

Three-Way Chess:

Arie Kok and the Failure to Expand American Fundamentalism in Europe

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Post-refereed, pre-print version of article published in *Church History and Religious Culture* 94 (2014): 227-258.

<http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com/content/journals/10.1163/18712428-09402003?crawler=true&mimetype=application/pdf>

Abstract

By following the career and networks of Dutch missionary and diplomat Arie Kok (1883 – 1951), this essay explores the motives for creating a transatlantic fundamentalist network after World War II. Using private correspondence, interviews, institutional records, and periodicals, the essay demonstrates that the goal, means, and strategy of American fundamentalists tied them closely to other American Protestant groups active in postwar Europe. Apart from the exclusivist doctrine and antithetical style, which burdened the chances for positive cooperation among traditional Protestants, it was the national agenda of Carl McIntire, the American father of international fundamentalism that nullified Kok's transnational endeavors. Despite these limitations, Kok succeeded briefly in captivating a group of Europeans, shaping the discourse and the religious activities of the Americans on the European continent, and causing the emerging evangelicals serious concern.

Keywords

Fundamentalism, foreign relations, Pentecostal movement, Arie Kok, Carl McIntire, Amsterdam, China, American missions in Europe, evangelicalism, World Council of Churches

During a vacation trip some time ago, I found among the many touristic articles on display a chess board for three players. Luggage limitations prevented me from buying it (and I am still sorry), but the concept intrigued me. I forgot all about this game until my research on the European strategies of American Protestants reminded me of its dynamics. The game offers a useful metaphor for the interaction among the three branches of American Protestantism—liberal, evangelical, and fundamentalist—which turned confidently to Europe during and immediately after World War II with the great expectation of revitalizing Christianity there. Each of these branches soon discovered that their success in reaching Europeans meant wrestling terrain from the other two American religious competitors, and not just from the traditional European churches. Evangelicals and fundamentalists positioned themselves in opposition to the liberals, but even more so to each other. The American

fundamentalists were by far the smallest and poorest of the groups and it is from their perspective that this essay enters this game of three-way chess. The opening moves were made in the Netherlands.

In the last week of August 1948, the city of Amsterdam experienced a religious invasion. The monumental Nieuwe Kerk, already dressing up for the inauguration of Queen Juliana later in September, hosted three thousand guests and delegates, representing 147 churches from 44 countries around the world. On August 22, they gathered to worship in preparation for the founding of the World Council of Churches (WCC) the following day. Church bells rang all over the world. The delegates occupied all the major church buildings and concert halls for a week of consultations.

American evangelicals had entertained a plan to stage a training conference in the same city to coordinate and advance evangelistic programs in Europe organized by Youth for Christ. Instead, however, they only sent two observers to Amsterdam and chose to organize their own event in Switzerland. They wanted to avoid the impression of an anti-ecumenical demonstration, which would have undermined their purpose of uniting evangelicals worldwide. It took them three more years to get a framework for a European presence in the global evangelical network.¹

Harmony was not the goal of the fundamentalists who met provocatively from August 11-18, just before the big ecumenical event. They strategically chose the English Reformed Church at the Begijnhof for their meeting, the historic center of international Puritanism where Pilgrim Fathers had worshipped, and a few blocks down the road from the Nieuwe Kerk where the opening ceremony of the WCC would take place just days later. Despite a modest showing, nevertheless its delegates had come from 29 countries and represented 57, mostly tiny, denominations. The timing just before the WCC event, and the location in Amsterdam, had great symbolic value: these serious men met to counter what they perceived to be a serious threat to the world. They met under the umbrella of the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC) founded in 1941 in opposition to the American Federal Council of Churches (AFCC). The ACCC was the brainchild of Carl C. McIntire who also served as the first president of the International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) modeled after its American partner organization. An independent Presbyterian minister, McIntire advocated an absolute antithesis between true Christianity and all shades of religious and political liberalism. He had founded the organization less than a year before the evangelicals launched their National Association. During his lifetime he wrote numerous books, published and edited the weekly *Christian Beacon*, and used syndicated radio programs, demonstrations and rallies to wage battle against all shades of religious modernism as well as Communism and to promote private enterprise. His rhetorical skills, boundless energy, and savvy media use gained him wide visibility, but his uncompromising principles, confrontational approach, and authoritarian leadership style alienated him

¹ Eyewitness account by H. van der Linde, *De eerste steen gelegd. De eerste Assemblée van de Wereldraad van Kerken te Amsterdam 1948* (Amsterdam, 1949), pp. 13-71. Wheaton, Illinois, USA, Wheaton College, Billy Graham Center Archives, "Torrey M. Johnson Papers, col. 285, box 27, file 5 Holland, 1946-1949, Memorandum," p. 13 and appendix D, letter H. van de Bunt and Jurrien ten Have (acting secretary of Youth for Christ Holland) to D.S., 17 November 1947.

(eventually) from all his friends and allies on the Christian Right. As a result he hindered the emergence of a strong global fundamentalist movement.²

In the shadow of this towering figure in American fundamentalism, a gentle, sturdy, unassuming Dutchman, Arie Kok, welcomed the delegates to Holland and did the real work as general secretary and international anchorman for the ICCC, while another American Presbyterian, Francis Schaeffer, networked among European conservative Christians to bring them into closer contact with American fundamentalists. It is Kok's life story more than that of the attention-getting Americans that explains the development and significance of a fundamentalist protestant presence outside the United States. McIntire was predominantly occupied with U.S. concerns and so dominated the stage that in the historical literature his role has obscured other international aspects of the fundamentalist Protestant movement. It was Arie Kok who formed the impetus for this international expansion. The tandem of Kok and McIntire opened a transnational perspective on militant conservative Protestantism after World War II while paying tribute to its American roots. Whereas McIntire and Schaeffer pursued at the core an American agenda, Kok had acquired a much wider geographical horizon, which entitled him to a representative position as the transnational figure in Protestant fundamentalism. McIntire's rich repertoire of international experience and different perspectives qualified his patriotism, while Kok's equally resolute rejection of all connections to liberal Christians undermined a successful outcome.

One might say that whatever the personality, structural elements such as exclusivist fundamentalist doctrines, or the absolutist nature of an antithetical campaign, blocked cooperation on any positive goals. But even though Kok unreservedly accepted McIntire's leadership—writing deferentially to Dr. McIntire, not to Carl—he died too soon to correct the trend towards isolation. Kok's character and personal qualities were crucial to the taking of international initiatives. The fundamentalist failure to capture the Europeans, so often attributed to McIntire's behavior, obscures the remarkable success the fundamentalist movement had in shaping the discourse and the religious constellation of American enterprise on the European continent, and discounts the battle against the despised World Council of Churches, and the emerging evangelicals.

American Framework for the Study of Global Aspects of Conservative Protestantism

American evangelicals had recently broken out of their fundamentalist cocoon when they founded the National Association of Evangelicals in 1942. They were almost as concerned about the dominance of ecumenical Protestantism as was the fundamentalist group from which they originated. They did, however, seek to keep the lines of communication open with liberal Christian organizations in order to gather as much support as possible for a religious revival at home and abroad. This forced them to steer away from the strict separatism of McIntire, who blamed them for refusing to join his

² For an excellent article on McIntire as trailblazer for the political Christian Right, see Markku Ruotsila, "Carl McIntire and the Fundamentalist Origins of the Christian Right," *Church History* 81.2 (June 2012), 378-407.

organization. An intense correspondence about goals and strategies erupted between evangelical and fundamentalist leaders, in which the evangelicals received constant flak from the fundamentalists. The gap widened and led to the firm embrace of an anti-communist and anti-liberal stand by the evangelicals lest they be labeled as weak and compromising. This story has been well-told for America, but the story goes far beyond that nation's boundaries.³

Religious historians have underscored the reasons why Protestant fundamentalism is not exclusively American, even as they have pointed out that the movement benefited from the circumstances in the United States where the defining features of the tradition were most finely tuned.⁴ America's intellectual response to modern developments, its rational style, and its unique position resulting from a revival tradition, promised radical new beginnings, especially appealing to the Calvinists hoping to reclaim their fundamental place in the old society. Fundamentalism's built-in drive to reach out lent it export value.

Kok's Preparation for his Transnational Role

When Arie Kok died in 1951, he had established the basis for the international fundamentalist network in continental Europe. This legacy in Europe in general, and in the Netherlands in particular, lasted until the 1970s when Asia took over the leading role.⁵ Three crucial elements – Fundamentalism's transnational character, its global anti-Communism and its rejection of Pentecostalism explain both the appeal and the limitations of American Fundamentalism abroad. Arie Kok's life story, remarkable in itself, is representative of a merger of all three elements. The transnational nature of the movement was molded for Kok during his missionary and diplomatic endeavors in Holland, Europe, Asia and the United States. His anti-Communism was fostered by his experiences in China where he became convinced of the dangerous connection between unrestrained modernism and totalitarian politics. His strong rejection of Pentecostalism was the result of his personal involvement with it, which had begun with high expectations but which ended in deep disillusionment. It was Kok's accumulated experience and global scope that had encouraged McIntire to add an international wing to his American organization as the French Methodist minister W.H. Guiton had suggested. It was Kok's skills and status that allowed him to quickly occupy strategic spaces in Europe. And it was Kok who absorbed American fundamentalist ideas and agenda and translated these for Europeans, enabling scattered European groups to rally behind McIntire. These accomplishments must have come as a surprise to those who knew his humble origins in rural Holland.

³ Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York, 1993), pp.33-56.

⁴ George Marsden, "Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon, A Comparison with English Evangelicalism," *Church History* 46.2 (1977), 215-32.

⁵ McIntire was ousted by the American Council of Christian Churches in 1968 because he had used its funds for ICCC purposes without authorization and the board members rejected his authoritarian style and political activism. In 1970 the ACCC left the ICCC.

Arie Kok's birthplace was Goes, a modest regional center in the Southern Dutch province of Zeeland. He was born on April 9, 1883, the second son of a shoemaker, Gerard, and Anna Huijsse, a domestic servant. The couple, committed members of the Dutch Reformed Church, sought religious inspiration in the eschatological, missionary and humanitarian vistas opened by a nearby pastor J.H. Gunning J. Hz. They subscribed to magazines promoting evangelism and faith renewal and read books by holiness authors such as Asa Mahan and Andrew Murray.⁶ Economically, the family struggled to stay in the lower middle-class.⁷

By 1892, father Gerard had seven mouths to feed and hoped for better prospects in Amsterdam, moving there to work in various manual jobs in the furniture and diamond industry. The family moved at least five times in Amsterdam's crowded city center. Arie continued school in the Dutch capital and found employment in the postal service. As were his parents, Kok was interested in spiritual renewal and attended a revival in Wales in 1904, and studied the literature and attended meetings of the emerging Pentecostal movement in the Netherlands. He found a kindred spirit in Elsie R. Aldenberg, whom he married on January 2, 1908. Eight days later, he experienced a deepening of his faith when he was baptized in the Spirit. He claimed also to have witnessed miraculous healings. Later in 1908, Kok's wife is reported to have begun speaking in tongues during a prayer meeting when the gathered believers reportedly saw a great ball of fire in the sky. Other Kok siblings also belonged to this full-gospel group.⁸

The early Pentecostals believed this type of occurrence was a sign of the end-times and they felt urged to become missionaries and spread the Word before it was too late. Arie stood at the center of the Dutch Pentecostal community, editing the first Dutch journal *Spade Regen* (Latter Rain), and later entering foreign mission work on behalf of the Dutch Pentecostal churches. Dutch Pentecostals were a very international organization with a wide network. Kok and his wife made frequent visits to Germany and the UK and read about other parts of the world.⁹ In London, they attended the newly founded school of the Pentecostal Mission Union (PMU) for six months to learn about all the books of the bible and the key doctrines. In August 1910, they traveled by train via Germany to Russia where the couple spent nine months in the Baltic area encouraging local believers before moving on to China, where they established contacts with the China Inland Mission and indigenous Chinese Pentecostals. Thus, Kok experienced firsthand how his religious conviction crossed all national borders and transcended national identities.¹⁰

⁶ They subscribed to periodical *Pniel*. Princeton NJ, USA, Princeton Theological Seminary, Special Collections, The Carl C. McIntire Manuscript Collection (222) (hereafter CCMC), box 19 f 23, Letter Arie Kok to W. Verhoog in Leiden, November 29, 1947.

⁷ The local newspaper *Goessche Courant*, 15 March 1887 reported that Gerard had been removed from the list of voters for the municipal council because of low income. That happened again in the spring of 1892, which marked the family's departure to Amsterdam.

⁸ "The Strange Baptism of Sister Kok at Amsterdam," *Confidence* 9 (15 December 1908), 22-4.

⁹ *Spade Regen* 10 (June-July 1909), 1; 11 (August/October 1909), 3; 12 (November 1909), 2.

¹⁰ *Spade Regen* 20 (December 1910), 4; 22 (March-April 1911), 2; 23 (June 1911), 2-3.

Kok and his wife spent their first years in China in language training and prayer meetings. They worked to distribute gospel tracts. No sooner had they arrived than they witnessed famine, floods, and an outbreak of the plague. At the same time as they hesitantly made a first effort to preach in Chinese, the country exploded in the November 1911, Republican Revolution. The young couple joined other Western missionaries evacuating to Cheng-ting-fu. After their move to Likiangfu (Lijiang) in South-western China, their second son was born. There they prepared to enter Tibet, reputedly the last closed country. In the beginning of World War I Kok opened a private Bible school in western China to train workers for the large region.¹¹ Other Dutch workers joined the couple. Among them was Arie Kok's sister Annie, who had emigrated in 1913 with her parents and three sisters to live with a brother in Grand Rapids, Michigan, but traveled to China in 1918 to help educate her nephews. Kok had close links to the Dutch-American community in the American Midwest.¹² And through his in-laws, he had connections to the Boston area as well. Kok's in-laws with three of their four children left Holland to settle in the Boston area in 1905. The young missionary couple had numerous personal ties to America.¹³

China's Opportunities and Tensions as a Transnational Experience

The China that the Kok family encountered in the first two decades of the twentieth century welcomed modern ideas, including Christianity. The number of missionaries in China doubled from three thousand to six thousand between 1900 and 1920. Young, socially active missionaries entered the field. They founded numerous churches, hospitals, and primary and secondary schools. An atmosphere of high expectations pulled these missionaries in the direction of visible progress in the here and now in both religious and civic matters. To achieve these modernization goals, missionary organizations promoted unified action, transcending denominational boundaries. The merger of various Protestant churches and the founding of the National Christian Council in 1922, called for broad and inclusive mission statements, which conservatives considered too ambiguous to draw them in.¹⁴ Nevertheless, even independent missionary organizations, including the conservative China Inland Mission gained hundreds of new workers.

¹¹ Los Angeles, USA, University of Southern California, USC Digital Library, Pentecostal and Charismatic Research Archive (hereafter PCRA), "Arie Kok and Elsje Kok, China, 1912-1919," Letter Kok to PMU Board August 9, 1912, <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll14/id/38636> . Visited June 6, 2013; *Spade Regen* 27 (December 1911), 3; 28 (January-February 1912), 3-4; (July 1914) 3; 38 (December 1914),3; 40 (July 1916),4; 10.3 (15 August 1917), 20.

¹² *Spade Regen* 10.11 (15 February 1918),44. New York, USA, Ellis Island Records, Passenger list *SS Potsdam*, 12-24 April 1913.

¹³ His children spoke Chinese and English, some German, and though he read them stories in Dutch they hardly spoke Dutch. PCRA, Letter Kok to PMU Board, 17 August 1918. Northridge, CA, USA, California State University, Oviatt Library, Special Collections and Archives, Robert N. Tharp Collection, 1913-1993, (hereafter RNTC), Box 1, folders 15-16, Evangeline Tharp, "Notes Regarding Dad," April 1992.

¹⁴ Kevin Xiyi Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement Among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920-1937* (Dallas, TX, 2003), pp. 36-8.

But Western Christianity was not the only source of inspiration for the Chinese. The young Chinese Communist Party took its lead from the Soviet Union in the early 1920s, which also attracted the sympathy of the nationalist Kuomintang movement. The Chinese frustration with Western hegemony made the communist explanation of imperialism plausible and fanned an explicit anti-Western and anti-Christian movement, thus increasing the tension and anxiety over China's future. Intellectuals and students turned against Western tradition and many indigenous churches limited their dependence on Western agencies.

Traditional missionaries increasingly felt cornered by both their progressive colleagues and by the anti-Christian, Western influences. They objected when their progressive colleagues abandoned their primary task of making converts and founding congregations. They blamed liberal theological ideas for causing this decline rather than pinning it on the practical demands of the Chinese situation. They discussed their concerns at various summer conferences. In 1920, a number of concerned missionaries created an organizational network with the goal of strengthening the spread of the traditional faith through the Bible Union of China. It quickly collected 600 members who subscribed to a monthly bulletin to be used to promote Bible reading. The founders made an explicit connection to an American project of a decade earlier that published books on the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and defended the individual and supernatural factors of the faith against the idea that structural and organizational measures should dominate.¹⁵

Before Arie Kok entered this forum he had to become a professional missionary. Dealing with the Chinese language often seemed easier than solving serious internal problems among the staff. He faced pressing demands at the local level, such as a suicidal female missionary and other dysfunctional colleagues. He read those incidents as a sign of spiritual weakness in the mission team that was bound to obstruct his goal of reaching Tibet. He took on the role of strategic planner for the future of Pentecostal mission operations in Western China and opened up cordial relations with other Protestant missionaries.¹⁶ In 1918, after nine years of uninterrupted work, the physical and mental strain of pioneering mission work at a high elevation with frequent travel, and the burden of finding suitable accommodation for a growing number of workers, a pressing lack of funds, and the insecurity of future postings, had exhausted Kok's physical reserves. Additionally the indecisiveness of the Pentecostal Mission Union had made him lose confidence in the organization. The Mission Union had wavered in giving permission to Kok's two oldest sons to enter advanced education at the school of the China Inland Mission in Shangung. And they had repeatedly failed to respond to Kok's urgent

¹⁵ Yao, *Fundamentalist*, 55-62. *Bulletin of the Bible Union of China* 1 (January 1921), 15 and 4 (April 1921), 6. 3.9 (October 1922): 1. Proud to be called "Fundamentalist."

