

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH HISTORY

Western Reformed Seminary

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I. A BIBLICAL PATTERN OF SPIRITUAL REPUBLICANISM

A. Defined

1. = Rule by law through select representatives: Representative church government
2. As opposed to
 - a. spiritual monarchy: prelacy
 - Spiritual commonwealth vs. ecclesiastical hierarchy
 - b. spiritual democracy: congregationalism.
 - There is not one example in the Bible of democratic, congregational rule

B. Old Testament

Before the Exodus, the children of Israel were governed by representative elders in Egypt (Exo 3.16). These elders were tribal heads recognized for their wisdom, experience, and gravity. Before the ceremonial law, Moses began to organize the covenant people into graduated layers of administration under judges who shared the qualifications of elders: "...capable men from among the people who fear God, trustworthy men who hate dishonest gain" (v.21 of Exo 18.17-26) Note the "Elders in the gate" through the times of the Judges and the monarchy.

C. Intertestament

Synagogue system. By the time after the exile when the synagogue system was established, the representative elder was an established, universal office in Palestine.

"As each particular synagogue was governed by a bench of Elders, of which the Bishop or 'Angel of the Church,' was the presiding officer; so also, as the whole Jewish body was one—one Catholic Church—there were always appeals admitted, in cases of alleged incorrectness of judgment, to the 'great synagogue' at Jerusalem, where an opportunity was given for redressing what was done amiss. Nothing like the independency of particular synagogues was admitted or thought of. A system which bound the whole community together as one visible professing body, was uniformly in operation." (Miller, p. 78 in Halls' *Paradigms in Polity*)

The NT gospel accounts repeatedly mention the "rulers of the synagogues" with one "chief ruler" who was the first among equals and who often was a scribe who served as the moderator of the bench of elders and was the preacher.

Significantly, in the intertestamental period and in the Gospels, these local elders are always distinguished from the order of priests. A sacerdotal priesthood does not continue in the church after Pentecost.

D. NT

1. The Apostles adopted the synagogue system of representative government

The government of the synagogue was already familiar to native Jews, the first converts. It was a proven system and convenient. Examples of collective elders:

- “bishops and deacons [in Philippi]” (Phil 1.1)
 - “ordain elders in every town” (Tit 1.5)
 - “Apostles and elders” [at the Jerusalem Council] (Acts 15)
 - “Elders who rule well” (1Tim 5:17)
 - “call the elders of the church” (Jam 5.14)
 - Ordination: a plurality of elders and officers ordained others (Acts 13.1-3; 6.6; 1Tim 4.14)
2. The unity of the apostolic church and uniformity of government is evinced by the Jerusalem Council.

Appeal had come from a local body to a higher body, much as from a Jewish synagogue or the regional Sanhedrin to the Great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem. Council decisions were reached collectively by the apostles and gathered elders. These judicial and doctrinal decisions were sent back down to “all the churches,” and were “meant to be registered and obeyed.” Compliance would be assured by the leaders (elders) at the local level. As Miller asserts, “If this be not Presbyterianism, then there is nothing of the kind in Scotland or in the United States” (p. 79).

II. ECCLESIASTICAL DEVELOPMENT of PRESBYTERIANISM

A. Pre-Reformation Evidences of biblical Presbyterianism (outlined by Samuel Miller in his work, *Presbyterianism: the Truly and Primitive Apostolical Constitution of the Church of Christ*)

1. Early Fathers

- a. Clement of Rome (ca. 95 A.D.) indicates in his “Epistle to the Corinthians” that bishops and presbyters were the same office, and that presbyters were “set over the church” by the choice of the church. Clement says the Apostles appointed two orders of office-bearers: presbyters and deacons.
- b. Polycarp (ca. 110 A.D.), in his “Epistle to the Philippians,” recognizes only two church offices, the same that Paul did in his epistle (Phil 1.1) to this church: bishops and deacons.
- c. The “Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians” (6.1) (ca. 110 A.D.), notes that every particular church was furnished with a bishop (pastor), a bench of elders, and deacons. The elders, with the bishop at their head, conducted the government and discipline of the church.
- d. Irenaeus (ca. 140 A.D.) sometimes applies the titles *bishop* and *presbyter* to the same men and represents the succession of the episcopate as the same as presbyterial succession.
- e. Evolution of Prelacy
 - 1) Ignatius’ record is the earliest recorded distinction between bishop and presbyter. Richard Gamble (“Presbyterianism and the Ancient Church”) suggests that Ignatius’ calling the pastor the “bishop” in contra-distinction to the ruling presbyters was the beginning of the evolution of the monarchical bishop in the Roman empire. From this recognition of a congregational bishop, later dynamic pastors who may have presided at regional presbytery meetings were elevated to regional bishops, especially in times of persecution. Cyprian (ca. 250) witnessed a fixed president of

presbytery called “bishop,” although he himself says he never acted in major decisions without the consent of the presbytery.

- 2) Samuel Miller notes the temptations toward prelacy.
 - a) With the influx of illiterate barbarians into the empire, there was an appeal for more centralized authority in the church (*bishop = chieftain*), and for more glamorous trappings of the priesthood.
 - b) Pressures of heresy from within (heresy) and from without (persecution) also led toward centralization and away from representative government in the church.
- 3) For a response to Romanists who see alleged references to prelacy in the Early Fathers, see Richard Gamble’s essay, “Presbyterianism and the Ancient Church” in *Pressing Toward the Mark*

2. Later Church Fathers

Key post-Nicene fathers admitted that their church government was not that of the apostles:

- a. Ambrose of Milan (ca. 376) “After churches were planted in all places, and officers ordained, matters were settled otherwise than they were in the beginning. And hence it is that the Apostles’ writings do not, in all things, agree with the present constitution of the Church; because they were written under the first rise of the Church; for he calls Timothy, who was created a Presbyter by him, a Bishop, for so, at first, the Presbyters were called.”
- b. Jerome (ca. 400) “Among the ancients, Presbyters and Bishops were the same. But by little and little, that all the seeds of dissension might be plucked up, the whole care was devolved on one. As, therefore, the Presbyters know, that by the custom of the Church, they are subject to him who is their president, so let Bishops know, that they are above Presbyters more by the custom of the Church, than by the true dispensation of Jesus Christ!”—Elder is identical with bishop; and before the urging of the devil gave rise to factionalism in religion, so much that it was being said among the people, 'I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas, the churches were governed by a joint council of elders. After[wards] it was... decreed throughout the world that one chosen from among the presbyters should be placed over the others.” *Commentary on Epistle to Titus*
- c. Augustine (ca. 400) writing to Jerome “I entreat you to correct me faithfully when you see I need it; for, although, according to the names of honor which the custom of the Church has now brought into use, the office of Bishop is greater than that of Presbyter, nevertheless, in many respects, Augustine is inferior to Jerome.”

3. Early 2nd Millennium

- a. Waldenses (1170ff.) —The Church of the Alps, in the simplicity of its constitution, may be held to have been a reflection of the Church of the first centuries. The entire territory included in the Waldensian limits was divided into parishes. In each parish was placed a pastor, who led his flock to the living waters of the Word of God. He preached, he dispensed the Sacraments, he visited the sick, and catechised the young. With him was associated in the government of his congregation a consistory of laymen.

“The synod met once a year. It was composed of the pastors, with an equal number of laymen, and its most frequent place of meeting was the mountain-engirdled valley at the head of Angrogna. Sometimes as many as a hundred and fifty barbes, with the same number of lay members, would assemble. We can imagine them seated—it may be on the grassy slopes of the valley—a venerable company of humble, learned, earnest men, presided over by a simple moderator (for higher office or authority was unknown amongst them), and intermitting their deliberations respecting the affairs of their Churches, and the condition of their flocks, only to offer their prayers and praises to the Eternal, while the majestic snow-clad peaks looked down upon them from the silent firmament. There needed, verily, no magnificent fane, no blazonry of mystic rites to make their assembly august.” –J.A. Wylie. *History of Protestantism*, pp. 34,35

- b. Wycliffe (d. 1384) “‘From the faith of the Scriptures,’ says he in his *Triologus*, ‘it seems to me to be sufficient that there should be presbyters and deacons holding that state and office which Christ has imposed on them, since it appears certain that these degrees and orders have their origin in the pride of Caesar.’ And again he observes, ‘I boldly assert one thing, namely, that in the primitive Church, or in the time of Paul, two orders of the clergy were sufficient—that is, a priest and a deacon. In like manner I affirm that in the time of Paul, the presbyter and bishop were names of the same office. This appears from the third chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy, and in the first chapter of the Epistle to Titus.’” –Wylie, p. 82
- c. Conclusion: Presbyterianism was not a 16th century innovation of the Reformers.

B. Rediscovery of Presbyterianism by the Reformers in Switzerland

1. Zwingli of Zurich (d. 1531)

- a. Led first stage of Reformation in Switzerland simultaneous with the German Reformation
- b. Compiled his biblical system in the form of 67 Articles, (1523)
 - 1) Differed from Lutheran belief system in forms of worship and government
 - 2) Set the stage for the Reformed faith in contradistinction to Lutheranism

2. Succeeded by his student, Heinrich Bullinger (d. 1575) in Zurich

- a. Collaborated with other Swiss theologians on First Helvetic Confession, 1536
 - 1) Attempt of several cantons to find common ground with Lutherans to encourage political alliance
 - 2) Followed Lutheran Augsburg Confession (1530) wherever possible
 - 3) Differed on definition of original sin and on meaning of Lord’s Supper (see Shedd, *History of Christian Doctrine*, II:466,67)
 - 4) No positive response from Lutherans
- b. Bullinger’s Second Helvetic Confession of 1566
 - 1) A personal yet universal Reformed creed drawn up in the face of death in 1564
 - 2) Drawn up in the year of Calvin’s death, and in anticipation of his own death by the plague after he had lost his wife and three daughters (he would survive another 11 years)

- 3) It was a mature reflection of the Reformed faith, especially on predestination and the Lord's supper
 - 4) Codifies Presbyterianism in chpt 18
 - 5) This exhaustive creed became the basis of other European Reformed confessions
3. Calvin (d. 1564), Father of the Reformed faith
- a. Biblical principle of the "self-sufficiency of the church under Christ"
 - 1) Contrary to the Papists' system of "priesthood, papacy, and prelacy"
 - 2) Calvin and the early Swiss Reformers taught that the church "...was vested by Christ with entire self-sufficiency, such full intrinsic capacity with respect to everything external, for the attainment of its own ends and the promotion of its own welfare by means of His ordinances, as to be entitled, in extraordinary emergencies, to do anything, however ordinarily irregular, that might be necessary to secure these results."

This Reformed sentiment is captured in the WCF (25:2,3): "...to the catholic visible church, consisting of all those throughout the world who profess the true religion, together with their children, Christ has given the ministry, the oracles, and the ordinances of God." –William Cunningham, *Historical Theology*, II:514-15.
 - 3) Reformers used this principle to defend
 - a) the church's biblical right to appoint officers
 - b) the church's independent right to reform itself
 - c) their own ministerial calling in reforming and leading the church
 - b. Drafted 26 articles in 1549
 - 1) To clarify the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper
 - 2) Adopted by Geneva and Zurich, and spread from there
 - c. Calvin's Genevan Confession of 1551 clarified the Reformed position on predestination.
 - d. Church government
 - 1) While not condemning non-Presbyterian churches as anti-Christian, Calvin insisted on following the biblical pattern of church government that could not be dismissed by democratic effort. Beza's biography of Calvin relates that "He demonstrated that not only doctrines, but also the form of Church government, must be sought for in the Scripture...." (Beza's "The Life of John Calvin" in Beveridge's edition of *The Selected Works of John Calvin*, pp. xl-xli)
 - 2) This approach to establishing a biblical pattern of church government was termed the *jure divino* ("by divine right/legislation") or *jus divinum* ("divine right/legislation")
 - 3) Upon his return from Strasburg, Calvin drew up the Ecclesiastical Ordinances that gave the church a good measure of spiritual independence in Geneva. With its officers, system of discipline, and independent form of government, it was finally a Presbyterian Church. It was called the "Reformed Church."
 - 4) Nature of the church

- a) Democratic and aristocratic → rule by oligarchy
 - (i) Against monarchical rule of papal prelacy
 - (ii) Power vested in the members of the church who delegate their collective, priestly authority to a plurality of ordained leaders
 - (iii) Right of congregations to call their own pastor and to refuse imposition of “uncalled” pastors
- b) Four church offices from among the people
 - (i) Pastor
 - (ii) Teacher
 - (iii) Elder
 - (iv) Deacon
- c) Consistory
 - (i) Made up of pastors and elders
 - (ii) Met every Thursday for church discipline. “No right seemed to Calvin so vital to the independence of the church as that of excommunication.” –Williston Walker
 - (iii) No full ecclesiastical independence till Calvin’s later years: final excommunication and appointment of elders reserved by city council for a number of years.

- e. A ministry of the Word
 - 1) Sola Scriptura
 - 2) Systematic exposition vs. topical sermons

4. Spread of Presbyterianism through Calvin’s students

a. Neighboring lands

“From Geneva alone (by no means the only “sending” center) more than two hundred preachers were sent out during the fifteen year period 1555-70. The sober fact is that many were arrested, imprisoned, and executed before they ever reached the destinations for which they had set out. Others served faithfully where they were called and saw Protestant congregations take root and flourish.” --Kenneth Steward, Prof. of Theology at Covenant College, cited from his article in *Themelios* (April 2009), “Calvinism and Missions: the Contested Relationship Revisited”

b. Foreign missions

1557 mission to Brazil through France opened up; when few French volunteered to colonize in Brazil, land-locked Geneva was invited to send French speaking pastors and settlers. „Contemporary chronicler (and participant in the expedition) Jean de Léry recorded, “Upon . . . hearing this news, the church of Geneva at once gave thanks to God for the extension of the reign of Jesus Christ in a country so distant and likewise so foreign and among a nation entirely without the knowledge of the true God.” –cited from Steward in *Themelios*. The mission would end with the forcible return of the Genevan pastors to France.

- c) Man's happy condition under the gospel GRATITUDE
- 5) General appeal
 - a) Creed best suited to Reformed and Lutherans
 - b) Most widely used creed of continental Reformed churches and their progeny
 - c) Most widely printed book after the Bible, The Imitation of Christ, and Pilgrim's Progress. It is generally described as a "creed of comfort" for its irenic tone and encouraging emphases.

4. Netherlands

- a. Some suggest that Huguenots were the earliest Reformers in the Lowlands
- b. Belgic Confession (1566)
 - 1) 37 articles composed in French by Guido de Bres as a private confession in 1561 to serve as an apology for the orthodoxy of the Reformed faith before Spanish persecutors in the Lowlands. De Bres was martyred in 1567.
 - 2) Printed in Walloon French and Dutch in 1562
 - 3) Revised in 1571 and soon adopted by the church in Holland
- c. Canons of Dordt, 1619
 - 1) Precipitated by the Remonstrants, disciples of Arminius (d. 1609), looking for a more anthropo-centric revision of the Church's position on predestination. Arminians hold:
 - a) election based on foreknowledge
 - b) universality of Christ's atonement
 - c) free will and partial depravity of man
 - d) resistibility of grace
 - d) possibility of lapse from grace
 - 2) First ecumenical Reformed council, meeting for 7 months
 - a) 61 Hollanders and 28 delegates from England, Scotland, Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, Nassau, E. Friesland, and Bremen
 - b) Estates General of Holland levied taxes of 100,000 guilders to pay for delegates expenses
 - 3) TULIP (originally organized as ULTIP) was affirmed and the Arminian Remonstrants were rejected.
 - 4) The Canons were received by churches on the continent, but refused by the Anglican under King James I who in 1620 forbade any preaching on predestination

Note the Three Forms of Unity: Heidelberg, Belgic, Dordt creeds

5. Scotland

- a. John Knox (d. 1572)
 - 1) Principle composer of the first Scots Confession, 1560
 - 2) Led committee in formulation of Book of Discipline, 1560
 - a) Regulated the call and office of pastors, elders, and deacons
 - b) Term limits of one year for non-pastoral offices "...lest by long continuance of such officers men presume upon the liberty of the church." (in Lingle & Kuykendall, p. 40)

- c) This First BoD also called for
 - (i) Banishing observance of church holy days
 - (ii) Universal education
 - (iii) A grammar school at each congregation to teach Latin, grammar, and the catechism
 - (iv) Advanced schools for gifted lads
 - (v) This idea did not take effect since the Scottish state was not ready to fund this vision of the state church.
 - (vi) Hallmark of the Reformed faith: an educated ministry and laity; Ps. 119:130 & John 8:32 3) “Knox made Calvinism the religion in Scotland, and Calvinism made Scotland the moral standard for the world.” (Egbert Watson Smith in Carlson’s *Presbyterian Heritage*. Smith goes on to say that the most Calvinistic regions of the world are the most crime-free, a very practical fruit of Calvinism.)

- b. Andrew Melville
 - 1) Returned from Geneva to Scotland in 1574, two years after the death of Knox to take up that Reformer’s mantle.
 - 2) More than any other disciple of Calvin, Melville promoted Calvin’s teaching of *jure divino*—the true form of church government which can be ascertained from the Scriptures. This view would greatly influence the deliberations and conclusions of the Westminster Assembly.
 - 3) At the urging of Melville, the Scottish general assembly agreed to revise its Book of Discipline of 1560.
 - a) It had allowed for 10 regional “superintendents” along the lines of the French church. With the death of Knox in 1572 and the reintroduction of episcopacy in Scotland the same year, these superintendents were moved from the responsibility of the assembly to the control of the regent in Scotland. The superintendents became monarchical bishops that the Protestants nicknamed “tulchan bishops.” A tulchan was stuffed calf used to induce the cow to yield her milk by leading the cow to the milk shed; i.e., the “barnyard bishops” were set up to milk the church of Scotland.
 - b) Melville introduced church government by representative elders with graded courts of appeal to uphold the headship of Christ and the liberties of the people.
 - 4) The Second Book of Discipline (1578), sometimes called the “Magna Carta of Presbyterianism,” denied the legitimacy of episcopacy and states that “bishop, pastor, and ministers” are equivalent terms.

- c. Ulster, Northern Ireland
 - 1) From 1607 (accession of James VI to throne of England) till 1690 (Battle of Boyne), 100,000 Scotch Presbyterians migrated to the six northern counties of Ireland, a.k.a., Ulster
 - 2) The Presbytery of Ulster was formed in 1642 as independent from the Church of England. Pastors were sent to the new world from this presbytery.

6. England
 - a. 42 Articles, 1552
 - 1) Thoroughly Calvinistic, while holding to prelatical episcopacy
 - 2) Drafted by Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop (of London) Latimer for King Edward VI
 - 3) In 1555 the Polish scholar, Jan a Lasco, alluded to King Edward VI's desire for the Church of England to be guided by principles of government found in the Scriptures, and alluded to the *jus divinum* from Geneva
 - b. 39 Articles of Queen Elizabeth, 1571
 - 1) Revision of the 42 Articles
 - 2) While Calvinistic, it makes the Anglican creed more appealing to Lutherans, especially in the sacraments
 - 3) Affirms the British monarch as the earthly head of the church
 - c. Presbyterianism gets traction, 1570s
 - 1) Influenced by Scottish Presbyterianism and refugee scholars returning from Geneva after Bloody Mary
 - 2) 1572, first English Presbytery secretly organized under leadership of Thomas Cartwright (d. 1603)
 - 3) In 1574, Cambridge scholar Thomas Cartwright published the first book of discipline by and for English Puritans: *The Sacred Discipline of the Church, Described in the Word of God*
 - 4) While Presbyterianism was strong around London, Elizabeth's insistence upon the *Via Media* neutralized this budding church within a church
 - a) Archbishop Whitgift's natural law theology clashed with the Puritan Presbyterians' call for worship and polity based on Scripture: the "regulative principle"
 - b) Whitgift enforced conformity to the CoE and, after a short pamphlet war, got Cartwright fired from Cambridge
 - d. Westminster Confession, 1647
 - 1) Westminster Assembly called by the Puritan Parliament (1643)
 - a) Originally to revise the 39 Articles and Book of Worship
 - b) While the head of the Anglican Church, Charles I, was battling to keep his throne
 - 2) The Confession shows dependence upon the Canons of Dordt
 - 3) Was a product of the Solemn League and Covenant between Parliamentary England and Presbyterian Scotland during the English Civil War
 - a) Scots sent a handful of influential theologians
 - b) Church government was the first item and most contested
 - c) Competing parties were a few Erastians,* a majority of Presbyterian divines in league with the Scottish commissioners, a subset of Presbyterians who wanted to maintain some form of Bishops within Presbyterianism, and a group of vocal Independents called the "dissenting brethren."

* Erastus was a medical doctor in Heidelberg (1568) who promoted the theory of a total state church: the government and officers of the church may be appointed by the state and serve at the behest of the state. This

removed independent ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction from the church since the state retained power of excommunication and corporal punishment.

