal was translated into Korean in order to warn the Korean Church that Dr. Carl McIntire, who divided the Brazilian Presbyterian Church, would do the same thing in Korea. See L. Nelson Bell, "Brazil Kyogyŏ ūi Padoŋkwa Gū Chinsan" (Slander in Brazil), translated by Kim Kyu-dang, n.d., in KRC.

³⁰In spite of further compromises such as the disassociation from any organization which promotes liberal theology, pro-Communism and the Super-Church, and the willingness of the ecumenical group to reorganize the seminary board, there is no basic change on the ecumenical issue and on the Yŏndong Pa's recognition of the Sungdong's General Assembly (November). See W. A. Linton et al., "Nam Changnokyo Sonkyohoe Cheŭisŏ" (Proposal of the Southern Presbyterian Mission for Reconciliation), January 13, 1960, in CKO. The Sungdong's demand for the recognition of their Assembly as the only legal assembly was a strong indication that they were not interested in a compromised settlement except on their terms.

The PCK General Assembly maintains the 75-year old traditional conservatism.³¹

2. The 44th General Assembly will be called at the early part of February, and the officers of the 43rd General Assembly will be responsible for the opening of the General Assembly and the election of new officers. The preparatory committee for the General Assembly will consist of two men from each side and one from the neutrals.
3. The commissioners who attended the Taejŏn General Assembly (September 24-29, 1959), will attend the General Assembly (February) except the ones who are not able to attend due to death or sickness. The Kyŏnggi Presbytery will solve its differences on the issue of commissioners by itself.
4. The PCK withdraws from the WCC for the serious differences of opinion and for the sake of harmony.
5. The PCK opposes any movement which promotes liberal theology, pro-Communism, and one Super-Church.
6. The PCK explicitly declares that it has no relation with the ICCC either on the denominational or organizational level.
7. The Board of Trustees (of the Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul) which was constituted on September 24, 1959, will reorganize the seminary according to the 75-year tradition. This Board will appoint the president who would be later approved by the General Assembly.
8. In 1960 we shall discontinue unnecessary quarrels on many problematic issues and appeal to the whole Church, so that we shall devote ourselves to Bible study and evangelism.³²

³¹In December 1959, Dr. Samuel H. Moffett of the UPM published a seven-point reaffirmation of the traditional faith that Dr. W. D. Reynolds, a pioneer missionary of the SPM, signed. See Samuel H. Moffett, "Sŏnkyohoe Shinang Kobaek" (Reaffirmation of Faith), December 1959, in KRC.

³²Linton, p. 1.

On January 14, 1960, Dr. W. A. Linton, Chairman of the Joint Reconciliation Committee called the final meeting to discuss the Rev. Talmage's new propositions. The Yŏndong Pa expressed their readiness to accept the plan even though there were some objectional parts, but the Sŭngdong Pa requested three basic changes. They declared that it was not enough for the PCK to withdraw from the WCC. The PCK should condemn the ecumenical movement because

The WCC has a majority of liberal denominations and liberal church leaders [with a few names mentioned] . . . pro-Communists and Communists participating in the Central Committee as advisors [with a few examples] . . . and tries to establish one Super-Church.³³

The Sŭngdong Pa accused the ecumenical side of double dealings, that though the latter claimed to withdraw from the WCC ostensibly, it still wanted to maintain the ecumenical movement through the ecumenical missions and the national ecumenical organizations.³⁴ Consequently, both the ecumenical group and the missions rejected the charges against the WCC and the ecumenical movement.³⁵

³³Yang Wha-sŏk and Lee Tae-yŏng, "TYC Chŏnghoe e Kwanhan Chean" (Proposal for the Reunion of the Presbyterian Church in Korea), February 1960, in CKO.

³⁴Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, December 3, 1962, p. 1.

³⁵The Reunited Assembly (February 17, 1960) passed a resolution, "The WCC is not a liberal theological organization, nor is it a pro-Communist or super-church organization, but for the unity of the General Assembly all eight sections of the plan of union shall be accepted." Keith R. Crim, "United Assembly of the Korean Church (February 17, 1960)," n.d., p. 3, in KRC.

After hours of debate on the ecumenical issue, without even discussing the second and third demands,³⁶ the meeting was adjourned until the next morning. However, the next day, the Sŭngdong leaders never showed up and sent a letter stating that there was no necessity of having another meeting. This is the final breakdown of the reconciliation effort.³⁷

In spite of the valiant effort of the SPM for reconciliation, one must realize that both groups actually did not want to merge at the expense of basic issues vital to them. The Yŏndong Pa and the missionaries tried to persuade the other side to return to the original stage of the PCK before the Forty-fourth General Assembly (September 24) split, but the latter rejected the proposal. It appears very clear that the leaders of the Sŭngdong Pa had made up their minds even long before the actual confrontation at the Taejŏn Assembly (September 24) to break off from the ecumenical group if they could not gain control of the Forty-fourth General Assembly. The Rev. J. A. Croft, who met with the Sŭngdong Pa Reconciliation Committee as the representative from the APM with two

³⁶The Sŭngdong Pa later revealed two others: the extraordinary demand to recognize its Assembly (November 24) as the legal General Assembly and the restoration of the Rev. Noh Chin-hyŏn to his former position as the acting president of the Seminary, invalidating Dr. Edward Adams' appointment of the new board and of the new acting president, Dr. Kay. See Yang Wha-sŏk and Lee Tae-yŏng.

³⁷Brown, "A History of the Korea Mission," pp. 740-742. See PCK (E), Reconciliation Committee, "Sŭngdong Chŭk Chŏngwhoe Tonghap Gŭbu," p. 1.

other missionaries from other missions, described the attitude of disinterest among the leaders,

No sign of real desire for reconciliation could be seen whatsoever--only that we must repent and they will be kind enough to take us back. With a few jokes inserted the meeting ended up fruitless but with a good spirit.³⁸

On the other hand, the leaders of the ecumenical group did not want to bar their relation with the ecumenical movement and the WCC, because as the Reconciliation Committee explained in a statement on January 15, 1960,

If we oppose the ecumenical movement, we have to cease to have all relations with the KNCC, Church World Service, Christian Literature Society, YMCA, Yonsei University and all the Missions; consequently, the Church will destroy the cooperative spirit among the other churches and become a self-complacent body.³⁹

The real interests of both sides, therefore, during the reconciliation movement did not rest on the actual possibility of reconciliation but rather on the hope that they could employ this effort to win many uncommitted local churches and Christians to their respective sides. This is why the control of the Forty-fourth General Assembly was most vital for both groups, if either side wanted to maintain the majority of churches on its side. No reconciliation effort could succeed under these conditions; the only option left was to wait and see what would happen to the church.

³⁸Croft, p. 4.

³⁹PCK (E), Reconciliation Committee, "Sungdong Ch'uk Chongwhoe Tonghap Gubu," p. 2.

The Reunited Assembly in Seoul

Immediately after the complete failure of the reconciliation movement, the SPM announced the date for the Reunited Assembly to be on February 17, 1960, on the basis of the previous eight-point propositions and invited all the neutrals and the Sŭngdong Pa. In order to win over more from the opposition, the ecumenical group gave neutrals and former Sungdong leaders who had defected to the Yŏndong Pa positions of importance in the Assembly. For example, Rev. Kim Sam-tae, a NAE leader from Kyŏngbuk Province who was elected Assistant General Secretary at the Forty-fourth General Assembly (November 24), became the Chairman of the "Working Committee" before the Reunited Assembly,⁴⁰ and was chosen as the Assistant General Secretary of this Assembly.⁴¹ Rev. Lee Sŭng-kil, a former moderator of the General Assembly who was one of the NAE leaders at the Forty-fourth General Assembly (November 24), became the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Reunited Assembly.⁴² A neutral

⁴⁰Kim Sam-tae, "Chŏnghoe Yŏrŏbun ege Samga Dŭripnida" (Statement of Warning for the Commissioners of the 44th General Assembly) (against the Sŭngdong Pa's hindrance to the Reunited Assembly), February 12, 1960, in KRC.

⁴¹Croft, p. 1.

⁴²Chŏng Il-yŏng, "Kyogye e Dŭrinŭn Malsŭm" (Statement to the Church) by a NAE leader in Taegu against the forthcoming Reunited Assembly on February 17, 1960, Taegu, February 4, 1960, in AKK.

leader, Rev. Kim Se-chin, was also elected to be the Stated Clerk and General Secretary.⁴³

While the Yŏndong Pa spared no efforts to encourage all the former commissioners of the Forty-fourth General Assembly (September 24) in Taejŏn to attend the Reunited Assembly, the Sŭngdong Pa also launched a vigorous campaign to warn the commissioners and the churches to stay away from the Reunited Assembly. Admonishing the fellow ministers and elders in the Kyŏngbuk Presbytery, a NAE leader quoted a Korean poem,

Snowy herons (anti-ecumenical commissioners), do not go to the valley (the Reunited Assembly) where the crows (the ecumenical group) are fighting. The angry crows who are jealous of your bright white color will stain your clean body which was washed by the waves.⁴⁴

In spite of strong oppositions from the Sŭngdong Pa the Reunited Assembly brought some two hundred and fifty commissioners⁴⁵ and claimed to have about two-thirds of the

⁴³PCK (E), "TYC Che Sashipsawhae (T'ong Hap) Ch'ongwhoe Ch'walyo" (Minutes of the 44th General Assembly [Reunited Assembly of the PCK]), February 17-19, 1960, in KRC.

⁴⁴Chŏng Il-yŏng.

⁴⁵The Yŏndong Pa and Sŭngdong Pa gave different statistics of attendance at the Reunited Assembly. According to the Yŏndong Pa:

Ministers	83 plus alternates	30 total	113
Elders	98 plus alternates	22 total	120
Missionaries	17	total	<u>17</u>
		Total	250

commissioners in Taejon, representing thirty-one out of thirty-four presbyteries.⁴⁶ However, the Sungdong Pa challenged these figures and maintained that the Reunited Assembly with the missionaries barely reached a majority representation of the Taejŏn delegates. Dr. Han Kyŏng-chik, Moderator of the Reunited Assembly, extended a cordial welcome to the commissioners, particularly the neutrals and those who had attended the Sungdong Pa's Forty-fourth General Assembly (November 24). There were some thirty who had attended the November Assembly.⁴⁷

According to the Sungdong Pa:

	Regular No.	Attendance	Illegal	Total
Koreans	261	129	88	217
Missionaries	<u>23</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>19</u>
Total	284	147	89	236

See Crim, p. 1. Cf. PCK (NAE), "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ, 2. 17 Chipdan (Sowi Tong Hap Chŏnghoe) ūi Mubŏpsŏng ūl Chichŏk Handa" (Statement on the illegal 2. 17 Reunited Assembly), March 1960, in CKO. Therefore, the Sungdong Pa declared that the Reunited Assembly did not have the two-thirds majority of the Taejŏn commissioners, for it had only 120 commissioners (45 percent) and 18 missionaries (7 percent) of the Taejŏn meeting. Here the difference of both claims is largely due to more than fifty alternates and twenty-eight Kyŏnggi commissioners whom the Sungdong Pa never considered as legal delegates.

⁴⁶Annual Report: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (New York: COEMAR, 1961), p. 20. See Allen D. Clark, "Annual Report to COEMAR," April 29, 1960, p. 2, in UML. John E. Talmage, "Letter to Christians in America," February 29, 1960, p. 1, in BWM. Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 743.

⁴⁷The Sunchŏn and Kyŏngsŏh Presbyteries were the major Sungdong groups which attended both the November 24th Assembly and the Reunited Assembly. The commissioners of Mokpo

The Reunited Assembly was preceded by a two-day spiritual preparation for the commissioners through Bible study and prayer which Dr. L. Nelson Bell led.⁴⁸ However, the Assembly itself was neither peaceful nor harmonious, because there was a strong element among the commissioners who endorsed the Reunited Assembly in general but maintained the anti-ecumenical sentiment for theological reasons as well as for the future possibility of reunion with the Sŭngdong Pa, even though that hope looked dim at that time.⁴⁹ This group submitted a motion that the Assembly should adopt a resolution to continue to talk with the Sŭngdong Pa for reunion on the basis of the SPM's proposal.

One of the hotly debated questions at the Assembly was the relationship between the PCK (E) which withdrew from the WCC and the three Missions which were members of the WCC. Dr. Baird, Commission Representative of the UPM, was called on to explain what effect the withdrawal of the Church from the WCC had on the ecumenical organizations in Korea and the Church-Mission Conference. Dr. Baird's answer gave the impression that "withdrawal was optional and probably would interfere with the work in Korea."⁵⁰ The anti-ecumenical

Presbytery attended the Reunited Assembly as "observers."
Crim, p. 1.

⁴⁸John E. Talmage and Others, "Announcement and Call to Prayer," January 27, 1960, both in English and Korean, in KRC.

⁴⁹Crim, p. 2.

