PART 1

MACHEN: A BIOGRAPHY

This section explores the life of J. Gresham Machen, setting the stage and providing a context for the rest of the chapters to follow. Machen began his life in Baltimore, then moved on to Princeton, spending his final years in Philadelphia, though he was hardly bound to these cities. A world traveler, he spent significant time overseas, for graduate study and for service in World War I, as well as for mountain-climbing excursions. Three chapters treat this eventful life. The first traces Machen's intellectual, spiritual, and professional development as he grew up in the genteel Victorian culture of old Baltimore, moved through university and graduate studies, and, after some time of soul-searching, landed as a New Testament professor at Princeton Theological Seminary. Chapter 2 follows Machen through the tumultuous 1920s and the waves of controversy that entangled him, leaving him, at the end of the decade, no longer welcome at Princeton. In the final chapter, we see both triumph and tragedy, as Machen founded three institutions—Westminster Theological Seminary, the Independent Board of Foreign Missions, and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church (originally named the Presbyterian Church of America)—and as he was tried and defrocked as a minister in the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

1

Coming of Age

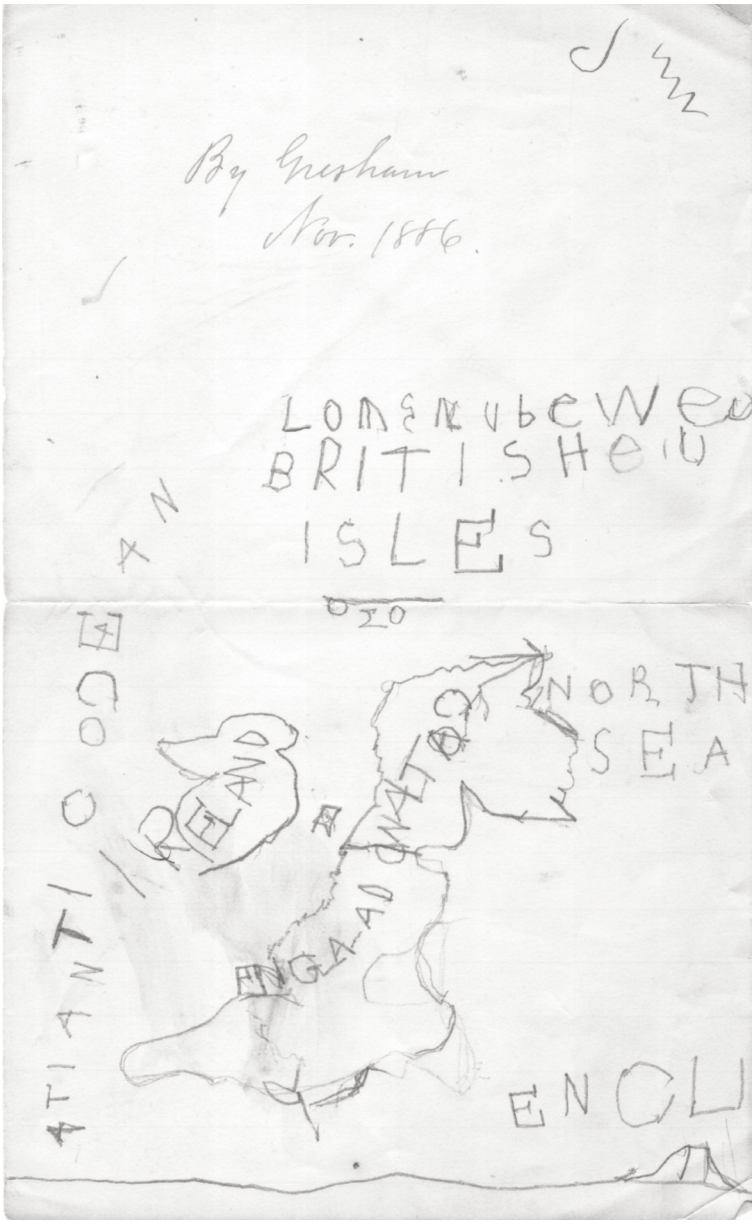
1881–1919

We have come upon a very different age from any that preceded us . . . . This is nothing short of a new social age, a new era of human relationship, a new stage-setting for the drama of life.