¹⁶ The third name, "Thibetus," of his second son, Gerard. P. Kok, expressed his desire to reach Tibet. Gerard later became a professor of Oriental languages at Yale. PCRA, Letters Kok to PMU Board August 9, 1912 and September 14, 1913. For the strained relationship between the China Inland Mission and the PMU, which was seen as straining the mental stability of missionaries by its emphasis on gifts of the spirit, see Alwyn Austin, "Re-Thinking Re-Thinking Missions: Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth, the China Inland Mission and the Disappearing Fundamentalists 1910 – 1932," pp. 31-32, Web paper (visited 10 June 2013).

<<http://www.cspH.ca/papers/CSPH%202010%20Papers%20-%20Alwyn%20Austin.pdf>>

requests for a furlough in Boston.¹⁷ Kok saw the signs of Pentecost as a means to bolster one's faith. But he resisted the trend among his fellow Pentecostals who believed they were the only true Christians, and who thought that a sign of true obedience to the faith was shouting in tongues until midnight even if it disturbed the Chinese community, and who disregarded language training. Kok had a high regard for indigenous workers and missionaries from other agencies.¹⁸ His loyalty was to those who, like him, felt driven to spread the gospel among the Chinese, rather than to bolster the Pentecostal denomination. This combination of exhaustion and frustration made Kok decide to resign in May, 1919.

Finding himself outside the mission organization seemed to terminate his missionary adventure. Yet his investment had not been in vain, as he found he could continue to advance his strategy for cooperation in a different capacity. The Dutch diplomatic post in Beijing soon recruited him to be secretary and translator due to both his language skills and his first-hand knowledge of the situation in China. This opportunity enabled him to resign from the Pentecostal Mission Union and still maintain a source of income. He found comfortable living quarters in the abandoned German legation. As his workload was relatively light, he had the time and space to recover his physical and mental well-being, and then to attend to his ongoing missionary activities.¹⁹

In 1923, the whole family, now counting four children, made a world tour on its first furlough, calling on Japan, Canada, Michigan, Massachusetts, the Netherlands, and the Mediterranean. Upon return they moved to the large abandoned house of the Austrian legation that became a shelter for many visitors. Kok made it comfortable and cool by covering the building with matting during the scorching summers. They were able to hire a cook, a houseboy, servants to tend the fires and the garden, a sewing woman, and a rickshaw driver. When Kok concluded that the sermons in the Chapel of the Beijing Union Medical College were too liberal he began to organize his own services. The family hosted groups of 40 conservative missionaries every Sunday afternoon and threw American-style Christmas parties complete with turkey dinner for missionaries from more than twelve countries.

¹⁷ PCRA, Letters Kok to PMU board, August 17, 1918, October 27, 1918 and May 13, 1919. File "Arie Kok and Elsje Kok, China, 1912-1919." Entries of his diary were published in *Spade Regen* 11.4-7 (15 July-15 October 1918). Health report in 11.10 and 11.11 (15 January 1919 and 15 February 1919). Piet Klaver took over Kok's job on the mission post and kept the supporters at home in the dark about the motives.

¹⁸ Allan Anderson, "Christian Missionaries and 'Heathen Natives': The Cultural Ethics of Early Pentecostal Missionaries." Paper presented at the 10th EPCRA conference in Leuven, Belgium, June 2001, p. 1 and 5, confirmed the high drop-out rate of Pentecostal missionaries and is the source for Kok's critical stand on feelings of Pentecostal superiority.

¹⁹ *Spade Regen* 12.7 (15 October 1919), 112; Appointment on 22 April 1919 at the Dutch legation. He must have planned a return to the mission field. Editor Polman announced the birth of a daughter in the Kok family and the complete recovery of Kok who prepared to return to his post in *Spade Regen* (February 1921).

P.N. van der Laan, *The Question of Spiritual Unity: The Dutch Pentecostal Movement in Ecumenical Perspective* (Edgbaston, 1988), pp. 85-90. Cornelis van der Laan, *Sectarian Against His Will: Gerrit Roelof Polman and the Birth of Pentecostalism in the Netherlands* (Metuchen, NJ, 1991). Cornelis van der Laan, "Beyond the Clouds: Elize Scharten (1876-1965), Pentecostal Missionary to China," in: Wonsuk Ma & Robert P. Menzies, eds., *Pentecostalism in Context: Essays in Honor of William W. Menzies* (Sheffield, 1997), pp. 337-60.

He rented another compound with two houses to host recuperating missionaries and others needing a place to stay.²⁰

Kok's commitment to defend traditional missions deepened as his diplomatic career advanced. In 1925, he rose to the position of Chancellor of the Dutch legation, professionalizing his skill in administration and diplomacy, and broadening his views on international relations. The Dutch minister in Beijing, Minister Willem Jan Oudendyk, had advanced in the previous two decades from the lowest rank to the senior position. He had previously served in Moscow where he had witnessed the Bolshevik Revolution up close. He feared communism as a menace for Western civilization and saw this major threat confirmed in various Communist conspiracies in China. Oudendyk played a leading role in settling China's foreign debts and arranging its tariffs in the midst of the civil war. He proved to be a gifted and patient negotiator. Until the civil war made the situation too unstable to invest further, the Dutch economic interests included the security of Chinese workers and immigrants in its East Indian colonies and the construction of ports and railroads in China. Oudendyk was close to the staff of other foreign legations situated in the same neighborhood in Beijing. Kok participated in official functions, but kept his distance from the diplomatic social scene. Meanwhile, leftist elements in the nationalist Kuomintang party attacked foreigners in Nanking on March 24, 1927. A military force of thirteen thousand Americans guarded the interests of almost the same number of American citizens. Chiang kai Shek raided Communist strongholds in Shanghai later that year, which provoked communist responses, mainly originating in the countryside. In the 1930s, Japan's invasion of Chinese territories further destabilized the country.²¹

Simultaneously, Kok engaged with the mainly Presbyterian intellectual defenders of the traditional gospel and became increasingly uncompromising. His distrust of non-fundamentalist missionary organizations grew. He acted as the corresponding secretary for the Bible Union of China in the Hopei region and published articles on the philological development of the Chinese language, to help readers master Chinese characters.²² In 1929, when he helped the Bible Union of China to found an alternative league of churches, he created a model that preceded American fundamentalist organizational efforts by twelve years. The religious confrontations in China spread to the United

²⁰ RNTC, Evangeline Tharp, "Notes Regarding Dad," and "Notes Regarding Mother," April 1992, Box 1, folders 15-16. Yao, *Fundamentalist*, p. 275, n. 129. His address was listed as the Austrian Legation at the Marco Polo Street in Peiping, *Bulletin of the Bible Union of China* 41 (September 1929), back cover. CCMC, Kok to McIntire, 20 October 1949, box 19, file 24. For a description of the missionary scene see the memoir by Kok's son-in-law Robert N. Tharp, *They Called Us White Chinese: The Story of a Lifetime of Service to God Mankind* (n.p., 1994), pp. 283-303.

²¹ Den Haag, Nationaal Archief 2.05.90. Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Nederlandse diplomatieke vertegenwoordiging te China (Peking, Chunking, Nanking), (1862) 1872-1954. file 154 (1919-1931) and 156 (1938-1941). 690 Stukken betreffende Nederlands personeel van de diplomatieke vertegenwoordiging en consulaten voornamelijk in China.1941-1951 (D-M). Leonard Blussé and Floris-Jan van Luyn, *China en de Nederlanders. Geschiedenis van de Nederlands-Chinese betrekkingen 1600-2008* (Zutphen, 2008) pp.169-95. Willem J. Oudendijk, *Ways and by-ways in diplomacy* (London, 1939), pp. 321-78.

²² The *Bulletin of the Bible Union of China* reveals he served on the Committee of One Hundred from 1931-1936. The same periodical published his linguistic articles in a series that ran from issue 35 (July 1928), 10-13 to 42 (November 1929), 10-15.

States, confusions in American organizations affected the work in China, and vice versa. Experience with the Canadian mass evangelist, Dr. Jonathan Goforth in 1922-1923, a man 'not welcome' in the Beijing churches, confirmed this connection. Kok blamed the resistance to Goforth on his conservative stand on the Bible and his attack on modernism, but this was an indirect cause, as Goforth had not joined the union of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in the United Church and subsequently lost his mission domain. Kok opened his home as a location for evangelistic meetings.²³ In 1933, Kok offered his expertise to conservative Presbyterian J. Gresham Machen joining his battle against modernism in his denomination. Modernists wanted the Christian faith to be more inclusive and rephrased the basic tenets of Christianity in general humanitarian terms to achieve their goal. They downplayed the expression of doctrine and encouraged a dialogue with other religions. Values from the corporate world pressured them to reject and abandon denominationalism and prize interchurch cooperation as the most efficient investment.²⁴ In the 1920s, Arie linked up with the Bible Union of China, which brought him into intimate contact with conservative Protestants. This experience taught him that: "Compromise and evasion inevitably leads to weakness and ineffectiveness, and, ultimately, ends in failure."²⁵

While Kok had previously cooperated with the YMCA, he began to regret its move towards social action and a liberal interpretation of the Bible, which he thought thwarted the proclaiming of the gospel and undermined its exclusive truth. This went against the grain of Kok's basic beliefs and he joined two anti-modernist organizations: the League of Chinese Christian Churches, representing 75,000 Chinese Christians, and the Bible Union of China, uniting two thousand conservative missionaries.²⁶ In 1930, Kok traveled to the U.S. and linked up with Machen and McIntire in their battle against modernism in the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. In support of this cause he published a lengthy report showing that the gradual advance of modernist missionaries in China had undermined the unity and consistency of the Presbyterian missions.²⁷ He rejected the notion that a faithful Christian could "remain yoked together with religious bodies which have gradually drifted

²³ Arie Kok's sister Anna (Annie) joint the Goforths between 1927-1930 in Manchuria. RNTC, Box 1, folders 15-16, Evangeline Tharp, "Notes on Anna Cornelia Adrianna Kok," April 1992.