⁵⁰Ibid.

group in the Assembly interpreted this as an attempt to avoid future reunion movements and criticized Dr. Baird. Here again, a SPM, the Rev. John Talmage, became an intermediary agent between the anti-ecumenical group and the UPM and explained that the withdrawal would not affect the relations between the Church and the missions.⁵¹

The heated debate over the adoption of the plan of reunion brought an atmosphere so charged with mutual antagonisms that the Assembly almost came to the verge of breakdown. One missionary described it, "Many of us felt that if matters continued as they had that afternoon the Assembly would break up again."⁵² The missionaries felt that it was quite necessary to set up a committee for further talks with the Sungdong Pa, lest the Assembly be divided. Therefore, they encouraged the commissioners to organize the committee of reunion, which was agreed upon by the Assembly.

One significant factor one must realize in this Reunited Assembly was the powerful anti-ecumenical force which still hoped for a future reunion. The reunion effort of this anti-ecumenical force in the Assembly reached its peak in the early months of 1968.⁵³

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., p. 3. Dr. E. Otto DeCamp later also soothed the tension in the Assembly by saying that Dr. Baird was not well informed on the delicate situation of the PCK because of his absence from the country.

⁵³Infra, pp. 272-276.

Did the Missions Show Partiality
in the Reconciliation?

In a letter of warning to the missionaries, the NAE leaders accused them for being one-sided in the division and the reconciliation: "The missionaries in Korea did not take the neutral position but supported only one side at the time of the division in the PCK in Taejon and promoted division."⁵⁴

The denominational background of the UPCUSA, UPUS, and APC, especially in regard to their ecumenical position ought to be recognized. Being members in the WCC and actively engaging in the ecumenical movement, the foreign missions of these churches naturally promoted the ecumenical movement in their mission fields. Therefore, it is not strange for them to support the ecumenically-minded group in the conflict.

The missionary partiality for the ecumenical group in the PCK was seen even before,⁵⁵ during and after the actual division in 1959.

Immediately after the division of the Forty-fourth General Assembly in Taejŏn (September 1959), the Presbyterian Council caucused under Dr. Samuel H. Moffett to discuss what course of action the Missions had to take at this critical moment. They passed the following resolution:

⁵⁴PCK (NAE), "TYC Sam Sŏnkyowhoe e taehan Gyŏnggomun."

⁵⁵Supra, p. 70.

1. We agree that it is our most earnest desire to avoid a split in the Church.
2. We urge that each Mission send at least an observer to the meeting in Seoul tomorrow, and to any Presbyterian NAE group meetings which may be called on or before November 24.
3. We agree that this is a deplorable situation in the Church and reaffirm our determination to remain united as missionaries, and pledge ourselves to try to maintain the unity of the Church.⁵⁶

Quite contrary to the decision of the Presbyterian Council in Taejon, a number of missionaries of the UPM and the APM attended the Yöndong Assembly the next day as regular commissioners, while the missionaries of the SPM sat as "observers."⁵⁷ A Southern Presbyterian missionary later commented that this action of the UPM missionaries hampered the reconciliation effort, "Many Southern and Australian missionaries felt that this action made the work of reconciliation much more difficult."⁵⁸

After the split in the Forty-fourth General Assembly in Taejŏn, even the seeming effort of the missions to be

⁵⁶E. Otto DeCamp, "Presbyterian Council Notes, The Taejon Assembly, September 24-28, 1959," p. 2, in KRC.

⁵⁷Lee Ch'ang-kyu and Kim Kwang-hyŏn, "Che Saship-sawhoe Ch'ongwhoe nŭn Irökge Mach'yotda" (How the 44th General Assembly Ended), October 1959, p. 2, in KRC.

⁵⁸Brown, "A History of the Korean Mission," p. 732. Dr. Baird, Commission Representative of the COEMAR who sat at the Yöndong Assembly with other missionaries as commissioners, tried to justify their action that their attendance at the meeting did not signify that the Mission recognized the validity of the Assembly.

neutral disappeared, for the missions openly supported the Yŏndong Pa. Even the SPM which had been the most neutral among the three missions⁵⁹ declared its support for the ecumenical group in its ten-point statement. Some of the points which showed partiality against the Sŭngdong Pa were:

2. We recognize the commissioners chosen at the temporary Kyŏnggi Presbytery as the legal representatives to the General Assembly according to the Constitution of the General Assembly. . . .
4. We do not think that the emergency adjournment of the General Assembly until November 24, 1959, was legal.
7. There is no relation at all between the declaration of the Honam Area Pastors' Retreat and our Mission.
8. We continue to support the General Assembly Presbyterian Seminary in Seoul in cooperation with other Missions and recognize Dr. Kay Il-sŏng as the acting president who was appointed by Dr. Edward Adams, chairman of the Board of Trustees.⁶⁰

The most serious objection was raised on point 8--the support for Dr. Kay as the acting president against the Rev. Noh Chin-hyŏn who was the acting president before the division of the General Assembly in September.⁶¹

⁵⁹George Thompson Brown and Paul S. Crane, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement of the SPM), September 17, 1959, in CKO.

⁶⁰Ibid., October 2, 1959.

⁶¹PCK (NAE), "TYC Sam Sŏnkyowhoe e taehan Gyŏnggomun." The UP missionaries in the Taegu area publicly supported the Yŏndong Pa on January 11, 1960, before the final break was even recognized. See UPM, "Kyŏngbuk Nohoe, Kyŏngdong Nohoe, Kyŏngsŏh Nohoe Kyŏngnae e Itnun Kyohoe dŭlege" (To the Churches in the Kyŏngbuk Presbytery, Kyŏngdong Presbytery, and Kyŏngsŏh Presbytery), January 11, 1960, p. 1, in KRC.

This type of partiality among the missionaries did not advance the reconciliation efforts which were initiated by the missionaries themselves. While they were claiming in words that they would be neutral and would not encourage or participate in the division,⁶² their actual deeds nullified their words. Therefore, the NAE group considered that the missionaries' appeal for reconciliation was nothing but support for the cause of their opponents. However, it is doubtful whether the Missions could be completely neutral in the conflict in spite of the ecumenical pressures from the home boards and the hearty support of the ecumenical movement by many missionaries.

The complete breakdown of the Missions' reconciliation efforts brought the Missions to identify themselves as one with the PCK (E). Individual missionaries were warned by their mission to avoid any assistance to any individual, church or institution of the NAE group that would seriously hinder the relationship with the PCK (E).⁶³ In spite of constant appeals from the NAE group to the Missions to take a neutral position, if they wanted reconciliation,⁶⁴ the Missions ignored their appeals and sided with the PCK (E).

⁶²Brown and Crane, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ," September 17, 1959.

⁶³Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 31.

⁶⁴Ko Sŏng-mo and Choi Sŏng-won, "Che An Sŏ" (A Proposal to the SPM), published by the Honam Area Church-Mission Conference in the PCK, May 17, 1960, in KRC. On May 17, 1960, forty one representatives and twenty-three observers from the nine presbyteries in the Honam area met at the

On June 16, 1960, the SPM made a public statement of supporting the PCK (E):

1. We reaffirm our support for the 44th General Assembly which was held on February 17, 1960, and we also reaffirm our support for the reorganized General Assembly Presbyterian seminary and other organizations.
2. We treat other Christians who belong to other Presbyterian Churches as believing brothers in the body of Christ.
3. Although the reunion was not complete, we consider that the Reunited Assembly holds the Confession of the Church.
4. Evangelistic work and other organizations of the SPM would maintain the same relation with the PCK (E) as before.⁶⁵

Reaffirming their conservative faith and denying that the ecumenical movement represents liberal theology and pro-Communism, the UP missionaries also declared their open support for the ecumenical group:

1. All the missionaries will support the Yondong General Assembly.
2. Those missionaries who are connected with the opposing group will withdraw their relation.
3. We cannot support the two General Assemblies; therefore, we are not neutral.⁶⁶

Central Church in Kwangju and made a proposal to the SPM to withdraw its support from the Reunited Assembly and to follow the "independent Mission policy" for the sake of peace and harmony in the Church. Ibid.

⁶⁵ SPM, "Sŏng Myŏng Sŏ" (Statement), June 16, 1960, in CKO. See Hanguk Kidok Shibo, July 4, 1960, p. 1.

⁶⁶ "Kyŏngbuk Nohoe, Kyŏngdong Nohoe, Kyŏngsŏh Nohoe."

Campaign to Win Churches

One of the exciting movements in the PCK after the division in 1959 was the vigorous campaign launched by both groups and the missions for the purpose of indoctrinating hundreds of uncommitted churches and Presbyterian institutions, particularly in the rural areas under the name of reconciliation.⁶⁷ Since the top leaders of both sides foresaw the perpetuation of their division, their real interests during the reconciliation period concentrated more on the induction of churches into their respective camps rather than on the reconciliation itself.

On October 28-29, 1959, and November 5-6, 1959, the missionary representatives from the three missions met in Taejŏn and considered the reconciliation effort as top priority in their program. Four teams of missionaries, one member from each mission, toured all the presbyteries, trying to persuade churches of the missions' position and to remove misunderstandings of the ecumenical movement.⁶⁸ Individual missionaries were encouraged by their missions to visit the country churches as much as possible.

In view of the urgent need for a ministry of reconciliation and enlightenment among those who still

⁶⁷The word, reconciliation, often means two different things: first is the reunion of both divided groups, and second, the induction of local churches into their respective camps.

⁶⁸The Annual Reports (1959), p. 102.

suspect us of having departed from the faith of our fathers, rural itineration has assumed a strategic importance in recent months.⁶⁹

The visitation program became the "burden of the year."⁷⁰ One missionary described the job as a "heartache which we carry to every Bible Institute class, every high school English lesson, every committee meeting, every trip to a country church."⁷¹

A large sum of money was appropriated for the reconciliation effort. During 1960-1961, the COEMAR augmented the regular annual budget by \$8,600 for the station and itineration expenses in order to cover the expenses of the missionaries' tours.⁷² The missions granted special gifts and scholarships to the ministers and their families in order to

⁶⁹William A. Grubb, "Annual Report, 1959-1960" (1960), p. 1, in UML.

⁷⁰Benjamin E. Sheldon, "Annual Report for 1960" (n.d.), p. 2, in UML.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), pp. 49, 74.

Regular Appropriations from the COEMAR;

	1960	1961
Station Expenses	\$ 3,600	\$ 3,600
Itineration Expenses	<u>11,400</u>	<u>13,500</u>
Total	\$15,000	\$17,100

Supplementary Appropriations:

Station Expenses	\$ 2,300	\$ 2,300
Itineration Expenses	<u>2,000</u>	<u>2,000</u>
Total	\$ 4,300	\$ 4,300

win them to their side. For many pastors and institutions, it was an auspicious time to get mission money by standing in the neutral position.⁷³ Scholarships were granted to the children of martyrs and rural church workers;⁷⁴ several barrels of powdered milk enticed Korean chaplains.⁷⁵ Many financial requests came from the presbyteries⁷⁶ and other institutions as welfare organizations and Bible Schools. The first condition for them to receive any financial assistance was to identify themselves as belonging to the ecumenical side.⁷⁷

The PCK (NAE) also vigorously launched its campaign to win many churches to their side. After the failure of the

⁷³ Ibid., pp. 48; 63.

⁷⁴ In 1960 \$5,000 was set aside for the educational expenses for country church workers' children and HW 3,027,000 for the scholarship fund for children of the martyrs. Ibid., pp. 38, 40.

⁷⁵ Yoo Chong-chun, a former chaplain in the ROK Army who attended Covenant Seminary in St. Louis made this statement in the course of an interview in April 1968.

⁷⁶ Ten moderators of the Honam presbyteries and nine missionaries met on May 17, 1960, and requested the Church-Mission Conference for \$3,000 for the expenses of retreats in the individual presbyteries and a united retreat for the ministers in the Honam area and for other propaganda expenses. See Kang Mun-ho and Kim Hak-man, "TYC Honam Chiku Nohoechanghoe Hoe ūi rok" (Minutes of the Honam Area Presbyteries' Moderators' Meeting), May 17, 1960, pp. 2-3, in KRC.

⁷⁷ Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 50. When the Chung Kwang Orphanage requested \$500 assistance from the UPM, the Mission replied that they could not grant that money until the Orphanage properly registered where they stood in the conflict.

first "Three Missions Peace Plan," the Forty-fourth General Assembly in Seoul (November 24, 1959) passed a resolution to do extensive visiting to the churches. Rev. J. A. Croft, an Australian Presbyterian missionary who attended the General Assembly as an observer, described the reconciliation plan:

A plan was set up to tour the country holding meetings in every center, to explain the confusion over the Assembly and give an authoritative answer from the rightful Assembly to clear the problems, staying several days in each place. This was decided upon but then some one asked where the money was going to come from (WH 2,000,000).⁷⁸

The money was readily supplied by McIntire's \$120,000 "Christmas Offering."⁷⁹ It was urgent for the NAE leaders to get money from any source in order to match the passionate campaign carried out by the ecumenical group with a large sum of mission money. If the PCK (NAE) had not received this money from the ICCC and another \$100,000 for 1961, it would not have been successful in winning so many churches as it did. Moreover, it was not just the foreign

⁷⁸Croft, p. 5. On January 27, 1960, the moderator of the PCK (NAE), Yang Wha-sŏk, and the chairman of the Reconciliation Committee, Lee Tae-yong, called a meeting to discuss the strategy for the coming campaign among the Church leaders, including the officers of the General Assembly, the twelve members of the Reconciliation Committee, and the moderators of presbyteries. See Yang Wha-sŏk and Lee Tae-Yŏng, "Chŏnghoe Imwon, Susŭp Wiwon, Changno Hoechang ege" (Announcement to the NAE leaders) by the NAE side, January 23, 1960, in CKO.

