American Missionaries, Korean Protestants, and the Changing Shape of World Christianity, 1884–1965

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Introduction

In 1925, a group of sixty American missionaries and Korean church leaders met in the city of Seoul for a conference with John R. Mott. As chairman of the International Missionary Council, Mott was visiting the country to learn more about the progress of the Korean Church. During the meeting, Mott asked the group to talk about their challenges. His question prompted varying responses from the participants. They discussed the economic depression, growing Korean interest in socialism, and the threat of theological modernism.[1] But one veteran Korean pastor, Han Seok-jin, expressed the view that the greatest danger to indigenous Christian growth was the missionary. Instead of transferring their work to Korean leaders, the missionaries ruled over the churches and schools with a "sense of superiority" that ran contrary to the "true spirit of the gospel."[2] He then turned to his dearest missionary friend, Samuel Austin Moffett, who was sitting nearby, and said, "Reverend Moffett, even you, if you do not leave soon, your presence will do more harm than good."[3]

Samuel Austin Moffett had no intention of leaving. Despite their close relationship—Han was one of Moffett's first students—the two pastors simply disagreed about the demands of Korean Protestants for a greater measure of control over their churches, schools, and hospitals. Moffett still had plans for the mission station in Pyongyang that he had founded three decades ago. Until he retired in 1934, he directed operations on a 120-acre Presbyterian campus with a modern hospital, a college, a seminary, industrial shops, several Korean churches and schools, a separate foreign school for missionary children, and numerous Western-style houses for missionaries to live comfortably.[4] He had no interest in suddenly, or even slowly, turning this vast investment of time and energy (and money) over to the Koreans who, as Moffett saw it, benefited immensely from the efficient organization that knowledgeable American missionaries were able to provide. To have followed Han Seok-jin's advice would have been to accept a reversal in the authority and control of the Korean Church that Moffett could barely even imagine.

This book examines the encounter between American and Korean Protestants in both Korea and the United States from the late nineteenth century

to the aftermath of the Korean War. The discord between Moffett and Han was one example of the complicated patterns that marked relations between American missionaries and Korean Protestants. Although Americans and Koreans cultivated deep bonds with one another, they did not always share the same religious perspectives. When missionaries first arrived to Korea in 1884, Koreans viewed them suspiciously and branded Christianity a foreign religion. But as Koreans began converting to Christianity, they adapted the religion to their own context and formed their own beliefs and practices both in concert with and apart from missionary activities.

The Development of Protestantism in Korea and the United States

American missionaries and Korean Protestants together shaped the development of Protestantism in Korea and the United States. The two parties participated in a complex cross-cultural process of religious transmission charged with constant negotiations, oppositions, tangled reciprocities, and unexpected reversals. This thesis has three interconnected strands. The first strand is that American missionaries contributed to the making of Korean Protestantism. They established the first Protestant churches, the first modern hospitals, and the first Western schools in Korea. Missionaries instructed many Korean converts, including a majority of the early Korean church leaders, on matters of religion, politics, and culture. The second strand is that Korean Protestants across Korea and the United States remade Christianity in their own image by combining their cultural and colonial experience with Western elements that the missionaries initially imported to Korea. Koreans engaged in this cross-cultural process of religious transmission on their own terms. They accepted some features of the missionaries' Christianity; they rejected other features; they altered many features to fit their context. The third strand is that Korean ministers and migrants ultimately reversed American religious expectations and increasingly saw it as their mission to revitalize and reform Christianity in the United States.

These three interconnected strands of American and Korean participation took place within the American foreign mission in Korea and Korean immigration to the United States, which are best seen as interconnected and overlapping narratives of a larger world Christian story. In his 1968 presidential address to the American Historical Association, John King Fairbank found the overseas missionary to be the "invisible man of American history."[5] But by 2003, Daniel H. Bays and Grant Wacker posited that Fairbank's claim was no longer true because of the escalating number of studies on American foreign missions.[6] Scholars treating the American Protestant foreign missionary enterprise in East Asia alone have advanced our knowledge of how American women and men interacted with diverse cultures, different religions, and indigenous Christians abroad.[7] Because immigration has been a major source of Christian diversity in the United States, it has likewise

received significant scholarly attention, and recent investigations on Christian immigrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America demonstrate how world Christian movements have transformed American Christianity.[8] Yet instead of treating foreign mission and immigration as two disparate topics, I integrate the histories of the American foreign mission in Korea and Korean immigration to the United States in order to move beyond unidirectional paradigms of "foreign mission" and "immigration" that trace American Christian influence "abroad" or the impact of world Christian movements "at home" as isolated episodes. In looking at the multidirectional currents that flowed between American and Korean Protestants in the United States and Korea, the book captures American and Korean Protestants—missionaries, migrants, ministers, diplomats, and interracial couples—mutually engaged in a global movement that helped give birth to new Christian traditions in Korea and involved numerous American evangelical and mainline Protestant groups.

The American Protestant mission to Korea underwent reversals in different forms. The mission experienced a reversal of expectation when Americans discovered that Korean converts reinterpreted their religious teachings in surprising and sometimes disappointing ways. A different form of reversal—what one might call a reversal of position—came when, from the perspective of many of the missionaries, Koreans like Han Seok-jin insisted too soon on controlling the churches, hospitals, and schools that the missionaries had helped to build. As Korean Protestantism exploded from approximately 380,000 adherents in 1940 to over 9,000,000 in 1997, the bond between American and Korean Protestants across many denominations, from Presbyterian to Pentecostal, grew stronger. But as Korean Protestant leaders across Korea and the United States increasingly assumed authority to lead their institutions, they eventually felt authorized to teach Americans about church growth. And some Americans were eager to learn from successful Korean pastors. Although this last form of reversal—a real reversal of authority—did not become fully visible until the 1980s, the story that I tell delineates the preconditions for it.

American Missionaries, Korean Protestants, and the Changing Shape of World Christianity

The growth of Korean Protestantism is part of larger demographic shifts in the world Christian population. At the beginning of the twentieth century, 80 percent of the world's Christian population lived in Europe and North America. By the end of the century, 60 percent of the world's Christians were found in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.[9] In 1974, African theologian John S. Mbiti challenged Western Christians to acknowledge the axis of Christianity had tilted southward. Because "the centers of the Church's universality" were moving away from Geneva, London, New York, and Rome toward "Kinshasa, Buenos Aires, Addis Abada, and Manila," Mbiti called

for more equal relations between Western and non-Western Christians.[10] Without "true theological reciprocity and mutuality" between the two parties, Mbiti argued it was impossible for Christians in the Global North and the Global South to form effective and lasting cross-cultural partnerships.[11]

In 2002, Justo L. Gonzalez observed that "this new map of Christianity" and the religion's increasingly polycentric nature required new studies of the past that no longer made "it appear that North Atlantic Christianity was the goal of church history."[12] The terms "world Christianity" and "global Christianity" first appeared in U.S. literature in 1929 and in 1943 respectively, but more thorough and sustained thinking about the ramifications of the demographic changes in the world Christian population emerged in the 1980s through the scholarship of David Barrett, Kwame Bediako, David Bosch, Samuel Escobar, Philip Jenkins, Peter Phan, Dana Robert, Lamin Sanneh, Andrew Walls, and others.[13] In 2003, Sanneh notably presented contrasting definitions of "world Christianity" and "global Christianity," arguing that the former encompasses "the movement of Christianity as it takes form and shape in societies that were not Christian" whereas the latter involves "the faithful replication of Christian forms and patterns developed in Europe."[14] Throughout my book I use the term "world Christianity" but also recognize that Christian expressions in the Global South and the Global North are connected to one another—through phenomena such as foreign mission, immigration, and the adaptable nature of the religion as it takes root in diverse cultures—in ways that make Sanneh's distinctions harder to distinguish in practice.[15]

The changing shape of world Christianity has also stimulated new evaluations of the Western mission legacy that challenge older myths about missionaries and indigenous converts. The monolithic portrait of missionaries as either evangelical heroes or imperial villains has given way to more intricate understandings of how missionaries functioned in foreign lands.[16] And indigenous Christians no longer reside in the shadows or margins of history, as scholars recognize their often decisive participation in religious transmission and reception.[17] The attention to indigenous Christians recognizes their agency and creativity in remaking the religion with their own ecclesial structures, rituals, and theologies. But the tangled relationships between American missionaries and Korean Protestants demonstrate that the two parties brought different aspirations, fears, ambitions, and frustrations to these transnational religious endeavors.[18] Ultimately, the Koreans would "win out" and control their own churches, as indigenous Christians always have, but minimizing American involvement obscures our historical understanding as much as ignoring Korean initiatives.

Missiologists seek to emphasize "the indigenous discovery of Christianity rather than the Christian discovery of indigenous societies" by turning away from Western missionaries and focusing instead upon how Christians in other societies transformed the religion.[19] But early Korean Protestantism had local and global components that worked both in tandem and against

one other. This tension is inherent in Christianity as a universal religion practiced in particular social settings, and Korean churches at home and abroad were local expressions of faith marked by their own cultural distinctiveness. Yet they also maintained connections to the Western churches and felt their continuing influence. American missionaries held superior material resources that gave them power and stature in Korea, and Korean Protestants also respected them for their piety. This stature enabled the missionaries to believe that they knew how the Koreans ought to organize their denominations and practice their worship. As late as 1988, one Korean American Presbyterian pastor in Los Angeles explained that his church's worship service excluded every remnant of Korean culture other than language "because the missionaries told us to throw away our own culture . . . so we adopted the American style."[20] His comment did not reflect any Korean consensus, certainly not in 1988 and probably not in 1938, but it is a reminder that missionaries left an imprint, whether positive or negative, on the Korean Church.

American missionaries held an ambivalent view of Korea. On the one hand, their accounts resembled reports by American diplomats, visitors, and journalists: Korea was underdeveloped, impoverished, and caught in an intricate web of geopolitical struggle in East Asia, with Japan, China, and Russia all seeking hegemony over the peninsular nation until Japan formally annexed Korea as its colony in 1910. However, as the missionaries enjoyed unparalleled success in evangelizing the Koreans, they also depicted Korea as an indigenous laboratory to create a purified Christianity that would serve as a religious antidote to theological liberalism and secularism. By the early twentieth century, Americans treasured Korea as one of their most promising foreign mission fields. In 1923, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. devoted more missionaries and more money to Korea than any other foreign nation.[21] Methodist recruitment materials boasted that the "lure of Korea" was the promise of teaching pious Koreans who obeyed the Christian Scriptures and prayed fervently.[22] But although Americans now saw Koreans not as primitive heathens but rather as fellow believers, they could not entirely escape prevailing racial ideologies. Koreans remained a "people of color," inferior to whites. If non-Christian, they were uncivilized and uncouth; if Christian, they were admirable people of indefatigable spirit. Yet too often Americans also saw them as simpleminded children who required protection from secular and liberal influences.

But from its beginnings, Korean Protestantism was not a facsimile of American missionary forms. The early missionaries saw themselves primarily as heralds of the gospel, but the Koreans saw the missionaries as conduits of Western knowledge, and they wanted to learn American political and economic ideas from them, not simply religion. They attended mission schools in hopes of acquiring both religious and technological knowledge with which they would both expand their churches and elevate their economy. The early missionaries insisted on the most rigorous political neutrality

to preserve the spiritual purity of the Korean Church, but Koreans integrated biblical teaching and resistance to Japanese imperialism in ways that strengthened their Christian and anti-colonial resolve. Korean Christians at home and abroad threw themselves into the independence movement. Although Christians comprised little more than 1 percent of the population in 1919, sixteen of the thirty-three signers of the Declaration of Independence and 17 percent of the arrested protesters during the March First uprisings were Christian. Of the 471 women arrested, more than 65 percent were Christian.[23]

Although mission records can be "frustratingly silent" about the thoughts and desires of indigenous Christians, historians have crafted innovative strategies to analyze these one-sided accounts.[24] Derek Chang treats missionary documents as "points of departure" for understanding how converts received and resisted the cultural, religious, and racial discourses.[25] Arun Jones seeks "revelatory cracks" in missionary literature by investigating a wider array of primary historical data, such as private letters and colonial government documents, to catch glimpses of indigenous thought and activity.[26] In addition to using these interpretive tactics, I also analyze Korean sources—books, diaries, essays, letters, and sermons—to present a more complete view of the relationships between Americans and Koreans.[27] Historians have observed that what most Americans know about Korea has been told from the point of view of the U.S. military, or a Christian missionary. Soldiers and missionaries often depicted Korea as an Eastern nation of "prostitutes, beggars, and orphans, many of them mixed race children, never speaking but always spoken for and about, souls being saved by the civilizing missions of neocolonialism and evangelism."[28] By incorporating the voices of Korean Protestants, I demonstrate how they determined their own course by creatively adapting the religion, retaining their own cultural traditions at the same time that they gladly learned from the American forms of Christian traditions.