- d) Presbyterianism prevails due to the Scottish influence and with a majority of Presbyterian Puritans in Parliament
 - e) Scottish Church would jettison their Scotch Confession for the Westminster Confession, setting the stage for the spread of Westminster's influence as the Scots moved into Ulster and the new world
- 4) The Westminster Confession is the high water mark in the making of Reformed confessions
- 5) Cromwell's Savoy Confession of 1658 closely follows Westminster
- a) Mainly changed polity to Congregationalism
 - b) Revision committee led by John Owen and Thomas Goodwin (a repr. of the Independents at the Westminster Assembly), the "very Atlas and patriarch of Independency" per Anthony Wood in *Shedd's History...*, p. 481
- e. By 1719, many English Presbyterian bodies were infected with Unitarianism. Continuing and faithful Presbyterian churches organized by 1876 into the Presbyterian Church of England.

III. PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY IN REFORMATION EUROPE

A. Calvin in Geneva

1. On his way to Strasburg
2. Recruited by William Farel's threats after entreaties failed, 1536

"Then Farel, finding he gained nothing by entreaties, besought God to curse my retirement and the tranquility of my studies if I should withdraw and refuse to give assistance when the necessity was so urgent. By this imprecation I was so struck by terror that I desisted from that journey that I had undertaken.... I felt as if God from heaven had laid his mighty hand upon me to stop me in my course."
3. Persevered in the face of opposition and mob threats to throw him in the river

"Although it was a very troublesome province to me, the thought of deserting it never entered my mind. For I considered myself placed in that position by God, like a sentry at his post, from which it would be impiety on my part were I to move a single step. Yet I think you would hardly believe me were I to relate to you even a very small part of those annoyances, nay miseries, which we had to endure for a whole year. This I can truly testify, that not a day passed in which I did not long for death ten times over. But as for leaving that church to remove elsewhere, such a thought never came into my mind." –Calvin's letter to associates in Zurich
4. Expelled with Farel in 1538
 - a. Last controversy over the council's directive to offer the Lord's supper to all citizens and their decision to jettison Calvin's liturgy for Bern's
 - b. Recognizing the breakdown of discipline and the loss of freedom of the church, Calvin had refused to offer the Lord's supper

5. Returns in 1541
 - a. Skillfully answers the RC apologist, Cardinal Sadolet, who had been wooing Geneva
 - b. Geneva re-invites Calvin who is able to gain concessions
 - c. Calvin had been influenced by Martin Bucer at Strasbourg
 - 1) Followed Bucer on the four offices of church government
 - 2) Took a wife
6. Through the decade of the 1550s, 5000 refugee immigrants swell Geneva from 13,000 to 18,000. Many would take the message of Geneva back to their homelands.
7. Calvin's legacy as a Reformer
 - a. Set modern biblical exegesis on a firm footing
 - 1) employed a refined renaissance approach of a literary-historical method of interpretation
 - 2) skillfully developed his biblical theology into systematic theology to show the logical and biblical consistency of the Reformation
 - b. Having codified the civil and constitutional laws of Geneva, his model of representative government influenced western Europe and the new world (see Kelly's *Emergence of Liberty in the Modern World*) German historian Leopold von Ranke called Calvin "The virtual founder of America." (in Lingle & Kuykendall, p. 28)
 - 1) Principles
 - a) Consent of the governed
 - b) Separation of powers: "Pride blinds princes so totally that they think they ought to be put in the rank of God." (Calvin's 18th Sermon on 2 Samuel)
 - 2) Worked for a healthy economy to promote community self-sufficiency and individual freedoms
 - a) Right of charging reasonable interest on loans
 - b) Imported the silk industry and addressed employment needs by putting people to work as weavers
 - c) Established services for medical treatment, garbage pick up, urban renewal
 - 3) Geneva never was a theocracy.

Basil Hall once pointed out that far from being a theocratic dictator, "Calvin in Geneva had less power either in theory or in practice than had Archbishop Whitgift in England, and less again than had Archbishop Laud, or Cardinal Richelieu in France, for he had neither the authority of their office nor the consistent and powerful political support which they received." –Kelly, *Emergence of Liberty...*, p. 14. "The most perfect school of Christ since the days of the apostles." –John Knox
 - c. Promoted universal and public education, from the primary grades to the Academy (now the University of Geneva)

"We boast of our common schools. Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools." (Historian George Bancroft in *Our Presbyterian Heritage*, p. 31) d. "He succeeded more than all, in an age and a country that called for reaction against Christianity, simply because he was the most Christian man of his century." –Ernst Renan

B. France

1. Huguenots

a. French Reformed believers in the tradition of Calvin

b. Uncertain meaning: “oath companions?” “confederates?”

A major theory is that the name is a derogatory conflation of the German *eidgenosse* (“confederate”), applied to followers of Besançon Hugues (d. 1532), a religious/political leader in Geneva favoring the city’s confederation with Swiss Confederation. The term Huguenot was first applied in France to Reformed aristocrats who attempted in 1560 to align the country with Switzerland as opposed to the Roman Catholic house of Guise.

2. An early Huguenot congregation organizes (in Paris) in 1555

a. Precipitated by the need for a Protestant baptism

b. Home group constituted themselves a church and elected their own pastor, elders, and deacons

c. Like the breaching of a dam, this beginning spawned the organization of 2000 Presbyterian churches over the next six years. Geneva sent 120 covert missionaries into France through 1572.

3. 1559: enough Protestant congregations to hold a [covert] national assembly in Paris that adopted

a. Confession of Faith drafted by Calvin

b. Book of Discipline recognizing the four courts of appeal

4. Growing Protestant strength brings resistance

a. From 5-25% of the population was identifying with the Huguenots, including some aristocrats

b. 1562: Massacre at Vassy: 60 Huguenots killed when their meeting place was set ablaze

c. August 24, 1572: St. Bartholomew Day Massacre

1) RC Conspiracy to extirpate the cream of the Huguenots

2) Wedding day of Huguenot Prince Henry of Navarre to the king’s sister

3) 1000s slaughtered in Paris with the carnage spreading throughout France until 30,000 to 70,000 Huguenots were murdered in the two months following.

4) Dancing and bonfires in Rome upon hearing news of the massacre

5) Beginning of Huguenot wars against the crown and the powerful RC Guise family behind the crown

d. 25 years of war reduce the congregations of the Huguenot “Church of the Cross” by 2/3.

War and subsequent persecutions lead to the martyrdom or flight of approx. 4 million skilled Frenchmen. This loss “...prepared the way for the inevitable degradation of the national character and removed the last serious bulwark that might have broken the

force of that torrent of skepticism and vice, which, a century later, laid prostrated in merited ruin, both the altar and the throne.” (rationalist historian Wm. Lecky in Carlson’s *Presbyterian Heritage*, p. 50)

5. Truce comes with the Edict of Nantes, 1598. Protestant Henry of Navarre accepts the capitulation of Paris on condition that he become a Roman Catholic. Henry is reported to have said, “Paris is worth a mass.”
 - a. Freedom of worship allowed in Huguenot cities of the south
 - b. Restrictions
 - 1) No public office to be held
 - 2) No fortifications except La Rochelle
 - c. Subsequent erosion of freedoms
 - 1) No education of their children
 - 2) Quartering of troops to prevent bright flight
 - d. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685
 - e. The poverty of the church of the Huguenots became the riches of the nations as they took their faith and skills throughout Europe and the New World seeking sanctuary.

C. Hungary

1. Hungarian Reformed Church established in 1567 in Debrecen, Hungary.
2. Today in the Karpathian Basin, formerly known as Greater-Hungary, three-million Hungarians identify with this church. The confessional documents are the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession.

D. Netherlands

1. Fertile ground for the Reformation
 - a. “Modern Devotion” encouraged by spreading Brethren of the Common Life before Luther
 - b. Holland proximate to Lutheranism of northern Germany
 - c. 1531: 25 vernacular Bible translations already in Netherlands
 - d. Political desire to throw off [RC] Spanish overlords
2. 1563—Presbyterian constitution drafted by a commission in Antwerp, (Belgium), to go with the Belgic Confession of 1561
3. 1571—Synod organized on the model of the Reformed Church in France
 - a. After eight years of spreading congregations

- b. One exception to the French plan was the “collegiate church system” whereby several congregations in a city could be governed by one session/consistory in the city
4. 1570s—Revolt against Spain
- a. Tyrannical Philip II of Spain inherited the Netherlands in 1555
 - b. 1566—Protestant appeal for relief
 - 1) 500 nobles petition Philip’s regent, the Dutchess of Parva for justice. They proudly assume the name of “Dutch Beggars” after her counselor encouraged her not to be intimidated by a “pack of beggars.”
 - 2) Frustration leads to iconoclasm against the cathedrals
 - c. 1567—Philip sends the Duke of Alva with 10,000 Spanish troops into the Netherlands. 1,800 Dutch are executed for sedition
 - d. Revolt led by William the Silent, Prince of Orange (d. 1584)
 - 1) Declared himself a Protestant in 1573, rallying his co-religionists to the cause for independence
 - 2) 1574—Dutch break the North Sea dikes to flood their farms and villages. Providential winds turn leeward to bring the seas and Dutch rescue ships to the very walls of besieged Leyden
 - 3) This was the turning point of the struggle
 - 4) William soon established the University of Leyden as a reward to this Dutch city for their stedfast resistance during the Spanish siege.
 - 5) The University became a leading center of Calvinist thought on the continent.
 - 6) Jacob Arminius taught there and in the 1590s and would contribute to the Remonstrants controversy, and Prince William III was educated here before taking the throne of England in 1688.
 - 7) 1584—Prince William was assassinated by a RC fanatic e. 1579—Seven northern provinces form the Union of Utrecht and declare self-rule (a.k.a. Holland) while Belgium was kept in a Spanish orbit. Full recognition of Holland did not come till the end of the 30 Years War in 1648.
5. Religious toleration. While the Reformed faith was the official religion in Holland, William, as founder of the Dutch Republic, tolerated other persecuted faiths, thus making Holland a new sanctuary for religious refugees. Anabaptists, Huguenots, Scottish Covenanters, and Pilgrims found refuge there.

E. Scotland

- 1. Mission by Columba to the Isle of Iona, 563 A.D.
 - a. His followers evangelized the mainland of Britain/Scotland
 - b. His disciples were the Culdees, who behaved like Presbyterians and who were persecuted by the Roman church, especially after the eleventh century. They found sympathy with the Lollards in England, and provide a cultural backdrop of the resistance of the Scots to Rome in the early days of the 16th Century Reformation.

2. Patrick Hamilton, morning star of the Scottish reformation
 - a. Nobleman who taught at St. Andrews University
 - b. Lutheran training at Wittenberg
 - c. Betrayal by Cardinal Beaton and martyrdom in February 1528.
“The smoke of Master Patrick has infected everyone it has touched.”

3. George Wishart & Knox
 - a. Wishart was a Cambridge scholar turned Scottish preacher.
His bodyguard was a priest turned Protestant, young John Knox, who carried a claymore.
 - b. Wishart martyred by Cardinal Beaton in March 1546
 - c. Cardinal Beaton murdered a few weeks later

4. John Knox (d.1572)
 - a. Chaplain to rebels at Castle of St. Andrews
 - b. 19 months on a French galley till 1549
 - c. Released to England where he becomes a court chaplain to King Edward
 - d. To Geneva under Bloody Mary. Ministered to English church there.
 - e. Return to Scotland in 1559. “O God give me Scotland or I die!”
 - 1) Roman Catholicism abolished by Scottish Parliament in 1560
 - 2) Knox and companions were commissioned by Parliament to prepare a FoG and BoD
 - f. Rebuke of Queen Mary (Stuart) Summoned by the queen after he railed against the mass at Holyrood Palace as “more fearful than 10,000 (invading) armies.” There would be five interviews.
 - g. Two Marriages
 - h. Major contributions
 - 1) Shaped early polity and belief of the Scottish Church
 - 2) While tempering Scottish parochialism through his broad view of Protestant ecumenism, he sowed seeds for later development of idea of covenanting in Scotland
 - 3) Writings
 - i History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland
 - ii First [Scottish] Book of Discipline
 - iii First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women
 - iv Against Anabaptism

5. Andrew Melville (d. 1622) vs. King James
 - a. King James' antipathy to Presbyterianism based in his belief of "divine right." "Scottish Presbytery agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil."
 - b. After fleeing the King's summons in Scotland, he later appears at Hampton Court (1606) to confront King James, even as Knox had confronted the king's mother, Mary. Grabbing the king's sleeve, he would say, "Sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of the Commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church, whose subject James is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. ... We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience, but again I say that you are not the head of the Church." (cited in Carlson's *Our Presbyterian Heritage*, pp. 55,56) Melville at other times told King James that he was "God's silly (weak) vassal."
 - c. James locked Melville in the Tower of London for four years and then banished him. Melville spent his remaining days teaching Bible in France.

6. Covenanting Nation
 - a. Basis: believed their social pacts were covenants before God

 - b. National Covenant, 1638
 - 1) Popular revolt against imposition of the CoE prelacy and liturgy
 - a) Begins in Scotland July 23, 1637, at the St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, the church of John Knox
 - b) Jenny Geddes throws her milking stool vs. the CoE emissary: "Fause loon! Dost thou say mass at my ear?!"
 - 2) Initially subscribed at Greyfriar's Church, 300,000 Scots pledge to defend the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Scotland, as well as their homeland and own freedom of conscience; viz., a national return from prelacy to Presbyterianism leads to political revolt
 - 3) Upshot
 - a) King Charles I of England tries to invade Scotland but runs out of money
 - b) The Covenanters begin to organize for defense of church and homeland
 - c) The legal precedent for a national, religious revolt is established, paving the way for 1688 and 1776
 - c. Solemn League & Covenant, 1643
 - 1) A religious alliance between Scotland and England represented in the latter's Protestant Parliament
 - a) Precipitated by Parliament's desperate need for a political ally in 1643
 - b) Penned by Alexander Henderson, Moderator of the Scottish Church and subsequent Scottish representative to the Westminster Assembly
 - 2) Essence: Scotland pledged its support to Parliament and Parliament pledged to reform its own church in England and Ireland according to the model "of the best reformed churches," guaranteeing a Reformed Church in Scotland.

7. Charles II and the Killing Times in Scotland: Covenanters
 - a. Despite the Solemn League and Covenant, the Scots had been scandalized by Cromwell's regicide. They participated in the recall and coronation of Charles II. Charles II, however, said that "Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman (aristocrat)."
 - b. Covenanters then charged that back-stabbing King Charles II was a usurper who was breaking his oath in denying the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. Covenanters regarded these as more than social contracts, but as covenants with God.
 - c. Their "sedition" and pursuit of true religion led to the "Killing Times" in Scotland. (See *Men of the Covenant* by Howe or *Fair Sunshine* by Purves.)
 - d. Covenanters refuse to be a part of the State Presbyterian Church in Scotland because William and Mary refused to subscribe to the historic covenants that these Scots of conviction believed to be permanent and worth regular renewal. The children of the Covenanters finally joined the Church of Scotland in 1876.

8. Glorious Revolution of 1688: William III and Mary come to the throne

F. England

1. Henry VIII (d. 1547)
 - a. Makes the break from Rome in the Act of Supremacy, 1534
 - b. Confiscates church lands for the crown
 - 1) Numerous lands used for bribes and empowering aristocratic friends and gentry
 - 2) Makes the reform movement odious to common people

2. King Edward VI (d. 1553)
 - a. Pro-Calvinist under influence of his mother's chaplain and of Archbishop Cranmer
 - b. Moderate Reformation gains in England

3. Bloody Mary (d. 1558)
 - a. Martydoms chronicled by John Foxe
 - b. Demise of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer
 - c. Geneva refugees and their Bible

4. Elizabeth I (d. 1603)
 - a. *Via Media* in the Church of England
 - b. Her Act of Uniformity expelled at least a third of ministers from their pulpits and effectively quashed nascent Presbyterianism in England.

5. King James I (reigned in England from 1603-1625)
 - a. Hampton Court Conference in response to the Puritan Millenary Petition
 - b. Creation of Ulster Plantation out of six northern RC provinces of Ireland an attempt to
 - 1) pacify decimated N. Ireland after series of religious wars started by Henry (lands of Irish rebels had been declared forfeit to the King),
 - 2) and to relieve restive lowlands of Scotland by offering free land to Scottish settlers
 - c. "Book of Sports"
 - 1) Promoted by James I in 1617 and reinstated by Laud under Charles I in 1638
 - 2) Reaction against Puritan Sabbath
 - a) Allegedly to keep Englishmen fit for war
 - b) To avoid offending the RCs

6. King Charles I (reigned 1625-1648)
 - a. Archbishop Laud was a staunch ally in persecuting Puritans and pushing for conformity to the CoE in the British Isles
 - b. Developments in Ulster
 - 1) Laud's Anglican discipline enforced by calling on citizens to renounce "Scottish covenants" and subscribe to the "Black Oath" on pain of death or imprisonment; some Presbyterian homes were pulled down
 - 2) 1641, Roman Catholics from the south perpetrate a massacre on the harried Presbyterians of Northern Ireland
 - 3) Scottish ministers came as regimental chaplains with 10,000 troops from Scotland sent to suppress the RC insurrection. These chaplains were used to fan the flames of revival in the new Scottish plantation loyal to the King of England
 - 4) The first Presbytery in Ulster was established in 1642. With an influx of ministers from Scotland, 80 churches were planted within 20 years with a total church membership of 100,000.
 - c. King Charles' forays emptied his treasury and forced him to convene Parliament to collect taxes
 - 1) Short Parliament soon dismissed
 - 2) Long Parliament
 - d. Solemn League and Covenant, 1643

7. King Charles II gave an ultimatum to Presbyterian Ministers in Ulster to convert to the CoE or lose their pulpits. They went underground and turned the tide.

8. The ejected King James II besieged the Protestant town of Derry which resisted at the encouragement of its minister. Deposed King James, trying to make a comeback, was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne (1690) in Ulster by King William of Orange.

IV. Post-Reformation European Presbyterian Developments

A. Scotland

1. Splits, largely over “Lay Patronage”
 - a. Lay Patronage Act of 1712 = appointment of ministers, often unworthy, by large land holders or else magistrates
 - b. 1733—Seceders led by Ebenezer Erskine form the Associate Presbytery to protect the church against “lay patronage”
 - c. 1753—George Gillespie leads in the formation of the Relief Synod
 - d. Associate Presbytery merged with Relief Church in 1847 to form the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland
 - e. 1843—Dr. Thomas Chalmers leads a third of the ministers and elders out of the Church of Scotland
 - 1) Called the “Great Disruption”
 - 2) Form the Free Church
 - 3) Lost their property and pensions
2. The trend turns
 - a. 1874—Lay Patronage was abolished by Parliament
 - b. 1893—Most of the Free Church unites with the United Presbyterian Church
 - 1) This majority union forms the United Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland.
 - 2) The “Wee Frees” remain separate and were pensioned with properties. They form the Free Presbyterian Church.
 - c. 1929—the UFPCoS reunited with the Church of Scotland
3. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland can rightly be called the Mother church of modern Presbyterianism. It influenced English Presbyterianism at Westminster and it planted churches in Ulster and in the New World. Calvin spoke through Knox and Melville to the rest of the world.

B. Ireland

1. Support for new world missions: Francis Makemie ordained and sent in 1683
2. Synod of Ulster united with the Secession Church (doing mission work in Ulster) in 1840
 - a. becomes the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland
 - b. No instrumental music or non-biblical hymns allowed till 1890s.