Woodrow Wilson, 1912

In the winter months of 1936, J. Gresham Machen delivered a series of radio addresses in Philadelphia. Previously, he had delivered addresses on the nature of humanity and sin. Now he was finishing a series on God and on Christ. Though a New Testament scholar by training, and quite an active churchman as of late by circumstance, these lectures find him walking his audience through the basics of Christian doctrine. His very last talk, aired on the final Sunday of the year, closes with these words: "I trust that you have had a very joyous Christmas and I trust that the new year which is so soon to begin may be to you a very blessed year under the mercy of God."

Though Machen had no idea at the time, the only day that he was to see of the new year, 1937, would be the first.



1.1. A young Machen, age five, shows his prowess at geography. "By Gresham Nov. 1886" is written by his mother.

He prerecorded the lectures that were aired and then boarded a train for North Dakota. Machen once wrote that he would never take an airplane, rendering the following opinion: "All I can say is that I wouldn't lower myself by going up in one of the stupid, noisy things." He far preferred the train. Sometimes he took the Baltimore & Ohio; other times it was the Pennsylvania Railroad or the Chesapeake & Ohio—he liked the variety. On this long trip across the country, he first passed through the Allegheny Mountains, a sight that always brought him joy. Then it was on through the Midwest, stopping at Chicago. Perhaps as he passed the city he remembered his summer spent there as a graduate student studying banking and international law. He would have lived a far different life had he pursued that route. Instead, he had taken the direction of biblical scholarship and the ministry, and now he was traveling to smooth over troubled waters in the new denomination, the one that he had by and large founded, and one that was merely a few months old.

As the train pulled out of Chicago, heading to North Dakota, Machen was tired. His colleagues at Westminster Seminary had failed to convince him to spend the winter break getting some much-needed rest. As he arrived in North Dakota, rest was not on the agenda. He assumed a rigorous speaking schedule that, coupled with below-freezing temperatures, resulted in pneumonia. Realizing that death was near, he sent a final telegram to his friend back at Westminster, John Murray: "I am so thankful for [the] active obedience of Christ. No hope without it." Grasping doctrine, and specifically the doctrine of Christ, at the last, Machen died on January 1, 1937.

North Dakota was an unlikely place for Machen to be. He had been raised in Baltimore, and except for his studies abroad and briefly at Chicago, he had spent his days in the

Eastern cities of Baltimore, Princeton, and Philadelphia. Being the de facto head of a church, as he was at the time of his death, was also an unlikely role for him to be playing. Just as he had no idea that the year of 1937 would elude him, so too he had no idea of the life that he was to live as he was a child growing up in the home of Arthur and Minnie Machen on West Monument Street among the stately Victorian townhomes of old Baltimore.

Son of Baltimore

Machen's father first came to Baltimore as a bachelor lawyer determined to build a successful practice. His family had some connections: his father, Lewis Machen, was the chief clerk to the United States Senate, but Arthur Machen struck out on his own, determined to build a law practice. As a law student at Harvard, Arthur turned to writing detective stories to pay the bills, and when he arrived at Baltimore in 1853, he had little more than his skills upon which to start his career. After a rocky beginning, he built quite a successful practice as a master of the spoken word, arguing no fewer than 204 cases—a near record at the time. He also continued his interest in the printed word, editing some compilations of stories and acquiring an impressive collection of rare and antiquarian books. And all of these qualities were not lost on his middle son, John Gresham.

Arthur ended his two decades as a bachelor lawyer in Baltimore when he married Mary Gresham, known as Minnie, in 1873. Her family, rooted in Macon, Georgia, exuded old Southern charm and gentility. They were a family of means with fortunes stemming from railroads and cotton mills. A surviving photograph of the parlor in the Machen home in Baltimore reveals that Minnie and her Victorian tastes clearly had the upper hand in the decorating of the

home. Gone are any traces of Arthur's bachelor decor. Like her husband, she too shared a devotion to books, evidenced in her 1903 publication of *The Bible in Browning* by the reputable publishing house The Macmillan Company.