A Transnational Focus

Every chapter reflects the transnational currents that flowed through the highly diverse relationships between Americans and Koreans. Thomas Tweed defines religions as "confluences of organic-cultural flows that intensify joy and confront suffering by drawing on human and suprahuman forces to make homes and cross boundaries."[29] The book devotes attention to American missionaries and Korean Protestants across both nations to illustrate how the two parties often found in religion a means to cross boundaries in unfamiliar lands. But the religious ambitions of both parties sometimes seemed to sink beneath the cultural flows between the two nations. The first chapter examines how American missionaries brought their religion and culture to Korea. They endeavored to learn the Koreans' language and understand their culture so that they could convince the Koreans that Jesus was a universal savior. But they also separated themselves from Koreans in

their well-built American-style houses, which revealed the vast economic discrepancies between the two groups. Even the wealthiest Koreans marveled at the missionary residences.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, a number of influential Korean Protestant leaders traveled to the United States as foreign students or political exiles. The second chapter analyzes the transnational journey of Yun Ch'iho, an early Korean convert to Methodism in 1887 who studied in the United States from 1888 to 1893 before emerging as a prominent spokesperson for the Korean Church at events like the World Missionary Conference in 1910.[30] Yun's experiences demonstrate how some Korean Protestants encountered a form of racial discrimination in the United States that propelled them into disenchantment with the broken promises of a missionary religion that reduced Koreans to inferior human beings on account of their yellow skin. Korean Protestants like Yun appreciated the support they received from American missionaries, but they also deplored the limits of American Protestant support for their national interests and criticized Americans for obscuring the harsh realities of daily Korean life under Japanese rule in order to promote their religious mission. One Korean observed that missionaries on furlough dressed in Korean clothes in order to raise funds "for Koreans," but they never actually consulted with Koreans to discern what they really wanted and needed.[31]

The third chapter looks at another Korean Protestant leader, Syngman Rhee, and his transnational journey across Korea and the United States. Rhee's fractured relationships with the missionaries and his opposition to their motivations illumine how American and Korean Protestants participated in different sets of transnational networks for religious interaction and exchange. American missionaries lived and worked in Korea, but they remained in close contact with Protestants in the United States through what Ian R. Tyrrell has identified as "multilateral webs" of formal and informal connections with domestic churches, mission boards, friends, and family.[32] Missionaries became cultural brokers providing new information about Korean conditions to Americans, but they also exhibited how their religious successes could advance Protestant causes at home. One scholar of Korean Christianity has highlighted Presbyterian foreign mission board secretary Arthur Judson Brown's identification in 1919 of the "typical missionary" in Korea as "a man of the Puritan type" to emphasize the rigorous religious and ethical standards missionaries imposed upon early Korean converts.[33] But the missionaries' greatest ambition encompassed more than eradicating the sins of dancing, smoking, and gambling in the Korean Church. They most resembled the Puritan pioneers of colonial North America in their vision to create a new religious society in a far-flung land that would serve as a visible and imitable design of Christian witness and practice. Just as the Puritan colonists endeavored to reform European Christianity through their settlements in the "wilderness" of the "new world," missionaries in Korea similarly desired to craft their own "city upon a hill" for American

Protestantism at home and abroad.[34] They increasingly promoted within their transnational network the idea that Korea was "the Palestine of the Far East."[35] In the biblical era, God's message emerged from Palestine, a weak nation surrounded by larger ones. In the twentieth century, Korea, small and feeble, would model an ideal form of Protestantism—with the missionaries as the watchful shepherds—as divine instruction to the world Christian community.

Rhee's religious and political activism provides a clear example of the ways in which Korean Protestants also established transnational connections to communicate with one another and mobilize support for the Korean independence movement. In the age of Japanese imperialism, Koreans in the United States inhabited multiple worlds. They were colonized subjects in their home country and racialized Asians in the prejudiced society of their host country. Koreans across Asia and North America produced numerous channels to exchange letters, raise funds, and update one another on the latest developments from both the homeland and diasporic communities. Historians have recognized how migration to the United States created "an avenue of exile for Koreans to keep alive the vision of a free Korea."[36] But Korean Protestant students in American colleges and seminaries also utilized these educational habitats to learn more about world Christian relations from the Western perspective. As they acquired knowledge of American Christian forms, some transnational Koreans gained access to global Christian networks that simultaneously enhanced their abilities to articulate their religious and geopolitical positions to an international audience and exacerbated their frustrations with Western indifference to a cause they saw as grounded in Christian principles.

The fourth chapter turns its attention to American and Korean Protestant women to illustrate how cross-cultural conflicts strained even the closest partnerships between Americans and Koreans. American and Korean women worked together to improve female education and public health in Korea, but the two groups also disagreed about how Korean women should live each day. Female missionaries trained their Korean students to remain in the home as virtuous wives and mothers, but Korean women wanted to break free from patriarchal forms of Confucianism and evangelical Christianity and rise up as leaders in the church and society.

The fifth chapter investigates the tumultuous time period from 1945 to 1965. Though liberated from Japanese imperial rule, Korea was divided into two nations and soon entangled in a war setting North Korean and Chinese military forces against South Korean and American soldiers. After the Korean War, American and Korean Protestants worked together to relieve suffering and overcome hatreds throughout the world. But these transnational alliances ran up against the same tensions that marked the inception of the Protestant mission. Earlier generations of missionaries failed to mold the Koreans in their own image, but Americans persisted in trying to direct the Korean Church according to their Western prescriptions.

This transnational approach takes seriously the contention that "Korean Christianity is wider than Korea" and also comprises "diaspora and mission movements."[37] The transnational networks that Korean religious leaders abroad constructed—some like Syngman Rhee lived in the United States for decades as political exiles whereas others like Helen Kim and Kyung-Chik Han resided only for a few years as foreign students at American colleges and seminaries—are treated in this study as a critical component, alongside the activities of Korean pastors and theologians at home, such as Gil Seon-ju and Choi Byeung-hyeun, in the making of Korean Protestantism.

American and Korean Protestants maintained their own transnational networks, but a third type of network developed as the two groups began communicating with one another across Asia and North America through letters and periodicals. Korean Protestants conveyed measured critiques of the missionaries in *The Korea Mission Field* and *Korean Student Bulletin*. Missionaries published *The Korea Mission Field* in Korea, but it was a transnational magazine distributed to American Protestants in the United States and other foreign nations in order to provide reports and bolster support for their work.[38] Korean students in the United States created the *Korean Student Bulletin* in 1922 with two distinct readerships in mind: "To serve all the Korean students in this country in a way to bring them into close contact with the Christian influence" and "to deepen and widen the interest of American Christians in Korea and her people."[39] Issues were sent to Korean and American subscribers in both countries, including many missionaries working in Korea.[40] In 1927, *The Korea Mission Field* devoted a monthly issue to Korean authors, who seized the opportunity to articulate their opposition to the missionaries' paternalism, overemphasis on evangelism, and reluctance to designate Korean leaders.[41] Before then, Yun Ch'iho translated an essay written by Yi Kwang-su, a Korean intellectual and non-Christian, which condemned the missionaries for treating Koreans like primitive savages by insisting they adhere to a simplistic form of biblical interpretation that had more in common with the forms of Christianity "that prevail[ed] in Africa and China" than in Japan or the United States.[42] Although Yun was no proponent of liberal theology, he thought that missionaries should stop viewing Koreans as spiritual toddlers unable to deal with sophisticated ideas. In the *Korean Student Bulletin*, L. George Paik voiced another grievance when he argued that Horace H. Underwood's book on the history of modern education in Korea read as if American initiatives should be the sole object of the reader's attention. Underwood was not only biased in his history; he was simply inaccurate.[43]

The two groups differed, they argued, they fought. But Korean Protestants remain an enigma if we try to pretend that the missionaries were nothing but interlopers devoid of any influence on the Korean Church. Recognizing the agency of Americans does not require any discounting of Korean agency. Some Korean Protestant leaders regarded the missionaries with ambivalence—they were simultaneously allies and rivals. Americans introduced many Koreans to

wider global Christian networks, but they also sometimes blocked Koreans from achieving their religious aims. Resistance to the missionaries was more subtle, more hidden and soft-spoken, than the overt hostility that Korean Protestants exhibited toward Japanese imperialists or Communists. There were occasions when Koreans confronted the missionaries, like the Mott Conference in 1925, but the discontent surfaced more often in private diaries and letters.

Some of the missionaries recognized what they were doing, repented, and tried to change. They assimilated to Korean ways and pursued more equal relations with Koreans. Annie Baird recounted that one of the most rewarding moments in her life was when a Korean friend told her that she was "just like a loving-hearted old Korean woman": "Years of expatriation, and effort to project myself into the language, customs and feeling of another people, were richly repaid by that sentence."[44] In 1915, the cancer-stricken missionary defied her doctor's orders in the United States to set sail for Korea so she could be buried there. When Baird arrived in Pyongyang several months later, she wrote letters to her family to tell them she had made it back home to where she belonged.[45] After she died, one of her Korean students mourned her loss as if he had lost one of his own parents. In his eulogy, he praised Baird's love for Korea: "In life or in death the thought of her soul was ever directed toward this people, and ever will be. She lived for us. She died for us. Oh, woe is me! In the land of eternal blessing she will peacefully rest."[46]

Scholars have amply documented the American Protestant mission in Korea, the expansion of Korean Protestantism at home and abroad, and Korean-American foreign relations.[47] We still know too little, however, about the evolving interplay between American and Korean Protestants from their first encounters to the end of the Korean War. Sharing the same religion, the two groups crossed national and racial boundaries to develop deep friendships and new transnational partnerships. But the religious loyalties that bound them together often divided them. To look anew at the relationships between American and Korean Protestants—examining when their perspectives overlapped and when they clashed—is to see how the transmission of Christian faith could both confound and connect, how complicated "agency" could be, and how the mission produced a series of reversals, often unintended, that ultimately turned the modern American missionary dream upside down.

Notes

1. Alfred W. Wasson, *Church Growth in Korea* (Concord, NH: Rumford Press, 1934), 125–126.
2. Ch'ae, P'il-Gŭn, *Han Sŏk-chin Moksa wa kŭ sidae: Han'guk Kidokkyo kaech'ŏksa* [Pioneer of Korean Christianity: The Reverend Han Seok-jin and his Times] (Seoul, Korea: Korean Christianity Association, 1950), 230.
3. Ch'ae, 231. See also Sung-Deuk Oak, *Sources of Korean Christianity* (Seoul, Korea: Institute for Korean Church History, 2004), 446–447.

4. "A Bird's Eye View of the Presbyterian Mission Station at Pyeng Yang," *The Korea Mission Field* (March 1932), no page number, and Donald N. Clark, *Living Dangerously in Korea: The Western Experience, 1900–1950* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2003), 123–125.
5. J.K. Fairbank, "Assignment for the '70s," *American Historical Review* (February 1969), 877, as cited in Daniel H. Bays and Grant Wacker, "Introduction: The Many Faces of the Missionary Enterprise at Home," in *The Foreign Missionary Enterprise at Home: Explorations in North American Cultural History*, edited by Daniel H. Bays and Grant Wacker (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 2003), 1.
6. Bays and Wacker, 1.
7. Several examples are Wayne Flynt and Gerald A. Berkley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1850–1950* (Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), Hamish Ion, *American Missionaries, Christian Oyatoi, and Japan, 1859–73* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2009), Lawrence D. Kessler, *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895–1951* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), Gordon D. Laman, *Pioneers to Partners: The Reformed Church in American and Christian Mission with the Japanese* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2012), Karen K. Seat, *"Providence Has Freed Our Hands": Women's Missions and the Encounter with Japan* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008), and Lian Xi, *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions in China, 1907–1932* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).
8. Several examples are Mark R. Gornik, *Word Made Global: Stories of African Christianity in New York City* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2011), Jehu J. Hanciles, *Beyond Christendom: Globalization, African Migration, and the Transformation of the West* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2008), Ho-Youn Kwon, Kwang Chung Kim, and R. Stephen Warner (eds.), *Korean Americans and Their Religions: Pilgrims and Missionaries from a Different Shore* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), Juan Francisco Martínez, *Los Protestantes: An Introduction to Latino Protestantism in the United States* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011), Hjamil A. Martínez-Vázquez, *Made in the Margins: Latino/a Constructions of U.S. Religious History* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013), Daniel Ramírez, *Migrating Faith: Pentecostalism in the United States and Mexico in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), and Catherine A. Brekus and W. Clark Gilpin (eds.), *American Christianities: A History of Dominance and Diversity* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
9. Peter Vethanayagamony, "Mission from the Rest to the West," in *Mission after Christendom: Emergent Themes in Contemporary Mission*, edited by Ogbu U. Kalu, Peter Vethanayamony, and Edmund Kee-Fook Chia (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), 59. See also Todd M. Johnson and Cindy M. Wu, *Our Global Families: Christians Embracing Common Identity in a Changing World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 7–9.
10. John S. Mbiti, "Theological Impotence and the Universality of the Church," in *Mission Trends No. 3: Third World Theologies*, edited by Gerald H. Anderson and Thomas F. Stransky (New York: Paulist Press, 1976), 9. Mbiti's essay originally appeared in *Lutheran World* 21:3(1974).
11. Mbiti, 17.
12. Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Changing Shape of Church History* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2002), 15.