C. Calvinistic Methodism in Wales

1. Fanned by George Whitefield, but anticipated before his coming by evangelical preachers like Griffith Jones and Howel Harris
2. Organized in Wales in 1742

- a. in contradistinction to the Arminian organization of the Wesleys
 - b. Not dissident churches, but originally evangelical societies within the CoE. Would not become independent until 1811 with its own Calvinistic confession of 42 articles based upon the Westminster Confession. It was called the “Calvinistic Methodist Connexion.”
 - c. The constitution combines features of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism
- D. Holland
1. 1792—Napoleon occupies Holland and disestablishes the state church (Dutch Reformed Church)
 - a. Existing churches were recognized by the state and supported by it.
 - b. After Napoleon’s defeat (1815), the Dutch Republic was replaced by a kingdom (including Belgium until 1830) that maintained Napoleon’s church policy.
 2. 1820-30, the European Revival reaches Holland
 - a. 1834—an evangelical/pietistic element separated from the Dutch Reformed Church that was by now overly tolerant in doctrine
 - b. Groen van Prinsterer (d. 1867)
 - 1) was an aristocratic statesman who (along with others like the poet Bilderdijk), encouraged vital piety, but who also warned of the logical end of humanism spreading out of the French Revolution
 - 2) He served as a bridge from the Revival to Kuyper’s Dutch Calvinistic renaissance
 3. Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920)
 - a. Followed his father into the ministry of the majority church
 - b. Infected with modernism at University of Leyden
 - c. Return to faith of his fathers “I had not yet found the Word of reconciliation. In their [pietists of his first congregation] simple language they brought me this in the absolute form in which alone my soul can rest. I discovered that the Holy Scripture does not only cause us to find justification by faith, but also discloses the foundation of all areas of human life.” (Rom. 11:33-36)
 - d. No reformation without the printing press: his newspaper was *The Herald*, and his Christian magazine, *The Standard*.
 - e. 1880—Started the Free University to bypass the rationalism of Leyden University
 - f. 1886—another separation from the majority church. Kuyper’s group would merge with the 1834 group
 - g. 1898—Stone Lectures at Princeton Univ.: popularly called “Lectures on Calvinism.” God is sovereign over His world and all human activity
 - h. Political life

- 1) Kuyper taught that politics are not neutral, but are wedded to ultimate issues. He said, “No political scheme has ever become dominant which was not founded in a specific religious or anti-religious conception.”
- 2) Inherited leadership of the “Anti-Revolutionary Party” of van Prinsterer. There were still revolutionary seeds in Europe of “No God—No Master.”
- 3) Kuyper was elected to parliament in 1874. Elevated to national leadership in 1901: Prime Minister and leader of the “Monstrous Coalition” (with RCs), 1901-1905

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH HISTORY

Introduction

Marsden's (*Reformed Theology in America*) three strains in American Reformed tradition:

I. Doctrinalist Groups

Scotch-Irish, Protestant Reformed (Dutch), Reformed Baptists. Essence: "Scottish Realism" philosophy; precision of epistemological categories with no gray areas

II. Culturalist Groups

Dutch: Christian Reformed Church and Reformed Church in America; Francis Schaeffer's influence. Essence: Emphasis on the corporate identity of the church. Church not divorced from social context, but engaged in society and culture.

III. Pietist Roots in America

New School Theology's growing emphasis on the self-determination of man in the context of individual frontier responsibility. Essence: Emphasis on the individual's spirituality. Revivalism stressing individual holiness.

1600's

I. Ethnic Sources for Reformed Settlements in America.

A. English "Barrowists" were Puritan Presbyterians, while Brownists became the new world Pilgrims (Plymouth Colony). Salem Colony, 1625, originally was planned by a Westminster Assemblyman as a Presbyterian sanctuary. Some New England Puritans (Congregationalists) migrate to Connecticut. They establish "Presbygational" churches in consociations in an attempt to find relief from the tyranny of democratic congregationalism.

B. Virginia Anglicans with Presbyterian leanings. Jamestown founded in 1607. The "Apostle of Virginia," Alexander Whitaker, arrives in 1611 and calls for non-conformist Christian workers to join him in the fields of VA. At his death in 1616 he was replaced by a Scotch non-conformist with Presbyterian sympathies who introduced church rule by elders.

C. The CoE governors of the 1630s clamped down on the non-conformist ministers in VA; they ultimately were expelled in 1642 and found a measure of refuge in Lord Baltimore's MD. There were still Presbyterian interests in the DelMarVa Peninsula when Francis Makemie arrived from Ulster in 1683.

D. Scotch-Irish of Ulster. Ulster colonized by Scotch under James I and Cromwell:

"Throughout the religious persecutions of the seventeenth century, few Scots emigrated to America. Unwelcome in English projects of colonization, they came slowly to the new world. Most of those who did leave Scotland emigrated to the North of Ireland, among whom there were a few Cameronians who adhered to the Covenanted Reformation. Many of these in turn left Ireland for the new world." —Hutchinson, p. 39. Desire for economic and religious freedom; Laggan Presbytery of North Ireland sends newly ordained Francis Makemie to organize the Presbyterians in the Middle Colonies, 1683.

- E. Dutch. Settlement of New Amsterdam at approx. same time as Synod of Dort, 1619 commercial motivations were primary. An English Presbyterian Church was not organized in NYC until 1717.
 - F. Germans. Many destitute Germans drawn to Penn's "Holy Experiment" in early 1700's by the offer of cheap land, low taxes, and freedom of religion. Early close relation to Dutch Reformed in old and new worlds
 - G. French. Basically, religious refugees (Huguenots) after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Scattered settlements from the Carolinas to Nova Scotia. Huguenots established a church on Staten Island, NY in 1685.
- II. Virginia developments.
- A. Evangelical vision of Puritan clergy "...cast aside all cogitation of profit..." - convert the heathen - enlarge Christ's kingdom. Rev. Alexander Whitaker, Apostle of Virginia, (1611-1616), son of famous Cambridge divine, William Whitaker. Puritan laws under enlightened rule (ca. 1620-24) of Sir Edwin Sandys.
 - B. House of Burgesses established for self-rule.
 - C. Puritan influence in society.
 1. Puritans largely kept in check after the VA Co. becomes a royal colony in 1624.
 2. Nonconformist ministers expelled in 1642.
 3. Reformed Revolts in Maryland.
 4. During the commonwealth, Puritans attempt to roll back the 1649 Act of Toleration and make Puritanism the sole "religio licita."
 5. 1688 power grab to squeeze out RC's.
- III. Dutch establishment in the middle colonies
- A. Dutch West Indies Co. declared Reformed Religion established in all its colonies. Classis of Amsterdam maintains oversight from Holland for years
 - B. Early pastors: Jonas Michaelius, 1628; Everardus Bogardus, 1633 (note Sweet, p. 86, for insights to successful fund-raising); John Van Mekelenburg, first Protestant missionary to the Indians.
 - C. End of Dutch independence, 1664.
- IV. New England
- A. Cotton Mather, who showed [millennial] Presbyterian sympathies later in life, estimated that of the 21,000 Puritan immigrants to New England between 1620 and 1640, 4,000 were Presbyterian.
 - B. As Congregationalism became entrenched in Mass., Presbyterians fled the tyranny of theocratic congregationalism. Many Presbyterian Puritans from New England moved south into Connecticut or Long Island. These "southern" Presbyterians then established Presbyterian Churches in Long Island and New Jersey in the late 1600s (e.g., Elizabethtown, New York). An entire congregation relocated from Mass. to Long Island in 1644 under Richard Denton. Cotton Mather wrote of him, "Though he was little man, yet he had a great soul. His well accomplished mind in his lesser body was an Iliad in a nut-shell. I think he was blind of one eye— nevertheless he was not the least

among the seers of Israel.” –Hays, p 64. After a shaky start, land was purchased from the Indians at Jamaica, NY, where is the oldest extant Presbyterian Church in America. (See Hays, p. 65, for a picture of the building.)

- C. Conservative Massachusetts Proposals, 1705. Instigated by the Mathers who felt Congregationalism, without any checks, had a propensity toward liberalism.
 - 1. Decline of Harvard.
 - 2. Brattle Street Church in Boston became anabaptist.
 - 3. A call for “Presbygationalism.”
 - a. The establishment of regular ministerial conventions or “consociations.”
 - b. Examine ministerial candidates.
 - c. Oversight (with teeth) of local congregations
 - 4. Adopted in Connecticut as Saybrook Platform, 1708.
 - 5. Set stage for 1801 Plan of Union.
- D. Indian missions
 - 1. Intentions revealed
 - a. Charters
 - 1) Plymouth: Called for “. . . The conversion of such savages as yet remain wandering in desolation and distress to civil society and the Christian religion”
 - 2) Massachusetts Bay: To win the savages “. . . to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Savior of mankind”
 - 3) Massachusetts Great Seal: An Indian saying “come over and help us”
 - b. Laws
 - 1) Plymouth: 1636 laws in support of gospel missions
 - 2) Massachusetts: 1646 law calling for annual selection of 2 ministers from among their number as missionaries
 - 2. Significant missionaries
 - a. John Eliot (1604-90)
 - 1) Cambridge graduate with Presbyterian sympathies
 - 2) 1631 - arrived in Boston as a “teacher.” Studied dialects for 15 years before 1st sermon
 - 3) Organized Christian Indian villages along lines of Ex. 18: courts of appeal
 - 4) Translations
 - (a) 1663, 1st Bible translation in America
 - (b) Certain Mather treatises and Cambridge Platform
 - b. The Mayhews of Martha’s Vineyard Island

1700's

'By 1700 the colonial commonwealths of North America were becoming a prosperous extension of British provincial society, in which the prevailing outlook on life was unmistakably conditioned by a Reformed and Puritan ethos.' — Sydney Ahlstrom, pp. 263

- I. German Reformed Churches
 - A. Geographic Sources
 - 1. Southern Germany - the Palatinate
 - 2. Switzerland
 - 3. Aided by the Amsterdam Classis
 - B. Settlements: largely Southern Pennsylvania
 - 1. 1719 - Germantown = 1st church
 - 2. Reading and Lancaster Counties
 - C. German ecumenism
 - 1. Count Zinzendorf gathers scattered German bodies under his Moravian umbrella, ca. 1741.
 - 2. Lutheran Henry Muhlenberg "frays" the umbrella, helping to preserve the German Reformed identity.
 - D. Significant figures
 - 1. John Peter Miller (fl. 1750)
 - a. Ordained by Philadelphia Presbytery for the German Reformed
 - b. Fell under influence of the anabaptistic 'Ephrata Community'
 - c. Translated the Declaration of Independence into German and other European languages for the Congress
 - 2. Michael Schlatter
 - a. Swiss (1746 arrival)
 - b. Organized 1st German Coetus, 1747
 - 1) Under Classis of Amsterdam
 - 2) Philadelphia
 - c. Later brought 700 Bibles, 6 ministers, and £12,000 from Holland
 - d. Worked as agent of English; 'Society for Propagation of the Gospel among the Germans'
 - 1) Enlisted aid of King George's chaplain
 - 2) Led to resistance of his leadership
- II. Early establishment of Presbyterianism
 - A. Proto-Presbyterianism
 - 1. Massachusetts
 - a. 4,000 by 1639 per *Magnalia Christi*, p. 73

“‘I came from England’ said one inhabitant of Boston, ‘because I did not like the lord-bishops; but I cannot join you because I would not be under the lord-brethren.’” *Magnalia Christi*, p. 221 as footnoted in Chs. Hodge, *History...*, p. 31

- b. Salem Colony originally designed by Westminster member as a Presbyterian refuge
- 2. Connecticut was mainly Congregationalist, many of them having Presbyterian sympathies
- 3. Middle colonies

By 1700, there were 10 to 15 congregations in NY and NJ transplanted from New England.

- 4. The South
 - a. N.E. transplants were stymied by the Anglican autocracy in VA, although a foothold was gained in MD.
 - b. By 1687, French Huguenots had organized at Charleston, SC
- 5. Leading Lights: The Mathers, John Eliot

B. Francis Makemie (1658-1708): “The Father of the American Presbyterian Church”

“A man of eminent piety and strong intellectual powers, adding to force of talents a fascinating address; and conspicuous for his dignity and faith as a minister of the gospel.” —Hays, p. 75

- 1. Beginning of his American work, 1683
 - a. In response to 1680 appeal letter from Col. Wm. Stevens of the MD council to Presbytery of Laggan in Ulster.
 - b. Came through Barbados where he was licensed as a non-conformist. Traveled from Charleston to Boston, establishing a circuit of preaching points mainly on the Delmarva Peninsula southward.
 - c. London retreat, 1704-05

Returns with money and two ministers from ‘London Union of Presbyterian Ministers’ whose support would be underwritten for two years.

- 2. December 1706, the establishment of ‘The Presbytery’
 - a. Organized at Freehold, NJ, and occasioned by the need to ordain a licentiate in that church; all future meetings would be held in Philadelphia
 - b. Apparently met at the call of Makemie.
 - 1) Diversity among first seven ministers

“It united in the persons of its seven ministers the two quite differing and often conflicting heritages of Puritan Presbyterianism and of Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism, anticipating the pluralism, even at times polarity, that was to characterize American Presbyterianism.” —Loetscher, p. 61

- 2) Uniquely built from the ground up

“A second important feature of this first presbytery was that it was organized ‘from the ground up,’ not ‘from the top down,’ as was the Presbyterianism of Scotland which had been adopted by Parliament and implemented by the General Assembly. In America, on the

contrary, the higher judicatories were created by the lower, establishing the more democratic nature of American Presbyterianism, and strengthening the concept that undelegated powers remain in the presbyteries, not in the higher judicatories.” —Loetscher, pp. 61,62

3) Initial actions (1707)

“Our plan is to meet yearly and oftener, if necessary, to consult the most proper measure for advancing religion and propagating Christianity in our various stations and to maintain such a correspondence as may conduce to the improvement of our ministerial abilities.” —cited in Hutchinson, pp. 110,111

(a) Exposition of Hebrews at regular meetings

(b) Three overtures of preeminence

“First. That every minister in their respective congregations read and comment on a chapter of the Bible every Lord's day, as discretion and circumstances of time and place will admit. Second. That it be recommended to every minister of the Presbytery to set on foot and encourage private Christian societies. Third. That every minister of the Presbytery supply neighboring desolate places where a minister is wanting and opportunity of doing good is offered.” —Hays, p. 70

(c) Within a couple years, early attention given relations of ministers to their elders and congregations; also the call for the keeping of session minutes to be reviewed at Presbytery

(d) 3,000 communicants

3. Makemie persecuted in NY, 1707, for “preaching without a license”

a. Governor Cornbury's impression of Makemie to the English gov't:

“I entreat your protection against this malicious man. He is a Jack-of-all-trades. He is a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counselor-at-law, and, which is worse than all, a disturber of Governments.” —in Hays, p. 75

Also, see Bancroft's opinion of Cornbury, (Hays, pp. 101-02)

b. Verdict: acquittal

(1) Makemie defended himself under the Parliamentary Act of Toleration, arguing that he and his creed were closer to the CoE than the Quakers who were protected under the act.

(2) Still, Makemie forced to pay court costs of £83

(a) Wrote pamphlet of protest

(b) Reverberations contribute to recall of the Governor

(3) Makemie's health broken while in prison; dies the next year.

c. “In the long run this event solidified the image of Presbyterians as defenders of freedom and won new respect for the denomination in America.” —Eerdmans HTCIA, p. 56

C. The early General Synod, 1716

1. Oversight of Presbytery actions

2. Organized at the call of 'The Presbytery,' 1716
 3. Comprised of four new presbyteries (Philadelphia, Long Island, New Castle, Snow Hill) out of the old one.
 - a. 13 ministers and six elders at the first meeting in Sept. 1717.
 - b. The 'Irish Presbytery' of Londonderry, NH.
 4. Early Actions
 - a. 'A Fund for Pious Uses' established; subsidized by contributions from Glasgow, Scotland
 - b. By 1724, distance dictated that annual representation could be by delegates proportioned from the Presbyteries.
 - c. Ministerial supply, 1735
 - (1) Condemnation of wholesale ordinations system in Ireland to supply America
 - (2) Dissatisfaction with local tutorial method of ordinands.
 5. 30 ministers by 1730.
 - a. Many in New England.
 - b. Continued migration from Ireland; e.g. Wm. Tennent whose Church of Ireland ordination was recognized in 1718
- B. Significant Confessional questions of 1729
1. Official adoption of Westminster Standards
 2. Beginnings of separation of church and state
 - a. 1722 - Jonathan Dickinson's synod sermon

"Tho we ought to reject both the Heresy, and the Communion of those, who deny what we esteem the Fundamental Truths of our holy Religion; yet even these essential Articles of Christianity, may not be imposed by Civil Coercions, temporal Penalties, or any other way whatsoever." —Hutchinson, p. 112
 - b. 1729 - Westminster Confession adopted unanimously with the exclusion of key clauses in chpts. 20 and 23 dealing with the church's relation to the state
 - (1) No state control over synods
 - (2) No corporal punishment of religious heretics
 3. The Adopting Act Question: 'Strict or loose subscription to the standards?'
 - a. Background: Creeping Socinianism had split the Irish Presbyterian Church of Ulster in 1726. In 1727, John Thomson introduced an overture at synod to require strict subscription.
 - b. Two divergent parties
 - 1) Scotch Irish: a history of swearing to the covts – John Thomson
 - 2) English and Welsh Puritans: 'God alone is Lord of the conscience' – Jonathan Dickinson
 - c. Strict subscription arguments

- 1) Need of doctrinal unanimity in the face of dangerous heresies and subtle aberrations (I Tim. 4:16)
 - 2) Why have such a 'clinically precise' creed if its details may be thrown to the wind?
 - 3) Is the church a confessional church if it gives only lip service to the standards?
- d. Loose subscription arguments
- 1) The church's purity may be safeguarded by strict discipline of scandalous ministers and examination of candidates' religious experiences.
 - 2) Subscription does not exclude the objects of its design, 'hypocrites nor concealed heretics'
 - 3) Whatever happened to Sola Scriptura as opposed to the opinions of men?
 - (a) Not even all of the Westminster divines favored strict subscription
 - (b) There is a 'glorious contradiction' between strict subscriptionism and chapter 20 of the confession which asserts 'God alone is Lord of the conscience.'
- e. Another glorious irony: Adoption of the Standards came only after scruples forced the unanimous exclusion of the magistrate references.
- f. Resolution
- 1) Compromise offered by Dickinson called for all ministers and ordinands to subscribe to the 'essential and necessary articles' of the Confession as containing the 'system of doctrine' taught in the Scriptures
 - (a) prefaced the Act with a qualifying statement on the Synod's abhorrence of any imposition upon other men's consciences
 - (b) 'essentials' to be interpreted by each presbytery or synod in case any man had scruples about particulars in the standards
 - i. 1736 – a "strictly" underhanded push for the "jot and tittle."
 - ii. 1741-58 – Taking "Sides."
 - iii. 1927: G.A. hid behind Adopting Act of 1729 to overturn its earlier requirement of holding officers to the five fundamentals (essentials) of the faith.
 - (2) A probable split between the two parties was thus averted, but was the compromise a Pandora's Box of latitudinarianism?
- g. Ratified by 1st General Assembly in 1788, and aborted by the Confession of 1967

For the full text of the Act, see James Payton, 'The Background and Significance of the Adopting Act' in *Pressing Toward the Mark*, pp. 136-37

III. The Great Awakening

A. New England (ca. 1734-1741ff)

1. The worst of times
 - a. Political unrest
 - (1) Uncertain political future of NE colonies
 - (2) European wars injected into New World
 - b. An age of growing belief in mechanical determinism
 - (1) Deist Thomas Hobbes (d. 1679)
 - (2) NE Churches begin to recoil vs. determinism and Calvinistic predestination
 - c. A cold church
 - (1) Halfway covenant opened church membership to unbelievers
 - (2) Mechanical 'preparationism' emphasized formal religion
2. The best of times?

New Englanders and the Reformed churches grounded in the right presuppositions.

B. The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies

1. Pietism of anabaptists and Lutherans in PA and NJ
2. Theodore Frelinghuysen (1691-1747)
 - a. German ministering in 4 Dutch Reformed Churches in N. Jersey (1720ff.)
 - (1) Preached on necessity of personal conversion
 - (2) All 4 churches split after 4 years
 - b. Began cooperation of Presbyterians - viz. Gilbert Tennent, 1726

C. Presbyterian Revival

1. Log College men
 - a. Log College developed by Wm. Tennent, 1726
 - (1) Home seminary for sons and other candidates; 18 graduates

'To me it seemed to resemble the school of the old prophets' — Whitefield
 - (2) Spawned other Log Colleges as graduates went out
 - (a) Samuel Blair at Faggs Manor
 - (b) College of NJ, 1746; 4 of 12 trustees were Log College grads
 - b. Many graduates congregate in North Jersey, later form New Brunswick Presbytery, 1738
 - c. Marked by evangelical zeal, which infected many N.E. trained Presbyterians there
2. Initial, formal opposition
 - a. Scotch Irish concern over ill-educated clergy.

Partly a smoke screen for real concern for shift of leadership to enthusiasts and English Presbyterians.