⁷⁹Supra, p. 73.

money which brought the churches together but it was also the psychological feeling of confidence and victory among the Korean Christians that they had missionary support from America as strong as the ecumenical side had. Dr. McIntire's influence reached its peak in Korea at the end of 1959 and the first half of 1960 when many Christians and Christian leaders who were not adequately informed about the ecumenical movement and the ICCC in general were deeply impressed by McIntire's propaganda. Therefore, the PCK (NAE)'s effort to persuade churches to its side was also successful.

By the summer of 1960, most neutrals had taken their stand, as Dr. Baird, Commission Representative of the COEMAR explained,

By now (July 1960) the lines are fairly clearly drawn in most presbyteries. Practically all presbyteries of the General Assembly have been split. None of our institutions have gone over in toto to the ICCC camp. Split off sections of the Seminary and of some Bible Institutes have gone but no college or academy or hospital is involved. Among the first to go were certain orphanages lured by the prospect of more money from the U. S. (ICCC).⁸⁰

Most of the educational institutions in the cities and many of the rural churches which were receiving mission money followed the ecumenical group. At the time of division in September 1959, the PCK was split 50-50, but the statistics were gradually changing toward the PCK (E) majority.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Minutes of Korea Mission (1960), p. 69.

⁸¹ Infra, Appendix B; Supra, p. 75.

Summary

The reconciliation efforts were initiated by the missionaries. The three missions first proposed the "Three Missions Peace Plan," but the Süngdong Pa rejected it because it did not guarantee the cessation of the ecumenical movement in the PCK. The SPM which maintained a better relationship with the Süngdong Pa than the other missions proposed an eight-point reconciliation plan. This plan made further compromises on the ecumenical side for the Süngdong Pa but was also rejected. The missions declared their neutrality but in reality sided with the Yöndong Pa.

The failure of the reconciliation efforts led the Yöndong Pa to launch a final campaign to win uncommitted churches and wavering churches to the Süngdong Pa through the Reunited Assembly in February 17, 1960. Although both sides engaged in the reconciliation efforts to satisfy popular demand for reunion, their real interest was instead to win churches to their respective sides.

CHAPTER IX

THE REUNION MOVEMENT

Hope for reunion did not disappear with the complete failure of the reconciliation efforts between the ecumenical group and the NAE in early in 1960; both churches continued their talks even after the two separate Forty-fifth General Assemblies in September 1960. After these assemblies, several movements developed which are intimately related to the continuing reunion movement. In the PCK (NAE) further disputes and divisions occurred such as the Bible Presbyterian Church and the Constitutional Presbyterian Church (ICCC) and the reunion-redivision between the PCK (NAE) and Koryo PC which caused disturbances. The PCK (E), too, did not escape dissent; the continual friction between the anti-ecumenical and pro-ecumenical factions produced a power struggle. In spite of these differences and because of the clamor of the laymen, reunion became a vital option to the PCK.

The reunion movement can be considered in three different phases: (1) Escalation of reunion efforts (1961-1966); (2) Period of intensification (1967-1968); (3) Period of Decline (after the Fifty-third General Assembly in September 1968).

Escalation of the Reunion Movement (1961-1966)

The previous reconciliation talks were imposed by top level officials upon the church, while the reunion movement in contrast was largely due to the appeal from the Christian laymen and local ministers in the presbyteries and congregations. Encouraging the top leaders of both sides to continue their talk for reunion, the leaders of the anti-ecumenical group in the PCK (E) appealed to Christians for support. Their hope was that the pro-ecumenical leaders and missionaries who had rejected reconciliation on previous terms might come under popular pressure to make compromises beyond those of the Rev. John E. Talmage's eight-point reconciliation plan.

Since the PCK (NAE) steadfastly believed in its own sole legality, the reunion movement was largely the work of the anti-ecumenical group in the PCK (E). Trying to present compromises on both sides, this anti-ecumenical group had premonitions that the failure of reunion between the two factions would result in a gradual but inevitable association of its own church (PCK-E) with the PCROK because of constant ecumenical pressures imposed upon the Church from the foreign mission boards.¹

One of the stumbling blocks to past reconciliation efforts was the bitter emotional entanglement among the

¹Supra, pp. 125, 131; and Infra, p. 289.

leading ministers of both churches. The proponents of reunion put forth a special effort to foster fellowship and friendship among ministers and laymen of both churches through conferences and dinners. Ministers and neutrals in many presbyteries met and published joint statements favoring reunion. In Seoul on January 2, 1961, a ministers' conference was held to promote friendship and to discuss uniting.² On September 20, 1962, fifty-five ministers from both churches and the neutrals,³ who had organized the Seoul Area Reunion Council, published a joint statement for reunion on the basis of conservative theology and withdrawal from the WCC and the ICCC.

Like the Seoul Area Reunion Council, the proponents of uniting in both Kyŏngbuk and Kyŏngnam Presbyteries also organized Reunion Councils; these Councils caucused to adopt certain propositions for linking the two churches.⁴ In the Honam area the same pattern followed; the ministers in different presbyteries held numerous conferences to promote reunion.⁵

²Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, January 14, 1961, p. 1.

³Some twenty neutral ministers met on September 10, 1962, to promote reunion. Ibid., September 17, 1962, p. 1.

⁴Choi Sŏng-chŏn, "A Study of Contemporary Theological Conflict in the Presbyterian in Korea" (unpublished Ph. M. thesis, Biblical Seminary, New York, 1963), pp. 61-63.

⁵Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, September 3, 1962, p. 1; September 17 and 24, October 15, 1962, p. 1.

This vigorous campaign was passed down from the ministers to their local congregations. In Seoul, for example, about two hundred pastors, elders and Bible women of both churches gathered together for the first time since the 1959 split for fellowship on April 1, 1963. After a brief time of hymn singing and prayer, they went into a period of recreation.⁶ In Taegu elders of both churches met three times in January 1963 under the banner, "We Want a Reunion."⁷ Even the students from both seminaries in Seoul gathered together, held a joint worship service and organized a committee for working out a solution.⁸

With pressure from presbytery and local church levels, the first official talk between the representatives of both churches began in the summer of 1962, even though the Investigation Committee for Reunion was already appointed almost a year previously at the Forty-sixth General Assembly in September 1961.⁹ The first two meetings of the Reunion Committee of both churches on July 31, and August 23, 1962, made no progress because the PCK (E) wanted to join unconditionally while the PCK (NAE) held certain stipulations.¹⁰

⁶Ibid., April 8, 1963, p. 1.

⁷Ibid., January 21, 1963, p. 1.

⁸Ibid., September 24, 1962, p. 1.

⁹Ibid., October 2, 1961, p. 1.

¹⁰Ibid., August 13, 1962, p. 1. Cf. ibid., September 3, 1962, p. 1.

For the third meeting on October 24, both sides submitted their respective reunion plans for discussion. The PCK (NAE) handed in the following conditions:

1. We propose to withdraw from the WCC and the KNCC and shall cooperate for the united work in the country without funds from the WCC.
2. The seminary must maintain the pure Gospel and conservative theology.
3. We welcome missionaries who oppose the WCC movement.¹¹

On the other hand, after the PCK (E) reaffirmed its faith in the Apostles' Creed and the Westminster Confession of Faith, it stated its previous view on the ecumenical issue,

We also encourage our relations with other Christians who believe in the Holy Trinity and try to unite with other divided brethren for the purpose of achieving our common Christian responsibility for unity.¹²

Then it presented the following propositions:

1. We reaffirm the withdrawal from the WCC.
2. The cooperative work within the country will continue as it has been (under the KNCC).
3. Our relationship with the three Presbyterian missions should be made more solid, and we demand the immediate integration of mission policy with the General Assembly.¹³

Again, the ecumenical issue was at stake; the former tried to curtail the Western ecumenical influence through

¹¹Ibid., October 1, 1962, p. 1.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

cutting off mission money, while the latter, although it proposed to withdraw from the WCC, still wanted to relate to the ecumenical movement through the missions which were largely supported by ecumenical money and the KNCC.

When the eighteen members of the Reunion Committee of both sides met to discuss the submitted propositions, they agreed on the withdrawal from the WCC and the reorganization of the seminary after the reunion. However, they still disagreed on two points, the KNCC and the relationship with the missionaries. The meeting was adjourned with a promise to meet again.¹⁴ At the next meeting in Taegu on January 10, 1963, the Committees made a further agreement that the PCK would accept only conservative missionaries, but the remaining disagreement was on the question of the KNCC.¹⁵

Both groups in the Kyongdong Presbytery jointly proposed on August 7, 1964, that reunion ought to be achieved even if the reunited General Assembly would withdraw from the KNCC:

After both reunion committees were elected by both General Assemblies, they were not able to reach an agreement on reunion because of the NCC issue. We certainly feel the importance of the NCC and its united work; however, we believe one more thing much more important and necessary than the NCC, that is the reunion of the divided PCK, and the establishment of brotherly love, because the reunion

¹⁴Ibid., November 5, 1962, p. 1.

¹⁵Kidok Kongbo, January 10, 1963, p. 1.

of the General Assembly is, without any doubt, scriptural, of faith, of good conscience, and also is a good thing for the further growth of our Church.¹⁶

The immediate response of the PCK (NAE) to the resolution of the Kyōngdong Presbytery was one of hearty approval. They declared that such a resolution provided a "God-given opportunity for reunion," and encouraged both Churches not to miss this opportunity.¹⁷ Nevertheless the Kidok Kongbo which was an ecumenical (PCK) weekly newspaper interpreted the Kyōngdong Presbytery resolution as a "trick of the NAE group to try to confuse the church (PCK-E) and break up the ecumenical group."¹⁸

In spite of vigorous campaigning for consolidation among ministers and laymen in the presbyteries under the strong influence of the anti-ecumenical faction in the PCK (E), there was constant opposition from the ecumenical leaders and the missionaries who controlled the General Assembly.¹⁹ The PCK (NAE), on the other hand, had internal

¹⁶ Lee Sang-yong, Hanguk Kidokkyō Nyongam (The Yearbook of Christian Churches in Korea) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1965), pp. 802-804. Cf. Kūrischān Shinmun, August 29, 1968, p. 1. The Kyōngdong Presbytery had approximately 145 churches of which one or two were divided at the time of the 1959 split. In 1962 the Presbytery was divided in which the PCK (E) had 36 churches and 70 unorganized churches with 5,887 baptized members and 23,173 total members, while the PCK (NAE) had 37 churches.

¹⁷ Ibid., September 12, 1964, p. 1.

¹⁸ Kidok Kongbo, September 19, 1964, p. 1.

¹⁹ Infra, pp. 271-275, 277.

difficulties for several years due to continual schismatic division and confusion among the pro and con-ICCC groups, and the PCK (NAE)-Koryŏ Presbyterian Church reunion and division from 1960 to 1963. Consequently, the reunion movement subsided for awhile until 1967.

Examples of Division and Reunion in
Other Denominations in Connection
With the ICCC

Before the writer goes into the climactic period of reunion from 1967 to 1968, it is quite necessary to examine the similar divisions and reunions in the Holiness Church and the Korean Baptist Church. The reasons behind the success of reunion between the divided bodies in these two other denominations provide interesting contrasts with the failures in the PCK.

As in the division of the PCK in 1959, McIntire's ICCC is very intimately related to the split and reunions of the Holiness and Baptist Churches in Korea. Since the division in the PCK in 1959, the ICCC with its mission money gained a strong foothold not only in the PCK (NAE) but also in other denominations. It established an office in Seoul in 1960, and organized the Korean Evangelical Council of Churches (KECC) under Rev. Kim Yun-ch'an and Dr. J. G. Holdcraft.²⁰ The Fourth Far Eastern Council of Churches

²⁰Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, August 28, 1961, p. 2.