13. Robert Wuthnow, *Boundless Faith: The Global Outreach of American Churches* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2009), 34.
14. Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2003), 22.
15. In his revised and expanded edition of *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, Philip Jenkins appreciates the implications of Sanneh's definitions but contends that different forms of Christianity "often mutate and merge into each other" and therefore continues to use "global Christianity" in a "broad and nonjudgmental sense." Sebastian Kim and Kirsteen Kim also find Sanneh creates an "impossible distinction because 'global Christianity' often gives rise to 'world Christianity' as local churches become independent of foreign control." Nami Kim likewise sees heterogeneous forms of Christianity in the Global South that cannot be strictly divided into indigenous and foreign categories. Dyron B. Daughrity uses both terms interchangeably but also acknowledges the debate over identifying this new subfield as either global Christianity or world Christianity requires "sensitivity" because of the history and reach of Western colonialism in the Global South. See Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity, Revised and Expanded Edition* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xiii, Sebastian Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *Christianity as a World Religion* (London and New York: Continuum, 2008), 13, Nami Kim, "A Mission to the 'Graveyard of Empires'? Neocolonialism and the Contemporary Evangelical Missions of the Global South," *Mission Studies* 27(2010), 8–11, and Dyron B. Daughrity, *To Whom Does Christianity Belong? Critical Issues in World Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015), 12.
16. For example, scholars have focused on the roles of missionaries as linguistic translators, transnational moral reformers, unwitting colonial co-conspirators, beneficent cultural imperialists, and transmitters of global modernity. See Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture, 2nd ed.* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2009), Ian R. Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 1, Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), Carol C. Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 27 (June 2003), 327–352, and Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory* 41 (October 2002), 301–325.
17. See Andrew Walls, *The Cross-Cultural Process in Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2002), Peter C. Phan (ed.), *Christianities in Asia* (Maiden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), Mark Noll and Carolyn Nystrom, *Clouds of Witnesses: Christian Voices from Africa and Asia* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Books, 2011), Ondina E. Gonzalez and Justo L. Gonzalez, *Christianity in Latin America: A History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), and Ogbu U. Kalu, *African Christianity: An African Story* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007), and *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
18. I intentionally use the term "transnational" rather than "international" to explain the relationships between Americans and Koreans based on Ian Tyrrell's definitions of "transnational" and "international." Tyrrell delineates how "international" refers to the formal, political interactions of nation-state institutions whereas "transnational" includes the broader field of non-governmental social, cultural, and economic activities, which includes the movement of peoples, goods, and ideas across national boundaries. See Ian R. Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire*, 6–7.

19. Lamin Sanneh, *Whose Religion Is Christianity? The Gospel Beyond the West*, 13.
20. Ira Rifkin, "Korean Immigrants Flock to Growing Congregations," *Los Angeles Times*, December 15, 1988.
21. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. had 151 missionaries in Korea. Only one other country had more than 100; thirteen nations had over 50 and the remaining eleven nations had less than 50 missionaries. The denomination also spent $271,982.48 in Korea. They spent over $200,000 in only three other nations. See G.S. McCune, "Fifty Years of Promotion by the Home Board and Home Church," in *The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., June 30–July 3, 1934* (Seoul, Korea: 1934), 35.
22. See Jennie Fowler-Willing and Mrs. George Heber Jones, *The Lure of Korea* (Boston: Methodist Episcopal Church Woman's Foreign Missionary Society Publishing Office, 1910).
23. Douglas Jacobsen, *Global Gospel: An Introduction to Christianity on Five Continents* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2015), 176, and Timothy S. Lee, *Born Again: Evangelicalism in Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 43.
24. Derek Chang, *Citizens of a Christian Nation: Evangelical Missions and the Problem of Race in the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 11.
25. Ibid., 12.
26. Arun W. Jones, *Christian Missions in the American Empire: Episcopalians in Northern Luzon, the Philippines, 1902–1946* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 20–22.
27. In this endeavor, I am indebted to the work of Korean Studies scholars over the last several years. They have published a bevy of historical documents from various American missionaries and Korean religious and political leaders to grant researchers in the West access to a diverse range of previously hard-to-find materials. For example, the Institute for Modern Korean Studies at Yonsei University published a ten-volume set of Syngman Rhee's private correspondence in 2009. In 2008, the Korea Institute for Advanced Theological Studies began publishing the Korean Christian Classics Series with volumes on the writings of early Korean Protestant pastors and theologians such as Choi Byeoung-hyeun and Gil Seon-ju. In 2010, Pai Chai University Press in South Korea published a two-volume set of Henry Gerhard Appenzeller and Henry Dodge Appenzeller's sermons, prayers, and memoirs. See *The Syngman Rhee English Correspondence, Volumes 1–10*, edited with an introduction by Young Ick Lew in collaboration with Yeong Sub Oh, Steve G. Jenks, and Andrew D. Calhoun (Seoul, Korea: Institute for Modern Korean Studies, Yonsei University, 2009), Gil Seon-Ju, *Mansaseongchwi (The Attainment of All Things): Korean Christian Classics Series, Volume 1* (Seoul, Korea: KIATS Press, 2008), Choe Byeong-Heon, *Seongsan Myeong Gyeong (The Clear Mirror of Sacred Mountain): Korean Christian Classics Series, Volume 4* (Seoul, Korea: KIATS Press, 2010), and *The Appenzellers: How They Preached and Guided Korea into Modernization, Volumes 1–2* (Daejeon, Korea: Pai Chai University Press, 2010).
28. Elaine H. Kim, "Myth, Memory, and Desire: Homeland and History in Contemporary Korean American Writing and Visual Art," in *Holding Their Own: Perspectives on the Multi-Ethnic Literatures of the United States*, edited by Dorothea Fischer-Hornung and Heike Raphael-Hernandez (Tubingen: Stauffenburg-Verlag, 2000), 80.
29. Thomas A. Tweed, *Crossing and Dwelling: A Theory of Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 54.
30. Eun Soo Kim, "The Edinburgh Conference and the Korean Church," translated by Gi Jung Song, in *Korean Church, God's Mission, Global Christianity*, edited

by Wonsuk Ma and Kyo Seong Ahn (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015), 7–11, and Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2009), 120.

31. "Declaration of Yusin Hoi, by Sa Ilhwan," in Korea General Collection, Missionary Research Library Collection, Burke Theological Library, Columbia University, New York, NY.
32. Tyrrell, 36.
33. Dae Young Ryu, "The Origins and Characteristics of Evangelical Protestantism in Korea at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Church History* 77:2 (June 2008), 377, and Arthur Judson Brown, *The Mastery of the Far East: The Story of Korea's Transformation and Japan's Rise to Supremacy* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1919), 540.
34. See Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper & Row, 1956), 12–13, and William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 5–6.
35. "Korea, the Palestine of the Far East," *The Korea Methodist* (September 1905), 151.
36. David K. Yoo, *Contentious Spirits: Religion in Korean American History, 1903–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 8. See also Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (New York: Twayne, 1991), Bong Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979), and Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*, *Updated and Revised Edition* (Boston and New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1998).
37. Sebastian C.H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 5.
38. In 1911, *The Korea Mission Field* circulated 16,310 copies throughout the world, averaging nearly 1,360 monthly subscriptions. See *The Annual Report of the Korean Religious Book and Tract Society, 1911–1919* (Seoul, Korea: The Society, 1917–1919).
39. "This Bulletin Is," *Korean Student Bulletin* 1:1 (December 1922), 1.
40. See *Korean Student Bulletin* 8:4 (December 1930) for a list of Korean and American contributors to their annual campaign.
41. See *The Korea Mission Field* (February 1927), 23–41.
42. Yi Kwang Su, "Defects of the Korean Church Today," *The Korea Mission Field* (December 1918), 255–256.
43. L. George Paik, "Book Review: Modern Education in Korea," *Korean Student Bulletin* 4:4 (October 1926), 7–8. In 1927, Paik completed his PhD at Yale University and returned to Korea to join Underwood as a faculty member at a Korean Christian college.
44. Annie L.A. Baird, *Inside Views of Mission Life* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1913), 129.
45. S.S. Estey, "In Memoriam: Mrs. Anna Adams Baird, June 25, 1916," in Annie Laurie Baird Papers, RG172, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.
46. Kim Tai Yun, "A Korean Appreciation for Mrs. W.M. Baird," in Annie Laurie Baird Papers, RG172, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.
47. See Gregg Brazinsky, *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Timothy S. Lee (eds.), *Christianity in Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), Hyaeweol Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Way* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), Donald N. Clark, *Living Dangerously in Korea: The Western Experience, 1900–1950* (Norwalk, CT: EastBridge, 2003), Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton,

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4 Contestation and Cooperation in the Making of the Indigenous Christian Woman

Introduction

On June 19, 1934, the American Methodist mission celebrated their fiftieth anniversary in Seoul. Although the semi-centennial event heralded the partnership between American and Korean Methodists, the two groups were looking in different directions. Missionaries gazed backward into the past. They cherished the early years, when they had first introduced the gospel to a timid but teachable people who knew little about Christianity, modern technology, or the West. Koreans, in contrast, looked forward to the promising future of an autonomous Church. Bishop J.S. Ryang, the first Korean general superintendent, began the commemoration by stating that Korean Methodism was no longer a foreign mission field but a fully independent indigenous church.[1] Four years earlier, Korean Methodists formed their own denomination, separate from American Methodists. Of the one hundred delegates at their first General Conference in 1930, eighty-four were Koreans and sixteen were missionaries.[2] Another Korean speaker, Helen Kim, a widely recognized college professor, proclaimed that Christ had inspired her countrywomen to rise up as "leaders of movements and carriers of public burdens" in and outside the church.[3] The inclination of the missionaries, however, was to reminisce about the early years. The physician Annie Ellers Bunker recalled her first adventures in the primitive nation when she and her fellow pioneers overcame hostility from Koreans, who saw them as "foreign devils," in order to heal sick patients in the new modern hospital.[4]

A keen observer would have noticed that this difference between American and Korean perspectives at the semi-centennial event—Americans glorifying the past, Koreans anticipating the future—represented not simply a coincidental difference but a hint of wider conflict between two groups over the direction of the Korean Church. Missionaries distrusted at least some Korean initiatives and longed for the days of uncontested authority. Koreans spoke glowingly of the missionaries but welcomed a change in leadership. The disagreements mostly simmered, but they occasionally reached the boiling point, and no conflict was hotter than the debate over Christian womanhood. As Korean Protestant women chose their own paths in the

twentieth century, they clashed with female missionaries about nearly everything, from education, political activism, and religious beliefs to vocational choices and dress.