- (1) Emotional 'falling experiences'
- (2) Itinerant preaching without local invitation
- b. 1741 - Synod resolves that Presbyteries could examine for ordination only men of NE or European training
- 3. Old Side–New Side Division (1741-58)
 - a. 1740 - Gilbert Tennent's famous sermon, 'The Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry'
 - (1) Lambastes cautious old side preachers: '...they are as blind as moles and dead as stones, without any spiritual taste and relish.'
 - (2) Printed throughout England and America
 - b. 1741 - Synod excludes the New Brunswick Presbytery by a narrow vote
 - (1) The absent Presbytery of NY quickly attempted to mediate a reconciliation
 - (2) 1745 - Presbyteries of New Brunswick, New Castle, and NY merge to form New York Synod as now opposed to Philadelphia Synod
 - c. New Side Progress
 - (1) In minority at split: 25 old side, 22 new side
 - (2) Zeal of NS was self-propagating so that at reunion, 22 o.s. and 72 n.s.
 - d. Reunion, 1758
 - (1) After several initial N.S. overtures for peace
 - (2) Gilbert Tennent
 - (a) 1749 - 'Irenicum'
 - (b) led N.S. peace committee in dialogue
 - (3) Final compromise
 - (a) New Brunswick recognized
 - (b) No more uninvited itinerants
 - (c) Presbyteries would set their own academic standards for admission
- D. Whitefield in the middle colonies
 - 1. Preached for Frelinghuysen and Tennents
 - 2. 1740-41 = high tide of Awakening
- E. Fruits of the Great Awakening
 - 1. Church growth
 - a. Converts
 - b. Divide and multiply axiom
 - 2. Social benefits from widespread morality
 - 3. Educational institutions to train leaders

- a. Log Colleges
 - b. College of NJ, 1746
 - (1) Moved from Elizabethtown and Newark to Princeton, 1755
 - (2) Early presidents: Dickinson, Aaron Burr, Edwards, Samuel Davies
 - c. University of PA
 - (1) Grew out of Franklin's 100' X 70' New Side Auditorium
 - (2) G. Tennent's church met there for 9 weeks
 - (3) 1751 - used for an academy
 - (4) 1791 - University of PA
 - d. Queen's College of Dutch Reformed
 - (1) 1747 - had divided: Old Side under Amsterdam, New Side in American Coetus
 - (2) Reunion in 1772 recognized ministers training at Queens
 - e. Dartmouth, 1769: to train missionaries to Indians
4. Indian mission
- a. Samson Occom
 - b. David Brainerd (1718-47)
 - (1) Converted in NE Awakening
 - (2) Expelled from Yale for his zeal
 - (3) 1742 - licensed by New Light Congreg. Church and sponsored by Scottish S.P.C.K.
 - (4) 1744 - ordained by New Side Presbytery
 - (5) Labored among Indians in NJ and up the Susquehanna Valley
 - (6) Died of TB in J. Edwards home
 - (a) Engaged to his daughter
 - (b) Provoked Edward's Indian involvement at Stockbridge
 - (c) *Life and Diary of David Brainerd* greatly helped the cause of missions in America
- F. Spiritual decline after the Awakening
- 1. Church splits over the pain of a new idea
 - 2. Doctrinal pamphleteer war
 - 3. French and Indian War

'The Great Awakening decided that America should be a predominantly Christian land. It stimulated moral earnestness, missionary zeal, philanthropy, cooperation across denominational lines, and the founding of educational institutions. It gave new value and confidence to the average man and so contributed to the development of democracy [sic] in America. It strengthened the non-established churches more than the established, and so helped to prepare for religious freedom.' — Loetscher, pp. 68,69

IV. The Revolutionary Era

A. Demographics

1. Approximately 3105 Reformed churches for a population of 3 million
 - a. Spread evenly over the 3 regions of N.E., Middle, and Southern colonies
 - b. Two thirds of population was Calvinistic
2. Denominational proportions:
 - 658 Congregational
 - 543 Presbyterian
 - 498 Baptist
 - 251 German and Dutch Reformed

B. Backdrop of the Great Awakening

1. The spiritual turning was only one generation removed from the political upheaval
2. The Awakening's influences on Revolutionary thought and action
 - a. A common intellectual and emotional interest
 - (1) Aspiration for a post millennial kingdom

"Many thought it likely that the gospel would now advance by the preaching of the Word and work of the Holy Spirit until the whole world was Christianized.... The conviction that America might be the fountainhead of this last push to the millennium increased as the revival flourished; it did not diminish even when the startling successes had become things of the past." – (Noll, *Christians in the American Revolution*, p. 41)

To many Americans, the War was a religious crusade. Note Presbyterian Robert Smith's 1781 sermon title: "The Cause of America is the Cause of Christ"

The war was "...the cause of truth against error and falsehood, ... the cause of pure and undefiled religion, against bigotry, superstition, and human inventions.... In short, it is the cause of heaven against hell—of the kind Parent of the universe against the prince of darkness, and the destroyer of the human race." – Noll, pp.60,61

"Now, however, with the thrilling prospect of realized liberty [in Christ] and the unique opportunity for virtuous citizens to create their own institutions, it seemed increasingly likely that the millennial age would arise from this struggle for liberty and [for] Christianity in which the colonists were engaged." –Noll, p. 58

- (2) Kindling of republican ideals
 - (a) Reassertion of Reformation principle of the individual priesthood of believers directly responsible to God
 - (b) The Awakening set the tone for antiestablishmentarianism
 - i. Anglicanism was weakened
 - ii. Alternatives to dead orthodoxy promoted
 - iii. Presbyterian Samuel Davies teaches Patrick Hamilton to break the conventions of oratory.
- (3) Real Whig anthropology

- b. Common inter-colonial leaders recognized
 - c. Interdenominational cooperation
 - (1) History of cooperation among Reformed branches
 - (2) Transcendence above sectarian and political lines
- C. The threat of implanting Anglican Bishops on American soil (see Walton's Chart #57)
1. Appeared as a specter of religious imperialism to America's free churches in 1760-70s
 - a. Opposed most strongly in N.E.

"People have no security against being unmercifully priest-ridden but by keeping all imperious bishops, and other clergymen who loved to lord it over God's heritage, from getting their feet into the stirrup at all." —Jonathan Mayhew, Boston minister, cited in Sweet, p. 104
 - b. Quebec Act of 1774 - RCism given freedom in Quebec
 2. Indigent Anglican leaders were calling for it
 - a. Bishop of London too remote
 - b. The Anglican church in America now large enough for its own regional bishop
 - c. Yet the dissident churches were overshadowing the mother church in size and influence
 3. Drew Congregationalists and Presbyterians together
 - a. Annual meetings from 1766
 - b. Proto-type of Plan of Union

"The grand points to be kept in view, are the promoting religion and the good of the Societies [i.e., Congregationalists and Presbyterians], and a firm union against Episcopal Encroachments.... What we dread is their political power, and their courts, of which Americans can have no notion adequate to the mischiefs that they introduce." —Eerdmans, p. 133
- D. "The Presbyterian Revolution"
- "Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian parson!" —Horace Walpole, M.P.
- "Where were Presbyterians to be found in those days of trials, who were willing to hazard their all for the cause of civil and religious liberty? It was for these blessings they sought these shores. First to resist oppression of the king, first to counsel separation from the mother country, first to draft declarations of independence, Presbyterians were not found wanting when the day of trial and conflict came." —Noble, as cited in McClellan, *A History of Faggs Manor United Presbyterian Church: 1730-1980*, p. 22
1. Official pronouncements
 - a. Political
 - (1) 1775 Mecklenburg Resolves, sever ties of Scotch Irish in western N.C. to King George

"All former laws are now suspended in this province and whatever person shall hereafter attempt to exercise any commission from the Crown shall be deemed an enemy of his country." —Hays, pp. 114-15
 - (2) May 1776 - Westmoreland County, PA, Scotch Irish determine to defend their property vs. king's officers

b. Ecclesiastical - Synods of NY and Philadelphia

(1) 1775

(a) Call for a boycott of British goods with support of Congress

(b) Appeal to show respect to King George in any overtures to him while maintaining colonial solidarity

(2) Oct. 1776 - Hanover, VA, Presbytery endorses Declaration of Independence as its "Magna Carta"

(3) 1783 Pastoral letter exhorting the churches to "... render thanks unto Almighty God for all his mercies, spiritual and temporal, and in particular manner for establishing the Independence of the United States of America."

"We cannot help congratulating you on the general and almost universal attachment of the Presbyterian body to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind. This has been visible in their conduct, and has been confessed by the complaints of the common enemy. Such a circumstance ought not only afford us satisfaction on the review as bring credit to the body in general, but to increase our gratitude to God for the happy issue of the war." – Breed, *Presbyterians and the Revolution*, p. 127

2. Direct involvement

a. Two thirds of Continental Army is Scotch Irish

b. Preaching in behalf of the sacred cause

"So universal was the patriotic ardor of the Presbyterian ministers that Dr. Inglis, Tory rector of Trinity Church, New York, wrote in 1776, 'I do not know one Presbyterian minister, nor have I been able, after strict inquiry, to hear of any who did not by preaching and every effort in their power promote all the measures of the Continental Congress, however extravagant.'" – Loetscher, p. 75

c. Promoting the war cause

(1) Chaplains

(2) Recruiting

George Duffield of Philadelphia to his Sunday congregation: ...There are too many men in this church and "...there will be one less tomorrow and no lecture on Wednesday evening."

(3) Sacrificing

- James Caldwell of Elizabethtown: "Put Watts into 'em, boys."

- See Bret Harte's poem in Hays, pp. 118-19

E. John Witherspoon (1723-94)

1. Evangelical leader in the Kirk of Scotland

2. Finally accepted Presidency of College of NJ, 1768

3. Political activism (the "Presbyterian Parson")

4. 1776 - delegate to NJ provincial congress
5. Applied Presbyterian theories of Genevan Republicanism to the fledgling governments
6. Was sent as a NJ representative to the Continental Congress (1776-83)
7. Only educator and/or cleric to sign Declaration of Independence

“There is a tide in the affairs of men, a nick of time. We perceive it now before us. To hesitate is to consent to our own slavery. That noble instrument upon your table, which ensures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in this house. He that will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions is unworthy the name of freeman. For my own part, of property I have some, of reputation more. That reputation is staked, that property is pledged, on the issue of this contest; and although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather that they descend thither by the hand of the executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country.” —Breed, p. 166

8. Continental Congress
9. Confidant of Washington
10. Served on critical War and Finance Committees
11. Constitutional Convention

“Calvinism was the driving force in the pursuit of independence, but Presbyterianism was the guiding light in the shaping of the American experiment” —CKL

12. Sought union with Congregationalists and Dutch Reformed
13. Influenced key patriots at Princeton
 - a. James Madison, the Father of the Constitution
 - b. 8 other U.S. delegates (out of 55) to the Constitutional Convention
 - c. Alexander Hamilton, a potential student
14. Leader of the Presbyterian National Assembly

F. Other Reformed Groups

1. Dutch
 - a. Near unanimous support of the war effort
 - b. Suffered greatly from British occupation
2. German Reformed
 - a. General support of the cause
 - b. “Better is a poor and wise child than an old and foolish king who is above admonishment”
3. French Huguenots - a foregone conclusion
4. Post-war disestablishment of the churches
 - a. Largely through efforts of Baptists, (Isaac Backus) with support of Presbyterians

- b. Presbyterians originally had sought only tolerance; now sought pluralism

“We ask no ecclesiastical establishment for ourselves; neither can we approve of them when granted to others.” –Hanover Presbytery, cited in Loetscher, p. 75

“The Synod of New York and Philadelphia in 1781 declared: ‘The Synod do solemnly and publicly declare that they ever have and still do, renounce and abhor the principles of intolerance, and we do believe that every peaceable member of civil society ought to be protected in the full and free exercise of their religion.’ This splendid declaration voices the best of Presbyterian and American conviction on the subject of religious freedom.” – Loetscher, p. 76

- c. Virginia takes the lead in disestablishing the state church

G. Evolution of religious freedom

- 1776 - religious freedom for all sects
- 1779 - state funding of Anglican church stopped
- 1785 - complete disestablishment
- Paved way for First Amendment to U.S. Constitution

H. Organization of the Presbyterian General Assembly

- Four years of study and planning
- 1785 - General Committee headed by Witherspoon to formulate general rules for government of Synods, presbyteries, and churches
- 1786 - Presbytery and Synod boundaries redrawn
 - Witherspoon committee begins drafting a Form of Government and Book of Discipline to be distributed before the next convocation
- 1787 - Draft amended, adopted, and sent to presbyteries for ratification
- 1788 - Call for General Assembly to meet the next year
 - Adoption of Westminster Standards; amended in areas re: civil magistrate

I. Simultaneous drafting of U.S. Constitution

a. Parallels

1. Anthropology of the framers
2. Division of labors
3. Tiered levels of authority
4. Republican rule by representatives of the people

b. Circumstantial evidence

1. Parallel dates of meeting, and only 4 blocks apart in Philadelphia
2. Common denominator in Witherspoon, the Confidant of Washington

J. Composition: “The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.”

- Four Synods: NY and NJ, Philadelphia, VA, and the Carolinas
- 16 Presbyteries; included 3 new Western presbyteries on the frontier: Redstone (PA), Transylvania, and Lexington (KY)

- 177 ministers (+ 111 probationers)
 - 419 churches
- K. First Assembly - 1789
1. Convocation address by Witherspoon: I Cor. 3:7
 2. Significant actions
 - a. Call for a new “faithful” edition of the Scriptures

A committee was established to cooperate with other denominations to “...revise and correct the proofsheets of Mr. Collins’s edition of the Bible, and to fix upon the most correct edition to be recommended to the printer from which to copy.” –cited in Hays, p. 138
 - b. Measures of “sending missionaries to the frontier settlements to form congregations, ordain elders, and administer the sacraments.”
 - c. Rules of parliamentary order established
- L. Other national organizations
1. Dutch Reformed
 - a. Crystallized from 1784-92
 - b. Translated Dutch Standards into English; adapted them to separation of church and state at same time
 2. German Reformed → “Synod of the Reformed Church in the U.S.”
 1. 1787 - Franklin College in Lancaster County = joint effort with Lutherans to train leaders
 2. 1789 - Attempt to cut umbilical cord to Amsterdam classis was consummated after three years of silence from Holland
- M. An age of increasing moral decadence
1. Brutalizing effect of war

“It is impossible to serve Mars and Christ at the same time” —Marquis of Pescara

“I have attended church these fifty years; I have fought the British seven years; I have slept in a tent on the frozen ground with nothing but a blanket to cover me; and I have trod the snow path with bleeding feet nearly naked ... and if Mr. Merrill [the clergyman] needs a fire, let him go to the place where they keep one year round.” —A NH vet refusing to pay his state ministerial tax, Eerdmans, p. 164
- N. Skepticism in vogue
1. Deism of Tom Paine: “Age of Reason”
 2. Sympathy for the French Revolution

“If French infidelity had been able to maintain a stable and quiet gov’t in Europe, it would have well-nigh obliterated Christianity in this country.” —Hays, p. 139
- See Hays, pp. 140,41, for General Assembly assessment with other views.
- See Sweet, pp. 223,23, for Lyman Beecher’s perspective of student days at Yale.

1800's

"The times were such as tried men's souls; but these men's souls and the souls of their companions triumphed through the trials of those days. The seed of American Protestantism was sown in a New England blizzard. Its Presbyterian type sprouted in a Philadelphia spring snow. It shot its stalk upward in a New Jersey midwinter Sabbath ordination. It blossomed amid the tempest of the Revolution. It "set its fruit" in the Great Revival of 1800. The world is now reaping its harvest in the missionary heat of these midsummer years with their millions of money and tens of thousands of native converts." —Hayes, (1892), p. 122

I. An Era of expansion and organization

A. Westward expansion to the Mississippi

1. Causes
 - a. Congestion on eastern seaboard; only 5% of population across the mountains in 1790
 - b. Post-war recession aggravated by British embargo (1808-1820)
2. New population concentrations challenge
 - a. Eastern depletions drop attendance
 - b. Western boom creates church planting opportunities
 - by 1821, NY surpasses VA as #1; OH and KY rank 5th and 6th; 25 states now, 10 of the 12 new ones being west of Alleghenies
3. Head start for Presbyterians: Scotch Irish already on the western edge of the population
 - a. Redstone, PA
 - b. Augusta and Hanover Counties of VA (+ NC frontier) spread into TN and KY (see Posey. *The Presbyterian Church of the Old SW*)
 - c. "Father" David Rice, father of Presbyterianism in KY in 1780's
 - (1) started Danville church as nucleus
 - (2) 1785-1802 = 3 presbyteries culminate in Synod of KY
 - (3) Separate Cumberland Presbytery joins later

B. 1801 Plan of Union between Congregationalists and Presbyterians

1. Essence: ecclesiastical form was subordinated to Christian effort in response to the need of planting new churches on the burgeoning frontier

"The Plan of Union was an ingenious arrangement making it possible for congregations to be connected with both the Congregational and the Presbyterian denominations at the same time, and to be served by pastors of either. Presbyterian churches might be represented in the Congregational associations by their elders, while Congregational churches could be represented in the presbyteries by committeemen. Disputed cases might be referred either to presbytery or to a special council." — Loetscher, p. 85
2. Background
 - a. Continuing effort at Calvinistic cooperation out of the Great Awakening which had been interrupted by the War
 - b. Proposed for western missions to the CT Association by Presbyterian Jonathan Edwards the Younger in 1800

- c. Agreed to by Gen'l Assembly in 1801 and unanimously adopted by CT Association in 1802
- 3. After 1826, the Plan was executed by the independent American Home Mission Society
- 4. Ramifications for the two denominations
 - a. Advantage of Presbyterians: more new churches join them than Congs.
 - (1) Presbyterians better organized and more assertive
 - (2) Presbyterian gov't afforded more protection to its pastors in volatile frontier situations.
 - (3) Organic unity of the presbytery gave scattered frontiersmen a greater sense of homogeneity
 - b. Disadvantage of Presbyterianism; polity challenged by notions of independency and purity diluted by New Haven theology

"In an evil day, the Presbyterian church paused in the development of her distinctive principles, and formed an alliance with New England Congregationalism; which in the third of one century brought her to the brink of her ruins." —B.M. Palmer. *The Life and Letters of James H. Thornwell*, p.188

"Churches, Presbyteries, and finally Synods were born of it; which, like Jacob's cattle, were ringstreaked, speckled, and grizzled'—a motley assemblage with every hue and color of the ecclesiastical prism." — Palmer, p. 193

- See Palmer, p. 195, for the 1837 Assembly Memorial detailing the perceived threat of heretical infection from N.E.

"History does not afford a better illustration of the evil wrought by good men, whenever from motives of policy, they swerve from principle. *** This ['Iliad of Woes'] was not established by good men, but it originated in the sweetest and most godly intentions." —Palmer, p. 191
- 5. Discontinuation of the Plan
 - a. 1837 - rejected by Old School Presbyterians
 - b. 1852 - Congregationalists face reality and bail out
- C. Otherwise, relatively slow growth of Presbyterianism on the Frontier
 - 1. Competition from Methodists (better organized for growth) and Baptists (lower standards for leadership)
 - 2. Reasons for slower expansion
 - a. Professional clergymen dependent on support of their new church(es)
 - b. Many ministers forced to divide time as school teachers
 - c. Bureaucratic procedures of "calling" a minister

"Presbyterian ministers called, Methodists sent, and Baptists simply came"
 - d. Limited manpower; slow educational/preparation process
 - e. More rigid in methodological adaptability

- f. Messages were heavy on theology with less emotional appeal

Later writers found incongruity between Calvinism and frontier religious ideas. Theodore Roosevelt was convinced that Calvinism was too cold for the frontiersman. In seeking an explanation of the failure of Presbyterians to appeal to 'crackers, red necks,' and the great unchurched element in the new cotton states, William E. Dodd stated that 'the Calvinist meat was too strong' and 'Princeton faith too drastic.' —Posey. *The Presbyterian Church in the Old SW* p.48 (cf. p. 21).

- g. Ethnic myopia

- h. Temptations ... common to man

D. Early Presbyterian schools formed in effort to meet the challenge of supplying leadership

1. "Father" Rice's log college grows into Transylvania Seminary

- a. Given 12,000 acre grant from state legislature

- b. Shanghaied by Unitarians

- 1) 1794 - Presbytery establishes substitute orthodox Kentucky Academy

- (a) Condition that 1/2 of Trustees must be Presbyterian ministers

- (b) Another grant of 6,000 acres from the state

- 2) 1798 - Transv. Seminary, on hard times, invites Presbyterian control when it merges with another school to become Transylvania University; soon goes liberal again.

2. Princeton Seminary, 1812

- a. Assembly Propositions to Presbyteries: a central seminary, a Northern and a Southern seminary, or a seminary for each synod?

- b. Assembly commissions Archibald Alexander, the first Professor

- 1) 1807 Assembly moderator, he had preached on need for a seminary

- 2) A student of William Graham, Witherspoon's disciple

- 3) As Prof. of Didactic and Polemic Theology, he was joined the next year by Samuel Miller in practical theology

- c. Started with 3 students and grew to 14 the next year

- d. Princeton serves as a counterweight to the N.E. theology out of Yale

II. Second Great Awakening, ca. 1800-1825

A. Eastern phase

- 1. Centered mainly in college towns along the coast: Hampden Sydney in VA (1787), Dartmouth, Yale (1802)
- 2. An orderly revival producing lasting fruits

B. Western Awakening: less sophisticated

- 1. Led by Presbyterians; harvested by Baptists and Methodists

2. James McGready

“He has been described as exceedingly uncouth in his personal appearance, with small piercing eyes, coarse tremulous voice, and so unusual was his general ugliness as to attract attention.” –Henry Swete, p. 227

- a. Educated in W. PA Log College
- b. Pastored three Presbyterian churches in Logan County, KY, (a.k.a. “Rogues’ Harbor”)
 - 1) “Religious decline is a judgment”
 - 2) Congregations prayed each Sat. night and Sunday morning and every 3rd Saturday for revival
- c. Local opposition: accused of “driving people to distraction”
- d. Leader of Cumberland Revival, 1800: spontaneous creation of camp meetings

3. Barton Stone

- a. Arminian revivalist who would later renounce his Presbyterianism to found the “Christian Church”
- b. Carried camp meeting style revival to his churches
- c. Stone withdraws from the Synod of KY, 1803
 - 1) Mental reservations regarding the doctrines of Dordt
 - 2) Stone and four other Presbyterian ministers form the “Independent Springfield Presbytery”
 - 3) KY Synod suspended the five ministers and declared their pulpits vacant

C. Fractured Presbyterianism

1. “The Christian Church”
 - a. Antinomian result of the Springfield Presbytery
 - b. Barton Stone credited with its paternity after the other four ministers bail out
 - c. 1832: general merger of the Christian Church (Stonites) with the Disciples of Christ (Campbellites)
2. “The Disciples of Christ”
 - a. Thomas Campbell and his son, Alexander, defect from the Associate Reformed Presbyterians of western PA in 1809
 - 1) Rejection of confessionalism
 - 2) Alexander was 17 years with the Baptists after his application to the Pittsburgh Synod was rejected
 - b. The 1832 merger with the Stonites leaves confusion over the new name: “Disciples of Christ” or “Christian Church”?