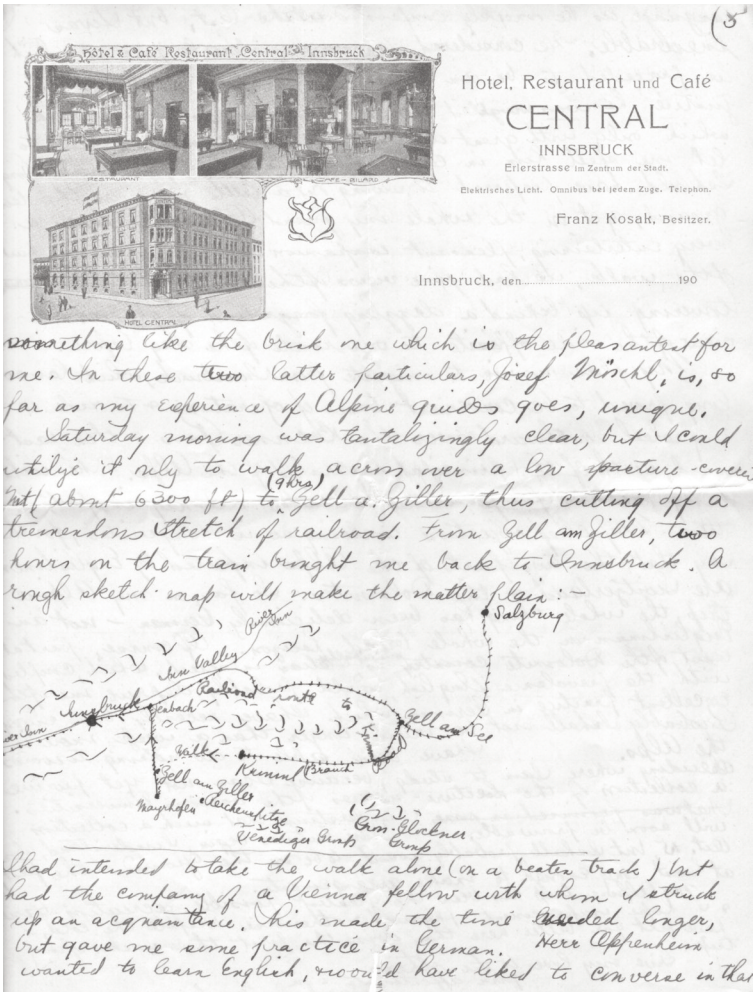
Her love for all things Victorian, including the Victorian poetry of Robert Browning, was superseded only by her devotion to the Bible and her desire to inculcate its teachings into her three sons, Arthur, Jr., John Gresham, and Thomas. Careers in law awaited Machen's older and younger brothers, though his own future, even through and beyond his college years, was not so certain. Judging by his early report cards, one could see Machen's future as a scholar. In the 1895–96 school year, Machen ranked first in his class in geometry, algebra, Latin, Greek, French, natural science, and English, scoring from a low of 98 to a high of 100—respectable marks and subjects for a fourteen-year-old. A few years previous, in 1892, he had also ranked first in his class in all his subjects except one: conduct. On that count he was third, perhaps a reflection of his commitment to one of his favorite pastimes—"stunting," as he liked to call it.

His mother saved these report cards, as she did a few childhood drawings. When he was four he drew a tree with a fence in the background and a pot of flowers. At the more mature age of five he drew (or more than likely traced) a map of the British Isles, reflecting his later revealed prowess at geography—another subject that found him ranked first in his class. A letter also survives from his fifth year. In all-capital letters, he informs his Aunt Emily that he has acquired a new set of soldiers and a new stamp, and then asks, "When are you coming home," neglecting the question mark, but otherwise perfect in penmanship. Through these scattered papers a faint picture emerges of Machen's childhood, a blend of seriousness and high culture and laughter and pranks. And at the center of this upbringing was the

Bible, the *Shorter Catechism,* and *The Pilgrim's Progress,* all poured into the lives of the Machen boys by their mother. At the age of fifteen, upon making a credible profession of faith, Machen became a full member of Franklin Street Presbyterian Church.