Conference was held in Seoul from August 31 to September 6, 1960. The Bible Presbyterian Church and the PCK (NAE) hosted delegates from twelve countries.²¹

Division and Reunion in the Holiness Church

The Holiness Church, known as the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS) Church in the west, was established in Korea in 1907, grew rapidly with a conservative Armenian seminary in Seoul, and became second in size only to the Presbyterian bodies.²² The leaders of the Church clashed on the issue of the KNCC which the Church joined in 1946. Although there is no theological difference in the Church, serious disputes over the ecumenical movement arose because the faculty of the Seoul Seminary and other leaders criticized the ecumenical movement as the PCK (NAE) leaders did. Inspired by the ICCC, the anti-ecumenical leaders demanded withdrawal from the KNCC. At the General Assembly meeting in May 1960, the dispute over the KNCC was so severe that the Assembly decided to postpone a settlement for one year to study the case.²³ Consequently, the anti-ecumenical

²¹Hanguk Kidok Shibo, September 5, 1960, p. 1.

²²Allen D. Clark, History of the Korean Church (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1962), p. 254.

²³Kurischkan Shinmun, July 4, 1960, p. 1, and July 24, 1965, p. 3.

group organized the Holiness Church (anti-ecumenical) on May 15, 1961, and withdrew from the KNCC at the Sixteenth General Assembly on May 30, 1961.²⁴

The Oriental Missionary Society which had worked for more than fifty years with this Church was in an awkward position in the schismatic conflict, because its home churches in America are not in the WCC and yet it had supported the Holiness Church in the KNCC. Therefore, at the time of the split the OMS took a neutral position until the anti-ecumenical group officially joined the ICCC on December 19, 1961.²⁵ The Mission declared that the anti-ecumenical group's joining the ICCC was "a clear separation from the traditional fundamental doctrines which the OMS was held from its beginning,"²⁶ warned them that "the method which the ICCC adopted has brought schisms and conflicts,"²⁷ and exhorted them to withdraw from the ICCC.²⁸

A very important factor in this division of the Holiness Church is that both the OMS and ICCC are outside the WCC and the ecumenical movement. This factor became significant in the achievement of reunion of the divided Holiness Church.

²⁴Ibid., May 29, 1961, p. 2, and June 5, 1961, p. 1.

²⁵Ibid., January 1, 1962, p. 1, and January 8, 1962, p.1.

²⁶Ibid., January 15, 1962, p. 1.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., January 29, 1962, p. 1.

The leaders of the anti-ecumenical group soon realized the divisive characteristics in the ICCC exemplified in the multiple divisions in the PCK (NAE) and the pro-ICCC Presbyterian Churches.²⁹ They felt the imperative necessity for reunion. Subsequently, this led to a reunion movement in the divided Holiness Church.

The Holiness Church (anti-ecumenical) decided to withdraw from all ecumenical organizations such as the WCC, ICCC, KNCC, and KCCC.³⁰ Rev. Lee Song-bong, the best known revivalist in Korea and a former supporter of the ICCC, declared "We must continue to follow the same pattern of faith as the OMS."³¹

On the other hand, most ministers of the Holiness Church (Ecumenical) with the anti-ecumenical OMS' support were willing to leave the KNCC to reconcile with the other side if the latter left the ICCC. In early June of 1965, "The Propositions for Reunion" was jointly drawn by both sides:

1. We leave the ICCC and the KNCC and follow the path of the OMS.
2. We withdraw all lawsuits.

²⁹Supra, pp. 91-98.

³⁰The Korean Council of Christian Churches (KCCC) was organized on May 11, 1965, as a national branch of the ICCC. Kürischan Shinmun, May 15, 1965, p. 3. Supra, p. 265.

³¹Ibid., May 15, 1965, p. 3.

3. Each side abandons its own factional spirit³² and jointly establishes a new General Assembly.

Although there was some opposition from both the ICCC supporters in the anti-ecumenical group and the KNCC supporters in the ecumenical group, the reunion was achieved after a four-year separation at a reunited summer retreat with six hundred ministers.³³ The substantial majority joined the reunited Assembly.³⁴ The consequence of the reunion left two extreme groups, the ICCC and the ecumenical to continue as very small minorities.³⁵

Division and Reunion of the Korean Baptist Church

A similar case is found in the Korean Baptist Church. The Church came to be known as the Korean Christian Church

³²Ibid., July 24, 1965, p. 2.

³³Minutes and Reports of the Korea Mission of the United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1966), p. 25. Kirischan Shinmun, July 24, 1965, p. 3, and July 31, 1965, p. 1.

³⁴According to the official report of the reunited Holiness Church, the total number of 525 churches with 109,000 members in the reunited Holiness Church came from 391 (Ecumenical), 129 (anti-ecumenical) and 5 neutrals. The pro-ICCC group retained 70 churches, and 18 churches claimed neutral. Ibid., January 15, 1965, p. 1. The pro-ICCC group declared the statistics were not right and claimed to have about two hundred fifty churches in 1967. Kidok Shinbo, February 21, 1966, p. 2. It is interesting to notice that the stronghold of the pro-ICCC force is in Seoul where most of the ICCC money is spent.

³⁵Kidok Shinbo, July 19, 1965, p. 1, and July 31, 1965, p. 1.

until 1949 when the Southern Baptist Church in America began to support the Church and changed the name to the Korean Baptist Church.³⁶ The Southern Baptist Mission turned over the mission money to the Korean Convention and not to the missionaries, so the missionaries did not know how the money was spent. By 1955 an annual \$30,000 for pastoral subsidy and \$50,000 for church construction were given to the Convention.³⁷

By 1957, with an increasing number of missionaries, the Southern Baptist Mission in Korea tried to control the money which was turned over to the Korean Baptist Convention.³⁸ As a consequence, a clash resulted between the pro-missionary and anti-missionary groups which led to factionalism in the Baptist Church.³⁹ In April 1959, two separate Conventions were held respectively in Taejon for the pro-missionary group

³⁶Kidokkyō Nyōngam (1968), p. 205.

³⁷Max Willocks, "Christian Missions in Korea" (unpublished Th.M. thesis, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, Strawberry Point, Mill Valley, California, 1962), p. 158. In 1967 the Convention president, Cho Yo-hun, said that the Korean Baptist Church received about \$2,400 monthly from the Southern Baptist Mission. In October 1968 a six-story Baptist Hospital (Wallace Memorial) with 150 beds was dedicated in Pusan. The Southern Baptist Mission supplied ₩150,000,000 (\$600,000) for the hospital. Kūrischān Shinmun, November 16, 1968, p. 3.

³⁸There were fifty-six Southern Baptist missionaries in 1967. Guy Henderson, "The Southern Baptist Mission in Korea," Korea Calling, VII (January 1968), 2, in UML.

³⁹willocks, pp. 16, 165.

and in Pohang for the anti-missionary group.⁴⁰ Thus, the Korean Baptist Church was divided only five months prior to the PCK division.

Since the Korean Baptist Church anti-missionary faction lost the financial support the Southern Baptist Mission, it turned to the ICCC and other conservative groups such as the Everett Swanson Evangelistic Association in America and the Canadian Baptist Church.⁴¹ At the Fifty-first Convention in April 1961, this group officially decided to apply for membership in the ICCC with the condition that "if the membership in the ICCC hinders reunion with other groups, it will withdraw from the ICCC."⁴² However, power struggles developed within the ICCC group in 1967 which threatened the unity of this Church. The trend toward factionalism was strongly reminiscent of the problems of the Bible and Constitutional Presbyterian Churches⁴³ and the Korean Methodist Church for Jesus.⁴⁴

⁴⁰Henderson, p. 2. In 1959 the Korean Baptist Church had 221 churches with 185 church workers and 18,000 constituents. The anti-missionary group claimed 83 churches in 1961. Clark, p. 262.

⁴¹Willocks, p. 166.

⁴²Kürischán Shinmun, April 30, 1961, p. 1.

⁴³Supra, pp. 91-95; 95-98.

⁴⁴Kürischán Shinmun, December 23, 1967, p. 1. Bishop Chun Dok-son of the Korean Methodist Church for Jesus (ICCC), received \$30,000 for the denominational headquarters at the Central Methodist Church in Seoul and a promise of \$1,300 monthly from the ICCC. He vied with Rev. Park Chang-chaе

A reunion movement began in both groups, and the executive committees of both sides met together in Pusan on March 25-26, 1968, to discuss the possibilities. Since the ICCC group was willing to withdraw from that organization in order to restore the former Church, both sides agreed to hold a joint Convention on April 16, 1968, in Seoul.⁴⁵ Although about twenty pro-ICCC ministers refused to join the reunited Convention,⁴⁶ 80 percent of the former pro-ICCC group assented.⁴⁷

Here two important factors must be considered. First, both the reunited Oriental Missionary Society and the reunited Southern Baptist Church are now outside both the WCC and the ICCC. Second, the pro-ICCC Holiness and Baptist groups were willing to withdraw from the ICCC for the sake of harmony. The issue of interdenominational affiliation and the issue of mission money, therefore, were the most serious problems in the endeavor to achieve reunion in these Churches.

in 1966 for the leadership of the Church. The KCCC dropped Bishop Chun and endorsed Mr. Park instead in June 1967. Ibid., May 7, 1966, p. 1, and July 8, 1967, p. 3.

⁴⁵Ibid., April 6, 1968, p. 1.

⁴⁶Ibid., May 25, 1968, p. 1.

⁴⁷Ibid., June 29, 1968, p. 3. Four hundred twenty-five commissioners attended the reunited Convention; 281 represented the Korean Baptist Church (Southern Baptist Mission) which had 141 churches in 18 districts and 130 commissioners from the former pro-ICCC group which had 85 churches in 9 districts. Kurischän Shinmun, April 20, 1968, p. 1.

Pinnacle of Reunion Movement (1967-1968)

The intensive reunion movement in the PCK between 1967-1968 resembled blazing firewood and hope flared up in the PCK. Encouraged by the reunion taking place in the Holiness Church in 1965 and by the strong reunion possibility in the Korean Baptist Church in 1967, most Presbyterian ministers and laymen in both Ecumenical and NAE Churches put forth efforts to achieve their goal. This "wildfire" period for reunion can be attributed to two reasons. For the anti-ecumenical group in the PCK (E) which took the most initiative, it was a case of now or never. If they could not achieve reunion at this time, it might never come in their lifetime. As a Korean proverb says, "If a man leaves home and does not return in ten years, he will never come back."⁴⁸ On the other hand, the PCK (NAE) had faced bitter experiences of continual division and confusion among its own leaders. Many ministers and laymen had acquired more knowledge on the WCC, ICCC and NAE movements and had come to appreciate the ecumenical movement in the light of schismatic discords in the fundamentalist denominations.⁴⁹

While sporadic talks continued between both sides with little progress,⁵⁰ optimism developed with the election of

⁴⁸Ibid., January 31, 1968, p. 1.

⁴⁹Ibid., September 21, 1968, p. 1.

⁵⁰On February 15, 1967, three ministers from both sides met to discuss reunion and lawsuit. On July 21 the

seven men to the Reunion Committee by the PCK (E) General Assembly in September 1967. Of these seven, four⁵¹ were definitely for reunion and were willing to compromise on the ecumenical issue.

The Yŏngnam area in the PCK (E) first took the initiative for reunion under the leadership of Dr. Lee Sang-keun, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Taegu and a member of the Reunion Committee. On December 4, 1967, sixty-six representatives of both groups in the seventeen presbyteries in the Yŏngnam area met at the First Presbyterian Church in Taegu, adopted the "Yŏngnam Reunion Plan" and jointly sent out a letter of "Agreement for Reunion" to all the churches in both bodies.

1. Theological Basis: We uphold the Scriptural faith and maintain the Westminster Confession of Faith and fundamental Calvinistic theology.
2. Ecumenical Movement: We recognize the necessity of the ecumenical movement as God's will for divided contemporary Churches, but at the same time we also feel that a segment of the ecumenical movement carries theology to the radical left which destroys the Church internally; therefore, the ecumenical movement must be carried according to the Scriptural basis.
 - a. In relation to the WCC, we continue to maintain the withdrawal from the WCC which both General Assemblies adopted.

representatives from both groups discussed the ecumenical issue and the KNCC but came to no agreement. In September thirty-seven ministers from both sides around the Rev. Lee Tae-chun (E) and Rev. Lee Whan-su (NAE) agreed that the KNCC will be solved after the reunion.

⁵¹Ibid., September 30, 1967, p. 1.

- b. In relation to the KNCC, while we remain in the KNCC, we will try to reorganize it (according to the size of the Churches) and make it evangelical, independent, and free (from foreign influence). However, if we are not able to achieve these objectives we will withdraw from it.
3. Relation to the Missions: We show our deep appreciation to the Mission At the same time, after eighty years of mission history, during which our Church gained its independent characteristics, she still requests assistance from the Missions.
- a. All missionary fraternal workers must be accepted according to the faith in our Constitution, and ordained men will become members of the presbytery and exercise their equal rights at the General Assembly as national ministers.
- b. All mission money will be submitted to the General Assembly (Treasury Department) without any condition.⁵²

Forty-three ministers from the PCK (NAE) and twenty-six of the PCK (E) signed the plan and the Kyōngbuk Presbytery (PCK-E) passed it by 96 to 15.⁵³

The next phase of the Reunion Movement was the formulation of the official "1968 Reunion Plan" for the Small Committee which consisted of six men elected from both Reunion Committees. It is significant to note that all three men from the PCK (E)⁵⁴ were pro-reunion leaders who were willing

⁵²Kidokkyō Nyōngam (1968), pp. 570-573.