The First Impression: The Missionary Making of the Korean Christian Woman

When missionaries arrived in the late nineteenth century, they felt appalled by the lowly status and degraded conditions of Korean women. During his first excursion through the nation's interior, one missionary thought it ludicrous that the women would "run away for dear life" as he approached them.[5] The strict customs of gender separation and the seclusion of women from the public sphere surprised and worried the missionaries. Huldah A. Haenig described young Korean women as "conspicuous by their absence" in public places.[6] She could not quite grasp the curious practice of keeping "the Korean maiden . . . closely sheltered in the privacy of home" until she was twelve.[7] *The Gospel in All Lands* noted in 1889 that only men occupied the streets; women remained secluded in the inner chambers of their homes: "You see a hundred men to one woman in the throngs on its streets, and Korean women are never seen by other men than their husbands and brothers."[8]

These restrictions upon women did not exist in Korea until the reign of the Joseon dynasty beginning in the late fourteenth century. Prior to the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910), women freely mingled with men in the streets, participated in seasonal outings, frequented Buddhist temples, and bathed nude in rivers and streams.[9] But neo-Confucian scholars of the early Joseon dynasty imposed reforms that curtailed women's public activity in order to divide the sexes according to a "natural" order in which women were subordinate to men and were encased in the fixed social categories of chaste maiden, diligent wife, and devoted mother. By confining women to their homes and restricting their access to Buddhist temples and shaman houses, neo-Confucianists sought to protect the virginity of women and diminish their religious authority among ordinary Koreans.[10] These regulations led to what became known as the *inside-outside rule*—"it meant that women should not see or talk with men who were not family members and should stay in the inner chambers."[11] Unlike upper-class women, lower- and middling-class women enjoyed more time in public because of their work in the fields and marketplace.[12]

But the missionaries were not pleased by what they saw from common women. They were aghast at the lack of hygiene and clothing among some women in the streets and villages. In 1901, one missionary complained in her diary, after encountering an elderly Korean woman, that "this old woman wore simply a dress skirt over her lower undergarments, but above her waist was bare. She looked as if water had never touched her skin. She was simply scurvy, the dirt scaling off here and there, and her hair was filled with nits."[13]

Missionaries lamented the uncouth appearance of young Korean girls and objected to the garments of nursing mothers that exposed their breasts. One older female missionary in Seoul, outraged by these revealing outfits, took to the streets to reprimand the women for their impropriety, making what one of her colleagues described as "energetic though futile attempts to pull their skirts and jackets together across the objectionable gap."[14]

Missionaries attributed such improprieties to disadvantages imposed on Korean women from an early age. Even in the upper classes, boys alone received a formal education. Equally or more disturbing were the compulsory marriages of young girls. Although the government in 1894 set the legal age of marriage at twenty for men and sixteen for women, girls as young as twelve commonly underwent arranged marriages with older men.[15] As one female missionary wrote: "The Korean woman received no welcome at birth, no love in life, and has no hope in death."[16] Their condition evoked pity from the missionaries and prompted indictments of the society. Henry Appenzeller described Korean gender relations as such: "Education is for man, stupidity is for woman." He concluded that Korean women were "secluded, subjected, degraded, [and] enslaved" with slim odds for progress because they lacked "literary advantages as a child" and possessed "shadowy legal rights as a woman."[17] He later preached that the unfair treatment of Korean women demonstrated the inferiority of Confucianism and Buddhism to Christianity: "Confucius never spoke a kind word for woman . . . Buddha had 48 wishes—one was, may I never become woman. Jesus is the only oriental who has a good word for woman."[18]

In 1909, Annie Baird wrote *Daybreak in Korea* after spending nearly two decades in Korea. Her fictive tale is told from the perspective of a twelve-year-old Korean girl, Pobai. But Baird explained in her preface that her book was a reliable source to learn about "facts and incidents such as come daily under the observation of missionaries in Korea."[19] Her work emerged as one of the leading textbooks to train prospective missionaries to Korea. In mission study classrooms across the United States, students had to read *Daybreak in Korea* in order to learn about Korean women. In one classroom exercise, female students would "impersonate the life of a Korean girl" as depicted by the book.[20] The depictions were bleak and pathetic, for Baird presented her protagonist, Pobai, as a sweet and innocent girl trapped in a village beset by filth, poverty, debauchery, and corruption:

> She was nearly twelve years old, with round cheeks that glowed red under the olive skin, and a heavy braid of glossy black hair hanging down her back. Only perfect cleanliness was lacking to make her a very wholesome girl to look upon but Pobai was almost always rather dirty. She would have liked to be clean, but so much of her time and strength went into helping her mother keep the men of the family immaculately clad, that she hardly ever had time to think of herself.[21]

The reader follows Pobai on a daily walk through her village as she encounters gambling men, a shrieking woman with torn clothes fleeing from her drunken husband, prostitutes combing their hair and adorning their bodies with oil and perfume, the wretched stench of a festering corpse, and demon-possessed brothers wearing old straw shoes and filthy rags.[22] Pobai later has to marry a cruel and abusive Korean man, but eventually she overcomes the tribulations after meeting American missionaries, who teach her the gospel and lead her to Christian conversion.

Missionaries believed that they alone could save poor and helpless Koreans, especially the women. Though they criticized the harsh conditions of Korean women, female missionaries found that Korea's strict gender separation gave them some freedom to practice ministry apart from men. Across Asia, American women gladly assumed leadership in education, evangelism, and public health, a leadership that far exceeded the limits placed on them at home.[23] In 1909, Presbyterian missionary Margaret Best celebrated her female colleagues in Seoul for service beyond the capacities of their male counterparts: "They gathered the street children into Sabbath Schools and through them gained access to the inner quarters of the high walled houses that shut in women from the outside world."[24] With this greater access came demands from the American women for more autonomy and equality in decision-making.[25] In 1912, Lillias Underwood protested against a resolution adopted by her Presbyterian mission that threatened to restrict equal voting rights for married female missionaries. She pointed out that the women worked no less hard than their spouses to meet "the awful need of Korean womanhood in the utter barrenness of her social, intellectual, and spiritual existence."[26]

They might have sometimes worked harder. In their Bible training classes, they pursued rigorous group study from morning to evening. "The method usually pursued is to teach the lesson verse by verse, chapter by chapter, book by book," explained one instructor, "to make it so familiar that it becomes part of their life."[27] Because of low literacy rates among Korean women, missionaries employed older female converts, known as Bible Women *(jeondo buin)*, to assist them.[28] Because most Korean Protestants came from the middling classes, missionaries understood that a Bible Woman occupied an enviable position that promised income and prestige. At first, missionaries recruited any female convert who could read. As the Bible classes expanded and trained more converts, the missionaries raised their hiring standards. In about twenty years, one Presbyterian Bible class for women in Pyongyang had expanded by 1909 to ninety-three classes with 3,202 students.[29] In order to cultivate virtuous women, female missionaries wanted to produce Korean assistants who would manifest not only the image of God but also the image of the missionaries. They preferred widows, who had no familial household responsibilities, and women whom they had educated and trained for mission.[30]

The missionaries of course wanted their converts to be faithful, but they also wanted them to be physically clean. Cleanliness would improve public

health, and clean bodies would evidence godliness.[31] But ideals of Western hygiene sometimes bumped up against cultural traditions. In 1906, M.J. Edmunds told of the difficulties in training Korean nurses. They worked hard to learn but they "came from the crude native environment" and knew nothing about Western instruments, rubber appliances, thermometers, and even ordinary medicines.[32] But as female converts adopted Western hygienic norms, missionaries considered their cleaner and healthier bodies as markers of evangelistic success. In 1916, as one missionary put it, both the piety and the physical appearance of the women at her Pyongyang mission station radiated light in comparison to the darkness and decay enveloping the rest of the country: "It was a hot day and a sultry room with two or three hundred women sitting on the floor and a baby to about every fourth woman . . . The women were all in their clean linen skirts and white head covering. Christianity has done so much to make the women of Korea clean, on the outside as well as within."[33] The pious minds and clean bodies of once ignorant and degraded Korean Protestant women confirmed the transformative power of the Christian gospel and validated the distinctive achievements of women in the missions.

Korean marital customs, however, posed a threat, both to the spiritual welfare of female converts and to the religious authority of missionary women. Because Korean women did not choose their spouses, they could not select a Protestant partner. Often converts wed husbands who forbade them to attend church or enroll in the mission school. After losing numerous students to these marriages, missionaries adopted a resolution in 1900 to discourage their students from marriage before eighteen, and to press the matter with parents.[34] At the same time, they endorsed Western notions of courtship as morally superior to arranged marriages. They claimed that arranged marriages too often led to spousal abuse. In 1911, J. Robert Moose argued that American courtships—which led to marriages based on mutual love—were closer to biblical teaching than Korean marital customs: "The wife is selected by the relatives of the husband without his having anything to do with the matter. Of course under these circumstances there can be no courtship, and in most cases little or no love. If a Korean man loved his wife, he would be ashamed to acknowledge it."[35]

The missionaries instructed their students to adopt modified American courtship patterns. They understood that Korean women could not mingle with men in social settings, so they acquiesced in Korean gender relations by placing curtains in the middle of their churches to separate men and women during worship.[36] Although young Koreans could not court one another, missionaries encouraged Protestant parents to select their children's spouses from within their churches. They also promoted letter-writing as "a new style of courtship" between arranged couples so that future spouses could come to know one another and share religious convictions.[37] Even if missionaries could not replicate American-style courtships, they could do something to improve relationships among young Korean men and women. Some of the

missionaries even took the initiative and arranged Protestant marriages by having Korean preachers and Bible Women intercede as matchmakers:

> Of course the young man had not been courting her a la American—her village would have been scandalized if he had—even if he had known how; besides, the young lady would have been dreadfully embarrassed ever to have been confronted by him. But neither had the match been made through a go-between, for a better day is dawning in the land of Morning Calm. The circuit preachers and the Bible Women had conveyed the messages back and forth while the parents had talked it over with the young people who had consented. Their ages were respectively 18 and 17, but would probably have been 8 and 7 years, prior to Christian influence. The young gentleman was studying in Seoul and the young lady in an advanced mission school.[38]

A year later, another missionary observed that young converts were "beginning to choose their own helpmeets." This was a "tremendous break with the past" that evinced gratifying progress in the mission.[39] Female missionaries thought that these changes would increase the odds that their students would marry Protestant men. The result would be women converts with sound minds, clean bodies, and converted husbands.

Some Western practices, however, struck the missionaries as threatening. How much Western education was appropriate for Korean women? Should they teach English and other Western subjects? The questions produced disagreement. Methodist Mary Scranton, who established the first girls' school, *Ewha Haktang*, said that it would not Westernize Korean girls. Presbyterians also distinguished Westernizing and evangelizing in their schools. "In all meetings for women and in the home life of the girls' school," wrote Margaret Best, "the effort was made to keep surrounding and atmosphere Korean and not introduce disturbing, distracting, and useless foreign elements."[40] Others countered that Western subjects like arithmetic and science did not distract from the mission. In 1914, one Ewha teacher, Lulu Frey, argued that her students could learn from a diverse curriculum, both Western and Korean, without losing their orthodox faith. Frey acknowledged that both sides in the educational debate had some valid arguments, but concluded that students should be afforded the same quality education as their teachers, regardless of race. "In coveting for the Korean women lives of rich service," Frey asked, "dare we offer them any less preparation than we considered necessary for ourselves?"[41] Grace Harmon McGary advocated the teaching of advanced topics like psychology and sociology, insisting that Christian education for women in Korea should be no different from education in the United States: "I defend higher education for Korean women from much the same standpoint as for American women, for what difference ought color and country to make in the privileges of creatures all alike in God's image!"[42] Annie Baird agreed that racial discrimination was

an evil, but she wondered if the absence of algebra made much difference. Did students—or missionaries, for that matter—need to learn "Differential Calculus" and "Spherical Geometry"? She wrote: "One would like to know just as a matter of information how many women missionaries on the field ever studied these subjects, and of those who did, how many shudder at the recollection."[43]

They may have disagreed about Western education but they found no reason for debate about the superiority of traditional Korean dress. Korean women during the Joseon period wore long skirts *(chima)* and blouses *(jeogori)* in a triangular silhouette that de-emphasized the upper torso and covered the arms and legs. Upper-class women chose brightly colored dresses made with silk, gauze, satin, and damask. Lower-class women typically wore white dresses made of cotton, ramic, and hemp. Traditional male clothes consisted of long, flowing pants and shirts made of white woven hemp and a black cylindrical hat made of horsehair and bamboo *(gat)*.[44] Although the first mission school for boys in 1897 discarded Korean dress for European military garb, school uniforms for girls followed Korean styles.[45] The missionaries were pleased; while Western women wore tight-fitting gowns and short skirts—provocative clothing that drew indelicate glances—Korean traditional dress conveyed a modesty that exemplified an image of Christian womanhood.[46] A Korean woman once gently but insistently told Baird that the placket of her shirtwaist sleeve exposed her forearms and that the gap required immediate attention. In other words, Korean women could teach Americans a thing or two about propriety. Best said that the Americans had learned "that as true a Christian heart could beat beneath the dainty silk gown of the Korean lady or the homely cotton garment of her lowlier sister as beneath the strangely fashioned dress of the Westerner."[47] But the missionaries had to accept another failure: Some Korean Protestant women in the twentieth century defied mission school regulations and adopted Western dress, especially after Japanese colonization. They not only defied regulations about dress; they also had their own ideas about proper beliefs and practices.