When it was time for Machen to go to college, he elected to stay in Baltimore, attending Johns Hopkins University. Owing to his penchant for Baltimore, his choice of Hopkins, as well as his course of study, may also have had something to do with Basil Gildersleeve, a family friend, fellow member of Franklin Street Presbyterian Church, and eminent professor of classics. Machen's love of Horace and Herodotus stemmed from his father, who often read the classics in the original Greek as a means to relax in the evenings. As with his earlier schooling, Machen excelled at Johns Hopkins. One of his professors, Edward H. Griffin, used a paper he had submitted for a course as a model, noting that "in every respect, the essay is an excellent one." In Machen's senior year, he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. Time at Hopkins also included editing the school paper, *The Hullabaloo,* membership in the chess club, frequent baseball watching, and, of course, "stunting."

As a graduation present from his parents, Machen took an extended trip to Europe. He visited the museums and toured the streets of Paris and observed the windmills and walked the canals of Bruges. At Antwerp, he saw the paintings of Rubens and Van Dyck, especially moved by the former's "Descent from the Cross," "Raising from the Cross," and "Assumption," displayed not in the museum but in the cathedral. But what struck him most of all were the mountains. He wrote to his mother of the beauty and of "the spectacle of the star-light followed by the sun lighting up the peaks in the morning." His letters home during later trips to Europe also contain frequent references to the impres-



1.2. In a letter to his father, September, 1905, Machen recounts his mountain-climbing exploits, complete with map, before settling down to study under Wilhelm Herrmann in Germany.

sions that the mountains left on him and references to his favorite recreational activity of mountain-climbing.

Much later in his life he wrote an essay on the subject, "Mountains and Why We Love Them," first published in *Christianity Today* in 1934. After recalling his expeditions

through the Alps—always, he admits, with the help of a guide—he declares, "I do love the mountains and I have loved them ever since I can remember anything at all." Mountains, he continues in the essay, give us perspective, a vantage point from which we can evaluate both the present and the past, the machinations of humanity and governments, and the impact that we are making in the world. But what they provide most of all is memories. "What have I from my visits to the mountains?" he asks, and then answers his own question by pointing to the memories of comfort: "In hours of darkness and discouragement I love to think of the sharp summit ridge of the Matterhorn piercing the blue [sky] or the majesty and the beauty of the world spread out at my feet when I stood at the summit of the Dent Blanche."

In 1901, the hours and seasons of darkness were yet to fall upon Machen. He was, however, perhaps a little discouraged because he had yet to discover a clear path for his life. Most likely still under the influence of Gildersleeve, Machen decided to remain at Johns Hopkins for a year of graduate study in the classics. He then went to the University of Chicago in the summer of 1902 to study international law and banking, evidence of a listless spirit. After a visit with his pastor back in Baltimore, and frequent conversations with his parents, Machen decided to enroll at Princeton Theological Seminary for a course in divinity, while simultaneously pursuing a graduate philosophy program at Princeton University. He was not, however, embarking on a career in the pastorate. In fact, he enrolled at Princeton only after he had made it quite clear that he was not seeking ordination. "The ministry I am afraid I can't think of," he wrote his father.

Football—and Other Things—at Princeton

From 1902 until 1929, excepting some extended trips abroad due to both studies and World War I, Princeton remained Machen's home. His work as a student did not consume his days. He once wrote, "If we could only lower our average temperature about 15°, how much more I could accomplish." But favorable weather, Princeton football—in his first semester he wrote, "The football at Princeton is a continual delight to me," even though he couldn't get "too painfully excited" about Princeton's often low scores—and Philadelphia baseball all conspired to keep Machen from becoming a bookworm. Sometimes they even managed to tempt him to skip his afternoon Hebrew classes, the beginnings of his philosophical objections to any classes held past the morning hours. He didn't always skip classes for ex-

1.3. The Benham Club, with mascot "Toby," of Princeton Theological Seminary, during Machen's student days. Machen is in the top row, fourth from left.

tracurricular amusement, however. In his first term, he was also invited to the home of Woodrow Wilson, then president of Princeton University, an invitation he had to decline because he was scheduled to deliver a sermon in homiletics class the same day.