⁵³Kūrischān Shinmun, March 16, 1968, p. 1.

⁵⁴The three Small Committee members represented the three main areas of the PCK (E): the Rev. Lee Tae-chun, the Seoul-Kyōnggi Area; Dr. Lee Sang-kūn, the Yongnam Area, and Rev. La Dōk-whan, the Honam Area.

to compromise. At their first meeting on January 4, 1968, in Taejon, they held a discussion on the basis of the "Yongnam Reunion Plan" and came to an agreement except for two areas: the mission money and the seminary problem.⁵⁵

The Small Committee completely ironed out the differences on February 14-15,⁵⁶ and published a joint statement of the "1968 Reunion Plan." This new plan was based on the "Yongnam Reunion Plan" of December 4, 1967, with minor changes:

2. Ecumenical Movement:

- a. In relation to the WCC, we reaffirm our withdrawal from the WCC . . . and stop sending delegates to any organization of the WCC.
- b. In relation to the KNCC, we will try to reorganize the KNCC (according to the size of the Churches) to be evangelical, independent and free (from foreign influence). However, if we are not able to achieve these objectives in two years, we will withdraw from it.

3. Relation to the Missions:

- a. All missionary fraternal workers should swear to the doctrinal creed of our Church and choose between transferring membership from their home church or becoming merely unofficial members of the General Assembly.
- b. Mission money would come directly under the General Assembly. The General Assembly must not impede the spirit of self-support through the use of mission dollars.

⁵⁵ Ibid., January 20, 1968, p. 1. There was another meeting of the Small Committee on January 23-24. Ibid., January 27, 1968, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Among the seven members in the Reunion Committee in the PCK (E), at least two (Dr. Han Kyōng-chik and Rev. Kang Shin-myōng) opposed the Plan; there was not a unanimous agrment for the Plan in the Reunion Committee.

4. Seminary Problem: The new Board of Trustees would be elected with equal representation (seven men) from each side and reorganize the seminary. There shall be an equal number of professors from both sides. The members of the Board and the professors would swear to the first proposition of this plan.⁵⁷

Besides the Reunion Plan, the Small Committee also set up a timetable for the coming reunited Assembly. They designated March 1, 1968, as the day for both General Assemblies in Paejon to pass the 1968 Reunion Plan. By April 16th, both Assemblies planned to sound out the local presbyteries and receive reactions from them, and on April 30th, the reunited Assembly would meet in Seoul.⁵⁸

Mass Campaign for Reunion

The anti-ecumenical group in the PCK (E) and the NAE group stepped up their campaign for universal acceptance of this Reunion Plan with popular support from the Christians all over the land. Many ministerial and Christian laymen conferences and fellowship meetings were held in numerous presbyteries to promote the plan.

In the Kyongsang Province Dr. Lee Sang-kŭn (PCK-E) in Taegu and Rev. Noh Chin-hyŏn (NAE) in Pusan were the chief leaders in this movement. In Pusan the ministers of both

⁵⁷ PCK (E) and PCK (NAE), Reconciliation Committees, "TYC Chonghoe (Haptong-Tonghap) Haptongan" (Reunion Plan [Ecumenical-NAE] of the PCK), February 15, 1968, in KRC.

⁵⁸ Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, February 24, 1968, p. 1.

sides met and elected the officers of their local Reunion Committee on February 19.⁵⁹

Similar intensive efforts took place in the Honam area. Twenty-eight representatives of seven presbyteries in the Honam area met on February 22nd and agreed to go forward with the Plan.⁶⁰ Individual presbyteries held their meetings, too. On January 26, 1968, fifteen representatives of both sides in the Sunchun Presbyteries agreed to establish a reunion committee at the April presbytery meeting;⁶¹ in Kwangju both sides elected twelve men into the reunion committee on February 26th.⁶² In the Chungnam Presbytery both sides also met on January 3rd and adopted a similar reunion plan to that of the "Yŏngnam Reunion Plan."⁶³

Since the ecumenical group in the PCK (E) has its stronghold in Seoul with all the mission offices and a large number of missionaries, the pro-reunion groups concentrated their efforts in this capital city. Numerous meetings of ministers, elders, and Christians were held during the first

⁵⁹Ibid., March 2, 1968, p. 1.

⁶⁰Ibid., March 9, 1968, p. 1.

⁶¹Ibid., February 10, 1968, p. 1. On January 9, 1968, 36 ministers and elders of both sides in the Sunchŏn Presbytery agreed to the "Yŏngnam Reunion Plan" of December 4, 1967, and declared a joint statement for reunion. Ibid., January 27, 1968, p. 1.

⁶²Ibid., March 9, 1968, p. 1.

⁶³Ibid., January 20, 1968, p. 1.

four months of 1968 to increase pressure over the opponents of reunion.⁶⁴

In the midst of this intensive reunion movement an important but discordant meeting took place attended by some one hundred ten ministers and Christian workers of the PCK (E) at Saemunan Church in Seoul on February 5th. In spite of stiff opposition from the minority ecumenical group that controlled the General Assembly, the majority voted for the adoption of the plan.⁶⁵ Realizing the leaders' opposition to the plan, the reunion campaign workers added more fuel for the final push towards their goal.

Approximately one hundred twenty ministers and elders met on February 26th and made a three-point declaration:

1. The reunion must be achieved. . . .
2. We support the Reunion Plan (1968) of the Reunion Committee.
3. The General Assembly must be called immediately.
 ⁶⁶

There were many other meetings which enlisted hundreds of ministers and Christian laymen in the cause.⁶⁷ Even some of

⁶⁴Kidok Shinbo, February 20, 1968, p. 3.

⁶⁵Ibid., February 20, 1968, p. 1.

⁶⁶Ibid., March 2, 1968, p. 1.

⁶⁷Some of the main joint meetings for reunion and fellowship are listed: On March 4, 1968, some six hundred ministers and Christians of both sides had a joint worship service and heard a sermon "Let us be one" by Rev. Lee Ki-hyök, a former moderator of the General Assembly of the PCK (E). Kidok Shinbo, March 9, 1968, p. 1. Thirty-seven elders of both Churches met on February 12, and declared a joint statement

the seminary professors (PCK-E) and students rallied for reunion.⁶⁸

Disgusted after nine years of separation between the two Presbyterian Churches and encouraged by the reunion achieved in the Holiness Church and the Korean Baptist Church, the majority of the ministers and Christians supported the reunion. Certainly, all the NAE group fully accepted the Reunion Plan, and the anti-ecumenical group in the PCK (E) labored hard to propagandize the merits of the plan. The majority of Christians, who neither understood nor cared about the differences of both Churches, wanted reunion.

Lee Ki-hyŏk, a former moderator of the PCK (E) said approximately eighty percent of his Church desired reunion and even among the twenty percent who ostensibly showed their opposition, ten percent were really for reunion.⁶⁹

Dr. Lee Sang-kŭn agreed with Rev. Lee that 80 percent of his denomination (PCK-E) desired consolidation and stated that even among the opponents some had merely political reasons for their negative reactions.⁷⁰

for reunion. Ministers and Christians in the Inchon area also held meetings on January 2, February 24, and March 11 to support the movement. Kŭrischān Shinmun, January 20, 1968, p. 1. See ibid., March 9, 1968, p. 1. Kidok Shinbo, March 23, 1968, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Kŭrischān Shinmun, March 16, 1968, pp. 1-2. Ibid., December 23, 1968, p. 7. Dr. Han Chol-ha and Prof. To Yang-sŏl supported the Reunion Plan.

⁶⁹ Ibid., April 13, 1968, p. 1.

⁷⁰ Kidok Shinbo, April 13, 1968, p. 1.

Opposition to Reunion Movement

With 80 percent popular support from the PCK (EO and 100 percent from the PCK (NAE), it seemed highly probable that the cementing of the two churches would finally occur. Nevertheless, the small minority of ecumenical leaders who were in control of the General Assembly manipulated the situation with the support of the Missions to avoid the calling of the General Assembly on March 1st.

The opponents of reunion spent a busy February and March in order to persuade church leaders to join with them in opposition to the reunion. The opponents caucused at the Pierson Bible Institute in Seoul after the church leaders' (PCK-E) discordant meeting at the Saemunan Church on February 5th.⁷¹ Around this time the former moderators of the PCK (E) also met at the Yongnak Church to discuss the Reunion Plan.⁷²

On February 20th, about fifty leaders of the PCK (E) including the General Assembly officers, former moderators, and the moderators of presbyteries met for seven hours and discussed four major problem areas in the plan: (1) The phrase "Fundamental Calvinistic Theology" should be eliminated, (2) the KNCC must continue as before, (3) the matters on missionaries should be considered after September 1969 (because

⁷¹ supra, p. 271.

⁷² Kürischkan Shinmun, February 10, 1968, p. 2.

the 1964 Mutual Agreement expired at this time) and (4) the seminary should be gradually reorganized toward complete merger. The dominant mood among the ministers in this meeting was one of "caution."⁷³

Above all, the basic problem that still bothered them was the ecumenical movement. One of the chief spokesmen against the Reunion Plan, Dr. Han Kyōng-chik, succinctly expressed the common feeling of ecumenical leaders in his Church.

Although I believe in the Christian unity and a fellowship among Christians in the Lord according to the Scriptural teaching, this "Reunion Plan" does not express this spirit. This plan not only cuts off our relation with other Christians in the world but also withdraws from the KNCC, if things do not go our way. This violates the teaching of the Apostles' Creed and the fellowship of Christians.⁷⁴

In order to prevent the calling of the General Assembly on March 1st, the ecumenical leaders warned the Christians against making a hasty decision on the quick merger.

From the past experience of reunion and redivision between the Sūngdong Pa and the Koryō Pa, our reunion will not last. . . .

The Reunion Plan still has some problematic issues unsolved, and we must be very careful. . . .

There is no preparation of the heart (for reunion)
⁷⁵

⁷³ Ibid., February 24, 1968, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Ibid., March 16, 1968, p. 1. The session of Dr. Han's Yōngnak Church in Seoul published a three-point statement on February 26, 1968 that the ecumenical movement must continue nationally and internationally as before. Changno Hoebo (Presbyterian Journal), March 25, 1968, p. 2.

⁷⁵ Kūrischān Shinmun, February 10, 1968, p. 1. Cf.

Regardless of the severe opposition from these leaders, the next step which the proponents of reunion took in both churches was to let the moderators of the two General Assemblies call their respective assemblies on March 1st. The PCK (NAE) held their Assembly in Taejon according to the scheduled time in the Reunion Plan, but the moderator of the General Assembly in the PCK (E) refused to call the meeting.⁷⁶ On March 4th, five of the seven members in the Reunion Committee (PCK-E) and six other leaders met to discuss the call of the Assembly. The majority (except two) agreed to request the moderator to call the Assembly.⁷⁷ Lee Tae-jun, chairman of the Reunion Committee in the PCK (E), also received majority support from the Reunion Committee (four out of seven). The next day, Lee sent a formal request to Moderator Kim Yoon-shik to call the General Assembly of the PCK (E) which was already five days late.⁷⁸ Several petitions from different presbyteries urged the moderator to call the Assembly immediately.⁷⁹

Kidok Shinbo, March 16, 1969, p. 3.

⁷⁶On February 13, Dr. Lee Sang-kun of Taegu requested the ecumenical leaders in his Church to cooperate to call the General Assembly, but the moderator refused to do so because of difference of opinion in the Church. Kidok Shinbo, February 17, 1968, p. 1.

⁷⁷Kürischkan Shinmun, March 9, 1968, p. 1.

⁷⁸Kidok Shinbo, March 16, 1968, p. 3.

⁷⁹At the 82nd Kyöngbuk Presbytery meeting, 90 ministers and 81 elders voted on a resolution to urge the moderator to call the General Assembly by 119 to 26. The Kyöngsökh

Nevertheless, the moderator continued to reject the request and argued that the majority of sixty Church leaders who met on February 20th⁸⁰ showed their concern to be cautious in this matter of calling the General Assembly and that four of seven in the Reunion Committee was not enough to call the General Assembly.⁸¹ He referred the final decision of the matter to fifteen men, seven of whom were from the Reunion Committee and eight from the Consultative Committee. This was a way of blocking the call for a General Assembly.⁸² On April 1st, fourteen⁸³ out of fifteen members met. They were divided between calling the Assembly (eight votes) and not calling it (four votes, with two neutral).⁸⁴ However, the meeting ended without any conclusion, and consequently, the whole matter went back to the moderator for the final decision.⁸⁵ Refusing repeatedly to call the General Assembly,

Presbytery requested the same on March 13, 1968. Kidok Shinbo, March 23, 1968, p. 1. The elders' fellowship organization in Seoul made a statement for the same purpose and interpreted the idea of "caution" as a "camouflage of opposition," on March 21, 1968. Kürischán Shinmun, March 30, 1968, p. 1.