3. Cumberland Presbyterian Church
 - a. 1802: Cumberland Presbytery in KY out of revival influx
 - b. This presbytery licenses ill-equipped “catechizers”
 - 1) Circuit system
 - 2) 17 “illiterate exhorters with Arminian sentiments”
 - c. Kentucky Synod aroused by “defective, discordant, and obscure [minutes], abounding in flagrant violations of the Rules of Discipline”
 - d. Synod quasi-commission aggressively prosecutes irregularities
 - 1) Cumberland Presbytery dissolved
 - 2) 1809 appeal to General Assembly was denied
 - e. Development
 - 1) 1810: Independent Presbytery
 - 2) 1829: General Assembly of 18 presbyteries
 - 3) Success: camp meetings, circuit system, and “free will” appeals
- D. Revivalist and democratic challenges to orthodoxy
 1. Taylorism
 - a. Nathaniel Taylor out of Yale
 - 1) Influenced by Scottish Common Sense Realism: “how can I be guilty for the sin of my parents?”
 - 2) Denied original sin and total depravity
“sin is in the sinning” and “sin is not necessary, but inevitable”
 - 3) Influences Congregationalism that is cooperating in the 1801 Plan of Union
 2. Finneyism
 - a. Charles Grandison Finney (1793- 1875)
 - 1) Father of modern revivalism
 - 2) Ordained to Presbyterian ministry in 1824
 - (a) Lawyer with slim theological training
 - (b) Became Congregationalist by 1832
 - b. Finney’s “New Measures”
 - 1) Based on humanistic ideals instead of the Spirit’s supernatural work in revivals
 - 2) Madison Avenue publicity
 - 3) Protracted nightly meetings
 - 4) Women exhorters
 - 5) “Anxious Bench”

c. Princeton's response

"When this exciting system of calling to "anxious seats,"—calling out into the aisles to be "prayed for," etc., is connected, as, to my certain knowledge, it often has been, with erroneous doctrines:—for example, with the declaration that nothing is easier, than conversion:—that the power of the Holy Spirit is not necessary to enable impenitent sinners to repent and believe;—that if they only resolve to be for God— resolve to be Christians—that itself is regeneration—the work is already done:—I say, where the system of "anxious seats," etc., is connected with such doctrinal statements as these, it appears to be adapted to destroy souls wholesale." —Samuel Miller as cited in *History of Christianity in America*, p. 229

III. Presbyterian Growth, Splits, and Reunion (1830-1870)

A. Increased growth, 1815-1835

1. 41 Presbyteries to 118
2. 600% membership growth
3. Six new seminaries, including Auburn, (1821), the New School counterpart to Princeton

B. Early Tensions

1. Fear of losing it's Presbyterian polity
 - a. 1830 — New England Congregationalists relegated to "Corresponding Members," losing their franchise held since 1794
 - b. 1832 — "Committeemen" from "Presby-gational" Plan of Union Churches must come to the Assembly as "elders"
2. Threat of creeping doctrinal apostasy
 - a. Taylorism in many Plan of Union churches
 - b. Finney's methodology and anthropology
 - c. Test cases: Heresy trials
 - 1) George Duffield: his presbytery in Penn. condemned his erroneous, dispensational views found in his book, *Regeneration*.
 - 2) Lyman Beecher (1835) of Lane Seminary and the Second Presbyterian Church in Cinn. *Acquitted of Heresy, Slander, Hypocrisy*
 - 3) Albert Barnes (1798-1870)
 - (a) Objections over his published sermon, "The Way of Salvation." Sustained by the Assembly in 1831
 - (b) Heresy charges over his Notes on Romans (viz., Romans 5). Acquitted by presbytery, condemned by Synod, acquitted by 1836 Assembly
3. Jealous opposition to parachurch groups like AHMS and the ABCFM
4. Polarization evidenced by "elective affinity" wherein liberal and orthodox presbyteries occupy the same geographic region
5. *Summary* "The prospect of [an internal] division was greatly increased by the fact that the dividing lines on all these different question seemed to be found at about the same place, [viz., the Plan of Union] and the same leaders were found on the same side of most questions." —Hays, p. 176

C. A Parting of Company

1. Schools of thought

a. Old School

- 1) Reformed Confessionalism; doctrinal emphasis while encouraging true revival
- 2) Composition: European Reformed and Scotch-Irish

b. New School

- 1) Catholic/Evangelical Presbyterians: ethical emphasis
- 2) Composition: NE Puritans and frontier revivalists

2. 1835 Assembly = Old School control

“The errors abroad in the church are fundamental, vital, and systematic.... Another alarming feature is the boldness and pertinacity with which the very existence of these errors is denied.” –Act and Testimonies, VIII, as cited in Hutchinson’s *History Behind the Reformed Pres Ch, Evan Synod*, p. 132.

3. 1836 – New School Control of Pittsburgh Assembly

4. 1837 – Old School has majority and mobilizes

a. Plan of Union abrogated

- 1) Independent agencies disowned
- 2) 1838, new Assembly Boards are formed, e.g., Western Foreign Mission Society out of the Pittsburgh Assembly

b. Erstwhile attempt at amicable separation into 2 churches

c. Abrogation of Plan of Union made retroactive

- 1) Excision of: 4 synods, 28 presbyteries, 509 ministers, 60,000 members

“We do no man injustice by declaring that Congregationalists are not Presbyterians....” Cited in Hutchinson, p. 136

- 2) Other sympathetic new schoolers withdraw in support of cast-out brethren

a) 4/9 of the PCUSA was New School

b) The New School remnant is repressed in 1838

“...our constitutional rights, individual rights, and rights of appeal have been violated...”

5. Six points of contention (per E.D. Morris in *The PCNS: 1837-1869*, cited in Hutchinson, p. 136)

a. Doctrinal discipline

b. Extent of subscription to the confession

c. Polity

d. Ecclesiastical agencies

e. Revival methods

f. Slavery

6. Significant representative documents
 - a. Old School: "Act and Testimony," 1837 (See Appendix B)

"We contend especially and above all for the truth...."

16 specification of error within the church, e.g., areas of original sin, vicarious atonement, free will, semi-Pelagianism
 - b. New School: "Auburn Declaration," 1837 (See Appendix C)
 - 1) Protestation of its Presbyterian and Calvinistic character
 - 2) Rebuttal of the 16 accusations

Although a somewhat ambiguous statement, "This extraordinary party ... after doing so much to destroy the church and corrupt its faith, they drew up and recorded a confession not only at direct variance with their own published declarations, but more orthodox than many who dreaded and opposed them ever held." –R.J. Breckinridge to 1842 GA
 - 3) Cf. the 1924 Auburn Affirmation (See Appendix D)
 7. Immediate good out of the split
 - a. OS vitality
 - b. NS Presbyterian renaissance
 - 1) Denominational boards by 1852
 - 2) Estrangement from Congregationalists
- D. North-South schisms
1. New School
 - a. Slow growth
 - b. Early low profile on radical abolitionism
 - c. 1846, the main issue
 - d. 1850, Detroit resolution calling for discipline of slave holding members; reaffirmed in 1852
 - e. 1857
 - 1) Lexington, MO, Presbytery notifies synod its elders held slaves out of principle
 - 2) Assembly response: "such doctrines and practices cannot be permanently tolerated in the Presbyterian Church."
 - 3) Southern Synods secede to form The United Synod of the Presbyterian Church
 2. Old School
 - a. Doubled size and increased giving 10-fold in 33 years
 - b. Positions on slavery
 - 1) Abolitionists
 - 2) Moderates (Princeton)

- 3) Conservatives (Southerners)
- c. 1845 resolution eschewing slavery but declaring it should not debar any from the church: vote of 168-13
- d. 1861 Philadelphia Assembly
 - 1) Five weeks after Ft. Sumter; many other denominations had already split
 - 2) Dr. Gardiner Spring moves that a committee “inquire into the expediency of making some expression of devotion to the Union of these states”
- 3. Gardiner Spring Resolutions
 - a. Pass 156-66 with a signed protest of minority
 - b. Southern commissioners withdraw to form the Presbyterian Church in the C.S.A
 - 1) Only 13 Southerners in attendance
 - 2) Yet 1/3 of O.S. lost for more than a century
- E. Reunions
 - 1. South
 - a. N.S. never had a big southern following or schools to train its leaders
 - b. Merges into PCCSA
 - 2. North
 - a. Backdrop
 - 1) Reunion of 1758
 - 2) Time of national healing in the north
 - 3) O.S. and N.S. now equal in size after southern exodus
 - 4) Independent agencies no longer a bone of contention
 - b. Early peace overtures
 - 1) 1862, O.S. at Columbus calls for exchange of observers to N.S. Assembly
 - 2) 1864, O.S. delegates from Newark attend unofficial joint convention
 - c. Early cooperation
 - 1) Joint philanthropic work among union soldiers
 - 2) Joint reconstruction efforts
 - d. Culmination
 - 1) 1867 Presbyterian National Union Convention
 - a) Pushed by laymen
 - b) Scant resistance on either side
 - 2) 1869 joint meeting in Pittsburg; both bodies vote to reunite
 - 3) 1870, reunion at First United Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia

IV. Other Presbyterian & Reformed Developments of the latter 1800s

A. Dutch

1. 1846 – Dutch Reformed Church joined by conservative seceders from Holland
 - a. 1857 – many of the new immigrants bail out to form the “Christian Reformed Church”
 - b. 1886 – a second, larger secession from Holland beefs up the CRC
2. 1867 – Dutch Reformed Church changes its name to the RCA

B. Southern Presbyterianism

1. Civil War revivals among the troops: see Dabney’s *Christ in the Camp*
2. Distinctive emphases
 - a. Standing executive committees vs. Northern boards
 - b. Greater homogeneity between ruling and teaching elders
 - c. Greater autonomy in lower ecclesiastical levels
3. Polarization from the North
 - a. Ecclesiastical carpetbagging — 1865 Assembly
 - 1) Southern ministers still on the national rolls
 - 2) Required to confess
 - a) the sin of secession
 - b) the sin of slavery
 - 3) The South was declared a mission field
 - b. Many churches in the border states join the P.C.U.S. in reaction to northern legalism
 - c. Southern churches opposed the O.S./N.S. reunion of 1869
4. Southern schools
 - a. Union Seminary in Virginia; Robert Dabney
 - b. Columbia Seminary in SC; J.H. Thornwell and Girardeau
 - c. Louisville and Austin came in early 1900s

C. Scottish Presbyterians

1. 1782 – Majority of Covenanters & Seceders unite into the Associate Reformed Presbyterians
2. 1858 – Balance of Assoc. Presbyterian Church joins ARPC to form United Presbyterian Church in North America
3. Western Pennsylvania and border states were center of Scotch Presbyterian strength
4. Scottish distinctives till 1925
 - a. closed communion
 - b. Exclusion of lodge members
 - c. Exclusive Psalm singing

D. Western missions

1. Marcus (b. 1802) and Narcissa Whitman (both died in Nov. 1847)
 - a. Presbyterian doctor from Boston serving under the ABCFM
 - b. Murdered with 15 others at Walla Walla by the Cayuse Indians
2. Sheldon Jackson (1834-1909)
 - a. Princeton graduate
 - b. Director of Western Missions, 1870-1882
 - 1) Introduced prefabricated church buildings
 - 2) Introduced reindeer from Siberia into Alaska, 1892
 - c. 1897 – Moderator of General Assembly

E. Higher critical convulsions

1. Charles Augustus Briggs, (1814-1913)
 - a. Trained at Union Seminary and Univ. of Berlin
 - b. Prof. of Hebrew, and later of Biblical Theology, at Union Seminary, NYC
 - c. Anti-Calvinist sentiments

“These definitions [Westminster Canons] have ever been regarded as hard and offensive, and ... they have kept multitudes from uniting with the Presbyterian Church.” –cited in Hutchinson, p. 159.

“The old Calvinism is fast dying out.... We need a theology and a confession that will prepare the way for the great work of the future—the reunion of Christendom in the creed of Christ.” –Schaff in Hutchinson, p. 160.

- d. Challenge of the Scripture’s inerrancy, 1891
 - 1) Inaugural address in taking the chair of Biblical Theology: challenged Princeton’s “dogma of inspiration” as bibliolatry
 - 2) The Authority of Scripture
- e. Heresy trial, 1891-93
 - 1) Acquitted by NY Presbytery, but convicted by G.A.

“The General Assembly would remind all under its care that it is a fundamental doctrine that the Old and New Testaments are the inspired and infallible Word of God. Our Church holds that the inspired Word, as it came from God, is without error. The assertion of the contrary cannot but shake the confidence of the people in the sacred Books. All who enter office in our Church solemnly profess to receive them as the only infallible rule of faith and practice. If they change their belief on this point, Christian honor demands that they should withdraw from our ministry. They have no right to use the pulpit or the chair of the professor for the dissemination of their errors until they are dealt with by the slow process of discipline. But if any do so act, their Presbyteries should speedily interpose, and deal with them for violation of ordination vows.” –1892 G.A. Deliverance meeting in Portland, cited in Hutchinson, p. 164-165.

- 2) 87 Presbyters sign official protest vs. conviction

- 3) Broken affiliations
 - a) Briggs joins Episcopaleans
 - b) Union Seminary cuts its ties to the PCUSA
2. Henry Preserved Smith (d. 1927)
 - a. Another product of the Univ. of Berlin
 - b. Denied infallibility of Scriptures, but not tried till expressing sympathy with Briggs in 1892
 - c. Removed from Lane Seminary professorship; ultimately landed at Union Seminary, NYC, 1913-1925.
3. Arthur Cushman McGiffert (d. 1933)
 - a. Renowned historical theologian
 - b. Left Lane Seminary to succeed Schaff at Union, NYC, in 1893
 - c. Became Congregationalist when indicted in 1899 for his denial of original sin

1900s

“The Westminster System has been virtually displaced by the teaching of the dogmatic divines. It is no longer practically the standard of faith of the Presbyterian Church. The Catechisms are not taught in our churches, the Confession is not expounded in our theological seminaries. The Presbyterian Church is not orthodox by its own Standards. It has neither the old orthodoxy nor the new orthodoxy. It is in perplexity. It is drifting toward an unknown and a mysterious future.”
—C. A. Briggs, *Whither?* p. 223

I. A Broadening Presbyterian Church

A. Doctrinal Reforms

1. Crux: antipathy toward predestination of strict Calvinism
2. Early attempts
 - a. 1889 - 15 Presbyteries overture for creedal revision
 - b. 1892 - Proposals fail despite ratification by a majority of Presbyteries
3. 1903 Revisions
 - a. Five amendments to the Confession
 - 1) Included 2 new chapters
 - a) “On the Holy Spirit”
 - b) “On the Love of God and Missions”
 - 2) Three Textual changes to the Confession
 - a) XVI:7 “good deeds of men are sinful fall short of what God requires”
 - b) XXII:3 OMIT “it is sinful to refuse lawful oaths”
 - c) XXV:6 OMIT “the Pope is the antichrist”
 - b. Declaratory Statement in order to qualify the Confession
 - 1) God’s love for “all mankind”
 - 2) “We believe that all dying in infancy are included In the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved....”
 - c. Opposed by Warfield and Princeton
 - d. Ramifications
4. Alarm at growing toleration of modernism
 - a. “Modernism” first used in Presbyterian circles, as well as “fundamentalism” (in 1909)
 - b. 1910 - *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*
 - 1) Two volumes, 31 contributors, 90 articles
 - 2) Cost of publishing and disseminating two million sets was borne by dispensational Presbyterians, Lyman and Milton Stewart of L.A.
 - 3) This was part of an attempt to establish a Fundamentalist “movement”
 - a) Emphasized the Five Fundamentals
 - b) Call for prayer bands

“Without *The Fundamentals* the fundamentalist movement in its later self-conscious phases, whether undenominational or denominational, would have been an unlikely development.” —Hutchinson, p. 173

- c. “Essential Doctrines” (fundamentals) delineated and reaffirmed by the G.A. in 1910, 1916, & 1923
- d. Liberal mentality, in retrospect

“The Presbyterian Church was forced, in order to preserve its unity, to decentralize control over the theological beliefs of its ministers and candidates for the ministry. The problem of power and freedom has thus been solved to date by simultaneously increasing administrative centralization and decreasing theological centralization; increasing physical power while at the same time anxiously seeking to prevent its trespassing on the realm of the spirit. This was also a concession to the pluralistic character of modern culture. Implicit in the reunion of 1869, explicit in the Plea for Peace and Work of 1893, and increasingly prominent through at least the first third of the twentieth century was a pragmatic conception of the Church which, in the interests of avoiding divisions that would injure the Church’s work, has substituted broad church inclusion of opposing theological views for theological answers to them.” — Loetscher, *Broadening Church*, p. 93.

B. Ecclesiastical unions

- 1. Reunion with the Cumberland Presbyterians, 1906
 - a. Minority of Cumberlandians remain independent
 - b. Constitution amended to allow racially segregated Presbyteries till 1967
- 2. PCUSA and United Presbyterians N.A. meet in the FCCC, 1908
 - a. 1875 - precursor in World Presbyterian Alliance
 - b. ca. 30 Protestant denominations
 - c. Socialist “Social Creed of the Churches”

C. Princeton tensions

- 1. Attempts at some new ideas
 - a. 1909 – student rebellion vs. anti-practical intellectualism
 - b. 1914 – progressive J. Ross Stevenson replaces President Francis L. Patton
- 2. Benjamin B. Warfield (1851-1921)
 - a. Prof. of Didactic and Polemical Theology (1887ff.)
 - b. Staunch defender of biblical inerrancy and the Reformed Faith
 - c. Prolific and cogent writer
- 3. 1929 - Princeton’s Government Recognized by G.A.
 - a. Rug pulled on conservative board of directors
 - b. Liberal Board of Trustees left in total control

D. Bald-faced liberalism and deliberate accommodation

- 1. Harry Emerson Fosdick: “Shall the Fundamentalists Win?” -1922
- 2. Auburn Affirmation, 1924 (see Appendix C)
 - a. Prompted by 1923 weak reaffirmation (vote of 439-359) of the Fundamentals
 - b. Affirmation ascribed by 1,274 ministers out of Auburn, NY

- 1) Professed allegiance to the Confession
 - 2) Alleged that the 5 fundamentals were only “theories of interpretation”
 - 3) Denied G.A.’s right of laying down any essentials
3. 1925 Constitutional Committee to investigate subscriptionism
 - a. Headed by broad churchmen
 - b. 1927 Upshot: The G.A. cannot establish “essential and necessary” articles of belief for ordination but may examine individual cases in appeal. The inclusivistic position of tolerance under the Auburn Affirmation became the official position of the church.
 4. Liberal/inclusivist momentum from 1924
 5. 1929 - Demise of Princeton
 6. Declension in foreign missions
 - a. 1921 - Robert Speer sweeps under the rug charges of missions heresy
 - b. 1932 - Rethinking Missions
 - 1) An interdenominational reassessment of missions in an age of isolationism and modernism: essentially a syncretistic view of Christianity with the world religions.
 - 2) The foreign missions board coddled Pearl Buck
 7. Ultimately, ecclesiastical utilitarianism leads to intolerance for the conservative minority

“There will be liberty in the Presbyterian Church for Modernists, but none for conservatives; and those who hold the conservative view will have to go elsewhere for the maintenance of those convictions that are dearer than life itself.” —Machen in Hutchinson, p. 206
- E. John Gresham Machen, (1881-1937)
1. Exposed to higher criticism at Marburg and Gottingen
 2. Princeton Prof. of NT, 1906-29
 3. Staunch defender of classic Reformed Theology in particular & historic Christianity in general
 - a. *Christianity and Liberalism*, 1923
 - b. Insisted on separatist ecclesiology

“According to Machen, it is not enough to be a fundamentalist in doctrine generally without being a fundamentalist in one’s doctrine of the Church. In fact, one cannot be a true fundamentalist without a separatist view of the Church. For to endorse unbelief is itself unbelief. Those ‘conservatives’ who can tolerate liberalism in the Church are themselves unsound.” —Hutchinson, p. 201
 - c. 1923 - called for a “New Reformation”
 4. Founded Westminster Seminary, 1929