Machen lived in Alexander Hall, both as a student and later as a professor. Immediately next door to this large building was the stately home of Benjamin Breckenridge Warfield, dubbed "the Lion of Old Princeton." It was then the practice of Princeton Seminary to provide housing, in addition to a salary, for the faculty. Warfield rarely left his home, except to teach his courses and attend church. His wife suffered severe health problems, living out her years at Princeton mostly as an invalid. Warfield tended to her, and he wrote prodigiously, leaving his own literary legacy later published in a ten-volume collection. The rest of the faculty was no less impressive. George Tybout Purves held sway in the New Testament department, Geerhardus Vos had just completed the first of four decades of teaching biblical theology, and Caspar Wistar Hodge Jr. carried on the long family tradition in systematic theology.

Two members of the faculty made particular impact on Machen: Francis Landey Patton and William Park Armstrong. Patton was simultaneously president of the university and professor at the seminary. Raised in Bermuda, Patton exuded Old World gentlemanly manners, no less matched by his deftness in the classroom and pulpit. A student notebook from Patton's course in theism has the following inscription on the inside cover: "In response to a petition from the students, Dr. Patton delivered these lectures in Miller Chapel, Mar 25–29, 1907. The chapel was crowded full from the beginning to the end of the course." The student then added, "A most impressive time at Princeton!"

Despite his ability in the classroom, Patton had his share of difficulties. In 1902 he was effectively removed from the presidency of the university, being replaced by Woodrow Wilson. Patton retained his professorship in the university and became the first president of Princeton Theological Seminary. Before 1902, since its founding in 1812, the seminary had been run by faculty committee with the senior professor leading, a role falling mostly to Charles Hodge and Warfield. Curiously, Machen adopted this same practice when he founded Westminster Theological Seminary in 1929. When Patton assumed the office at the seminary, he largely kept the prior format, not letting his title change or the new position disrupt the status quo of a faculty-run institution. This changed with Patton's successor, J. Ross Stevenson, who served as president of the seminary from 1914 to 1936. Stevenson took a much more active role as president. Machen, as well as many others on the faculty, at first viewed Stevenson suspiciously, then came to respect him, and later came to see him as bringing about the end of Old Princeton. Machen sorely missed Patton. At the time of Patton's death in 1932, Machen wrote, "He was to me the truest friend. I could have never gone forward at all without his help."

Machen also benefited from the help of William Park Armstrong. "Army," as his friends knew him, taught Machen New Testament, and he immediately recognized the potential in his pupil. After later joining the faculty at Princeton and becoming Army's colleague, Machen spent many Sunday afternoons having dinner with his family. Writing years later, William Armstrong's son, who had been just a young boy at the time, recalled, "[Machen] really was a most delightful person full of good humor and laughter and ready with a story. I can still hear the ring of his and my father's laugh at the dinner table or in my father's study as

they talked or shared their views." Armstrong was from the South, Selma, Alabama, and had just begun his tenure at Princeton when Machen arrived. Like his student, Armstrong was a member of the Southern Presbyterian Church, but found himself teaching in the North. It was Armstrong, along with Francis Patton, who advocated for Machen to win the Maitland Prize for his work on the birth narratives in the gospels. This highly competitive prize had two elements: publication of one's work in the *Princeton Theological Review*—Machen's work was published as a two-part article entitled "The New Testament Account of the Birth of Jesus," his first publication—and a fellowship for a year's study in Germany.

Year of Crisis

Machen, with his customary ambivalence during this time of his life, went to Germany, though he relied on his own funds, contrary to the protestations of Armstrong. During the academic year 1905–06, Machen enrolled first at Marburg and then at Göttingen. Before he settled into the rigors of study, he took an extensive bicycle tour, stopping along the way for a fair share of mountain-climbing. Much has been made of this time at Germany as a time of severe crisis for Machen. The ambiguities of his future continued to dominate his letters home, only now they contained the added dimension of spiritual unrest. Darryl Hart, however, has pointed out that this was not the first time Machen had struggled with issues of his faith. In fact, Machen himself wrote, "It was not Germany . . . that first brought doubts into my soul." Nevertheless, Germany, and largely the lectures by Wilhelm Herrmann at Marburg, proved a challenge for Machen. Well trained by his Princeton professors to engage liberalism in the arena of biblical criticism, Machen

was not ready for Herrmann's vital piety. "I can't criticize him," Machen exclaimed in a letter to his father, adding, "I have been thrown all into confusion by what he says—so much deeper is his devotion to Christ than anything I have known in myself during the past few years." Yet Herrmann's piety was not rooted in orthodox Christianity.