²⁴ William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 146-75. This position alienated many European missionaries (172).

²⁵ CCMC, Arie Kok, ms "Why I joined the ACCC" [1946], 6, box 19, file 23 (published in the *Christian Beacon*, 28 November 1946) 5. Yao, *Fundamentalist*, p. 258.

²⁶ Interestingly, the CIM and Goforth represented the moderate wing of fundamentalism in the Bible Union against the militant Americans. Yao, *Fundamentalist*, pp. 68, 77-8, 84.

²⁷ "Memorandum by A. Kok," in J. Gresham Machen, *Modernism and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.: Argument of J. Gresham Machen in support of an overture introduced in the Presbytery of New Brunswick at its meeting on January 24, 1933, and made the order of the day for the meeting on April 11, 1933* (Philadelphia, [1933]), pp. 75-110. George Thompson Brown, *Earthen Vessels and Transcendent Power: American Presbyterians in China, 1837-1952* (Maryknoll, NY, 1997). Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907-1932* (University Park, PA, 1997). He passed through on his way to Dr. Henry Woods of Atlantic City. CCMC, Kok to McIntire (written from Bat Cave, NC) 1 June 1946 MP box 19 file 23. They possibly met again when Kok and his wife traveled to the US in 1932 to enroll their daughter Evangeline at Moody Bible Institute in Chicago.

away from the Truth.”²⁸ He feared the influence of Communist infiltration from Russia into Chinese seminaries, and publications, and advised the Northern Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board to abandon their inclusive policy for missionary candidates. He wanted them to cut ties with modernist groups, to secure the proper use of funds for missionary work, and to promote traditional Christianity. His main target was the American-Chinese Yenching University which he felt abused Presbyterian funds to advance Communism, and whose staff served as editors of periodicals with sympathy for leftist policies: “The fact remains, that the Board for more than ten years, has cooperated with an institution which is rankly modernist in character and which tolerates pro-Soviet teachers on the staff and continues to cooperate until this day.”²⁹ Kok widened his international network by spending a furlough in Germany in 1937.³⁰ The combination of political instability, intellectual pressures, and expectations of global repercussions made the situation in China urgent. As Kok c.s emphasized the supernatural, he rejected all earthly endeavors as threats to the mission instead of contributions. He named theological liberalism as the cause and means of revolutionary political advances. His China experience left him an uncompromising defender of the traditional Christian faith.

Fundamentalist Offensive

In the next decade Kok experienced in person what it was like to live in a totalitarian regime. When the Japanese troops conquered Beijing they interned Kok and his spouse at the Legation compound. His wife’s poor health had prevented a timely departure in a prisoner swap. He was completely isolated except for a secret short-wave radio set, which he had smuggled into the compound and moved frequently. His secret station provided the Swiss consul, who also looked after American, British, and Dutch interests, with daily information. Kok listened to the broadcast about four hours a day and was able to draft extensive reports. Likewise he informed Allied internees at camp Weihsien about developments in the war by mailing them postcards with coded messages about the progress on various fronts. Three times each week, he left the house secretly to buy goods on credit on the black market, eventually selling his furniture, appliances and books.³¹

After the liberation of Beijing by the Americans, the U.S. Command rewarded Kok for distributing reliable information by transporting him and his wife to the United States. They left China on April 1, 1946. His former employer also acknowledged his important role in the war and awarded

²⁸ “Memorandum,” 88.

²⁹ Ibid., 110. The contemporary Dutch professor of the Chinese language, J.J.L. Duyvendak confirmed the strong presence of communist sympathizers at the university: *De hangende driehoek. Indrukken van een weerzien van China* (Arnhem, 1936), p. 70.

³⁰ CCMC, Kok to McIntire, 20 October 1949, box 19, file 24.

³¹ Den Haag, Nationaal Archief 2.05.90, Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Nederlandse diplomatieke vertegenwoordiging te China (Peking, Chungking, Nanking), (1862) 1872-1954, box 690. H.E. Stevens (American consul) “To whom it may concern”, 15 February 1946, and Kok to A.H.J. Lovink, 12 November 1945 and 2 February 1946, and report Tientsin, 29 October 1945, p. 8 Kok burned all official documents when the Japanese invaded Beijing. “Rapport over dienstreis Chungkin- Peking v.v.,” 29 October 1945. CCMC, Undated clipping [1948] box 19, file 23.

him a royal decoration. All the Kok children had settled in the United States or had strong connections there. Paul, born in 1909, became a Baptist minister in Springfield South Carolina. Gerard, born in 1912, became professor of Chinese at Yale University. Evangeline, born in 1914, became a teacher of the Chinese language in California, and Annie, born in 1920, served as missionary for the Southern Presbyterians.³² After Kok settled in North Carolina in April 1946, he began to catch up on American fundamentalism. His internment in China by the Japanese had greatly encouraged his “hunger for knowledge.” He wanted to know how the churches had responded to the war. Once back in the United States he plowed through a pile of *Christian Beacons* and Carl McIntire’s book, *The Twentieth Century Reformation*, which confirmed his conviction that theological modernism jeopardized a peaceful world. His own experience with the Bible Union of China confirmed, “an out-and-out, a full-orbed testimony is more imperative than ever.”³³

It did not take long before Kok contacted McIntire in whom he felt he had found a kindred soul. Kok opened up a correspondence with McIntire and expressed his ideas about the best approach to combat liberalism: “we must not confine ourselves to the mere propogation [sic] of the faith but most certainly we must also defend the faith and contend for it. The evangelical position would be far more favorable at present if this principle would have been better understood and firmly acted upon.” Echoing the lessons of recent history, Kok affirmed: “Appeasement is sheer weakness; fraternization is open disloyalty.”³⁴ He congratulated McIntire and the American Council of Christian Churches and saw their work as a sign of a great new offensive: “Under the disguise of ‘enlightened’ Christianity, a soft kind of communism in camouflaged form is being smuggled into the churches everywhere and the effects are being felt in different countries of the world.”³⁵ He regretted that the spread of division, hatred, and tension went almost unnoticed. It was his own China experience that made him condemn the lack of preparation of the United States against the forces of totalitarianism.

At age 63, Kok had become a transnational figure whose religious ideas trumped national loyalties. He felt pulled between desires to settle in the United States where most of his relatives lived, his love for China, and his longing to return to the Netherlands, where he enjoyed a good reputation, and could have occupied the chair of Chinese at Leyden University.³⁶ The Dutch Foreign Service allowed him some rest. Kok used his time to visit his children and do some public speaking. McIntire invited Kok to be the main speaker at the annual *Beacon* Dinner in Collingswood, New Jersey, on February 15, 1947, and hailed his work in the organization.³⁷ Initially it looked as if Kok would have to return to the Netherlands. His visa application to stay in the U.S. had failed due to the return of the Dutch ambassador. As he prepared for departure, Kok provided McIntire with 67 contact addresses in

³² CCMMC, Kok to Charles Gilbert, American Vice Consul in Rotterdam, 4 February 1949, box 19 file 24.

³³ CCMMC, Arie Kok, ms “Why I joined the ACCC” [1946], box 19, file 23 (published in the *Christian Beacon*, 28 November 1946) 5.

³⁴ CCMMC, Arie Kok to Carl McIntire, 26 June 1946, box 19, file 23.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 27 December 1946, box 19, file 23.

³⁷ CCMMC, McIntire to Kok, 13 December 1946 and Kok to McIntire, 27 December 1946, box 19, file 23.

Europe. He also gave McIntire information on membership in some smaller Reformed churches in the Netherlands that would support the ACCC.³⁸ And he located a Dutch-American printer in Orange City, Iowa, who would produce a Dutch version of the *Christian Beacon* to promote the cause among the Dutch in America and in Europe.³⁹ However, when he received a residence permit good for two years, he was able to delay his departure to the Netherlands.