On Second Thought: Korean Protestant Women Make Their Own Choices

During the Joseon dynasty, most Koreans had little to no hope of obtaining a formal education. Even upper-class women received only informal training in the basics of domesticity.[48] The few literate women studied textbooks about their household duties as wives and mothers. One popular manual, the *Naehun* (Instructions for Women), consisted of seven chapters that covered a woman's manner of speech, her conduct, filial piety, matrimony, marital relations, motherhood, family relations, and thrift.[49] Neo-Confucian scholars saw learned women as threats to patriarchal gender boundaries. Yi Ik (1681–1763) declared that "reading and learning are the domains of

men. For a woman it is enough if she knows the Confucian virtues of diligence, frugality, and chastity. If a woman disobeys these virtues, she will bring disgrace to the family."[50] Even the sharpest Korean detractors of the missionaries conceded that women like Mary Scranton advanced female education. In 1918, Yun Ch'iho explained that "indeed, if the Christian missionaries had accomplished nothing else in Korea, the introduction of female education alone deserves our lasting gratitude. Up to a few years ago girls' schools were not even thought of outside the Christian church."[51] The first generation of female professionals in the early twentieth century was not uniformly Christian, but most had studied at mission schools. One of them, Hwang Sin-dok, observed in 1933 that "almost all women over thirty who were educated and had worked in society had been exposed to Christianity, even if it was only minor contact."[52]

But as educated Korean women sought to rise in the public sphere, they discovered repeated resistance: from Japanese imperialists, Korean neo-Confucians, and American Protestants. After the Japanese colonized Korea in 1910, they founded their own government schools to train their subjects in modern and Japanese ways. Over time they also set restrictions on instruction in religion and in the Korean language for all schools. The first Japanese Governor-General declared that the new purpose of education was "to cultivate such character as befitting the imperial subject through moral development and dissemination of the national [Japanese] language."[53] Both missionaries and Koreans felt the burden of the new ordinances. Annie Baird's zoology textbook failed to earn the imprimatur of the Vice-Minister of Education because she wrote it in Korean.[54] In 1916, the director of the Internal Affairs Department reminded Hugh Heong-wo Cynn, a Korean Methodist teacher, about the ordinances. This official gave Cynn's students permission for religious meetings outside the school building and after school hours, but he forbade religious instruction in the classroom: "I will call your attention to the Instruction of the Governor-General, issued on March 24, 1915, which says, 'In such schools no religious teaching is permitted to be included in their curricula nor religious ceremonies can be allowed to be performed.' "[55]

Missionaries and Koreans shared grievances about imperial educational restrictions, but they disagreed about the purpose of mission schools. Many Korean women enrolled in them primarily to learn English and Western subjects. With the opening of Korea to foreign nations, Korean women saw the possibility of breaking free from neo-Confucian norms, and they saw the schools as a means to this end. As Korea modernized, these women embraced new opportunities to work outside the home in education, medicine, art, literature, and social work. Though they were zealous Christians, their leap into the public sphere troubled their American tutors. Even as Korea changed before their very eyes, women missionaries still strove to raise virtuous wives and mothers. As late as fifty years into the mission work, Margaret Best boasted in 1934 that her school promoted domesticity "so

that our graduates may be fitted to fill placers of responsibility and usefulness in their own homes."[56] But instead of following the missionaries' script, the Korean women appealed to Jesus as they forged their own path forward. A number of them—including women of influence—remained single, cut their hair, dressed like Westerners, entered the workforce, joined the Korean independence movement, and spoke out against Japanese soldiers, Korean males, or female missionaries who stood in their way.

Helen Kim was a Korean woman who embraced Christianity to become a pioneer in her own right. Born in 1899 into a poor family of subsistence farmers in Incheon, she eventually graduated from a mission school and received a scholarship to study in America because of her academic promise and her piety. Kim earned a BA from Ohio Wesleyan College (1924) and an MA from Boston University (1925) and then returned to Korea to work as a teacher at Ewha College. In 1930, she traveled again to America to study at Columbia Teachers College, becoming in 1931 the first Korean woman to earn an American doctorate. In 1939, she became the first Korean president of Ewha. Kim's relationship with missionaries was complex. She numbered some among her dearest friends, but she was often at odds with them.

As a young girl, Kim gravitated toward the mission school's offerings in literature, geology, astronomy, and geometry. As she and her older sisters studied at Ewha, their middling class family admired the missionaries for reforming Korea's patriarchal and elitist society by teaching common women. Kim wrote of how Ewha's first college graduation in 1914 ushered in a new era of hope and promise for Korean women. As she watched the three college graduates in their caps and gowns, she shed "tears of joy for the accomplishments of girls so long neglected and looked down upon" in her society.[57]

Initially, at least, she had little enthusiasm for missionary religious instruction. She attended church with her family and later at Ewha, but she realized at fourteen years of age that her faith was "a nominal acceptance of a set of frozen dogmas [that] was expressed in a routine of lifeless exercises."[58] Hearing a preacher ask a congregation to confess their sins, Kim at first resisted because she felt that she had no reason to confess. But as she deliberated on the Christian doctrine of repentance, first during the church service and then into the night, Kim concluded that she "had to get at the reality of religion or else give up altogether the meaningless and therefore hypocritical observances of religious practices."[59] She prayed desperately, asking for a revelation of God's existence and of Christ's redemptive work. Her prayer resulted in the illumination that her sins were "pride, self-will, and hatred for the Japanese."[60] Kim fell to the floor and repented. Sensing that God forgave her, she had a vision in which God removed from her three bags (symbolizing her three chief sins) and directed her toward a large moat filled by a mass of entrapped Korean women with outstretched hands. Kim interpreted the vision as a divine call to help women in her country and beyond.[61]

Like the missionaries, Kim placed her hope in education but not in mere domestic and industrial training. She wanted to push beyond a curriculum

formed by the notion that domesticity was the sole option for women. Some of the missionaries moved in the opposite direction. In 1918, Alice Appenzeller, a second-generation missionary and instructor at Ewha, praised graduates for cultivating Christian homes, "quietly and sweetly spreading the leaven of the Master's spirit wherever they go."[62] Charlotte Bell Linton concurred six years later that the great accomplishment of the schools was the training of women as mothers who would ensure a "proper sort of godly atmosphere at home."[63]

Kim, who never married, preferred that educated Korean women seek leadership positions in the church and the political order and that they constantly pursue gender equality. In the journal *Sin yŏja* (New Woman), she excoriated Korean men who desired pure and upright wives without first improving themselves. She depicted Christian men—at least some of them—as charlatans who displayed outward expressions of piety but mainly attended church to gaze at women.[64] Kim would not be confined to the home, and she wanted other educated women to help change Korean society by claiming equality in the work of reform. Men and women possessed the same rights and responsibilities to advise and criticize one another in a mutual process that would ultimately uplift their nation.[65]

Educated Korean women like Kim distinguished themselves by fierce rhetoric and Western dress. By the 1920s, many urban intellectual men had adopted Western dress. Although traditional garments were markers of ethnic identity in the face of Japanese imperialism, the men eventually turned away from tradition. Clothing assumed a different meaning as traditional dress began to suggest primitiveness while Western dress represented progress.[66] Educated Korean women were quicker than men to take up the Western style because it was less cumbersome and more practical, but their openness to change engendered more controversy than the male transition.

Korean newspapers derided them for wearing shorter skirts that exposed their calves and knees. These "new women" were vain, materialistic, and overtly sexual. In 1928, the newspaper *Chosŏn ilbo* printed cartoons depicting the "new woman" with an obsession for expensive Western clothing and jewelry.[67] But having changed their clothes, the women also changed their hairstyle to short bobbed hair, a turn that distressed male intellectuals, who claimed that bobbed hair confused gender norms and promoted sexual permissiveness.[68] Kim had to defend her bobbed hair: It was attractive, was easy to clean, and facilitated the cause of women's liberation because it removed a physical distinction between the sexes.[69]

The American women allied themselves with the Korean male intellectuals. They scolded their students for giving up their modest dress and insisted that traditional garments pleased Christ more than suggestive Western skirts. But at least some Korean Protestant women believed that Christ had freed them from traditional clothing, which they associated with gender inequality and subservience. Louise Yim explained that she and her classmates wanted

to escape the "yards and yards of linen cloth, which covered our bodies from head to foot and made us look like piles of dry goods."[70] Yim felt dismay when her missionary instructor insisted that "the mission is here to improve your morals, not to change customs!"[71] Yim led a boycott of classes and worship services. The students gained the right to dress as they pleased.[72]

The sartorial disagreements symbolized a break between two groups of women over the future direction of the Korean Church. Female missionaries saw themselves as pioneers whose success derived from teaching conservative theological doctrines like biblical inerrancy and complementarian gender roles. They viewed Western dress as a portent of modernity in their mission field. Even as they celebrated the Korean Church's increasing autonomy in the 1920s and 1930s, they feared that modernity would erode the pure and orthodox faith of Korean Protestants. Gathered in 1934 for the fiftieth anniversary of Presbyterian missions, the Americans advanced ambivalent and cautious opinions. Gordon Holdcroft's "forward look" had as its shadow side worries whether the Koreans, without help, could withstand theological modernism and the "material allurements of present day civilization."[73] Missionaries had once battled against the seclusion of women from the public sphere, but when young Korean women in Western dress began to assert equal rights and to take positions in schools, factories, and department stores, missionaries worried that modernity was a snare. Eva Pieters put it this way:

> Even the short hair, the permanent wave, the rouge, the lipstick, the short skirt, and the French heeled slippers have found ready entrance into the hearts of the Korean young ladies. These radical changes in the social life of the Korean young woman—changes that have been rather imposed from without than resulting from gradual development—have brought with them new needs as well as new dangers, of which we, as missionaries, have been keenly aware. How to help these girls to acquire the right outlook upon the world, to develop their mental and moral stamina, to satisfy the craving for social life, to guard against their seeking quick means of gratifying their natural desire for self-adornment[?] These and similar problems have been keenly felt by our women workers.[74]

Pieters could not see that Korean Protestant women themselves sought some of these changes. Women like Helen Kim and Louise Yim were not succumbing to societal pressures; Western dress was for them a symbol of a religiously motivated push for gender equality.

Korean Protestant women forged their own identities. They also sought an indigenous identity for the Korean Church. While grateful to the missionaries, they were ready to lead. In 1923, Pilley Kim Choi observed that educated Korean women were doctors, teachers, school principals, bank clerks, industrialists, and journalists. They no longer required nannies: "Ten years ago women's work in the church was of necessity largely in the hands of the women

missionaries . . . Now most of such church business is in Korean women's hands."[75] To the missionaries, such assertions threatened the survival of the Church in Korea. They viewed themselves as indispensable.

Emerging Tensions between Korean Protestant and American Missionary Women

The relationship between two instructors at Ewha College, Alice Appenzeller and Helen Kim, embodied the cross-cultural tensions between Korean Protestant and American missionary women. Appenzeller was the eldest child of the first Methodist missionaries; she had returned to the place of her birth to continue her parents' work. Kim was a mission school graduate who had earned a doctorate in the United States. But behind closed doors the two wrangled over who was best qualified to set the school's agenda and vision. Kim pushed for a women's medical department and a merger with the neighboring men's school, Chosen Christian College, but the conservative Appenzeller argued that the school was already overextended. In 1939, Appenzeller nominated Kim to succeed her as school president only after the Japanese forced all missionary instructors to resign.[76] Appenzeller struggled to accept this reversal of authority. Over the next several years, Appenzeller questioned Kim's decision-making at Ewha in letters to her friends.[77]

When missionaries kept harping on domesticity, some Korean women began to associate Christianity with patriarchy and gender discrimination. The missionaries recalled that they had freed the women from neo-Confucian shackles, but Korean women replied that they had no interest in a cultural imprisonment grounded on a religious message. In 1930 Kim Kangch'un scathingly asserted that both "Western Christianity and Eastern Confucianism" held women back.[78] Even the Christian Scriptures, she said, treated women as subordinate: "First, man came from God, while woman came from man. It was easily inferred that man is the most powerful being after God, and while God rules the universe, man rules woman. Indeed, Paul insisted upon this interpretation."[79] Any serious reader of the Bible would conclude that according to Christian teaching women were created to serve men. To Kim, Korean Protestant women fleeing from oppressive Confucian doctrines were exchanging one set of shackles for another.