“A really evangelical seminary might be the beginning of a really evangelical Presbyterian Church.” —Machen

 - a. Inherited some conservative faculty from Princeton
 - b. Turbulent early years

- 1) 1935,6 - majority of the board, unwilling to separate from the old church, resigns with Prof. Allis
- 2) 1937 - Prof. A.A. MacRae resigns to lead the newly-founded Faith Theological Seminary
5. Founded the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, 1933
 - a. After overtures to clean up the FMB were thwarted
 - b. G.A.'s Mandate of 1934: dissociate from and dissolve IBPFM or face defrocking
 - 1) Refusal to support approved FMB tantamount to refusing to partake of the Lord's Supper
 - 2) Obedience to the constitutional powers made obedience to Christ
 - 3) The PCUSA purges itself of its conscience: Machen, McIntire, Buswell, H.S. Laird, Paul Wooley, et.al. (see Hutchinson, p. 216 note, for charges vs. Machen; and Appendix D for Machen's response to the trials.)
6. Established Constitutional Covenant Union
 - a. Alliance of conservatives to attempt internal reforms, or if all else failed, to break from the church in order to continue on as its "true spiritual succession"
 - b. Official organ: *The Presbyterian Guardian*: offsets the newly-founded *Christianity Today* Magazine
7. Established the Presbyterian Church of America, June 11, 1936
 - a. PCUSA was declared "officially and judicially apostate"

"We withdrew from the Presbyterian Church USA in order that we might continue to be Presbyterians." —Machen
 - b. The Successors adopt the Westminster Confession and PCUSA Constitution of 1934, with the proviso that the 1903 amendments would be dropped
8. Machen dies of pneumonia and a broken heart, January 1, 1937

II. Separating and Reformed

- A. Presbyterian Church of America divides and multiplies, 1937
 1. Vacuum of strong diplomatic leadership after loss of Machen
 2. Two schools struggle for dominance in the womb of development
 - a. Old School majority
 - 1) Strict confessionalism
 - 2) Insistence on a European Reformed heritage
 - 3) Roots in Princeton
 - b. New School minority
 - 1) Simple biblical literalism
 - 2) "American" Presbyterianism
 - a) Nationalistic/patriotic
 - b) Less centralized—more democratic

- c) Personal piety emphasized
 - 3) Identified with broader fundamentalist movement
 - a) Roots in Princeton and late XIXth Bible Conference Movement
 - b) Revivalism—emphasis on the individual before God
 - 3. Three Issues of division
 - a. Eschatology: amil vs. premil
 - 1) Two variant schemes of theology?
 - 2) Tolerance of premillennialism or parity?
 - b. Total abstinence vs. full Christian liberty
 - c. Independent Boards or Church Boards
 - 4. New School dominance of the IBPFM
 - 5. The Bible Presbyterian Church (See Appendix F: An Outline of the History of the BPC)
 - a. 1937 - Faith Theological Seminary established
 - b. 1941 - Founding member of American Council of Christian Churches
 - 1) Behind leadership of Carl McIntire
 - 2) To offset liberal FCCC and inclusive NAE (1942)
 - c. 1948 - Founding member of Int'l Council of Christian Churches
 - d. A cycle of splits
 - 1) 1956
 - 2) 1971
 - 3) 1976
 - 4) 1984
 - 6. Presbyterian Church of America forced by PCUSA to change its name
 - a. 1936 - Litigation filed
 - b. 1939 - PCA changes its name to Orthodox Presbyterian Church rather than appeal —See Rian's Appendixes 24,25 for essence of the court brief and decision
- B. Christian Reformed Convulsions (founded 1857)
- 1. Continuing tensions and alliances among varying parties originating in Holland
 - a. Pietists: out of anti-establishment Dutch conventicles
 - b. Confessionalists: e.g., Louis Berkhof
 - c. Antitheticals: insulation of the elect from the seed of the serpent, e.g., Herman Hoeksema
 - d. Neo-Calvinists: followed Abraham Kuyper's progressive views on church and culture
 - 2. Identity crisis during and after WWI: The Americanization of the CRC
 - 3. Showdown in the '20s: The "Common Grace Question"
 - a. Preceded by conservative purge of higher criticism at Calvin College, 1920-22

- b. Promoted by Neo-Calvinists in an effort to relate to their world and to salvage cultural institutions for the glory of God
- c. Resisted by Antitheticals (and some pietists)

“It is utterly inconceivable that God can show any grace at all [except] in the blood of Christ Jesus” —Herman Hoeksema
- d. Confessionalists abandon Antitheticals as too close to Anabaptism

Can one say “...that the marriage between two non-Christians can be nothing more than bestiality and the sort of love that devils have for each other!! This is nonsense. It conflicts with Scripture and experience.” — J. K. Van Baalen in Bratt, p. 111
- e. 1924 - “Common Grace Synod” commands Hoeksema, et al., to desist
 - 1) 1926 - Hoeksema helps establish the Protestant Reformed Church
 - 2) 1928 - CRC hedges its common grace doctrine by legislating vs. worldliness: dancing, gambling, and theater.
- 4. Dutch contributions to the Princeton tradition
 - a. 1893 - Geerhardus Vos
 - b. Abraham Kuyper’s “Lectures on Calvinism” during Stone Lecture Series
 - c. R.B. Kuyper and Cornelius van Til at Westminster
- 5. Later tensions over the nature and authority of Scripture (early 70s) leaves progressives and Barthians in control of the CRC

III. More Recent Developments

- A. Merger Mania
 - 1. 1958 - merger of United PCNA with PCUSA → UPCUSA
 - a. Dialogue since end of civil war
 - b. Negotiations since 1951
 - c. Exploratory talks included proposed reunion with Southern Presbyterians
 - 2. 1962 - Consultation on Church Union (COCU, almost Coochoo)

“... the General Assembly invited the Protestant Episcopal Church to join with it in inviting the Methodist Church and the United Church of Christ to consider establishing a united church truly Catholic, truly Reformed, and truly Evangelical.” —Loetscher, *Brief History...*, p. 183

 - a. The latter group was a 1957 mixture of Stonites, German Reformed Synods, and Congregational Associations
 - b. Conservatives (low church evangelicals) had abandoned the Episcopal Church in 1873 to establish the Reformed Episcopal Church
 - c. Nine denominations in discussions by 1968
 - d. 1970 Plan of Union
 - 1) Centralized “bishops”
 - 2) Parish councils would oversee member congregations

3. 1965 - Evangelical Presbyterian Church (out of '56 BP Split) merges with well-established RPCNA to form RPC, Evangelical Synod
 4. 1982 - RPCES absorbed by new Presbyterian Church in America
 5. 1983 - Reunion of United PCUSA (North) with PCUS (South): returns to original name of PCUSA
 6. 1973 - One last split to preserve a spiritual succession: PCinA organizes out of southern PCUS
- B. "The Death of a Church:" The Confession of 1967 of the UPCUSA
1. Ratified by 88% of the Presbyteries
 2. Discarded "verbose" Westminster Larger Catechism after discussion to scrap the entire old confession; added three other Reformation confessions and one German theological declaration from the era of Nazi persecution
 3. Ambiguous language deliberately used to accommodate plurality of liberals and consciousnessless conservatives
 4. A Christocentric confession with the main theme of "reconciliation"

"God's redeeming work in Jesus Christ embraces the whole of man's life: social and cultural, economic and political, scientific and technological, individual and corporate." —in Loetscher, p. 164
 5. Diluted ordination vows
 - a. Any remaining force of the 1729 Adopting Act was emasculated.

Instead of "Do you sincerely receive and adopt the Confession of Faith and the Catechisms of this Church as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures?"; now read, "Will you perform the duties of a minister of the gospel in obedience to Jesus Christ, under the authority of the Scriptures and under the continuing guidance of the confessions of this Church?"
 - b. The infallible Scriptures circumvented

Instead of "Do you believe the Scriptures of the OT and NT to be the Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice?"; now read, "Do you accept the Scriptures of the OT and NT to be the unique and authoritative witness to Jesus Christ in the Church catholic, and by the HS, God's Word to you?"

For analysis, see Carl McIntire's *The Death of a Church*
- C. Agitations within conservative Presbyterianism over covenant and justification, 1980 to present
1. Dr. Norman Shepherd at Westminster Seminary, Philadelphia
 2. Auburn Avenue Federal Vision
- V. **Worldwide Presbyterianism today**
- A. Latin America
1. Brazil
 - a. Presbyterianism planted in 1862 by Princeton seminary graduate, Ashbel Green Simonton (1833-1867)

- b. The Presbyterian Church of Brazil, about ¾ of a million strong, underwent a renewal around the year 2000. Bible-believing leaders have been reforming the denomination's schools and courts since then.
 - 2. Mexico boasts the largest Presbyterian denomination in Latin America with 2.5 million adherents (National Presbyterian Church of Mexico).
- B. Africa
 - 1. Presbyterianism came to Africa in the 1800s, particularly through Scottish missionaries.
 - 2. Now represented in 29 African countries. A large presence is found in the Presbyterian Church of East Africa with four million adherents.
- C. Asia
 - 1. Korea has by far the largest Presbyterian presence in Asia with 20,000+ congregations, and the church there claims to have the largest single congregation in the world (Myung-sung Church). Korean Presbyterianism is the world's second largest sender of missionaries.
 - 2. Taiwan Presbyterianism has promoted Taiwanese language church services because of interest in translating Scriptures into native tongues.
- D. Oceania New Zealand and Australia have many Presbyterian churches through their countries' history with Scotland and Ulster. There are Presbyterian churches in every state of Australia. Similar to a merger in Canada in 1925 (United Church of Canada), a majority of liberal Presbyterians merged in 1977 with the Methodists and Congregationalists to form the Uniting Church in Australia.

Appendix A: The Adopting Act of 1729

"Although the synod do not claim or pretend to any authority of imposing our faith upon other men's consciences, but do profess our just dissatisfaction with and abhorrence of such impositions, and do utterly disclaim all legislative power and authority of such impositions, and do utterly disclaim all legislative power and authority in the Church, being willing to receive one another, as Christ has received us to the glory of God, and admit to fellowship in sacred ordinances all such as we have grounds to believe Christ will at last admit to the kingdom of heaven; yet we are undoubtedly obliged to take care that the faith once delivered to the saints be kept pure and uncorrupt among us, and so hand down to our posterity.

And do therefore agree, that all the Ministers of this Synod, or that shall hereafter be admitted into this Synod, shall declare their agreement in and approbation of the Confession of Faith with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the assembly of Divines at Westminster, as being in all the essential and necessary articles, good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine; and do also adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the confession of our faith.

And we do also agree, that all the Presbyteries within our bounds shall always take care not to admit any candidate of the ministry into the exercise of the sacred function, but what declares his agreement in opinion with all the essential and necessary articles of said Confession, either by subscribing the said Confession of Faith and Catechisms, or by a verbal declaration of their assent thereto, as such Minister or candidate for the Ministry shall think best. And in case any Minister of this Synod, or any candidate for the ministry, shall have any scruple with respect to any article or articles of said Confession or Catechisms, he shall at the time of his making said declaration declare his sentiments to the Presbytery or Synod, who shall, notwithstanding, admit him to the exercise of the ministry within our bounds and to ministerial communion if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge his scruple or mistake to be only about articles not essential and necessary in doctrine, worship or government. But if the Synod or Presbytery shall judge such Ministers or candidates erroneous in essential and necessary articles of faith, the Synod or Presbytery shall declare them incapable of Communion with them.

And the Synod do solemnly agree, that none of us will traduce or use any opprobrious terms of those that differ from us in these extra-essential and not necessary points of doctrine, but treat them with the same friendship, kindness and brotherly love, as if they had not differed from us in such Sentiments."

"All the Ministers of this Synod now present, except one,* that declared himself not prepared, viz., Masters Jedediah Andrews, Thomas Craighead, John Thomson, James Anderson, John Pierson, Samuel Gelston, Joseph Houston, Gilbert Tennent, Adam Boyd, Jonathan Dickinson, John Bradner, Alexander Hutchinson, Thomas Evans, Hugh Stevenson, William Tennent, Hugh Conn, George Gillespie, and John Willson, after proposing all the scruples that any of them had to make against any articles and expressions in the Confession of Faith and Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, have unanimously agreed in the solution of those scruples, and in declaring the said Confession and Catechisms to be the confession of their faith, excepting only some clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters, concerning which clauses the Synod do unanimously declare, that they do not received those articles in any such sense as to suppose the civil magistrate hath a controlling power over Synods with respect to the exercise of their ministerial authority; or power to persecute any for their religion, or in any sense contrary to the Protestant succession to the throne of Great Britain.

"The Synod observing that unanimity, peace, and unity, which appeared in all their consultations and determinations relating to the affair of the Confession, did unanimously agree in giving thanks to God in solemn prayer and praises." – *Minutes*, 1729, p. 94.

Appendix B: The 1837 Old School Act and Testimony

The committee appointed to take into consideration the Act and Testimony, reported several amendments. The Act and Testimony was then adopted. “Rev. Messrs. Engles, Winchester, H. M’Keen, and Dr. Mitchell were appointed, a committee to superintend the publication and circulation of the Act and Testimony. “Adjourned to meet at eight o’clock this evening. Concluded with prayer.* D. R. PRESTON, Secretary.” — Minutes of the Conference, in the Baltimore Magazine, 1839, p. 454. [The names subscribed to the following copy of the Act and Testimony are those of the original signers. It was ultimately adopted in terms by about 374 Ministers, 1789 Elders, and 14 Licentiates; and either entirely or substantially, by five Synods, and thirty Presbyteries.]

§ 103. The Act and Testimony.

“Brethren beloved in the Lord:—In the solemn crisis, to which our Church has arrived, we are constrained to appeal to you in relation to the alarming errors which have hitherto been connived at, and now at length have been countenanced and sustained by the acts of the supreme judicatory of our Church. “Constituting, as we all do, a portion of yourselves, and deeply concerned, as every portion of the system must be, in all that affects the body itself, we earnestly address ourselves to you, in the full belief, that the dissolution of our Church, or what is worse, its corruption in all that once distinguished its peculiar testimony, can, under God, be prevented only by you. “From the highest judicatory of our Church, we have for several years in succession sought the redress of our grievances, and have not only sought in vain, but with an aggravation of the evils of which we have complained. Whither then can we look for relief but first to Him who is made Head over all things, to the Church which is his body, and then to you, as constituting a part of that body, and as instruments in his hand to deliver the Church from the oppression which she sorely feels? “We love the Presbyterian Church, and look back with sacred joy to her instrumentality in promoting every good and every noble cause among men; to her unwavering love of human rights; to her glorious efforts for the advancement of human happiness; to her clear testimonies for the truth of God, and her great and blessed efforts to enlarge and establish the kingdom of Christ our Lord. We delight to dwell on the things which our God has wrought by our beloved Church; and by his grace enabling us, we are resolved that our children shall not have occasion to weep over an unfaithfulness which permitted us to stand idly by, and behold the ruin of this glorious structure. “Brethren,’ says the Apostle, ‘I beseech you by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment.’ In the presence of that Redeemer by whom Paul adjures us, we avow our fixed adherence to those standards of doctrine and order in their obvious and intended sense, which we have heretofore subscribed under circumstances the most impressive. In the same spirit we do therefore solemnly acquit ourselves in the sight of God, of all responsibility arising from the existence of those divisions and disorders in our Church, which spring from a disregard of assumed obligations, a departure from doctrines deliberately professed, and a subversion of forms publicly and repeatedly approved. By the same high authority, and under the same weighty sanctions, we do avow our fixed purpose to strive for the restoration of purity, peace, and scriptural order to our Church; and to endeavour to exclude from her communion those who disturb her peace, corrupt her testimony, and subvert her established forms. And to the end that the doctrinal errors of which we complain may be fully known, and the practical evils under which the body suffers be clearly set forth, and our purposes in regard to both be distinctly understood, we adopt this Act and Testimony.

“AS REGARDS DOCTRINE.

“1. We do bear our solemn testimony against the right claimed by many of interpreting the doctrines of our standards in a sense different from the general sense of the Church for years past, whilst they still continue in our communion: on the contrary, we aver, that they who adopt our standards, are bound by candour and the simplest integrity, to hold them in their obvious, accepted sense. “2. We testify against the unchristian subterfuge to which some have recourse, when they avow a general adherence to our standards as a system, while they deny doctrines essential to the system, or hold doctrines at complete variance with the system. “3. We testify against the reprehensible conduct of those in our communion, who hold, and preach, and publish Arminian and Pelagian heresies, professing at the same time to embrace our creed, and pretending that these errors do consist therewith. “4. We testify against the conduct of those, who, while they profess to approve and adopt our doctrine and order, do, nevertheless, speak and publish, in terms, or by necessary implication, that which is derogatory to both, and which tends to bring both into disrepute “5. We testify against the following as a part of the errors, which are held and taught by many persons in our Church:

“ERRORS.

“1. OUR RELATION TO ADAM.—That we have no more to do with the first sin of Adam than with the sins of any other parent. “2. NATIVE DEPRAVITY.—That there is no such thing as original sin; that infants come into the world as perfectly free from corruption of nature as Adam was when he was created; that by original sin nothing more is meant than the fact that all the posterity of Adam, though born entirely free from moral defilement, will always begin to sin when they begin to exercise moral agency, and that this fact is somehow connected with the fall of Adam. “3. IMPUTATION.—That the doctrine of imputed sin and imputed righteousness is a novelty, and is nonsense. “4. ABILITY.—That the impenitent sinner is by nature, and independently of the aid of the Holy Spirit, in full possession of all the powers necessary to a compliance with the commands of God: and that if he laboured under any kind of inability, natural or moral, which he could not remove himself, he would be excusable for not complying with God’s will. “5. REGENERATION.—That man’s regeneration is his own act; that it consists merely in the change of our governing purpose, which change we must ourselves produce. “6. DIVINE INFLUENCE.—That God cannot exert such an influence on the minds of men as shall make it certain that they will choose and act in a particular manner without destroying their moral agency; and that, in a moral system, God could not prevent the existence of sin, or the present amount of sin, however much he might desire it. “7. ATONEMENT.—That Christ’s sufferings were not truly and properly vicarious. “Which doctrines and statements are dangerous and heretical, contrary to the gospel of God, and inconsistent with our Confession of Faith. We are painfully alive also to the conviction that unless a speedy remedy be applied to the abuses which have called forth this Act and Testimony, our Theological Seminaries will soon be converted into nurseries to foster the noxious errors which are already so widely prevalent, and our Church funds will be perverted from the design for which they were originally contributed.

“AS REGARDS DISCIPLINE.

“The necessary consequence of the propagation of these and similar errors amongst us has been the agitation and division of our Churches, and ecclesiastical bodies; the separation of our Ministers, Elders, and people into distinct parties; and the great increase of causes of mutual alienation. “Our people are no longer as one body of Christians; many of our Church Sessions are agitated by the tumultuous spirit of party; our Presbyteries are convulsed by collisions growing out of the heresies detailed above, and our Synods and our Assembly are made theatres for the open display of humiliating scenes of human passion and weakness. Mutual confidence is weakened; respect for the supreme judicatory of our Church is impaired; our hope that

the dignified and impartial course of justice would flow steadily onward, has expired; and a large portion of the religious press is made subservient to error. The ordinary course of discipline, arrested by compromises, in which the truth is always loser, and perverted, by organized combinations, to personal, selfish, and party ends, ceases altogether, and leaves everyone to do what seems good in his own eyes. The discipline of the Church rendered more needful than ever before, by the existence of numberless cases, in which Christian love to erring brethren, as well as a just regard to the interests of Zion, imperiously call for its prompt, firm, and temperate exercise, is absolutely prevented by the operation of the very causes which demand its employment. At the last meeting of the General Assembly, a respectful memorial presented in behalf of eleven Presbyteries, and many Sessions, and individual members of our Church, was treated without one indication of kindness, or manifestation of any disposition to concede a single request that wits made. It was sternly frowned upon, and the memorialists were left to mourn under their grievances, with no hope of alleviation from those who ought to have at least shown tenderness and sympathy, as the nursing fathers of the Church, even when that which was asked was refused to the petitioners. At the same time, they, who have first corrupted our doctrines, and then deprived us of the ordinary means of correcting the evils they have produced, seek to give permanent security to their errors and to themselves, by raising an outcry in the churches, against all who love the truth well enough to contend for it. "Against this unusual, unhappy, and ruinous condition we do bear our clear and decided testimony in the presence of the God of all living; we do declare our firm belief, that it springs primarily from the fatal heresies countenanced in our body; and we do avow our deliberate purpose, with the help of God, to give our best endeavours to correct it.

"AS REGARDS CHURCH ORDER.