Drafting a Strategy for Europe

The first mailing of *Getrouw* (Faithful), the Dutch version of the *Christian Beacon*, generated positive responses, and Kok was hopeful that the work would catch on overseas.⁴⁰ The second-largest Reformed Church in the Netherlands hoped to find international fellowship, but felt uncomfortable with the liberalism in the WCC and therefore initially welcomed the ACCC. Some ministers embraced this American initiative because they anticipated a wide liberal-traditional split coming.⁴¹ Other leaders of separatist churches approached the ACCC for money to establish training institutes free from modernist ideas.⁴² Kok shipped 200 copies of McIntire's book, *Twentieth Century Reformation* to key figures in the Netherlands.⁴³ He was aware of the pull of evangelicals even among the conservative Dutch immigrant denomination, the Christian Reformed Church, which had affiliated to the NAE. The Church's 1948 synod decided that the differences between the NAE and ACCC were minimal and that the church should affiliate with the strongest organization, which was the NAE, and informed its Dutch sister churches of this decision. Though it withdrew from the NAE in 1951 because of its loose structure and top-down resolutions, the Christian Reformed Church declined the invitation to join the ICCC lest "we jeopardize our own testimony" by association with negative fundamentalism.⁴⁴

It was Kok who alerted McIntire to the fact that at least five international religious bodies were planning a meeting in the Netherlands or elsewhere in Europe in 1948, and suggested that the ACCC meet in Amsterdam before the WCC held its convention there. The timing was crucial.⁴⁵ McIntire immediately jumped on the occasion and decided to approach all 112 denominations

³⁸ CCMMC, Letters Kok to McIntire, 9 and 26 June 1947, box 19, file 23.

³⁹ CCMMC, Kok to Clarence Laman, 17 June 1947; Kok to McIntire, 12 August 1947. It was the editor Vanderschaaf of the *Volksvriend*. A major reason to get it printed in the US was the paper shortage in Europe. Kok received his paper sheets to print 1,500 copies from the US, box 19, file 23.

⁴⁰ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 13 October 1947, box 19, file 23.

⁴¹ CCMMC, B. Wielinga to Kok, Wassenaar, 10 October 1947, and M. van Dooren from Kampen to Kok, 13 November 1947, box 19, file 23.

⁴² CCMMC, See letter J.J. van der Schuit to Wm. Harlee Bordeaux, 21 November 1947. box 19, file 23.

⁴³ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 31 December 1947, box 19, file 23.

⁴⁴ Christian Reformed Church, *Acts of Synod 1943* (Office of the Stated Clerk, 1943), pp. 132-7. In 1948 the CRC wrote to both the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the *Christelijke Gereformeerde kerken* that the differences between the NAE and ACCC were minimal and that the NAE had a larger and broader membership, and a more inclusive and democratic administration than the ACCC. *Acts of Synod, 1948*, 430-431, *Acts of Synod, 1951*, p. 434; *Acts of Synod, 1955*, pp. 277-78.

⁴⁵ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 25 August 1947: World Council of Churches, Youth for Christ, the Lutheran World Federation, the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, the National Association of Evangelicals. box 19, file 23.

planning to join the WCC with the option to join the ICCC instead. He asked his colleague, the reverend Francis Schaeffer, who had left for missionary work in Switzerland on behalf of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, to spread the news in Europe.⁴⁶ As much as Kok and his wife liked living close to their children in the United States, they did not stay for the full two years of their residence permit but decided to return to the Netherlands in early 1948, to work for the ACCC in Europe, with an eye towards eventually returning to Asia.⁴⁷

They landed in the Netherlands on January 13, 1948, and set up an office complete with an executive secretary and an administrative assistant, in the center of Amsterdam. Life in postwar Amsterdam was hard on them, not only because they were far from their loved ones, but also because it was difficult to find suitable accommodations. The Koks had to live in pensions and hotels. Food was still being rationed and was of poor quality. Elsjie suffered from rheumatism and Arie complained of numbness in his right foot and in the fingers of his right hand. He had problems with his blood vessels, and doctors discouraged him from making long trips. But he did not want to stop.⁴⁸

Kok had set his mind to using the presence in Europe of international conferences and consultations in the next few years to plant the seeds of the ICCC. When the international body of Reformed churches, the Reformed Ecumenical Synod, scheduled its second meeting in Amsterdam in August 1949, Kok saw a prime opportunity to explain the issues dividing Protestants in the United States and to warn the smaller Dutch Reformed churches against the lure of the evangelical approach. The unfamiliarity of the Dutch with the nature of evangelicals worked in his favor. It was this same unfamiliarity that also kept the Pentecostals at bay.⁴⁹ The chancellor, as Kok was commonly called, was optimistic and reported back to his board: “Things are developing here on a much larger scale than I anticipated. Thank God for it. What opportunities!”⁵⁰ The National Association of Evangelicals, and its missionary wing, Youth For Christ, actively solicited European support. They shared the ACCC’s concern with modernism, but rejected its radical separatism and tried to prevent the internal discussion between NAE and ACCC from going public in order not to jeopardize the hope to unite all

⁴⁶ CCMMC, McIntire to Kok, 29 August 1947. box 19, file 23. Barry Hankins, *Francis Schaeffer and the Shaping of Evangelical America* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2008), pp. 28-37.

⁴⁷ His sister Anna C.A. Kok lived in Grand Rapids, MI and helped Arie Kok with translations. She was a missionary on furlough from China. 12 September 1947. He admitted that he would rather be in the US or China than in Holland, where he knew not too many people. CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 16 December 1948, box 19, file 23.

⁴⁸ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 4 May 1949, 8 and 25 October 1949, Telegram 7 November 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁴⁹ CCMMC, Kok to W.O.H. Garman, fundamentalist pastor of the Callender Memorial Church in Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania (1939-73), leader of the Associated Gospel Churches, which supported fundamentalist chaplains for the US military, and president of the ACCC. 27 November 1947. Kok to McIntire, 11 October [1948], Kok to Gordon Holdcroft, secretary of the Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, 8 December 1948, box 19 file 23. Practical concerns (poor organization and lack of popularity) rather than theological issues led Kok to caution his ACCC friends for Pentecostal connections. He had experienced that lasting cooperation proved to be impossible and they were very unpopular. So affiliation with them would scare others away.

⁵⁰ CCMMC, Arie Kok, “Confidential Notes for the Inner Circle of the ACCC” no II, 7 February 1948, box 19, file 23.

evangelical Christians. However, the constant ICCC allegations forced a public response.⁵¹ Kok broadcast the view that the decision of Youth for Christ to relocate its European conference from Amsterdam to Switzerland, preceding the launch of the WCC, amounted to the evangelicals submitting to pressure from the World Council of Churches and a sign of weakness. While most church leaders whom he contacted had rejected cooperation with Youth for Christ, which they found not Calvinist enough, Kok in turn, had to counter rumors that ACCC banned African-Americans and supported a racist agenda. The PR war was in full swing.⁵²

Kok found useful people everywhere, such as the Dutch-American missionary Looy, who worked in Rotterdam for an American agency, the European Christian Mission. Kok persuaded him to attend the ICCC conference scheduled for August 1948. He used Looy to mobilize the British. Yet, all his efforts did not lead to a convincing fundamentalist victory of affiliation by European churches. The number of negative responses to the invitation to attend the ICCC conference was higher than expected. Kok explained this disappointing result by pointing to the more generous financial support that the WCC offered and the attraction of a strong presence of Germans at the World Council meeting. Other churches felt obliged to the NAE because it had given them relief funds. The problem for the ACCC was that it had so little money to spend, while the generosity of the Marshall Plan and of religious organizations had made Europeans accustomed to big budgets. As a result Kok called for more literature and more money.⁵³

Money and relief goods were important instruments for all American advocacy groups working in Europe as the Kok couple quickly found out. Many individuals approached Kok for material assistance and he and his wife soon concluded that distribution to individual Bible-believers produced better results than mass distribution. They could not escape giving some humanitarian assistance as European Christians expected it from American fellow believers. The Koks advised against sending money, and they could not comply with the request for funds to restore damaged church buildings. They were able, however, to send food and used clothing.⁵⁴

In the summer of 1948, Kok received four food parcels valued at \$9.95 each and containing 3 lbs of coffee, 2 lbs of sugar, 1.5 lbs of tea, 2 lbs of vegetable fat, 3 lbs of lard, 2 lbs of cocoa, 4 large bars of soap, 4 large bars of face soap. Each parcel included a pamphlet identifying the ACCC as the donor, explaining to the recipient that it was an “anti-liberal or anti-modernist, anti-socialist and anti-communist” organization, not to be confused with the Federal Council of Churches “whose highest leaders blaspheme the name of Christ by their extreme liberalism, and numbers of whose leaders favor

⁵¹ CCMMC, Wright to McIntire, 6 July 1948 . Box 249 file 45, Wright-Kok-McIntire.

⁵² CCMMC, Arie Kok, “Confidential Notes for the Inner Circle of the ACCC” no VII, 12 March 1948. And copy of letter by J. Elwin Wright to Arie Kok and 19 other Christian leaders in Europe, 16 April 1948, responding to allegations of weakness. box 19, file 23.

⁵³ CCMMC, Arie Kok, “Confidential Notes for the Inner Circle of the ACCC” no X, 30 April 1948. box 19, file 23.