Interestingly, Herrmann had a similar impact on his two other famous students, Rudolf Bultmann and Karl Barth, although in their cases (especially Bultmann's), they did not see a robust defense of orthodox Christianity as the antidote.

What Machen was searching for was neither an intellectualism devoid of faith nor a faith devoid of intellectual merit. Nor was he after either a rigorous scholarship without piety or a vital piety without roots in scholarship. He longed for piety and intellect fused into one, an intellectually informed and compelling faith. And this is what the year of crisis in Germany led him to grasp. Although his season of doubt was challenging—he once wrote that this soul-searching "always gives me the blues"—he emerged stronger for it and fitted for the challenges to come. Actually, his mother helped him to see this as well. In the course of corresponding during this time, his mother mentioned that she was not in favor of Machen's thinking of staying in Germany to pursue a Ph.D. Machen mistook this remark as her attempt to shield him from further exposure to the liberals or from the further investigation of faith. He winced at the prospect. On September 14, 1906, having just returned from Germany, he told his father that he was "distressed," thinking that his mother did not have "faith enough in the truth of her religion to be willing to open the way to free investigation." It also brought forth a twenty-five-page letter to his mother. She began her reply, dated September 17, 1906: "I understand you far better than ever before. But I

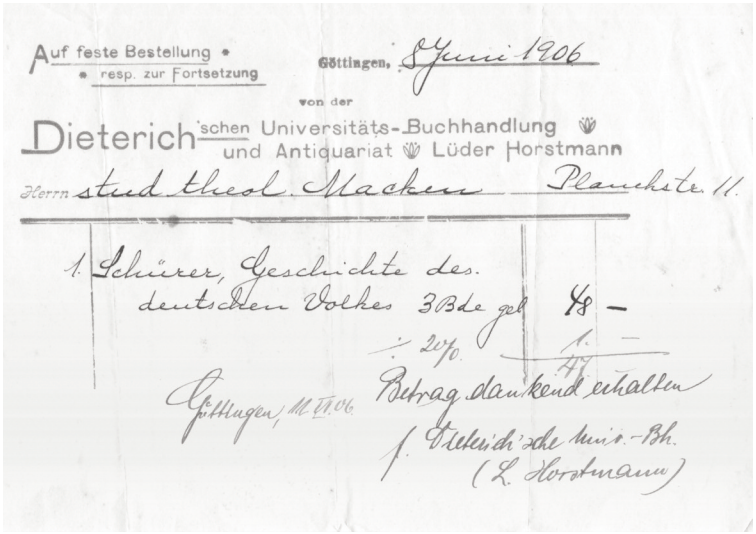
am almost hopeless of making you understand me." She continues the mild rebuke:

> My son, my whole life has been a protest against the very position which you suppose me to take. When I was sixteen, I rebelled against the trampling of the intellect. I could not have a blind faith. This required some boldness and independence, for I was little more than a child, and I lived in an environment that discouraged freedom of thought. All my life long I have held that free investigation is the only way to climb to the mountain-top of intelligent faith . . . . I do not and never have looked at free probing for truth as anything to be afraid of. I am [an] apostle of the opposite position. Certainly if a man is to be a scholar and a teacher he cannot investigate too much.

Machen needed to hear these words. He had forgotten the vital piety he had seen in his home and, for that matter, at Princeton. But he also needed to hear that the vital piety was founded on intellectual merit. The faith that Machen would be defending in the years to come would be no blind faith.