⁸⁰ Supra, p. 280.

⁸¹ "Reasons to be Cautious in Calling the General Assembly," Changno Whoebo, March 25, 1968, p. 1.

⁸² Kidok Shinbo, March 23, 1968, p. 1.

⁸³ Rev. Kan Shin-myǒng was absent. Kürischán Shinmun, April 6, 1968, p. 1.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

the moderator announced that he would soon leave the country to attend the General Assemblies of the UPCUSA in May and of the PCUS in June.⁸⁶

As a consequence, matters depended on the coming General Assembly in September 1968, and until that time the ecumenical leaders could manipulate the situation in order to reverse the reunion trend. Therefore, the strenuous effort, time and money spent for the 1968 Reunion Plan went down the drain.

Missions' Response and the Ecumenical Entanglement

Immediate responses of individual missionaries at the height of the reunion movement were varied. Some missionaries felt that it would be disastrous for the PCK to miss this opportunity to be reunited. Dr. George Thompson Brown of SPM said, "a failure to reunite now would be a tragedy indeed."⁸⁷ Rev. John E. Talmage also told three NAE leaders that the PCK must reunite, even though she cuts off her relationship with the Missions; she must not be influenced by the missionaries.⁸⁸

Meanwhile, the three missions also showed their favorable attitude toward the movement, but took a stance of

⁸⁶Kidok Shinbo, April 13, 1968, p. 1.

⁸⁷George Thompson Brown, "Korea: Assessment and Evaluation," Annual Meeting of the Asia Department Division of Overseas Ministries, April 3, 1968, p. 8, in BWM.

⁸⁸Kidok Shinbo, February 10, 1968, p. 1.

non-interference, leaving the matter to the Korean Church to decide. The three missions jointly published a statement that described their attitude:

1. We have always prayed for the spiritual and organic reunion of the PCK, and welcome their recent efforts for the reunion of these Churches.
2. We consider this (reunion) as a matter which the PCK would independently decide and we shall not interfere.
3. The Three Missions sincerely want to cooperate with the independent PCK. Our Three Missions point out the continuous responsibility of our Churches (home churches) to work with our sister Churches (in the mission fields) according to the Agreement. Presently, this policy is expressed in the Mutual Agreement in Korea and is carried out by the DCW.
4. We pray that the Lord may continue to work through the Holy Spirit toward reunion for His glory.⁸⁹

However, in this statement two main questions are raised; first, according to point 3 whether the missions would endorse the reunion on the basis of the 1968 Reunion Plan and second, whether the reunion is totally an internal matter which the PCK could independently decide without any external influences.

It was soon discernible that the three missions had little intention of endorsing the Reunion Plan. Song Gapshik, chairman of the Christian Education Department in the General Assembly (PCK-E), attended the UP Missionary meeting

⁸⁹ Kürischán Shinmun, February 10, 1968 (special issue), p. 1. The four-point statement of the SPM on February 7, on the reunion movement was slanted more towards a willingness to compromise and cooperate than that of the later Three Missions' joint statement.

on February 4, 1968, and later expressed to the Korean Church the Missions' disagreement with the Reunion Plan. The missionaries wanted to maintain their voting membership in the General Assembly and not be merely unofficial speaking members. They also refused to hand the control of the mission money over to the General Assembly. One veteran missionary declared at the meeting, "We cannot give our mission money to those who do not give us the right (to vote). There are many other countries besides Korea where this money can be spent."⁹⁰

Furthermore, point 3 of the missions' statement brings out the same ecumenical entanglement. It was also evident that the missions did interfere in the reunion movement and that reunion was not a matter which the Korean Church could decide independently of the Missions.

In order to understand the above two questions, the recent ecumenical development in the Korean Church since the 1959 division must be amplified. The most successful ecumenical institution which was established by the TEF's financial subsidy in 1965 is the Graduate School of Theology in Yonsei University with its ecumenical motto:

1. We study theology together

⁹⁰Kidok Shinbo, February 10, 1968, p. 1. In answer to this statement the Rev. Lee Tae-chun sharply criticized the missionary, "Is that money yours? How can you say such a statement as an individual?" Ibid.

2. We worship together.
3. We work in mutual fellowship.
4. We serve the Church together.
5. We dream the future together.⁹¹

With large sums of mission money, the ecumenical outreach of this institution was very effective, particularly in theological education and parish and literature ministries.

There have been many other ecumenical efforts by the international ecumenical organizations in which the three Presbyterian missions are vitally related. For example, the ecumenical missions and the KNCC had a joint project to construct a new inter-denominational building in the fall of 1967 for various ecumenical agencies in the Korean Church such as the General Assembly (PCK-E) office, the Christian Literature Society, the KNCC, the Inter-Presbyterian Mission Offices, and the Christian Academy. Mission money provided 40 percent (\$230,000) of the total cost of the project.⁹²

While the ecumenical movement was vigorously operating in the Korean Church, a new campaign for the restoration of the PCK (E) into the WCC arose in the fall of 1967 at the same time as the reunion workers intensified their efforts. In September, ten young ministers tried to lay a foundation

⁹¹Kim Chŏng-chun, editor, Hyŏndae wa Shinhak (Theology and Modern Times) (Seoul: Yŏnsei University, 1964), I, 203.

⁹²Brown, p. 7.

for the restoration of relations between the PCK (E) and the WCC. They met stiff opposition from older ministers and the anti-ecumenical group in the Church.⁹³ After the failure of the reunion movement the number of those who urged return to the WCC increased. In the Seoul Presbytery temporary meeting on August 22, 1968, 124 delegates signed favoring restoration of relations to the WCC.⁹⁴

In fact, even though both Ecumenical and NAE Assemblies resolved to withdraw from the WCC after the 1959 split, the PCK (E) did not send an official notice of withdrawal to the WCC. The WCC still had the name of the stated clerk, Kim Sang-kwŏn (NAE) of the 1958 General Assembly on its rolls in 1968.⁹⁵ A missionary stated in his letter, "When this division (1959) could not be prevented it was felt wisest not to forward official word of the action of the General Assembly withdrawing from the WCC."⁹⁶

The real interest of the mission boards in the reunion movement, therefore, was not in restoring relations between the PCK (E) and the PCK (NAE) but rather between the PCK (E) and the PCROK. A number of ministers in the PCK (E) who had

⁹³ Bogŭm Shinmun (Gospel Times), September 10, 1967, p. 3. Kidokkyŏ Nyŏngam (1968), p. 557.

⁹⁴ Kŭrischán Shinmun, August 24, 1968, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Kidok Shinbo, February 10, 1968, p. 1. Cf. Kŭrischán Shinmun, August 21, 1961, p. 1.

⁹⁶ L. Newton Thurber, "Letter to the COEMAR," dated February 14, 1968, p. 2, in UML.

graduated from the Hanguk Seminary (PCROK) launched a campaign in April 1961 for reunion between their Church and the PCROK, but the moderator discouraged them from having unofficial reunion meetings with the other Church.⁹⁷

Dr. Theophilus Taylor⁹⁸ highly praised Hanguk Seminary and the College of Theology, Yŏnsei University.

Looking at the situation quite objectively, there is little question that of all the theological schools in Korea, unless it be Hanguk Seminary, Yonsei is the most deserving of a TEF grant.⁹⁹

The seminaries of the UPCUSA grant scholarships to ministers of both the PCK (E) and PCROK, and increasingly there have been dialogues among the leaders of the PCK (E), the PCROK and the Methodist Church under the missions' supervision.¹⁰⁰

In 1964 the General Assembly of the PCK (E) adopted a pulpit exchange policy with the PCROK and decided to drop the denominational Sunday School material and to unify the material with the PCROK and the Methodist Church.¹⁰¹ One of the PCK (NAE) leaders observed the relationship between the PCK (E) and the PCROK, "There is an ideological harmony

⁹⁷ Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, May 29, 1961, p. 1. Cf. ibid., August 21, 1961, p. 1.

⁹⁸ Supra,

⁹⁹ Theophilus Taylor, "Survey of Theological Education in Korea, 1961-1962" (New York: COEMAR, n.d.), p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, March 23, 1968, p. 1. Cf. ibid. January 27, 1968, p. 1.

in the leadership of these two Churches, and the only thing holding off reunion is time."¹⁰²

Under these conditions, where the Missions and their home boards were determined to push their ecumenical thrust into the Korean Church at the cost of division, reunion between the PCK (E) and the PCK (NAE) was impossible.

Some ecumenical leaders themselves bore testimony to this fact. Dr. Kim Chŏng-chun, president of the United Graduate School of Theology said,

I appeal to the conscience of those in the Missions which work in Korea. . . . They [missionaries] must not leave the Korean Church divided any longer. I don't want them to escape their own responsibility by saying that the decision of reunion is in the hands of the Koreans.¹⁰³

Rev. Cho Hyang-rok came to the same conclusion, "For the achievement of reunion, the cooperation of the missionaries and the boards is necessary."¹⁰⁴ Dr. Han Chol-ha, a prominent professor at the PCK (E) Seminary in Seoul said,

¹⁰¹ Minutes of Korea Mission (1965), p. 27.

¹⁰² Chŏng Kyu-oh, A personal taped report on the division of the PCK (Kwangju, November 13, 1968).

¹⁰³ Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, September 21, 1968, p. 2. Cf. ibid., June 4, 1962, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Cho Hyang-nok, "Hyŏkshin kwa Tonghap ūl Chŏhae hanŭn Yowŏn" (Elements that Make Renewal and Unity Fail), Kidokkyo Sasang, VIII (May 1964), 58. During the early years of reunion movement in 1961 and 1962, the Reunion Councils in the Seoul and Taegu areas also warned the missions and their home boards to be neutral and cooperative toward reunion. Seoul Area Reunion Council, "Chŏnghoe Haptong Hosomun" (Petition for the Reunion of the General Assembly), September 20, 1962, in CKO. Cf. Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, September 17, 1962, p. 1.

The PCK must not be divided by the influence of international organizations such as the WCC, the NAE and the ICCC. First we need unity among ourselves and only then should we consider the international organization.¹⁰⁵

Discouraged by the failure to call the General Assembly on March 1, 1968, the last-ditch attempt that the anti-ecumenical group tried was to influence the General Assembly in September.¹⁰⁶ The control of the Fifty-third General Assembly became very significant to both factions. The PCK (NAE) also wanted to make its maximum influence felt on the Ecumenical Assembly and announced the time and place for the Fifty-third Assembly to be the same as that of the PCK (E). For six months from March to September both factions in the PCK (E) attempted with zealous fervor to control the coming General Assembly. Dr. John Coventry Smith, General Secretary of the COEMAR, and Dr. P. D. Miller, Moderator of the General Assembly (1968) in the PCUS, announced their plan to attend the Assembly.¹⁰⁷

The most important issue at the General Assembly was the election of moderator between Lee T'ae-chun (anti-ecumenical), chairman of the Reunion Committee and Choi Kŏ-dŏk (ecumenical), incumbent vice-moderator. Choi received 181 out of 255 votes and became moderator while another

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, September 21, 1968, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Dr. Smith announced the cancellation of his visit to Korea a few days before the General Assembly.

ecumenical leader, Ahn Kwang-kuk was elected vice-moderator.¹⁰⁸ Discouraged anti-ecumenical leaders presented a motion to adjourn the General Assembly to have a reunited Assembly with the NAE group, but the Assembly with its ecumenical majority tabled the motion to the Investigation Committee.¹⁰⁹

Thus, the reunion movement came to an end. Hundreds of meetings, thousands of dollars, countless hours, and herculean efforts went for naught. Dr. Lee Sang-kūn, the leader of the Reunion movement in the Kyōngbuk area expressed his feeling over the situation,

The collision of feelings and lack of mutual understanding among the leaders of both churches are not completely healed and contributed to one of the major causes of the failure of reunion.¹¹⁰

Summary

After the mission-initiated reconciliation efforts failed, the reunion movement continued at the popular demand of Christian laymen and ministers. This movement came to its climax in the early months of 1968 but the ecumenical minority that controlled the General Assembly succeeded in bringing about the downfall of the reunion movement.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., September 28, 1968, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Lee Sang-kūn, "Letter to writer," dated October 13, 1968.

As in the case of the split in 1959 when the Korean Church leaders were mainly responsible for the division, so must the Koreans bear the same responsibility for the failure of reconciliation and reunion. However, external influences were also at work. Those mission boards and missionaries who favored the ecumenical movement as well as the mission dollars they controlled were important factors in the downfall of reunion, just as in the initial division. The influence of the ICCC and its funds had been equally harmful on the NAE side.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The rapid growth of Christianity in Korea has intimate relations with the political, social, and religious conditions of the country. The Korean Church has been characterized as a suffering Church for many decades. During the Japanese occupation in Korea for thirty-six years and the Korean War, the Church went through physical, mental, material, and spiritual agonies like the early Christian Church in the first three centuries. However, the Korean Church was able to survive and to grow in spite of (or because of) persecutions.