⁵⁴ CCMMC, Arie Kok, “Confidential Notes for the Inner Circle of the ACCC” no VI, 4 March 1948. box 19, file 23.

a controlled economy hardly to be distinguished from the rigid controls and enslavement of the people who suffer behind Russia's 'Iron Curtain'.⁵⁵ The parcels also included an invitation to the founding conference of the ICCC in Amsterdam. This humanitarian campaign was also used to build a constituency in America. The central committee in McIntire's own congregation, the one that collected funds and clothes through its Sunday Schools, emphasized that the parcels were an instrument to contact evangelicals in Europe and assist them in preventing Europe from going communist. Their slogan was, "Give food to advance the faith."⁵⁶

Other groups did the same, but on a much larger scale. The ecumenical Church World Service sent close to \$9 million to Europe in money and goods. The National Association of Evangelicals had already dispensed \$25 million dollars in gifts to Europe against only a few thousand that the fundamentalists were able to send.⁵⁷ Dutch and Belgian evangelicals hoped to get even more financial support from the U.S. and that hurt Kok's cause.⁵⁸

Strengthening Transatlantic Ties

Kok's next step was to strengthen his transatlantic ties. He was convinced that Dutch and Scandinavian churches would follow the lead of their sister churches in the United States, and he intensified the pressure on American immigrant churches to persuade their European partners to join his organization. He also courted isolated denominations with European roots and without international partners, but they often lacked the resources necessary to respond or had other priorities.⁵⁹ As Kok and his wife had severed their official ties to a Dutch church more than 25 years prior, they visited a different church in the Netherlands each Sunday to build contacts, with mixed success. Kok's strongest contact proved to be with the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken* a denomination with pietist roots in the nineteenth century, that was leaving its isolated corner in search of more church contacts. Kok found the willing ear of its star orator, Gerard Wisse, and of its seminary professor, J.J. van der Schuit, who strongly rejected the World Council and felt attracted to the Calvinist tradition abroad. The lack of an ability to speak English limited the leadership role of the Dutch, and tilted the organization towards Scandinavia, when, at about that time, Kok found a Swedish Lutheran minister who happened to read Dutch and English and was willing to translate key

⁵⁵ CMMC, W.H. Bordeaux to the K & C Export Packing Company, Inc. of Jackson Heights, New York, 8 July 1948, box 312, file 1.

⁵⁶ CMMC, "Christmas Party and Food Committee for European Christians," letter Ruth Trato to Elmer Meulendyk, in Rochester, 4 December 1947, From letter by Jack Murray, 8 April 1948, box 327, file 1.

⁵⁷ Ronald E. Stenning, *Church World Service: Fifty Years of Help and Hope* (New York, 1996), p. 8; CMMC, J. Elwin Wright to Arie Kok and 19 other Christian leaders in Europe, 16 April 1948, box 19, file 23.

⁵⁸ CMMC, Kok to McIntire, 14 September 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁵⁹ CMMC, Arie Kok, "Confidential Notes for the Inner Circle of the ACCC" no VIII, 19 March 1948. box 19, file 23. He tried to lure the Hoeksema group in United States, which had separated from the Christian Reformed Church in the US in 1926 into the ICCC so that the Schilder group in the Netherlands would join too. However this recent (1944) split off from the Dutch Gereformeerde Kerken had sympathy for the Hoeksema group, but faced more pressing issues than church union, and took the formal approach that no local church had requested this affiliation. So they did not join. *Gereformerd Gezinsblad*, 1 September 1951.

documents.⁶⁰ Kok believed that the free Lutheran churches in Scandinavian mostly resisted modernism and should be approached quickly before the other American groups got to them. He knew a number of the missionaries personally and shared their fears that their mission organizations would be swallowed up by the WCC. Kok hoped that a new ICCC mission board would provide them shelter. But he also sensed some apprehension about joining an interdenominational organization, even among the Evangelical Lutheran Free Churches, the Baptists and the Methodists.⁶¹

The result of this recruiting was that 57 denominations witnessed the founding of the ICCC in Amsterdam in August 1948. This was not the victory that Kok had hoped for, but it created a formal beginning and a necessary infrastructure. If anything, it confirmed the impression that American Protestants and their European counterparts were engaged in a serious game of transatlantic chess. Moves from one organization provoked counter moves. European denominations took up positions relative to their own national churches and took stock of potential European allies and their sister churches in the United States. It proved a complex game for which Kok needed all his diplomatic skills and personal contacts, as Europeans did not understand the opposition between the American evangelicals and fundamentalists, and regretted the introduction of this controversy in Europe. American fundamentalists also experienced a certain alienation from Europeans when they saw that many of them smoked, a habit they found appalling.⁶²

The mutual differences kept the hopes and the frustrations alive on both sides of the Atlantic. As the ICCC had staked everything on rejecting any cooperation with organizations that tolerated unbelief, and would not unify with anyone sacrificing truth, nor have any cooperation with Pentecostals, the ICCC surrendered all chance for rapprochement with evangelicals, unless the evangelicals adopted the ICCC's principles. Kok prided himself on the belief that the fundamentalists were the trailblazers for conservative religion with the evangelicals following only hesitantly.⁶³

McIntire and Kok found new hope when they happened upon confidential NAE minutes that revealed the NAE had postponed its Zurich conference in the spring of 1949, the conference at which they had hoped to establish an international evangelical organization. It would take until 1951 before the NAE could launch its European network. Kok counted this postponement as a victory, because European evangelicals seemed to be frustrated. "I doubt seriously whether NAE will ever have a meeting in Europe again, with the World Evangelical Alliance [the existing British organization connecting international evangelicals] having deserted them, and with the other evangelicals in Europe taking the idea of plague on both your houses, it is going to be most difficult for them to get started.

⁶⁰ CCMMC, Arie Kok, "Confidential Notes for the Inner Circle of the ACCC" no IX, 16 April 1948 and XII, 2 June 1948, letter Kok to McIntire, 8 June 1948, box 19, file 23. This was probably David Hedegård, with whom the Dutch theologian G.Ch. Aalders had cooperated before the war. Communication by Markku Ruotsila.

⁶¹ CCMMC, Arie Kok, report "In Scandinavia for the ACCC," [13- May 1948] box 19, file 23.

⁶² CCMMC, McIntire to Kok, 1 February 1949, box 19, file 24. In his report on the ICCC founding in his *För Biblisk Tro* journal Hedegård stressed that there were no US fundamentalists present and no fundamentalists could ever be accepted in Europe!

⁶³ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 11 October 1948, box 19, file 23.

We are already in the field and organized, and this is a little different situation, for which we can thank God.”⁶⁴ McIntire decided to have the second international meeting of the ICCC in Geneva for historic and psychological reasons, as the Swiss had kept their distance from the ICCC.⁶⁵ Kok was correct in anticipating the importance of time and place for international conferences to establish a fundamentalist network, but he underestimated the chance that his pressure on the evangelicals would back fire. And his repeated insistence that new members sever any contact with non-fundamentalists eventually scared away potential allies. The budding Dutch Association of Evangelicals chose not to invite the ICCC to its founding meeting on March 12, 1949, because of the presence of two Americans both of whom had raised support for the evangelicals, Dr. R.J. Danhof of the Christian Reformed Church and Rev. W. Teeuwissen of the Presbyterian Church in America.⁶⁶

Kok laid out his main strategy for Europe in the spring of 1948, “The fight for the Word of God and separation from unbelief against expediency and compromise as represented by the ACCC and the NAE respectively had been brought over from the U.S. to Europe.”⁶⁷ And the nature of the National Association of Evangelicals was exactly to be flexible in order to strengthen the evangelical wing of the various churches, nationally and internationally. Kok was more culturally sensitive than his American friends. When Francis Schaeffer proposed a typical American fundamentalist slogan as the theme for the ICCC meeting, such as the infallibility of the Bible or the purity of the church, Kok realized that these themes would not energize Europeans and he proposed the theme “Christ of the Scriptures.” He recruited Mayor Abraham Warnaar Jr., a Calvinist politician, as an ally. Warnaar had the responsibility to advise his party to make international links with Christian political parties and he was a (rare) Reformed premillennialist.⁶⁸ In early 1949, McIntire reached out to South America and later that year to East Asia. The mission fields became the next target for expansion.

The ICCC leadership was keen to incorporate the Swedish Alliance Mission (SAM), but the application process stalled because the SAM, like most Scandinavian mission organizations, had official ties to bodies related to the World Council. After McIntire adapted the constitution in 1951 to make an exception for the Scandinavian Lutheran inner mission groups, thus also making it easier for Swedish ICCC vice-president, David Hedegård, to operate, SAM was admitted a year later. In the next few years, however, the SAM leadership reconsidered this affiliation. They feared too much involvement in their internal affairs, and voted in 1957 to sympathize with the ICCC, but not to become an official member.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 17 December 1948 and 21 March 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁶⁵ CCMMC, Kok to Thornwald Johnson, 2 February 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁶⁶ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 23 March 1949, box 19, file 24. CCMMC. A month later the Dutch NAE invited Kok to meet with them.

⁶⁷ CCMMC, Kok to W.O.H. Garman, 27 April 1948, box 19, file 23.

⁶⁸ CCMMC, Kok to Bordeaux, 7 April 1948, box 19, file 23.

⁶⁹ Bruno W. Frandell, “Contending for the Faith: The Apologetic Theology of David Hedegård,” (Ph. D. Dissertation, Trinity College of the Bible and Trinity Theological Seminary, Newburgh, IN, 2011), pp. 425-7. Hedegård resigned from the ICCC in 1968 in protest to the acceptance of Irish firebrand minister Ian Paisley (439).