A closer look into Helen's Kim family reveals a household that flouted missionary expectations. Prior to their conversion, Kim's parents followed Confucian teachings, especially ancestral worship. On the anniversary of the birth or death of each ancestor, they held elaborate ceremonies in which the table overflowed with the finest foods, candles, and incense to honor the ancestor. Dressed in new mourning clothes, Kim's father read from his scroll a newly written message to the spirit of the ancestor as the other male family members stood behind him before they all bowed three times in unison. Even after her own conversion, Kim defended these ceremonial practices as something other than idolatry or paganism; they signified a moral

remembrance of their ancestors and manifested a vibrant cultural heritage. Unlike her missionary friends, who had little good to say about Confucianism, Kim prized the ethical values conveyed by her Confucian upbringing.[80]

Kim's parents held on to some Confucian ways after they became Protestants. Missionaries prohibited ancestral worship, but Kim's father thought it unethical to forsake his ancestors in order to become a Christian. In an act of religious hybridity, the Confucian ancestral dates remained on Kim's family calendar, but with Christian memorial services in place of former veneration practices. In 1959, a Korean scholar, David Chung, wrote his dissertation at Yale University on religious syncretism in Korean society, highlighting the complex cross-cultural processes that formed early Korean Protestantism. Chung argued that both American missionary teachings emphasizing fundamentalist interpretations of the Bible and traditional Korean religious elements created "numerous labyrinthine channels" for Korean Protestants to combine different practices and beliefs from multiple sources on their own terms.[81] Kim likewise saw how her mother embraced Christianity but "never quite made the complete transfer from the conception of many spirits to monotheism."[82] She attended church regularly, expressed her love for Christ daily, and testified to her friends and neighbors, but she always had Confucian sensibilities, which were visible when she comforted a grieving Kim after the unexpected death of two of her siblings:

> These two tragedies in my family made me think seriously for the first time about life and death. Mother was very brave and told me not to grieve. When I asked her "What is death?" her answer was, "when Confucius was asked the same question he said, 'Man does not know what life is, how can he know what death is?' " Then she added, "God knows best and they are in his hands. We need only believe and wait for the day we meet them again in heaven."[83]

Kim's account of her mother's blending of Christianity and Confucianism hardly corresponded to missionary ambitions, but Kim attributed to her mother a faith fully as strong as "the faith of those well versed in theology."[84] She implied that the missionaries were wrong; converts like Kim's mother did not have to abandon all of their older beliefs and practices.

The sharpest conflict was about politics and the Korean independence movement during Japanese imperial reign from 1910 to 1945. While sympathetic to Korea's geopolitical plight, female missionaries wanted in their mission schools no rebels and political activists. The goal was a sacred home life in which wives and mothers would win souls to Christ. But some Korean Protestant women believed that their faith required them to fight for national independence. Louise Yim did not want to become a housewife; she would be, in her fondest dreams, a Joan of Arc leading an army against imperialists.[85] Imprisoned for her actions in the independence movement, Induk Pahk claimed that her Bible reading strengthened her political will:

"Stirred by what I read I wanted God to use me just as He used Paul, and kneeling in that lonely cell I dedicated myself to His service."[86]

Helen Kim also believed—it was a lifelong passion—that Christ had beckoned her to support Korean independence.[87] The emergence of Korean feminism was connected to the cause of national liberation. After Japan established their protectorship over Korea in 1905, the first organized women's movement mobilized to raise funds to pay the Korean debt to Japan with the hope repayment would nullify the Japanese occupation.[88] As a teacher at Ewha College in the 1920s, Kim formed the "Ewha evangelistic band" with six other women and they barnstormed around the nation hosting revival meetings. They sang hymns, preached, and testified, but they also called for resistance to Japanese imperialism and highlighted the liberating principles of Christianity: "Our talks had individual and social appeal, usually ending with a highly patriotic note, for the ideals of human dignity and social justice are so linked with Christian teaching and practice that they are inseparable."[89] Kim's dissertation, *Rural Education for the Regeneration of Korea*, criticized the Japanese for forcing Korean students to learn their language. She challenged a 1922 ordinance that described Japanese language instruction as "indispensable for daily life" by noting that subjects like public health, economics, and science were far more important for the majority of Korean students who did not even speak Japanese outside of school.[90] Between 1920 and 1930, the percentage of Koreans conversant in Japanese increased from 2.12 to 8.27 percent, but as the figures illustrate, few Koreans spoke Japanese even after two decades of imperial rule.[91]

In 1928, Kim delivered a speech at the International Missionary Council meeting in Jerusalem. The Christian gospel, she said, had empowered Korean women to take the lead in church and society. "I think Christ would pity us women," Kim remarked, "if we still are timid and hesitate about bearing witness to Him in all walks of life, not only in domestic life, but also in the industrial, commercial, political, and international life of humanity."[92] Kim interrupted a session on international affairs to speak out against comments from Japan's delegation. *New York Times* reporter Howard A. Bridgman described how she "claimed the platform and in sweet but vigorous tones set forth Korea's objection to being under the domination of Japan."[93] She refuted Japanese denials of racial discrimination by pointing out that few Koreans served in the imperial government and police force.[94]

The massive uprising against imperial rule during the March First Movement in 1919 surprised the missionaries, who had underestimated the intensity of Korean resistance, particularly among their female students. As Koreans gathered in Seoul to protest, the teachers at Ewha stopped students from participating.[95] In Songdo, one hundred students defied their principal, Ellasue Wagner, and marched toward the city gates, with hymn books in one hand and Bibles in the other, to pledge solidarity with their compatriots.[96]

The missionaries wanted to be politically neutral, but they acted, as they saw it, to protect their students from Japanese retaliation. The brutal tactics

of the imperial police force, who struck female protesters with their batons, horrified the teachers. When policemen came to arrest students, missionaries pressed for humane treatment. At Ewha, Lulu Frey asked that her students not be bound with rope en route to prison.[97] As they learned about abusive interrogations in female prisons, missionaries spoke out against the Japanese. After their students were released, missionaries collected their testimonials to report to mission boards at home, revealing to the world that the Japanese stripped, starved, beat, and tortured women prisoners. One Ewha student told of being forced to kneel alongside others, who had to hold chairs over their heads, remove their clothes, and endure verbal and physical assaults.[98] The Federal Council of Churches in the United States published her account along with others.[99]

After the March First Movement, Korean women in the United States joined in their nation's push for liberation. At the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) for Foreign Missions convention in Des Moines, Iowa in 1920, one young Korean lobbied for American support by arguing that instead of sending missionaries Americans should help the country resist Japan: "Korea needs you because Korea is looking to America as a savior of other peoples . . . You have developed as a free people, intellectually, physically, and morally, and now is a chance for you to go out and help other people to share these blessings with you."[100] She praised Christ for inspiring young women like her to leave the shelter of their homes and "march down the street fearlessly."[101]

As Korean women continued to address the SVM convention each year, its delegates began to take notice. African American theologian and civil rights leader Howard Thurman recalled an experience when he was a seminary student:

> One afternoon some seven hundred of us had a special group meeting, at which a Korean girl was asked to talk to us about her impression of American education. It was an occasion to be remembered. The Korean student was very personable and somewhat diminutive. She came to the edge of the platform and, with what seemed to be obvious emotional strain, she said, "You have asked me to talk with you about my impression of American education. But there is only one thing that a Korean has any right to talk about, and that is freedom from Japan." For about twenty minutes she made an impassioned plea for the freedom of her people, ending her speech with this sentence: "If you see a little American boy and you ask him what he wants, he says, 'I want a penny to put in my bank or to buy a whistle or a piece of candy.' But if you see a little Korean boy and you ask him what he wants, he says, 'I want freedom from Japan.' "[102]

Thurman then compared Koreans to the outcast Jewish minority in the Roman Empire and "the Negro in American life," arguing that the quintessential

question of the disinherited in every age was to discern the right attitude toward the rulers who controlled their lives.[103] Some Korean students in the United States related their anti-colonial struggle to the civil rights movement. After returning home from her studies at Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia, Induk Pahk taught Negro spirituals to her Methodist church in Seoul.[104] In 1950, Helen Kim told an American interviewer, Laura Boulton, that the political activism of courageous Korean women seeking national liberation had contributed to developing a global moral consciousness in support of autonomous rule for colonized nations.[105]

Female missionaries had mixed feelings about a Korean Christian feminism that fused faith and politics. They reacted to the activism of their students with astonishment. Martha Scott Bruen saw the Koreans in a new light after the March First uprising: They no longer filled "the places of underlings and servants" but revealed a capacity for tenacity, courage, and leadership that had the potential to change "their home and civic life."[106] Bruen still wanted the missionaries—herself included—to mold the Koreans, but unfortunately, from the missionary perspective, the Koreans seemed less pliable than they once had been.

After 1919, the Americans began to show increasing frustration with Korean Protestant women. They complained among themselves about how their once demure and daintily clad Korean girls now acted and looked no different than Western women. Some longed for the days of "Old Korea," when the Korean girls obeyed their instructions and set out to fulfill their religious duties as wives and mothers. In 1948, one retired missionary looked back upon her forty years in Korea. The early years, she said, were good. But then came the "New Korea," with its "hodge-podge" of "half-baked ideas" that led the Korean Church away from the ancient gospel of conservative evangelical Christianity.[107]

The Third Space: Agnes Davis and the Making of a Biracial Christian Marriage in Korea

In 1934, a white American woman named Agnes Davis arrived in Korea to marry David Chuhwang Kim, a Korean whom she met and fell in love with during their time together as classmates at Drew University. Because interracial marriages were uncommon and unlawful in a number of U.S. states, some of Davis's classmates and teachers and some missionaries in Korea attempted to dissuade her.[108] Motivated, however, by religious faith and love for her fiancé, a resolute Davis married him and then lived with her husband's family in a Korean village. Davis was unique in Korea. She occupied what postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha identified as a "Third Space," in-between the colonizing and the colonized.[109] She was a committed American Protestant, but she was no missionary. She married a Korean and resided within his community, but stood apart as an outsider because of her race. Davis lived in the interstices, caught between two cultures.

Because she experienced both sides of the encounter between missionaries and Korean Protestants, her insights illuminate with special clarity the gap between them.

When Davis and Kim began dating in America, her classmates and teachers objected. Like many Korean students in America, Kim had graduated from a mission school and received a scholarship to study at Drew. The couple met when Davis loaned her class notes to Kim and helped him with English. She fell in love with him, admiring his kind spirit, inquisitive mind, and religious faith. Kim also felt attracted to Davis, but he sought to end their relationship because of what he saw as the hopeless prospect of a Korean marrying a white American. But Davis persisted, and when the Dean of Students admonished her, she replied that God had no interest in preventing interracial marriage. She had nothing but disdain for U.S. anti-miscegenation laws that forbade interracial unions as unnatural and evil corruptions of some divine plan.[110] "If ever such prejudice is to be overcome, and our talk of Christian brotherhood to mean anything, someone has to begin acting as if the people of other races were brothers," Davis told her dean. "I will glory in meeting it with my head held high, and with unruffled faith in the rightness of my stand."[111]

Yet when Davis arrived in Korea, she found that missionaries had the same racial prejudices as white Americans at home. Despite their preachments about the virtues of domesticity, they also displayed more than a small degree of condescension toward Korean wives, whom they saw as subservient to men and paternal families. In 1891, Henry Appenzeller lamented that married Korean women were obliged to serve both their husbands and mothers-in-law. A Korean wife, he observed, could do little but iron, cook, clean, and sew; "her world centers around a smoky kitchen and the needle."[112] Another observer reported that a married Korean woman "belongs almost body and soul to her husband."[113] Forty years after these comments, missionaries still were bewildered that an American woman would become a Korean wife. In 1938, the women's section of the MECS Board of Missions published a pamphlet that lamented the tragic conditions of Korean wives subjected to a vicious chain of submission that culminated in obedience to their mothers-in-law.[114] Missionaries therefore warned Davis about *samjong chido*, the three rules for women in Korean Confucian teaching: When a child, she must submit to her father; in marriage, to her husband; in widowhood, to her eldest son.[115] They also told Davis about unsanitary conditions in rural Korea and warned her about the cruel treatment she would be certain to receive from her tyrannical mother-in-law.[116] Missionaries celebrated Christian romance in Korea and wrote sentimental fictive tales about romances between missionaries or between converts, but they felt some dismay at the thought of Davis and Kim's interracial coupling.[117]

After the wedding, Davis discovered that her mother-in-law was neither to be feared nor pitied. As the two women shared the numerous household chores, Davis learned to appreciate the rhythms of female companionship

as women washed and ironed clothes or cooked food. Davis affectionately called her mother-in-law "O-man-ee (the Korean word for mother)," and claimed that the seeming meekness and submission of Korean wives were signs of strength, not degradation.[118] The work was taxing but not symbolic of primitive backwardness. Missionaries failed to understand how Korean women used domestic tasks as social gatherings. Although her mother-in-law never attended a mission school, Davis found in her the Christian values of selflessness, serenity, and patience through her daily living. Davis called her the best teacher she ever had. Korean women, she wrote, were not lost without missionaries. Her mother-in-law, for one, did not require missionary instruction to exemplify the love of Christ in her home and community.