With the political and religious freedom at the end of World War II, the Korean Church not only continued to grow in number but also in denominations. Zealous fundamental faith in the Bible which looked to the eschatological hope during the long years of religious persecution and economic poverty has multiplied the numerous sects and denominations. New mission organizations from the West flooded the nation after 1945 establishing their respective Churches.

The PCK which was started by the four main Presbyterian Missions at the latter part of the nineteenth century also came under the influence of schism since the liberation of

Korea from Japan. Before 1959 there were two major divisions in the PCK largely on the theological issues between the extreme right and left, each of which represented about fifteen percent of the main body of the PCK.

The most serious division in the PCK occurred in 1959 between the ecumenical and the NAE factions. The split was about 50-50 at the time of the division. There were further dissensions and divisions in the NAE group under the influence of the ICCC.

In analyzing the causes for the multiple divisions in the PCK, the writer goes into a twofold investigation: internal and external causes. Among the internal causes there are non-theological factors, such as the traditional Confucian conservative element, factionalism as a national trait, and provincialism. A change of theological position from the old traditional conservatism to a more progressive and liberal approach was felt in the PCK. Political instability, extreme economic poverty, and rapid social changes also gave the Korean Church a perverted sense of direction. Above all, the power struggle among the church leaders became one of the most important factors for divisions and the failure of the reconciliation-reunion movement.

External factors were busily at work in the PCK. The influence of mission money and the ecumenical movement became decisive causes for the downfall of unity in the PCK. These forces are so subtle that they are sometimes not

readily observable. Multiple divisions in the Western Churches have caused the PCK to follow suit. Behind almost every schism is the influence of the missionary with his mission dollars.

These internal causes and external influences are also seen in the complete failure of the reconciliation efforts and the reunion movement in the PCK. The leaders of both the PCK (NAE) and the PCK (E) had already determined their respective courses without any compromise on the major issues, especially on the ecumenical movement.

Future Prospect

After the traumas of split and attempted reconciliation and reunion, it appears that the PCK is emotionally weary of any more fruitless haranguing and the reunion movement will fail. The real hope for harmony in the Korean Church remains in the hands of the younger generation who are progressively minded. In this age of ecumenical fervor the ecumenical movement with its powerful mission money will continue to expand in Korea; however, as long as it does not convince local congregations that the ecumenical movement is necessary for church unity, it will always stand in the periphery.

In the anti-ecumenical camp, on the other hand, a growing concern and cooperation among the conservative Churches in Korea has already made itself felt.¹ McIntire's ICC

¹Leaders of seven ultra-conservative denominations met

has lost most of its influence except for a few small denominations.² The two strongest forces in the anti-ecumenical group are the PCK (NAE) and the Koryŏ PC.

As the PCK (E) and the PCROK are drawn closer, the relationship between the PCK (NAE) and the Koryŏ PC will improve because the two major ecumenical Presbyterian Churches in America are supporting the PCK (E) and the PCROK, while the other anti-ecumenical Presbyterian Churches in America are supporting the PCK (NAE) and the Koryo PC.³

It seems that the PCK (E) and the PCK (NAE) have a choice between two alternatives; first, the continuation of the present trend in which both Churches perpetuate their separate ways under missionary and ecumenical pressures or second, gradual elimination of foreign influence with the nurture of independence in financial support and government, which will gradually restore harmony between these two major Protestant denominations in Korea.

on April 18, 1967, to discuss the formation of the Taehan Kidokkyŏ Yŏnhaphoe (the Council of Christian Churches in Korea) in contrast to the KNCC and finalized the organization in December 1967. See Kidok Shinbo, April 22, 1967, p. 1, and January 27, 1968, p. 1. The Council of Christian Churches in Korea sponsored the first conference of the Asian Conservative Churches Association in Seoul on July 22-25, 1968, which drew forty-seven foreigners from thirteen Asian nations. See ibid., July 27, 1968, p. 1.

²The KCCC has seven small denominations. See Kidokkyo Nyŏngam (1967), p. 566.

³Supra, pp. 131-132.

The writer's preference is the latter. He is not primarily interested in the proliferation of denominations, but rather in the basic unity of the majority of Christians. As there are approximately two hundred fifty Protestant bodies in America today, so the number of small denominations will multiply in Korea according to the pattern of past Church history since the Reformation. However, there must not be a wide cleavage in the major denomination as in the case of the PCK. Both the PCK (E) and the PCK (NAE) had almost equal membership in 1968⁴ which means that the split has been down the middle.

Although the writer is a firm believer in the ecumenical movement today, he does not want to see the largest Presbyterian Church in Asia divided because of the ecumenical issue, for regardless of how important the ecumenical movement may be, it is secondary to mission and evangelism in the Church. It would be a disastrous consequence to the Church of Jesus Christ for the two largest Protestant Churches in Korea to accuse each other in front of a 90-percent non-Christian audience. Therefore, it is the writer's conviction that the two main Church bodies must reunite at any cost.

A common topic among Christians and ministers nursing schismatic wounds has been how the Korean Church can become a self-supporting and autonomous body without dominant

⁴Infra, Appendix

foreign influence. How soon can the Korean Church stand on her own feet?⁵ According to the writer's opinion, the first prerequisite for real church unity among the Korean Churches is the gradual elimination of foreign power in the Korean Church through mission money and the ecumenical movement. Although the mission money will be still needed in the educational institutions to meet the contemporary standard of higher education, it must gradually come into the hands of the national Church, because the present equal representation of missionaries and nationals in the DCW is not satisfactory.⁶ Without question, there is a practical problem in handing over a large amount of money from one institution to another without any transfer of demands.

One encouraging sign in the matter of self-support is the economic growth of the nation in recent years. Since the war in South Vietnam in which the Republic of Korea has actively engaged with 50,000 troops and 15,000 skilled

⁵ Kürischán Shinmun, January 13, 1968, p. 1. In 1962 the General Assembly of the PCROK voted to decline the mission money from the Canadian Mission because of power struggle within the Church, but this action brought further complications and disputes among the leaders of the Church. Ibid., September 3, 1962, p. 1.

⁶ Moderator Kim Yun-shik of the PCK (E) also urged the missions to hand the mission dollars over to the hands of the Koreans as soon as possible, because the Korean Church is mature enough to handle the money herself. Ibid., January 3, 1968, p. 1. The Korean Methodist Church and her foreign mission changed their mission policy. All the mission funds including the missionary salaries come directly under the Korean Methodist Church. Ibid.

workers, the national revenue increased sharply. The national income which was sent from the Koreans in South Vietnam from January 1966 to August 1968 was \$302,200,000 and for the first eight months of 1968 alone reached \$107,013,000.⁷

Korean industry has also grown remarkably and many foreign firms have invested their money in Korea. Exports have been boosted from \$33 million in 1960, to \$320 million in 1967, and include such items as textile goods, electric appliances, hard wood, plywood, human hair and tuna fish.⁸

One missionary describes the economic growth of South Korea:

Today, Seoul glitters at night like New York. Economic growth is jumping eight percent a year, exports are growing an incredible forty percent a year. Korean radios undersell the Japanese in Africa; her sweaters compete with Scottish woolens in Sweden. . . .⁹

With the growth of the Korean economy, the financial subsidy from the foreign missions also declined, in spite of missionaries' constant requests for more mission money. For example, the UPM's amount of money that is officially handled dropped down from \$2,600,000 in 1961 to \$1,285,000 in

⁷Dong A Ilbo, September 16, 1968, p. 2.

⁸"South Korea," The Asian Student, XVII (September 28, 1968), 2.

⁹Samuel H. Moffett, "Letter to the COEMAR," dated January 25, 1967, in UML.

1964.¹⁰ However, the UPM's financial assistance hit a plateau from 1965 to 1968 with \$920,000 annually.¹¹

A viable option to solve the economic problems of the Church according to Professor William Danker is to let the Church engage in business enterprises.

In a world in which even primitive areas are rapidly converting to a cash economy, the economic activities of the individual Christian and the offerings which they make possible will assume ever greater importance as the chief economic basis of the church. Therefore personal stewardship must be strongly emphasized. At the same time, the wide gap between the income of the average person in developing countries and the costs of trained church leadership and suitable church facilities may make it increasingly desirable that individual Christians voluntarily endeavor, either singly or collectively to supplement existing financial resources with income gained otherwise than through direct offerings. The development of churches firmly rooted in their own society makes it highly desirable that they find an indigenous economic base. If there are to be such para-ecclesiastic economic activities, then they should ordinarily and preferably be organized separately from the church and mission structures. All who enter the market place must expect, for better and for worse, to be subject to the laws of the market place. Christians engaged in economic activities for missions should expect no preferential tax treatment, for the church should not impose extra burdens on society but should serve the world for Christ's sake.¹²

¹⁰ Minutes of Korea Mission (1965), p. 24.

¹¹ L. Newton Thurber, "Letter to the writer through Miss Madeline Brown," dated April 10, 1969, in the writer's file. The \$920,000 consists of \$120,000 from the COEMAR to the DCW, \$250,000 for the Missionary Maintenance, \$400,000 from the Fifty Million Fund, and \$150,000 individual and group contributions.

¹² William J. Danker, "Introduction to a Theological, Historical and Practical Survey of Economic Activities in

If the Korean Church is to stand free from foreign money, it may well have to enter the competitive market place which is mushrooming in economic growth.

If the PCK can be self-supporting and Christians develop a wider understanding of the relations between contemporary society and Christianity we may perhaps be optimistic about the distant future of the PCK. But these "if's" have stupendous conditions to fulfill which make the near future prospect of reuniting the PCK dim, indeed.

Conclusion

In antithesis to its inherent purpose to unite Christians, the ecumenical movement became the decisive factor for the failure of reunion between the PCK (NAE) and the PCK (E) during the peak period of the reunion movement in 1967-1968. The ecumenical leaders in the foreign mission boards and in the PCK (E), according to the writer's opinion, drove the NAE side (not the extreme pro-ICCC groups) farther from the ecumenical movement by refusing an excellent opportunity for reunion in 1968. A gradual policy of indoctrination should be adopted to sway the younger generation to favor the ecumenical movement. This gradual policy may appear to be a retreat from the ecumenical movement for the PCK but in

Protestant World Mission" (unpublished D. Theo., University of Heidelberg, 1967), p. 587.

the long run it will produce more positive effects for the cause of ecumenism.

There is another important spiritual movement which has been and will affect the Korean Church, the "conservative evangelicals" movement under the sponsorship of Christianity Today and the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association in America. The World Congress of Evangelism sponsored by this group was held in Berlin from October 26 to November 4, 1966. It was attended by fourteen Korean church leaders from the major denominations.¹³

The appeal of this spiritual movement is not only the evangelical faith but also its strong emphasis on the indigenous principles which strengthen the Asian Churches to stand on their own feet free from foreign influences. This indigenous affirmation was amplified at the Asian Congress of Evangelism in Singapore from November 5 to 13, 1968. The Asian Congress drew some eleven hundred delegates from twenty-four countries in Asia under the banner, "Christ seeks Asia." Dr. Han Kyōng-chik (PCK-E) was the chairman of the Congress and forty-four Korean leaders from the major denominations attended the meetings.¹⁴

Another Korean, Dr. Lee Jong-sōng, professor at the PCK (E) Seminary in Seoul gave one of the keynote addresses

¹³ Kūrischān Shinmun, March 13, 1965, p. 3, and October 8, 1966, p. 2.

¹⁴ Ibid., November 23, 1968, p. 1.

in which he charged theological confusion to the Western Church,

If our guilt-conscious western friends cannot stand firm against the danger of religious syncretism which is infiltrating Christian minds so rapidly in recent years, we Christians from non-Christian countries, that is, non-white Christians, should take over the battle.¹⁵

While many leaders in the PCK (E) and the missionaries desired to remain in the ecumenical movement, they also want to keep a close relation with the Christianity Today movement in America for theological reasons.

Although the PCK (NAE), on the other hand, uses the name of the National Association of Evangelicals, it does not have any official relation with the NAE in the United States. Furthermore, its relation with Christianity Today has been strained. Because this magazine has Dr. Samuel H. Moffett of the UPM, as the correspondent in Korea, the PCK (NAE) thinks that the magazine sides with the PCK (E).¹⁶

After the Asian Congress in Singapore, the PCK (NAE) leaders criticized Christianity Today for its lack of representation and participation at the Congress.¹⁷ However,

¹⁵ Harold Lindsell, "Sharp Words for the West from Asian Evangelicals," Christianity Today, XIII (December 6, 1968), 244.

¹⁶ Samuel H. Moffett, "Schism Threat," Christianity Today, IV (October 26, 1959), 31-32.

¹⁷ Kidok Shinbo, October 26, 1968, p. 3.

many NAE leaders in Korea still have warm feelings toward Billy Graham's evangelistic work.