Kok repeatedly expressed his major concern: “Fraternizing with the enemy weakens the morale also in spiritual warfare.”⁷⁰ He was aware that a number of orthodox Protestant leaders in the Netherlands and Belgium had considered shifting their loyalty from the WCC to the NAE out of concern for a pressing ecumenical agenda.⁷¹ The American evangelicals had a difficult message to sell; they voiced great concern about the liberals, but could not advocate complete separation, which would have destroyed the purpose of unifying evangelical Christians, including those in mainstream churches. Therefore they avoided an open argument with the ICCC. J. Elwin Wright, International Secretary of the NAE wrote McIntire in the summer of 1948, “Europe is in no mood for any evangelical council at present, whether it be sponsored by A.C.C. or N.A.E. The real need is a fellowship of believers across the world, not a miniature edition of the World Council, even though it be orthodox.”⁷² And the fundamentalists had this “miniature edition” in mind. The ICCC structure copied the American model by adopting its constitution and formal organization and by circulating publications, hoping to quickly install an alternative missionary organization.⁷³ The confrontational style of the ACCC thwarted the hope of international fellowship among evangelicals. The NAE restrained itself from pushing its issues on European national groups, offering advice, but avoiding all pressure, as Wright realized that Europeans were sensitive to American dominance.⁷⁴

Kok realized that too, but used the argument ambiguously. When he noticed that the Rev. Danhof, clerk of the Christian Reformed Church in the United States, tried to get his denomination and the Dutch, Scottish, and South African Reformed churches to affiliate with the National Association of Evangelicals, he warned that the consequence of move would be to make partners of the (Pentecostal) Four Square gospel churches.⁷⁵ He emphasized the Calvinist identity of the ICCC by steering McIntire’s Bible Presbyterian Church into the Reformed Ecumenical Synod in order to strengthen the pro-ICCC section in this body.⁷⁶

The Reformed Ecumenical Synod that met in August 1949, had strong connections to the overseas branches of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, and proved to be a real battleground for the ICCC.⁷⁷ Kok quickly announced that the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and some other churches had applied for membership in the ICCC in order to counter rumors that evangelical influence was growing. He proved to be too quick with his optimistic message because the Orthodox Presbyterian Church decided not to join the American Council of Christian Churches finding it too political. The

⁷⁰ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire and others, 11 December 1948, box 19, file 23.

⁷¹ CCMMC, Kok to executive members of ICCC, 5 January 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁷² CCMMC, Wright to McIntire, 6 July 1948 . Box 249 file 45, Wright-Kok-McIntire.

⁷³ CCMMC, Minutes of the “First Meeting of the Netherlands Section of the ICCC Executive and other commissions,” 25 October 1948, box 327, file 13.

⁷⁴ CCMMC, Wright to McIntire, 3 July 1950, box 249, file 46, “Wright, J. Elwin 1950-51,” CCMMC.

⁷⁵ CCMMC, Kok to Bordeaux, 24 January 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁷⁶ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 8 February 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁷⁷ It had met for the first time in 1946 in Grand Rapids, with only three denominations, from South Africa, the CRC and the Gereformeerde Kerken from the Netherlands. The second synod had 14 churches represented. K. Runia, “De Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland en de Oprichting van de Wereldraad,” *Documentatieblad Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 48 (1 juni 1998), 54-66.

Orthodox Presbyterian Church objected to attacks on the U.S. government, and those especially on John Foster Dulles, the candidate for Secretary of State, because he had strongly supported the Federal Council of Churches. Some European churches expressed similar reservations. Thus it put McIntire in a difficult position. As much as he wanted to speak out in America, he had to take into account that a number of his allies rejected such outspoken opinions.⁷⁸ This reserved attitude explained the thin spread of the *Christian Beacon* internationally. Its weekly circulation of 25,000 in 1950, reached 79 foreign countries, but even in the best-served of these, the Netherlands, only 45 copies arrived. The Dutch equivalent *Getrouw*, had a run of 2,000, but only 200 paid subscribers.⁷⁹ Real commitment proved scarce.

Kok happily reported that the synod of the second largest body of Reformed churches in the Netherlands had rejected affiliation with the WCC and ascribed the credit for this decision to the ICCC. This church had, however, postponed its decision until a report was made on the ICCC and the NAE. This caution resulted from pressure from the pro-evangelical lobby in the North-American Christian Reformed Church. To Kok it was crucial to get this church to withdraw from the NAE, thus strengthening the case against evangelicals in Europe as well.⁸⁰ When the balance in the Christian Reformed Church tilted towards the NAE because it provoked the least opposition, Kok issued even stronger warnings to the Dch-Americans: An evangelical victory in Europe would strengthen the World Council, since the evangelicals condoned churches with links to the World Council.⁸¹ When this warning had no lasting impact, Kok intensified his charm offensive in the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken* in the Netherlands. He wanted not only to secure their membership, but also to do it in a timely manner so that it could be announced at the next international conference in the summer of 1950, and keep the momentum going.⁸² He tried to steer Dutch ministers visiting the United States to attend the seminaries of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church and the Bible Presbyterian Church, where he knew they would fraternize with ACCC supporters. But the tide had turned.⁸³

⁷⁸ CCMC, Kok to McIntire, 22 August 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁷⁹ CCMC, Kok to McIntire, 1 June 1950, box 19, file 25, Notulen van de Nederlandse sectie van de ICCC, 5 May 1949, CCMC. For some time the OPC belonged to the ICCC, but not to the ACCC.

⁸⁰ CCMC, Kok to McIntire, 20 October 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁸¹ CCMC, Kok was a faithful reader of *The Banner* and *De Wachter*, the two leading Dutch-American Calvinist periodicals. Kok to Theodore J. Jansma (of Eighth Reformed Church of Grand Rapids), 2 November 1950, box 19, file 25.

⁸² CCMC, Kok to McIntire, 27 September 1949, box 19, file 24. Kok to McIntire, 4 November 1949, box 19, file 24 and a report on the importance of the sequence of church decisions in Kok to McIntire, 21 October 1950, box 19, file 25.

⁸³ CCMC, Kok to McIntire, 1 November 1949, as to a visit of prof. C. Veenhof, box 19, file 24. Kok to McIntire, 21 November 1950, box 19, file 25. His key contact was the Rev. J.C. Maris was the secretary of the synodical committee for foreign contacts of the Christian Reformed Churches in the Netherlands. He assisted Kok since June 1950 with secretarial work to prepare the Geneva Conference. He traveled with Kok on Kok's personal funds. Kok to McIntire, 31 October 1950, box 19, file 25. RNTC, "Interview with Dr. J.C. Maris," 1992, Box 1, folders 15-16.

In the course of 1950, the ICCC leadership became really concerned about the European efforts of the NAE.⁸⁴ They feared the evangelicals more than the liberals, and McIntire did all he could to frustrate the NAE efforts to launch an international organization in Holland in 1951, believing that its failure would secure ICCC's success.⁸⁵

The Burden of American Fundamentalism

Kok was again too optimistic. He believed his strategy would work. He underestimated the burden that fundamentalist tradition and doctrines placed on the ICCC. In early 1949, Kok wrote Schaeffer: "The matter of 'American fundamentalism' is as far as I see not at all urgent."⁸⁶ On the surface he was correct, but underneath, features of American fundamentalism, such as continuous separation and eschatology, troubled Europeans. This tension surfaced when the Bible Presbyterian Church applied for membership in the Reformed Ecumenical synod. Kok hoped that its presence would strengthen the ICCC, but the separatist message and practice of the Bible Presbyterians made Dutch and other Europeans sympathizers uncertain.⁸⁷

The ICCC's strength—its Calvinist outlook—was also its weakness, since the Calvinist family was ridden with competing claims, as the origin of the ACCC revealed.⁸⁸ The ACCC came out of the bosom of the Bible Presbyterian Church, which had separated from the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in 1937, one year after the Orthodox Presbyterians had left the Presbyterian Church in the USA. The tension between the Bible Presbyterians and Orthodox Presbyterians caused problems in the ICCC as well. Moreover, the issues that emphasized the American orientation of the Bible Presbyterians—total abstinence and pre-millennialism—were lacking in the Orthodox Presbyterian Church. The Bible Presbyterians sought cooperation in the Independent Board of Presbyterian Foreign Missions, which the Orthodox Presbyterians wanted to transform into their denominational mission organization. A similar source of tension was simmering in the Dutch churches, where the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands and a recently separated (or Liberated) group contested each other's legitimacy.⁸⁹ McIntire's appeal to fundamentalist eschatology confused European Calvinists. They did not understand the differences between dispensationalism (which they rejected because it suggested different ways to salvation) and premillennialism (the order of the end times). While they accepted

⁸⁴ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 7 and 8 November 1950, box 19, file 25.

⁸⁵ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 27 October 1950, box 19, file 25.

⁸⁶ CCMMC, Kok to Schaeffer, 19 January 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁸⁷ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 8 February 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁸⁸ Though McIntire sought to include more Arminian churches. See CCMMC, McIntire to Kok, 26 September 1950, box 19, file 25, CCMMC. About the dwindling interest between orthodox Presbyterians and their Dutch kin due to internal splits and the war, see George Harinck, "'Our history is not without parallels.' Reacties uit gereformeerde kring in Nederland op het ontstaan van Westminster Theological Seminary te Philadelphia," *Radix* 23 (1997) 44-69.