From her village, Davis better understood Korean critiques of missionary lifestyles. In stark contrast to the missionaries, Davis lived in a typical Korean house with three rooms each eight feet square: "The home was built with a framework of small logs, the wall spaces formed by a lattice of rice-straw rope and corn or cane stalks, made wattlelike and plastered inside and out with mud or clay."[119] Although Davis liked some of the missionaries, she grew increasingly aware of their ostentation and luxury in comparison to the simplicity reflected both in the lives of Koreans and the teaching of Jesus. At the same time Davis was adjusting to her outdoor toilet, mud walls, and the persistent odor of manure from nearby farms, Marie Adams, a missionary from China visiting Korea on furlough, was frequenting Western-style hotels, sightseeing in the mountains, and enjoying camaraderie with the "Southern Methodist ladies" in Seoul.[120] And Frank Herron Smith was telling friends that his wife and children missed having Korean servants during their furlough in the United States and wanted to return to Korea because they did not like having to do a "good deal of dish-washing and such work" themselves.[121] Davis had once read E. Stanley Jones's *Christ of the Indian Road* and had desired to imitate Christ's humility. She had wanted to learn both from the missionaries and from immersion into her husband's way of life. She discovered that the missionaries she had admired from afar now seemed materialistic. She learned more about humility from her mother-in-law.[122]

Davis recognized the paradoxical quandary of married female missionaries who criticized Korean women for adopting modern Western norms yet wanted American comforts for their own families. Before marrying Kim, Davis stayed in several missionary homes. She observed how the women worried about household finances, budgeting expenses with frugal vigilance. "Missionaries have to shave corners financially," Davis observed. "They have to pay servant salaries, keep up large houses, and they try to maintain the American standard of living, for the sake of their children, I was told."[123]

Missionaries wanted Korean women to be attentive mothers, but they sent their own children to boarding schools in America or Seoul and Pyongyang. Boarding schools like Pyongyang Foreign School (PYFS) charged less than schools in other countries, but for some missionaries, the expense

seemed daunting. In 1921, tuition and housing for four months at PYFS cost $72.50.[124] Parents considered homeschooling, but most determined that boarding school was a worthwhile investment. It also alleviated "the exacting and exhausting duties of teaching one's own children" and eased other "ordinary responsibilities of the wife and mother on the mission field."[125]

Foreign schools in Korea tried to replicate both an American curriculum and way of life for their students. The students sometimes wrote their parents that they missed them, but they also enjoyed their American friends and teachers.[126] In 1931, the PYFS student newspaper, *The Kum and Go*, reported about pep rallies, sports teams, difficult tests, debate meets, and field trips, the ordinary features of a school in the United States.[127] Missionaries' children thrived academically and socially alongside other Americans at these schools, but they knew few Korean peers.

One of them remembered that his rare interactions with Korean children were hostile, with the young boys hurling stones and insults at one another: "We got ourselves into stone throwing fights—something about which our parents would really get upset saying that we were setting back their hard mission work ten years . . . The Korean kids would yell in Korean at us—things like 'Yang Gook Nome a Coe Boodee,' which means 'Foreign Devil with a Big Nose.' "[128] As Davis worked with her husband to start a school and hospital in their village, she saw that Koreans wanted to work and live alongside Americans in genuine partnerships. Missionaries criticized the strict separation of genders, but they maintained racial divisions by building Western homes and founding foreign schools restricted to white children. Davis understood that they had no malicious intentions, but she understood why Koreans felt a burden of discrimination.

Proclaiming that the gospel had united American and Korean women, the missionaries often told their children not to play with Korean children, even those who attended church. They wished to protect their children from diseases and unsound spiritual habits.[129] Davis, like Korean women, took note of this distance between the children. Missionaries taught Korean parents in the classroom how to rear their children, but the Koreans recognized that they implicitly assumed that Korean children were less precious than white American ones. Stacy L. Roberts, Jr., recalled that in his first eighteen years, 1921 to 1939, he had a lively and joyous childhood in Korea, but he also remembered that he was "isolated in a kind of ivory tower." He did not play with Koreans.[130]

From her "Third Space," Davis could also see that Korean Protestants in her village did not practice religion like the Americans. Sensing the ambivalence and ambiguity of the colonial encounter—experiencing, in other words, the way in which postcolonial identity was, as Bhabha would later write, a hybrid of colonial and indigenous cultures—Davis discovered that Korean converts combined traditional beliefs with Christian ones.[131] She was at first surprised that so many turned to shamanistic tradition when they or their family members became ill. They prayed to the Christian God

for healing but also asked local shamans to drive out the evil spirits causing the physical ailments. In her memoir, Ch'oe Cha-sil, one of the founding pastors of Yoido Full Gospel Church, recounted how Koreans in rural villages regularly turned to both shamans and Christian leaders throughout the colonial period and as late as the 1960s.[132] Like the missionaries, Davis disapproved of this religious syncretism. Whereas Helen Kim defended her mother's religious blending, Davis felt disappointed that so many converts in her village held on to a shamanism that filled them with "unreasonable" fears incompatible with the Christian faith.[133] The missionaries had responded to syncretism among Korean Protestants with increased biblical instruction. Davis preferred modern medicine. It would relieve suffering and replace shamanistic belief at the same time.[134]

"Would I Do It Again?" An older Davis, who titled a chapter of her book with this question, was not so sure. Though she loved her husband deeply, she recalled the prejudice she—and he—had to endure.[135] Though he had passed his ordination exams and demonstrated the highest level of ministerial competence, the Korean Methodist bishops refused to ordain Kim, for he had an American wife. Koreans had their own prejudices about interracial marriage. His religious superiors believed that Kim would be too distracted by his foreign wife's adjustment to Korea and that his lowly pastor's salary would not meet her extravagant needs.[136] Kim worked as a farmer, school teacher, and translator for the U.S. military during the Korean War.

In an evaluation of her husband's life, Davis wondered whether his "contribution to world Christianity" would have been greater if he had not married her.[137] But her commitment to her husband and Korea never wavered. During the hard years of the Korean War and its aftermath, Davis moved away from her husband to live in America. In 1961, she returned and the couple reunited on their farm in Susaek. After her husband's death, Davis taught English Bible classes in their Korean home until she died in 1986 at the age of eighty-five.[138]

Conclusion: The Agency of Korean Protestant Women and Their Tangled Relationships with American Missionaries in the (Re)Making of Indigenous Christian Womanhood

In 1958, Methodist missionary Sadie Maude Moore delivered an address at Ewha Womans University to congratulate Helen Kim for her groundbreaking work of educating and emancipating Korean women. Born on separate shores one month apart from each other, the two became close friends through their work in higher education. Moore arrived to Korea in 1924 and later taught at the Methodist Theological Seminary in Seoul and served as the English secretary for the Ewha Board of Trustees. She began her address by apologizing for her poor Korean language skills and speaking like a kindergartener despite her advanced age. The missionary then praised, in English, Kim's bright mind and vigorous health and, in Korean,

her "*ingyeog* (special personality)" and "*haengbog* (good fortune)." She concluded with a story about Kim's strong faith.[139]

Three years later, Kim presented Moore with an honorary doctorate from Ewha, commending her as an exemplary educator who understood that the missionary's duty was "to work behind the scenes and identify with the nationals as cooperative fellow workers, giving friendship and counsel without showing authority or making demands."[140] The remarks hint at progress in relations between American and Korean Protestant women over time as the two groups learned to respect each other. But they do not erase the contentious history. For several decades, American and Korean women disagreed about matters of faith. They clashed over dress and behavior, actions, and dreams for a different life. The missionaries were breaking with their traditions and embracing new opportunities to lead, but they sought to prevent Koreans from making a similar break from a Western and conservative form of Christianity.

In the twentieth century, American Protestant missionaries around the world, including Korea, introduced "partnership" as a model for cooperative transnational religious endeavors. In his study of the relationships between Christians in the Global North and the Global South, Jonathan S. Barnes traces the reasons why the two parties struggled to find "concrete ways to live out mutuality and solidarity": The missionaries' concept of partnership partly resembled the Western colonial formation of "trusteeship," which imperial rulers employed to offer colonies some autonomy while maintaining their own power.[141] The main point to be made about the female missionaries in Korea is the most obvious one: They were Christians. Although they dealt with complicated matters of politics, education, and health care, they were primarily religious actors who believed that they were offering the promise of salvation by preaching the gospel and teaching God's word. This overriding evangelical intention meant that the missionaries had clear objectives but also narrow perspectives that led them to envision Korean women, no matter their age or ability, as daughters who required maternal protection in order to be faithful Christians. Although the missionaries publically proclaimed the ideals of equality and mutuality in their relations with Koreans—and many American women internally understood and sincerely sought these ideals—they could not move away from seeing themselves as trustees responsible for the development of Korean Protestant women.

One historian has argued that Western female missionaries in China at the turn of the twentieth century were most effective as agents of cultural transfer rather than evangelization, muting their religious influence.[142] Another historian has argued against the connection between American Protestant foreign missions and religious imperialism by pointing out that Americans were "almost always lousy at converting large numbers of non-Westerners."[143] However, in one of the few nations where they experienced success, American female missionaries could be identified as religious imperialists, in the sense that they endeavored to impress their Protestant vision of indigenous

Christian womanhood upon Koreans. In his study of the American Protestant foreign missionary enterprise, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. determined political, sociological, and economic understandings of imperialism were not useful tools to analyze missionary ambitions and activities. He therefore proposed that "a cultural interpretation of imperialism" more accurately illumined the "purposeful aggression" of missionaries in their propagation of Christian ideas and systems in other countries.[144] Several scholars have identified American mission work for Korean women as a form of cultural colonialism.[145] In the absence of political power, which belonged firmly in the hands of the Japanese, American missionaries nonetheless had significant influence in shaping and directing Korean converts. But a closer look at American female missionaries in Korea demonstrates their main interest was to advance their religious beliefs, not Western cultural values.

Ryan Dunch observes that few discussions of cultural imperialism precisely define it but finds an "implicit definition along the following lines: certain cultural products (for example, socially-accepted beliefs, ideologies, entertainment commodities) have attained a position of dominance in a foreign culture through a process of coercive imposition, usually through their ties to political or economic power."[146] Applications of cultural imperialism inadequately convey the desires and designs of female missionaries in Korea. For these female missionaries, they wielded power in religious institutions distinct from the regnant political and economic orders. Because their main focus was Christianity, their engagement with Korean women—the multifarious impositions, inspirations, and tensions—is best understood with a religious interpretation of imperialism.

The missionaries' Protestant religious enthusiasm even led them to protect their converts from American culture. Some of the American women banished English from their school curriculums and forbade their students to wear Western clothing because they feared that the currents of modernity would sweep away the piety of Korean women. They desired to help "Koreans become better Koreans only."[147] But the underlying assumption was not hard to miss—Korean converts would lose their religious zeal if they absorbed Western ideas. In her work on Korean Bible Women, Christine Sungjin Chang contends the female missionaries' ideology of Christian womanhood "hindered female advance in Korean society" and created "real tension at times" between the two groups.[148]

Young-Iob Chung finds that American missionaries played a vital role in the modernization of Korea through their educational initiatives. Although the missionaries endeavored to emphasize Christianity in their pedagogy, the schools became "hotbeds of revolution and Westernization."[149] Missionaries were surprised when Koreans integrated Western ideas into their Christian beliefs and practices. The missionaries dressed and talked like Koreans to present Christianity as a Korean religion. But Korean Protestants adopted some American cultural, political, and economic ideas to fulfill their religious ambitions.