Since the stronger Western Christian Church will continue to influence the younger Churches in Asia, it seems that the relationship between the WCC movement and the "conservative evangelicals" in America becomes extremely important and will enhance the relationship between the PCK (NAE) and the ecumenical movement in Korea. In this regard, Dr. John Coventry Smith has an appropriate thought:

The Commission continues to carry on conversations with the "Conservative Evangelicals" who are unrelated to any Council of Churches. These groups are strong in the United States and also in Latin America. Since we have a common zeal in making Christ known to the entire world, we have a responsibility to take the initiative in building bridges of understanding which will enrich the church everywhere.¹⁸

With all the divergence of opinions, beliefs, interests, nationalities, and races among Christians, the love of God in Christ binds all these Christians together in the body of Christ. This brings to the writer's mind the exhortation of the Apostle Paul to the rival parties in the first chapter of his first letter to the Corinthian Church.

"I belong to Paul," or "I belong to Apollos,"
or "I belong to Cephas," or "I belong to Christ."

¹⁸John Coventry Smith, "Conservative Evangelicals," Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (Philadelphia: Office of the General Assembly, the United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., 1966), p. 2.

Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you?
Or were you baptized in the name of Paul?

I appeal to you brethren, by the name of our
Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you agree and
that there be no dissensions among you, but
that you be united in the same mind and the
same judgment.

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Chongkyo Kongnon (宗敎公論) (Religious Republic Opinion): a weekly religious publication in Seoul.

Dong-A Ilbo (東亞日報) (Dong-A Daily Newspaper): one of the most popular daily newspapers in Seoul in opposition to the government.

Hanguk Kidok Shibo (한국基督時報) (The Korean Christian Press): an anti-ecumenical weekly newspaper in opposition to the ecumenical Kidok Kongbo. Lost patrons when the Kurischian Shinmun appeared.

Kidok Kongbo (基督公報) (The Christian News): the ecumenical and official weekly newspaper of the Presbyterian Church in Korea from 1946 to the time of its cessation in 1964.

Kidok Shinbo (基督新報) (The Christian Times): the official weekly newspaper of the Presbyterian Church in Korea (NAE) from 1964.

Kürischian Shinmun (크리스찬 신문) (The Christian Press): a non-official weekly newspaper started as a rival to the Kidok Kongbo. Since the cessation of the Kidok Kongbo, this newspaper gradually became the most popular newspaper in the Korean Church.

Segye wa Sŏnkyo (世界外宣教) (The World and Mission):
the monthly newspaper of the Hanguk (Chosen) Seminary
in the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea.

APPENDIX A

STATISTICS ON MAJOR CHURCH BODIES IN KOREA¹
(December 31, 1967)

	<u>Churches</u>	<u>Ministers</u>	<u>Evangel- ists</u>	<u>Members</u>
1. PCK (E)	2,302	1,186	1,217	569,876
2. PCK (NAE)	1,599	815	1,018	464,496
3. Korean Methodist	1,340	809	328	333,886
4. Unification of World Christianity	685		685	314,595
5. Holiness (OMS)	533	321	235	213,792
6. PCROK	681	412	291	190,832
7. Korean Evangelical (Elder Park)	900	8	550	118,978
8. Koryŏ Presbyterian	509	160	302	113,023
9. 7th Day Adventist	803	119	130	80,666
10. Korean Baptist	341	127	164	60,342
11. Military Chapels	212	(288 chaplains)		69,497
12. Christian Church- Church of Christ	94	22	65	47,251
13. Holiness (ICCC)	133	75	60	44,525
14. Salvation Army	100	76	21	27,870
15. Assemblies of God	76	32	34	27,630
16. Independent Church	137	30	73	22,441
17. Jehovah's Witness	148	-	7,011	14,572
18. Bible Presbyterian Church of Korea	68	44	33	14,543
19. Christian Reformed	136	52	78	19,015
20. Roman Catholic	2,053	421	1,608	674,190
21. 71 Other Churches	906	110	452	161,478
Total	13,756	5,107	14,355	3,573,298

¹Lee Sang-yong, editor, Hanguk Kidokkyo Nyŏngam (The Yearbook of Christian Churches in Korea) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1968), pp. 275-588. There are thirteen church bodies with but a single local church, six bodies with two congregations each, five with three eac.

APPENDIX B

STATISTICS ON THE PRESBYTERIAN BODIES IN KOREA¹
(December 31, 1967)

	<u>Churches</u>	<u>Ministers</u>	<u>Evangel- ists</u>	<u>Members</u>
1. PCK (E)	2,302	1,186	1,217	569,876
2. PCK (NAE)	1,599	815	1,018	464,496
	(1,971)	(2,097)		(549,890) ²
3. PCROK	681	412	291	190,832
4. Koryŏ PC	509	160	302	113,023
5. Christian Reformed Church in Korea	136	52	78	19,015
6. Bible Presbyterian Church (ICCC)	68	44	33	14,543
7. Presbyterian Church (Neutral)	51	30	20	7,743
8. PCK (No Discussion)	18	14	10	7,500
9. Pure Presbyterian of Korea	14	5	9	4,299
10. Legal Presbyterian	72	37	21	3,049
11. PCK (Rehabilitation)	22	6	10	2,870
12. Bible Presbyterian Church (Anti-ICCC)	12	10	--	1,970
13. Reconstruction Pres- byterian of Korea	7	3	5	1,875
14. PCK (Reformed Faith)	7	5	4	1,465
15. PCK (Restoration-ICCC)	5	5	3	960
16. PCK (Reformed Restor- ation)	3	3	6	967
17. PCK (Conservative)	3	3	3	851
18. Gospel Tent Presbyterian	4	-	-	250
		(10 elders)		
19. Zion Presbyterian of Christ	1	1	1	120
TOTAL	5,677	2,791	3,001	1,394,903

¹Lee Sang-yong, editor, Hanguk Kidokkwo Nyŏngam (The Year-book of Christian Churches in Korea) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1968), pp. 575-588.

²Allen D. Clark, editor, Prayer Calendar of Christian Missions in Korea and General Directory (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1968), p. 191.

APPENDIX C

STATISTICS ON THE KNCC AND THE KECC¹

I. Membership in Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC)

	Churches	Ministers	Membership
1. PCK (E)	2,302	1,186	569,875
2. Korean Methodist Church	1,340	809	333,886
3. Korean Episcopal Church	59	37	11,021
4. PCROK	681	412	190,832
5. Salvation Army	100	76	27,870
6. Korean Christian Gospel Church	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3,692</u>
TOTAL	4,493	2,528	1,137,176

II. Membership in Korean Evangelical Council of Churches (KECC)²

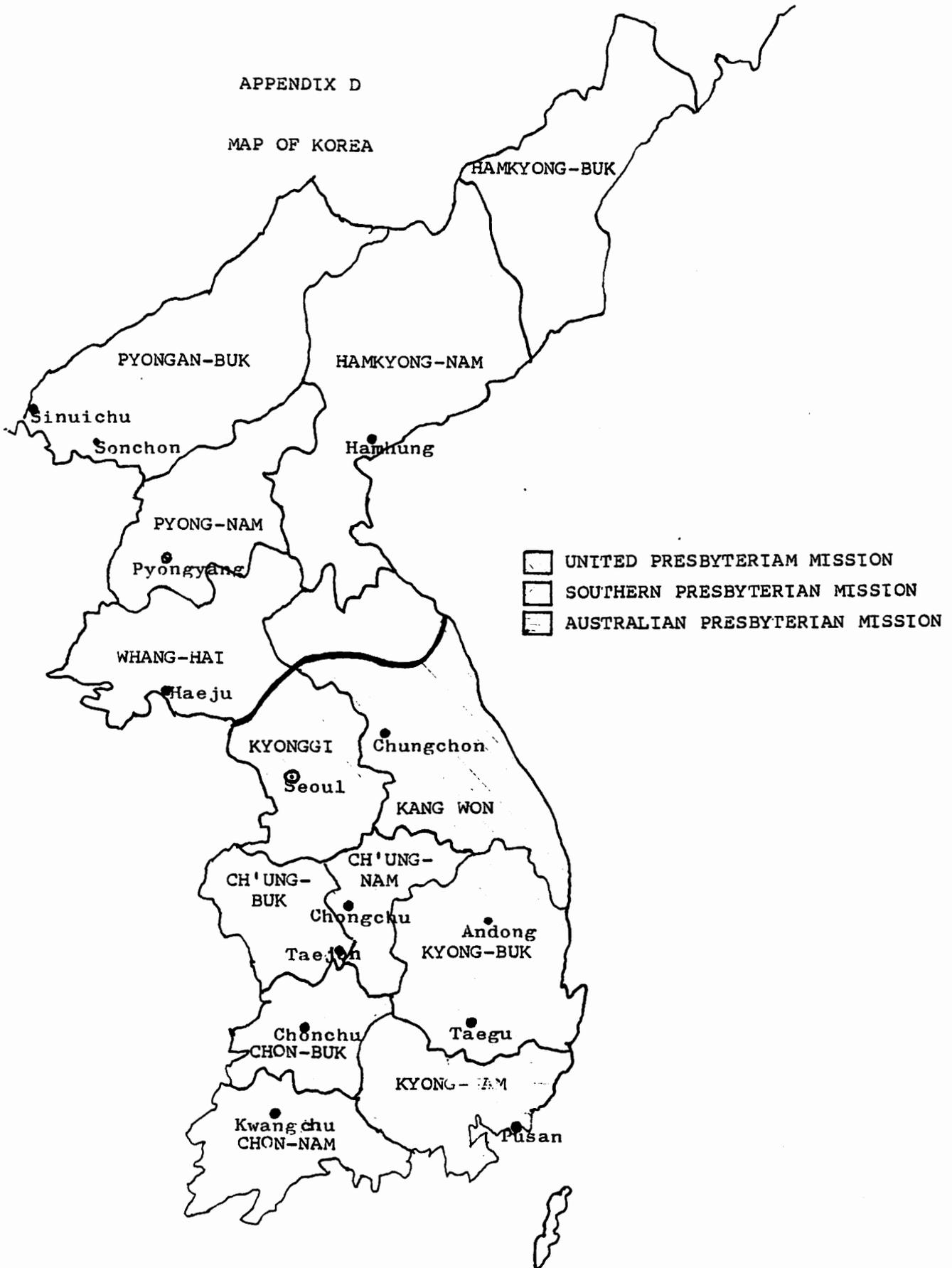
1. PCK (NAE)	1,599	815	464,496
2. Koryŏ Presbyterian Church	509	160	113,023
3. Holiness Church (OMS)	533	321	213,792
4. Holiness Church (ICCC)	133	75	44,525
5. Bible Presbyterian Church (ICCC)	68	44	14,543
6. Korea Assemblies of God	76	32	27,630
7. Church of Nazarene	56	36	10,630
8. Presbyterian Church (Neutral)	51	30	7,743
9. Korean Methodist Church (ICCC) for Jesus	46	29	10,041
10. Conservative Baptist Church	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>490</u>
TOTAL	3,073	1,544	906,913

¹Lee Sang-yong, editor, Hanuk Kidokkyo Nyŏngam (The Yearbook of Christian Churches in Korea) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1968), pp. 575-588. See also Kŭrisch'an Shinmun, October 19, 1968, p. 3.

²Some members in the KECC joined the organization individually and not denominationally.

APPENDIX D

MAP OF KOREA



APPENDIX E

GLOSSARY OF IMPORTANT KOREAN PROPER NOUNS

Ahn Kwang-kuk	安光國	Kyōnggi Province	京畿道
Bop'ong	法統	Lee Jong-sōng	李鍾聲
Chōlla Province	全羅道	Lee Sang-kūn	李相根
Chōn Pil-sun	全弼淳	Lee Sang-yong	李相容
Chōng Kyu-oh	丁奎五	Lee T'ae-chun	朴泰俊
Chōsen Seminary	朝鮮神學校	Noh Chin-hyōn	盧震鉉
Chungchōng Province	忠道	Park Byōng-hun	朴炳勳
Han Kyōng-chik	韓景職	Park Hyōng-nong	朴亨龍
Han Sang-dong	韓相東	Park Yun-sōn	朴允善
Hanguk Kidokkyo Nyōngam	韓國基督教 年鑑	Pyōngyang	平壤
Hanguk Seminary	韓國神學校	Sasangge	思想界
Honam Area	湖南地區	Seoul	서울
Hong Hyōn-sōl	洪顯高	Shin Dong A	新東亞
Ji Wōn-yōng	池元瑤	Syngman Rhee	李承晚
Kang Shin-myōng	姜信明	Sūngdong Pa	勝洞派
Kay Il-sūng	桂一勝	Taehan Yesukyo Changnohoe	大韓教會 長老會
Kidokkyō Sasang	基督教思想	Taegu	大邱
Kim Chae-chun	金在俊	Taejōn	大田
Kim Chōng-chun	金正俊	Whanghae Province	黃海道
Kim Yang-sōn	金良善	Yi Dynasty	李朝
Kim Yun-ch'an	金允燦	Yōndong Pa	蓮洞派
Koryō	高麗	Yōngnam Area	嶺南地區