⁸⁹ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 21 October 1950, and McIntire to Kok, 31 October 1950, box 19, file 25. See for an overview of these American splits, David O. Beale, *In Pursuit of Purity: American Fundamentalism Since 1850* (Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1986), 315-330. Wm H. Bordeaux and Ned Stonehouse belonged to the OPC and Stonehouse was of Dutch descent and had a degree from Amsterdam's Free University.

McIntire's explanation that he was not a dispensationalist, they did not feel comfortable with either scenario.⁹⁰

Kok drafted along with J.H. Velema a prominent member of the *Christelijke Gereformeerde kerk*, a report on fundamentalism and gave the advice to avoid the disadvantages of American fundamentalism.⁹¹ The report pacified the Dutch segment of ICCC, but underestimated the American weight in the fundamentalist movement. Even Francis Schaeffer dropped out of the ICCC organization in 1956 because he found that McIntire tried to push too many American fundamentalist ideas onto the agenda of Europeans.⁹² The authors advocated an "ecumenical fundamentalism" but failed. The urge that dominated the movement was to separate from organizations that even suggested maintaining contact with liberals.

Political Entanglements

The ICCC followed its American sister organization in its political interventions. McIntire encouraged Kok to go to Paris to raise his voice against the wording of the Universal Declaration of Human rights, which, in his opinion, opened up the possibility of a police state. However, the letter arrived too late. The Universal Declaration had already been accepted.⁹³ But this result did not stop Kok from using international organizations when he saw fit. When Kok noticed that J. Elwin Wright sought recognition for the National Association of Evangelicals as a representative body by the United Nations, he encouraged the ICCC to explore similar possibilities in order to secure Independent Missions access to foreign countries.⁹⁴

In politics Kok's loyalties to the Netherlands and China coalesced. He applauded the police action in the Dutch East Indies in early 1949, which in his eyes prevented the Communists from taking over this area. He encouraged McIntire to inform the American Congress about the conservative position on Indonesia. He took issue with the WCC and the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church for criticizing the Dutch government's military action in Indonesia. In his view the military intervention prevented Indonesia from becoming a second China.⁹⁵

Kok believed that the United States had abandoned China and created problems by leaving the country to the Communists. His advice included quarantining China and organizing an Asia Pact. He believed that any effort to mix Communism and nationalism could not stand; there could be no possible compromise with communists.⁹⁶ Here his domestic agenda obstructed his international agenda. McIntire tried to protest the inclusion of a financial clause in the European Recovery Act to

⁹⁰ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 12 February 1949, and McIntire to Kok, 23 February 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁹¹ CCMMC, Notulen van de Nederlandse sectie van de ICCC, 5 May 1949, box 19, file 24. "Rapport over 'Het Fundamentalisme'" bijblad *Getrouw* August 1949.

⁹² Hankins, *Francis Schaefer*, 46-48.

⁹³ CCMMC, McIntire to Kok, 8 December 1948 and Kok to McIntire, 11 December 1948, box 19, file 23.

⁹⁴ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 20 October 1949, (nr. 93) , box 19, file 24.

⁹⁵ CCMMC, Kok to Garman, 15 January 1949 and "Memorandum issued to the press," 29 January 1949, box 19, file 24.

⁹⁶ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 29 September 1949, box 19, file 24.

pressure the Dutch government to keep up its military action in Indonesia.⁹⁷ However, McIntire had just publicly scolded president Truman for using swear words thus closing the door to the White House, and attracting much attention from the media. Despite McIntire's criticism, the ICCC supported president Truman's policy towards NATO and Korea.⁹⁸ These political interventions drew approval from a few, but scorn from many and put the ICCC in a controversial light.

In late 1950, the Kok-couple moved to Collingswood, New Jersey to work closely with McIntire. Kok's office was next to his and they looked forward to cooperating. Mrs. Kok's proximity to the Collingswood Presbyterian community and her children, would liberate Arie Kok to travel for the ICCC. It was not to be. Weakened by diabetes, Kok died from heart failure at ten past ten on January 8, 1951, while working at his desk next to McIntire. He was mourned as a colossal loss by the fundamentalist movement.⁹⁹ His international work was taken over by another Dutchman, the *Christelijke Gereformeerde* Rev. J.C. Maris, whom Kok had met and inspired during his stay in the Netherlands. In 1954, pastor Maris took over Kok's Dutch position, but Europe never recaptured the central place it had occupied under Kok. McIntire moved the international activities away from Europe to Asia, proved to be an autocratic leader who tried to control all operations. He had alienated his allies and isolated himself by the late 1970s.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

Kok's story shows how transnational religious concerns crossed boundaries and went into areas considered crucial for the future. Kok's impulse was felt across the entire Protestant spectrum in the United States. In the first five years after World War II the most strategic area to establish a global fundamentalist network was Europe, where Kok worked tirelessly. He particularly invested in the idea of using ethnic religious ties, believing that membership on one side of the Atlantic would lead to affiliation on the other. The lack of understanding in Europe of the situation in the United States created an interval of uncertainty, and conservative European Protestants weighed the options of association with evangelicals or fundamentalists. However, the exclusivist and provocative attacks by American fundamentalists on evangelicals, and the restraint on the part of the evangelicals made them a more likely partner for denominational bodies because the evangelicals created less internal strife. Moreover, evangelicals had much more to show in terms of action, such as the quick and remarkable spread of Youth for Christ and generous financial support. In contrast, the early ICCC got stuck in a negative campaign against liberals and evangelicals in Europe and could not escape being locked in by the fight *against* liberalism, thus difficult to identify as being *for* any specified alternative.

⁹⁷ CCMMC, Kok to McIntire, 21 March 1949, box 19, file 24, CCMMC. Markku Ruotsila, "Carl McIntire and the Fundamentalist Origins of the Christian Right," *Church History* 81.2 (June 2012), 378-407.

⁹⁸ CCMMC, McIntire to Kok, 8 April 1949, box 19, file 24. Kok to McIntire, 6 July 1950, box 19, file 25.

⁹⁹ CCMMC, Kok to L. Floor in Amsterdam, 6 January 1951, box 19, file 24.

¹⁰⁰ Interview author with dr. J.W. Maris, son of J.C. Maris, Apeldoorn, the Netherlands, 8 May 2012.

In the end, the nationalistic features of conservative Protestantism in the U.S. and national boundaries in Europe proved an obstacle to a viable association of international fundamentalism. The Dutch situation showed that rivalries within one country led to strategic choices based solely on which denominations joined together. Nowhere was the public relations effort of the ICCC larger than in the Netherlands, which was a result of Kok's connections there and his prestige. Though he did not achieve what he intended, fear of the Cold War sustained the organization until the 1970s. However, it proved insufficient as a viable organization in the long run. The organization was attractive to small, mostly Calvinist denominations seeking international partners, the same ones who rejected the broad ecumenical movement and felt uncomfortable among the "soft" evangelicals.

Each of the three American subgroups crossed borders. The competing mainline churches had the strongest organizational ties in Europe. Europeans understood evangelicals better than they did fundamentalists as the evangelicals were part of immigrant churches in America and gave priority to practical cooperation over organizational structural differences. In fundamentalist circles Kok was the most transnational figure thanks to his European-Chinese-American experience. This loaded his repertoire with useful instruments: as a traveler and pioneer, as a multi-linguist and publicist, and as a manager and mediator. He collected a wide array of ethnic and religious contacts that connected his local experiences with global developments. His diplomatic career professionalized his strategic and negotiating abilities and his status as a World War II hero opened doors with authorities. He perceived a direct and causal link between religious and political liberalism in China and it persuaded him to explicitly and uncompromisingly reject both types of liberalism, a stand which he found most effectively voiced by Carl McIntire. He believed that European conservative Protestants could be won over to aid fundamentalist Americans in their struggle against liberalism, but he was proven wrong. The World Council of Churches had won support in the largest denominations, while the evangelicals were in touch with the most active conservative protestant groups and churches. This left the ICCC with only the exclusivist Calvinist churches, who were often in conflict with similar churches in their own country. The justification for their existence was often clad in national terms. They were seen as true guardians of national traditions. A similar national orientation drove McIntire's agenda and all of this curtailed Kok's transnational vision.

Kok's activities reveal how conservative Protestants became part of the wave of international institutions strongly encouraged by Protestants in the United States.¹⁰¹ His initiative benefited from transnational contacts, but Kok was also strongly inspired by a fear that access to the colonies would close when liberal organizations blocked conservative missionary organizations.¹⁰² Kok's transnationalism was short-lived in fundamentalist circles, literally because of his early death, and figuratively because of McIntire's overpowering American patriotic agenda. Arie Kok's gentle, but

¹⁰¹ David W. Ellwood, *The Shock of America: Europe and the Challenge of the Century* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁰² Amsterdam, Historical Documentation Center for Dutch Protestantism, Vrije Universiteit, C. Veenhof Collection 296, file 327, letter Francis A. Schaeffer to C. Veenhof in Kampen, 21 November 1947.

firm opposition to his most likely allies, the evangelicals, proved self-defeating. Though American fundamentalists had briefly occupied strategic positions on the checkerboard of Europe, the major trial of strength was still to come between evangelicals and liberals.