39 Alexander Hall

Machen had two teaching offers even before he returned to America. Ethelbert Warfield, president of Lafayette College and brother of Benjamin Breckinridge, offered him a post teaching Greek and German, and Armstrong offered him a one-year appointment in New Testament, having convinced the directors of the seminary that he could use some assistance. Machen was considering turning down both offers and pursuing other studies, possibly in a field other than theological or biblical studies. In the end, he accepted the appointment to Princeton, though ambivalently. Following


Auf feste Bestellung *
* resp. zur Fortsetzung

Göttingen, 8 Juni 1906

von der
Dieterich'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung
und Antiquariat Lüder Horstmann

Herrn stud. theol. Machen Planckstr. 11.

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Göttingen, M. E. 06. Betrag dankend erhalten
J. Dieterich'sche Univ.-Bh.
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1.4. A receipt for books, his and his family's avocation, while a student in Germany, June 8, 1906.

his father's advice, he likely thought of it as a means to bide time. His father had encouraged him, "For the present, acceptance of the offered field at Princeton for a year would be advisable, giving time for consideration and a final decision later which was initially only a year appointment," adding, "Don't imagine that your past studies would be lost in any event. You have had valuable intellectual training which will serve a good purpose whatever field of life's work may be assigned to you. . . . You are abundantly young enough for any fresh start."

By 1907, something about life and work at Princeton appealed to Machen, and he decided to stay. Having taken the train for a quick trip to New York City, he stopped by Brooks Brothers, purchased a new suit and a tuxedo for $133, and began his career. He took on new courses, including seminars on the birth narratives of Christ in the gospels, a subject that was quickly becoming his lifelong pursuit and would eventually result in the publication of

The Virgin Birth of Christ in 1930. He also became quite popular among the students, not only because of his brilliance as a lecturer and his mastery of the field, but also because of his rather eccentric antics, then only beginning. The stuff of student stories for years to come, these included thumping his head against the wall while he lectured and reading the newspaper while his students parsed Greek verbs out loud—still being able to hear mistakes, correct them, and keep on reading.

They also appreciated him for what he did outside the classroom. He lived in the student dorm, 39 Alexander Hall, on the third floor. On Saturday evenings, he would throw open his door and the students would pile in, accepting his rather intriguing combination of fresh fruit and tobacco—he once said, "My idea of delight is a Princeton room full of fellows smoking." His correspondence files are full of letters from past students—usually bearing interesting nicknames, such as "Fat" and "Birdie," along with Machen's own "Das"—reminiscing about the "pleasant things of Princeton." These letters update on marriages, employment, travel, all the usual items. The letters also ask for lyrics to songs of which the writer can remember only a few lines, such as "Der Kaiser ist ein guter Mann," and "I'm a soldier boy, Lizette," or one that ends, "Of money he will have plenty, a fortune he will spend, he will buy a home and settle down, in dear old Ireland." Not all was business in 39 Alexander Hall.

But all was not well at Princeton, either. Not too long into Machen's tenure, a student rebellion broke out at the seminary in 1909. (A similar rebellion had occurred earlier in the 1800s, which, as historian Mark Noll has shown, probably had something to do with the weeks of severe winter weather and freezing temperatures.) The revolt had much to do with the curriculum and the teaching. The students

wanted more electives in Old Testament, they wanted more practical courses in the curriculum, and they chafed under the teaching of Armstrong, who used too much Latin and Greek, and Patton, whose lectures were too impractical. The students were so entrenched that a large section of the junior class threatened not to return, and they sent lengthy missives to the board of directors. Patton, as president, led the charge for the faculty's response. Patton offered a point-by-point rebuttal, at times sounding exasperated, as when he exclaimed rhetorically, "Haven't we a learned ministry any more?" Machen was nowhere implicated by the students. In fact, he himself favored a more elective curriculum—perhaps remembering his listless spirit as a seminarian—against the likes of Warfield and Patton. But with the call for a more practical preparation Machen could not concur. The rebellion soon came to an end. The demands of the students, however, would reemerge in the ensuing decades, and when they did, they would be met by a much more acquiescent administration.