"We believe that the form of government of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, is, in all essential features, in full accordance with the revealed will of God; and therefore whatever impairs its purity, or changes its essential character, is repugnant to the will of our Master. In what light then shall we be considered, if professing to revere this system, we calmly behold its destruction, or connive at the conduct of those engaged in tearing up its deep foundations? "Some of us have long dreaded the spirit of indifference to the peculiarities of our Church order, which we supposed was gradually spreading amongst us. And the developments of later years have rendered it most certain, that as the perversion of our doctrinal formularies, and the engrafting of new principles and practices upon our Church constitution, have gone hand in hand, so the original purity of the one cannot be re- stored without a strict and faithful adherence to the other. Not only then for its own sake, do we love the Constitution of our Church, as a model of all free institutions, and as a clear and noble exhibition of the soundest principles of civil and religious liberty; not only do we venerate its peculiarities, because they exhibit the rules by which God

intends the affairs of his Church on earth to be conducted; but we cling to its venerable ramparts, because they afford a sure defense of those precious, though despised, doctrines of grace, the pure transmission of which has been entrusted as a sacred duty to the Church. "It is therefore with the deepest sorrow that we behold our Church tribunals, in various instances, imbued with a different spirit, and fleeing on every emergency to expedients unknown to the Christian simplicity and uprightness of our forms, and repugnant to all our previous habits. It is with pain and distrust that we see, sometimes, the helpless inefficiency of mere advisory bodies contended for and practiced, when the occasion called for the free action of our laws; and sometimes the full and peremptory exercise of power, almost despotic, practiced in cases where no authority existed to act at all. It is with increasing alarm that we behold a fixed design to organize new tribunals upon principles repugnant to our system, and directly subversive of it, for the obvious purpose of establishing and propagating the heresies already recounted, of shielding from just process the individuals who held them, and of arresting the wholesome discipline of the Church. We do therefore testify against all these departures

from the true principles of our Constitution; against the formation of new Presbyteries and Synods, otherwise than upon the established rules of our Church; or for other purposes than the edification and enlargement of the Church of Christ; and we most particularly testify against the formation of any tribunal, in our Church, upon what some call principles of elective affinity; against the exercise by the General Assembly of any power not clearly delegated to it; and the exercise even of its delegated powers for purposes inconsistent with the design of its creation.

“RECOMMENDATION TO THE CHURCHES.

“Dear Christian Brethren, you who love Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth, and adhere to the plain doctrines of the cross as taught in the standards prepared by the Westminster Assembly, and constantly held by the true Presbyterian Church; to all of you who love your ancient and pure Constitution, and desire to restore our abused and corrupted Church to her simplicity, purity, and truth, we, a portion of yourselves, Ministers and Elders of your churches, and servants of one common Lord, would propose, most respectfully and kindly, and yet most earnestly, “1. That we refuse to give countenance to Ministers, Elders, agents, editors, teachers, or to those who are in any other capacity engaged in religious instruction and effort, who bid the preceding or similar heresies. “2. That we make every lawful effort to subject all such persons, especially if they be Ministers, to the just exercise of discipline by the proper tribunal. “3. That we use all proper means to restore the discipline of the Church, in all its courts, to a sound, just, Christian state. “4. That we use our endeavours to prevent the introduction of new principles into our system, and to restore our tribunals to their ancient purity. “5. That we consider the Presbyterial existence or acts of any Presbytery or Synod formed upon the principles of elective affinity, as unconstitutional, and all Ministers and Churches, voluntarily included in such bodies, as having virtually departed from the standards of our Church. “6. We recommend that all Ministers, Elders, Church Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, who approve of this Act and Testimony, give their public adherence thereto, in such manner as they shall prefer, and communicate their names, and when a Church court, a copy of their adhering act. “7. That inasmuch, as our only hope of improvement and reformation in the affairs of our Church depends on the interposition of Him, who is King in Zion, that we will unceasingly and importunately supplicate a Throne of Grace, for the return of that purity and peace, the absence of which we now sorrowfully deplore.

“8. We do earnestly recommend that on the second Thursday of May, 1835, a Convention be held in the city of Pittsburgh, to be composed of two delegates, a Minister and Ruling Elder from each Presbytery, or from the minority of any Presbytery, who may concur in the sentiments of this Act and Testimony, to deliberate and consult on the present state of our Church, and to adopt such measures as may be best suited to restore her prostrated standards. “And now, brethren, our whole heart is laid open to you, and to the world. If the majority of our Church are against us, they will, we suppose, in the end, either see the infatuation of their course, and retrace their steps, or they will, at last, attempt to cut us off. If the former, we shall bless the God of Jacob; if the latter, we are ready for the sake of Christ, and in support of the Testimony now made, not only to be cut off, but if need be, to die also. If, on the other hand, the body be yet in the main, sound, as we would fondly hope, we have here, frankly, openly, and candidly, laid before our erring brethren the course we are, by the grace of God, irrevocably determined to pursue. It is our steadfast aim to reform the Church, or to testify against its errors and defections, until testimony will be no longer heard. And we commit the issue into the hands of Him who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.”

“Ministers.—James Magraw, Robert J. Breckinridge, James Latta, Ashbel Green, Samuel D. Blythe, S. H. Crane, J. W. Scott, William Latta, Robert Steel, Alexander A. Campbell, John Gray, James Scott, Joshua L. Wilson, Alexander M’Farlane, Jacob Coon, Isaac N. Candee, Robert Love, James W. M’Kennan, David R. Preston, William Wylie, William M. Engles, Cornelius H. Mustard,* James C. Watson, William L. Breckinridge, John A. Symmes, J. V. Brown, David M’Kinney, George Marshall, Ebenezer H. Snowden, Oscar Harris, William J. Gibson, William Sickles, Benjamin F. Spillman, George D. McCuenn, George W. Janvier, Samuel G. Winchester, George Junkin. “Elders.—Samuel Boyd, Edward Vanhorn, Williamson Dunn, James Algeo, James Agnew, Henry McKeen, Charles Davis, William Wallace, A. D. Hepburn, Joseph P. Engles, James M’Farren, A. Symington, A. Bayless, Wm. Agnew, George Morris, Hugh Campbell, Thomas McKcen, James Wilson, Daniel B. Price, Carver Hotchkiss, Charles Woodward, W. A. G. Posey, James Carnahan, Moses Reed, James Steel, George Durfor, John Sharp.”

* [Mr. Mustard subsequently revoked his signature.]

Appendix C: The 1837 New School Auburn Declaration

[The Auburn Declaration, so called from the place of its adoption, belongs to the history of American Presbyterianism, and although it never aspired to the dignity of an authoritative Confession of Faith, it may claim a place here for its intrinsic value and importance before and after the disruption. It originated during the conflict which preceded the division of the Presbyterian Church into Old and New School, A.D.1837, and was prepared by the Rev. Baxter Dickinson, D.D. (d.1876). It had been charged, on one side, that sixteen errors, involving considerable departures from true Calvinism and the Westminster standards, had become current in that Church. (They are printed in the Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review for 1876, pp.7, 8.) In answer to this charge, the New School party were led to embody their belief on these points in a corresponding series of 'True Doctrines,' which were incorporated in their Protest, as presented to the General Assembly of 1837. These doctrinal statements were subsequently considered and adopted by an important representative convention at Auburn, New York, Aug., 1837, as expressing their matured views, and those of the churches and ministry represented by them, on the several topics involved. The Declaration thus adopted became, not indeed a creed, but an authoritative explanation of the interpretation given to the Westminster Symbols by the leading minds in the New School Church, as organized in 1838. It was in 1868 indorsed by the General Assembly (O. S.) as containing 'all the fundamentals of the Calvinistic Creed,' and this indorsement was one among the most effectual steps in bringing about the reunion of the two Churches in 1870. The document is rather a disavowal of imputed error than an exposition of revealed truth, and must be understood from the anthropological and soteriological controversies of that period of division now happily gone by.

Both the Errors and the True Doctrines may be found in the Minutes of the Assembly for 1837; also, in the New Digest, pp.227-230. See also Art. on The Auburn Declaration by Prof. E. D. Morris, D.D., of Lane Seminary, in the Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review, Jan.1876, pp.5-40.

The original document is deposited in the library of Lane Theol. Sem., Cincinnati, O. The text here given is an accurate copy from it, and was kindly furnished for this work by the Rev. E. D. Morris, D.D. The headings in brackets have been supplied by the editor. – Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*]

[PERMISSION OF SIN.]

1. God permitted the introduction of sin, not because he was unable to prevent it consistently with the moral freedom of his creatures, but for wise and benevolent reasons which he has not revealed.

[ELECTION.]

2. Election to eternal life is not founded on a foresight of faith and obedience, but is a sovereign act of God's mercy, whereby, according to the counsel of his own will, he has chosen some to salvation: 'yet so as thereby neither is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established;' nor does this gracious purpose ever take effect independently of faith and a holy life.

[FALL OF ADAM.]

3. By a divine constitution Adam was so the head and representative of the race that, as a consequence of his transgression, all mankind became morally corrupt, and liable to death, temporal and eternal.

[HEREDITARY SIN.]

4. Adam was created in the image of God, 'endued with knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness.' Infants come into the world not only destitute of these, but with a nature inclined to evil, and only evil.

[INFANTS INVOLVED IN THE MORAL RUIN.]

5. Brute animals sustain no such relation to the moral government of God as does the human family. Infants are a part of the human family, and their sufferings and death are to be accounted for on the ground of their being involved in the general moral ruin of the race, induced by the apostasy.

[UNIVERSAL NEED OF REDEMPTION.]

6. Original sin is a natural bias to evil, resulting from the first apostasy, leading invariably and certainly to actual transgression. And all infants, as well as adults, in order to be saved, need redemption by the blood of Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Ghost.

[IMPUTATION OF SIN AND RIGHTEOUSNESS.]

7. The sin of Adam is not imputed to his posterity in the sense of a literal transfer of personal qualities, acts, and demerit; but by reason of the sin of Adam, in his peculiar relation, the race are treated as if they had sinned. Nor is the righteousness of Christ imputed to his people in the sense of a literal transfer of personal qualities, acts, and merit; but by reason of his righteousness in his peculiar relation they are treated as if they were righteous.

[ATONEMENT OF CHRIST.]

8. The sufferings of Christ were not symbolical, governmental, and instructive only; but were truly vicarious, i. e., punishment due to transgressors. And while Christ did not suffer the literal penalty of the law, involving remorse of conscience and the pains of hell, he did offer a sacrifice which infinite wisdom saw to be a full equivalent. And by virtue of this atonement, overtures of mercy are sincerely made to the race, and salvation secured to all who believe.

[MORAL INABILITY.]

9. While sinners have all the faculties necessary to a perfect moral agency and a just accountability, such is their love of sin and opposition to God and his law, that, independently of the renewing influence or almighty energy of the Holy Spirit, they never will comply with the commands of God.

[INTERCESSION OF CHRIST.]

10. The intercession of Christ for the elect is previous, as well as subsequent, to their regeneration, as appears from the following Scripture, viz.: 'I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me, for they are thine. Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word' (John xvii.9, 20).

[SAVING FAITH.]

11. Saving faith is an intelligent and cordial assent to the testimony of God concerning his Son, implying reliance on Christ alone for pardon and eternal life; and in all cases it is an effect of the special operations of the Holy Spirit.

[REGENERATION.]

12. Regeneration is a radical change of heart, produced by the special operations of the Holy Spirit, 'determining the sinner to that which is good,' and is in all cases instantaneous.

[SALVATION BY GRACE.]

13. While repentance for sin and faith in Christ are indispensable to salvation, all who are saved are indebted, from first to last, to the grace and Spirit of God. And the reason that God does not save all is not that he wants the power to do it, but that in his wisdom he does not see fit to exert that power further than he actually does.

[LIBERTY OF THE WILL.]

14. While the liberty of the will is not impaired, nor the established connection betwixt means and end broken, by any action of God on the mind, he can influence it according to his pleasure, and does effectually determine it to good in all cases of true conversion.

[JUSTIFICATION.]

15. All believers are justified, not on the ground of personal merit, but solely on the ground of the obedience and death, or, in other words, the righteousness of Christ. And while that righteousness does not become theirs, in the sense of a literal transfer of personal qualities and merit, yet from respect to it God can and does treat them as if they were righteous.

[FREEDOM IN FAITH AND UNBELIEF.]

16. While all such as reject the Gospel of Christ do it, not by coercion, but freely, and all who embrace it do it not by coercion, but freely, the reason why some differ from others is that God has made them to differ.

Appendix D: The 1924 Auburn Affirmation

[The Auburn Affirmation was first published in January of 1924. Affixed to that document were the names of 150 pastors and elders within the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. A subsequent printing issued on May 5, 1924 contained the final list of signators, numbering 1274 names, with a post-print addendum of another 20 names and notice of the removal of one name, that of the Rev. George E. Caesar of Little Rock, AR. The text of the document is reproduced here as an aid in discussion of the errors contained in the Auburn Affirmation, and to provide any necessary context for the quotations that may be found in other documents posted at this site. The text provided is taken from the first printing and has been cross-checked with the May 5, 1924 printing issued by The Jacobs Press, Auburn, NY. – Source: PCA Historical Center]

**An Affirmation
designed to safeguard the unity and liberty of the
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America
Submitted for the consideration of its ministers and people**

We, the undersigned, ministers of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, feel bound, in view of certain actions of the General Assembly of 1923 and of persistent attempts to divide the church and abridge its freedom, to express our convictions in matters pertaining thereto. At the outset we affirm and declare our acceptance of the Westminster Confession of Faith, as we did at our ordinations, "as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures." We sincerely hold and earnestly preach the doctrines of evangelical Christianity, in agreement with the historic testimony of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, of which we are loyal ministers. For the maintenance of the faith of our church, the preservation of its unity, and the protection of the liberties of its ministers and people, we offer this Affirmation.

**The church's guarantee of liberty
(1) concerning the interpretation of the Confession of Faith, and**

I. By its law and its history, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America safeguards the liberty of thought and teaching of its ministers. At their ordinations they "receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures." This the Church has always esteemed a sufficient doctrinal subscription for its ministers. Manifestly it does not require their assent to the very words of the Confession, or to all of its teachings, or to interpretations of the Confession by individuals or church courts. The Confession of Faith itself disclaims infallibility. Its authors would not allow this to church councils, their own included: "All synods or councils since the apostle's times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as a help in both." (Conf. XXXI.iii). The Confession also expressly asserts the liberty of Christian believers, and condemns the submission of the mind or conscience to any human authority: "God alone is lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his Word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience; and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute and blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience, and reason also." (Conf. XX, ii).

The formal relation of American Presbyterianism to the Westminster Confession of Faith begins in the Adopting Act of 1729. This anticipated and provided for dissent by individuals from portions of the Confession. At the formation of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, in 1788, the Westminster Confession was adopted as the creed of the church; and at the same time the church publicly declared the significance of its organization in a document which contains these words: "These are truths and forms, with respect to which men of good characters and principles may differ. And in all these they think it the duty, both of private Christians and Societies, to exercise mutual forbearance towards each other." (Declaration of Principles, v).

Of the two parts into which our church was separated from 1837 to 1870, one held that only one interpretation of certain parts of the Confession of Faith was legitimate, while the other maintained its right to dissent from this interpretation. In the Reunion of 1870 they came together on equal terms, "each recognizing the other as a sound and orthodox body." The meaning of this, as understood then and ever since, is that office-bearers in the church who maintain their liberty in the interpretation of the Confession are exercising their rights guaranteed by the terms of the Reunion.

A more recent reunion also is significant, that of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, in 1906. This reunion was opposed by certain members of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, on the ground that the two churches were not at one in doctrine; yet it was consummated. Thus did our church once more exemplify its historic policy of accepting theological differences within its bounds and subordinating them to recognized loyalty to Jesus Christ and united work for the kingdom of God.

(2) concerning the interpretation of the Scriptures

With respect to the interpretation of the Scriptures the position of our church has been that common to Protestants. "The Supreme Judge," says the Confession of Faith, "by whom all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture". (Conf. I, x). Accordingly our church has held that the supreme guide in the interpretation of the Scriptures is not, as it is with Roman Catholics, ecclesiastical authority, but the Spirit of God, speaking to the Christian believer. Thus our church lays it upon its ministers and others to read and teach the Scriptures as the Spirit of God through His manifold ministries instructs them, and to receive all truth which from time to time He causes to break forth from the Scriptures.

There is no assertion in the Scriptures that their writers were kept "from error." The Confession of Faith does not make this assertion; and it is significant that this assertion is not to be found in the Apostle's Creed or the Nicene Creed or in any of the great Reformation confessions. The doctrine of inerrancy, intended to enhance the authority of the Scriptures, in fact impairs their supreme authority for faith and life, and weakens the testimony of the church to the power of God unto salvation through Jesus Christ. We hold that the General Assembly of 1923, in asserting that "the Holy Spirit did so inspire, guide and move the writers of Holy Scripture as to keep them from error," spoke without warrant of the Scriptures or of the Confession of Faith. We hold rather to the words of the Confession of Faith, that the Scriptures "are given by inspiration of God, to be the rule of faith and life." (Conf. I, ii).

Authority under the constitution for the declaration of doctrine

II. While it is constitutional for any General Assembly "to bear testimony against error in doctrine," (Form of Govt. XII, v), yet such testimony is without binding authority, since the constitution of our church provides that its doctrine shall be declared only concurrent action of the General Assembly and the presbyteries. Thus the church guards the statement of its doctrine against hasty or ill-considered action by either General Assemblies or presbyteries. From this provision of our constitution, it is evident that neither in one General Assembly nor in many, without concurrent action of the presbyteries, is there authority to declare what the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America believes and teaches; and that the assumption that any General Assembly has authoritatively declared what the church believes and teaches is groundless. A declaration by a General Assembly that any doctrine is "an essential doctrine" attempts to amend the constitution of the church in an unconstitutional manner.

Action of the General Assembly regarding the preaching in the First Presbyterian Church of New York City

III. The General Assembly of 1923, in asserting that "doctrines contrary to the standards of the Presbyterian Church" have been preached in the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church of New York City, virtually pronounced a judgment against this church. The General Assembly did this with knowledge that the matter on which it so expressed itself was already under formal consideration in the Presbytery of New York, as is shown by the language of its action. The General Assembly acted in the case without giving hearing to the parties concerned. Thus the General Assembly did not conform to the procedure in such cases contemplated by our Book of Discipline, and, what is more serious, it in effect condemned a Christian minister without using the method of conference, patience and love enjoined on us by Jesus Christ. We object to the action of the General Assembly in this case, as being out of keeping with the law and the spirit of our church.

The doctrinal deliverance of the General Assembly

IV. The General Assembly of 1923 expressed the opinion concerning five doctrinal statements that each one "is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and our standards." On the constitutional ground which we have before described, we are opposed to any attempt to elevate these five doctrinal statements, or any of them, to the position of tests for ordination or for good standing in our church.

Furthermore, this opinion of the General Assembly attempts to commit our church to certain theories concerning the inspiration of the Bible, and the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, and the Continuing Life and Supernatural Power of our Lord Jesus Christ. We hold most earnestly to these great facts and doctrines; we all believe from our hearts that the writers of the Bible were inspired of God; that Jesus Christ was God manifest in the flesh; that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, and through Him we have our redemption; that having died for our sins He rose from the dead and is our everliving Saviour; that in His earthly ministry He wrought many mighty works, and by His vicarious death and un failing presence He is able to save to the uttermost. Some of us regard the particular theories contained in the deliverance of the General Assembly of 1923 as satisfactory explanations of these facts and doctrines. But we are united in believing that these are not the only theories allowed by the Scriptures and our standards as explanations of these facts and doctrines of our religion, and that all who hold to these facts and doctrines, whatever theories they may employ to explain them, are worthy of all confidence and fellowship.

Extent of the liberty claimed

V. We do not desire liberty to go beyond the teachings of evangelical Christianity. But we maintain that it is our constitutional right and our Christian duty within these limits to exercise liberty of thought and teaching, that we may more effectively preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World.

The spirit and purpose of this affirmation

VI. Finally, we deplore the evidences of division in our beloved church, in the face of a world so desperately in need of a united testimony to the gospel of Christ. We earnestly desire fellowship with all who like us are disciples of Jesus Christ. We hope that those to whom this Affirmation comes will believe that it is not the declaration of a theological party, but rather a sincere appeal, based on the Scriptures and our standards, for the preservation of the unity and freedom of our church, for which most earnestly we plead and pray.

SIGNERS*

Appendix E: A Brief History of Presbyterian Missions

by Rev. Leonard W. Pine, D.Min.

Introduction

An old friend of mine, at our first meeting in college, asked me what church I was a member of. When I told him I was Bible Presbyterian, he replied, "Oh, so you don't believe in evangelism, then!" His viewpoint is not unusual, but, of course, it is wrong. Presbyterians and Reformed believers have been among the leaders of the expansion of the visible kingdom of God ever since John Calvin sent a group of Huguenot missionaries to Brazil in 1555! Here are some of the highlights.