In their minds, the missionaries had constructed a beautiful template for Korean women to follow, but Koreans like Helen Kim had their own ideas about what it meant to be Christian women in their changing country. Attention to Korean Protestant women on their own terms—as "historical subjects" instead of "missiological objects"—recognizes their agency and creativity in remaking the religion with their own rituals and theologies.[150] Female missionaries determined that Western influences could corrupt the Korean Church, but Korean women decided for themselves how to combine certain Western elements like clothing and secular education with their cultural context.

But it is too simplistic to characterize the missionaries as agents of intolerance who cared only about advancing their religious agenda. They lamented the suffering of Koreans at the hands of foreign rulers and defended the rights of imprisoned Korean women. They established the first modern schools and hospitals in Korea and helped Koreans who desired to study in the United States.[151] The women's Bible institutes provided Korean Protestant women new opportunities to enter into the public sphere and biblical teaching became one of the first professional forms of female leadership in Korea.[152] Over time, a number of missionaries became self-critical about their own racism and spoke out against prevailing American preconceptions about Korean backwardness. They heard Korean criticisms, and some accepted them. In 1917 Kate Cooper asked her colleagues to consider how their condescending attitudes dishonored the ministry of Christ and distanced them from the people they had come to serve.[153]

The fractured relationships were part of a larger fissure between American missionaries and Korean Protestants in the age of Japanese imperialism. Koreans, men and women alike, were profoundly discouraged by the missionaries' political neutrality and paternalistic insistence that they knew what was best in Korean matters. They also resented how the missionaries created their own racially discriminatory community with superior houses and segregated schools. But as Koreans began to lead their own churches and schools, missionaries felt disappointment at Korean theological and political positions.

Like American Protestants, Koreans fell into doctrinal controversies between fundamentalist and modernist camps, debating rancorously about Moses's authorship of the Book of Genesis at the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1934. Conservative missionaries felt dismay when they met progressive Korean pastors. And the missionaries also felt a sense of trepidation when some Korean church leaders became interested in the possibilities of a socialist economic order. As much as the missionaries publicly declared their desires for autonomous Korean leadership, they still wanted to hold on to the keys to the kingdom for as long as they could.

In 1940, the missionaries finally ceded their claim to the Korean Church. They succumbed to geopolitical forces beyond their control. During the Second World War, all but a few missionaries followed the recommendation of

the U.S. State Department that they leave the country. In 1945, Korea finally attained independence from Japan. But it then divided into two nations. Five years later, the United States would go to war in the Korean peninsula. Now the foreigners in Korea were predominantly soldiers, not missionaries. Koreans, whether at home or abroad, now came to know a diverse array of American Protestants who were not connected to mission work. New bonds would form, new challenges would arise, but some of the tensions between the first missionaries and the first converts, who had to learn to live together in a strange and fragmented set of relationships, would persist.

Notes

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3. Helen Kim, "Methodism and the Development of Korean Womanhood," in *Within the Gate*, 82.
4. Annie Ellers Bunker, "Personal Recollections of Early Days," in *Within the Gate*, 63.
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14. Annie Baird, *Inside Views of Mission Life* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1913), 19.
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21. Baird, 12.
22. Baird, 12–17.

23. Ian R. Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire*, 34–35.
24. Margaret Best, "Development of Work among Women," in *Quatro Centennial, Papers Read before the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. at the Annual Meeting in Pyeng Yang, August 27, 1909* (Seoul, Korea: 1909), 45–46.
25. Choi, 26–29.
26. Lillias Underwood, "Shall Married Women Have a Vote on Mission Matters," *The Korea Mission Field* (November 1912), 345–346. In the Presbyterian mission, single female and all male missionaries had full voting rights after passing the first-year Korean language test, but married female missionaries needed to pass the more rigorous third-year language test to vote. The mission was concerned that married women would simply duplicate their spouses' votes to create unfair majorities. See Choi, 27.
27. Best, 51.
28. In 1899, one female missionary in Pyongyang estimated that one in forty Korean women at her dispensary could read. See Choi, 66.
29. Of the ninety-three classes, seven were taught by missionaries and eighty-six were taught by Bible Women. See Best, 52.
30. Choi, 65–66.
31. Carol C. Chin also argues that American female missionaries in China at the turn of the twentieth century came "from a stratum of American society that placed a high value on cleanliness and godliness and at a time when Progressive reformers were focusing attention on public sanitation." See Carol C. Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 27 (June 2003), 334.
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57. Helen Kim, *Grace Sufficient: The Story of Helen Kim* (Nashville: Upper Room, 1964), 31.
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66. Lynn, 79–87.
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80. Kim, *Grace Sufficient*, 7–8.
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89. Helen Kim, *Grace Sufficient*, 59.
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93. Howard A. Bridgman, "As Missionaries View Their Growing World: At the Recent Jerusalem Conference Delegates From Many Countries Exchanged Views on Nationalism, Child Labor and Other Problems," *New York Times*, May 6, 1928. Helen Kim's picture accompanies Bridgman's article, with the caption, "A Delegate at Jerusalem: Miss Helen Kim, Dean of the Women's College at Seoul, Korea."
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97. Pahk, 59.

98. "The Experience of a Korean Girl Under Arrest by the Japanese Police," in Esther and Jeanette Hulbert Papers, General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, Drew University, Madison, NJ.
99. See *The Korean Situation: Authentic Accounts of the Recent Events by Eyewitnesses* (New York: The Committee on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1919).
100. "Korea Needs You," in *North American Students and World Advance: Addresses Delivered at the Eighth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Des Moines, Iowa, December 31, 1919 to January 4, 1920*, edited by Burton St. John (New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1920), 335.
101. Ibid.
102. Howard Thurman, *A Strange Freedom: The Best of Howard Thurman on Religious Experience and Public Life*, edited by Walter Earl Fluker and Catherine Tumber (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 138–139.
103. Thurman, 139.
104. Pahk, 169.
105. "Interview of Helen Kim by Laura Boulton, September 22, 1950," in Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.
106. Martha Scott Bruen, "Personal Report, 1918–1919," in *40 Years in Korea*, edited by Clara Hedberg Bruen, 262.
107. Ellasue Wagner, "Personal letter on May 24, 1948," in Ellasue Wagner Collection, General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, Drew University, Madison, NJ.
108. In 1934, most U.S. states had anti-miscegenation laws that banned interracial marriage. For example, Virginia passed the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, which criminalized marriage between white and non-white persons. In 1948, the California Supreme Court in *Perez v. Sharp* ruled that the state's anti-miscegenation law violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, becoming the first state court to declare its anti-miscegenation law as unconstitutional. It was not until 1967, when the U.S. Supreme Court in *Loving v. Virginia* ruled that Virginia's anti-miscegenation law was unconstitutional, that all U.S. states repealed anti-miscegenation laws. See Fay Botham, *Almighty God Created the Races: Christianity, Interracial Marriage, and American Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 1–5.
109. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 36–39.
110. Botham, 5.
111. Agnes Davis Kim, *I Married a Korean* (New York: The John Day Company, 1953), 10.
112. H.G. Appenzeller, "Woman's Work in Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands* (September 1891), 424.
113. Frank Carpenter, "The Koreans at Home," *The Gospel in All Lands* (October 1889), 439.
114. Elizabeth Watson, *Bringing Korea to Christ* (Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1938), 3.
115. Kim, 30.
116. Kim, 31.
117. James S. Gale's *The Vanguard: A Tale of Korea* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1904) and Lois Hawks Swinehart's *Jane of the Orient* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1924) are examples of fictive tales about romances between single missionaries in Korea. William Newton Blair's *Chansung's Confession* (Topeka, KS: H.M. Ives and Sons, 1959) and W. Arthur Noble's *Ewa: A Tale of Korea* (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1906) are examples of romances between Korean Protestants. Ellasue Wagner wrote an unpublished book, *The Concubine*, which presents a cautionary tale about how an American woman who "hates religion

and despises missionaries" struggles to adjust to Korean life after marrying an aristocratic Korean man (See "The Concubine Book Proposal," in Ellasue Wagner Collection, General Commission on Archives and History, The United Methodist Church, Drew University, Madison, NJ).

118. Kim, 229.
119. Kim, 58.
120. Marie Adams, "A Vacation in Korea," *Woman's Missionary Friend* (November 1939), 303.
121. Frank Herron Smith, "Letter on January 20, 1922," in Korea General Collection, Missionary Research Library Collection, Burke Theological Library, Columbia University, New York, NY.
122. Kim, 12–13, 55–66, 222–233.
123. Kim, 42.
124. "Pyongyang Foreign School Bill for Bruce F. Hunt, March 29, 1921," in Hunt Family Papers, Montgomery Library Archives, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, PA.
125. J. Fairman Preston, "The Problem of the Primary Education of Missionaries' Children," *The Korea Mission Field* (March 1919), 51.
126. Bruce F. Hunt, "Letter to Parents on February 7, 1913 and January 18, 1918," in Hunt Family Papers, Montgomery Library Archives, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, PA.
127. "Boys Entertain on Halloween," "Hurrah for the New Gym," "Pupils Begin School Routine," "School Spirit," and "P.Y.F.S Diary," *The Kum and Go* (November 1931), 1–4. The newsletter also reported that the school had 101 students and 14 teachers. One-fifth of the enrolled students were children of missionaries in China. In the 1930s, Ruth Graham, whose parents were missionaries in China, was enrolled at PYFS.
128. Stacy L. Roberts, Jr., My Memoirs, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.
129. Mary Ames Sharrocks, "The Influence of the Missionary's Home," *The Korea Mission Field* (April 1916), 99–102.
130. Roberts, *My Memoirs*.
131. Bhabha, 19–39.
132. Ch'oe Cha-sil, *Na nŭn hallelluya ajumma yŏtta* [Hallelujah Lady] (Seoul, Korea: Seoul Malssŭmsa, 1999), 190–196.
133. Kim, 104–105.
134. Kim, 102–110, 144–146.
135. Kim, 222.
136. Kim, 35–38.
137. Kim, 222.
138. Donald N. Clark, "Mothers, Daughters, Biblewomen, and Sisters: An Account of 'Women's Work' in the Korea Mission Field," in *Christianity in Korea*, edited by Robert E. Buswell Jr., and Timothy S. Lee (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 189.
139. Sadie Maude Moore, "Congratulations, Dr. Kim, Ewha University, May 9, 1958," in Sadie Maude Moore Papers, 1928–1982, Archives and Manuscripts Department, Pitts Theology Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.
140. Helen Kim, "Tribute to Sadie Maude Moore, 1961," in Sadie Maude Moore Papers, 1928–1982, Archives and Manuscripts Department, Pitts Theology Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.
141. Jonathan S. Barnes, *Power and Partnership: A History of the Protestant Mission Movement* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2013), 3–4.
142. Chin, 327–352.
143. Jay Riley Case, *An Unpredictable Gospel: American Evangelicals and World Christianity, 1812–1910* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 7.

144. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism," in *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, edited by John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 363–373.
145. See Yoo, 10–12, and Yunseong Kim, "Protestant Missions as Cultural Imperialists in Early Modern Korea: Hegemony and its Discontents," *Korea Journal* 39:4 (1999), 205–233.
146. Dunch, 302.
147. "Notes from Korea," *The Gospel in All Lands* (August 1888), 373.
148. Christine Sunjin Chang, "Hidden but Real: The Vital Contribution of Biblewomen to the Rapid Growth of Korean Protestantism, 1892–1945," in *World Christianity: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies, Volume 2*, edited by Elizabeth Koepping (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 240.
149. Young-Iob Chung, *Korea under Siege, 1876–1945: Capital Formation and Economic Transformation*, 45.
150. Kwok Pui-lan argues for an approach that treats indigenous Christian women as "historical subjects" instead of "missiological objects" to better understand their conversions to Christianity in their own contexts. See Kwok Pui-lan, "Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, edited by Daniel H. Bays (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 194–208. Hyaeweol Choi endorses Kwok's approach in her work on modern Korean Protestant women. See Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea: New Women, Old Ways*, 17–18.
151. Yunjae Park, "Between Mission and Medicine: The Early History of Severance Hospital," in *Encountering Modernity: Christianity in East Asia and Asian America*, edited by Albert L. Park and David K. Yoo (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 140–161.
152. Lee-Ellen Strawn, "Protestant Bible Education for Women: First Steps in Professional Education for Modern Korean Women," *Journal of Korean Religions* 4:1 (April 2013), 99–121.
153. Kate Cooper, "The Peculiar Temptations of Missionaries," *The Korea Mission Field* (April 1917), 103–104.

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