Now along in his career as a scholar, Machen added the credential of clergy, receiving ordination in 1914, also being promoted from instructor to assistant professor. His inaugural address, "History and Faith," was widely distributed, and it has also been widely reprinted, occurring most recently in the anthology *American Sermons* by The Library of America. The responses poured in from around the world. Henry van Dyke, who was on leave from Princeton University where he taught literature to serve as the ambassador to the Netherlands and Luxembourg during the Wilson administration, offered his congratulations, as did former students and colleagues at other institutions. Machen's reputation also came to the attention of Union Seminary in Virginia. He declined its offer of a position, since by now he was a confirmed Princetonian. "At present

I am so deeply rooted in Princeton," he wrote, "by a good many ties, that it is impossible for me to accept even the great opportunity which would be mine if I should be called to the chair in Richmond."

The threat of liberalism caused tremors on the larger front as well. The challenge grew so strong that brothers Lyman and Milton Stewart, who had made their fortunes in oil, enlisted such luminaries as R. A. Torrey and A. C. Dixon to edit an originally twelve-volume paperback series to defend Christianity entitled *The Fundamentals,* published 1910–15 and distributed by the millions free to Christian workers and ministers. This work brought together such a hybrid of scholars so as to include both B. B. Warfield and C. I. Scofield among the contributors. By many accounts, it offered the first crystallized expression of fundamentalism. These Herculean efforts reflected the urgent need to respond to liberalism's impact on the church.

A Very Different Age

When Woodrow Wilson was campaigning for President, having left Princeton for a stop at the governor's mansion of New Jersey along the way, he began one speech by observing, "We have come upon a very different age from any that preceded us." He had in mind the changing face of the economy from ongoing industrialization and the rise of corporations. But when he said these words, as well the words, "Now this is nothing short of a new social age, a new era of human relationships, a new stage-setting for the drama of life," he could have just as easily been talking about the church and theology. What was also true, although Wilson did not realize it at the time, was that "the very different age" that he was seeing in America was also occurring across

the face of Europe, and within five years, America would join in the fray of World War I.

Machen, well beyond the age for the recently instituted draft, nevertheless wanted to contribute to the war effort. He considered the chaplaincy, but decided against it, thinking that his rank as officer would keep him from ministering to the foot soldiers. He also, like so many other intellectuals such as Ernest Hemingway, looked into being an ambulance driver. By the time he was considering that, however, there was such an abundance of volunteers that, while being promised an assignment to humanitarian efforts, they were instead being deployed to transport munitions. Machen still wanted to serve, however, so he went with the YMCA. That organization played an active role in the war in many ways. It offered education and literacy programs for soldiers, provided guidance on moral issues and spiritual counseling, and ran "huts" or canteens, offering sandwiches, cigarettes, coffee, and reading materials for soldiers coming off the front. Machen supplemented the magazines with his own books, keeping a careful ledger of the books loaned to French soldiers. The names of Arnout, Lepage, Tribault, Lt. Dumont, and Sgt. Bernard are joined by many others who enjoyed Machen's books, an oasis in the midst of the horrors of war. He also frequently led Bible studies among the soldiers, not having much success in conducting Sunday services.

Machen served faithfully, for most of the time in the "Army Zone," surrounded by bombs, the never-ending exchange of gunfire, and the din of airplanes overhead. Machen went along with the unit of French and then American soldiers, moving with them as they either were bombed out of their encampment or simply moved about as the front line meandered back and forth through the intractable vicissitudes of war. He walked past devastated villages and the

seemingly countless dead on the battlefields and along the bombed-out roads. When the war came to an end on November 11, 1918, Machen remained in France for a few months before returning to the ivy-covered buildings of Princeton. Many historians have noted how the war changed America, evidenced in the title of one history of the war, *The Last Days of Innocence*. It was America's coming of age, and it struck quite a blow to the spirit of the progressive era. The impact of the war was no less in the case of Machen. Stunned by the loss of life and the devastation of landscape, Machen was not the same quiet scholar enjoying his detached academic life.

With World War I over, the battle for the faith was only beginning. Through the first two decades of the twentieth century, Machen had been engaged only in the periphery, and most of the time he was not sure that he wanted to be engaged even at that level. In the next decade, all of that would change. As the "Roaring Twenties" came into full force, Machen emerged as the premier defender of the faith.