1555

A small party of Huguenots attempts to establish a colony in Brazil, at what is now Rio de Janeiro. Though reinforced with a larger group, they were under poor leadership that allowed controversy to arise and was unable to adequately provide for food. The colony was eventually slaughtered by the Portuguese. In the 1560s, Huguenots under Coligny's leadership established the first Protestant colonies in North America, in what would become Florida and South Carolina. Not technically Presbyterian, but that effort laid the foundation for what we know today.

1600s

Missions to Ireland, the island of Formosa, South Africa, Jamaica, and North America all were undertaken in this century. Rev. John Eliot was a missionary to the native peoples in frontier America. Rev. John Copeland, with eight others, came as a missionary to Boston in 1656. Francis Doughty, the intrepid missionary and preacher who has been described as the apostle of Presbyterianism in America, labored in the Virginia colonies in the 1650s. There, too, his successor, Matthew Hill, labored and farther to the south in Somerset Co. on the eastern shore of Maryland. Presbyterians from England settled in the Mid-Atlantic colonies (NY, NJ, PA) and began building churches. Francis Makemie, who played an instrumental role in founding the first presbytery in America in 1706, was educated in Scotland, began his missionary endeavors in Barbados, and was an itinerant missionary in the frontier areas of the colonies from the Carolinas to Massachusetts during the 1680s. He eventually established himself on Maryland's Eastern Shore (his church in Rehoboth is still there and operating). He was a strong promoter of education and starting towns with churches. The first big wave of Scottish Presbyterians came about 1684, and most settled in New England and in the frontier areas to the west. In all of these efforts, starting churches with an aim to further biblical literacy, general education, and to capture hearts with the gospel of Jesus Christ was at the forefront.

1700s

With the founding of the Presbytery of Philadelphia by Francis Makemie and others in 1706, along with a strong influx of Scots-Irish Presbyterians, Presbyterianism in North America entered a century of growth and expansion. In fact, the Presbyterians were the most missionary-minded of all the denominations in America during the colonial period, and churches were established throughout most of the colonies, with extensive works aimed at the native populations as well. The Presbytery of Philadelphia grew and was formed into a General Synod in 1718 and saw its purpose as "spreading and propagating the gospel of Christ into these dark parts of the world." David Brainerd, John Brainerd, Charles Beatty, George Duffield, William and Gilbert Tennent (founders of the Log College in New Jersey in 1726), were prominent names among those who traveled over the mountains into the frontier areas, as far as the Ohio valley. The Delaware, Cherokee,

Pawnee, Seneca, Oneida, Chicksaw, Mohegan, and many other tribes were reached and churches were established.

North America was not the only missionary focus of the Presbyterians. The 1750s saw the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Singapore, at the tip of the Malay Peninsula. These churches originated with Dutch traders who built the famous Christ Church Melaka in 1753. Following the Dutch, the British London Missionary Society sent several Presbyterian missionaries to Malaysia, most notably Robert Morrison, William Milne, James Legge, and Benjamin P. Keasberry. The late 1790s saw mission works in Madagascar, Lagos, Sierra Leone, and what is now Nigeria. The Madagascar mission became known as the "martyr church of Madagascar" due to the extreme persecution that came to it, and the many who gave their lives for the name of Jesus.

1800s

Presbyterian missions continued to expand in North America, as the nation expanded. More Indian tribes were reached, notably the Sioux, Pimas, Papagoes, and the Creeks, and a mission was established in Western Canada. David Livingstone penetrated the heart of Africa, and Presbyterian missionary Alexander Duff reached India in 1829. Alaska was reached by 1834 and the mission continued strongly through the century. Missions in Michigan and Texas were established about the same time. The late 1830s saw Presbyterian missions to the Chinese begun, and to the Spanish-speaking population of what would become the southwestern United States. Missions to the Jews of Syria and Lebanon were established. The New Hebrides heard the gospel beginning in 1850. The works in China and India were greatly expanded. In America, Wisconsin, Montana, and California had notable missions founded there. In 1859, a little over 300 years after Calvin first sent Huguenot missionaries to Brazil, the first official Presbyterian mission was established there in Rio de Janeiro. The first presbytery in Iran was established in 1879. Missions were established in Mexico and Guatemala. Alexander Duff in India, William Chalmers Burns in China and Manchuria, George Mackay in Taiwan, Mary Slessor in Nigeria, a Mr. Thompson in Tokyo...these and many more gave everything they had to further the cause of the gospel around the world. This was the century of the missionary society, and scores were formed in England, Scotland, America, Switzerland, France, Holland, and Germany. The leadership in almost all of them were Calvinists, regardless of the denominational flag they might have labored under. And, in addition to planting churches, medical missions were on the rise during this period, with a continued emphasis upon schools as well.

1900s

Though at home divisions of various sorts were taking place in the late 19th century as the church was attacked by liberalism from without and within, the missionary push remained strong. Missionaries like Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth in China raised the banner of Christ high in the midst of incredible difficulties. The Goforths are perhaps best known for their 1000-mile escape on foot to safety during the Boxer Rebellion. But all was not well. The 20th century is marked by an emphasis upon ecumenicity at the expense of truth. A good example is that of Pearl Buck, born to Presbyterian missionary parents in 1892 and raised in China, she would be sent out by an increasingly apostate mainline Presbyterian church, and would be one of the crux personalities in the conflict over the nature of the gospel, the authority of the Church, and the truth of the Scriptures that would rend the PCUSA and lead to the formation of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, and later, the BPC. The Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions was founded in 1935 by J. Gresham Machen to protest over the liberalism, social gospel, and even communistic message of missionaries like Buck. He and those with him were defrocked, and soon established a new church with the goal of faithfully carrying out the Great Commission according to the Scriptures.

On Sunday evening, March 17, 1935, Dr. Machen preached in the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In his sermon he said:

Just before I stand before that Commission next Tuesday morning at ten o'clock in the First Presbyterian Church of Trenton, New Jersey, I have a profession of my faith to make. I cannot make it before the Commission because the Commission has barred me from discussing everything really relevant to the questions at issue and has thus refused even to hear my case. But I am going to make it before this congregation tonight, and I know that every real Christian will sympathize with me when I make it.

My profession of faith is simply that I know nothing of the Christ proclaimed, through the Auburn Affirmation, by the Moderator of that Commission. I know nothing of a Christ who is presented to us in a human book containing errors, but know only a Christ presented in a divine Book, the Bible, which is true from beginning to end. I know nothing of a Christ who possibly was and possibly was not born of a virgin, but know only of a Christ who was truly conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. I know nothing of a Christ who possibly did and possibly did not work miracles, but know only of a Christ who said to the winds and the waves, with the sovereign voice of the Maker and Ruler of all nature, 'Peace, be still.' I know nothing of a Christ who possibly did and possibly did not come out of the tomb on the first Easter morning, but know only of a Christ who triumphed over sin and the grave and is living now in His glorified body until He shall come again and I shall see Him with my very eyes. I know nothing of a Christ who possibly did and possibly did not die as a substitute on the cross, but know only of a Christ who took upon Himself the just punishment of my sins and died there in my stead to make me right with the holy God.

I must be true to that Christ of the Bible, despite all efforts of the Auburn Affirmations and the ecclesiastical machinery to make me untrue. I promised to be true to that Christ when I took my solemn ordination pledge as a minister, and I cannot break that promise now. I cannot support the anti-Christian propaganda now being furthered by the official Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. I cannot place the shifting votes of the General Assembly or any other human councils in a place of authority that rightly belongs only to the Word of God.

I have offered to defend my position about both these points. I have offered to prove that the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America is unfaithful to its great trust. I have offered to prove that the action of the last General Assembly requiring me to resign from The Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions is contrary to the Constitution of the Church. The Commission has refused even to listen to my evidence. It has refused to listen to any argument by my council, Rev. H. McAllister Griffiths. It will of course condemn them. But I had rather be condemned for an honest adherence to the Bible and to my solemn ordination pledge than enjoy even the highest ecclesiastical honors and emoluments as the reward of dishonesty."

And so, another chapter in Presbyterian missions began. It began with Machen, and in spite of divisions through the years has continued to grow through the work of faithful missionaries in smaller Presbyterian bodies through the US and around the world. Out of the sorrows of men's affairs the Lord has brought causes for joy as He will not allow His kingdom to falter. And as the fruit of western missionary work prospered in places like Korea, Presbyterians there are now sending more missionaries around the world than America's Presbyterians are.

Conclusion

So, should anyone ever call your desire to evangelize the world into question, remember the heritage in which you stand. The Reformed faith is the greatest incentive to missions and evangelism that can exist! Going out in obedience to a sovereign God with the confidence that the Lord will absolutely redeem His people keeps you going when nothing else will. Pray that the Lord will continue to bring new workers into His vineyards. Who knows? He just might call you.

Appendix F: An Outline of the History of the Bible Presbyterian Church

By Rev. Leonard W. Pine, D.Min.

The distinctive character of the Bible Presbyterian Church has its roots deep in eighteenth century American Presbyterianism, with other roots branching out into the sixteenth century Reformation (particularly through Bullinger), the Scottish Kirk of the seventeenth century, and the American frontier revivals of the nineteenth century. Feeding off all these various traditions, we as Bible Presbyterians occupy a unique place in Presbyterianism and have a unique opportunity to impact the world around us because of the eclectic nature of our world view. Because in the limited scope of this paper it will be impossible to fully develop all of the "root systems" mentioned above, I will focus on American Presbyterianism in particular and bring attention to other traditions where appropriate.

Though Presbyterians had been active in the New World since the early 1600's, they did not become an independent entity until Francis Makemie formed the first presbytery in the Mid-Atlantic colonies in 1706 as a response to growing opposition from the Anglican Church. Up until that time all Church affairs were dealt with from England. The first synod was held in Philadelphia in 1717, and the Westminster Standards were adopted in 1729. With the coming of the Great Awakening came also the first major division. The issue was revival techniques, and in 1741 the Church split into the "Old Side" and "New Side." The "Old Sides" opposed the new methods, believing them to be destructive to existing churches (which they were – young men coming in and challenging people to get rid of pastors who wouldn't get in line with the new ways); while the "New Sides" felt the conservatives were dead spiritually and needed to be cleaned out (some did fit this description). This issue would resurface during the Second Great Awakening with additional complications.

By 1758 the fires of controversy had died down, and in the face of the rapid growth of the Methodists and Congregationalists, the Old and New Sides agreed to re-unite, spurring a period of rapid growth lasting almost sixty years. In 1788 the General Assembly was formally established, convening the next year and adopting a national constitution, officially forming the Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. That the nation was ratifying its own constitution at the same time was seen as a great sign of God's blessing. But the division of 1741 had left its scars, primarily seen in a diminishing of enthusiasm for maintaining a truly distinctive testimony. Both sides compromised on firmly held positions to re-unite, and each was less because of the compromise. This set up a pattern that would gradually lead to the apostasy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an apostasy that has continued to this day. Sacrificing principle for practice, both suffered.

A large step in the direction I have just described was the Plan of Union, adopted in 1801. The plan seemed noble enough: Join forces with the Congregationalists, who were essentially the same in their Calvinistic theology, so that together they might have a greater impact for God. The union would also take advantage of the revivals which once again were sweeping the country, garnering in a wider constituency. It is true that from 1801-37 the Church grew ten times in membership, but it was at great cost. Though the theology of the two groups was similar, the differences in church polity and government planted seeds of division early on. Furthermore, by this time the Congregationalists were thoroughly saturated with the "New England theology" which modified Calvinism by allowing for greater human involvement in salvation — essentially making it a middle-of-the-road, deadening position holding on to elements of Calvinism, Arminianism, and rationalism. With the frontier revivals of the Second Great Awakening came the old issue of revival techniques, strengthened this time by sensationalism and the beginnings of the American Pentecostal/Holiness movement. An example of the subsequent controversy is the founding of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, founded in reaction to the demands of a well-educated, but often

spiritually impoverished ministry. Born out of the frontier revivals, the CPC reduced educational requirements for ministers and steered along the road of revivalist sensationalism. Conservatives who were concerned over the influx of New England theology and the revivalist abuses founded Princeton Theological Seminary, taking up where Tennant's Log College left off.

Finally, in 1837, the controversy came to a head and the northern Presbyterians divided. Called the "Old School" and the "New School," the issues that divided the two groups included dissolution of the Plan of Union, agencies (educational, missionary, and evangelistic) brought under denominational control, New England theology, church discipline and Christian liberty, and slavery. Old Schoolers generally wanted to hold on to the Plan of Union, bring agencies under denominational control, maintain the New England theology, be stricter in matters of discipline and liberty, and tolerate slavery (this last item varying depending on the region). The New Schoolers, of course, tended in the opposite direction on these issues. This state of affairs eventually found its way south, and in 1857 a formal division between the northern and southern branches of the Church came about.

Twenty-one southern presbyteries favoring the "New School" positions formed the United Synod, which lasted until 1864, when they re-united with their Old School counterparts in the South, establishing the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., South. Their differences were swallowed up in their united opposition to the North's aggression. (The northern Church would re-unite just five years later.) Once again, principle took a back seat to pragmatic considerations. This was getting to be a habit.

In 1889 the next big step toward apostasy occurred when Charles Briggs, Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages at Union Seminary, led fifteen presbyteries of the northern Church in making an overture to the General Assembly to revise the doctrinal standards of the Church. This stunned conservatives; even with twenty presbyteries immediately calling for action, the NY presbytery took steps to protect Briggs by dragging their heels. It took two years to get Briggs properly brought up on charges of heresy before the General Assembly, (similar to the fumbling activity of conservatives during the controversies arising out of the Second Great Awakening), which charges were subsequently dropped to keep the peace, not to mention that it was noticed that Princeton's own confession had been changed in such a way as to make Briggs' position technically "legal." (He had been charged initially by B.B. Warfield and A.A. Hodge, two Princeton professors.) Finally, when the General Assembly met in Portland, Oregon, in 1895, Briggs was defrocked and the Assembly reaffirmed inerrancy (one of the items Briggs desired to alter—i.e., "erase"—in the standards). This victory for the conservatives in the Church, called the "Portland Deliverance," was short-lived. Briggs remained on the faculty at Union; a few minor revisions were made in the Westminster standards in 1903 which, while apparently harmless, opened up the whole question of altering the standards again as well as undoubtedly softening the Calvinistic character of the standards; the licensing of ministerial candidates schooled at modernist institutions became an issue, in 1906 a reunion took place with the Arminian Cumberland Presbyterians, and then, in 1908, the PCUSA became a charter member of the apostate, socialistic Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, forerunner of the National Council of Churches. The year 1914 saw Ross Stephenson appointed president of Princeton—a man who tolerated infidels and just about anyone else teaching on the faculty. It was increasingly difficult for the conservatives, fast becoming a vocal minority, to hold the line with Princeton firmly in the hands of modernists. Whereas it had been the New England theology that had infiltrated the Church at the turn of the eighteenth century, at the turn of the nineteenth the wolf was higher criticism from Germany. One by one the great Presbyterian schools fell: Union, Auburn, and, finally, Princeton.

From this point to about 1923 conservative victories would be sporadic and mostly insignificant within the Church: it would soon become apparent to some that the only salvation for the Church lay outside the mainline denomination. [I dislike calling the big Church "mainline" because it suggests that those who have removed themselves from it are sectarian – to Paul's objection before Felix that he was of the Way: it was the Jews who were the deviation from the truth. But the term is helpful or identifying the PCUSA and the PCUS, still as yet divided.] Some of the victories, however, were important. In 1910 the General Assembly issued its

famous (and controversial) five-point doctrinal statement reaffirming inerrancy, the virgin birth, the bodily resurrection, miracles, and substitutionary atonement; and furthermore making belief in these doctrines a requirement for the Presbyterian ministry. The statement was reaffirmed in 1916 and 1923.

The modernists, however, were not silent. In December of 1923, one hundred and fifty ministers met in Auburn, New York, and issued their answer to the five-point declaration. Called the "Auburn Affirmation," they challenged the constitutionality of the declaration and the dogmatic and essential nature of the five points themselves. The language of the Affirmation was broad enough that conservatives were alarmed, fearing that if the five points were not to be considered "essential doctrines," then what was to stop the modernists from denying the Trinity or other equally cardinal teachings of the Church? The signers of the Affirmation argued that the five points were merely theories, and adherence to them should not be a requirement for Presbyterian ministry. As Edwin Rian points out, none of the signers were ever charged with heresy, which is what should have been done. Again, for whatever reason, conservatives dropped the ball. The Auburn Affirmation was the beginning of the end for conservative theology in the Presbyterian Church.

Nowhere was the theological fight keener than at Princeton. The debates over who would control the school, modernists or conservatives, raged on until finally the Seminary was reorganized so that the fundamentalists were left at a distinct disadvantage. At this point, in 1928, J. Gresham Machen left Princeton and founded Westminster Theological Seminary to preserve the old Princeton theology and, with it, conservative Presbyterianism. Machen would continue his struggle against modernism in the General Assembly until 1934, when he was ousted from the denomination for refusing to submit to the Mandate of 1934.

In 1933, an overture had come before the Assembly concerning the modernism that was rampant among the missionaries under the Board of Foreign Missions. Machen and others fought to have the Board purged of the modernists, but the Assembly endorsed the Board anyway. Frustrated, Machen proceeded to form the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, which was controversial, to say the least. The 1934 General Assembly issued (*railroaded* would be a better term) a mandate against those supporting the Independent Board, demanding that they return to upholding the official Board or face the music. After two years of trials, Machen and his followers were expelled from the PCUSA ministry. Machen and friends formed the Presbyterian Church of America in June, 1936, in an effort to preserve a pure Presbyterianism.

One year later, a minority split off from the PCA to form the Bible Presbyterian Synod, with each side of the split claiming to represent "historic American Presbyterianism." Three issues formed the matrix of the argument. The first was doctrinal, concerning the attitude of the church toward dispensational premillennialism. The second was ethical, concerning abstention from alcoholic beverages. The third was political, concerning independent agencies. These issues were nothing new—they had been at the heart of the divisions existing in American Presbyterianism almost from the beginning. In a sense, each side did represent historic American Presbyterianism: The PCA following more or less in the tradition of the Old School and the BPC in the tradition of the New School (minus the New England theology).

Frankly, none of these issues were worth splitting over, especially as they were presented by the combatants on each side. On the first issue, while the PCA spoke out against the dispensational premillennialism of the Scofield Bible, the BPC, particularly Dr. Carl McIntire, took the attack as directed against all premillennialists, which was not the PCA intent at all. Besides, the BPC had several prominent non-dispensational premillennialists in its ranks such as R. Laird Harris and J. Oliver Buswell. On the second issue, the PCA wanted to maintain the old Princeton principle of liberty of conscience in the matter of alcohol, while the BPC felt that abstinence must be a requirement for ministry. On the third issue, the PCA saw independent agencies as the cause of influx of modernism into the Church, while the BPC believed that the official boards were to blame and the only way to keep the Church clean was to make the agencies free from the hierarchy of the denomination (which principle they would soon deny when McIntire filled the leadership of the agencies with all the same men, himself included, exactly what he had criticized Machen for). Particularly because of this

last fact, I believe the real crux of the matter was a struggle for control, the three issues mentioned above being convenient excuses for controversy (though I am sure that the participants would not have seen it that way at the time). These issues would also become the basis for McIntire, Allan MacRae, J. Oliver Buswell, and others to leave Westminster and found Faith Theological Seminary in 1937 to represent their distinctive views. Personalities became so strongly involved on both sides that deep wounds were inflicted by self-righteous, spiteful innuendo and outright statements against each other. Machen died January 1, 1937, and with his death the PCA leadership fell into disarray. Their figurehead gone, the PCA lost the ability to deal effectively with the dissenters, and the Church split.

The Bible Presbyterian Church held its first synod in 1938, adopting the Westminster Standards (without the 1903 revisions) and adding a clear statement of the premillennialist position and a mild encouragement to total abstinence. McIntire and his followers had remained in control of the Independent Board, and this agency became an integral part of the denomination's framework. McIntire's *Christian Beacon* now took on the modernists and the rising tide of socialism rather than the PCA, though the issues that had fueled the split were still dealt with on a regular basis.

The years since 1938 have seen their ups and downs. Major splits (1955, 1971, 1976, & 1984) have left behind scars and decimated the ranks. Many congregations and pastors have left, and at times the testimony of the denomination has been shaky. Nevertheless, the Bible Presbyterian Church has supported an active and successful missions program, new congregations are now coming in, and the future looks bright. When Faith Theological Seminary, under the leadership of Dr. McIntire, started re-fighting the eschatology battle in the early eighties, Western Reformed Seminary was founded in 1983 to provide a school that would be committed to promoting a reformed Presbyterian ministry rather than a personality and an image, as well as a place for ministers to be trained that allowed for freedom of conscience in matters of indifference. (Faith left the denomination in the 1984 split.)

When the Church split in 1984, most of the divisive elements left. Consequently, a new sense of purpose and unity has characterized the Church's synod and presbyteries. If the Church is to flourish, it must continue in its new-found unity of purpose. It must nourish a vision for ministry, and it must focus its pugilism on apostasy, not preferences. The Church is ready to go forward—may God be with us.